THE ACCIDENCE

OF

BEN JONSON'S

PLAYS, MASQUES AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

by

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To the Memory of My Friend, Ben Jonson

.....

I can protest, it was no itch to write,
Nor any vain ambition to be read,
But merely love and justice to the dead,
Which raised my fameless muse; and caused her bring
These drops, as tribute thrown into that spring,
To whose most rich and fruitful head we owe
The purest streams of language which can flow.
For 'tis but truth; thou taught'st the ruder age,
To speak by grammar; and reform'dst the stage;
Thy comic sock induced such purged sense,
A Lucrece might have heard without offence.
Amongst those soaring wits that did dilate
Our English, and advance it to the rate
And value it now holds, thyself was one
Helped lift it up to such proportion,
That, thus refined and robed, it shall not spare
With the full Greek or Latin to compare.

* * * * *

All I would ask for thee, in recompense
Of thy successful toil and time's expense
Is only this poor boon; that those who can,
Perhaps, read French, or talk Italian;
Or do the lofty Spaniard affect,
(To shew their skill in foreign dialect)
Prove not themselves so' unnaturally wise
They therefore should their mother-tongue despise;
(As if her poets both for style and wit,
Not equalled, or not passed their best that writ)
Until by studying JONSON they have known
The heighth, and strength, and plenty of their own.

Henry King, 1592-1669, from Jonsonus Virbius

PREFACE

The object of this study is to give an historical account of the morphology of Ben Jonson's plays, masques and entertainments. A definitive edition of these works is now available in the first seven volumes of Herford and Simpson's Ben Jonson, and in it there are numerous forms of words which strike the modern reader as unusual. It is mainly these that I have selected for treatment and explanation. Similar work was done for Shakespeare by W. Abbott in his Shakespearian Grammar; subsequently, and more thoroughly, by W. Franz in his Shakespeare-Grammatik.

By 'definitive' one means an edition which presents a critical text, and which gives due consideration, inter alia, to the orthography, punctuation and writing conventions of the time. Accurate investigation into the accidence of an author is almost impossible until some scholar or scholars have undertaken this delicate and difficult preparation.

The choice of Jonson as the subject of linguistic investigation needs little comment. By his contemporaries he was regarded as an accomplished scholar and a considerable dramatist. Though his reputation has suffered some vicissitudes, there can be no question of Jonson's importance as an influence in the development of the English language at a critical period, and of the effect of that influence in directing English literature into channels that critics, for the sake of convenience, generally label 'classic'.

Jonson was also a grammarian, or at least a grammatical archivist, for his library was the repository of any grammar, new or old, which he could lay hands upon. His merits as a student of grammar, though he was frankly an amateur, are not to be judged by the scant, often naive, notes which survived the destruction of his library by fire. His original researches were certainly lost, and the brief sketch which survives is of little moment, save as an indication of the value which Jonson himself attached to the subject. Unfortunately the volume containing Herford and Simpson's edition of the Grammar has not yet appeared, and the text at present available is a thoroughly bad one.

The dramatic work of Ben Jonson is the more valuable because

of his practical attitude to the problems of language. In his Plays, Masques and Entertainments he treated linguistic foibles realistically and critically. There is hardly a doubt that the speech in these works is an authentic document; we appear to have in them the opportunity of studying Elizabethan and Jacobean English practically as it was spoken.

In the Herford and Simpson edition of Ben Jonson the plays appear in chronological order, not the order of publication. For the purposes of this study there seemed no good reason for departing from this arrangement. A Tale of a Tub, acted with certain modifications at the end of Jonson's career, but not printed until after his death (2nd Folio, 1640), and The Case is Altered, which first appeared in the quarto of 1609, were probably written before Every Man in His Humour; but the linguistic evidence (to mention no other) shows that they were revised later. This evidence rests mainly on a study of orthography, such as the use of the apostrophe, and the greater use of the -s ending in the 3rd person singular present indicative of the verbs, especially has and does for hath and doth.

Eastward Ho, written jointly with Chapman and Marston, has not been investigated. To have done this adequately would have involved a study of the language of Jonson's collaborators and an attempt to determine what part of the play was written by each of the dramatists.

The plays, as a whole, were dealt with first, then the masques and entertainments. This separate treatment is that of the Herford and Simpson edition. In the analysis of collected examples, it was found that practical considerations often cut across chronological citation. System has been the prior aim; otherwise the quotations are in date order, first for the plays, then for the masques and entertainments.

It remains to discharge debts of gratitude. No acknowledgment can reflect the extent of my obligation to my supervisor, Professor W. S. Mackie, Head of the Department of English at the University of Cape Town, who initiated and piloted me

through this study. In one or two places I have specifically referred to suggestions which I have incorporated; but throughout he has given valuable advice and saved me from several blunders.

The librarians of the Universities of Cape Town and Pretoria, and their staffs, have been equally untiring in their efforts to provide me with the material for this study. I am particularly grateful to Mr. R.F.Immelman, Librarian of the Jagger Library, not only for the efficiency of the instrument which he commands, but for the year's secluded accommodation which he afforded, at considerable inconvenience to himself, when I was deep in the spade-work of these investigations.

It need hardly be added that the New Oxford English Dictionary has been constantly at my elbow. It is a comfort, when one is tracing the history of a form, to know that its evolution is invariably well illustrated in this vast mine of philological material. I have used the Dictionary freely, as the following pages show; and it is not too much to say that without the information gleaned from this wonderful compilation, I should hardly have made any progress at all. My admiration for the knowledge, skill, and method of its editors has increased with use.

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WORKS OF BEN JONSON CITED

I PLAYS

Abbreviation	Title	Acted or delivered	First Published	Remarks
T.T.	A Tale of a Tub	1633	F_2-1640	Written c 1596 or 1597. F_2 sole authority
C.A.	The Case is Altered	Before 1609	Q-1609	Written c 1597 or 1598. Reprinted 1756 only
E.M.I.H.	Every Man in His Humour (Italian version)	1598	Q-1601	Written 1598
E.M.I.H.(F)	Every Man in His Humour (English ")		F_1-1616	Revised from Q.1601
E.M.O.H.	Every Man Out of His Humour	1599	Q-1600	Written 1599
Revels	Cynthia's Revels	1600	Q-1601	Written 1600. F_1 an expansion of Q.
Poet.	Poetaster	1601	Q-1602	F_1 revision of Q.
Sej.	Sejanus	1603	Q-1606	F_1 revision of Q.
Volp.	Volpone	1605	Q-1607	F_1 revision of Q.
Epic.	Epicoene or The Silent Woman	1609	Q-1612?	
Alch.	The Alchemist	1610	Q-1612	F_1 slightly changed Q.
Cat.	Catiline	1610	Q-1611	F_1 revision of Q.
Bart.F.	Bartholomew Fair	1614	F_2-1631	One of 3 plays d/d 1631 in F_2 (1640)
D.A.	The Devil is an Ass	1616	F_2-1631	One of 3 plays d/d 1631 in F_2 (1640)
Stap.N.	The Staple of News	1625	F_2-1631	One of 3 plays d/d 1631 in F_2 (1640)
N.Inn	The New Inn	1629	Oct.1631	Reprinted F_3 (1692)
Mag.La.	The Magnetic Lady	1632	F_2-1640	
S.S.	The Sad Shepherd		F_2-1640	Title-page d/d 1641
M.F.	Mortimer His Fall		F_2-1640	Argument and 2 scenes

Abbreviation	Title	Acted or delivered	First Published	Remarks
F.H.W.	For the Honour of Wales	1618	F_2-1640	
E.Black	An Entertainment at the Blackfriars	1620	Monthly Mag.Feb. 1816	Text from Harley MS 4955
P.A.	Pan's Anniversary	1620-4	F_2-1640	Brotanek fixes date of performance at 1620, Herford & Simpson suggest 1623 or 1624.
N.N.W.	News from the New World Discovered in the Moon	1621	F_2-1640	
G.M.	The Gypsies Metamorphosed	1621	Duodecimo 1640 F_2-1640	Text based on MS in Henry E.Huntington Library
M.A.	The Masque of Augurs	1622	Q-1622	F_2 a revised and enlarged text
T.V.H.	Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours	1623	Q-1623	
N.T.	Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion	Designed to be acted 1623	Q-1623-4	
M.O.	The Masque of Owls	1624	F_2-1640	
F.I.	The Fortunate Isles, and Their Union	1625	Q-1624-5	A remodelled version of Neptune's Triumph
L.T.C.	Love's Triumph through Callipolis	1631	Q-1630	
Chlor.	Chloridia	1630-31	Q-1630-31	
K.E.W.	The King's Entertainment at Welbeck	1633	F_2-1640	Also in Harley MS 4955
L.W.B.	Love's Welcome at Bolsover	1634	F_2-1640	Also in Harley MS 4955

F_1 = Folio 1616; includes plays from E.M.I.H. to Catiline and masques and entertainments to The Golden Age Restored.

F_2 = Folio 1631 - 40; includes plays of F_1 + T.T. and Bart.F. - M.F. (except N.Inn); also remaining masques and entertainments, except An Entertainment at the Blackfriars, which remained in ms.

F_3 = Folio 1692

The figures in brackets at the end of each citation indicate the page in the Herford and Simpson edition.

In the Herford and Simpson edition the First Folio, which was

carefully corrected by Jonson, is the authority for all plays it contains, i.e. up to and including Catiline.

INTRODUCTION

I

Professor H.C. Wyld in The Universal English Dictionary describes 'accidence' as "That part of grammar, or of a treatise on grammar, which deals with inflexions". Ablaut changes in the radical vowel of the principal parts of strong verbs are certainly morphological, and should, therefore, form a part of accidence. Accidence may, then, be defined as the modifications of form that words undergo to denote modifications of meaning or grammatical use. It deals with inflexions in particular, among which changes of vowel sound in the body of the word may be included*. Thus wan, as the past tense of win, may justly find a place under accidence, but the spelling sollen for sullen can not.

Such variations of form as the following, found in Jonson, are orthographical, phonological or etymological, and, though interesting, are no part of accidence, and have therefore been excluded :-

Nouns: accompt, ambassy, attemp, Corrier (= currier), Divell, divident, fornace, Gad (= God), ghirlond (= garland), halp'orth (= halfpennyworth), handkerchier, hest (= behest), heighth, landt-shape (= landscape), marchant, mercat (= market), moneth, murther, poulder (= powder), quar (= quarry), receit, scedule, shriff and shrieve (= sheriff), state (= estate), sworth (= sword), syllab (= syllable), thomb, timburines (= tambourines), trewel (= trowel), tyran, voluptary, windore (= window), wrest (= wrist).

Pronouns: on (= one)

Adjectives: drad (= dread), hote (= hot), sollen.

Adverbs: the spelling bylike for belike (both date from 16th C only)

Verbs: benum, beseek, beshrow, burthen, deduce (= deduct), defalk (= defalcate), don (= done), drownd (= drown), googe (= gouge), hale (= haul), interess, kemb (= comb), kuss (= kiss), mutine, paize (= poise), potch (= poach), torn (= turn), wrastle (= wrestle).

No account of accidence can, of course, be given without phonology, especially in dealing with the strong verbs. Sound

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* I am indebted to Prof.W.S.Mackie for this, which seems to be accurate definition of what the German philologists describe [illegible]

changes included in this study are incidental, not treated for their own sake; they are indicated phonetically by the notation of the International Phonetic Association in its narrow form.*

Again orthography has had to be incorporated to some extent in the evolution of weak verbs, in the discussion of the apostrophe and of contracted forms that illustrate the development of colloquial speech. A contracted form like Mas for Master has not been deemed worthy of inclusion.

Syncope and elision fall partly under versification and partly under pronunciation. These are not here considered. However, contracted forms, such as the curtailment of the definite article in th'occasion, seem to involve important modifications of the form of a word in verse or colloquial speech, and these have been included as interesting steps in the history of the spoken language.

Word-formation is generally omitted, though the subject is touched upon in the origin of adverbs.

As the functions of grammatical categories are found to overlap, it is sometimes impossible to draw a line between accidence and syntax. Number with nouns is a case in point; the use of the oblique cases of relative pronouns is another. Case endings in all inflected languages, such as O.E., were functional as well as formal; and when inflexions began to decay in M.E. one of the noticeable syntactical changes was the increased importance, not only of sense-order, but of linking words, such as prepositions and conjunctions.

Dialect forms have been relegated to an appendix (See Appendix I).

II.

It is tempting to compare Jonson's use of verbal forms with that of Shakespeare and to note how far the practice of the two dramatists agrees with what is found or recommended in the formal grammars of the time, including Jonson's own. The evidence for Shakespeare is contained in W.Franz's Shakespeare-Grammatik and A.Schmidt's Shakespeare Lexicon. The following grammars have been examined for related forms :-

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* See Ida C. Ward The Phonetics of English, pp. xiii & xiv.

A. Gill - Logonomia Anglica (1621) ed. O.L.Jiriczek

B. Jonson - Grammar (probably 1631-4) ed. F.Cunningham

C. Butler - English Grammar (1634) ed. A.Eichler

C. Cooper - Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae (1685) ed. J.D.Jones.

The results of the investigation are not fruitful of generalization. Detailed comparisons, for those who want them, are contained in Appendix II, and, where necessary, reference to the relevant sections of this appendix are made in the body of the Accidence. But one thing is clear: the text of Jonson, as we have received it, is richer in colloquial and contracted speech-forms than is that of Shakespeare. He also made more extensive use of the resources of dialect.

But, in general, it will suffice to note that there is a considerable measure of agreement between Shakespeare and Jonson in the use of verbal forms. It would be dangerous to stress the importance of differences, numerous as they are; for a large number of alternative forms must have been in popular use. This is revealed by a study of the grammarians of the 17th C. There was clearly no H.W.Fowler to steer a safe course through the shifting sands of contemporary usage. On the tricky and unstable ground of morphology the most reliable guide is Gill. But some of his chapters, notably that on the verbs, are inadequate. On the other hand, he is less influenced by Latin grammar than many of his contemporaries, among them Jonson himself. But one and all the grammarians studied are too theoretical; they pay insufficient attention to the practice and usage of the time.

Shakespeare's acclaimed inventiveness must have arisen mainly from his imagery and the resources of his vocabulary. There are times when his choice of forms seems more modern than Jonson's; but it is impossible to say how far this is owing to the intervention of editors and printers. The importance of the latter in stabilizing grammar and orthography is noted by Prof.C.H.McKnight in his Modern English in the Making (pp.242-243):

"It will be observed that the formation of grammatical rule is nearly contemporaneous with the formation of a new practice in printing. In the adoption of new forms, however, it is the printer, rather than the grammarian or the author, that is the innovator in most cases. The grammarian records rather than initiates in language. The grammarians who, like Smith and Hart,

and Bullokar in the sixteenth century, and Gill and Butler in the seventeenth century, tried to establish new modes of spelling had little influence. Nor does the printed form represent the written form used by the author. Of this dominance of the printer convincing evidence may be found by comparing the spelling and punctuation in the first printed editions of Milton's poetry with the manuscript texts provided by the author."

Some branches of 16th and 17th C accidence, such as number with collective nouns, gender and principal parts of strong verbs, when studied comparatively, present such a mass of heterogeneous detail that the norm of grammar, if one is bold enough to postulate it, becomes difficult to assess. Almost certainly no such norm existed; nor was it greatly missed, except by classical schoolmasters and grammarians, such as Richard Mulcaster and Alexander Gill. The general attitude to grammar of the writer engaged in his trade is reflected in Shakespeare's treatment of the pedant Holofernes and the remark of Sir Philip Sydney in speaking of the English language :- "Grammer it might have, but it needes it not; being so easie of it selfe, and so voyd of those cumbersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moodes, and Tenses, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of Babilons curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue." (An Apologie for Poetrie).

In short, a comparative study of the accidence of Shakespeare and Jonson shows that the language of the last decade of the 16th C and the first quarter of the next was undergoing fairly rapid modification. Indications of this are found, for instance, in the increased use of 's for the possessive genitive, of -s for -th in the 3rd person sing. of the present tense, and of o for a as radical vowel of the preterite of Class IV and V strong verbs. The great freedom in the vicarious use of different parts of speech, nouns for adjectives, verbs for nouns, adjectives for adverbs, adverbs for prepositions etc, is syntactical proof that the language was still in a state of flux.

The age of Jonson was one of linguistic transition. The Court itself was no guarantee of correctness; the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth is as full of grammatical anomalies as the dramatic works of Shakespeare and Jonson. For the student of morphological variation and uncertainty, the principal parts of the verb strike (see especially Appendix II, § 35) are in the

nature of a museum exhibit. The large variety of forms is, of course, partly due to orthographical difficulties; but the forms of Class I strong verbs, as a whole, indicate the unsettled state of the accidence of the time.

The period of standardization, governed by the Augustan habit and doctrine of correctness, emerged with the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy and extended roughly from Dryden to Dr.Johnson. Inconclusive and conflicting as the testimony of contemporary grammarians always is, it is clear that the hundred years following the Restoration gave to the English language something like regularity in the use of grammatical forms, helped to fix,as far as was then possible, the system of orthography, and determined the quality of the vowels and diphthongs in the pronunciation of modern Standard English.

Finally, with the advent of phonological science in the 19th C, and the more important growth of inflexible grammatical training in the schools and academies, the stage of grammatical rigidity was reached which makes possible the birth of a grammarian like H.W.Fowler. His methods, which are, of course, mainly syntactical, have made for greater precision in the use of English; but the wisdom of dogmatising from material collected mainly from the period of enlightenment (late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries) is open to question. Usage admits of no privileged lines of demarcation. Two important surveys, one a History of English Syntax, the other a History of English Spelling, must be written, before the laws of the Medes and the Persians should be allowed to invade English grammar. And it is probable that, when they are written, no one will have the temerity to make the attempt.

ACCIDENCE

NOUNS

1. Originally singular forms regarded as plurals

With the exception of a single use of riches, Jonson uses the following forms with strict regard to their original number.

(a) Eaves, pease, riches, succours (see also Appendix II, § 1(a)).

(i) Eaves (O.E. strong fem. efes)

This word is generally regarded as a plural in modern English, a new singular eave sometimes being found. The sense of Jonson's use of eaves indicates singular number.

P.R.V.43(480) every man stands under the eaves of his own hat (= brim)

(ii) Pease (O.E. wk. fem. pise, pl. pisan)

In M.E. the noun became pese, pl. pesen, the final -n being ultimately weakened and lost. E.N.E. pease had plural peses, peasen and pease.

Butler (Eng.Gram. Ch.III, § 2) gives singular peas, and plural peasen, but says the singular is mostly used for the plural, e.g. a peck of peas. Londoners, he adds, seem to make it a regular plural, calling peas a pea.

The N.E.D. says that about 1600 the final reduction of the plural to a form identical with the singular gave rise to a new singular pea.

The old singular pease, however, lingered on.

Mag.La.V.7.58(587) Ile clense him with a pill (as small as a pease)

C.H.M.69(439) his Usher bearing a great Cake with a Beane, and a Pease.

(iii) Riches

O.F. Richesse (= wealth) was taken into the M.E. vocabulary in 13th C, when it was soon mistaken for a plural in -es, and ultimately adopted as a plural form. The N.E.D. suggests probable influence of Lat. parallel divitiae. A true plural richesses existed alongside of the assumed plural until 17th C. Riches, with singular function, ceased to be used in literary English after the end of the

(ii) Tympanites (= distension of the stomach)

This medical term was adopted from Gr. Τυμπάνον (a drum) by Galen (Τυμπανίτης, masc. sing. 1st decl.). It came to English in 14th C from late Lat. tympanites, and was normally regarded as having singular function. But the N.E.D has an example from Baxter (1651) in which it is used as a plural (How many tympanites have you cured?)

Mag.La.II.314(532) it is a Tympanites she is troubled with
" " II.3.35(533) The Timpanites is one spice of it

Note: The later English form tympany (Gr. Τυμπανίας), which has been in use from 16th C to the present time, is also employed by Jonson:

E.Black.131(773) you can tell when a woman goes with a Timpanie

2. Originally plural forms regarded as singular

Trace (O.F. traiz, pl. of trait = rope or strap by which draught animal is fastened).

The M.E. word trays, trace, which appeared in 14th C, is derived ultimately from Lat. tractus. Though plural in origin, trace was almost immediately mistaken for a singular, and a new plural traces was formed, which eventually supplanted the original form. Trace was, however, in good use as a plural until at least the 18tn C. It is now retained for a single strap of the pair.

Jonson's use of trace is as a collective singular, though the commoner N.E. form was probably already the collective plural traces, comparable with shears, tongs, scissors etc. (e.g. to kick over the traces.)

G.M.53(566) a horse laden with five little/ children bound in a trace of scarfes upon him

3. Number with nouns of measure etc. after numerals (see also Appendix II, § 1(b))

After numerals, nouns denoting weight, measure, distance, value and time were, in 16th C, generally used in the singular as they are frequently today. These apparent singulars are usually traceable to O.E. uninflected plurals.

(a) Nouns of native origin

In E.O.E. monosyllabic neuter nouns with long radical vowel of the a-declension and some nouns of the minor declensions (e.g. niht) took no ending in the nom. and acc. plural. During the transition period L.O.E. to E.M.E. the masc. plural -es was given to nearly all nouns by analogy, but among the exceptions were these quantitative collectives, which passed uninflected into M.E. and thence into N.E.

C.A.II.3.33(129) some twelvemonth hence (O.E. masc. monaþ had uninflected as well as inflected plural)
D.A.I.2.20(169) As I ha' done this twelve mone'th
E.M.I.H.I.1.147(201) five yeere together (O.E. neut.pl. gēar)
E.M.O.H.V.10.19(593) you are in for one halfe a score yeere
Volp.I.2.127(29) this three yeere
D.A.I.6.23(178) I doe not say seven moneths, nor seven weekes,/ Nor seven daies, nor houres: but seven yeere, wife
M.Black 208(175) foure thousand yeere,/ Since old Deucalion's daies
E.M.I.H.I.1.83(199) a man of a thousand pounde land a yeare (O.E.neut.pl. pund)
Volp.II.2.211(56) six hundred pound
E.M.O.H.II.3.165(474) for some twelve pound, or twenty marke, I could go neere to redeeme 'hem (the neut. noun marc appears in O.E. in 9th C only)
E.M.I.H.III.2.65(240) since yesterday was sevennight (O.E. fem. pl. niht)
Revels II.1.65(65) how oft he hath done the whole, or the halfe pommado in a seven-night
Bart.F.I.2.49(22) unlesse shee marry within this sen'night

Note (1): By analogy, mile and foot, properly singulars, are similarly used after numerals:-

N.Inn.III.1.41(445) Twelve mile an houre! (O.E. fem. mīl, pl. mīle. The use of the sing. is found first in M.E. The N.E.D. says it is now vulgar or dialectal. It was, however, used by Bentley in 18th C, and Dickens in 19th C.)
Mag.La.II.3.29(533) Some twenty mile
K.E.678(106) two magnificent Pyramids, of 70 foot in height, (O.E. strong masc. fōt, with mutated plural fēt. This use of foot may be a weakened form of the O.E. partitive genitive plur. fōta.)

Note (2): Jonson's usages are generally of the above type, but there are frequent exceptions, especially with years, which is fairly frequent after numerals in the later plays.

E.M.O.H.III.2.11(498) sixteene hundred pounds
" III.9.137(528) March was fifteene yeres ago
Sej.II.289(384) commanded an imperiall armie/ Seven yeeres together
Cat.III.392(481) neere seven hundred yeeres
D.A.I.1.83(167) that's fifty yeeres agone
Stap.N.I.2.14(286) For one and twenty yeeres
G.M.73(567) for seamen yeares together

(b) Nouns of foreign origin

Similarly, some nouns, not of native origin, were added to the above group by analogy:

E.M.O.H.III.4.91(505) stage direction - four couple (O.F. cople, Lat. copula)
Volp.I.5.14(41) Tell him it doubles the twelfe caract (F. carat. The word did not appear in English until 16th C. The reference here is to a pearl)
Stap.N.I.5.143(298) they have brought in Newes,/ Three Bale together (M.E. bale, probably through Flemish from O.F. bale. The uninflected plural is not noted in the N.E.D.)
N.Inn I.5.3(415) I have fresh golden ghests .../ Three coach-full! (In 16th C from Fr. coche, original Magyar kocsi. The normal plural was coaches)
N.N.W.23(514) my great booke, which must be three Reame of paper at least (M.E. rēm, O.F. rayme, Med.Lat. risma, Arab. rizmah. Only one instance of an uninflected plural (spelt realme) occurs in the N.E.D.)
" 25(514) I want for ten quire yet. (M.E. quaer, O.F. quaer, Lat. quaterni. N.E.D. has no example of uninflected plural)
F.I.255(716) Three grosse at least (Fr. grosse. The plural is not found).

4. Uninflected plurals of O.E. neuter nouns, the names of animals.

(See also Appendix II, § 1(c))

Since O.E. neuter monosyllables, with long stem vowel, were uninflected in the plural, we have such N.E. plurals as sheep, deer, horse. The form of the last is still found in the literary expression 'to take horse'.

C.A.I.9.14(120) Are your horse ready Lord Paulo? (The N.E.D. says that the uninflected plural was in general use until 17th C. and still occurs in the dialects. The earliest recorded uses of separate plural forms are at the beginning of 13th C in Layamon, who has horses and mid horsen, the latter probably from O.E. dat. pl. horsum, as no use of horsen in nom. or acc. is given in N.E.D. In the literary language the plural in -s gradually ousted the uninflected plural, which remained only as a collective word for 'horsemen', 'a troop of horse', along with other military and naval collective terms, see § 5(d)).
Revels II.1.63(65) He courts ladies with how many great horse he hath rid that morning
Sej.III.712(416) say, you have in charge/ To see our chariots readie, and our horse
Cat.IV.588(517) they' abound with horse:/ Of which one want our campe doth onely labour
Stap.N.III.2.89(330) all his horse/ Are shod with corke
N.Inn IV.3.70(467) A coach is hir'd; and foure horse
K.E.W.39(793) The King, and the Lords being come downe, and ready to take horse (so 189(798)).
E.Black 6(769) The most of these deere, will come to hand (O.E. dēor. Though the uninflected plural has always been regular, deore, deoran and deores appeared in 12th and 13th C. Deers was in occasional use from 17th-19th C.).

5. Number with collective nouns (see also Appendix II, § 1(d)).

It is difficult to consider this question apart from syntax, where it is placed by both Einenkel (Geschichte der Historische

Englischen Syntax) and Sweet (New English Grammar). Concord with its verb and special meaning often determine the form of the noun.

Collective nouns appear to fall into four main groups :-

(a) Collectives with plural meaning, but singular form only e.g. cavalry, cattle.

(b) Collectives with plural meaning, and with singular and plural forms e.g. troop.

(c) Generic collectives, which are singular forms used in the vocabulary of sport to denote a species, and in this special usage are incapable of plural inflexion e.g. fish, fowl. Sweet says (N.E.G. § 1966) that these came to be used on the analogy of O.E. uninflected neut. plurals such as scēap (see preceding §), but that they are confined to wild animals hunted because of their usefulness to man. The examples given in N.E.D. support this view. To the group may be added vermin meaning 'a noxious animal of any kind', which is rarely found in the plural in the generic sense (see N.E.D. 2.C.).

(d) Collectives which are singular forms of nouns used in a special figurative sense (synecdoche mainly) and which, if inflected -s, revert to their original meaning e.g. fishing craft, ten sail of the line, twenty horse (= horsemen). The majority of these are sea and military terms.

Neither form nor function was as rigidly fixed in 16th C as today, and confusion sometimes occurred, yielding forms now unusual and some double plurals.

(a) T.T.I.5.57(21) There are a brace of Angels to support you. (O.F. brace = the two arms, whence the derived meaning of 'a pair'. The word, which dates from 15th C, has always been used with singular form only, even when more than one pair is specified e.g. two brace. Plural function, as in the above example, is not, however, uncommon.)

Mag.La.II.6.117(542) yet i' the house,/ I heare it buzz'd, there are a brace of Doctors

E.M.I.H.III.5.11(353) your poore Infanterie, your decay'd, ruinous, worme-eaten gentlemen of the round(Fr. infanterie)

T.V.H.177(661) And o're the Execution place hath painted/ Time whipt; for terror to the Infantery (= children)

E.M.I.H.(F)II.5.12(334) we all are fall'n; youth, from their feare:/ And age, from that, which bred it, good example. (O.E. fem. geogub. The word has been used with singular form and plural meaning (= young people generally) since O.E. Since M.E. it has usually had the verb in the plural also. Youth has thus acquired a special collective meaning covering both sexes. The normal N.E. plural youths means 'young men' only.)

K.E.W.82(794) the painfull Instructer of our Youth in their Countrey elements

Poet.Prol.19(205) How ere that common spawne of ignorance,/ Our frie of writers, may beslime his fame. (O.N. frǽ = seed. The word is found in English in 14th C with the meaning 'offspring', which it has preserved alongside of the acquired figurative meaning 'insignificant persons or things'. Occasionally fry is used of a single child, as in Shakes. Macb.IV.2.83.)

S.S.I.4.82(17) A good sage Shepherd, who .../... can tell us more/ Then all the forward Fry, that boast their lore

L.F.I.F.68(361) Eleven Daughters of the morne./ Ne're were brighter Bevy borne. (M.E. bevey, O.F. bevee, It. bevuta = drinking bout, draught. There is no explanation of the derivation, and the plural is not cited in the N.E.D. It seems that the word from L.M.E. to the present day, has been used with singular form and plural function. It is used, not only of ladies, but of roes, quails and larks.)

G.M.55(566) another horse laden with stolne poultrie (O.F. pouletrie. Used with sing. form and pl. meaning since M.E. The word usually has plural function also.)

(b) With the majority of the collective singulars of this group Jonson has the verb in the plural.

C.A.II.7.68(137) a people that have no braines. (O.F. poeple, Lat. populus. The historical spellings are peple (13th C), poeple (14th C), people (15th C). The use of singular form with plural function has always been regular.)

Mag.La.Induc.40(509) What bring you to me from these people? (but line 42 this people, sing.function.)

L.W.B.177(814) first the Peoples love would let that People know their owne happinesse

Revels II.5.4(80) Note re Quarto - all the troope of trash/ That're allied to the lash. (O.F. trope (13th C) > Fr. troupe (16th C) whence it passed into N.E. First use recorded in N.E.D. is in State Papers of Henry VIII (1545)).

Stap.N.I.3.16(290) Doe I not muster a brave troupe?

P.A.257(537) Heare what thy hallowed troope of Herdsmen pray

Poet.Prol.18(205) How ere that common spawne of ignorance,/ ... may beslime his fame. (Both noun and verb, though not earlier than 15th C, are from the A.F. verb espaundre, O.F. espandre, Lat. expandere. The noun spawn has, from its earliest appearance, had both sing. and pl. forms, and sing. and pl. function.)

C.M.299(575) I'le tell it my traine,/ And come to you againe. (O.F. traînee. Adopted in M.E. in 14th C and used mainly as a collective singular.)

Poet.II.1.52(222) you can tell how to entertaine ladies and gentlefolkes better then I? (O.E. neut. noun folc was uninflected in the plural; the -s plural dates from 14th C and was used by Caxton. According to N.E.D., folk was originally a collective singular, and the plural, when it came to be used, was limited to the sense of 'servants', 'artisans'. In 14th C, however, the plural was extended to include 'people generally'. The suggestion of the N.E.D. that the uninflected plural fell into disuse in 17th C, and has since been used only archaically and dialectally, is not supported in the long lists of examples given by W. Sattler ('Zur englischen grammatik' VII, Eng.Studien X, p.268-9) and J. Storm (Englische Philologie p.319). Hughes in Tom Brown's Schooldays, for instance, uses the plural folk 16 times and folks only twice; but this is an extreme case. Much confusion exists and the convenient theory of Maetzner (Eng. Gram.I, p.229), that folks is used generally in N.E. when individual persons are thought of, is doubtful. Jonson has both the inflected and uninflected plural.)

Cat.III.274(477) They, yet, but murdered kinsfolke, brothers, parents,

Mag.La.II.2.54(532) when folkes are sick
" " IV.7.45(574) th' Ages, and folke in them,/ That seeme most curious
S.S.I.5.104(21) Save that some folke delight/ To blend all good of others, with some spight
G.M.1165(604) thought us poore Contrie folkes worthy of them
Alch.II.2.15(318) Let 'hem stand bare, as doe their auditorie (= assembly of hearers in the church. Lat. auditorium. The singular form was used with both singular function, as by Latimer, 'here is a learned auditory', and plural function, as by Jonson).
Mag.La.Induc.147(512) When the Auditory are awake (so Chor.III. 9(563))
Alch.V.5.110(405) an host,/ That threaten Gad in exile. (From the lack of examples in N.E.D., the use of this collective singular with plural function is not common. Other examples in this group, e.g. troop and auditory, however, show that Jonson favoured plural verbs with these collective singulars.)
Cat.III.86(471) How the rout cling to him. (A.F. rute, adopted in M.E. in 13th C. The word is rarely used in the plural, but mainly as a collective singular with singular or plural function.
Stap.N.V.5.56(379) See! the whole Covy is scattered. (O.F. covée. The word has been used since 15th C, and generally as a collective with singular function.)
Mag.La.II.6.158(543) the Parson's calling/ By this time, all the covey againe, together
G.M.748(590) These are a Covie of Gipsies
N.Inn IV.2.94(464) I hope I know, wild Company are fine Company (So line 98. O.F. compaignie. Although company, with this signification, may indicate a single person, the word is usually collective. It has had both singular and plural function from 16th C.)
Mag.La.IV.3.50(568) Here are a paire of Humours, reconcil'd now. (M.E. peire (13th C), paire (14th C), from Fr. paire, Lat. neut. pl. paria. Both singular and plural function are found with the singular form.)
S.S.I.6.2(21) the happy paire are met!
T.V.H.160(660) What are this paire?
M.V.41(410) The whole houshold of 'hem are become Alchymists (M.E. housholde. Hold, from O.E. heald, only acquired its meaning of 'property held', 'tenement','place of refuge', in 13th C. The collective household is generally used with plural function, as by Jonson, but in N.E.D. (I.3) there is an example from Young (1719) with singular function: 'all the houshold is compos'd to rest.')
L.T.C.82(738) Heere, the Chorus walke about with censers. (Lat. chorus, Gk. Χορός. The word did not reach English until 16th C. The collective singular is used with singular and plural function.)

(c) Jonson employs the inflected plural for specific varieties of fish.

(i) Names of species of fish

Revels II.5.24(81) no better than a few trowts cast a-shore. (The history of this word in English dates from 11th C, when it appeared in an O.E. glossary as truht, Lat. tructa. The plural in -s was used at least from 14th C (see quotation from Barbour's Bruce in N.E.D.) and has apparently been a common form down to 19th C. Examples in N.E.D. show that the generic collective singular can be traced with certainty from 17th C and with some probability as early as 14th.)
Alch.II.2.75(320) The tongues of carpes, dormise, and camels heeles/ Boil'd i the spirit of sol. (O.F. carpe. The word was introduced into England, with the fish, in 14th C. The N.E.D. says that carps was the old plural and quotes an example from 15th C; it was still used in

White's Natural History of Selborne in 18th C. The first example of the collective sense with singular form, carp, is cited from the Letters of Lady M.W.Montagu early in the same century.)

Alch.II.2.80(320) My foot-boy shall eate phesants, calverd salmons. (Lat. salmo. Both salmon and salmons occur with plural function in 14th C, and the latter is still in use, though, as N.E.D. points out, only in scientific language or occasionally for individual specimens.)

Stap.N.V.5.29-30(378) Shu. You were wont to ha' your Breams - Alm. And Trouts sent in? Cym. Fat Carps, and Salmons? (M.E. breme is from O.F. bresme, med.Lat. bresmia. The plural breams appeared at least from 15th - 19th C; but N.E.D. shows that the generic collective bream was in use in early 16th C and is probably still the regular form for the plural idea.)

(ii) Modern use of collective singular

Stap.N.I.1.23(285) Taylor, thou art a vermine. (The word came into English, from O.F. vermin, at the beginning of 14th C. It was used mainly as a generic collective with singular form, but the plural form was occasionally found from Malory to the mid. 17th C. In the N.E. period, and as late as Scott in 19th C, the word has also been used in the singular, often preceded by the indef. article, for a single noxious animal or as a term of abuse for a person.)

N.Inn I.2.10(409) There are both flyes and fleas, and all variety/ Of vermin.

Mag.La.IV.8.28(576) Thou shew'st thy selfe a true corroding Vermine

P.A.267(538) Driv'st hence the Wolfe, the Tode, the Brock,/ Or other vermine from the flock

N.T.91(684) Makes Citadels of curious foule, and fish (O.E. fugol and fisc, strong masculines. In both cases the collective singular for the plural idea seems to date from the Cursor Mundi (1300)).

(d) Sej.V.452(454) proclaime his idoll lord-ship,/ More then ten cryers, or sixe noise of trumpets! (Noise came into the language in 13th C from French. The special meaning given by N.E.D. (5.b.) of 'a company or band of musicians' is said to be obsolete; all the examples cited are in the singular. In this figurative sense the word is apparently a collective without plural.)

G.M.1024(599) The Kinge has a noise of Gypsies as well as Bearewards.

C.H.M.22(438) the Livory were not at leisure to see it till a frost come (A.F. livere, Fr. livrée, fem.past.part. of livrer, Med.Lat. liberata. The word has been used figuratively and collectively for 'retainers or servants in livery', says N.E.D., from 15th - 19th C. In this sense it has no plural, except, rarely, when the sing. livery stands for an individual servant e.g. Shirley, Witty Fair One I.2: 'Her Father ... rides .../ With halfe a douzen wholesome Liveries,/ To whom he gives Christian wages.' The collective singular form has plural function.)

E.Black.53(770) let the Musicke ha' their play (= A company of musicians. Fr. musique, from 13th C. This figurative collective, chiefly with plural function, is shown by the N.E.D. to have been in use from Sidney's Arcadia (1586) to the middle of 19th C. Cf. Pepys, Diary, 19th Dec., 'He says many of the musique are ready to starve, they being five years behind hand for their wages.'

G.M.771(590) Musique! wee'll have a whole poverty of Pipers. (O.F. poverte. The only example cited in N.E.D. is dated 1486 (Bk.St.Albans - payverty of pypers). The word is described as an "Alleged name for a company of pipers".)
N.T.137(686) Gave him his powerfull Manager of Horse (O.E. hors was originally neuter, with uninflected plural. It was not until the late 15th C that horse acquired its masculine connotation, the feminine being mare. Nevertheless the plural horses appeared much earlier, at the beginning of the 13th C in Layamon's Brut. The inflected and uninflected plurals existed side by side until 17th C when the -s plural became universal, horse (except in the idiomatic expression to take horse - see § 4) being reserved for military usage in the sense of horsemen).

Note: The special use of the word pebble as a collective (which is not very common) does not fit conveniently into the above categories. Examples in the N.E.D., which show both singular and plural function, the former generic, are confined to less than a hundred years (1574-1669).

S.S.I.5.9(18) There will I knock the story in the ground,/ In smooth great peble

6. Nouns signifying divided articles of clothing (see also Appendix II, § 1(e)).

(a) N.E. Collectives with singular form

Hose (O.E. masc. hosa). The word in modern English has no plural, but is used with plural meaning, either for a pair or more than one pair. This collective use has been known since the late 13th C. But from the 11th to late 17th C hose was used also with singular meaning, often preceded by the indefinite article. The plural hosen (from O.E. weak plural hosan) was in use from 13th to 18th C, and still occurs in dialect; the rare and now obsolete plural, hoses, is found in Robert of Gloucester, Havelock the Dane, and Wyclif (Acts XII, 9).

(i) Use as ordinary singular (= stocking)

E.M.I.H.I.2.47(204) my legge would shewe well in a silke hose

(ii) Singular form, but plural meaning (as in modern English)

C.H.M.2(437) He is attir'd in round Hose, long Stockings, a close Doublet (probably here = breeches)
G.M.714(588) Do-do-downe like my hose
K.E.W.155(796) apparelled in a yellow Canvas Doublet, cut, a greene Jerkin, and Hose (so 252(800)).

(b) N.E. Collectives with plural form

Breech (O.E. mutated pl. brēc of fem. noun brōc). The word breeches in modern English has no singular, being used only with plural meaning for a pair, or more than one pair. This

plural has been known since early 13th C. But breech was itself a plural originally, and continued to be so used until 17th C, though it seems to have been regarded as a singular form in E.M.E. and was later used with the indefinite article alongside of, and with the same meaning as, the new collective plural breeches (cf. hose and hosen).

(i) Use of 'breech' (= pair of breeches) in old plural sense

Bart.F.II.5.114(53) with a patch o' your face; and a dosen i' your breech, though they be o' scarlet. (So probably II.2.68(43)).
G.M.862(594) Shee'l have a Taylor take measure of her britch (to rhyme stiche)

(ii) Modern use of 'breeches'

T.T.II.2.125(31) a paire of pin'd-up breech's, like pudding bags
" IV.2.66(67) Thy breeches yet are honest
D.A.I.1.52(166) Thy breeches of three fingers, and thy doublet all belly
Stap.M.I.3.3(290) I come to see what riches, Thou bearest in thy breeches
Mag.La.V.5.3(583) I ha' linnen breeks on (breeks is described in N.E.D. as a Northern and Scottish variant of breeches)
Al.E.239(128) attyred in a paire of breeches which were made to come up to his neck (so L.W.E.85(810)).
G.M.1336(610) A smock rampant, and that itches/ To be putting on the britches

7. Singular forms where now plural is used with same meaning (see also Appendix II, § 1(f)).

(a) Feature (O.F. feture) came into the language in 14th C. The singular use of this word with the same meaning as modern plural viz. 'bodily form' was in common use until late 17th C. Its use by Keats and Tennyson (see examples in N.E.D.) was probably a poetic archaism. In the restrictive meaning of 'lineaments of face' the singular was used as late as Trollope (1887). With both these meanings, features, the now prevailing form, has existed since 14th C, alongside of the singular form, found in Jonson.

E.M.O.H.V.2.39(568) every man was not borne to have my servant Briskes feature
Revels IV.1.52(101) I should have iudgement in a feature, sweet Beauties.
T.V.H.322(666) Who are the glories of the Time,/ Of youth, and feature too, the prime

(b) Fire-work. From the examples in N.E.D. this compound word, in the sense of a 'pyrotechnic display', began to be used in 16th C, both in the singular and plural; the latter is cited

for the first time from Gascoigne in 1575. The singular was used as late as Foote in 18th C, but has not survived. Jonson has both forms.

(i) Collective singular

E.M.O.H.V.4.47(577) I shall talke nothing but crackers, and fire-worke

(ii) Plural form

Stap.N.Induc.53(280) these carry no fireworkes to fright you

(c) Victual (O.F. vitaille, Lat. neut. pl. victualia) came into the language in 14th C. Franz (Shakespeare-Grammatik § 192) gives the collective singular the meaning of 'provisions', and the plural the meaning of 'food' (probably manufactured articles of food); but examples in the N.E.D. make the distinction difficult to maintain. The singular is now out-of-date. In the 19th C the plural was much used as a vulgar or dialect word, usually spelt 'vittles' or 'wittles'.

Cat.V.388(539) the great want/ Of corne, and victuall, forbids longer stay

(d) Auspice (Fr. auspice, Lat. auspicium), according to N.E.D., came to English in 16th C. It was at first used in the singular, but in the 17th C the plural form with the same meaning came into general use alongside of it. The plural auspices is now regular.

M.A.394(644) Still, still the Auspice is so good/ We wish it were but understood

8. Use of certain words in plural (see also Appendix II, § 1(g)).

(a) Original forms, now only historical

Novels (= novelty, news) from O.F. novelle dates from 15th C, and was used with plural form and singular meaning until 18th C. The singular form of the noun, with the same meaning, came into use in 16th C, but, except in the sense of 'fiction', did not survive the 18th C.

C.A.V.13.16(188) Count. What? peasants purchase Lordships?
Iuni. Is that any Novels sir?

Virginals (= musical instrument) from O.F. adj. virginal, dates from 16th C in English. How the plural came to be used for a single instrument is unknown, but it preceded the singular, which is found in the latter half of the 16th C e.g. Breton,

Wit's Trenchmour: 'Let me ever love musicke, though I cannot tune a virginall'. Jonson has only the plural form with singular function.

E.M.I.H.II.3.185(231) I can compare him to nothing more happely, then a Barbers virginals; for every one may play upon him.

Saturnals (= Saturnalia). The word, always used in the plural as in Latin, dates from late 15th C. The Latin original Saturnalia, now in use, came into the language a century later.

Cat.III.597(488) Len. When shall the time be, first?/ Cat. I thinke the Saturnalls.
P.R.V.42(480) it is now such a time as the saturnalls for all the world

Note: The modern form also occurs in Jonson:

T.V.H.41(657) O, we shall have his Saturnalia

(b) Plural forms where now singular is used with the same meaning

Hilts (O.F. strong masc. and neut. hilt). Both the singular and the plural form with singular meaning occur in Beowulf; the latter, with inflection -s, reappears in 14th C. The two forms were used side by side until 18th C when hilts, with singular meaning, fell into disuse.

Jonson does not use the singular form hilt at all; only the plural form with singular meaning.

E.M.I.H.III.4.147(251) ile run my rapier to the hilts in thee
E.M.O.H.IV.6.100(550) ranne him up to the hilts, through the doublet
Epic.IV.5.312(244) breake your head against the hilts

Aeneids. The N.E.D. does not cite this plural, but gives Caxton's obsolete form Eneydos, which may have suggested it. The plural is, however, more probably due to the fact that the epic consists of a number of books.

Poet.V.1.73(291) I doubt not, he hath finisht all his Aeneids. (The speaker is Augustus, and he is referring to Virgil.)

Funerals. The noun funeral is from O.F. funeraille, Lat. neut. pl. funeralia. The word was used adjectivally in Chaucer's Knight's Tale in the last quarter of 14th C. In the next century the noun appeared, the singular and plural forms being employed with the same meaning; the latter was in good use as late as 17th C. In French many nouns derived from adjectives were, and still are, used in the plural with singular meaning (see novels and virginals under (a)); French influence there-

fore accounts for funerals.

(i) Singular form

Stap.N.III.3.30(339) at a funerall,/ But opening the pot-lid, he made us laugh

(ii) Plural form with singular meaning

Sej.I.131(359) What his funeralls lack'd/ In images ... they had supply'd/ With honourable sorrow

Skirts (O.E. fem. scyrte). The N.E.D. does not separately group plural uses, except in the sense of 'the tail or lower portion of a man's coat'. The plural use in the 16th C in connection with women's apparel may have included the under-skirt, now called a petticoat; but this unlikely in the first citation from Jonson, unless the two skirts were of unequal length. The plural form seems to have singular meaning.

Epic.III.2.73(203) as I was taking coach to goe to Ware ... it dash'd me a new sute all over (a crimson sattin doublet and blacke velvet skirts). The speaker is Mistress Otter.
Stap.N.Inter.II.15(323) Iniquity came in like a Hokos Pokos, in a Iuglers ierkin, with false skirts, like the Knave of Clubs!
T.V.H.90(658) and to salute the skirts/ Of her, to whom all Ladies else are flirts!
N.T.520(699) draw downe a cup of nectar, in the skirts of a night (figurative)

Furs. The noun came into the language probably from the O.F. verb forrer, 'to line or envelope'. The N.E.D. gives no example of the plural used with singular meaning. (Cf. Hairs below.)

Cat.IV.541(515) Cat. ... All our designes discover'd/ To this State-cat? Cet. I, had I had my way,/ He' had mew'd in flames, at home, not i' the Senate:/ I' had sing'd his furres, by this time (This is not the modern use of the plural for 'furred garments'. Jonson uses it metaphorically for the fur of an animal - state-cat).

Tripes (O.F. tripe). The word came into the language at the beginning of 14th C, and has always had two main usages: a collective singular for the name of the substance and a plural used for the individual thing, often with the indef. article. The latter use is now rare, but an example is given in N.E.D. as late as 1880; it probably fell away because, when served as a dish, tripe is generally thought of as a collective substance, and not as an individual article e.g. in the following examples where modern English would write the singular instead of the plural.

Bart.F.II.3.15(46) gave out I was dead ... of a surfet of botle ale and tripes

Stap.N.V.5.47(379) O! they but rise at mention of his tripes.

Logicks. The source is the Gk. adj. λογικος. The plural τα λογικα for the subject as a branch of philosophy was in general use, and may have given rise to Lat. singular logica, first used by Cicero. English logic (14th C) comes through Fr. logique (13th C). The plural (probably to be explained by analogy with ethics, metaphysics, mathematics) first appears in the N.E.D. in 1637; the last use is in the middle of the 19th C. The Magnetic Lady was acted in 1632.

Mag.La.I.2.44(517) Is sawcy in his Logicks, and disputing.

Note: Jonson also uses the singular :-

T.V.H.402(668) But, heare his Logicke, he will prove

Silks (O.E. strong masc. sioloc). Since 16th C the plural has been in use for (i) a particular make of silk cloth, and (ii) a garment or garments made of silk (including silk stockings) (see N.E.D. I.3). Watts-Dunton used the plural in the former sense in 1897.

E.T.5(154) a gloomie obscure place, hung all with black silkes

Hairs (O.E. strong neut. hǣr). N.E.D.(I.1.b) shows that the plural of this noun was used collectively for the aggregate of hairs growing on the skin of an animal or the human head from L.O.E. to the early 19th C (cf. Lat. crines, Fr. les cheveux).

M.Black.32(170) sixe Tritons ... their upper parts humane, save that their haires were blue

Cf. Pope, Iliad X.19 He rends his hairs in sacrifice to Jove.

Lightnings. The word dates from 14th C and was, in its earlier history, frequently used in the plural; also in the singular after the indef. article a (see examples under 1 in N.E.D.)

Chlor.159(754) raise Tempest, Windes, Lightnings, Thunder, Rayne, and Snow

(c) Use of plural with abstract nouns

W.Franz (Shakespeare-Grammatik § 196) says that early N.E. showed a strong tendency to use abstract conceptions in the plural. Though the tendency probably reached its climax in 16th C, the use dates from O.E., where it was very regular, especially in poetry (e.g. Elene 29, meardum ond mihtum). It is also common in Chaucer and many writers of the 15th C.

Though abstract plurals were not infrequent in the 18th C (Sheridan, for instance, has a few) they are now out-of-date, unless they belong to the special group noted in § 9, in which the plural forms have developed special meanings e.g. spirits, effects, moneys etc.

E.M.O.H.III.7.5(516) my sleepes shall be broken. (So Sej.IV. 519(436), Stap.N.I.5.71(295) and Mag.La.II.6.9(539). N.E.D. only has plur. with more than one person.)
Hymen.169(215) The Geniall bed, where Hymen keepes/ The solemne Orgies, void of sleepes (so K.E.W.298(801)).
E.M.O.H.III.7.18(516) here bee sweet rascalls for a man to credit his whole fortunes with (Prob.= wealth. So Alch. III.3.53(352) and N.Inn Charac.33(403). With the meaning wealth, plural form with singular meaning is now obsolete.)
" V.1.68(565) I would the gentleman would returne for his follower here, I'le leave him to his fortunes else (= chance happenings. This usage is not uncommon in modern English.)
Epic.I.3.19(173) Then railes at his fortunes, stamps, and mutines, why he is not made a counsellor (= bad luck. So Sej.V.320(449). Rare in modern English.)
E.T.18(154) And all his fortunes, and himselfe engage/ Unto a seat, his fathers never knew (= substance, conditions of life)
G.M.338(576) owe theire fortunes unto you,/ At least what they good fortune call? (= good luck)
E.M.O.H.III.9.68(525) Troth, sweet ladie, I shall ... studie more officious, and obsequious regards to your faire beauties (So V.2.4(567). Not noted in N.E.D. See also M.Qu. below, strengths).
Revels I.3.25(52) If my behaviours had been of a cheape or customarie garb. (Both singular and plural were in use in 16th and 17th C - see examples in N.E.D.).
" II.1.6(63) let's studie to be like cracks, practise their language, and behaviours
" I.4.39(55) Sir, I feare I may doe wrong to your sufficiencies in the reporting them (so II.3.109(73). Both this example and the following are quoted in the N.E.D. (4b) with the obsolete meaning of 'accomplishment', which did not appear to survive 18th C.).
Poet.I.2.126(213) It shall never put thee to thy Mathematiques, Metaphysiques, Philosophie, and I know not what suppos'd sufficiencies
" I.2.234(216) O sacred poesie .../ What profane violence.../ Hath here been offered thy divinities. (Not noted in N.E.D.)
" IV.2.33(264) where are your habilities (= abilities) to make us two goddesses (Cf. Shakes. Othello III.3.2 I will do all my abilities in thy behalf.)
" V.3.394(309) that should purge/ His braine, and stomack of those tumorous heates (N.E.D. has examples from 14th - 19th C.)
Sej.V.310(448) till our owne cohorts/ Can be brought up, your strengths must be our guard. (The use of the plural for 'military forces' was common in the late 16th and early 17th C. It occurs also in Shakespeare. But the other meaning 'power' is also found in Jonson, as the succeeding examples show.)
Cat.II.294(464) Fulvia, you doe know/ The strengths you have upon me; doe not use/ Your power too like a tyran
" III.783(494) th' unbated strengths/ Of a firme conscience
D.A.I.4.35(173) his owne great, and catholike strengths,/ In arguing, and discourse
M.Qu.2nd Ded.32(281) enquire into her beauties, and strengths (so M.A.397(644)).
Volp.I.3.43(33) Keepe thé poore inventorie of your iewels,/ Your plate, and moneyes. (So Cat.II.194(461); Cat.III.730 (493) and M.O.169(786) moneys; Stap.N.II.3.41(310) monеies; T.T.IV.2.63(67) and Mag.La.II.6.39(539) monies; Mag.La.IV. 3.9(567) money's. The pl. form which dates from late 14th

C, has three significances (1) sums of money (abstract) (2) coinages (concrete) (3) same meaning as collective singular money. The first is still in use, though only legal and official; the second was at any rate still employed in late 19th C; the last, which is Jonson's usage here, is now obsolete. Both Shakespeare and Scott placed usage (3) in the mouths of their Jewish characters, which may account for the unlikely theory that it was a corruption of illiterate Jews, who often pronounced the word monish - see N.E.D.4)

VolpII.1.94(48) I/ Had my advises .../ From one of their owne coat, they were return'd. (= Information. N.E.D. says plural is confined to communications coming from a distance, but gives no example earlier than Steele in The Tatler. The only other examples are from Wesley and Macaulay; but cf. also Burns Tam o' Shanter.)

" III.3.16(70) this feat body of mine doth not crave/ Halfe the meat, drinke, and cloth, one of your bulkes will have. (The only pl. examples in N.E.D. are in the concrete sense of trunks, either of tree or body. Cf. Ober.233(349) fetch'd some trees, to heave/ Up your bulkes, that so did cleave/ To the ground. The use in Volpone is abstract.)

" V.12.86(133) My ruines shall not come alone. (The plural in the concrete or figurative sense is common, but not in the abstract, which seems to be confined to late 16th and early 17th C.)

Alch.IV.2.14(366) Come neere, my worshipfull Boy ... make thy approches. (So N.Inn.III.2.58(453). The first use of the plural given in N.E.D. in this sense is dated 1642. The only example after 17th C is figurative, 'the approaches of sleep'.)

Cat.IV.746(522) Can these, or such, be any aides, to us. (Not noted in N.E.D.)

L.R.203(383) whatsoever is enterpris'd without my aides

M.A.91(632) friends, that have ... presumed, out of their own naturalls, to fill up the vacuum with some pretty presentation (= Natural gifts or powers of mind. The adjective natural (O.F. natural, Lat. naturalis) came into the language in the 14th C, but the plural substantival use only dates from 16th C. It was common in the following century, but is now obsolete.)

Note: Jonson has both the sing. charge (= cost) and the plural charges (once with singular function). The singular is a little earlier than the plural, dating from 15th C. According to the N.E.D., the meanings of the two forms are indistinguishable. It is doubtful whether the editors are correct in claiming that both are now archaic.

(i) Singular form

E.M.O.H.IV.8.10(556) his estate will beare the charge

Cat.Read.10(432) Be anything you will be, at your owne charge

D.A.I.3.18(171) I shall put your worship to no charge

Stap.N.I.5.31(294) Now all that charge is sav'd (so I.6.19 (299)).

P.A.141(533) at his owne charge, brings his Philosopher with him

T.V.H.116(659) Triumphs in print at my admirers charge. (So K.E.W.188(798)).

(ii) Plural form

E.M.I.H.V.3.244(283) ile have the calfe drest for you at my charges

E.M.O.H.II.1.73(461) I'le have a tombe (now I thinke on't) 'tis but so much charges (singular function)
F.I.185(713) Without the fortunate purse to beare your charges

9. Means, Thanks, Exequies, Nuptials, Revels, Times, Tidings, News, Pains, Manners. (See also Appendix II, § 1(h)).

These are conveniently grouped together, because of their common use in N.E. as plural forms, though they may be singular or plural in meaning, according to circumstances. They are abstract nouns, but differ from the group found in § 8(c) in that the plural forms have persisted in modern English. Function is in each case determined by sense or concord.

(a) Mean, means. From Chaucer to the 19th C the singular mean (from O.F. meien) was used in the sense of 'method', 'instrument', alongside of the plural; but the form is now archaic.

(i) Singular form

E.M.I.H.I.1.9(197) Could I (by any meane) retyre my sonne
" (F)I.2.123(310) Nor practise any violent meane, to stay/ The unbridled course of youth in him (F_3 1692, means. The correction in the third folio suggests that by the end of 17th C the singular form was already archaic.)
S.S.Argu.II.39(26) discovereth her ill nature, and is a meane of reconciling them all

(ii) Plural form, but doubtful function

E.M.I.H.III.3.76(245) and I could by any meanes compasse it
" III.3.79(245) I goe in danger of my death every houre by his meanes
D.A.I.3.4(171) want some little meanes,/ To keepe me upright
Stap.N.I.2.78(288) What may my meanes do for thee?
K.E.509(99) danger being so wholly deprest, and unfurnisht of all meanes to hurt
G.M.283(574) Y'are a man of good meanes

(iii) Plural form, but singular function

Sej.III.311(403) The meanes that makes your greatnesse, must not come/ In mention
Volp.I.2.39(29) And. A good dull moyle. Nan. And how! by that meanes/ Thou wert brought to allow of the eating of beanes?
Epic.IV.4.119(233) But there was other meanes us'd.

(iv) Plural form and plural function

Sej.III.293(402) His meanes are cleane destroy'd
Mag.La.III.5.21(554) Where there are meanes, and Doctors

(b) Thanks, O.E. strong masc. þanc (orig. = 'thought', later, 'kindly feeling for services rendered'), was used in plural early in 14th C. Possibly adverbial use of gen. sing. þances may have influenced the form. The last recorded use of the sing. in N.E.D. is from Rogers, Naaman, 1642, 'Is this the thanke which

you returne to God?'. An example of the plural form with sing. function occurs in Hawes Past. Pleas. (see N.E.D.I.4.b); but this is now archaic. Thanks preceded by indef. article a was not uncommon in 16th C.

(i) Singular form

Alch.I.1.78(297) have I this for thanke?
S.S.I.7.7(24) It is too good/ For these course rustick mouthes that cannot open,/ Or spend a thanke for't
Al.E.82(23) I con you thanke yet,/ That you could so well deceive her (The expression con you thank(s) is derived from O.E. þanc cunnan. Thanke is a noun, not an infinitive.)

(ii) Plural form and singular function

Poet.IV.7.34(284) thus, without a thankes, to be sent hence?
Alch.I.2.141(307) What else is thankes?
Mag.La.II.5.22(536) be return'd/ A thankes, as ample as the Curtesie (So II.6.128(542))

(iii) Plural form and plural or doubtful function

N.Inn II.6.41(436) Divide the thanks with me?
S.S.I.7.11(24) Shee'll 'turne us thankes at least!
G.M.25(565) You'll finde within no thanks, or vowes, there

(c) Exequies. O.F. exequies, Pr. exsequias, Lat. exsequias (acc. plural of exsequiae, from the verb exsequi). The normal form exequies arrived in England in 14th C; it was soon treated as a singular and given a new plural exequises; in 15th C a new singular exequie appeared, lasting till 17th C. Jonson has the regular plural, which is now alone in use, though obsolete.

S.S.I.5.58(19) all the Cope was darke,/ As it were hung so for her Exequies!

(d) Nuptials. Fr. nuptial, Lat. nuptialis. In French adjectives ending in -al, used as nouns, were generally put in the plural (c.f. funerals, § 8(b)). The word nuptial appeared in English as an adjective at the end of the 15th C. It was not, according to the N.E.D., used as a noun until the middle of the next century, and it then appeared in the plural with singular meaning, the commonest usage until the present day. At the end of the 16th C it also appeared in the singular, and was still so used at the end of 19th C. Jonson has both usages.

(i) Singular form

L.T.C.189(741) And all/ That blesse, or honor holy nuptiall

(ii) Plural form and singular function

Revels V.3.59(37) they are here properly accommodate to the nuptials of my schollers haviour
Cat.I.34(436) make emptie way/ For thy last wicked nuptialls (So IV.326(508)).
Hymen.914(240) Honor to all, that honor nuptialls

(e) Revels. O.F. revel. The N.E.D. gives no example of plural form with singular function except one meaning 'the office of Master of the Revells.'

(i) Singular function

Revels I.1.95(47) Diana ... hath here ... proclaim'd a solemn revells, which ... shee will descend to grace.

(ii) Doubtful function

V.D.232(470) They Danc'd with Ladies, and the whole Revells followed

(iii) Plural function

Revels I.1.107(47) during the interim of these revells
P.R.V.318(490) They Daunce wth the Ladies: and ye whole Revells follow

(f) Times. O.E. tīma. Used in both singular and plural throughout N.E. Jonson has the plural with both singular and plural function.

(i) Singular function

E.M.I.H.(F)I.2.95(309) the times hath sent us forth

(ii) Plural function

E.M.O.H.Induc.265(437) according to the elegancie and disposition of those times, wherein they wrote
Mag.La.Induc.87(510) Wee see not that alwayes observ'd, by your authors of these times
F.I.346(719) To memorie of these times

(g) News. First used by Wyclif (1382). The N.E.D. describes this as a plural of the adj. new (O.E. nīwe), on the analogy of O.F. novelles (15th C English novels - see § 8(a)). It is not, therefore, a parallel development with Du. nieuws, which is a partitive gen. sing. The word is now used in English with plural form, but singular function; but from 15th - 19th C news was frequently used with plural function e.g. Shelley, Essays and Letters, 'There are bad news from Palermo'. Abundant use of the word is made in Jonson's Staple of News and News from the New World Discovered in the Moon the plural function being employed with somewhat greater frequency than the singular function.

(i) Singular function

Stap.N.I.2.26(286) Tho. To enter all the Newes, Sir, o' the time, Fas. And vent it as occasion serves!
" I.4.9(293) that's newes indeed
" I.5.30(294) And dish out newes,/ Were't true, or false
" I.5.48(295) when Newes is printed,/ It leaves Sir to be Newes
N.Inn Argu.81(400) the Court dissolves, upon a newes brought
Mag.La.IV.5.9(570) I have a newes for you

(ii) Plural function

Stap.N.I.2.52(287) From all regions/ Where the best newes are made
". I.2.77(288) Sort, and file/ And seale the newes, and issue them
" I.4.2(292) where are the Newes/ That were examin'd last ?
" I.4.4(292) Are those newes registred
" I.5.52(295) The very printing of them, makes them Newes
" I.5.105(297) 'Tis as Newes come in
N.N.W.2(513) brave newes! 1 Her. Newe as the night they are borne in
" 49(515) Newes, that when a man sends them downe to the Shieres

(h) Tidings. Probably from O.N. tíðindi (neut.pl.), and not from L.C.E. tīdung. (The word tīdunge, however, was the first to appear in 11th C.) The singular form tiding was used until the beginning of 13th C, when the plural form appeared. Although the singular occurred sporadically until 19th C, the plural form predominated in N.E., and usually with plural function. Jonson, however, has singular function.

Mag.La.II.6.159(543) Here comes good tydings! Dinner's o' the board.

(i) Pains. O.F. peine. In the special sense of 'trouble','difficulty' this word has the same forms as means: a singular (from 1300), a plural with sing. function (from 16th C) and a plural with plural function (from 16th C). The last is still in use, but both the singular usage and the plural with singular function did not survive 18th C.

(i) Singular form.

This is not found in Jonson, but occurs in a contemporary, Phineas Fletcher:

Purple Isl X.40, A thousand Knights woo'd her with busie pain

Cf. Shakes.Sonnet 38.14 The pain be mine, but thine shall be the praise.

(ii) Plural form with plural or doubtful function

Mag.La.IV.5.18(570) The newes will well requite the paines
S.S.II.6.51(36) There Scathlock, for thy paines, thou hast deserv'd it
G.M.1086(602) carbonado'd, and Cookt with paines

(iii) Plural form and singular function

Epic.V.4.213(269) You are beholden to 'hem, sir, that have taken this paines for you

(j) Manners. O.F. maniere. The word manner (= conduct, behaviour) was in frequent use by Chaucer and later writers, but this singular form and function fell into disuse in 16th C. The plural, with restrictive meaning of 'the observance of the social proprieties', was in frequent use in the same century, both with singular and plural functions, which they retain today. Jonson has singular function

Bart.F.V.4.136(125) there's manners indeed (Cf. Shakes.Lear V.3.234, quoted Appendix II, § 1(h)).

Note: For riches see § 1.

10. Voicing of medial fricatives in plural. (See also Appendix II, § 2)

In M.E. nouns of native origin whose stems ended in a voiceless fricative generally changed the latter to the corresponding voiced form when the plural inflexion -es was added. Thus f > v, s > z and þ > ð. Largely because z was written s and ȝ was written þ, this voicing of medial fricatives, though retained in speech, fell away in the orthography of Standard English; but it lingered on sporadically in the case of v. French loan-words whose stems ended in f were not as a rule affected, e.g. chiefs. Some of the latter, e.g. proof (O.F. prouve), suffered unvoicing when the final -e was lost, and then retained the unvoiced fricative in the plural. Belief, from an O.F. stem, was treated in the same way in 16th C, by analogy with these. But native words were treated inconsistently, and it is only in L.M.E. that some attempt has been made to standardize these plural spellings. Hence the frequent occurrence of double forms in Jonson.

In O.E. the medial voiceless fricative seems to have been regularly voiced between vowels or between a diphthong and a vowel. In L.M.E. and E.M.E. other developments took place :-
If the stem-vowel was orignally short, as in cliff, the voiceless

consonant was retained in the plural; staff, however, has a double plural staffs and staves (O.E. stafas), but the meaning of the two is now different.

Where the radical vowel was [ū], written oo, from O.E. ō, f was retained in the plural; but this has only taken place since 16th C, hooves and rooves being regular before then, and still in use as archaic and poetic plurals. Stems ending in the consonant combination -lf invariably took -lv in the plural, though many voiceless stem-finals occurred, and are still rarely found, for instance in elfs and shelfs.

Stems ending in the consonant combination -rf in E.M.E. generally took -rv; but in modern English -rf is preferred. Double plurals are still permitted in the case of wharf. The word scarf has normal plural scarfs, but since 18th C has shown a preference for scarves, being the only word of foreign origin which changes f to v.

The following is an analysis of examples found in Jonson :-

A. Words of Native Origin

1. Stems with originally short vowel followed by -f

Staff (O.E. stæf)

The N.E.D. says that the voiced plural staves is now obsolete, except in cases where a singular stave has been developed from it.

Stap.M.V.3.32(373) throwing bed-staves at her
Ober.94(345) give you yvorie staves,/ When you hunt
C.T.185(294) cracke kisses in stead of staves
M.A.364(642) the Augures layd by their Staves

2. Stems with originally long vowel followed by -f

The plural is generally voiced, the single exception being that of roof. From examples in the N.E.D., it appears that the unvoiced plural roofs was uncommon before the 17th C. It is now the regular plural.

(a) Voiced plural

C.A.III.5.3(146) they may come in/ Like simple woers, and be arrant theeves (O.E. þēof)
Cat.III.727(492) these domesticke traytors, bosome theeves
Mag.La.III.6.145(560) Which is in Cowards wounded mortally,/ Or Theeves adjudg'd to die
Poet.I.2.246(217) And beats at heaven gates with her bright hooves (O.E. masc. hōf)
N.Inn II.3.4(428) Drive in againe, with the Coach-leaves put downe (O.E. strong neut. lēaf, pl. leaf. The

plural -ves appeared in 13th C*)
T.V.H.123(659) Fish-wives staid their cry! (O.E. wīf)

(b) Unvoiced plural

Pan 63(114) Walls, windores, roofes, towers, steeples, all were set/ With Severall eyes (O.E. hrōf)
E.T.82(156) To frame new roofes, or build his dwelling higher

3. Stems with originally long vowel followed by -fe

Sleeve (O.E., N.W.S. slēf, W.S. sliēf (strong fem.) or sliefe (wk.fem.)).

The -f- was voiced in the O.E. wk.fem., owing to final -e. Hence the -v- of the M.E. singular, a spelling adopted in 13th C. A singular slefe is, however, found until the 15th C.

N.Inn V.1.16(479) had his velvet sleeves,/ And his branch'd cassock
K.E.W.248(800) White sleeves, and Stammell Petticotes

4. Stems ending in -lf (preceding vowels all short)

The plural is generally voiced.

(a) Voiced plural

N.N.W.234(520) they are turn'd Moone-Calves by this (O.W.S.neut. & masc. cealf)
K.E.W.102(795) Which they dig out fro' the Delves (i.e. trenches. M.E. delf, L.O.E. dælf, probably an aphetic form of gedelf = digging, ditch. The earlier singular was delf, but delve was used alongside of it from 16th - 19th C.)
Stap.N.Prol.20(282) make a difference twixt Poetique elves (O.E. masc. ælf)
S.S.II.8.53(41) span-long Elves, that dance about a poole!
Al.E.49(122) you, and all your Elves doe meet
Ober.224(349) these mine Elves/ Might have stolne you
Stap.N.I.2.45(387) His Deskes and Classes, Tables and his Shelves (Low German schelf, cognate with O.E. scylfe, of uncertain meaning).
Sej.II.273(384) wolves do change their haire, but not their harts (O.E. wulf)
M.F.I.1.33(61) Peares, Tigers, Wolves, and all those beasts of Prey

(b) Unvoiced plural

Half (O.E. healf)

From examples in the N.E.D., the most common plural from 14th C appears to have been the voiced one; but

* According to the N.E.D. the now obsolete adject. leaveless for leafless was influenced by the N.E. plural leaves. Only three examples are cited, between 1581 and 1638. Jonson has an example in 1608:
M.Beaut.17(181) in his hand a leave-lesse Branch
On the other hand the now poetical leavy was the earlier and more normal form than leafy. It was in use from 15th - 19th C, Tennyson being very partial to it.

unvoiced plurals halfes, halfs were not infrequent from 15th - 18th C (See 17th C citations in N.E.D. under II.3.a)

T.T.III.5.7(49) cut me in halfes

(c) Both plurals

Self (O.E. self strong, selfa weak)

In M.E. the regular plural from 12th - 15th C was selve(n). Selfs appeared in 15th C and soon replaced the plural in -ven; but its use was practically confined to the E.N.E. period; by the time of Shakespeare and Jonson the voiced plural in -ves was the normal one. Only one unvoiced plural occurs in Jonson, as late as 1620.

(i) Unvoiced

E.Black.144(773) make an end betweene your selfes
(but in L.92(772) we find your selves)

(ii) Voiced

Volp.I.2.69(30) Selves, and others merry-making
E.Black.92(772) will you open your selves thus
K.E.W.103(795) For their Bairnis-bread, Wives, and selves

5. Stems ending in -rf

The plural is unvoiced.

V.D.65(465) Some that are tall, and some that are Dwarffes
(O.E. dweorh > M.E. dwerȝ > E.N.E. dwarf. Examples in N.E.D. show that voiced plural is extremely rare.)
P.R.V.170(485) Honors dwarffs
N.T.288(690) A brace of Dwarfes

B. French Loan-Words

Double plurals occur more frequently in French borrowings.

1. Stems originally ending in -f

(a) Unvoiced plural only

Cat.V.49(528) the punishment,/ Due to their mischiefs
(O.F. meschief)
Poet.Reader 9(317) in these strifes (O.F. estrif, vb. estriver)
Stap.N.II.5.10(319) sowes all my strifes
Had.M.299(258) little strifes, and warres

(b) Both plurals

Grief (O.F. masc. grief)

(i) Voiced

Voiced plurals appeared from 14th - 17th C. N.E.D. suggests influence of parallel O.F. feminine noun grieve.

C.A.I.9.11(120) Passions duld eye can make two griefes of one
Poet.I.3.63(219) his griefes doe grow upon him

(ii) Unvoiced

C.A.II.4.24(131) Griefes are more fit for Ladies
Poet.II.2.55(228) Speake they of griefes (So IV.9.62(288)).
C.A.II.5.43(34) Report not you your greifes
Hymen 760(235) What griefes lie groning on the nuptiall bed?

2. Stems originally ending in -ve

Proof, Reproof (O.F. prouve)

Both plurals occur.

(i) Voiced

C.A.IV.4.11(155) your merit is confirm'd/ With such authenticall and grounded proves

(ii) Unvoiced

Volp.Ded.56(18) What broad reproofes have I us'd
D.A.V.3.77(266) The proofes are pregnant

3. Stems ending in -rf

Scarf (prob. from O.N.F. escarpe, though not found in English until 16th C). Only the unvoiced plural occurs. The voiced plural did not become universal until 18th C.

Alch.I.1.171(301) In his old velvet ierken, and stayn'd scarfes
Stap.H.III.4.49(342) What velvets, tissues, scarfes, embroyderies
N.Inn IV.4.320(478) Why, take your spangled properties, your gown,/ And scarfes
C.H.M.4(437) his Scarffes, and Garters tyed crosse
V.D.66(465) some that weare scarffes
G.M.53(566) five little/ children bound in a trace of scarfes
K.E.M.245(800) drest like an old May-Lady, with Skarfes

11. Archaic plurals in -en. (See also Appendix II, § 3).

The O.E. masc., fem. and neuter nouns of the weak declension all took -n in the nom. and acc. plural, and in spite of the general spread of -s plurals to all declensions and genders during the transition, a number of these passed into M.E. with the plural -en, and some even survived 14th C. In 16th C some of these -en plurals were used in Standard English in words employed mainly for archaic or poetical effect. As a provincialism the old weak plural lasted much longer. The only modern literary forms are oxen, and the double plurals, kine, children and brethren. In modern English

the last is used only for members of an order or group, e.g. Plymouth brethren*; but in 16th and 17th C it served also for modern brothers.

(a) E.M.O.H.III.6.17(508) rear'd his eyen to heaven. (O.E. wk. neut. ēāge) Used by Carlo Buffone in a couplet, probably to parody mediaeval verse.
Pan.129(116) And now the dame had dried her dropping eyne (Used as rhyme-word with shine in following line.)
G.M.1218(606) Ere the milcke mayd fine/ Have opend her eyne

(b) P.A.263(537) So may the first of all our fells be thine,/ And both the beestning of our Goates, and Kine (O.E. cū). The archaic, and probably double, plural kine made its appearance in the South in the 13th C. The corresponding Northern form was cy: (For Jonson's use of kie in S.S. II.2.6(28) see Appendix I, § 2)
G.M.1216(606) And to milcke the kine,/ Ere the milcke mayd fine/ Have opend her eyne

(c) Sej.IV.248(426) your mother is acus'd/ To flie for succours ... to the armie, with your brethren (= brothers)
Cat.III.736(493) Shall, like the brethren sprung of dragons teeth,/ Ruine each other
Mag.La.III.4.58(551) Then you have many brethren, and neer kinsmen
K.E.330(93) In his grave name, and all his brethrens right,/ .../ The councell, commoners, and multitude
Had.M.63(251) For here ... he late hath beene,/ With divers of his brethren, lending light (The reference is to Cupid.)

12. The Possessive Genitive. (See also Appendix II, § 4).

Introductory. By 'possessive genitive' is meant the originally inflected form of the case that denotes ownership. The sign of this genitive is now 's.

We read in Aelfric's Colloquy (early 11th C), a manual intended for Latin conversation among his students, Ic heortan mannes gestrangie with the interlinear Latin gloss Ego cor hominis confirmo. This could be translated into modern English in two ways: (1) I strengthen man's heart, or (2) I strengthen the heart of man. The final choice would depend upon the particular rhythm required by the writer. In the first case we have the inflected possessive genitive; in the second a substitute, or analytical, genitive, which is really made up of the preposition of + a noun in the accusative case. The object possessed, in this case 'heart', is called the governing noun. The rule for modern English is that the inflected possessive always precedes the governing noun, while

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* Cf. Jonson's use:
N.N.W.209(519) The brethren of the Rosie-Crosse have their Colledge within a mile o' the Moone

the substitute genitive must come after it.

In O.E., when inflexions largely determined the functions of words in the sentence, order was not of the same significance as it is in modern English. Thus the possessive genitive could appear before or after the governing noun; but it has been estimated that the proportion of post-possessives to preceding possessives is only about 10%. In M.E. the use of the inflected genitive in post-positions gradually became archaic and was practically lost by the middle of the 15th C.

The Substitute-Genitive.

The substitute-genitive proper was not employed in O.E. Usages such as the following do, however, occur:

Exodus II.1 Æfter þisum fōr an esne of Levies hīwrædene ond nam wīf on his āgenum cynne = 'After this a servant of Levi's household went and took a wife from his own kin.'

This of denotes source, origin or birth; in the true sense of 'possession', of is not found in O.E. It was not until the 13th C that the substitute genitive proper came into general employment. The O.E. use of of, just described, may have suggested it; but it was mainly under the influence of the French preposition de, which had taken the place of the Latin genitive, that the usage became widely extended. The construction was part of the general transition from the synthetic to the analytical nature of the language. Situations arose when it was difficult to express the old syntactical relations formally, and prepositional constructions took the place of inflexions in the structure of the sentence.

The main interest of the substitute-genitive in this study is its employment with the inflected genitive as a double form (see examples under A.3).

History of the inflected possessive

As in the case of the plural, the masc. -es ending was applied to the genitive sing. of all genders and declensions in M.E., and by 14th C was the regular inflexion of Standard English. Very rarely the O.E. fem. inflexion -e was retained, as in Chaucer's 'herte blod', a phrase also found in Shakespeare and Jonson. In 15th C the scribes began quite commonly to write the genitive ending -is or -ys; e.g. Paston Letters)1443) my moder and I wer

nowth in hertys es. Owing to the unstressed nature of inflexions, however, the vowel was quite early elided in colloquial speech except after -ch and -s or other sibilant or affricative stem-finals. (It may be noted that the same syncope took place in the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. of notional verbs e.g. rides, but seizes). The result was, in effect, the 's of the possessive of modern English nouns, even although the apostrophe was sometimes used where no vowel had been elided at all. But the account does not end there; unfortunately the apostrophe ('), as an orthographical* convention for the elided vowel, was late in appearing, viz. 17th C. The N.E.D. notes that as late as 1725, the use of 's was still quite irregular.

Evolution of 'his' in place of inflected possessive

As early as L.O.E. his was used after a noun instead of the possessive genitive inflexion, much as se is used in Afrikaans. The following are a few examples :-

c.1000 Ælfric, Numbers, XIII, 28 Wē gesāwon Enac his cynryn = we saw Anak's kindred
c.1275 Layamon, 29589, Amang þe king his cnihtes
c.1387 Trevisa, trans. of Higden's Polychronicon To fore Noe is flood
1662 Book of Common Prayer this we beg for Jesus Christ his sake

This use of his (often spelt hys in M.E.) spread in the 14th C and continued until the middle of 18th C, archaic examples being found even in 19th C (see citation in N.E.D. from Carlyle's Past and Present). The possessive pronoun his tended to lose its aspirate in M.E. when it occurred in unemphatic positions, and was then no longer distinguishable from the -is, -ys inflexion of the genitive singular of nouns. The confusion which arose led to scribes detaching the latter from the substantive and prefixing an h which they did not actually pronounce. Wyld (H.M.C.E., p.315) considers that this was the reason for the retention of the inflexional vowel in many literary works, when it was clearly syncopated in the spoken language e.g. writers wrote the kinges (-is -ys) castle when they said the kings castle. More probably, however, the

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* Orthography = spelling in accordance with the accepted standard of an age.

sounded vowel was retained because of its metrical usefulness in supplying the necessary syllables of a line, as in Shakespeare's "To show his teeth as white as whales bone" (L.L.L); though modern prosodists would not agree that even here it was necessary to secure the poetic effect of the verse (cf. Shakespeare's "Swifter than the moons sphere" (M.N.D.).

In the late 16th and early 17th C his instead of the genitive inflexion seems to have been used mainly (a) in cases where the latter would be phonetically clumsy, as in nouns ending ⌊s⌋, ⌊z⌋, ⌊Is⌋ or ⌊Iz⌋, e.g. Sir Bevis his horse, Mars his sword, and (b) as an elegant form in works of a literary character where writers thought it advisable to avoid a colloquial contraction like 's, as in the Book of Common Prayer 'for Jesus Christ his sake'. It is interesting to note that Dr. Lowth in his Short Introduction to English Grammar (1762) wrote that this last "is a mistake, either of the printers, or of the compilers". He was evidently unacquainted with the history of the construction.

Some writers used his when they wished to interpose a phrase between the governing noun and the possessive e.g.

Chaucer: Here endith the man of law his tale.
Pepys, Diary, Aug.12, 1667. Do hear Mr.Cowly mightily lamented his death, by Dr.Ward ... as the best poet of our nation.
H.Walpole, Historic Doubts (1767) King Edward the Fourth his death

One 17th C writer, Harrington, was inconsistent enough to use his after a feminine noun e.g. Mrs.Sands his maid. But this was exceptional, as earlier writers invariably had the good sense to suit the possessive pronoun to the gender and number of the subject.e.g. Bacon, Adv. of Learn 278 'Pallas her glass'; Egerton Papers (289) the Pope and Emperor of Germany ther Ambassadors.

Rise of modern apostrophe -s

This alternative use of the possessive pronoun was no longer necessary in the new development which took place in the late 17th and early 18th C. The obsolescence of his instead of the genitive inflexion coincides with the rise of 's for all genders of the singular. A small adaptation, the apostrophe after final -s, made it available also for the plural. As Jespersen has shown in Progress in Language (§§ 244 and 247) 's ceased to be a strict in-

flexion like -s for the plural number, but became an interposition (partly suffix and partly prefix) connecting two words, and belonging as much to the one succeeding, as to that preceding it. In fact its evolution with group possessives (e.g. the Prince of Scotland's castle) shows that it is now more necessary to have it before the thing possessed than directly after the real possessor. The function of 's has, indeed, become so loose that it is now like an agglutinative ending in other languages, leaving the form of the word to which it is attached unaffected*. Sometimes it is not even attached to any word in particular, but to a parenthetical phrase, e.g. Lord Nuffield (then Mr. William Morris)'s assistance was asked. It is noteworthy that it took several hundred years to separate this special function of 's from the manifold uses of the O.E. inflected genitive.

Jonson's Usage.

The various threads of the foregoing history are caught up and illustrated in Jonson's practice. The variety of ways in which the possessive genitive could be expressed in the 16th and 17th C (also their verse utility and orthcgraphical inconsistency) is well illustrated in a single passage from The Alchemist, first acted in 1610, (II.1.89-104(317)).

> I have a peece of Iasons fleece, too,
> Which was no other, then a book of alchemie,
> Writ in large sheepe-skin, a good fat ram-vellam.
> Such was Pythagora's thigh, Pandora's tub;
> And, all that fable of Medeas charmes,
> The manner of our worke: The Bulls, our fornace,
> Still breathing fire; our argent-vive, the Dragon:
> The Dragons teeth, mercury sublimate,
> That keepes the whitenesse, hardnesse, and the biting;
> And they are gather'd, into Iason's helme,
> (Th'alembeke) and then sow'd in Mars his field,
> And thence sublim'd so often, till they are fix'd.
> Both this, th'Hesperian garden, Cadmus storie,
> Iove's shower, the boone of Midas, Argus eyes,
> Boccace his Demogorgon, thousands more,
> All abstract riddles of our stone.

No passage from Shakespeare could offer the wealth of interest here for the student of the possessive genitive. Apart from the

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* By agglutination is meant an originally independent element combined with a word in such a way as to involve a less intimate relation than that of the ordinary inflexion. In primitive speech, such as the native languages of South Africa, however, it is difficult to say where agglutination ends and inflexion begins.

inconsistent orthography Iasons and Iason's, the obvious mistake in Pythagora's, the uninflected forms Cadmus and Argus, we have a sprinkling of the apostrophe before s, which does not occur at all in contemporary** texts of Shakespeare. It is clear that we must account for Jonson's use, however irregular, of the apostrophe, alongside of Shakespeare's non-use. The first and most obvious reason is that Jonson was far more exacting and precise in the matter of punctuation. In some of the plays, notably Cynthia's Revels, which he meticulously corrected, he is ultra-pedantic.

It is natural, at this point, to turn to Jonson's own Grammar. In Bk I, Chap.XIII, he speaks of the "genitive case, made in the singular number, by putting to s". Apostrophus (the word 'apostrophe' was apparently first used by Howell in 1642) he defines in Bk II, Chap.I, as "the rejecting of a vowel from the beginning or the ending of a word. The note whereof, though it many times, through the negligence of writers and printers, is quite omitted, yet by right should, and of the learneder sort hath his sign and mark which is such a semi-circle (') placed in the top". Of possessives, he writes (Bk II, Chap.II): "When two substantives come together, whereof one is the name of a possessor, the other of a thing possessed, then hath the name of a possessor the former place, and that in the genitive:

All man's righteousness is like a defiled cloth

Gower, lib.I:

An owl flieth by night
Out of all other birds' sight."

Jonson's quotations are interesting, but more so are the apostrophes, which he almost certainly did not insert. They are the improvement of subsequent editors. The conclusion is based on the following evidence: (1) Jonson in his grammatical definitions, just quoted, traces no connection between apostrophus and the possessive genitive inflexion s. (2) In the plays included in the first folio (1616), which were all carefully corrected by him-

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** The texts of Shakespeare used in schools and colleges are usually modernized in their orthography, a fact regretted by Jespersen.

self, apostrophe -s is extremely rare after nouns in the possessive, unless they happen to be proper names. The passage from The Alchemist, quoted above, makes this clear. The word Dragons, although written with a capital letter, is inflected s without any apostrophe. Note also the following examples taken at random from other plays :-

E.M.I.H.(F)I.2.51(308) What might the gentlemans name be
E.M.C.H.II.1.7(459) he would shew well upon a habberdashers stall
Revels IV.5.119(129) for my aunts sake

Examples are legion, and the omission of the apostrophe in the first folio plays cannot be attributed to the negligence of printers. Apostrophes were, however, carefully inserted where elision of vowels had taken place for other reasons (e.g. metre), and Jonson probably had not realized that the genitive inflexion -s was a syncope for -es. Quite a common theory for a hundred years after Jonson's death was that the genitive possessive -s was a contraction of his (see Addison's Spectator paper No.135).

The text of Jonson's Grammar has not yet appeared in the Herford and Simpson edition, but a critical introduction is found in Vol.II. The grammar was printed for the first time in the second folio of Jonson's works, dated 1640, and was modernized by an unknown editor for the third folio of 1692. Whalley and Gifford, who later edited Jonson's works, did not compare the texts of the two folios, and were under the impression that the third was merely a reprint of the second. Cunningham, whose edition, dated 1875, I have had to use, noticed the discrepancies in the two texts, but wrongly attributed the corrections to Gifford. (Cifford, in his introductory memoir, had admitted the removal of "barbarous contractions ... syncopes and apocopes which deformed the old folios.") J.T. Curry, in Notes and Queries, Sept.12th, 1914, pp.204-5 (The "Monstrous" Possessive Case and Ben Jonson) has shown (though sometimes on mistaken evidence) that the text of the second folio itself is corrupt. The critical text of Herford and Simpson is, therefore, much needed, and should clear up difficulties already noticed in regard to the use of the apostrophe.

The subject may now be conveniently set out under its various

heads :-

I. Genitive Possessive in Singular

A. Inflected Forms

1. After proper names

In the earlier plays the usage is uncertain. Thus we find in close proximity:

E.M.I.H.I.1.140(201) Prospero's invention (see also examples (a));
but
E.M.I.H.I.3.156(211) Prosperos elder brother (see also examples (b)).

Two plays, Every Man Out of His Humour and Cynthia's Revels were, however, corrected with more than ordinary care by Jonson for the first folio, especially as regards orthography and punctuation, and it is in these plays that the origin of his apostrophe after proper nouns becomes clear. He seems to have been a stickler for it after names of Romance-language origin ending in a sounded vowel e.g.

Cat.II.396(467) Such were the great Camilli, too;/ The Fabii, Scipio's (nom.plur.)

In his middle and later plays he used the apostrophe even in the plural inflexion of ordinary substantives similarly derived :-

Revels, Palinode 16 and 17(182) From perfum'd dogs, munkeyes, sparrowes, dildo's and parachito's.
Sej.I.533(372) Receive our speeches, as hyperbole's
" II.306(385) To gather notes of the precedent times,/ And make them into Annal's
Alch.II.2.81(320) My foot-boy shall eate .../ Knots, godwits, lamprey's (O.F. lamproie)
D.A.Prol.3(163) Yet, Grandee's, would you were not come to grace/ Our matter
N.Inn II.6.65(437) petard's,/ To blow us up
K.E.678(106) two magnificent Pyramid's
P.A.177(535) That leads the Naiad's, and the Dryad's forth

The apostrophe was thus a spelling device for the omission of inflexional -e; felt to be necessary especially after alien words ending in -o, as in the N.E. plural heroes. Its use in the possessive was not necessarily an indication of case-function, but merely that writers intended syncope of the old inflexion -es. The full ending was, however, frequently written, though the e was not pronounced e.g.

Revels I.1.16(44) Apolloes bow (see also examples (c)).
E.Black.197(775) thou dryed eeles skin! (prose)

Having been used after Romance names with sounded final vowel, the apostrophe was applied by analogy to the possessive of similar nouns with silent final -e. These were mostly of French and Latin origin, and had become anglicised e.g.
Alch.II.1.102(317) Iove's shower (see also examples (a)2).
The apostrophe was also applied by analogy to proper names of native origin (see examples (d)); in other words, to proper names in general e.g.
T.T.III.5.72(51) Turfe's wife
This general application of the apostrophe to the possessive genitive of proper names had taken place before the date of publication of the first folio (1616); the first play in which it is conspicuous is Sejanus.

(a) Romance names with genitive inflexion 's

1. Sounded final vowel

E.M.I.H.I.1.140(201) Prospero's invention
E.M.O.H.V.3.22(572) sir Puntarvolo's dogge
Revels V.4.599(156) Apollo's goldy-locks
Sej.I.150(360) Pompei's dignity
Volp.II.7.17(66) We are invited to a solemne feast,/ At old Volpone's
Alch.IV.3.30(369) In D'Alva's time
Stap.N.IV.4.116(360) Pecunia's friends
N.Inn III.1.55(445) Iuno's milke
M.Beaut.244(189) the one Hebe's, the other Hedone's
M.A.379(643) Minerva's Hernshaw

2. Silent final -e

E.M.O.H.I.2.238(451) another minion/ Of the old lady Chance's (O.F. cheance). Ordinary substantive adopted as proper name. Note use of double genitive, as in modern English.
Alch.II.1.102(317) Iove's shower
S.S.I.3.46(14) Earine, O my Earine's loss!

3. Final consonant

Sej.I.146(360) But, for his life, it did as much disdaine/ Comparison, with that voluptuous, rash,/ Giddy, and drunken Macedon's, as mine
" I.151(360) Caesar's spirit
M.Black.209(175) Since old Deucalion's daies

(b) Romance names with genitive inflexion -s.

C.A.V.8.6(177) Was this your drift? to use Fernezes name?
Revels V.6.9(161) Cynthias shining orbe (F_2 Cynthia's)
" V.11.6(175) Dianas thankes
Alch.II.1.93(317) Medeas charmes

(c) Romance names with genitive inflexion -es

These are mainly from the meticulously revised play, Cynthia's Revels. The insertion of the apostrophe for e in the bracketted forms was, however, the work of the editor of the second folio, published shortly after Jonson's death.

Revels I.1.16(44) Apolloes bow (F_2 Apollo's)
" I.1.108(47) Dianaes maides (F_2 Diana's)
" V.5.38(159) Cynthiaes sports (Q Cynthias, F_2 Cynthia's)
Sej.III.245(401) A net of Vulcanes filling, a meere ingine
G.M.30(566) Ptolomees fingers (F_2 Ptolome's)

(d) Native or anglicised names with genitive inflexion 's

T.T.III.5.72(51) Turfe's wife
E.M.I.H.(F)III.1.81(340) for Mr.Wel-bred's sake
" (F)III.5.87(355) St.Iohn's woort (so T.T.II.2.86(30) and Mag.La.V.8.13(589))
Epic.II.4.93(190) sir Iohn Daw's madrigalls
Alch.I.2.17(303) Reade's matter
" III.4.143(355) an old Harry's sovereign. Unusual inflexion of proper noun used attributively. In the same context 'six-score Edward shillings' and 'an Elizabeth groat' the names are uninflected.
Bart.F.V.5.20(133) The Master of the Rebells hand, thou hast; Satan's! (orig. through Greek from Hebrew vb. satan = to plot against, oppose)
Stap.N.I.5.83(296) Shew him the last Rowle,/ Of Emissary Westminster's
N.Inn Argu.3(398) Sylly's daughter
Mag.La.III.6.191(562) a God's name
" V.4.17(583) Mr.Compasse's getting
S.S.Prol.16(9) a Tale/ Of Robin-hood's inviting
L.R.174(382) Love's ensignes
M.A.125(633) What talke you of England's joy, Gentlemen?

(e) Native or Anglicised Names with genitive inflexion -es

E.M.I.H.III.1.171(237) Sir Bevisses horse
C.H.V.214(444) old Christmasses heire (O.E. Cristes masse. Christmas is a character in the Masque. In the title, however, Jonson employs the possessive of personal pronoun: Christmas his masque.)
G.M.95(568) And the finer walled places,/ As St.James'es (duodecimo Jameses)

2. 's after ordinary substantives

There are but few examples in the plays up to Catiline, which were those revised by Jonson himself for the printer of the first folio.

C.A.I.7.53(117) What call you your hind's name count Ferneze? (O.E. pl. hine = servants)
" IV.1.22(147) Marry with my Lord's leave here (O.E. hlāford)
Sej.II.434(390) there's no gaine, but vertu's (O.Fr. vertu, Lat.virtus)
" IV.161(423) Whose splendor cheer'd the world, and heat gave life/ No lesse then doth the sunne's (O.E. sunne)

Alch.II.3.68(323) Mam. That's your crowes-head? Sur. Your cockscomb's, is it not? (O.E. comb)
" IV.1.43(360) a poore Baron's daughter (M.E. barun < O.F. barun < late Lat. baro)
Bart.F.II.5.65(52) 'twas in the behalfe of your Booth's credit, that I spoke (M.E. bōþe, O.Icel. būð)
Stap.H.II.3.37(310) To take away the poore's inheritance? (M.E. poure < O.F. povre < Lat. pauper). As here employed, the word is really an adj. used as a collective noun, with singular form, but plural function. (Cf. G.M. 867(594) the poores box)
N.Inn II.6.8(435) Speake the host's language (O.F. oste had identical form in 13th C M.E. The new spelling host (14th C) owes its aspirate to Par.Fr. hôte)
" III.2.63(453) Here in Love's lists (O.E. str. fem. lufu)
Hymen.412(224) quakes to touch her Fridegroom's side (O.E. brȳdguma, the second element superseded by M.E. grome, from O.N. gromr = boy)

3. Inflexion added to substitute genitive (i.e. double genitive)

A good deal of discussion has centred round the origin of the type-expression 'a friend of the king's'. Various theories have been put forward by Maetzner, Kellner, Einenkel, v.d. Gaaf, Den Breejen and Jespersen, the most explicit being that of the last. Though it may, as the N.E.D. suggests, have arisen as a partitive genitive, its use has been extended. Consider the example 'that beautiful face of the teacher's'. 'A friend of the king's' can be interpreted 'a friend from among the king's friends' and is then partitive; but we cannot speak of the teacher as having one beautiful face among many faces. According to Jespersen, this is no longer a partitive, but an appositional genitive (see M.E.G. Vol.III, § 1.5). He compares it with the Latin genitive of description. "Of in all these cases", he says, "may be said to be simply a grammatical device to make it possible to join words which it is for some reason or other difficult or impossible to join immediately ... if we want to assign a definite meaning to this of, we may say that it means 'who is' or 'which is'." 'A friend of the king's' = a friend who is the king's (appositionally expressed: 'a friend, the king's friend').

This construction was to be found with the absolute possessive pronouns, e.g. 'a friend of mine', as early as 14th C; with nouns it is not common until 16th C. It is, of course, in quite frequent employment today. Jonson has

several examples, both with and without the apostrophe.

E.M.O.H.I.2.238(451) another minion,/ Of the old lady Chance's
Alch.V.4.110(400) The iewell of the waiting maides,/ That stole it from her lady
D.A.IV.5.11(244) Because this bus'nesse of my wives, requird mee
Stap.N.I.5.83(296) Show him the last Rowle/ Of Emissary Westminster's
N.Inn III.2.86(454) It is a fable of Plato's, in his Banquet
Mag.La.III.6.93(559) O, you ha' read the Play there, the New Inne,/ Of Ionsons
G.E.65(567) running away with a kinsman of our Captaines
K.E.N.289(801) the comming in of an Officer, or servant of the Lord Lieutenants

Note: An example occurs also in the plural

M.O.172(786) With all the Bills and Bands/ Of other mens in his hands

4. Inflected genitive with inanimate objects

This subject is functional, and its proper place is with syntax. For the sake of convenience it is treated here.

Jespersen (E.E.G. § 14.8) says that the substitute genitive is now the rule with names of lifeless things, except recognised compounds (e.g. statesman), countries personified (e.g. England's darling), in certain idiomatic phrases (e.g. a stone's throw) and in poetry (e.g. Shakespeare's my minds eye). 'A stone's throw' is interesting, because stone cannot be the possessor; the genitive is strictly not possessive, but descriptive; so is states in statesman. The inflected genitive with inanimate objects is much commoner in Shakespeare, Jonson and their contemporaries than it is today. Jonson has examples in prose as well as verse, and the genitive is both of the objective and subjective kind.

(a) Subjective

E.M.I.H.V.1.50(271) When all thy powers inchastitie is spent
E.M.O.H.Induc.128(433) I know the times condition
T.V.H.174(661) calls him the times Juvenal
E.M.O.H.II.1.13(220) at the yeares end (Prose; probably idiomatic, and still in use.)
" Revised conclusion to Qq.30(604) their pleasures Pattent
Mag.La.I.1.17(513) I love not so to multiply acquaintance/ At a meales cost
Al.F.232(128) This was the first nights shew
E.H.26(137) of earth's store/ These two, onely, are the wonder

M.Beaut.406(194) So all that see your beauties sphaere,/
May know the' Elysian fields are here
Had.M.394(262) fit to last an ages light
M.A.125(633) What talke you of England's joy (line 126 Englands sport)
L.T.C.68(737) onely by the minds eye, may bee seene/
Your enter-woven lines of good

(b) Objective

The objective genitive is determined by its passive relations to the governing verb-noun. It is now generally denoted by the preposition of, though inflected examples occur e.g. Mr. Smith's defeat by the liberal candidate came as a surprise. Onions (Advanced English Syntax § 92) holds that the inflected objective genitive is poetical; but it has been common in prose at least from the latter half of 16th C to the present day.

Mag.La.I.6.20(524) would no more worke upon him,/ Then Syracusa's Sack, on Archimede

(c) Descriptive

The inflected descriptive genitive is still found in modern English in phrases which have been given idiomatic sanction. They have been well described by Den Breejen as fossilized forms e.g. (time) today's account of the battle; (distance) a stone's throw. Strictly these are not possessives, but are included here because the apostrophe in modern English indicates that they are now so regarded.

Epic.I.1.158(169) He would have hang'd a Pewterers 'prentice upon a shrove-tuesdaies riot
D.A.I.1.156(169) Not shift, untill the midnights cocke doe crow
Mag.La.I.1.21(513) By some the greatest States-men o' the kingdome
G.M.754(590) under a hedge in a whole sõmers day

B.Use of Possessive Pronoun 'his' instead of inflexion

Jespersen calls this the make-shift genitive (see Progress in Language § 252). It is convenient to consider the subject here, though it belongs to the syntax of the possessive pronoun. How the latter first came to be used is doubtful. Its survival from M.E. seems to be explained by its general utility for one of the following reasons :-

It was either (a) thought to be the more elegant, because the

non-colloquial, construction, (b) used as an alternative to the uninflected possessive of proper nouns ending in [s] - see E.4, (c) used after alien words and proper names generally e.g. Mars his sword, (d) used after groups considered too unwieldy for the ordinary inflexion, or (e) resorted to for the sake of metre. Jonson's usages are usually of the (b) class. Strangely enough, he describes this possessive construction with his in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XIII) as "monstrous" - a fact which induced Curry (Notes and Queries Sept.12, 1914, p.205) to assume that Jonson, in his own literary works, could not have been guilty of it. Curry concluded that it "must be attributed to the editors of the folio of 1640". The Herford and Simpson text, however, shows that this was not the case. Jonson himself passed it in revision.

E.M.I.H.(F)III.4.36(352) Sr Bevis his horse (Ital. version had Bevisses. Jonson, in revision, apparently disliked the array of ss at the end of the possessive).
E.M.O.H.II.5.9(487) master Fastidius his company
Revels I.1.15(44) Mars his sword. (It seems to have been conventional always to use his after Mars, cf. Alch.II.1.99(317) Mars his field. Yet the plural Marses is found in line 61(316) of the same scene.)
K.E.570(101) Mars his guest (so also ~~11~~ 585 and 592(102) Mars his moneth; Mars his statues)
Epic.IV.5.201(241) Aiax his invention [-ks]
Alch.II.1.103(317) Boccace his Demogorgon (also required by metre)
Stap.N.III.2.37(328) See but Maximilian/ His letters to the Baron of Bouttersheim (required by metre)
N.Inn Ode 60(494) tuning forth the acts of his sweet raigne:/ And raysing Charles his chariot, 'bove his Waine. (So K.E.W. 343(803))
M.F.Title(55) Mortimer/ His/ Fall (Favoured by Jonson as the more dignified form for titles of plays cf. Seianus his Fall).
E.H.Superscription(136) At Sir William Cornwalleis his house, at High-gate
M.Beaut.Marginal note k(188) alludes to Pythagoras his comment
Had.M.353(260) The device and act of the scene, M.Ynigo Iones his (So M.Qu.37(283))
C.H.M.Title(437) Christmas, His Masque (but cf. line 214(444) old Christmasses heire)
K.E.W.270(800) Grafted upon Stub his stem

C.Voicing of medial fricatives before genitive singular inflexion

In M.E. the same rule applied to the genitive singular as to the nom. and acc. plural, viz. that nouns of native origin, whose stems ended in a voiceless fricative, generally changed the latter to the corresponding voiced form when the inflexion -es was added. Thus f > v, s > z, þ > ð (see § 10). Except

in the case of f and v e.g. wife, pl. wives, orthographical conversion of this kind fell away in the N.E. period, even though the distinction was often retained in speech e.g. path, pl. paths. In the genitive singular, however, voicing declined even with f in the N.E. period, and was eventually lost; thus wives gave place to wifes. In such words modern English keeps the stem-final f throughout the singular, and v throughout the plural (save in those plurals where f has been standardized as the correct spelling). This levelling was not the work of rule-loving grammarians who desired consistency. How then did it happen? Wyld, when he says (H.M.C.E. p.323) that there is in N.E. "no historical reason for the distinction between the Possess. sing. and the Plural", overlooked the one given by Jespersen (Progress in Language, see reference under 'Rise of modern apostrophe -s' above). Placed behind a word or phrase, 's acquired a new syntactical function almost independent of the word to which it was attached and very like the old use of his. When this new function was realized, it became unnecessary to alter the original form of the word in order to make it a possessor, and at that stage wife's began to supersede the old genitive wives. But the plural inflexion could only be attached to the word itself, and affected no part of its function in the sentence, except number. Therefore wives tended to remain.

The conditions under which f > v in the genitive, though inconsistently observed in the late 16th and 17th C, were the same as applied to the plural (See § 10). Whatever the origin of the word, Jonson generally uses the voiced spelling, the exception being wifes.

1.Words of native origin

(a) Voiced genitive only

T.T.IV.3.24(69) to a Calves head (O.W.S. neut. and masc. cealf)
Stap.N.V.5.11(377) You would dye a calves death faine
Alch.II.1.59(316) on a knives point (O.E. masc. cnīf)
T.T.II.2.113(31) what kind/ Of fellowes were they? Hil. Theev's kind (probably genitive plural, O.E. þēof)
Sej.IV.298(428) Not tempting the wolves iawes (possibly genit. pl., O.E. masc. wulf)

K.E.503(99) Besides her lies a torch out, and a sword broken ... with a net and wolves skinne

(b) Both genitives (found only with wife, O.E. neut. wīf.)

(i) Voiced (usual)

T.T.I.4.32(19) Will strooke downe my wives udder of purses, empty/ Of all her milke money
C.A.I.9.81(122) imploy'd about my dear wives safety
E.M.I.H.I.2.103(206) an old Ale-wives pewter (So III.3.22(343) and V.3.28(276))
E.M.O.H.V.8.8(588) Your wives brother
Poet.II.1.64(222) i your tother wives time
D.A.I.2.47(170) lend him my wives wrought pillowes
Mag.La.V.3.30(582) About recovery o' my wives portion
G.M.882(594) A Cuckould you must be, and that for three lives,/ Your owne, the Parsons, and your wives

(ii) Unvoiced (rare)

E.M.I.H.III.4.193(253) wifes minion (Uncorrected in F_1 IV.3.35(369); but F_3 has wives. This correction shows that the voiced form was still in good use in the late 17th C).
S.S.II.8.28(40) make Ewes cast their Lambs! .../ The House-wifes Tun not worke!
E.Black.138(773) Manye a good thinge, passes through the Midwifes hand

2.Words of foreign origin

Voiced genitive only is found, presumably by analogy with words of native origin.

Sej.V.74(439) a beeves fat (O.F. boef, came into M.E. in 13th C)

D.Group genitives

The matter is fully discussed in Jespersen's Progress in Language, Ch.VIII, and is an important factor in his theory that 's has evolved from a mere inflexion to an agglutinative suffix-prefix.

Phrasal groups are made up in different ways, some of the more obvious being appended.

1. Two nouns compounded

In modern English it is usual with compound nouns, joined by a hyphen, to inflect the last element only. Jonson has an example with both elements inflected:

Mag.La.V.7.86(588) We met at Merchants-Taylors-hall, at dinner

Note: The inflected possessive genitive with the first element of the compound name kings-fisher was regular until the latter half of the 17th C. An example occurs in the

first of Jonson's Entertainments :

K.E.461(98) on the top of it sate a Halcion or kings-fisher

2. Two nouns connected by preposition

Chaucer has 'the god of slepes heyre'; but examples of groups inflected in this way are rare until 15th C. Even then the construction was avoided by fastidious writers, e.g. Lord Berners, the kynges daughter of England, and Shillington, my lord of Excetre is tentantis. By the 16th C, however, the end-inflected group was a well established usage. Its employment in titles was by far the most common. As with proper names, Jonson employs the apostrophe indifferently e.g.

Bart.F.V.5.18-20(133) Lant. I have the Master of the Revell's hand for't, Sir. Busy. The Master of the Rebells hand, thou hast, Satan's!
N.Inn II.5.109(434) he told us,/ Of one that was the Prince of Oranges fencer

Sometimes, however, Jonson reverts to the type of Lord Berners, placing the governing noun immediately after the possessive:

T.T.I.1.26(12) faire Awdrey,/ Th'high Constables Daughter of Kentish Towne
N.Inn Argu.3(398) The Lord Frampul ... was married yong, to a vertuous Gentlewoman, Sylly's daughter of the South

Note: Where the second noun ends in [s], the construction with his (noted in B) may be resorted to :-

Bart.F.I.4.84(30) Iustice of Peace his wife

3. Two nouns joined by 'and' or 'or'

(a) Where both elements are inflected

This was the original construction, dating from O.E. Examples in Jonson are rare.

Cat.V.66(529) trust the Senates, and Romes cause to heaven
M.A.377(643) And to thy peace/ Addes Fortunes, and the Fates increase (Fates has, of course, only the -s inflexion of the plural number.)

(b) Where the first element only is inflected

This class is equally rare and is usually adopted for some special purpose.

E.M.I.H.I.1.137(201) Be it but for the styles sake and the phrase. (The omission here is probably for metrical reasons, to avoid an extra syllable)

(i) Both inflected

Mag.La.I.1.3-4(513) Here at a noble Ladies house i th' street,/ The Lady Loadstones

(ii) First only inflected

Mag.La.I.4.54(520) so she married still/ With my good Ladies liking here, her Aunt
" I.4.60(520) In Sir Moath Interests hands, my Ladies brother

(c) The governing noun succeeds both elements of the appositional pair

The second element only is inflected:

T.T.I.7.33(25) For the young Squire, my Masters sake

Note: In the following example the second element is uninflected, like the first, because it ends in -s (see E)

M.A.304(640) Thy Father Phoebus fury filleth thee

5. Combinations with the adverb 'else'

Originally O.E. elles (= other) was a neut. adjective in the genitive case. It seems to have been used adverbially quite early; and both with nouns and pronouns or equivalent phrases. The former combination (noun + else), as found in Jonson below, is now obsolete. Else is used only after interrogative and indefinite pronouns, adverbs and the conjunction or, and it may mean either 'different' or 'additional'.

Used after indefinite pronouns in modern English else forms a quasi-compound and itself takes the genitive inflection, e.g. somebody else's hat. The first instance of this end-inflection, cited in N.E.D., is from Pepys's Diary (see l.d.). Jonson's use of man is, of course, the equivalent of the modern indefinite pronoun one.

M.O.43(782) Though his sword were twice so long/ As any mans else in the throng

E. Uninflected Forms

Some nouns were uninflected in the gen. sing. in O.E. e.g. brōðor, mōdor, dohtor. With these there passed into M.E. the strong feminines with O.E. gen. inflexion -e, still written in M.E., but often not pronounced. Finally there were the O.E. weak nouns, whose gen. inflexion was -an (M.E. -en); the final -n was weakened and lost, probably in E.M.E., e.g. Chaucer

'in his Ladye grace' (O.E. wk. fem. hlǣfdige, gen. sing. hlǣfdigan); this genitive still survives in modern English 'Lady chapel'. Most of what were originally uninflected or silently inflected genitives are now regarded as compounded with the governing noun e.g. Shakespeare's 'heart blood'. Such compounds are what Sweet (N.E.G. Vol.I § 440) calls 'free groups', not 'group-compounds', in which the group is so rigidly fixed as to make new substantives.

But by far the largest group of uninflected genitives in M.E. is found in possessives of classical names already ending in -s, pronounced [s] or [z] *. In the 15th C the practice of leaving these possessive genitives uninflected was extended to nouns other than proper names with similar sound-endings, (spelt s, ss, ce, se etc), a survival of this being the N.E. 'on horseback'. The reason must have been euphony, which probably also prompted the omission of the inflexion before nouns beginning with s-, e.g. in 'for peace sake'. Only the word sake has, however, retained this influence since 16th C, as Wyld's examples in H.M.C.E. (pp.316-7) show.

In modern English the best writers add 's at the end of nouns ending in a sibilant e.g. Moses's law, Pepys's diary; rightly, because in both an extra syllable is actually spoken. But there are still die-hards for the form 'Moses' law',** which should only be employed for euphony in poetical or reverential passages. Jonson has many examples of the uninflected genitive :-

1. Nouns whose gen. sing. was uninflected in O.E.

Epic.I.4.32(175) She is my kins-woman, a La-Foole by the mother side (cf. Stap.N.IV.4.11(357) by the Fathers side, I come from Sol)

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* Proper names not of classical origin (or only indirectly of classical origin), ending in s , generally took an inflexion; even although, as in the first example below, the inflexion was probably not intended to be pronounced.
Mag.La.IV.6.30(572) But run the words of Matrimony, over/ My head and Mrs Pleasances in my Chamber (The metre does not require the inflexion, which adds an extra syllable)
" V.10.122(595) Bias's money
G.M.95(658) the finer walled places,/ As St.James'es
K.E.W.250(800) Master Accidence's Daughter

** See Herford & Simpson, Introd. to G.A.R., Vol.VII,p.420: Pallas' speech

Note: The foregoing example is exceptional; usually Jonson has the inflected possessive :-

G.M.924(596) a Mill sixpence of my Mothers (intrusive final -s of absolute possessive)
L.F.F.39(809) every Mothers sonne of you (So 127(812))

2. Genitive inflexion -e of O.E. strong feminines lost in M.E. or later (cf. N.E. Lady Chapel)

E.M.O.H.III.3.41-2(500) sit in the cold at the staire foot for her (O.E. str. fem. stǣger). N.E.D. gives examples of uninflected gen. in this compound from 15th - 19th C, alongside of inflected stairs-foot from 16th - 19th C, the latter form being the rarer.
Mag.La.V.1.12(579) They burnt old shoes, Goose-feathers, Assafoetida (O.E. fem. gōs of minor declensions; gen.sing. gōse was found beside normal gēs)

3. Genitive inflexion -an of O.E. weak nouns weakened and lost in M.E.

E.M.I.H.IV.3.31(264) Beshrew your hart blood (O.E. wk.fem. heorte, gen.sing. heortan. The posses. gen. 'herte blod' is used by Chaucer. See also Franz (S.G. § 201) who shows how Shakes. folios supply -s after heart and other words)
Poet.I.2.246(217) And beats at heaven gates with her bright hooves (O.E. wk. fem. heofone)
Hymen.898(239) a curious bunch of golden kayes,/ With which heaven gates she locketh

4. Classical names ending in -s uninflected in possessive genitive since M.E.

C.A.I.9.24(120) if I had Fortunatus hat here
E.M.I.H.V.3.297(284) In Sommer time when Pheobus golden rayes
" (F)III.3.35(339) Symmachus epistles
E.M.O.H.IV.8.29(557) Adonis gardens
Revels V.11.152(180) Tagus streame (cf. Shakes. Tiber banks*)
K.E.312(93) With sands more rich than Tagus wealthy ore?
Sej.I.152(360) Wise Brutus temperance
Alch.II.1.102(317) Argus eyes
" II.2.38(319) a back ... that shall be as tough/ As Hercules
Stap.N.III.4.1(340) I thinke I was borne under Hercules starre!
Cat.V.235-6(534) nor I, should need t'have fear'd/ Lentulus sleepe here, or Longinus fat,/ Or this Cethegus rashnesse
N.Inn I.3.62(412) Learne there, the Centaures skill ... or Pollux mystery, to fence?
Pan.20(121) And the dame hath Syrinx grace!
L.M.M.211(460) Love will sweare/ Never to force them act to doo/ But what he will call Hermes too

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* Franz (see S.G. § 202) shows as a generic proper-noun group such possessives as 'Tiber banks' and 'Tewksbury mustard'. Abbott Shakespearian Grammar, § 22) thinks these possessives are nouns used as adjectives. Tewksbury designates a variety of mustard, and is almost certainly an adjectival usage; but Tagus and Tiber, as above employed, are hardly descriptive.

Examples of proper nouns used adjectivally occur not infrequently in Jonson :-

E.H.118(139) And all that Hybla hives do yeild
M.Black.259(177) And let them, 'fore the Britaine men,/ Indent the land

Sometimes the incorrect placing of the apostrophe before the -s reveals confusion with the inflected group A.1(a)∝.

Sej.I.181(361) Drusu's wife
" IV.251(426) Sejanu's plots
Alch.II.1.92(317) Pythagora's thigh

The folio emendations to the following example from Revels are an interesting epitome of the development of the apostrophe :-

Revels V.4.199(145) Amorphus head (F_2 Amorphu's, F_3 Amorphus's).

Note: Native or Anglicised names ending in [-s] are often treated in the same way as classical names.

E.Black.30(770) I look't upon Charles wayne t'other night

5. Other nouns ending in [s] and [z] uninflected in possessive genitive since 15th C

Apparently on the ground of euphony, many nouns ending in a sibilant have been uninflected in the possessive genitive since E.N.E. Regular exceptions to this practice in 16th C seem to have been the words prince and grace* Jonson himself usually confines the practice to disyllabic words with unstressed second syllable**. In modern English all nouns ending in [s] and [z] (except in certain circumstances before sake - see 6) take the inflexion.

E.M.I.H.(F)III.3.115(349) your mistris brother (the -ess suffix of feminines is of French origin)
Revels V.5.409(159) knowledge of the Goddesse mind
Bart.F.II.1.1(39) in Iustice name
M.Beaut.3(181) it was her Highnesse pleasure (So M.Qu.1st Ded.10(279) & M.O.83(783). Cf.Shakes.Cymbeline I.3.38 The Queene (Madam)/ Desires your Highnesse Company. O.E. hēahnes was a strong feminine, so that this may be an old -e inflexion lost in M.E. or later - see 2)
P.A.92(532) Hee drawes teeth a horse-backe in full speed (So G.M.78(567))

6. Uninflected possessives before the word 'sake'***

This again was dictated by euphony. As in the preceding,

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* Jonson has e.g.
N.T.299(691) in Graces street

** Spouse, sex and other monosyllabic words, ending in [s] and [z] are inflected:
Hymen.498(227) Beneath her spouse's bed
M.V.237(416) Is that your sexes humor?

*** Jonson has a single example of the uninflected possessive genitive before a sibilant-commending noun other than sake:
N.T.485(697) Why doe you weare the Silkewormes toyles;/ Or glory in the shellfish spoyles? (The reason here is metre)

where the possessor-noun ended in [s] or[z] the inflexion was not added in 15th, 16th and 17th C e.g.

Grammar, Bk.II, Ch.2: All trouble is light, which is endured for righteousness sake
Volp.V.4.47(119) For discourse sake
Cat.II.87(457) For Venus sake
K.E.".321(802) Is good, for goodnesse-sake

To avoid the awkward conjunction of final and initial sibilants, modern English has retained the practice, but only when the possessor is a common noun and the inflexion, if added, would make the word a syllable longer than its nominative case (See Fowler M.E.U., p.511) e.g. for goodness' sake, for peace' sake; but for Jones's sake, for mercy's sake. The apostrophe is sometimes omitted after the uninflected forms.

In the case of nouns with other stem-finals, modern English demands the 's before sake e.g. for God's sake. But in the 15th and 16th C, when orthography was less exacting, it was permissible in stock phrases, such as this, to merge the possessive inflexion with the initial s of the following noun; in other words to drop it, as in fact we do in speaking, e.g. for God sake (which occurs twice in Shakespeare). Jonson has a few examples of this colloquial licence, but he is inconsistent :-

T.T.III.2.14(44) For luck sake speake
G.M.792(591) they'll come about us for lucke sake (preceding line has 'for mirthes sake'.)
E.M.I.H.V.3.112(279) for God sake (but in E.M.O.H.I.2.219 (451) we get 'For Gods sake')
D.A.I.3.36(172) I'll entertaine him for the name sake (But D.A.I.6.187(183) For the meere names sake)

Note: In circumstances other than those enumerated in the first paragraph, Jonson adds the inflexion e.g.

T.T.I.4.42(19) Ile ha'the joviall Tinker for To-Pans sake
E.M.I.H.I.1.137(201) for the styles sake
" (F)III.1.81(340) for Mr.Wel-bred's sake
E.M.O.H.I.2.219(451) For Gods sake (So T.T.II.2.29(28), C.A. IV.6.28(158), and Mag.La.IV.5.15(570))
" III.6.26(508) for lifes sake
D.A.I.6.187(183) For the meere names sake
Stap.M.II.1.20(305) for your good Graces sake ([-s], but see 5)
G.M.791(591) let's have a fit for mirthes sake
Chlor.51(751) for Heavens sake

7.Unexplained uninflected possessive (probably printer's error uncorrected by Jonson in F_1)

Pan.99(115) Where lawes were made to serve the tyran' will (Whalley corrected to tyrant's. Tyran (Gk Τύραννος) is the regular form in Jonson; both this and tyrant (intrusive -t) came to English through O.F. in M.E. period)

II.Genitive Possessive in Plural

Jonson in his Grammar, Bk I, Ch.XIII, remarks that "Nouns ending in z, s, sh, g and ch, in the declining take to the genitive singular i, and to the plural e." His theory, though vitiated in the examples he gives by the printer's careless spelling, is that the two forms were differently sounded :- gen.s. [prInsIz], gen.pl. [prInsɛ]. Seeing that the inflexion in the latter was also unaccented, the distinction is very improbable, and he himself says that it was not observed.

Orthographically Jonson's genitive plural, like that of writers before him, was identical with the nom. plural, which in turn was identical with the genitive singular.

C.A.III.1.18(140) lovers periuries are ridiculous
Poet.Reader 58(319) Since ill men have a lust t'heare others sinnes
Bart.F.I.1.41(20) they are the Players Gossips?
" II.3.16(46) cowes udders
G.M.867(594) On Sundayes you rob the poores box (plural adjective used substantivally)
K.E.W.33(792) The heart, that quickens ev'rything,/ And makes the Creatures language all one voyce

The uninflected form also occasionally occurs in the plural:-

N.Inn III.1.124(448) Soping of saddles, cutting of horse tails
Mag.La.Chor.II.63(545) Your two shilling worth is allow'd you

This lack of distinction caused a great deal of confusion, as it was usually necessary to refer to the context in order to ascertain whether a possessive was in the singular or plural. Occasions arose when it was extremely difficult to know what the author intended, and this circumstance may have aided the development of the apostrophe after the inflexional -s for the possessive genitive plural. It was not, however, until the earlier half of the 18th C that this became a convention. It could not have been written by Jonson, as Cunningham's edition of his Grammar would have us believe.

III.Summary of conclusions

The history of the modern possessive symbol 's starts in

O.E. as the masc. and neuter singular inflexion of strong nouns, which was applied by analogy to all genders in M.E. The alternative his arose partly through syntactical circumstances where the symbol of the possessor had to be separated from the noun itself in order to bring it nearer to the thing possessed. In 15th C, when -es was written -is, it became confused with the unemphatic and therefore unaspirated poss. pron. his. The apostrophe originally stood for elision of the vowel, but was irregularly used in Jonson's time except after foreign proper names ending in a vowel, whence it was extended to native proper names. Once the utility of the detachable or agglutinative function of 's was appreciated, especially in group substantives, its use was extended to all situations, and it became virtually a prefix of the governing noun, and only when identical with the old genitive inflexion a suffix of the possessive noun. Precision in the singular was not reached until the last quarter of 17th C, and the regular addition of an apostrophe after the final -s of the plural was adopted about the middle of 18th C.

13. Gender. (See also Appendix II, § 5)

The decline of the O.E. system of grammatical gender in M.E. was due to several factors, chiefly resulting from the loss of distinguishing inflexions. The suffixes then tended to lose their gender-signification; some were lost, and the rest became confused. The inflexions of the qualifying adjectives and demonstratives went the same way as those of the nouns and þe became the defin. article generally, instead of se sēo þæt, for masc., fem. and neuter. There was no alternative but to adopt the natural gender classification of N.E. Loss of grammatical gender, according to Wright (N.E.G. § 299), began in Northern dialects as early as L.O.E. It had invaded the Midland dialects by the early 13th C, thence affecting the S.W. dialects by 1350, and was universal by the end of 14th C.

Jonson's classification of gender (Grammar, Bk.I, Ch.X) is broadly that of modern English. But there are several noteworthy features :-

Angels and stars are understood to be of the masculine species. Months, winds and planets are, by personification, also masculine.

the masques and entertainments, personifications of abstracts are actual characters in the performance. Though the sex attributed is interesting, such instances are not included here*.

(a) Feminine Personification

(i) Abstract qualities or powers (usually fem. in Latin)

These are generally feminine, unless there is some special reason for making them masculine.

C.A.V.8.63(179) I, then in thy bosome lodg'd my soule/ With all her traine of secrets
E.M.I.H.I.4.165(218) Is't like, that factious beauty will preserve/ The soveraigne state of chastitie unscard,/ When such strong motives muster, and make head/ Against her single peace?
" I.4.209(219) first it begins/ Solely to worke upon the fantasie,/ Filling her seat with such pestiferous aire
" II.2.12(223) Yet can I not but worthily admire/ At natures art: who (when she did inspire/ This heat of life)
Stap.N.III.4.52(342) What need hath Nature/ Of silver dishes? ... or a numerous family,/ To see her eate?
E.M.I.H.II.3.93(228) I might see selfe love burned for her heresy
" III.3.29(244) the voice/ Drown'd in a flood of ioy at their arrivall,/ Had lost her motion
Poet.IV.9.19(286) Death cannot raze th'affects, shee now retayneth
Sej.III.324(403) he can escape your gripe/ That are but hands of fortune: Shee her selfe/ When vertue doth oppose, must lose her threats
Volp.IV.2.60(96) But, for your carnivale concupiscence,/ Who here is fled for liberty of conscience,/ From furious persecution of the Marshall,/ Her will I disc'ple
P.R.V.190(486) cessation of all iars/'twixt Vertue, & hir noted opposite,/ Pleasure
N.T.54(683) to satisfie Expectation, who is so severe an exactresse of duties

(ii) Earth and heavenly bodies

Examples that occur are feminine in personification.

Both Luna and Tellus were feminine in Latin.

E.M.I.H.(F)III.1.58(340) like the moone in her last quarter
Hymen.776(235) The moone, when farthest from the sunne she shines
E.M.O.H.III.6.123(512) it pleases the world (as I am her Tabbaconist) to give me the stile of Signior Whiffe

(iii) Other nouns

Poet.IV.8.4(285) Within the court, is all the kingdome bounded,/ And her sacred spheare doth comprehend/ Ten thousand times so much (O.F. cort, Lat. cohors, fem.)
" IV.8.22(285) And while evening, with her modest vaile,/ gives leave to such poore shaddowes as my selfe (O.E. æfnung fem.)

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* e.g. M.V.197(415) a glorious bowre, wherein Nature was placed, with Prometheus at her feet (Nature is a figure in the masque and follows with a song)

Alch.Pro.13-14(294) How e'er the age, he lives in, doth endure/ The vices that shee breeds (O.F. aäge, lat. aetas fem.)
Cat.V.440(541) Since they have sought to blot the name of Rome,/ Out of the world; and raze this glorious empire,/ With her owne hands, and armes, turn'd on her selfe (Fr. empire, masc.; Lat. imperium)
Stap.N.IV.4.24(357) Pec. ... blaze, Sir, that Coat./ Pye. She beares (ant please you) Argent, three leeks vert (M.E. cote, O.F. cote, med.Lat. cotta (fem.)).
" V.6.36(380) Are there no paines, no Penalties decreed/ ... to us that smother money,/ In chests, and strangle her in bagges? (Lat.fem. Moneta, 'the warning one', a surname of Juno, in whose temple in Rome coins were minted.)
S.S.I.6.3 and 6(21) How hath this morning paid me, for my rising!/.../ I did not halfe so well reward my hounds,/ As she hath me to day (O.E. morgen, masc., M.E. morwen + ing, by analogy with evening. The Latin equivalent was mane, neut. indeclinable.)
V.D.28(464) Our sports are of the humorous night,/ Who feeds the stars that give her light (O.E. niht, fem.)

(iv) Names of Cities

K.E.30(84) so the glorie and light of our kingdome M.Camden, speaking of London, saith, shee is (Lat.Londinium, neut.)

(b) Masculine Personification

E.M.C.H.II.2.31-32(223) if the power of reason be not such,/ Why do we attribute to him so much. (Masculine, because Jonson personifies Reason here as a feudal overlord - see line 25(223) Their liege Lord Reason.)
" Epil.26(600) Let forraine politie be dull as lead,/ And pale invasion come with halfe a heart,/ When he but look upon her blessed soile (A feminine figure would hardly have done in so warlike a metaphor)
Alch.II.3.59(323) I meane to tinct C in sand heat, to-morrow,/ And give him imbibition (All the classified concoctions of the Alchemist are referred to as masculine - probably a cant usage.)
Hymen.731-3(234) Love .../.../ In marriage, open his inflamed brest (see also following lines. In this passage Cupid is naturally referred to.)
P.N.V.58(481) the belly will not be talkd to, especially when he is full (the reference is to Comus, the belly god, in line 45)

PRONOUNS

Personal

14. Aphetic, contracted and colloquial forms. (See also appendix II, § 6)

(a) 2nd pers. sing.: th' and tho' for thou

(i) th'

Wright (Dial.Gram.,§ 404) says that the unstressed form of thou in dialects generally is [ðə] ; but that in North and N.Mid. dialects unstressed [tə] is found in interrogative and subordinate sentences. Tha + art early produced the form thart, which N.E.D. shows to have been in

use from 14th - 16th C. Th'art is merely a more accurate orthography; it is an unemphatic colloquialism, not confined to verse speech. Th' before hast or have is also common, but is used simply in verse elision.

(α) Verse

N.Inn II.6.102(438) Th'art not wilde, wench!
C.A.II.5.8(132) I do not thinke th'ast many some fourteene
Volp.III.8.9(86) Th'hast made me miserable
Alch.II.3.324(332) Th'hast witch'd me, rogue
K.E.732(108) But, as th'ast free'd thy Chamber, from the noyse/ Of warre and tumult
D.A.I.1.41(165) What kind wouldst th'have it of?

(β) Prose

Poet.I.2.45(210) Th'art in the right, my venerable cropshin. (The speaker is Capt.Tucca, prolific in his use of racy and colloquial forms.)

(ii) tho'

This seems to be used merely as a verse elision, before art and ha' (hast).

T.T.I.7.18(24) Tho'art none o' the Court-glories; nor the wonders/ For wit
C.A.V.12.6(184) Well Rachel: I am glad tho'art here againe
Alch.IV.7.94(385) How wouldst tho' ha' done, if I had not helpt thee out? (Although the verse ictus is not upon tho', it is more emphatic than ha' which follows it.)

Sometimes elision is indicated simply by an apostrophe after thou:-

Sej.V.366(450) Fortune, be mine againe; thou' hast satisfied/ For thy suspected loyaltie

(b) 2nd pers. sing. and plur.: y' and yo' for you

Wright suggests no dialect origin for these contractions.

(i) y'

This may be a weakened form of ye. It is an unemphatic colloquialism like th', and is used in prose as well as verse. It does not seem to occur before have.

(α) Verse

C.A.V.8.26(178) Are y'any other then a beggars daughter?
E.M.O.H.Induc.157(434) y'are tedious Sirs
Poet.Reader 154(322) Y'are undone then
Alch.I.2.82(305) Y'are mistaken, Doctor
Mag.La.V.7.40(587) I thinke y'are angry with me Pol.
G.M.283(574) Y'are a man of good meanes

(β) Prose

E.M.O.H.V.3.34(573) y'are but a man
E.Black.3(769) Sir, y'are welcome to the Forrest

Among Southern and Western writers a was common in unemphatic positions from 13th - early 17th C. It was much used by the 16th C dramatists as a colloquial form, especially after the popular archaic pret. quoth.

E.M.I.H.V.2.29(274) see here a comes
Poet.II.1.122(224) Citi-sin, quoth'a!
" III.2.16(243) 'Death! will a' leave me?
C.H.M.221(444) the knave will win,/ for a' is a Costermonger.

(d) 3rd pers. sing.: sh' for she

Wright (Dial.Gram., § 406) says that the unstressed form in general dialect usage is [ʃə] or [ʃʊ]. The loss of vowel in unemphatic colloquial positions must have resulted from further weakening. Sh' was in frequent use with Elizabethan dramatists before is and has both in verse and prose, but it had a short life (N.E.D. gives examples from 1575-1631 only). Jonson uses the contraction only for verse elision.

Alch.II.6.32(338) sh' is not in fashion, yet
" IV.5.102(379) Sh' has beene in travaile

(e) 3rd pers. sing.: 't for it

Wright (Dial.Gram., § 407) gives unstressed [ət] as in general dialect use, and the aphetic colloquial 't probably developed from this. It is used as subject and object, before and after verbs (often combined with them), after prepositions, conjunctions and adverbs, and in verse and prose. Its use in modern literary English is confined to verse, especially in the form 'tis.

(i) Verse

Poet.I.3.6(218) 'Tis after in his choice to serve or no (subj.)
L.F.I.F.71(361) and 'twas sed,/ That shee should with Phoebus wed
Sej.IV.282(428) To fright us from it. Arr. 'T hath so, on Sabinus
D.A.III.2.12(211) 'T has beene a long vacation with us
Cat.III.317(479) 't shall be gently, Curius
T.T.I.1.22(12) Chanon, is't you? (after verb 'to be')
F.I.13(708) Bee't a Sparrow, or a Dove
Revels V.6.110(164) Let't be thy care (obj. So T.V.H. 246(663))
Sej.V.49(438) I think you meane to make't a prodigie
Stap.N.II.1.34(305) They are a few/ That know your merit, Lady, and can valew't
M.V.203(415) How yong and fresh am I to night,/ To see't kept day, by so much light
Cat.II.222(462) I'le put you into't (after preposition)
Mag.La.V.10.80(594) they all start at 't
Sej.II.75(377) If't doe not expiate (after conjunction)

Alch.II.6.33(338) shee weares/ A hood: but 't stands a cop
F.I.156(712) You will ha' your Collar sent you er't be long
Epic.2nd Prol.3(164) - and still't hath beene the praise of all best times, (after adverb)

(ii) Prose

E.M.O.H.Induc.250(437) but 'tis extant, that that which we call Comoedia, was at first
P.R.V.47(481) and 'twer forty yards of ballad more: as much ballad as tripe
C.A.I.4.9(110) Gods so, ist not a good word man?
E.M.O.H.IV.5.70(546) shalt be so?
Revels IV.5.2(125) Wilt please your ladyship drinke
E.M.O.H.I.2.101(447) they may rip't off
" V.1.87(566) I ha' 't yfaith now
M.V.79(411) hee shall finde a corner o' the Philosophers stone for't
N.N.W.141(517) Gi' your mindes to't a little
C.A.I.7.22(116) ant please your honour
Bart.F.Induc.10(13) When 't comes to the Fayre

(f) 1st pers. plur: w' for we, 's for us

(i) w' (Nom.)

Wright (Dial.Gram., § 408) gives [wI] and [wə] as unstressed dialect forms. W' may be connected with the latter. It was adopted by Jonson only for verse elision.

T.T.Epil.5(92) with what rubs,/ W'are commonly encountred
Cat.I.213(441) W'are spirit-bound,/ In ribs of ice, our whole blouds are one stone
Stap.N.II.4.1(311) How now old Money-Bawd? w'are come

Note: Sometimes the mere insertion of an apostrophe after we indicates that elision is intended.

T.V.H.77(658) It is for that, we' are both belov'd, and famous

(ii) 's (acc.)

Wright (Dial.Gram., § 408) gives unstressed dialect forms [əs] or [əz], with which aphetic 's is probably connected. In modern English it occurs as a colloquialism only after let; in other positions it is now obsolete or dialectal. Jonson uses 's only in verse.

Poet.I.3.3(217) Let's see, what's here?
Stap.N.I.2.22(286) lay all forth in procinctu,/ And tell's what newes

(g) 3rd pers. plur.: th' and the' for they; 'hem and 'em for them

(i) th' (nom.)

Wright (Dial.Gram., Index p.639) gives unstressed dialect form [ðə]. N.E.D. says th' for they is now obsolete; the two examples given are dated 1540 and 1707 and both occur in prose. Jonson uses the contraction only for

verse elision, and before both *are* and *have*.

E.M.O.H.Induc.174(434) *Th*'are more infectious than the pestilence
Cat.III.506(485) *Th*'are petty crimes are punished, great rewarded
D.A.I.6.62(179) Now, *th*'are right, beginne, Sir
N.Inn IV.2.14(461) of most/ O' your shop Citizens, *th*'are rude Animals!
L.M.M.95(456) They say themselves, *th*'are dead (F_2 *they are*)
Poet.Reader 147(321) What *th*'have done 'gainst me/ I am not mov'd with

(ii) *The*' (nom.)

This represented the unstressed form [ðə] from 14th - 17th C. Rare in Jonson, and only used in verse.

N.Inn IV.2.57(463) *The*'are here, have beene at Sevil i' their dayes,/ And at Madrid too!
L.M.M.(F_2)130(457) Yes, now *the*'are substances, and men (Q *they are*)

Note: In an earlier masque, printed in the first folio, we find what amounts to the modern colloquial slurring with *are*. It is so written probably to preserve the verse ictus.

Ober.163&4(347) Holla Sylvanes! Sure, *they*'ar' caves/ Of sleepe, these; or els *they*'ar' graves! (apparently = *they're*)

Cf. *they*' *have* (= mod. *they've*) in T.V.H.417(669) They need not Love's, *they'have* Natures flames.

(iii) *'hem* and *'em* (acc. & dat.)

The N.E. emphatic acc. plur. *them* and the unemphatic colloquial *'hem*, *'em* are both in origin dative plurals. The origin of *them* is uncertain. It may have been an unstressed form of Scand. *þeim*, which had taken root in the North, or derived from the O.E. demonstrative *þæm*, which is used as an acc. as early as the *Rushworth Gospels* (late 10th C). The *N.E.D.* suggests that the use of the demonstrative for the personal pronoun may itself have been due to Norse influence. *'Hem*, often thought to be an aphetic form, is in reality a survival of O.E. dative *heom*. During M.E. *th-* and *h-* forms existed side by side, but in 15th C the latter began to fall away except in dialect and colloquial English. Wright (*N.E.G.*, § 322, and *Dial.Gram.*, § 410) says that *hem* was retained as an accented

form until 16th C; that them, which may have been the old unaccented form, spread South from the North and gradually took its place; and that 'em, written 'em, is now the universal unstressed form in all dialects.

'Hem, though rarely used in literature during 16th C (See Wyld H.M.C.E., p.328), was revived as an unemphatic colloquial accusative by dramatists of the early 17th C; it was usually in Jonson prefixed by an apostrophe. Later editors insisted on the latter under the impression that it indicated loss of t-. Actually the mark of elision is necessary only in the case of the unaspirated em; hem was an original literary form. Yet Herford and Simpson prefer the reading 'hem of the second folio to hem of the first, in two places (see E.M.I.H.(F)IV.1.12 (363) and IV.7.148(379) - footnotes).

It is interesting to note that Jonson, in revising the Quarto or Italian version of E.M.I.H. for the English version of the first folio, changed them frequently to hem, his object being to reflect the actual colloquialisms of his time. This might have been a reply to the accusation that his early plays were too laboured and literary.

Though known from 14th C and used in Shakespeare, 'em is not found in Jonson until Christmas His Masque (1616), first printed in the Folio of 1640. In the masque The Gypsies Metamorphosed (1621), a manuscript of which is preserved in the Huntingdon Library, the use of 'em is regarded by Herford and Simpson as evidence that the MS (the basis of their text) is not autograph - a disputed point amongst palaeographers. The following is an extract from the introduction to their text (Vol.VII, pp.549-50) :-

"In his printed texts Jonson preferred the form ''hem' for 'them', which had been in use since Caxton, but he thought it an abbreviation and wrote it with an apostrophe. The Manuscript has ''hem' once in line 1244; 'them' in lines 98, 766, 797, 918, 1164-5: elsewhere it is ''em', and in line 868 'them' is corrected to ''em'. It is significant that the Duodecimo text preserves ''hem' frequently

enough to show that it must have been in Jonson's manuscript. The spelling with the apostrophe is peculiar to Jonson, and no printer would have introduced it."

No explanation is offered for the use of 'em in earlier and subsequent masques and entertainments. An examination of the examples cited below will show that it appears only when the speakers are rustic or menial folk. In spite of the view above expressed by Herford and Simpson, I am inclined to think that Jonson used 'em only as a vulgar or dialectal form. It became a common colloquial form in the comedies of the late 17th C.

Hem

From E.M.O.H. onward hem is used both in verse and prose.

(α) Verse

T.T.I.2.15(15) And yet I have writ 'hem sixe or seven times over
C.A.IV.8.64-5(163) First I thinke hem,/ And then I speake hem, then I watch their sound
E.M.O.H.Induc.143(433) First he should shame to act 'hem
Volp.I.1.36(25) to grinde 'hem into poulder
Alch.III.3.57(349) Another chapman, now, would buy 'hem out-right
Cat.II.174(460) Ile observe/ None of 'hem all: nor humour 'hem a iot
E.H.228(143) their blood is asleepe,/ That, when it is offred 'hem, do not drinke deepe
L.M.M.58(455) with hopes as smooth as were/ Th' unfaithfull waters he desir'd 'hem prove
N.T.177(687) How doe you present 'hem?

(β) Prose

C.A.II.7.91(137) Ile give hem thee, I faith
E.M.I.H.III.1.196(238) Ile be hang'd and some Fishmongers sonne doe not make on 'hem. Used by Cob. (H.& S. substituted this form from folio for them of Q, which is used throughout that version).
E.M.O.H.II.3.85(472) a very quintessence of conceit flowes from 'hem (Q_3 them)
Revels IV.1.43(100) if I respect ere a mormoset of 'hem all (from corrected first folio, both F_1 and Q had them)
Epic.IV.5.32(236) which of 'hem comes out first
Bart.F.Induc.12(13) he do's not know 'hem
Mag.La.Chor.III.22(564) I will not have Gentlemen lose their priviledge ... for meere an overgrowne, or superannuated Poet of 'hem all
M.Black.293(178) One, from the sea, was heard to call 'hem with this charme
Hymen.22(209) let me not wrong 'hem
G.M.1244(607) he do's'hem all se defendendo

'em

(γ) Verse

C.H.M.289(447) Their very gold lace, with their silke would 'em grace

P.R.V.22(480) he first invented both hogshead & Tun,/ ... & taught 'em to run
G.M.218(572) And make 'em turne Gypsies?
" 713(588) Wee'l put 'em all downe (So 868(594), 899(595), 1093(602), 1268(607), 1327(609))
M.O.78(783) As I make 'em to flush (So 89(784))

(δ) Prose

C.H.M.105(441) they may serve the Cobler well enough, some of 'em (So 115 and 133 (441)).
G.M.759(590) I would faine see 'em
" 826(592) Nay you shall heare 'em (So 901, 903 &906 (595), 938(597))
E.Black.94(772) a Gods name proffer it to 'em (So 162 (774) & 189(775))

See also Appendix I, § 3(c)(ii).

15. Use of ye (yee) in Nom., Acc. and Dat., Sing. and Plural. (See also Appendix II, § 7)

M.E. ye (O.E. gĕ) was originally a nominative plural only, you being the accusative and dative plural. In 13th C ye began to be used in the nom. sing. as a form of respect. In the next century you came to be used in this function too, and was also employed for the accus. sing. and nom. plur. The confusion was complete, when, in 15th C, ye was vice versa given the work of you as an accusative, singular and plural; and its use was even extended to the dative, as an indirect object, singular and plural. The following table shows in a simplified form what was taking place in the 2nd personal pronoun : -

	Singular		Plural	
	Nom.	Acc.	Nom.	Acc.
12th C	thou	thee	ye	you
13th C	thou, ye	thee	ye	you
14th C	thou, ye, you	thee, you	ye, you	you
15th C	thou, ye, you	thee, ye, you	ye, you	you, ye

By 16th C, in literature, ye had been largely replaced by you in all these functions. The Prayer Book and, later, the Bible were the only works which systematically observed the old grammatical distinctions of thou, thee, ye, you. The persistence of ye in the Southern and Midland dialects may have accounted for its use as a colloquial form with Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. Jespersen (Prog. in Lang. § 198) thinks that its frequency after verbs in 16th C indicates that it is a phonetic weakening of you, but admits that it is impossible to distinguish

this ye from its use in other circumstances. Ye is now only archaic, poetic and dialectal.

(a) Singular

(i) Ye in nominative

C.A.I.7.4(116) How now, ha ye found him? (to Martino)
E.M.I.H.II.3.188(231) you have not another Toledo to sell, have yee? (unemphatic)
S.S.III.3.7(46) He starts away from hand, so,/ And all the touches, or soft stroke of reason,/ Yee can applie! (= modern one)

(ii) Ye in accusative or dative (indirect object)

T.T.II.5.32(39) Pray yee doe me right (unemphatic)
C.A.IV.9.47(165) Garlike God boy ye (unemphatic)
Revels II.3.84(72) first I'le give yee the others character (indirect object and probably unemphatic)
Alch.I.2.69(305) Pray ye', sir (unemphatic - so III.2.247 (329))
C.H.M.293(447) They should, Sir, I tell yee, spar't out o' their bellie (unemphatic)

(b) Plural

(iii) Ye in nominative

E.M.O.H.V.2.110(570) What if he were not a man, yee may as well say? nay, if your worships could gull me so
Epic.II.6.28(197) It would make a iest to posterity, sirs, this daies mirth, if yee will
Alch.I.1.5(295) Nay, looke yee! Soveraigne, Generall, are you mad-men (unemphatic, cf. modern look'ee, hark'ee)
N.Inn II.6.228(443) Host. ... Say yee? Content?/ Pru. Content. Lad. I am content. Lat. Content. Fra. Content. (unemphatic)
S.S.I.6.22(22) Rob. And hunted yee at force?/ Mar. In a full cry
Had.M.86(252) Beauties, have yee seene this toy
M.A.129(634) how will ye dispose of them? (refers to 'Gentlemen', line 125).

(iv) Ye in accusative or dative (indirect object)

E.M.I.H.V.1.24(271) What meane these questions pray ye? (Unemphatic. Probably plural, as both Pizo and Biancha have put questions)
Poet.III.4.156(250) A man may skelder yee, now and then, of halfe a dozen shillings, or so (Unemphatic - the reference is to players)
Had.M.90(252) If he be amongst yee, say (reference to Beauties, line 86)
C.H.M.186(443) And now to yee, who in place are to see (emphatic)
G.M.1011 & 12(599) We scorne to take from ye,/ We had rather spend on ye (unemphatic)

Note : That the modern dialectal and vulgar weakening of ye to 'ee had taken place by Jonson's time seems probable from the following rhyme:

C.M.137(569) All yor fortunes we can tell yee,/ Be they for yor backe or bellye (cf. rhyme 433-5(579) wed ye/ alreadie/ sped ye.)

Reflexive and Emphatic

16. Absolute use of self

The use of self as an independent reflexive pronoun is not uncommon in O.E. The N.E.D. says that after this self is used almost exclusively with pleonastic dative of the personal pronoun e.g. himself, themselves. The last absolute use cited in N.E.D. is the example which follows from Volpone.

Volp.I.2.69(30) Fooles, they are the onely nation .../ Free from care, or sorrow-taking,/ Selves, and others merry-making
T.V.H.114(659) have I, I say,/ From Envies selfe torne praise

Cf.Shakespeare, Richard III,IV.4.425 in that nest of spicery, they shall breed/ Selves of themselves

Possessive

17. Aphetic, contracted and colloquial forms. (See also Appendix II, § 8).

Vowels or diphthongs were frequently weakened and lost when possessives were used in unemphatic positions. The Cockney Gi' me me 'at is a modern instance of weakening. Slurred possessive pronouns were frequently adopted in the orthography of 16th C dramatists, particularly in colloquial speech, or where elisions were needed for the sake of metre. These forms are now obsolete.

(a) m' for my

This is employed by Jonson only for verse elision.

Revels V.8.46(169) As markes, to which m'indevours steps should bend
Sej.V.351(450) I doe exceed m'instructions, to acquaint/ Your lordship

(b) 'r for our

In Jonson this is found only in the oath "By'r (= our) Lady". The oath occurs only in prose passages.

C.A.IV.8.32(162) Bir Lady but Onion feels something
E.M.O.H.I.2.103(447) By'r Ladie, that is chargeable Signior
G.M.850(593) By'r ladie, he touch'd the virgin stringe there

(c) 's for his

In unemphatic situations the aspirate was not sounded, and the vowel was similarly weakened and lost. This form of aphesis was commonest after prepositions, both in verse and prose. In verse, for the purpose of elision, 's for his is not infrequent even after conjunctions and adverbs.

(i) Verse

Volp.II.6.63(64) He knowes the state of 's bodie, what it is
Cat.IV.122(502) But, being bred in's fathers needy fortunes
D.A.I.4.48(174) hee'll part/ With's cloake upo' these termes
Mag.La.V.1.31(580) to raise a cure/ For's reputation
M.Qu.90(286) A worme in his mouth, and a thorne in's tayle
Ober.329(352) and all their glories lay/ At's feet (so T.V.H.224(662))
T.V.H.197(662) H'as got a Fame on's owne
T.T.I.1.16(11) With the young Squire her sonne, and's Governour (after conjunction)
Alch.II.4.13(333) His iack too;/ And's iron shooing-horne

(ii) Prose

C.A.I.4.19(110) As though they were pumpt out on's belly
E.M.I.H.(F)V.5.25(400) a common-wealth of paper, in's hose (Q. his)
Epic.IV.5.3(235) Run out o' dores in's night-caps

18. Mine, my, thine, thy. (See also Appendix II, § 9)

The case-ending of the O.E. possessive pronouns min, þin is of doubtful origin, and is thought to be the suffix -no used to form a locative or instrumental. The forms were used for the possessive genitive of the 1st and 2nd personal pronoun from the earliest times. From about 12th C min and þin, when they occurred before a consonant, began to drop the final -n, retaining it before a vowel or h. The rule is fairly strictly observed in literature until 16th C, when mine and thine are sometimes found before consonants, but much more frequently my and thy occur before a vowel or h. There was much confusion in the time of Shakespeare and Jonson, and it was not until the late 17th C that the -n ending was regularly dispensed with in prose when the possessive occurred before its governing noun, except in archaic phrases like 'mine host','mine own'. In verse, however, it lingered on and is still used, not so much as an archaism, as to avoid an awkward conjunction of vowel sounds. (This accounts for the much longer persistence of mine before eyes than before other substantives).

Other situations, however, demanded the retention of the forms mine and thine. These are when the possessive pronoun is (a) used after the noun (this is now only permissible, as an archaism, after the vocative case, as in the Ormulum, 'Nu, broþerr Walter broþerr min'); (b) used predicatively e.g. 'this is mine'; (c) used absolutely with the special meaning of family or relations e.g. 'he did all in his power to injure me and mine'; (d)

used with the preposition of as an absolute genitive after the governing noun, e.g. Milton, 'That sacred head of thine'; (e) used elliptically i.e. where the governing noun is understood either with the first or second of two possessives e.g. (i) Goldsmith, 'without mine or her aunt's consent'; Tennyson (Letters), 'Mine and my wife's love to the Duchess' (ii) Chaucer, 'Lay down thy swerd and I wil myn'.

There is some doubt whether the absolute possessive (mine, thine) is permissible in modern English where the governing noun follows the second of two possessives e.g. There is no difference between mine and your house (See Fowler, M.E.U.p.6, and Jespersen, M.E.G. II.16.25). These are, however, syntactical matters and need not be discussed here. As grammatical distinction between my, thy and mine, thine was not observed in the 16th and early 17th C, both Jonson and Shakespeare employ the absolute possessive in the first position as well as the second e.g. Shakes., Much Ado V.1.249, The lady is dead upon mine and my masters false accusation. The usage is rarer, however, in Jonson than in Shakespeare.

Wright (N.E.G. §§ 325-328) calls the usages followed immediately by the governing noun Conjunctive (see A below), and those separated from the governing noun Disjunctive (see B below). Jespersen (M.E.G. Vol.II, § 16.211) says that n was probably retained in the latter because of greater emphasis, or because the word originally had vocalic inflexional endings (O.E. mīne, mīnum).

A. Conjunctive

Jespersen (M.E.G. II, 16.212) has shown that in the use of mine and my, thine and thy, there is little consistency observed either by the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists themselves or in the earlier editions of their works. He concludes that the actors may have used my, thy, even where mine, thine had been written, or that shorthand-writers, from whose notes the quartos were prepared, made no differentiation in their script. Schmidt (Shakes.Lex., under Mine and My, pp.723 and 754), on the other hand, believes that, when the possessive is stressed, my, thy is used before vowels and h, other wise the n forms. An examination of many examples does not, however, confirm this

as an infallible rule.

Jonson's usage is certainly inconsistent.

Possessive followed by governing noun

(i) Mine, thine, before vowel or h

T.T.III.7.2(53) Hodge hold thine ear (verse, unstressed syllable)
C.A.I.9.56(121) He is mine onely sonne (" " ")
" IV.2.21(150) I have here (in mine honour) set this gentleman free (prose, unemphatic)
E.M.I.H.I.1.85(199) I have a faire living of mine owne too beside (prose, unemphatic. So, in verse, Had.M.66(251) mine owne)
" I.3.10(207) mine ancetrie came from a kings loynes (prose, unemphatic)
" V.1.11(270) I saw none such sir, of mine honestie (Editors regard as prose, but probably loose verse - emphasis questionable)
Sej.I.325(366) In any act, that may preserve mine honour (verse, unstressed syllable)
Volp.I.3.17(32) mine eyes are bad (verse, unstressed syllable)
Epic.IV.5.2(235) Where's thine uncle? (prose, unemphatic)
Stap.N.II.4.35(313) What Lick-finger? mine old host of Ram-Alley? (Loose verse - unemphatic.)
N.Inn I.3.150(414) Mine host, yo' are cal'd (Verse, unstressed syllable)
" I.6.29(419) I am first to have mine audience (verse, unstressed syllable)
M.Black.115(172) And, in mine empires heart, salute me thus? (verse, unstressed syllable)
Ober.257(350) Ile lie downe, and take mine ease (verse, unstressed syllable)
M.A.326(641) And in thine honour with my Musique reare/ a Colledge here (verse, unstressed syllable)

(ii) My, thy, before vowel or h

C.A.V.12.76(186) I have betraid my selfe with my owne tongue (lightly stressed)
E.M.I.H.II.2.106(225) Well, hee is resolv'd to prove my honestie: faith and I am resolved to prove his patience (prose; emphatic, because balanced against his)
" III.1.188(238) would have me turne Hannibal, and eat my owne fish & blood (prose, unemphatic)
" V.3.83(278) nay now my unckle is here I care not (prose, unemphatic)
E.M.O.H.IV.3.34(535) Punt. I will give thee thy instructions. Nota. With all my heart, sir (prose, probably both emphatic)
Revels IV.3.233(115) Any thing to which my Honour shall direct me (prose, probably emphatic; Honour is a person)
Cat.III.443(484) Thou heav'st thy eye-lids up (verse, unstressed syllable)
P.R.V.130(483) a Crowne/ for thy immortall head (verse, lightly stressed syllable)

(iii) Mine, thine, before consonant

Examples do not occur in Jonson and are rare in Shakespeare: e.g. Tempest III.3.93 his and mine loved darling.

I have been unable to find a use of thine before consonants other than h in the N.E. period. An example, however, occurs in L.M.E. in one of the mss of Chaucer's treatise on the

Astrolabe: II,2-3 To knowe the degre of thyn sonne in thyn zodiak.

B. Disjunctive

(a) Mine, thine, after governing noun

Here the possessive pronoun has the function, and therefore the poetic order, of an adjective. Examples do not appear to occur in Jonson.

(b) & Mine, thine, used predicatively, and with special meaning

(c) of 'family', 'relations'.

These usages date from O.E. They have gained acceptance to the present day, and examples have not, therefore, been recorded.

(d) Mine, thine, after preposition 'of'

This is also in good modern use, as the following examples show :-

E.M.I.H.I.3.181(211) a friend of mine told me so
Volp.III.3.15(70) this feat body of mine doth not crave/ Halfe the meat
M.Black.3(169) could those houres have lasted, this of mine, now, had been a most unprofitable worke

(e) Mine, thine, used elliptically

Only the absolute use in the first position is recorded. In the second position the usage has been regular since E.M.E.

Cat.III.240(476) When both thy Senate, and thy gods doe sleepe,/ And neither thine, nor their owne states doe keepe!

19. N.E. neuter possessive. (See also Appendix II, § 10)

(a) His

In O.E. the gen. sing. of the neuter personal pronoun hit was identical with the masculine, viz. his. But as soon as grammatical gender gave place to sex gender in M.E., his for inanimate things began to be avoided by some writers, usually by the employment of analytical constructions such as of it,* thereof. But these devices were comparatively rare, and his

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* Cf. Jonson Epic.III.6.80(216) You that have suck'd the milke of the court, and from thence have been brought up to the very strong meates, and wine, of it.

kept its place as the regular form of the neuter possessive until about 1600, when it and its began to supersede it. His lingered sporadically in literature until the latter half of 17th C and is still used in the Hampshire dialect.

C.A.I.9.57(121) He is mine onely sonne, and that word onely,/ Hath with his strong, and repercussive sound,/ Stroke my heart cold
E.M.I.H.II.1.4(220) or else my profession looses his grace
E.M.C.H.Induc.59(430) Like some drie braine, despairing in his merit
Sej.I.199(361) Me'thinkes, day/ Should lose his light; when men doe lose their shames
Volp.III.4.11(71) is this curle/ In his right place
Alch.II.1.75(316) Weekely, each house his dose
Cat.IV.30(499) Though heaven should speake, with all his wrath at once
D.A.I.4.97(175) Love is brought up with those soft migniard handlings;/ His pulse lies in his palme (Possibly masculine personification)
Stap.N.III.2.234(335) not a dish remov'd,/ But to the Musicke, nor a drop of wine,/ Mixt, with his water, without Harmony
M.Black.171(174) They wept such ceaselesse teares, into my streame,/ That it hath, thus far, overflow'd his shore
Had.M.278(258) It is a spheare .../ .../ With all his lines, and circles

(b) It, it's

The O.E. neuter personal pronoun hit suffered loss of its aspirate in unemphatic positions as early as 12th C, and by 15th C, with a few notable exceptions (e.g. Queen Elizabeth, who, in the next century, still used hit) had taken the place of the emphatic form generally. From 14th C the uninflected genitive hit, it began to be used in the W.Mid. dialects, where it is still retained; and this must have been the source of the neuter possessive it instead of his at the end of 16th C. It was earlier in literary employment than it's. The inflected form was probably used colloquially in the South for some considerable time before its appearance in literature (Florio, 1598). Spelt at first with apostrophe before s* (an orthography which occurs even in 19th C), it's was slow in gaining acceptance. Shakespeare and Bacon used it seldom, and it was not permitted in the Authorised Version of the

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* Cf. Similar use of apostrophe by Jonson with absolute possessives ours and yours:
Hymen.89(212) with their beames/ Grace Union more then our's
M.V.242(416) Nature is motions mother, as she is your's

Bible until 1660. Its (without apostrophe) does not appear to have been a regular orthography until about 1800.

Though Jonson does not mention the neuter possessives it and it's in his Grammar, he used both forms. Strangely enough the inflected form occurs first :-

Volp.IV.1.87(92) You must know,/ No family is, here, without it's box
Cat.I.533(452) but it's owne weight/ Will ruine it

In a passage in Epicoene, the two forms are queerly mixed :-

Epic.II.5.105-115(195) Your knighthood it selfe shall come on it's knees, and it shall be reiected; it shall bee sued for it's fees to execution, and not bee redeem'd; it shall cheat at the twelvepeny ordinary, it knighthood, for it's diet all the terme time, and tell tales for it in the vacation, to the hostesse: or it knighthood shall doe worse; take sanctuary in Coleharbor, and fast. It shall fright all it friends, with borrowing letters; and when one of the foure-score hath brought it knighthood ten shillings, it knighthood shall go to the Cranes, or the Beare at the Bridge-foot, and be drunk in feare:

The passage continues and it knighthood is used another six times. It here seems to be used as a playful or mildly contemptuous possessive having the meaning of your cf. Shakespeare

K.John II.160 Do child, go to it grandam, child/ Give grandam kingdom, and it grandam will/ Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.

There is one other instance of it (= your) with the reflexive compound in Jonson :

Bart.F.I.5.63(33) Nay, never fidge up and downe, Numpes, and vex it selfe (= yourself)

Demonstrative

20. 'This' with plural nouns for 'these' - adjectival use*. (See also Appendix II, § 11)

In E.M.E. masc. þĕs and fem. þēos fell together as þēs, with neut. þis. Later, two plural forms with adjectival inflexion -e, þēse and þise, took the place of the O.E. common plural þās, which in E.M.E. seems to have been confused with þā, plural of þet (O.E.

*Demonstratives, though both pronominal and adjectival in function since O.E., are, for the sake of convenience, usually treated as pronouns.

þæt), giving the latter the N.E. plural those. N.E. these is from L.M.E. þēse; plural this a weakening of L.M.E. þise. Both plurals occur in Malory's Morte D'Arthur.

The plural þis was quite frequently in use from 12th - 16th C. In the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama it is commonest with periods of time in the plural e.g. Shakes. Rom. & Jul.V.2.25: Within this three houres will faire Iuliet wake. Jespersen (M.E.G.II, Ch.V) regards the latter, with some probability, as a 'unified plural'; the explanation is certainly valid for 19th C examples, see N.E.D.

C.A.IV.5.16(156) Go to, no more of this contemplations, & calculations
E.M.I.H.II.1.57(221) Any time this xiiij yeares (But Epic.I.1.142 (168) Not these three daies).

21. Yon, yond and yonder as demonstratives. (See also Appendix II, §12)

Yon and yond derive directly from O.E., where geon is found as an adjective, geond as a preposition. Yonder occurs first in Cursor Mundi, and is used regularly in M.E. as an adverb. Its source is doubtful. Wyld (Universal Dictionary) says it is a compound of yon and ther (adv. of place); but it is probably a new formation cognate with Mid. Low Germ. gender, O.S. gendra, Goth. jaindre.

As early as the 13th C yond began to appear alongside of yon as demonstrative adjective and pronoun; and in the next century yonder began to be used in the same functions. It seems, then, that by E.M.E. the three originally distinct words were very much confused.

In the 17th C yon' and yond', regularly written with the apostrophe, must have been regarded as contracted forms of yonder.

Shakespeare uses all three forms, without distinction, as demonstratives, but Jonson has only yon and yond*, both usually written with the apostrophe.

Yon is at present a dialect form only, being quite common in

* In Jonson yond occurs both as demonstrative and adverb, yonder only as an adverb:
P.A.275(538) See, yond' they goe
M.A.335(641) Yond, yond a farre,/ They closed in their Temple are (adv.)
G.M.760(590) Yonder they are
M.A.127(633) The poore Cattle yonder are passing away the time

Scotland. Yond is obsolete. Yonder is retained mainly in poetry, but is still found as an adverb in the speech of the North of England and Scotland.

Revels I.3.14(52) I will but coole my selfe at yon' spring
D.A.I.1.153(169) Yon' is hee,/ You shall see, first, after your clothing
E.M.O.H.Induc.126(432) You might as well have told me, yond' is heaven,/ This earth
" III.2.31(499) I'le goe looke among yond' hills
Sej.IV.200(425) See yond' dangerous boy;/ Note but the practice of the mother, there
Alch.III.3.1(347) Yond' caustive cheater/ Never came on
E.H.65(138) Under yond' purslane tree stood sometime my cradle
Ober.260(350) Sing then, and upbraid/ ... yond' seeming maid.
T.V.H.279(664) Within yond' darkenesse, Venus hath found out
Chlor.83(752) I am come to tell/ A tale in yond' soft eare

cf. Shakes. Rom. & Jul.II.2.2 What light through yonder window breaks

Relative and Interrogative

The difficulty in the next three sections is to determine whether form or function is primarily involved. Franz apparently considers the latter, as he places these sections under syntax.

22. Uninflected 'who' in oblique cases, relative and interrogative

(See also Appendix II, § 13)

O.E. hwǎ, like hwæt and hwilc, was not originally a relative pronoun, but an interrogative. It had, as oblique cases, acc. hwone, gen. hwæs, dat. hwǣm or hwām. The last of these forms was used as the direct object (of the indefinite relative) as early as 12th C, so that N.E. acc. whom is really derived from the O.E. dative*. In M.E. the old acc. whan, whon (with usual loss of -e) was, however, sometimes retained in unemphatic positions.

The form of the N.E. gen. whose probably arose as follows :- O.E. nom. hwā > M.E. hwǭ (S. of Humber) > L.M.E. whō ([ɔ̄] > [ō] after w) > N.E. [hū]. From hwǭ came the M.E. gen. hwǭs > L.M.E. whōs > N.E. [hūz].

The relative use of whose dates from 12th C.

As a relative, the N.E. nom. who appeared compounded with that**

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* Cf. parallel development in case of him, her, them. Jespersen (Prog. in Lang. § 151) regards this case-shifting of dat. form to acc. as due to the fact that these pronouns are used as indirect objects more frequently than nouns and adjectives.

** Cf. Jonson Pan.15(121) Pipe it, who that list for mee

early in 13th C, but not by itself until the end of that century, and was not then much used until 16th C. Once established, however, it began to be used in the oblique cases, as interrogative who was already. Jespersen, (Prog. in Lang. §§ 170-172) thinks that word order ~~is~~ was responsible for this case-shifting. Whether interrogative or relative and whatever its function (subject or object), who was placed before the verb, and as it had taken the position of the subject, it tended also to adopt its form.

Both in relative and interrogative uses whom is the commonest form of the accusative with Jonson, who appearing rarely in oblique cases*.

(a) Relative

Whom is the regular form of the accusative.

C.A.V.8.69(179) The very owle,/ Whom other birds do stare & wonder at
T.T.III.8.44(56) Iohn Clay:/ Whom where to find, I know not
Sej.IV.440(433) Regulus,/ (Whom all we know no friend unto Seianus)
Cat.IV.377(510) But there's no thought, thou should'st be ever he,/ Whom either shame should call from filthinesse
Stap.N.I.5.90(296) An old Canting-Begger/ Brought him first Newes, whom he has entertained
K.E.123(87) any of those persons, to whom he pointed

(b) Interrogative (direct and indirect)

Sweet (N.E.G. Vol.1, § 1086) is of the opinion that interrogative whom in contemporary speech is practically extinct, except where a preposition immediately precedes it. Jonson, however, preserves it, with very occasional lapses.

(i) Who (acc.)

Alch.IV.2.10(365) Who would you speak with?
E.M.I.H.I.2.71(205) Oh, now I see who he laught at (indirect interrogative)

(ii) Whom (acc.)

T.T.IV.1.84(61) Whom shall I send for it?
C.A.III.3.16(142) Whom see I?

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*The following use of who (in the indefinite combination who ever), after the preposition 'gainst, is probably a solecism :

Cat.V.89(529) If there were proofe 'gainst Caesar, or who ever (= anyone else)

Sej.II.10(375) whom shall we choose/ As the most apt
D.A.I.1.90(167) What company will you goe to? or whom mix with?
" IV.4.128(239) Good Madame, whom do they use in messages?
Stap.N.IV.4.36(357) whom prove you the next Canter?
P.R.V.39(480) to whom doe you sing all this now?
N.T.286(690) But, whom ha' you for Partrich?

23. N.E. relative use of 'which' for persons. (See also Appendix II, § 13)

Which is derived from O.E. hwelc, hwilc which passed into M.E. as hwelch, hwilch, and then lost the l (as did such from O.E. swilc). Like who, which was an interrogative pronoun and originally meant 'of what form or sort'. Its relative use dates from the late 12th C, the meaning of the main clause, according to N.E.D., being unaffected by the relative clause. Which was therefore non-defining from its inception. The use of which in defining clauses dates from 14th C only.

In the use of which as an interrogative, no distinction was originally made between persons and things; and this general usage was retained when the word came to be used as a relative pronoun*.

Interrogative uses of which for persons are common in modern English, e.g. Which of the boys do you prefer? As a relative, which is only occasionally used when the persons referred to are thought of as a group, e.g. The appeal brought forward all the men for which the general had asked. In dialect, however, the old use of which for an individual person is kept.

Poet.I.3.44(219) and he,/ Which heares her speake, would sweare
Revels IV.3.270(117) the Dukes of Savoy ... Brunswick, the Lautgrove, Count Palatine, all which had severally feasted me.
K.E.123(87) those persons, to whom hee pointed, which were the daughters of the Genius

24. Periphrastic relative combinations.

In O.E. there were many ways of expressing the relative function e.g.

(a) By the simple use of the demonstrative pronoun se, sēo, þæt, e.g.

se guma þone he healp

* See Gill, Log.Ang. Ch.VI where whū (who) appears as only masculine and feminine, but which as of all genders.

(b) By the demonstrative + indeclinable particle þe, e.g.
se guma þone þe hē healp

(c) By the particle þe + a personal pronoun in the appropriate case, e.g. se guma þe hine hē healp

(d) By the particle þe alone. As this is indeclinable and represents all genders and numbers, the reference is not always clear. se guma þe hē healp

Very early in O.E. the neut. demonstr. þæt came to be used in much the same way as the indeclinable particle þe e.g. King Alfred's Orosius :

> And þær is mid Estum an mæġð þæt hī magon cyle gewyrcan (here mæġð is a collective feminine noun)

It is from this construction that what are here called the 'periphrastic relative combinations' take their origin. The term is convenient for the compound forms that he etc. instead of the simple interrogative-relative forms, who (which), whom (which), whose of modern English, the history of which has been dealt with in the preceding sections.

In M.E. that (O.E. þæt) had from about 12th C superseded se, sēo and þe as a relative for all genders, singular and plural. Obscurity so frequently occurred in regard to gender and case of the 3rd person that in 14th C writers had recourse to the O.E. alternative of adding the applicable form of the latter after the relative that. Thus

that	he or she	stood for	N.E.	who
that	it	"	"	which
that	him or her	"	"	whom
that	his (masc. & neut.*) or her	"	"	whose

These periphrastic combinations fell into disuse about the close of the 15th C. The O.E. interrogatives were then freely adopted as relatives, perhaps through the example of what, which had been in common use as a relative since about 1200. But the old construction lingered on, and was frequently employed by Elizabethan

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* Now its

(b) By the demonstrative + indeclinable particle þe, e.g. se guma þone þe hē healp

(c) By the particle þe + a personal pronoun in the appropriate case, e.g. se guma þe hine hē healp

(d) By the particle þe alone. As this is indeclinable and represents all genders and numbers, the reference is not always clear. se guma þe hē healp

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that it " " " which

that him or her " " " whom

that his (masc. & neut.*) or her " " " whose

These periphrastic combinations fell into disuse about the close of the 15th C. The O.E. interrogatives were then freely adopted as relatives, perhaps through the example of what, which had been in common use as a relative since about 1200. But the old construction lingered on, and was frequently employed by Elizabethan

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* Now its

writers, as it sometimes is today in popular speech. Even as late as 18th C it had one useful and particular function, to keep the possessive pronoun immediately before the governing noun, while at the same time permitting it to be separated from the relative by a word, phrase or sentence. In other words, as examples below show, this particular periphrasis may serve as a substitute possessive relative.

E.M.I.H.I.4.14(213) one that I durst trust my life into his hands (= into whose)
" II.3.90-1(228) toyes of mine own doing at idle houres, that you'le say there's some sparkes of wit in them (= in which)
" III.3.48(244) one that ile bee sworne, my wife ha's lent him her smocke (= to whom)
" (F)I.3.111(314) A wight, that (hetherto) his every step hath left the stampe (= whose)
Poet.I.2.78(211) Name me a profest poet that his poetrie did ever afford him so much as a competencie (= whose)

Note: It appears that the following broken relative constructions in Jonson are remnants of a periphrasis for the possessive relative. Both whom and that are employed.

E.M.O.H.II.5.46-7(488) A number of these popenjayes there are,/ Whom, if a man confesse, and but examine/ Their inward merit, with such men as want;/ Lord, lord, what things they are!
" IV.8.110-111(560) he that failes, let his reputation lye under the lash of thy tongue

Indefinite

25. 'Other' as plural. (See also Appendix II, § 14).

In O.E. and E.M.E. the masc. plural, both of the indefinite pronoun and adjective, was ōþre. Inflectional final -e was lost in M.E., with the result that other was used both as a singular and a plural form. To avoid confusion plural inflection -s was added in 14th C in the case of the indefinite pronoun. The two plurals other and others existed side by side, with a growing preference for the inflected form, especially since 17th C. The last use of other (as an indef. pron. in the plural) recorded in N.E.D. is dated 1870.

C.A.II.7.71(137) But the other are worth the observation
E.M.I.H.II.3.107(229) but that (of all other) was the most fatall and dangerous exploit
Sej.I.1.109(358) Me thinkes, he beares/ Himselfe, each day, more nobly then other
" III.274(401) when all other of the troops were prone/ To fall into rebellion
Volp.IV.1.57(91) There are some other too, with whom I treate
Epic.II.3.91(186) the other are not to be receiv'd, within the thought of a scholler

N.Inn III.2.232(458) onely wise men love, the other covet
Had.M.125(253) if he have/ Any head more sharpe then other,/ With that first he strikes his mother

ARTICLES

26. Indefinite Article a, an. (See also Appendix II, § 15).

Both forms are derived from the O.E. numeral ān (declined as a strong adjective). Indefinite uses of ān were extremely rare in O.E.; the noun generally stood by itself, though sum was commonly employed in prose where modern English would use the indefinite article. When ān thus employed lost its stress and inflexions is uncertain; but it must have been before 1150, for it was about then that a began to be used regularly as an indefinite article alongside of an (both with shortened vowel), ān being retained as the numeral. The separation of article and numeral was advanced when, in the Southern and Midland dialects, [ā] of the latter became [ɔ] during 13th C. There was some confusion during the transition, however, for shortened o and on were sometimes used for the article, and a, an for the numeral, even in those dialects where the sound had been raised. In modern English loss of -n with the numeral fell into disuse, though traces remain in such expressions as 'in a moment or two'.

The weakening of indefinite an to a took place in M.E. regularly before consonants, except occasionally h (Wyclif's Bible has 'an hill'). An before other consonants was, however, not uncommon up to the end of 13th C. After 1700 an before h was retained only where the latter was silent or commenced an initial unstressed syllable.

Initial h in unaccented syllables (e.g. historical, hotel) was, until quite recently, regarded as mute or weakened, but even here a is supplanting an, as a result of revitilization of the aspirate.

(a) In E.N.E. the use of an before h was inconsistent. The N.E.D. maintains it was regular down to 17th C; and though the practice of the Auth.Vers., with a few exceptions, confirms this (e.g. Exod.14.8 an high hand, and 15.8 an heap), the contemporary drama points to a progressive increase in the use of a, except where initial h must have been silent, as in many O.Fr.

borrowings (see examples under (1)(α) below).

As Wright has shown, the pronunciation of initial h is largely a question of dialect (see E.H. N.E.G. § 281). In Standard English confusion took place mainly through borrowings from the French in the Middle Ages. In O.F. mute h was not written, probably because it had ceased to be pronounced in provincial Latin. But scribes who knew Latin later began to restore it, first in French and then in English*; the only difference being that, whereas in French this h remained mute, in English, under the influence of O.E. spelling, it began sporadically to be pronounced. Why all borrowings from Romance languages (e.g. honour, hour) were not similarly affected is unknown

The 16th C was still in the transition stage, and a number of words beginning with mute h have since become aspirated (see Jonson, Grammar, Bk I, Ch.IV and Gil, Log.Angl., preface p.14, where host, humble and hover appear as words where h is not pronounced.)

(i) Words beginning with h, presumably mute in 16th C, now aspirated.

(α) Accented first syllables

French origin (h normally silent)

C.A.II.6.2(133) an humble suit (O.F. umble)
E.M.I.H.III.3.53(244) an host (so Alch.V.5.110(405) and N.Inn I.3.141(414). O.F. oste)
" III.3.111(246) an herb (so Alch.II.3.174(326). O.F. erbe)
Alch.II.3.4(321) an heretique (Fr. hérétique, 14th C)
S.S.Prol.31(9) here's an Heresie (O.F. eresie)
Bart.F.Induc.126(16) an Hypocrite (O.F. ypocrite)
" V.3.105(120) an hostler (O.F. ostelier)
P.R.V.23(480) an hyppocras bag (O.F. ypocras)

Latin origin (h pronounced)

F.I.347(719) an Hermes (Lat. Hermēs, Gr. Ἑρμῆς)

O.E. origin (h pronounced)

It is probable that h was sounded in the following examples, but that an before the aspirate was occasionally retained. The use of an before hundred is found in Jane Austen, and may be due to influence of Auth.Vers.

C.A.V.9.6(180) Had he an hundred lives (So S.S.II.2.15 (28). O.E. hundred)
Revels V.9.29(170) an harmeless, but not incurious varietie (O.E. hearm + less, 13th C)

Cf. Spenser, F.Q. Bk II, 4.5 an hound (O.E. hund)

* This accounts for such spellings as habilities (Poet.IV.2.33(264) and Stap.N.I.5.119(297)) where the h, though occasionally thus written, was almost certainly not pronounced. The aspirate was, indeed, sometimes prefixed in words where it did not belong.

(β) Unaccented first syllables

Volp.I.2.50(29) an hermaphrodite (Lat. hermaphroditus)
Cat.III.99(471) Would you have/ Such an Herculean actor (Lat. Herculeus)
M.Qu.630(311) with the dignity of an Historian (Fr. historien, Lat. historia)

Note: There is an instance of a before h of initial lightly stressed syllable, which seems to indicate that the aspirate was sounded in Jonson's time:

Mag.La.III.6.141(560) And is a Histrionicall Contempt,/ Of what a man feares most (The main accent falls on the third syllable of histrionical, with the result that the first has medium stress, and so differs from the first of historian).

(ii) Words beginning with h, mute in 16th C, and still unaspirated

T.T.I.6.21(22) Was ever such a Full-mart for an Huisher,/ To a great worshipfull Lady. (O.F. huisier. The word is now usher.)
E.T.K.4(148) the third, an Hower-glasse (O.F. ure)
F.I.348(719) an Howle-glas. (O.E. ūle. The reference is to the German mediaeval jester Eulenspiegel. The h- spelling was usual in 16th and early 17th C.)

(b) In 16th C an was also used before substantives with initial u or eu.

In L.M.E. the spellings eu, ew denoted two different sounds:

(i) [iʊ] , from E.M.E. [iʊ] or [ɛʊ] , or from French [ȳ].

(ii) [ɛʊ] , from E.M.E. [ɛʊ] .

Although the history of the sounds affected is somewhat doubtful, the following table gives an indication in phonetic symbols, of what appears to have happened :-

E.M.E.	[iʊ] [ɛʊ] [ȳ] (French ü)	[ɛʊ]
M.E.	[iʊ]	[ɛʊ]
E.N.E.	[íʊ]	[ɛ⁺ʊ]
" (through shifting of accent, prob. c. 16)	[jú]	[ɛ⁺ʊ]
" (owing to spelling, c 17)		[jú]

Note: This last change [ɛ⁺ʊ] to [jú], in words like few, dew, beauty, was made in 17th C on the analogy of the words spelt eu from M.E. [iʊ] . Gill keeps the two sounds separate; he transcribes few by [fëu], but new by [nu] (= [njū]).

Whether [iʊ] had become [jū] initially, or only medially and finally, by the time of Shakespeare and Jonson is uncertain, but probable.

Notes to examples suggest possible explanations for the use of an instead of a. In modern English an is sometimes retained in place of a if the initial syllable is unaccented.

Words beginning with u and eu, pronounced [iʊ], in 16th C, now [jū]

(i) Accented first syllables

Revels IV.1.167(104) an eunuch (So Sej.II.13(375). This indicates that the change to [jū] had not yet taken place. Probably eunuch, from Lat. eunuchus (15th C), had initial sound [ɛ⁺ʊ], which accounts for an)
M.Qu.43(283) an usuall ceremony (an appears to be due to the influence of spelling)

(ii) Unaccented first syllables

E.M.O.H.II.3.187(475) an ubiquitarie (so Revels II.4.100 (79). The most likely explanation of an is lack of stress on the first syllable.)

(c) Both a and an are used with the word humour, which indicates uncertainty as to the pronunciation. The N.E.D. says that the pronunciation of h is a recent development, and that the mute h is still retained by many speakers. As indefinite article a was used, [jūmə] must have been one current pronunciation, alongside of [iumə] with an, as in (b) above.

E.M.I.H.III.4.41(248) an humour (so E.M.O.H.I.2.5(44))
E.M.O.H.I.2.153(449) a humour (so E.M.O.H.II.1.54(461))
Volp.II.2.204(56) a humour

Note: The spelling yumer, almost certainly [jūmə], is found in The Verney Papers (1639-96).

(d) The standard pronunciation of one up to late 17th C was [ɔ⁺n],* and when used absolutely it generally took the indef. art. an. But in Shakespeare, Jonson and the Auth. Vers. of the Bible, (Ruth IV.1) one is also found preceded by a. The modern English pronunciation [wʌn] came into Standard use at the end of

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* Cf. the pun in The Sad Shepherd I.6.9-10(21) Mar. You are a wanton Rob. One I doe confesse/ I wanted till you came. Again in Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly 297(368) And doe resolve these All by on:/ That is, that you meant Albion. Cf. also the rhyme in L.F.I.F.169(364) Yet, if you hit the right upon,/ You must resolve these, all, by on.

17th C; it was first noted by Jones in 1701. But spellings with initial w appeared as early as 15th C, indicating an alternative pronunciation resembling the modern one. Clearly there must have been two pronunciations in the time of Shakespeare and Jonson.

(i) E.M.I.H.IV.3.126(266) such an one

Cf. Shakes. Macbeth IV.3.66 better Macbeth/ Than such an one to reign

(ii) E.Black.204(775) Ah, 'tis pittye such a one, should ever come

Cf. Shakes. Merry Wives III.3.99 to search for such a one (so Twelf.N.I.5.219)

(e) Irregular use of 'a' before vowels

T.T.IV.2.48(66) Travaild'st to Hamsted Heath, on a Ash-we'nsday (Used by Hilts)
Revels I.4.193(60) given me by a great man (in Russia) as a especiall-priz'd present. (This is probably a misprint which was overlooked. All readings are the same.)

27. Definite Article - Contracted and Aphetic Forms. (See also Appendix, II, § 16)

After about 1250 the s forms of O.E. se, sēo, þæt (which was both definite article and demonstrative) were no longer in existence except in the Kentish dialect, þe having taken their place throughout the declension of the article in all cases, genders and numbers. The abbreviations þ- and th' were in use in prose as early as 15th C. In 16th C contractions of the definite article took place both in verse and prose, and before both vowels and consonants.

In his middle and later plays Jonson took full advantage of these licences to secure colloquial and rhythmical ease. In Sejanus and other verse dramas, masques etc, elision is often indicated merely by an apostrophe between vowels e.g.

Sej.III.466(408) give order, that his bookes be burn't,/ To the'Aediles
M.Beaut.407(194) So all that see your beauties sphære,/ May know the'Elysian fields are here (But th'Elysian in next line)

Th', the normal contraction of the, though used by Jonson mainly as a metrical elision, occurs also in prose, being found in unemphatic positions to represent contemporary colloquial speech. Being a consonant group, it is only employed in prose after a vowel

or, more commonly, before a vowel or silent h. In verse Jonson's use of th' is less restricted; but it is found only in unaccented positions.

The contraction t', though used in 15th and 16th C before vowels and h (see examples in N.E.D. under The), is not so used by Jonson and Shakespeare, except with other and one, where it is not a contracted, but an aphetic, form prefixed to the indefinite pronoun.

The expression the tother is not a doubling of the article, but derived from O.E. þæt ōþer (M.E. þet oþer), the -t of the article becoming attached to the open syllable of the indef. pronoun before the uninflected article came into general use in the middle of 13th C (see examples from Genesis and Exodus and Cursor Mundi in N.E.D.). A parallel development was that of the tone for the one. Both forms are still in use in the dialects.

Use of th'

(a) In Verse

(i) Before Vowels or mute h (verse elision)

T.T.I.1.26(12) faire Awdrey,/ Th'high Constables Daughter of Kentish Towne (I.2.17(15) has 'the' high')
" I.3.42(17) A Tiller o' th'Earth
C.A.III.3.7(142) One comes to hold me talke, while th'other robbes me. (So D.A.IV.4.163(240) and L.F.I.F.127(363). This is a simple contraction of the and is not therefore, included in the Tother group, q.v. below)
Poet.I.3.22(218) Musique of wit! Note for th' harmonious spheares!
Sej.II.173(380) State is inough to make th' act just, them guilty
Cat.I.477(450) That th'husband, or glad parents shall not bring you
Stap.N.III.3.52(340) But, now and then, as th'holesome proverb saies
N.Inn I.5.77(418) But yet the Lady, th'heire, enioyes the land
Mag.La.V.10.87(594) wherein though th'event hath failed,/ In part, I will make use of the best side
K.E.296(92) Shall office cease,/ Upon th'aspect of him, to whom you owe/ More then you are, or can be?
M.Black.113(172) Art seene to fall into th'extremest West/ Of me, the king of flouds
Hymen.804(236) doth one mind display/ In th'ones obedience, and the others sway?
V.D.105(466) With a chaine and a trundle-bed following at th'heeles

(ii) Before consonants (unemphatic)

T.T.I.2.12(15) As th'port went
C.A.II.5.12(132) By' th Masse that ist
Sej.II.370(387) Devided as in time o'th'civill warre
Volp.I.2.87(30) Without i'th'gallerie. Now, now my clients
" V.3.33(119) The gentleman, you met at th'port, to day,

Alch.IV.7.82(385) To make gold there (for th' state) never come out
N.Inn I.6.62(420) Or ralke, o'th'vollee, unto their servants
Mag.La.IV.6.45(572) wee cannot prevaile/ With th'rigid Parson here
K.E.W.200(798) You scape o'th' Sand-bags Counterbuffe

(b) In Prose

(i) Before vowels or mute h (colloquial)

C.A.IV.9.27(164) How didst thou produce th' intelligence of the gold mynerals
Revels IV.1.98(102) th'other is a most delicate youth

(ii) After vowels (unemphatic)

Bart.F.I.1.4(19) Here's Master Bartholomew Cokes, of Harrow o'th'hill, i'th'County of Middlesex. (The speaker is Littlewit, a proctor and a Londoner.)
N.N.W.29(514) told twice over how many candles there are i'th' roome (So 159(518))
N.N.W.202(519) Fac. How doe they live then? 1 He. O'th' deaw o' th Moone
E.Black.84(772) you shronke i'th wetting for it

Aphetic -t + other or one (the common N.E. spelling t'other should really have the apostrophe before t)

(a) Preceded by 'the' (historically regular)

(i) In Verse

T.T.II.2.42(28) But is not Puppy hurt? nor the tother man?
Alch.III.5.34(357) I' the tother pocket?
Cat.II.13(454) No, nor the t'other day. When knew you me
D.A.II.1.49(188) T'enjoy the tother moyety, for their charge
Mag.La.III.5.56(555) ha' your table furnish'd from one end,/ Unto the tother

(ii) In Prose

Revels IV.1.211(105) with this lord to smile ... and the t'other lord to dote
Epic.II.2.118(182) compare 'hem, Daniel with Spenser, Ionson with the tother youth
Cat.II.176(460) here's t'one, for th'tother

(b) Preceded by another part of speech, usually a possessive pronoun (irregular but colloquial)

(i) In Verse

T.T.I.1.57(13) Open your tother eye,/ And view if it be day
D.A.I.3.37(172) And turne away my tother man?
Cat.V.138(531) I was drawne in/ But t'other day (So D.A.V.5.51(259))
Mag.La.V.5.26(584) to make thee turne tale, tother way
Cat.II.176(460) Here's t'one, for th'tother
G.M.825(592) that is better then canting by t'one halfe

(ii) In Prose

Poet.II.1.64(222) not a gentleman came to your house i' your tother wives time
E.Black.30(770) I look't upon Charles wayne t'other night

ADJECTIVES

28. A-cold

Purely adjectival uses of this word date from the late 14th C. It seems to be a contracted form of the past. part. acoled (O.E. ācōlod, from wk. vb. ācōlian, with intensive prefix ā-). The verb normally developed as acool in N.E.; but in adjectival uses of the past part., the N.E.D. says, original o was preserved before two consonants by assimilation to the adjective cold.

By analogy, prefix a- was added to many other adjectives, generally to denote quality or state: e.g. agood, a-hungry, aweary, all used by Shakespeare. Such uses are rare in Jonson.

T.T.II.2.157(32) I would wee were married: I am a cold
C.H.M.254(446) if thou beest a-cold, I ha' some warme waters for thee, here

Cf. Shakespeare, Lear III.4.57 Tom's a-cold

Comparison. (See also Appendix II, § 17)

29. The two methods of comparison employed in N.E. (See also Appendix, II, § 17)

The older method of comparison of adjectives was by means of terminations. O.E. used -ra for comparative and -ost or -est for the superlative, and these in the transition from L.O.E. to E.M.E. became -re (or -ere) and -est respectively. At a later stage in M.E. the comparative was generally spelt -er. The derivative terminations of modern English comparison were thus fixed in M.E.

The use of periphrastic comparison with more and most is of uncertain origin. It did not occur in O.E. and is thought to be due to Norman-French influence, though many borrowings from the French were compared, by analogy, with the terminations of the native adjectives. The N.E.D. has an example of the periphrastic comparative from the late 12th C, and of the superlative in the early 13th C. It was at first used with any adjective, irrespective of its number of syllables, just as the derivative terminations had been used.

The evolution of the modern rules must have been a long and uncertain process, caused by considerations of euphony. Grammarians of the late 16th and early 17th C, regard the two methods

of comparison as alternative, though some reservations are made by Gill (Log.Angl., Ch.IX), notably in the case of participles, which he says take more and most instead of the terminations. Yet the comparative respect which the modern rules received from Elizabethan and Jacobean writers shows that they must have been fairly well established early in the N.E. period.

The modern rules may be stated as follows :-

A. Derivative terminations (-er and -est)

Used

(i) Generally with monosyllabic adjectives. Exceptions: like (= alike)*, just, right; also any comparison in verse, if metre requires it, as in Coleridge, Anc.Mar., Fly, brother, fly! more high, more high!

(ii) With dissyllables ending in -le, -ow, -y (if preceded by a conson.) and rarely -er (e.g. clever). Exception: proper.

(iii) With many other dissylables, if the last syllable is stressed e.g. polite, severe. There are many exceptions, e.g. alike*, alone, precise, alive etc.

B. Periphrastic comparison (more and most)

Used

(i) With present and past participles employed as adjectives; also other adjectives ending in -ed and -ing, such as wretched and cunning.

(ii) With compound adjectives ending in -ful and -some. Occasional exceptions: handsome, hopeful, wholesome. (The superlative of hopeful, and both the comparative and superlative of wholesome, are cited in N.E.D., with derivative terminations, 16th - 19th C).

(iii) With dissylables ending in -ain, -al, -ate, -ect, -ent, -et, -iant, -id, -ish, -ive, -ous, -s, -se, -st, -ward (e.g. in E.M.I.H. Jonson has more direct (I.4.20), more sodaine (I.4.145), and most fatall (11.3.108).

(iv) With all adjectives of more than two syllables.

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* See § 37

The foregoing rules are by no means settled. Grammarians disagree (mainly about the force of the endings of dissyllabic adjectives), because there is so much inconsistency in the usage of the best writers. Throughout group A, more and most may alternatively be used in prose as well as verse in certain circumstances:

(a) When the comparison is used predicatively e.g.

E.M.I.H.III.3.129(246) As a guilt bias, to a leaden bowle,/ Which (in it selfe) appears most vile being spent (verse).

(b) When the comparison contains more than one adjective, and one of them (falling under group B) calls for the periphrastic usage e.g.

E.M.I.H.I.3.200(212) that you may come to a more sweet and gentlemanlike guard
Sej.II.257(383) Nought is more high/ Daring, or desperate, then offenders found

(c) When a person or thing has two qualities which are compared by means of than e.g.

Shakes. Othello, Your son-in-law is far more fair than black

(d) For the sake of clarity or emphasis e.g.

R.Brunne, Chronicle, was never at Saynt Denys feste holden more high. (Here the emphatic effect of high placed last is greater than could have been secured by the use of higher.)

(e) In antitheses, to secure the balance of the second element against the first, in which more or most has already been used e.g. M.Arnold, Mycerinus, I look'd for life more lasting, rule more high (verse).

In group B (iii) the rules do not cover all the remaining cases of dissyllabic adjectives, and the greatest variability of treatment occurs among these. Cobbett (English Grammar, § 81) says rightly that the ear is here the best guide.

30. Examples of more and most where modern English would have -er and -est

Uses of more and most in comparing monosyllabic adjectives are frequent in verse, and occur occasionally in prose. A sharp boundary had not yet been drawn in Jonson's time between the derivative and the periphrastic forms.

(a) Verse

C.A.II.3.11(129) our vertuous mothers death/ Should print more deep effects of sorrow in us

C.A.II.6.36(134) But this is more strange that my selfe should love her (interesting, because stranger would have suited the rhythm better)
Cat.III.46(469) O confidence! more new, then is the man!
K.E.312(93) and cover all the shore/ With sands more rich than Tagus wealthy ore?
Had.M.125(253) if he have/ Any head more sharpe then other,/ With that first he strikes his mother
E.M.I.H.III.3.129(246) Which (in it selfe) appears most vile, being spent
Sej.III.10(393) It was debated/ By Caesar, and concluded as most fit/ To take him

(b) Prose

E.M.I.H.I.2.98(206) to use a more fit Metaphor
E.M.O.H.III.5.31(507) I doe usher the most strange peece of militarie profession

31. Examples of -er and -est where modern English would have more or most

Jonson in the main observes the modern rules, which implies that they were already tacitly gaining acceptance.

(i) With words ending in -ing and -ed (mainly adapted participles).

Dr.Johnson in his Dictionary forbad uses like the following :-

Poet.I.2.106(212) make her ruggedst straines/ Runne smoothly
V.D.19(464) Too long t'expect the pleasing'st sight/ doth take away from the delight (F_2 pleasing't, F_3 pleasing. The emendation -'st was made by Gifford)

(ii) With compound adjectives ending in -ful and -some

E.M.O.H.II.1.92(462) ten thousand times hatefuller
T.T.III.4.16(48) The hand-som'st man in all the Towne

(iii) With dissyllables ending in -ect, -ent, -iant and -st.

Poet.II.2.61(228) This is the perfect'st love
Mag.La.Induc.114(511) much the ancienter
E.M.I.H.III.4.20(247) you'ld mad the patient'st body
" V.3.384(287) the arrentst rogue
M.Black.143(173) drawes/ Signes of his fervent'st love
N.Inn IV.4.73(470) No man is valianter by being angry
C.A.II.2.21(127) a poore mans daughter, but none of the honestest
E.M.I.H.I.4.12(213) the honestest faithfull servant

(iv) With adjectives of more than two syllables

Revels IV.1.196(105) delicatest in a kingdom
Alch.II.3.271(330) One o'the treacherou'st memories (Verse; the placing of the apostrophe is notable)
" III.4.102(254) for making matches ... the fortunat'st man
Mag.La.V.10.18(592) hath done/ The admirable'st cure upon your Needle!

(v) With the adjective proper

T.T.III.7.20(53) The properer man, the worse luck
E.M.O.H.IV.4.49(541) properer women
T.T.I.7.26(24) The bravest, richest, and the properest man
D.A.I.6.218(184) note the properest limbs, and how to make 'hem

32. Pleonastic comparatives and superlatives

(a) The pleonastic use of more and most with comparatives and superlatives already provided with derivative terminations was not uncommon from 14th to 17th C. N.E.D. even has a belated example from Tennyson's Oenone, 'Paris was to me/ More lovelier than all the world beside.' Probably it has never ceased to exist in vulgar speech. Jonson regards the usage as an "English Atticism ... imitating the manner of the most ancientest and finest Grecians, who, for more emphasis and vehemencies sake, used so to speak" (Gram. Bk 2, Ch.IV). The pleonastic use must simply have arisen through desire to strengthen the comparison, an object now achieved in other ways e.g. far nicer, still better, the best of all.

E.M.O.H.Induc.46(429) Containe your spirit in more stricter bounds
Poet.II.1.71(222) shee has the most best, true, foeminine wit in Rome
Alch.II.3.253(329) the most affablest creature

(b) Of far less common occurrence is the comparison which is emphasised by doubling the form itself. It is possible to regard the first as an intensive adverb.

Poet.V.3.457(311) Gallus, Tibullus, and the best-best Caesar

33. Exceptional forms

Comparisons of many common words, such as good, were anomalous even in O.E. Other words, such as bad (which came into the language in M.E. only), became anomalous in comparison at a later stage by borrowing the forms of other adjectives, (e.g. bad took worse and worst from evil, though regular comparisons are found from 14th - 18th C).

Goodest.

This apparently regular superlative is employed, says N.E.D., only in jocular and playful speech. A parallel example of the comparative has not been found.

Alch.II.6.79(340) It is the gooddest soule (Face is wheedling Drugger to bring the Alchemist some more tobacco.)

Dummerer

O.E. dumb passed into M.E. unchanged; in 15th C, however, forms without final silent b were common. This apparently double comparative is a nonce form, and may be intended to mark the deranged state of the speaker's mind. He is Peni-Boy sen. and is trying his dogs.

Stap.N.V.4.60(376) Are you struck Dummerer now? and whine for mercy?

34. Later, latter; latest, last

These double forms, which were originally interchangeable, have developed separate meanings. Latter, last now signify ordinal succession, and later, latest, degrees of time.

The O.E. positive was læt (= slow), masc. and fem. plural late. The corresponding forms in E.M.E. were lat, late. By the middle of 13th C, however, vowels had become lengthened in open sullables, and the new M.E. plural lāte was used also in the singular.

(a) Comparative

O.E. lætra > M.E. latre, latter. Latter was, therefore, the normal development of the comparative, later a formation from the new M.E. positive. Owing to spelling inconsistencies, which often represented long and short vowels by the same orthography, it is impossible to say when N.E. later with long vowel was introduced in the comparative. Differentiation in spelling and meaning of the two forms is difficult to establish earlier than 18th C.

Jonson once uses latter with the modern meaning of 'later'. The obsolete Biblical expression the latter day (= the day of Judgment), where the comparative latter seems to be used for the superlative, occurs twice in his plays.

Latter is still used archaically in referring to periods of the year and their products, e.g. Tennyson In Memoriam, line 922, Be near me when my faith is dry,/ And men the flies of latter spring.

(i) Latter (= N.E. later)

Cat.IV.326(508) Thy latter nuptialls I let passe in silence

(ii) Latter (= N.E. last)

T.T.III.1.76(43) Receive me at the latter day, if I/ Ere thought of any such matter
E.M.I.H.III.1.141(236) the world shall be consum'd with fire and brimstone in the latter day

(b) Superlative

O.E. lætest was found in Anglian, but elsewhere this was an adverbial superlative, the adjectival form being lætemesta. The M.E. adjectival superlative was lattste (syncope of e before -st originated with inflected forms) or last. As in the case of best, the final -t of the O.E. stem was assimilated to the -st of the superlative suffix. N.E. latest, like later, is a new formation from E.M.E. lāte, the first example so spelt in N.E.D. being from Shakespeare. According to Schmidt (Shakespeare Lexicon p.629), latest in Shakespeare always means 'last'. Conversely, Jonson once uses last with the modern meaning of 'latest'.

(i) Last (= N.E. latest)

E.M.O.H.II.5.20(487) how like you the fashion? it's the last edition

(ii) Latest (= N.E. last)

Not found in Jonson; but cf.

Shakes. Othello I.3.28 To leave that latest, which concerns him first.

Similar uses occur frequently in 16th and 17th C. Drayton has an instance of the two forms with the same meaning in a single line:

Idea 61, Now at the last gaspe of Loves latest Breath (= last)

Note: Jonson has an example of latest, with the meaning 'most recently':

Sej.IV.22(419) They, that latest have/ (By being made guiltie) added reputation/ To Afers eloquence

35. Farther (farder), Further (furder); and the corresponding superlative forms.

M.E. had both ferther and further, ferthest and furthest. M.E. further, ferthest became farther, farthest by the regular L.M.E. change of [ɛr] to [ar]. Forms like farder, fardest in E.N.E. are due to the tendency to change [rð] to [rd] (cf. O.E.

S.S.Argu.II.30(26) begins to doubt his owne understanding, rather then affront her farder
C.M.226(572) Or durst I goe farder/ In methode & order
Revels II.3.39(71) Your courtier theorique, is, hee, that hath arriv'd to his fardest (F_2 farthest)

(b) Furder, further and furdest, furthest

(i) Comparative or superlative of far (mainly adverbial uses)

T.T.IV.6.104(76) I nere was furder then the Barne
Volp.V.4.72(121) Mer.2. Yet furder. Per. Good sir, creep (F_2 farther)
Ober.295(351) At the further end of all, Oberon, in a chariot

(ii) No notion of distance (adjectival uses of the comparative)

Jonson does not use further or furder adjectivally, with the meaning of 'additional'. Shakespeare, however, does e.g.:

Lucrece 689, this forced league doth force a further strife

(iii) Intermediate uses (mixed)

Epic.IV.5.40(236) I must have this matter goe no furder betweene you (F_2 further)
" II.5.47(194) I will trie her further
P.A.207(536) if yet/ Pans orgies you will further fit
G.M.532(582) And, to shewe his Envie further,/ Here he chargeth you with murther

36. Use of comparative elder for modern older

The O.E. mutated comparative and superlative of W.S. eald and Anglian ald were as follows:

eald	ieldra, yldra	ieldest(a), yldest(a)
ald	ældra*	ældest(a)*

In the S.W. dialect of M.E. the L.W.S. comparative yldra survived as uldre, ildre until the 13th C.

The N.E. positive old is derived from Anglian ald as follows:- ald > L.O.E. āld > [ɔ̄ld](S. of Humber before 1200) > N.E. old. Older and oldest, the now regular comparative and superlative, were new formations, the first appearing as alder at the beginning of the 13th C, and the second as aldest at the beginning of the 14th C.

Elder, eldest and older, oldest seem to have been employed as alternative forms without distinction of meaning or application as late as the 17th C, and even after that date their use is sometimes

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* eldra, eldest(a) in dialects that raised æ to e.

confused. Briefly, it may be said that, from about 18th C, elder and eldest are reserved for indicating seniority in family relationships. Fowler (M.E.U. p.130) says that "for this purpose the old-forms are not used except when the age has other than a comparative importance or when comparison is not the obvious point". Thus "Is there no older son? means Is there none more competent by age than this one?"

The eld- forms are used by both Jonson and Shakespeare in their old sense.

M.Beaut.330 & 332(191) And then a motion he them taught,/ That elder then himselfe was thought./ Which thought was, yet, the child of earth,/ For love is elder then his birth.

Cf. Shakes. J.Caes.IV.3.56 I said, an elder soldier, not a better

37. Comparison of like

O.E. līc was a strong neut. noun, also used as a suffix to form many adjectives (modern -ly). The independent adjective lic, lik (later like) did not appear until the beginning of the 13th C. It was then regularly compared by means of -er, -est terminations, comparisons which survive, but which, according to the N.E.D., are rare in educated use, unless rhetorical or poetical.

Predicatively, perhaps the commonest modern usage, like has given way to alike, which takes the periphrastic comparison with more and most.

In uses such as Jonson's, however, like is retained in modern English, also with periphrastic comparison.

C.T.33(390) Doe I not looke liker a Cupid then he?

Cf. Shakes. L.L.L.V.2.824 Long. ... but the time is long. Maria.The liker you; few taller are so young
L.L.L.IV.2.81 Marry, master schoolmaster, he that is likest to a hogshead

38. Moe, mo, for more; more, most (= greater, greatest)

(a) In O.E. the adjective micel (great) and the adverb micle (much) were compared as follows :-

micel	māra	mæst
micle	mā	mæst

The forms ma, mo, moo, moe, which were used adjectivally as well as adverbially from O.E. to 19th C, were therefore derived

from the comparative of the adverb. Cognate forms are still employed archaically and dialectally.

When mā was used absolutely in O.E. it was regarded as a quasi-substantive followed by the partitive genitive, and the verb agreed with it in the singular. Later it became simply an adjective, usually with plural noun and verb in agreement. This was the commonest usage in 16th C.

E.M.I.H.I.3.57(208) it would eene crie moe fooles yet
Cat.III.52(470) Some turbulent practises/ Alreadie on foot, and rumors of moe dangers
Ober.28(342) List! I would I could heare mo

Cf. Shakes.Macbeth V.3.35 Send out moe horses
" Wint.Tale I.2.8 many thousands moe

Note: Gill (Log. Angl. Ch.IX) distinguishes the comparisons much, more, most and many, mo, most. The fact (according to the N.E.D.) that more is not used either in the Bible or Shakespeare in the sense (a) 'a larger number of', (comp. of many), but only for (b) 'a larger quantity of' (comp. of much) and (c) 'a larger size of' (comp. of great), lends colour to his suggestion. Mo, on the other hand, seems to be used for functions (a) and (b) only. Thus there appear to have been in 16th and early 17th C the following notional possibilities:

many	mo	most
much	mo or more	most
great	more	most (See (b). These, of course, alongside of greater, greatest.)

(b) More, most in the senses N.E. greater, greatest* date from O.E., but do not seem to have survived mid-seventeenth century.

(i) more and most as comparisons of size

Epic.I.2.20(171) that's a more portent
Cat.IV.46(499) This magistrate hath ... by his sweetnesse, wonne a more reguard
N.Inn III.2.189(457) what's a more dishonor, then defacing / Anothers good
G.A.R.41(422) Corruption with the golden hands/ Or any subtler ill, that stands/ To be a more commander
E.M.I.H.V.3.327(285) Set high in spirite with the precious taste/ Of sweet philosophie, and which is most,/ Crownd with the rich traditions of a soule
Revels V.8.26(168) Thy favours gaine is his ambitions most,/ And labours best
Sej.II.286(384) He is the most of marke, and most of danger
D.A.I.5.15(176) His Vices are the most extremities/ I ever knew in nature

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* Even in N.E. great and much are not carefully distinguished. Jonson, for instance, writes, Revels IV.5.103(129) betray not your too much joy (mod.E. would have great)

(ii) more and most as comparisons of quantity

E.M.I.H.I.3.57(208) I tearmed it so for the more grace
" IV.2.19(259) for a more instance of their prepos-
terous humor (= another or better)
E.M.O.H.III.3.39(500) which sute (for the more sweetning)
now lies in lavander
Sej.IV.490(?) For your more surety/ Here is that letter too
Alch.V.5.32(403) my man, here, (fearing/ My more displeasure)
told me
K.E.717(107) And, for a note of more serenity,/ My sixe
faire sisters hither shift their lights

Note: Only more seems to be used attributively. The absolute use of most in comparisons of quantity is, of course, common in mod. English Cf. Shakes.Merch., I.1.131 to you I owe the most

39. Less, least (= smaller, smallest)

O.E. lȳtel (like N.E. little) referred both to size and to quantity, and so did the comp. læssa and the super. læst. The use of less, least for physical dimension does not seem to have outlasted the 17th C, smaller, smallest having taken its place. The double comparative lesser* (dating from 15th C) is still employed for smaller size in some technical and special uses.

E.M.O.H.IV.4.50(541) I have seen lesse noses grow upon sweeter faces
" V.6.47(583) somewhat a lesse dog
Cat.V.64(528) Catiline, there,/ Walking a wretched, and lesse ghost, then he
D.A.II.1.62(188) This looks too large for you, I see. Come hither,/ We'll have a lesse
E.H.149(140) the many falls/ Of sweete, and severall sliding rills,/ That streame from top of those lesse hills
L.W.B.121(812) When one's away, it seemes we both are lecs (= smaller)
Alch.I.3.54(310) The thumbe ... we give Venus;/ The fore-finger to Iove; the midst, to Saturne;/ The ring to Sol; the least, to Mercurie
D.A.IV.4.23(243) Wit. ... when the puppies came, what would you do?... Pug. Consult the Almanack-man which would be least?
G.M.445(580) Dares approach with a blott/ Or any least spott

40. Comparison of incomparables

Theoretically some words already express the least degree, and are incapable of comparison e.g. extreme. In practice, such words are often compared, and it would therefore be pedantic to regard examples like the following as solecisms:

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* e.g. L.W.B.86(810) They stood silent awhile ... till at last the lesser of them began to speake

C.A.V.9.17(181) Use your extreamest vengeance
M.Black 113(172) Art seene to fall into th'extremest West
Revels V.8.42(169) my darke worlds chiefest lights (So Sej.I.236 (363) and Stap.N.Inter.IV.6(362))
Poet.II.2.61(228) This is the perfect'st love (So Hymen 404(224))
K.E.292(92) Of which the greatest, perfectest, and last/ Was this
Mag.La.Chor.& Epil.3(597) To the supremest power, my Lord, the King

NUMERALS

Cardinals (See also Appendix II, § 18)

41. Use of twain for two

The O.E. cardinals 1 to 3 were declinable in all genders. For 2 were found masc. twēgen, fem. twā, neut. twā or tū. From the feminine and neuter forms is derived modern two. Twain, the now archaic relict of twēgen, lost its masculine significance in M.E. and became an alternative form for two. N.E.D. says it has survived mainly because of its use in the Authorized Version of the Bible and the Marriage Service, and because of its utility as a rhyme-word. But since E.N.E. twain has rarely been used adjectivally before a subject. Even archaic and poetic uses are now practically restricted to the following:

(a) After a noun, nearly always for the sake of rhyme, e.g.

Longfellow, Wayside Inn, K.Olaf IV.23 She had given the ring to her goldsmiths twain,/ Who smiled, as they handed it back again

(b) Absolutely e.g. Scott, Redgauntlet, Let.VII, We will pray him ... to tarry a day or twain

(c) Predicatively, meaning 'estranged', 'separate' e.g. Milton, Samson Agonistes 929, Thou and I long since are twain

(d) Substantivally, e.g. Byron, Letter to Moore, 24th Dec.1816, You received my other twain of letters

Jonson's instances fall under the second and fourth heads, substantival uses being for the purpose of rhyme.

M.A.54(631) I have serv'd here, man, and boy, a Prenticeship or twaine (absolute use)
Hymen.290(219) Iuga, her office to make one of twain:/ Gamelia sees that they should so remaine (substantival use)
G.M.457(580) So that may remaine/ The Glory of twaine

Cf. Shakes. Temp.IV.1.104 Go with me/ To bless this twain

42. Digit preceding larger number

When numbers exceed twenty, the modern order has the large figure before the digit. The first example of this order cited in N.E.D. is from a proclamation of Henry VIII in 1526. In O.E.

the unit always preceded twenty, thirty etc, being joined to it by and, e.g. one and twenty. This order was preserved for many centuries, and is still found in verse and archaic speech. Apparently the modern hyphenated form (twenty-one) had superseded it in popularity by 18th C. In the transition period such alternatives as twenty and one (from French) are found (see § 45).

The O.E. order is frequent in Jonson. Maetzner (Eng.Gram. I.A.3) says that it is uncommon above 50; but Gill (Log.Angl., Ch.XV) gives the limit, more accurately for 16th and early 17th C, as 59.

Ordinals took the same order* (e.g. E.M.O.H.I.3.48(453) one and twentieth, some raine)

E.M.I.H.III.2.73-4(240) one and twentie weekes (so G.M.1145(604))
D.A.II.1.80(189) two and twenty thousand pound
V.D.104(466) foure and twenty at a clap
Stap.N.V.4.26(375) five and twenty pound
Alch.II.1.52(315) eight and twentie dayes
E.M.I.H.(F)III.6.48(359) five and fiftie reasons

Cf.Shakes.Henry IV, Part I, II.4.180 two or three and fifty

43. Reckoning by scores

The L.O.E. word scoru (str. fem.) signified a 'notch on a stick'. Cattle and sheep were readily counted up to twenty, and a score was then made on the stick, and the process begun again. In O.E. it was a noun followed by the partitive genitive in the plural;; in M.E. it began to be used as a numeral adjective. N.E.D. says the word is now seldom used except in the combinations threescore and fourscore, or when groups are intentionally divided into twenties.

E.M.O.H.V.10.19(593) you are in for one halfe a score yeere
M.Qu.323(300) Thou shalt have ten, thou shalt have a score
T.T.IV.1.68(61) Foure score, and five pound
Stap.N.V.4.16(374) Till thou art fourescore, and ten; perhaps, a hundred
Alch.III.4.142(355) sixe-score Edward shillings
Revels I.3.37(53) in some eight score and eighteen Princes courts
Sej.V.743(465) look'd for salutations, twelve score off
E.M.I.H.IV.2.81(261) twentie score

Cf. Shakes.Merch.III.1.94 fourscore ducats

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* Above a century the order is usually hundred + digit + larger number e.g.
F.I.118(711) Being his hundred five and twentieth yeare
But see also § 45.

44. Use of hundreth for hundred

The last use of hundreth in N.E.D. is from Purchas's Pilgrimage (1613). The word hundrað, which is used in Lindisfarne Gospels, is of O.N. origin, and in its early history meant 120; later the word was wrongly applied to 100.

T.T.V.10.68(91) doth peck/ A hundreth pound out of his purse
E.M.I.H.IV.2.81(261) twentie score, thats two hundreth (So in the two following lines. Twenty score = 400; the miscalculation is thought by most editors to be intentional, and has therefore been retained.)

45. 'And' between tens and digits

In the Authorised Version of the Bible the conjunction and between tens and digits is common. It occurs once in both Shakespeare and Jonson, and may have originally been due to French influence.

Revels I.3.39(53) three hundred fortie and five ladies (In mod. English and joins the hundred and tens group)

Cf. Shakes. Troil.& Cres.Prol.5. sixty and nine, that wore/ Their crownets regal

46. Use of ordinal as cardinal

This is most unusual, and the single instance in Jonson is probably a printer's error, which was not corrected until after his death in the third folio.

Stap.N.I.5.86(296) His Father dy'd on this day seventh-night (F_3 seven-)

Ordinals. (See also Appendix II, § 19)

47. Use of cardinal as ordinal

This occurred occasionally in O.E. and is found as late as the 17th C.

E.M.O.H.I.3.33(453) S.Swithins, the XV day (This may merely indicate that the printer omitted -th after Roman figures)
Cat.V.153(532) Here's not the hundred part

48. Forms (a) fift and sixt (b) eight (c) twelf and twelv'th

(a) Fift and sixt are regular ordinals derived from O.E. fifta and sixta. Succeeding ordinals were formed with the suffix -oða, from which are derived the -th terminations of seventh, eighth, ninth etc. Fifth and sixth, on the analogy of fourth (O.E. feorþa), appeared in 14th C, and were used alongside of the

older forms until 17th C, when the latter fell into disuse, except in dialect. Jonson uses both the -t and -th suffixes. Only the former are recorded.

E.M.O.H.Induc.256(437) Crastinus (long after) added a fift, and sixt (F_3, 1692, fifth and sixth)
Revels III.4.77-78(91-92) a fift his foot;/ A sixt his hand (Q. fifth and sixth; in IV.1.209(105) fifth appears in all versions)
Mag.La.II.6.77 and 82(541) Fiftly, wealth gives a man the leading voice/ .../ Sixtly, it doth inable him that hath it/ To the performance of all reall actions (F_3, Fifthly, Sixthly)
" Chor.IV.22(578) spar'd us the vexation of a fift act (F_3 fifth)
M.Beaut.202(187) The fift/ TEMPERIES./ In a garment of Gold
S.P.H.286(331) Harry the fift
G.M.1271(608) The fifte of August
K.E.196(89) The sixt,/ OMOTHYMIA,/ Or Unanimity
M.O.157(786) Hey, Owle sixt

(b) Eight for eighth occurs from 13th - 19th C. As the -th suffix was used in O.E., loss of final h (making ordinal identical with cardinal) must have been a phonetic facility. Franz (S.G. § 236) draws attention to similar and permanent loss in case of height (O.E. hēahðu, M.E. heighthe, hyghte).

E.M.O.H.I.3.40-41(453) fift, sixt, seventh, eight, and ninth, rainy with some thunder (F_2 eighth)
Alch.I.1.113(299) Harry the eight
Mag.La.II.6.98(541) Eightly, 'tis certaine that a man may leave/ His wealth, or to his Children, or his friends
M.Beaut.218(188) The eight/ PERFECTIO
M.Qu.593(310) The evght, or owne Honor, Voadicea (F_2 eighth)
Ober.168(347) They are the eight & ninth sleepers?
C.H.M.297(447) As Christmas hath done, with his seventh or eight Son

(c) (i) Twelfe (as in Shakespeare's original title Twelfe Night) may be due to a phonetic weakening of the final -t of twelft* (O.E. twelfta), or the cardinal used as an ordinal see § 47). According to N.E.D., twelf was a common Scottish form from 14th - 17th C.

Volp.I.5.14(41) Tell him it doubles the twelfe caract (refers to a pearl)
C.H.M.227(445) This I you tell, is our jolly Wassell,/ and for Twelfe-night more meet too
" 244(445) And I my selfe, would have beene the twelfe

(ii) Twelv'th was probably a new formation from the cardinal twelve, the v-spelling of the latter appearing in the 12th C. The ordinal twelveth is not found in N.E.D. until 16th C, and it recurs (as twelvth) in the 19th C. It can, therefore, be counted a rarity.

M.Black.sub-title (169) Personated at the Court, at White-Hall, on the Twelv'th night, 1605

*The ordinal twelft is found as late as 17th C.

49. Twentith

The O.E. ordinal suffix of the -tig group (twenty, thirty, forty etc.) was -tigoþa. The latter in M.E. became -teoþe, L.M.E. -tiþe, N.E. -tith(e). But in 16th C spellings with intrusive e before -th were common, even although the vowel was rarely pronounced (see third example). Sweet (N.E.G. § 1172) thinks that analogy with the verbal inflexion was responsible; but this seems unlikely. The modern disyllabic pronunciation of the suffix did not apparently become general until 17th C.

C.A.V.12.28(184) Tis now well nie upon the twentith yeare (verse)
Cat.III.573(487) Now's the time, this yeere,/ The twenti'th, from the firing of the Capitol
" V.190(533) this yeere,/ The twentieth, from the burning of the Capitoll (verse - twentieth seems to be disyllabic)
F.I.118(711) Being his hundred five and twentith yeare (verse)

Multiplicatives. (See also Appendix II, § 20)

50. Formation: cardinal + fold

In O.E. the multiplicatives were formed by adding the suffix -feald (Anglian -fald) to the cardinal numeral. This suffix originally had the meaning of 'folded' (as in Lat. -plex, to which the form is related); but it soon acquired the arithmetical function of 'so many times'. In modern English the use is tending to become archaic. Adjectival and adverbial uses date from O.E.

E.M.O.H.III.8.43(520) twenty-fold/ Restore to all men (adv. use)
Poet.Prol.7(205) who writes, had need present his Scenes/ Fortie-fold proofe

51. Archaic 'centuple'

This multiplicative from Fr. centuple, late Lat. centuplus from centuplex, was in use both as adjective and verb from early 17th C to mid 19th C, the last use in N.E.D., in each function, being from Emerson. The word is now obsolete.

Epic.II.2.54(180) It were a vengeance centuple

52. Use of archaic prefix twi- (= two)

This prefix, which survives in twilight, was much used from O.E. to 19th C. With a noun it has the force of the multiplicative two-fold.

Mag.La.III.6.7(556) you shall pardon me/ For a twi-reason of State

53. Use of cardinal as multiplicative

The use of the cardinal for the multiplicative was not uncommon from O.E. to 17th C (see Kellner Hist. Outlines Eng. Syntax § 265).

Cf. Shakes. Henry VIII I.4.30 He would kiss you twenty with a breath

Revels IV.1.56(101) I preferre another now, far before him a million at least (= a million times)
Cat.II.168(460) shall please me/ ... a myriad better

Cf. modern American slang 'Thanks a million' (= a million times)

54. Use of ordinal as multiplicative

The modern practice of placing a cardinal before the word times to form the multiplicative was in use from 14th C (see N.E.D. under Time, II.19). The use of the ordinal for the cardinal in this function is, however, rare.

Revels III.4.74(91) a sixt times worse confusion (Q. sixth)

ADVERBS

Formation

Most English adverbs are derivative, being (a) formed from nouns, pronouns, adjectives or numerals, (b) identical with prepositions, or (c) compounds of prepositions and nouns, or similar formations. The most natural grouping of adverbs is, therefore, according to their mode of making. Only the more interesting forms have been recorded.

55. Adverbs from Nouns. (See also Appendix II, § 21)

One of the functions of case in O.E. was to convert substantives to the purpose of adverbs. Accusative, genitive, dative and instrumental could all be used in this way. Most of the surviving adverbs from nouns are group formations.

(a) Accusative Singular

In O.E. the accusative was used for notions of extent or duration of time, and although the case-function has been obscured by loss of inflexions (where they existed in O.E.), quite a number of old group accusatives are still in adverbial use, e.g. otherwise (O.E. oþre wīsan), the while (O.E. þā hwīle), yesterday (O.E. ȝistran dæg). Others, like the Biblical alway (O.E. ealne weg), which appears once in Jonson, and sometime

(M.E. sometyme), were affected by analogy with the strong masculine genitive inflexion (see b), either in M.E. or in the modern period. In 16th and early 17th C -s endings are found alongside of the older forms. Jonson has both. In modern English the -s endings of these pairs have superseded the old uninflected accusatives.

Revels II.1.65(65) and sometime venters so farre (the word dates from 13th C only, and has never been clearly differentiated from its corresponding -s form)
Volp.III.4.119(74) and be (sometime) so rap't/ As he would answer me, quite from the purpose
N.Inn IV.4.183(473) I am kept out a Masque, sometime thrust out (so line 293)
Mag.La.I.3.41(518) Dame Polish, her shee-Parasite,/ Her talking, soothing, sometime governing Gossip
E.H.65(138) Under yond' purslane tree stood sometime my cradle (so N.N.W.36(514)).

L.F.I.F.250(367) marginal note: This shewes that Loves expositions are not alway serious (Jonson's usual form is always, see (b)(ii)).

(b) Genitive Singular

Even in O.E. the strong masc. inflexion -es was extended to feminine nouns (e.g. nīedes for nīede); and this inflexion soon came to be regarded as an ordinary adverbial suffix, with later syncope to -s.

The O.E. genitive was productive of the largest number of N.E. adverbs formed directly from nouns. It could, for example, be used to express quantity or quality, time or place, manner or instrumentality.

(i) Original forms

E.M.I.H.III.1.176(237) and you wil needs know (M.E. gen. s. needes. O.E. already had an adverbial form nīedes)
Stap.N.I.6.19(299) I must needes say/ I lost an Officer of him
Had.M.15(249) who bends it the least way, must needs doe an iniurie to the right
P.R.V.47(481) I must needs say
G.M.1062(601) Cock-Lorell would needes have the Divell his guest

E.M.O.H.V.11.50(596) goe your waies (This adverbial genitive is found as early as K.Alfred's Orosius - see N.E.D. under Way IV.23.b.)
D.A.II.7.42(206) goe your waies in
Revels IV.1.80-81(101) shee was otherwaies furnisht before (This form occurs in N.E.D. from late 12th to early 19th C, but is now obsolete, the modern equivalent being otherwise)

Poet.IV.5.151(277) 'tis your only blocke of wit in fashion (now adaies) to applaud other folkes iests (O.E. gen.sing. dæges, strengthened by later prep. a = on, of. The full compound nowadays did not occur until late 14th C, when a less common form without -s appeared alongside of it).
Stap.N.IV.2.180(353) Poets and Bees swarme now adaies
F.I.294(717) Regarded, and rewarded: which few Poets/ Are now adaies

S.P.H.56(324) seats for knights/ That watched for all adventures, dayes and nights (O.E. niht was feminine; but, probably by analogy, the genitive sing. nihtes, used adverbially, was also found. See examples in Bosworth & Toller's A-Saxon Dict., p.720)

(ii) Analogous Forms

Volp.III.3.18(70) Yet, for his braine, it must alwaies come after (orig. O.E. acc. ealne weg, which gave M.E. alway. N.E.D. says the -s form (a pseudo-genitive) was intended originally as distributive, and the old form only for duration. The distinction, however, soon fell away.)
Stap.N.II.3.2(308) Alwaies too late!
K.E.248(90) The nature and propertie of these Devices being, to present alwaies some one entire bodie
Hymen.18(209) their sense ... should alwayes lay hold on more remov'd mysteries
L.T.C.6(735) whose ends ... ought alwayes to carry a mixture of profit (so L.W.B.117(812)).

D.A.III.4.47(222) plough Ladies/ Sometimes, to try what glebe they are. (The M.E. accus. was the regular form until 16th C, when the -s form appeared alongside, the latter superseding sometime in 17th C).

Note: Not infrequently the -s form occurs after the preposition at. This might be construed as an accusative plural.

N.Inn III.1.140(448) It may be reveal'd to you, at sometimes,/ Whose horse you ought to cosen
Mag.La.IV.2.29(565) I doe beleeve, and pray too:/ According to the Planets, at sometimes
" IV.8.5(575) Where's my sister Loadstone?/ Asleepe at afternoones!

(c) Dative and instrumental

The O.E. instrumental and dative, in the singular frequently, and in the plural always, have the same form; it is therefore difficult to know which case is being used. Most of the derived adverbs are plural forms, e.g. whilom (O.E. hwīlum), limb-meal (O.E. limmælum).

E.M.O.H.II.2.87(468) a man had need walk uprightly (O.E. strong fem. nīede may be a gen.sing.; but N.E.D. prefers to regard the form as instrumental)
Poet.Prol.7(205) who writes, had need present his Scenes/ Fortie-fold proofe
Cat.III.550(486) This will be/ Our last, I hope, of consultation.
Cet. So it had need.

Stap.N.III.2.134(332) Dop. Peace be with them! Reg. So there had need

Volp.V.10.30(128) he may be some-deale faulty (O.E. instrumental sume dæle, M.E. some dele. The form quoted was in good use from 15th - 17th C).

56. Adverbs from Pronouns

The only form that needs to be recorded is the use before comparatives of the instrumental sing. of the demonstrative se, sēo, þæt. This survives in many modern English phrases, e.g. the sooner the better (O.E. ðȳ, ðē). Only the now obsolete expression the rather is here noted.

C.A.II.1.60(126) he would resolve indeede/ None were at home, and so break in the rather
E.M.I.H.II.1.10(220) I knowing this conspiracie, and the rather to insinuate with my young master ... have got me afore in this disguise
E.M.O.H.V.2.17(567) He doth stay the rather ... to present your acute iudgment with so courtly ... a gentleman
Revels V.10.35(172) It will tarry the rather
G.A.R.13(421) which deed he doth the rather

57. Adverbs from Adjectives. (See also Appendix II, § 22)

In O.E. the adverbial suffix added to adjectives was -e, the locative and instrumental inflexion. Adjectives with -e endings were identical in form with the adverbs; and later all the latter were levelled with the adjectives by the loss of final weak -e in M.E. Modern English uninflected adverbs, e.g. He works hard (O.E. hearde), are nearly all of this origin.

Many O.E. adjectives were formed of noun or adjective + suffix -līc (= having the form or nature of). The corresponding adverbial suffix -līce came by constant usage to be regarded as peculiar to the adverb, and was then often used because of its greater definiteness instead of -e to form adverbs from adjectives.

In E.M.E. -līce became -liche in the South (12th C) and -like in the North and Midlands (13th C). These suffixes -lich and -like remained as late as 15th C; but alongside of the latter, in the North and Midlands, -li and -ly began to appear, both for adjective and adverb, as early as 13th C, and by 15th C were in general use. The old form -like (e.g. greedilike) still occurs in dialect. The origin of -ly may be weakening comparable with that of the personal pronoun ic; but N.E.D. thinks that the influence

of Scandinavian -lig was responsible.

The addition of -ly to any adjective became the regular way of forming adverbs in N.E.

The uninflected adverb of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama is not necessarily derived from the -e type of O.E. (see first parag.). Sometimes the suffix -ly was dropped by the best educated writers, not only in verse, but in prose. Matthew, in Cockney Past and Present, ascribes this use to Cockney influence (see p.191). It is common, therefore, to find adverbs of whatever origin identical in form with adjectives in 16th and 17th C literature. Attributive participles are similarly affected.

Forms without -ly

T.T.IV.4.29(70) speake plaine Sir
E.M.I.H.I.1.67(199) Oft sels his reputation vile and cheape
" I.3.113(209) you have an exceeding fine lodging
E.M.O.H.III.1.6(496) I am come to spit private in Paules (so N.Inn III.1.206(450))
Sej.I.261(364) Heere, he will instant be
Volp.IV.5.28(109) Speake free
Alch.II.3.251(239) H'is extreme angrie
N.Inn II.3.10(428) Do you speake plurall?
G.A.R.119(425) To waite upon the age that shall your names new nourish
C.H.M.42(438) Like a fine Cookes Wife, drest neat
" 279(447) And march as fine, as the Muses nine
G.M.439(579) But love you most zealous

58. Adverbs compounded of particle* + noun, adjective or adverb.

(See also Appendix II, § 23)

A large number of adverbs, some still in use, were formed by means of particles (preposition or prefix) placed before nouns or adjectives e.g. beside (O.E. be sīdan), anew (O.E. of nīwe occurs in Rushworth Gospels).

Substantival forms derived from O.E. may be in the acc., gen., or dat. case, according to the preposition governing them. In M.E. and N.E. -s forms (where they did not already exist) usually developed alongside of the uninflected forms, e.g. the adverbs besides and beside.

Adjectival forms (after 15th C) usually took -ly; but a large number continued to appear with the proclitic particle (es-

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* A particle is an indeclinable relation word or form, and includes both prepositions (independent) and prefixes (combinative).

G.M.1334(610) a woman true to no man,/ And is uglie, beside comon
L.W.B.154(813) more then any thing beside you have either mention'd, or fear'd

T.T.IV.1.26(60) Beside his letting fall the Huy, and Cry,/ He doth protect the man (prepositional use)
Mag.La.I.5.23(521) she would find them by their branching:/ Their branching Sleeves, brancht cassocks, and brancht doctrine,/ Beside their Texts
G.M.939(597) And I ha' lost (beside my purse) my best bride lace

Betime, betimes

Both forms appeared in the early 14th C, the former being slightly the earlier in the N.E.D. The O.E. weak noun was tīma (masc.), but the combination bī + dat. tīman is not found in O.E. Betime [bətimə] would, however, be the normal form in M.E. Betimes, like besides, is by analogy with the masc. genit. derivation of adverbs, and is the regular usage in Jonson.

Stap.N.I.2.80(288) What may my meanes doe for thee?.../... It is my birthday./ And I'd doe it betimes
Mag.La.I.2.(516) Make haste .../ That wee may goe to dinner betimes
" II.3.23(533) I say so Mr.Doctor, and betimes too

(b) Particle + adjective

The use of a, both as prefix and preposition, was much cultivated in M.E., and had various origins in O.E. (see N.E.D., pp.2-4). Some of these are considered below.

(i) Along

E.M.I.H.IV.3.53(264) as he lay along a sleepe (= at full length). The O.E. prefix and- signified 'against', 'facing'. As here used, the adverb appears for the last time in N.E.D. from Smollett (1761)
" (F)V.2.12(394) rudely, laid me along, in the open streets
Cat.II.353(466) Stage direction - She kisses and flatters him along still.
D.A.IV.4.80(238) I saw .../ A Lady fall i' the Kings sight, along./ And there she lay, flat spred

(ii) A = weakened form of M.E. preposition of

C.A.II.3.33(129) I shall weepe a fresh (= of fresh. Afresh, written as one word, did not appear until early 16th C.)
E.M.I.H.(F)V.5.69(401) They are married anew (= again. Anew, as a weakening of of new, (cf. N.E. of old) did not appear until 14th C. The word was commonly used in 19th C, but is now becoming obsolete, except in poetry.)
Mag.La.Chor.IV.17(578) to mould every Scene anew
Revels IV.1.27(100) hee's growne out of his garbe a-late (= of late, lately. The word was used from 1400 to

late 17th C, and even by Mrs.Browning as an archaism. Weakened a- is now written o', e.g. man-o'-war.)

(iii) A = weakened form of O.E. preposition an, on, used in adverbial phrases to denote manner, state, process etc.

E.M.I.H.(F)V.3.100(398) if I know the yong couple, aright (= rightly. This word occurred as early as L.O.E., but is now obsolescent.)
Volp.Ded.20(17) if men will impartially, and not à-squint, looke toward the offices. (The grave accent would seem to indicate that Jonson believed the prefix or the word itself was of French origin. N.E.D. suggests Dutch schuinte = a slope).

(c) Particle + adverb

Compounds of fore

The O.E. adverb foran was compounded with various particles, e.g. ætforan, beforan, onforan, tōforan. These came to be used as prepositions and conjunctions as well as adverbs, in the various senses of N.E. before, which has now superseded the other forms. Afore was still employed in 19th C in nautical phraseology. Tofore, written as one word or separately, was in good use until 17th C.

C.A.I.9.97(122) please you but take horse afore,/ Ile over take you
Cat.IV.380(510) they' are sent afore,/That tarry for thee' in armes
D.A.I.3.28(171) I look'd o' your feet, afore, you cannot coozen mee
Stap.N.I.6.18(299) to settle/ All things so well, compounded, for your wardship,/ The weeke afore
S.S.I.5.4(17) If it be knowne, afore, 'tis all worth nothing!
P.R.V.78(482) I thinck I said somewhat like it afore
Stap.N.II.4.98(315) They were 'holesome piles, afore you meddl'd with 'hem (used as conjunctival adverb)

C.A.I.1.4(105) As seldom hath to fore bene told

Note: Particles which retain their original independence, and which govern nouns or verbal nouns, e.g. a bed and a hawking, are treated under prepositions q.v.

59. Use of suffix -ward(s). (See also Appendix II, § 24)

The O.E. suffix -weard was mainly adjectival, being added to local adverbs to indicate a particular direction, as in N.E. 'a southward bend'. Adverbial function was secured by using these compound adjectives in the acc. or gen. case. Thus endings in -weard and -weardes date from O.E. and have, according to the N.E.D., always had potential alternatives. Tōweard and hāmweard are examples of the suffix attached to preposition and noun respectively,

but these formations are rare in O.E.

In M.E. -ward(s) was commonly appended to nouns, pronouns and adverbs (especially compound adverbs with proclitic particle a-, e.g. adownward, the modern forms of which are therefore aphetic.)

As regards meaning, no hard and fast distinction can be made between the inflected and uninflected forms. Euphony or personal preference may, however, dictate one form or the other. N.E.D. holds that -wards is usual when a definite direction is indicated, or when manner and direction are implied, e.g. 'when in reverse, the car moves backwards'. No distinction was, however, made by Shakespeare or Jonson; but the latter uses the final -s very rarely.

(a) T.T.I.1.87(14) And let this guard you home-ward, as the blessing
E.M.I.H.III.2.102(241) he voyded a bushell of soote yester-day, upward and downeward
T.V.H.219(662) turn'd the heeles upward (So K.E.W.58(793)).
Sej.V.438(453) Seianus must goe downe-ward?
Revels IV.1.205(105) how he could varie outward
D.A.I.5.11(176) Could you have believ'd/ ... a minde so sordide inward,/ Should be so specious
Mag.La.Chor.III.30(564) looke to your busines afterward, Boy
M.Qu.574(309) And, afterward, in his flight from Pompey, accompanied his misfortune
Revels IV.3.176(113) it goes backward
Sej.V.868(469) and force the sunne/ Runne back-ward to the east
D.A.I.6.110(180) To be said forward or backward
E.M.O.H.V.1.59(565) you must talke forward (though it be without sense ...). So M.A.312(640).

(b) Had.M.332(260) And as they forwards come, still guide their paces

Note: (i) E.M.I.H.I.1.1(197) here's a goodly day toward (This is a survival of the adjectival use of the O.E. suffix -weard. Adjectives of this type do not take -s, and are now obsolete).
(ii) Toward(s) as preposition. Both forms were used by King Alfred and are still alternatives, though the modern preference is for the -s form. Jonson has both, but toward is the commoner.

C.A.III.5.26(146) With my face toward thee
Sej.V.239(445) why is, now, my thought turn'd toward death
Volp.Ded.5(17) it behoves the carefull to provide, well toward these accidents (so Ded.21(17))
Alch.I.3.35(310) in right way to'ward riches
D.A.I.4.81(175) Please you, walk to'ard my house

Cat.II.232(462) there is a fortune comming/ Towards you

(b) E're (= ever), ne're (= never)

The O.E. words were æfre, næfre. Contraction through loss of the medial fricative occurred in both cases as early as 13th C. Variously spelt, and written with and without the apostrophe of elision, the forms were in common colloquial and poetic use in E.N.E.

The indefinite pronominal combinations e're (ever) a = 'any ... at all', ne're (never) a = 'no ... at all' were very common in the drama of the late 16th and early 17th C. These uses are almost certainly emphatic. The original combination seems to have been ever any; an instance of efre ani, where efre is a kind of emphatic adverb, occurs in L.O.E. (see N.E.D. under Ever, II.8.a). O.E. ænig was weakened to æi or ei in E.M.E. (examples of the latter are numerous in Layamon's Brut and the Ancren Riwle); and this may have been the source of a.

E're (ever) a, and the negative ne're (never) a, were regular indefinite pronominal combinations, with emphatic force, from 16th - 18th C, and Wright has shown that they survive in the English dialects. Ever a is now distinctly bucolic; but never a has remained in modern Standard English.

(i) E.M.I.H.I.1.29-30(198) Can you tell me, and he have e're a booke of the sciences
" III.4.16(247) they should have been damn'd e're they should have come in, e're a one of them
Revels IV.1.43(100) would I might never dare to looke in a mirror againe, if I respect ere a marmoset of 'hem all
Stap.N.Inter.I.64(303) and lov'd the common wealth, as well as e're a Patriot of 'hem all
C.H.M.133(441) he'le say his part ... as well as ere a Play boy of 'em all

(ii) E.M.O.H.II.3.189(475) There's ne're a one of these, but might be a weeke on the racke
Volp.V.4.49(119) Ha' you ne're a curren-but to leape into?
Stap.N.I.3.53(292) Give me never a penny,/ If I strike not thorow your bounty with the Rowells

62. Sine = since

Like sin (see § 67 (d)(vii)), sine is a contraction of M.E. sithen (O.E. siþþan), and has been in use since 14th C. The spelling with final -e did not, at first, indicate length of the preceding vowel; but a transitional form with ī must have been used, since in 17th C and later we find the diphthong [aI], as instanced in Jonson's rhyme:

G.M.1274(608) And 'tis not long sine/ Yee drancke of his wine

Comparison (See also Appendix II, § 25).

63. Forms in -ly compared by derivative terminations

As we have been the adverbial suffix -ly came into general use in 15th C, and from its inception to 17th C took the same comparative and superlative endings ad adjectives, viz. -er and -est. Periphrastic comparison appeared a little later in standard English (N.E.D. has an example from Barbours Bruce (1375) 'He beheld hir mayr ynkirly'). By 16th C the periphrastic method of comparison was common with many writers; inflected forms, says Franz (S.G. § 246), belonged chiefly to poetry and dialect speech and were not general in prose. Jonson, however, still has a number of prose uses.

(a) Prose

E.M.I.H.II.3.140(230) I dare the boldlier maintaine it
Bart.F.III.6.75(84) Sir, if you be not quiet, the quicklier, I'll ha' you clapped fairely by the heeles
G.M.768(590) they will do theire tricks the cleanlier
Epic.I.1.53(166) we mocke our selves the fineliest out of it, with vanitie
" II.2.100(181) and him shee loves most shee will seeme to hate eagerliest

(b) Verse

E.M.I.H.III.1.97(235) I dare the safelier speake
Poet.I.3.47(219) O, in no labyrinth, can I safelier erre
Volp.V.12.102(134) Sicke men possesse fevers,/ Which, trulyer, may be said to possesse them
N.Inn I.3.142(414) 'Tis more,/ And iustlier, Sir, my wonder, why you tooke/ My house up
Mag.La.I.7.60(526) I know the Arts,/ And Sciences doe not directlier make/ A Graduate in our Universities

64. Comparative and superlative of adjectives used adverbially

This follows as a natural consequence of the use of adjectival forms in the positive (see § 57). Franz (S.G. § 246) points out that Pope avoided such forms as truer for more truly, so that probably the preference for the latter dates from 18th C. Actually, however, comparative and superlative adjectives are used adverbially in modern English more commonly than their positive forms, e.g. this wheel turns slowly, but that even slower. Sweet (N.E.G. § 1524) is probably correct in saying that such comparisons are confined to the spoken language; easier and cheapest are, perhaps, the commonest, but not the only adverbial usages.

(a) Inflected comparison

N.Inn I.3.48-9(411) To move his body gracefuller? to speake/ His language purer?
" IV.4.284(477) In whose power/ Was it to stay him, prop'rer then my Ladies!
Cat.II.61(456) shee dresses her selfe .../ One o' the best
" III.623(489) Then we shall kill 'hem bravest
D.A.II.3.25(197) he has his proiects, and do's vent 'hem,/ The gallantest!

(b) Periphrastic comparison

C.A.II.1.49(126) And live obscurely, to enioy more safe/ My deerest treasure

(c) Coupled adverbs

In coupled positive adverbs -ly was, for the sake of euphony, only appended to the second. In comparison the same practice applied, if the forms were inflected, e.g.

E.M.I.H.I.3.78(208) he doth take this same filthie roaguish Tabacco the finest, and cleanliest

If periphrastic comparison was used, more or most was usually added only to the first adverb, which might or might not take -ly, e.g.

Shakes. Meas. for Meas.V.1.36 And she will speak most bitterly and strange

65. Near as comparative (cf. far, § 35)

O.E. nēah, used both as adjective* and adverb, was compared as follows :-

nēah nēarra (adj.) nīehst, nīext
nēar (adv.)

The comparative adverb for the positive adverb after verbs of motion was used first in O.N. and occurs also in Dutch naar. In England the use of near instead of nigh, as positive adverb and adjective, dates from E.M.E.

On the other hand, near as a comparative adverb persisted until 17th C and was apparently still in use in seamanship in 19th C (e.g. No near! for 'no nearer'). The expression Never the near used by Jonson in The Silent Woman, was, according to

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* Adjectival uses are unusual in O.E., inflected forms being rarely found. Attributive and predicative uses of nigh are not common until 15th C, after which the new comp. and superl. nigher and nighest developed, and are still in use. Nigh itself is obsolescent, except in poetry.

N.E.D., common between 1560 and 1625, and is still in dialect use. Jonson's uses of nere, neare for nearer in A Tale of a Tub are dialectal, but it is convenient to group them here with the example from Epicoene.

T.T.IV.6.54(74) not afraid:/ But by your leave, Ile come no neare the barne (speaker, Squire Tub)
" II.2.118(31) we that are Officers/ Must 'quire the speciall markes .../ Of the despected parties ... else/ Be nere the nere of our purpose in 'prehending 'hem (speaker, Turfe)
" Epil.16(92) the Poets fortune is, I feare,/ Still to be early up, but nere the neare (speaker, Squire Tub)
Epic.IV.1.67(220) Tru.... He must goe where shee is. Dau. Yes, and be never the neere

Cf. Shakes. Richard II, V.1.88 Better far off than near, be ne'er the near

PREPOSITIONS

66. Original forms. (See also Appendix II, § 27)

(a) Again for against

O.E. on ean became M.E. ayen in the South. Northern again is derived from O.N. gagn. The now obsolescent N.E. pronunciation [əgɛn]** for again is a mixture of the two forms. About the middle of 12th C, on the analogy of tōgēānes (which had existed since E.O.E.) and other adverbs formed by the genitive termination of nouns, the forms ayenes, againes arose. Late in 14th C, when inflexions had weakened and were fast disappearing, the form in -st made its appearance as a preposition, final -t probably being intrusive. But the uninflected form again persisted, both as adverb and preposition. About 1500, however, again began to be restricted to adverbial uses, and against became the regular preposition and conjunction.

Jonson's archaic use of again as preposition (and conjunction) is not frequent.

Epic.IV.2.28(224) It goes againe my conscience
Bart.F.II.4.13(47) A preservative again' the Punques evill (In the rhymed cries of the ballad-seller. May be a contracted form of against)
Mag.La.III.1.30(547) Knights, one againe another (= opposite each other)
M.V.47(410) to commit miracles in art, and treason again' nature

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** This may have been Jonson's pronunciation, as appears in the following rhyme:
G.A.R.86(424) And we are then,/ To live agen,/ With men? (See also spellings agen several times in C.H.M.)

N.N.W.119(517) Sir, nothing againe Antiquitie I pray you

E.Black.161(774) forminge his mouth for kissinge againe he come at age (= in anticipation of his coming of age. Conjunctival use)

(b) Anenst = alongside of

The M.E. word anent is derived from O.E. on efen (= on a level with). Final -t (sometimes -d) was a phonetic development of the 12th C, corresponding to the intrusive -t of against (see (a)). Forms in -es (anentes and anendes) soon arose on the analogy of againes, with which the word had meanings in common; and final intrusive -t was again added. Anentst was in frequent use in the Midlands by 14th C and in literary English until 17th C; the older form anent (used archaically in modern English) was preserved in the North. Jonson's form anenst dates from 15th C only.

Alch.II.6.22(338) right anenst him, a Dog snarling

(c) Bove = above

The O.E. adverb and preposition bufan (beufan) passed into M.E. as buven, bove(n), but was already obsolete in L.M.E. The new compound abufan began to appear in the Northern and North Eastern dialects in the 12th C, first as an adverb, and then in the late 13th C as a preposition. In the 14th C it began to replace bove, which continued to be used only as an aphetic form of above in poetry.

Cat.III.500(485) the feare of punishment shall worke/ 'Bove all the thoughts of honor
D.A.II.1.93(189) I will save in cork/ ... 'bove three thousand pound
N.Inn Prol.20(405) When clothes and faces 'bove the men advance
Mag.La.I.2.27(516) Sets 'bove the Alderman!
S.S.I.3.13(13) And hang the bulled Nose-gaies 'bove their heads
N.T.102(685) He 'has Nature in a pot! 'bove all the Chemists

Note: The adverb 'bove also appears in verse

D.A.V.5.59(259) You had some straine/ 'Bove E-la?

(d) Fore = before

According to N.E.D., fore was used as a preposition alongside of before from O.E. to the early 19th C. Its use after 17th C was, however, confined to oaths and exclamations. By the 16th C fore was usually regarded as an aphetic, instead of as an original, form, and written with initial apostrophe.

It was probably thought to be an abbreviated form of afore (from O.E. onforan), the weakening of the prefix taking place in 13th C (see § 67).

E.M.I.H.I.1.110(200) fore God
Sej.III.74(359) 'fore our countrie, and our gods
D.A.I.3.7(171) 'fore hell, my heart was at my mouth
M.Black.259(177) And let them, 'fore the Britaine men,/ Indent the land

(e) Thorow, thorough (= through), and thorowout

The regular O.E. preposition was þurh; but in many of the allied Germanic languages the word had two syllables. A new disyllabic form þuruh (for stressed positions) was developed in L.O.E. and passed into M.E. and N.E., surviving mainly as an adjective (mod. thorough, e.g. thoroughfare). The reason for the persistence of through as preposition is probably to be found in the usual lack of stress on the word in this function. When the preposition required stress, as in verse, disyllabic thorough was generally employed as late as the end of the 17th C. Later uses appear merely as poetic archaisms.

D.A.I.1.145(168) Your subtilty can worke/ Thorow those organs
Stap.M.I.3.54(292) Give me never a penny,/ If I strike not thorow your bounty
S.S.III.4.6(47) I wish you had a windo' i' your bosome/ Or i' your back: I might look thorough you
K.E.35(84) over her state two crownes hanging, with pensile shields thorow them
M.Qu.301(298) Thorough these cranies, where I peepe

D.A.II.1.50(188) Thorowout England? Mer. Yes, which wil arise/ To eyghteene millions

67. Aphetic, contracted and unemphatic colloquial forms. (See also Appendix II, § 28).

A preposition is an undeclined relation word and in some of its uses bears little stress. Pure forms are maintained in modern literary English largely by spelling convention, many prepositions being slurred and clipped in speech.

Contraction, which seems to have started in O.E. itself, became very common in M.E. and early N.E. In the 16th C verse convention permitted elision both in stressed (e.g. upo') and unstressed syllables (e.g. 'gainst).

Sometimes the preposition became a proclitic particle compounded with the noun to form adverbs, e.g. aday.

(a) M.E. weakening of 'on' to 'a'.

The M.E. preposition on (from O.E. on, an, with rounded vowel) was weakened before consonants in the 11th C. Loss of final -n (cf. similar loss in the indef. article) produced the weakened forms o [ɒ] or a, where the unrounding was probably due to lack of stress. The latter apparently represents [ə]. The spelling a gradually superseded o (see (c)).

In colloquial speech these worn-down prepositions must have been extremely common during the E.N.E. period, which accounts for their frequency in the drama, both in verse and prose.

It seems, too, that a with the gerund usually took the place of the continuous tense, which, though used in the preterite in O.E. and in the present tense in 13th C, was slow in gaining acceptance until 17th C.

(i) Afore (O.E. on (prep.) + foran (adv.), the latter a dative of for)

Sej.V.457(454) here's another,/ ... will be afore him!
D.A.I.3.41(172) I acquaint you,/ Aforehand, if you offend mee, I must beat you (In 15th C often written afore the hand)
Mag.La.I.2.47(517) walking with my Lady,/ In consultation, afore the doore
S.P.H.352(333) so restor'd, that men/ For noble use, preferre it afore then (N.E.D. regards this as a prepositional use - see under Before B.II.8)
C.T.7(389) doe you thinke to get a foot afore mee, sir?
C.H.M.176(443) afore the King,/ the Queene, and Prince
E.Black.46(770) What? afore the Prince

(ii) With nouns in adverbial phrases

T.T.III.1.57(43) confesse a truths name
E.M.I.H.V.1.9(270) A Gods name (So Mag.La.III.6.191(562))
C.H.M.79(440) A'peace, what's the matter there?
T.T.I.6.52(23) He cannot be gone farre, being a foot* (so P.A.93(532))
C.A.III.5.11(146) Ile set his burning nose once more a worke
E.M.O.H.III.5.28(507) lie a bed
Epic.I.3.51(176) they come a' purpose, to see the silent gentlewoman
Mag.La.V.5.22(584) She dwelt in Doo-little Lane, a top o' the hill
V.D.106(466) the world runs a wheeles
Revels II.1.46(65) Hee loves to have ... a musician seene in his lodgings a mornings
Sej.I.307(365) Which lady sleepes with her owne face, a nights?
G.M.933(596) a Iett ringe I had to drawe Iacke Strawe

* Conversely, Jonson sometimes writes on foot, where mod.English would have afoot, e.g.
Cat.III.52(470) I know, beside, some turbulent, practises/ Alreadie
on foot
Mag.La.Chor. IV.20(578) not lose the busines on fool, by talking

hether a holidayes

(iii) With gerunds, usually to form continuous tenses

T.T.III.1.49(43) there are two vat pigs/ A zindging by the vier (dialect, but cognate with St. English uses)
E.M.I.H.I.1.32(198) I hope you will not a hawking now
E.M.O.H.V.4.26(576) lyes a soking in their frothy humours
Volp.I.4.57(37) I was a comming for you, sir
Stap.N.II.5.41(320) Your Fortunate Princesse, Uncle, is long a comming (modern Eng. in coming)
N.Inn II.1.43(425) You send me a feasting, madame
E.H.93(139) ô see, who here is come a Maying!
M.Qu.80(285) The Spindle is now a turning

Note: The same construction is sometimes used with passive meaning:

E.M.O.H.Induc.329(440) when the house was a building (= being built)

(b) 15th C weakening of 'of' to 'a'

The form a for of did not come into literary use until 15th C. It then became customary with some writers to drop the final -f of of before consonants, resulting in the weakening of the vowel to [ə], often written a.

C.A.I.1.6(105) A pox a God on you
E.M.O.H.V.5.81(582) body a me
E.M.I.H.I.3.51(208) its sixe a clocke (the original form of is sometimes found, e.g. E.M.O.H.IV.8.82(559) foure of clocke)
L.R.107(380) since seven a clock
Sej.II.333(386) They all locke up themselves a'late
Bart.F.II.2.81(43) two stone a sewet aday is my proportion

(c) Late 16th C contraction before consonants

As we have seen, the practice had developed in M.E. of dropping the final unstressed -f and -n of the prepositions of and on respectively before consonants. The accepted orthography of the unstressed forms in both cases was a, o appearing rarely after the M.E. period in Standard English (see N.E.D. p.2).

In the late 16th C, when colloquial contractions were in frequent use in the drama, writers and printers adopted the orthography o' for both the above; and the loss of final consonants of other prepositions, when dropped before consonants, was similarly indicated. It is for this reason that the following forms are grouped together; (i) and (ii) are identical phonetically with (a) and (b) above.

The device was commonest before the def. article, and was used both in verse and prose. The racy speech of the masques in the opening to Love Restored teems with these contractions; so does News from the New World.

(i) o' = on

E.M.O.H.I.2.63(446) sit o' the stage, and flout
Bart.F.I.1.4(19) Harrow o' the hill
N.N.W.202(519) Fac. How doe they live then? 1 He. O'th' deaw
T.T.I.1.(11) Now o' my faith, old Bishop Valentine
" IV.6.16(73) The blacke Oxe never trod yet o' your foot
Bart.F.V.1.16(113) now o' dayes
M.Qu.65(284) Up, Dame, o' yor Horse of wood
N.N.W.170(518) did he undertake this journey ... o' foot

(ii) o' = of

In revising the Italian version of E.M.I.H. for the first folio, Jonson scrupulously changed of to o' where it occurred before a consonant, and retained of before a vowel or h (e.g. E.M.I.H.(F)I.3.31(312) wispe of hay),

E.M.I.H.(F)I.2.8(307) living o' my owne (Q.I.1.85(199) living of mine owne)
Sej.I.571(374) I'le advance a statue,/ O' your owne bulke
Alch.II.2.14(318) Buy/ The covering of o' churches (= off of)
Stap.N.I.5.87(296) At sixe o' the Clocke i' the morning
L.R.11(377) A prettie fine speech was taken up o' the Poet too
N.N.W.202(519) Fac. How doe they live then? 1 He. O'th' deaw o'th' Moone

(iii) i' = in

E.M.O.H.I.1.30(443) i' the strength of apprehension
Bart.F.Induc.26(13) i' the Fayre
L.F.I.F.178(364) And is the new world i' the Moone
N.N.W.29(514) told twice over how many candles there are i'th'roome
T.T.I.3.32(17) Do you call your Son i' Law Clowne
Sej.IV.518(436) there are fleas i' bed
Mag.La.I.1.36(514) When ever I distrust i' my owne valour
" II.6.51(540) the soule of man is infinite/ I' what it covets
M.Qu.92(286) With a Whip, i' your hand, to make him goe
C.H.M.17(437) as good a Protestant, as any i' my Parish

Note: Frequently spelt y, i' is used as a particle, with and without the apostrophe, before the word faith.

Poet.II.1.45(222) entertaine them in the best sort, yfaith wife
Bart.F.I.2.17(21) Good y'faith (so P.R.V.63(481))
Poet.II.1.62(222) at these yeeres, I faith
E.Black.16(769) Youle bee thrust there I'faith, nurse
Alch.V.4.139(401) I am sorry for thee i-faith
L.R.66(379) I ha' little hope o' that ifaith
Alch.I.2.130(317) I-fac, I doe not (A common corruption for i'faith in 17th C. This example from Jonson is the first in the N.E.D.)

(d) Contractions in other circumstances

(i) wi' and w' = with

wi' seems to be used before the and you(r), w' only before you in the conventional greeting noted in (β). (Phonetic decay is common in forms of greeting. Modern good-bye is a contraction of God be with ye.)

(α) Alch.II.2.21(318) Hurt wi' the fume
D.A.I.1.147(168) the lesse need to carry 'hem wi' you
Stap.N.III.2.293(337) well, God b'wi' you
" V.2.2(369) conferring wi' your learned Counsell

(β) Epic.I.2.67(172) God b'w' you
Bart.F.I.5.102(34) God be w' you
D.A.I.4.103(176) Ingine, God b' w' you

(ii) upo' = upon

upo' was in good use from early 13th to 18th C, and remained after that in Northern dialect and Scottish use.

T.T.III.2.31(45) and not leave one/ To wait upo' your Daughter
Alch.II.2.17(318) Thatch will be light upo' the rafters
D.A.I.4.48(174) hee'll part/ With's cloake upo' these termes
Stap.N.V.2.2(369) conferring wi' your learned Counsell,/ Upo' the Cheat?

(iii) fro' = from

Fro and fra both appeared at the beginning of 13th C and probably arose through the influence of O.N. frā (cognate with O.E. fram). Since E.N.E., fra has been a Northern form, and fro' a contracted Southern form which has come into general literary use, especially in poetry. (See also Appendix § 9).

N.Inn I.4.15(415) takes in, fro' the fragments of their iestes
Mag.La.II.6.74(540) every piece/ Fro' the penny to the twelve pence
K.E.W.102(795) grindlestones:/ Which they dig out fro' the Delves

(iv) t' = to

This is commonest with the prepositional infinitive, but occurs elsewhere as a metrical device.

(α) Before infinitives with initial vowel or h

Shortening of to before vowels took place early in 13th C, when t was generally combined with the verbal form, e.g. tabyde. Infinitives beginning with

h then generally lost it, e.g. tave (= to have).

This contraction was very useful to 16th and 17th C poets, who, however, generally restored h. Shortening of to did not survive the 18th C in literary English.

In Jonson this contraction takes place mainly in verse.

C.A.I.6.33(113) I urge not this t' insinuate my desert (verse)
Revels V.4.635(157) Cannot but vent the Aetna of his fires,/ T'enflame best bosomes (verse)
Volp.I.4.22(36) your Doctors are the greater danger ... t'escape (verse)
Cat.V.374(539) 'Tis vaine t'attempt with speech (verse)
Revels V.11.6(175) For your faire paines, t'have earn'd Dianas thankes (verse)
Alch.I.1.168(301) you t' have but a hole, to thrust your heades in (verse)
T.T.II.6.2(39) You meane to make a Hoiden, or a Hare/ O' me, t'hunt Counter thus
Poet.Reader 58(319) Since ill men have a lust t' heare others sinnes (verse)

C.A.I.9.26(120) I would not wish my selfe a man and go with you, only t'enjoy his presence (prose)

Note: Sometimes elision of the vowel is indicated merely by an apostrophe.

T.T.V.7.50(86) And virge to'interpret, tip'd with silver! Sir (verse)
Sej.I.257(363) In mites, as small as atomi, to' undoe/ The knotted bed
T.V.H.40(657) some great spectacle he meanes, to night,/ To'exhibite

(β) Before other words with initial vowel or h

This elision of the vowel Jonson occasionally admits in verse.

C.A.II.5.13(133) Fourteene, or fifteene t'one. Good Angelo
Sej.I.448(370) Their free loves doe yeeld no lesse defence/ T'a princes state
Poet.Reader 21(318) He has a humor oft to talke t' himselfe

(v) int' = into

This differs from the preceding in that it occurs before the consonant t as a metrical elision.

Sej.III.692(416) transferring quite/ The substance of their makers, int' themselves

(vi) a for Northern at (= to)

This contraction survives in the now substantival word ado (originally at do). At was the Norse form for to employed before the infinitive, and came to be used in the North of England, where it survives in the Lancashire and Westmoreland dialects.

Volp.V.2.36(110) I had much a doe/ To forbeare laughing
Alch.III.4.2(350) I have had the most adoe to winne him to it
G.M.642(586) To prove a false Steward you'll find much adoe

(vii) sin' = since

Sin is a contracted form of M.E. sithen (O.E. siþþan) and has been in use since 14th C as preposition, adverb and conjunction. It is now chiefly dialectal, being used, according to Wright's Dialect Dictionary, throughout the British Isles.

E.M.O.H.IV.3.84(538) ever sin' yesterday noone (speaker, Carlo Buffone)

(viii) O're = over

Or appeared as a contracted form of over (O.E. ofer) in 14th C. In 16th and 17th C it was spelt ore, o're or o'er, the last surviving as a poetical or rhetorical contraction.

T.V.H.176(661) And o're the Execution place hath painted/ Time whipt

(e) Aphetic forms

(i) 'bout = about

E.N.E. about often lost its unstressed initial syllable, mainly in verse.

T.T.II.2.11(27) answer what you say,/ With my schoole-dagger, 'bout your Costard Sir
Volp.IV.1.141(94) I burst, immediately, in a discourse/ With a dutch merchant, 'bout ragion del stato (verse)
D.A.I.4.95(175) tender circles/ Cast 'bout the wast (So II.6.77(203))
N.Inn I.6.93(421) Stalke like a ghost, that haunted 'bout a treasure (verse)
Hymen.237(217) In sacred concords 'bout her seate

(ii) 'gain, 'gainst (= against); 'mong, 'mongst (= amongst)

Loss of initial vowel seems to date from late 16th

C only, and in Jonson's plays is confined to verse.

(α) T.T.I.3.48(17) I'ld play hun 'gaine a Knight, or a good Squire (II.1.13(25) 'gain')
N.Inn I.2.16(409) Your lodging here .../ Is a mere libell 'gayn' my house
T.T.III.9.60(58) Looke ugly 'gainst this day
Poet.Prol.11(205) 'Gainst these, have we put on this forc't defence
Cat.III.484(484) He that stands up 'gainst traytors
E.T.115(158) Could I commit a sinne/ So much 'gainst kind
G.A.R.70(423) So change and perish .../ That 'gainst the gods doe take so vaine a vow
T.V.H.106(659) carried with such tumor/ 'Gainst me

(β) T.T.IV.6.36(74) Send me 'mong Divels? I zee you love me not
Mag.La.IV.3.10(567) Nor are they throwne,/ To make a Musse, yet, 'mong the gamesome Suitors
M.Beaut.34(182) Or can/ A doubt arise, 'mong creatures, which is Man?
C.A.V.12.58(186) Do a poore man some grace mongst all your ioyes
Volp.III.1.9(66) Not bred 'mong'st clods, and clot-poules, here on earth
S.S.II.8.19(40) down unto the ground,/ Mongst graves, and grotts
L.R.226(383) And guards him naked, in these places,/ As at his birth, or 'mongst the Graces (so M.V. 226(416))

(iii) 'pon (= upon)

The N.E.D. gives this aphetic form in 18th and 19th C only, though it shows poun as a 16th C abbreviation. Initial unstressed [ə] was easily dispensed with in verse.

Mag.La.II.5.78(538) How doe they make a Countesse? in a Chaire?/ Or 'pon a bed?

(iv) 'twixt (= between)

The O.E. prep. was betweox; but there were many variants, including a form with final -n, and more rarely with final -t, which was intrusive and had no phonetic significance. The commonest M.E. form was betwix, though final -t is occasionally found. In 16th C the -t spelling became regular, whether in the form of atwixt or betwixt, either of which may have given the aphetic form 'twixt. After 18th C the latter is used only as a poetic archaism. Jonson's use is already restricted to verse.

Stap.N.Prol.20(282) And make a difference 'twixt Poetique elves
Mag.La.III.4.60(551) it will be a lasting Quarrell/ 'Twixt them, and him
Hymen.171(215) And wildest Cupid, waking, hovers/ With adoration 'twixt the lovers

N.N.W.295(522) but all 'twixt it and us,/ Thus cleares and helpes to the presentment
M.A.340(641) as they advance,/ 'twixt every Dance,/ Let us interpret their Prophetick trance

CONJUNCTIONS

68. Original forms. (See also Appendix II, § 29)

(a) By cause

Early in 14th C the preposition by followed by the noun cause began to be used as an adverbial and conjunctival formation. At first it was a phrase; but the single word because made its appearance in the same century. It was followed by of + noun, a dative infinitive, or a subordinate clause of cause or purpose. N.E.D. has no example of the phrasal form by cause later than Caxton, but the form history indicates that it appeared as late as 16th C.

T.T.I.5.53(21) Ile take my leave Sir .../ Bycause I may expect the issue anone
Epic.Ded.3(161) this dumbe peece should please you, by cause it hath pleas'd others before
D.A.V.4.24(257) Dealt with the Linnen-drapers, on my private,/ By cause, I fear'd, they were the likelyest ever/ To stirre
N.T.228(688) Bycause, Sir, you shall see I am a Poet

(b) Whilest, whilst

The adverb hwīle, accus. sing. of hwīl (see formation of adverbs, § 55), came into use in 11th C, and was used conjunctivally in the next century. The new adverb whiles, which appeared in 14th C, was probably a pseudo-genitive, and was used mainly in compounds such as otherwhiles. The conjunction whiles, of the same origin, was, however, in use early in 13th C; it became archaic in 18th C. Forms with intrusive -t (cf. prep. against) began to appear in Cursor Mundi (late 13th C), and the syncopated form whilst, now the alternative conjunction to while, was used from 15th C.

Both whilest and whilst occur in Jonson, and it is doubtful whether he distinguished them in pronunciation.

Sej.II.235(382) Whilest to their thirst of rule they winne the rout (verse - the metre would indicate that e here was not pronounced; so in the next example.)
K.E.575(102) Whilest foure-fac't Ianus turnes his vernall looke/ Upon their meeting houres
C.A.IV.1.42(148) I will leave you, whilest I go in and present my self (prose)

Al.E.29(122) a bevy of Faeries ... began to dance a round, whilst their Mistris spake (prose)
Hymen.342(222) the whilst this song importun'd them to a fit remembrance of the time (prose)

(c) Ne

Besides its use as an adverb*, O.E. ne was employed as a conjunction (i) independently (= nor, and not), and (ii) correllated, ne ... ne (= neither ... nor), at least until 16th C. It is probable that both these uses were already archaic in 17th C, though there are examples in poetry as late as Coleridge's Ancient Mariner.

(i) Volp.II.2.127-131(53) No Indian drug had ere beene famed/ Tabacco, sassafras not named;/ Ne yet, of guacum one small stick, sir,/ Nor Raymond Lullies great elixir,/ Ne, had been knowne the Danish Gonswart

(ii) Ne ... ne was the regular disjunctive co-ordination for neither ... nor from O.E. to the early 16th C. Neither ... ne appeared at the beginning of 13th C, and neither ... nor at the beginning of 14th C; but there were many variants. With more than one alternative neither ... nor ... nor, though it has logical objections, has been in use down to modern times. In legal or other archaic language ne was retained as late as 18th C for one or more of the alternative elements.

N.Inn III.2.41(452) Herebert Lovel Appellant, and Lady Frances Frampul, Defendant, you shall sweare ... that you neither have, ne will have, nor in any wise beare about you, thing, or things, pointed, or blunt

69. Aphetic and contracted forms. (See also Appendix II, § 30).

(a) Aphetic

(i) 'cause (= because)

This conjunctival use of a noun for prep. + noun is

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* The O.E. negative adverb was ne, placed before the verb, and, in the case of auxiliaries and very common verbs commencing with a vowel, w or h, combined with it, e.g. nis, næbbe. N.E. not is derived from O.E. nāwiht, nāht, M.E. nought, being a phonetic weakening of the latter. Not was, however, not in general use in Standard English until 16th C, when it is usually found, as now, placed after the verb. Adverbial ne for not does not occur in Shakespeare or Jonson, but was still comparatively frequent in the Elizabethan period, and is found archaically as late as Byron (who has it wrongly separated from the verb), e.g.
Greene, Mamillia (1592) Twenty thousand infants that ne wot/ The right hand from the left
Byron, Ch.Harold, A youth who ne in virtue's ways did take delight

apparently of 16th C origin. Examples are common, even in prose, until late 19th C; but the form is now obsolete, except in dialect and vulgar speech. Jonson uses it in verse.

E.M.O.H.Induc.190(435) 'Cause the physician tells him
Cat.II.137(459) And, we must glorifie,/ A mushrome? .../ 'Cause he has suck'd at Athens?
D.A.I.3.45(172) I'll call you by your surname, 'cause I love it
N.Inn IV.4.203(474) No lesse divine, 'cause the prophane can reach it
Al.E.164(126) But a sorry entertayner,/ 'Cause he is no common strayner
M.Black.174(174) chardg'd his burning throne/ With volleys of revilings; 'cause he shone/ On their scorch'd cheekes
P.R.V.91(482) 'cause his vice was Inhumanitie/ hopes she with vitious hospitalitie/ to work an expiation, first?

(ii) 'lesse (= unless)

Unless dates from 16th C only; but forms of less and upon less occur early in 15th C. Conjunctions less than, shortened to less, are also found in 15th C. All forms are apparently derived from the O.E. adv. læs.

Jonson's usages are probably aphetic, and not original, forms. They occur in verse.

Poet.III.5.123(261) Yet, envy .../ Shall find me solid, and her teeth unsound:/ 'Lesse, learn'd Trebatius censure disagree
Alch.I.2.68(305) Not a syllable, 'lesse you take
S.S.III.4.16(47) But will not bide there, 'lesse your selfe do bring him
L.F.I.F.116(362) There, for ever to remaine,/ 'Lesse they could the knot unstraine / Of a riddle

(b) Contracted

(1) sin' and sin'e (= since)

The form history is the same as that of the adverb and preposition (see §§ 62 and 67(d)(vii)).

T.T.I.3.42(17) A Tiller o'th' Earth, ere sin' the Romans 'planted/ Their Colonie
Alch.I.1.165(301) That scarse have smil'd twise, sin' the king came in
D.A.III.5.10(223) I' have learn'd, Sir, sin' you went, her Ladi-ship eats/ With the Lady Tail-bush
Mag.La.Induc.47(509) I understand that; sin' I learn'd Terence
G.M.589(584) Sin' 'tis not for money, pray lend me yor hand
L.W.B.108(811) Mee seemes I grew/ Three inches higher sin' I met with you (So 125(812))
N.Inn III.1.74(446) The divell a bit/ He ha's got, sin'e he came in yet!

(ii) Wher (= whether)

The loss of intervocalic ð in this word began in M.E., whær, whar being found in 13th C. The contracted form whêr is not uncommon from 14th - 17th C; it occurs in many editions of Shakespeare (though, the N.E.D. says, without the sanction of folios of quartos) and according to Wright (Dial.Gram. § 314) survives in some of the S.W. dialects of England.

N.Inn V.2.55(481) I know not whêr I am, or no, or speake,/ Or whether thou doest heare me

(iii) All-be, albee' (= albeit)

This contraction (variously written) was probably becoming obsolete, except in legal and official language, even in 17th C. Its use by Southey in 19th C (see N.E.D.) was obviously a poetic archaism.

The conjunction albeit, from which it is derived, was properly a conjunctival phrase, a contraction of all be it that. Chaucer has the preterite, showing that the synthesis was not complete by his time, e.g. Boethius (1868) al were it so þat sche was ful of so greet age. According to N.E.D., the adverbial use of all before though served to emphasise the concession. In conditional and concessive uses of the subjunctive, conjunctions if and though could be dispensed with in M.E., and the order of subject and verb transposed; cf. mod. English had they for if they had. The first examples with though omitted in the N.E.D. occur in Chaucer.

Sej.IV.478(434) I, but his feare/ Would ne're be masqu'd, all-be his vices were
S.S.II.1.12(27) all-be knows her,/ .../ He nere, fra' hence, sall neis her i' the wind (Dialect, but cognate with St.English uses).
M.Beaut.350(192) It was no politie of court,/ Albee' the place were charmed

Note: The full form albeit, still in use, but somewhat archaic in mod.English, is also used by Jonson. It is followed, rightly, by the subjunctive; but Shakespeare's uses cited by Franz (S.G.§ 574) all occur with the indicative.

E.M.I.H.II.2.36(223) he is strong,/ Albeit my sonne have done him too much wrong. (So E.M.O.H.II.3.53(471))
C.H.M.199(444) Which you may know, by the very show,/ albeit you never aske it

VERBS

Inflexions of the Present Indicative Active. (See also Appendix II, § 31)

70. 2nd pers. sing. in -s for -est

Both forms date from O.E., -s actually being the original (see Wright O.E. Grammar § 476). In M.E. -es, -is, -ys were the regular terminations in the Northern dialects, and -est in the Southern and E.Midland dialects; the latter eventually prevailed in Standard English. It is possible that -s in E.N.E. was not a mere clipping, but a survival of the Northern inflexion.

On the other hand -s is generally used in 16th and 17th C poetry for specific purposes, (a) euphony (b) metre (the adoption of the -s ending reducing the syllables by one). It is employed mainly (though not always) where the stem of the verb ends in -t, and occurs as late as Congreve. Jonson resorts to it less frequently than Shakespeare.

E.M.I.H.(F)II.5.112(337) While thou insist's in this loose desperate course. (Knowell snr. is reproaching Brayneworme for begging, and thou was felt by Jonson, in revising, to be the appropriate form of address. The three-syllabled word insistest would, however, have spoilt the metre, and the ordinary elision would have lacked euphony*; so he wrote insist's.)
C.A.V.5.12(173) Rachel why comes thou not?

71. 3rd pers. sing. in -th and -s

The history of these endings is similar to that of the preceding. The best account of it is given by E.Holmquist, On the History of the English Present Inflections particularly -th and -s, and by H.C. Wyld in A History of Modern Colloquial English (pp.332-337). The account in Jespersen's Growth and Structure of the English Language, Ch.VIII, has been largely

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* But cf. Hymen.693(233) who art thou, thus that imitat'st my grace (verse)
and M.A.409(644) and Fate still offers what thou covet'st most!. (verse)

superseded, but is still valuable on the later history of these inflexions from 17th - 19th C.

The -s ending (originally -es, -is) came from the North, being found in certain Northumbrian texts of O.E. It was regular in the Northern dialects of M.E., and N.W.Midland writers used it as early as 14th C.

In the 15th C -s began to make rapid headway in the South against the -th of the Southern, East Midland and London dialects. Three theories offer themselves in explanation of this :-

(1) The first theory turns upon the fact, noted by Gill (Log. Angl.Ch.XII, p.69), that the original -es inflexion of the 3rd pers. sing. was syncopated or shortened to [s] or [z], unless the stem-final of the verb was s, sh, x, z, ch or ʒ (Gill's orthography for [dʒ]), in which case the inflexional -e could not be elided. The syncopated terminations would naturally be useful to poets for the purposes of metre and rhyme; and it has been suggested that poets used them first, that they soon found their way into prose, and so ultimately influenced colloquial speech. This theory is unacceptable for two reasons: (a) Literature and the ability to read were not yet sufficiently widespread to exert so strong an influence on current speech; and (b) the normal order in linguistic history would then be reversed; literature follows, but does not (at any rate until the 19th C) fashion, colloquial speech.

(2) The second theory, which Wyld favours and Wright supports (see E.H.N.E.G., § 334), suggests that the -s endings were adopted in the South by analogy with the auxiliary is. If, however, this was the source, it is strange that the common monosyllabic auxiliaries hath and doth yielded so much more slowly to the same influence, the process in their case not being complete until 18th C.

(3) We are left with the theory, which Wyld rejects, that Northern influence in spreading -s may have been direct. Wyld's rejection is based on the idea that regional contacts are es-

sential in popularising alien forms. If, therefore, Northern -s reached London, it must have found its way through the E.Midland dialect, and investigation reveals that its use in that dialect was extremely rare in 15th C. Wyld, however, overlooks the fact that Northerners, on business, must have come to London, as they do today, by the shortest route and with the minimum loss of time on the way. Often, indeed, their route would not pass through East Anglia at all. The frequency of other Northern forms in Standard English indicates that travellers from North of the Humber must also have come in sufficient numbers to have made their linguistic habits familiar in the city. The theory of direct influence is not, therefore, to be lightly discarded.

Whatever the cause, Holmquist has adduced sufficient evidence to show that, by the end of 15th C, -s was supplanting -th in colloquial usage in London and the contiguous counties, and that the practice was spreading to other dialects not previously affected by Northern contacts. Its usage was not confined to vulgar speech or to the language of any social stratum, such as the new middle-class. On the other hand, -s was rare in official documents, records and literature. It was sometimes used in poetry for the purpose of rhyme, but rarely within the line. The persistence of -th in literature was due to the traditional and conservative nature of the written language. In the poems of Surrey "-eth is regularly employed if the metre requires a full syllable, and -es (-s) if syncopation is intended" (Holmquist, p.162). The most frequent exception to the new order in all writers is the contracted form saith for sayeth, but syncopation is easily accounted for in verbs where the stem ends in a vowel. Holmquist thinks that syncopation could, however, just as easily have taken place before -th as -s, in fact did take place in Chaucer, Lydgate and Hawes; and he concludes that this tendency was only arrested between 1500 and 1550, when -eth was standardized in literature "in its old unsyncopated form" (Holmquist, p.166).

The increased use of -s in literature dates, then, from about 1550, though for this purpose the word 'literature' has to be restricted until 17th C to poetry and drama. The -th inflexion is used throughout in the Auth.Vers. of the Bible, partly owing to the influence of the older translations and prayer books, but mainly because literary convention held it to be the more dignified form. In learned writings, rhetoric, sermons, documents and records -th remains the regular form throughout 16th C. Letters generally employ -th (owing again to convention), though some writers, notably Queen Elizabeth and Gabriel Harvey, use -th for official occasions and -s for personal ones. In versified drama and poetry the texture of the thought, or the requirements of metre and rhyme, determine the use of -th or -s. Prose plays, on the other hand, especially comedies, called for the employment of colloquial forms, and -s predominates.

The fairly general acceptance of the colloquial form in the poetry and drama of the latter half of 16th C permits the assumption that it must also have been connected with the rise of a new reading and theatre-going public. There is plenty of evidence that playwrights and poets studied that public and were sedulous in their desire to incorporate popular linguistic forms and natural speech rhythms. Richard Hodges in A Special Help to Orthographie (1643) stated that though -th was still written, -s was always spoken. Hodges's unsupported statement is not to be taken as comprehensive or final; it cannot in any case be made to include hath and doth. But from its frequency in the drama after 1550, it seems probable that with the notional verbs -s was the inflexion of the spoken language long before Hodges noted the fact.

(a) Notional Verbs

-s is regular with Jonson*, except in the following cir-

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* Sometimes he indicates syncope of the original vowel by an apostrophe, e.g.
E.M.O.H.IV.2.81(533) stage direction - Deliro follow's his wife
Alch.II.2.1(317) Is our day come? and hold's it

cumstances, when -eth is used :-

(i) In dignified, solemn, or affected language

The -eth ending is commonly employed in the conventional prose of prefatory Arguments, Dedications etc. (see also examples under (iii)).

C.A.II.2.33(128) Your worship may commend him for a fellow fit for consanguinity, and that he shaketh with desire of procreation, or so (The cobbler, Juniper, affects the long and pompous word and the style of the pedant. He is often unintelligible.)
Revels Ded.14(33) It is not pould'ring, perfuming, and every day smelling of the taylor, that converteth to a beautiful object (addressed to the Court).
" V.9.9(169) the body of complement moveth not. (Stately language of the Masque addressed to Cynthia).
S.S.Argu.III.38 and 61(43) quitteth the place ... she escapeth them all
K.E.16(83) In the Freeze over the gate, it seemeth to speake this verse
F.I.315(718) Seemeth wee are call'd of a morall intent (Used by Scogan, 15th C scholar and admirer of Chaucer)

Note: (∝) Pronouncements of judges and scriptural language fall under this head. The habit of using -eth endings often remained with justices when not on the bench, and Puritans sometimes affected it through the influence of the Bible. Examples occur in Bartholomew Fair in the speech of Justice Overdoo and Zeal-of-the-land Busy.

Bart.F.II.2.137(45) Jus. ... the same thy Dove drinketh. (The Justice is not, however, consistent; four lines later he uses takes).
" II.6.12(56) Jus. ... who knowes, when hee openeth the stopple, what may be in the bottle?
" III.2.78(63) Busy ... your mother ... conceiveth it may offer it selfe
" III.6.46(83) Busy ... Idolatry peepeth out on every side of thee (in lines 72 and 77, however, Busy uses pricks and provokes)
" V.5.66(135) Busy ... He neygheth and hinneyeth (after vocalic stem-finals, including -y and -w, the -s termination is normally used.)

(β) Occasionally -eth endings are satirical imitations of the speech of other characters :-

Bart.F.V.5.59(134) The Motion asketh, if yours be a lawfull calling (Lanterne, in a wit combat with Busy, imitates his -eth endings)

(ii) In stage directions and descriptions

The usual inflexion is -eth, but there are several exceptions.

(∝) Poet.IV.9.Stage direction(286) Shee appeareth above
Sej.V.93 & 98(444) stage direction - he sprinkleth

upon the Catar milke ... and kindleth his gummes
Bart.F.II.6.59(57) stage direction - Hee picketh his purse
Stap.N.II.5.48(320) stage direction - Shee kisseth him. (Text - She kisses like a mortall creature)
T.V.H.3(655) Fame entreth, follow'd by the Curious
L.T.C.191(742) Venus here appeares in a cloud, and ... descendeth to the earth

(β) Exceptions

Cat.II.351(466) stage direction - She kisses and flatters him
D.A.II.2.132(196) Shee thinkes her husband watches

(iii) When the sound or rhythm would be improved

(α) Euphony (in verse and prose, chiefly to avoid an awkward proximity of sibilant and/or (af)fricative sounds).

E.M.O.H.V.5.66(581) hee (to requite their courtesie) oftentimes d'offeth his owne nature, and puts on theirs
Revels II.3.28(70) the grace of his face consisteth much in a beard
Poet.IV.9.19(286) Death cannot raze th'affects, shee now retayneth (verse; Jonson cultivates feminine endings for the sake of variety).
Alch.Reader 6(291) especially in Playes: wherein, now, the Concupiscence of Daunces, and Antickes so raigneth, as to runne away from Nature

(β) Elegant variation

Revels V.4.43(140) This tels tales well; This provides coaches; This repeates iests; This presents gifts; This holds up the arras: This takes downe from horse; This protests by this light; This sweares by that candle; This delighteth; This adoreth.
Sej.Arg.30-36(353) he raiseth (in private) a new instrument, one Sertorious Macro, and by him underworketh, discovers the others counsells, his meanes, his ends, sounds the affections of the Senators, divides, distracts them: at last, when Seianus least looketh, and is most secure (with pretext of doing him an un-wonted honour in the Senate) he traines him from his guardes
Cat.III.247-259(477) Ambition, like a torrent, ne're lookes back;/ ... being both a rebell/ Unto the soule, and reason, and enforceth/ All lawes, all conscience, treades upon religion,/ And offereth violence to natures selfe./ But, here, is that transcends it ... Cicero is lost/ In this your fable: for to think it true/ Tempteth my reason. It so farre exceedes/All insolent fictions of the tragick scene!
N.Inn I.3.120(413) who erres?/ Who tinkleth then? or personates Thom.Tinker?
S.S.Argu.II.37-42(26) murmurs, and curses, bewitches the Cooke, mocks poore Amie, and the rest, discovereth her ill nature, and is a meane of reconciling them all. For the sage Shepherd suspecteth her mischiefe, if shee be not prevented: and perswadeth to seize on her. Whereupon Robin-hood dispatcheth out his woodmen to hunt, and take her.

Note: In the following instance the change from -th to -s is probably casual, not deliberate :-

S.S.Argu.II.2.and 13(25) The Witch Maudlin ... commeth forth with her daughter ... Her Sonne, a rude bragging swine'ard, comes to the tree

(iv) When the exigencies of metre require the alternative form

(α) Extra syllable needed within the line

T.T.V.10.52(90) He frights Groome Clay,/ Out of his wits. Returneth then the Squire
Revels V.11.43(176) Honour hath store of spleene, but wanteth gall
Poet.I.3.53(219) With you, whose musicke striketh on my heart,/ And with bewitching tones steales forth my spirit
Sej.II.169(380) Not, if he wisely turne/ That part of fate he holdeth, first on them
Alch.IV.6.47(381) That casteth figures, and can coniure, cures
N.Inn III.2.144(455) Shall I stay captive i' the outer court,/ ... and not advance to know/ Who dwels there, and inhabiteth the house?
Mag.La.II.6.51(540) the soule of man is infinite/ I' what it covets. Who desireth knowledge,/ Desires it infinitely (Probably metre; desire seems to have been a dissyllabic word in 17th C)
" V.10.133(595) the peace drew on/ This new discovery, which endeth all
Hymen.151(214) So want of knowledge, still, begetteth iarres
" 898(239) Her left a curious bunch of golden kayes/ With which heaven gates she locketh and displayes
V.D.202(469) Behold a King/ Whose presence maketh this perpetuall Spring
M.A.445(646) The power that governes, and conserveth all
L.T.C.74(737) Love, in perfection, longeth to appeare,/ But prayes, of favour, he be not call'd on

(β) Feminine rhymes

Poet.IV.3.73-74(268) And alone prevaileth,/ Whilst sicke Venus waileth (in this song the rhymes are feminine throughout)
Volp.Prol.31-34(24) The lawes of time, place, persons he observeth,/ From no needfull rule he swerveth./ All gall, and copresse, from his inke, he drayneth,/ Onely, a little salt remayneth (all the rhymes in the Prologue, except the first two, are feminine)
G.A.R.17 and 20(421) But that his care conserveth,/ .../.../ And not what earth deserveth . (The masque opens with five quatrains, rhyming a b b a, the first and last lines of each ending in feminine rhyme.)
Similarly C.H.M.231 and 233(445)

(v) When the stem of the verb ends in a sibilant or affricative

The sounds principally affected are [s], [z], [ʃ]; [tʃ], [dʒ]. As in modern English, it was found phonetically difficult to elide the e of the inflexion after

these stem-finals.

The fact that -s was a colloquial inflexion before it became a literary one is partly established by these stem-finals, followed by -eth. Colloquial speech tended to clip and syncopate inflexions. With verbs whose stems ended in a sibilant or affricative, this could not be done, and so the conventional -eth ending tended to remain. Thus -s as a general inflexion made little impression on notional verbs with the above stem-finals until 17th C.

T.T.V.7.39(86) Your Squire-ships, Mother, passeth by
C.A.V.10.5(181) My gentle disposition waxeth wild [-ks-]
Volp.V.3.59(115) it sufficeth
Stap.N.IV.4.38(358) he discourseth or dissection
Mag.La.IV.7.24(573) the cause gone, the fame ceaseth
Hymen.441(225) forgive their ignorance whom it chanceth not to please
Had.M.314(259) But when it mixeth with thy spheare, and mine
L.F.I.F.278(367) Perplexeth and abuses (Rhyme with Muses in line 276 explains the change to abuses)
T.T.III.5.37(50) That somewhat easeth my suspitious brest
E.M.I.H.I.3.63(208) He useth every day to a Marchants house
Revels Induc.217(42) squeezeth out a pittiful-learned face
Sej.I.553(373) he himself refuseth
D.A.II.6.95(204) All that Love's world comprizeth (rhymes riseth in line 97)
Stap.N.III.2.120(331) Which she, the mother of sport, pleaseth to scatter
" IV.2.26-27(348) He raiseth Ramparts of immortall crust
S.S.Argu.32(8) Marian ... quarrels with her Love Robin-hood, abuseth him
Stap.N.III.4.62(342) then, all this vanisheth
" IV.2.87(350) I cannot thinke he finisheth that
Sej.V.368(450) the day approcheth
Stap.N.IV.2.27(348) He .../ teacheth all the Tacticks
L.R.212(383) tyran Money quencheth all desire
T.T.V.10.34(89) Chargeth the Bride-groome with it
Poet.IV.9.98(289) Feare forgeth sounds in my deluded eares
Cat.V.505(543) One urgeth death
N.Inn II.2.23(427) Mine then acknowledgeth/ The lustre it receives

In Every Man out of His Humour -eth endings with notional verbs occur only seven times, and all are occasioned by sibilant or affricative stem-finals. An interesting example of the strict use of -eth and -s by the same speaker in a single passage occurs in II.6.45-54 (490) of this play :-

FAST. Why, assure you, signior, rich apparell has strange vertues: it makes him that hath it without meanes, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enioyes it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties; makes continuall holy-day where it shines; sets the wits of ladies at worke, that otherwise would be idle: furnisheth your two-shilling ordinarie; takes possession of your stage at your new play; and enricheth your oares, as scorning to goe with your scull.

Note: (α) After the stem-final [ð] -eth endings are rare:

C.A.V.7.22(176) he sooths his humour
But
E.M.O.H.II.6.59(491) Out, out, unworthy to speake, where he breatheth

(β) In the earlier works -s after sibilant and affricative stem-finals is rare; in the later ones its use becomes more frequent.

C.A.IV.8.77(163) Stage direction - He rises
E.M.I.H.I.2.61(204) hee uses to take phisicke
Poet.IV.3.107(269) when hee comes home, squeazes himselfe drie againe
Volp.II.2.201(56) Would you live free from all diseases?/ Doe the act, your mistris pleases? (rhyme)
" II.2.244(57) where ever it but touches, in youth it perpetually preserves
Alch.V.3.61(394) It mazes me!
Cat.II.60(456) shee dresses her selfe .../ One o' the best in Rome
" II.351(466) Stage direction - She kisses and flatters him
" IV.158(503) What petty fellow this is, that opposes
D.A.I.4.31(173) it ravishes him forth
" II.2.132(196) Stage direction - Shee thinkes her husband watches
Stap.N.Induc.63(281) rowling himselfe up and downe like a tun ... and spurges
" II.5.48(320) She kisses like a mortall creature
" IV.2.53(349) She catches still!
Mag.La.II.2.15(530) Your Uncle promises
" III.4.7(550) There's nothing vexes me
" III.6.128(560) He but reherses
" V.10.54(593) and yet this Ironside clashes
L.F.I.F.240(366) Till her uttring it abuses (to rhyme Muses)

(γ) In revising Every Man in His Humour (Quarto) for the first folio Jonson sought to tone down the literary formality of the earlier version by bringing the dialogue nearer to the colloquial speech of the day. Endings in -eth after sibilant and affricative stem-finals were changed to -s, there being only one exception (E.M.I.H.(F) I.4.70(317)). The increased use of -s seems to date from about the time of this revision.

E.M.I.H.I.3.74(208) he teacheth me (E.M.I.H.(F)I.4.82 (317) teaches)
" IV.3.103(266) That toucheth not me brother (E.M.I.H.(F)IV.8.108(383) touches)
" V.3.78(278) he chargeth me (E.M.I.H.(F)V.3.7(395) charges)

(δ) Verbs whose stems end in a vowel or diphthong regularly take -s, except do. Where an -eth ending is permitted, syncope is unusual, except in the case of doth and saith (see (c) & (d)). The orthography doeth and sayeth, sometimes found, does not necessarily imply disyllabic pronunciation. A few -eth uses are noted :-

E.M.I.H.V.3.39(277) A Souldier, sir, he sayeth (prose)
Alch.II.5.44(335) Fac.... If you make it to flye, it flyeth. Sub. Inough. (The metre here requires a monosyllable; but the verse dialogue throughout is free).
Al.E.6(121) and (with his pipe in his hand) began as followeth (Prose. So 29(122) and V.D.127(467)).

(b) Hath and has

Jespersen considers that the frequency of their occurrence preserved hath and doth in ordinary speech longer than the -th forms of other verbs. Jonson does not use the -s forms with these verbs so regularly as with notional verbs. As both forms are monosyllabic, metre is not affected. But hath, being the literary form, is usually preferred in verse or solemn speech, in documentary and the higher prose; has in conversational prose. No rule can, however, be made, as numerous exceptions occur in both cases. The character, habitual manner of speech and intention of the speaker have to be considered. For instance, in Bartholomew Fair Justice Overdoo and Zeal-of-the-land Busy (a Puritan) use hath in prose dialogue, when they wish, respectively, to make a pronouncement or be prophetic. As examples under (i) and (ii) show, both hath and has can be used notionally.

In the Italian version of Every Man in his Humour hath is the dominant form, but has or ha's* is frequently substi-

* The apostrophe, which occurs also sporadically with do's, presumably indicates syncope of e.

tuted in the English version of the first folio. In Every Man out of his Humour, which is largely a prose play, hath is used 36 times and has 64.

(i) 'Hath' as the literary form

T.T.II.4.52(37) Hath the proud Tiran, Frost, usurp'd the seate/ Of former beauty
Poet.IV.9.91(288) what the sway of heaven/ Could not retire, my breath hath turned back
Epic.Ded.3(161) this dumbe peece should please you, by cause it hath pleas'd others before
Bart.F.Induc.108(16) whose Iudgement ... hath stood still, these five and twentie, or thirtie yeeres (The induction presents a covenant drawn between the Audience and the author in the usual legal phraseology)
N.Inn III.2.16(452) Oyez, oyez, oyez./ Wheras there hath beene awarded etc etc (Conventional language of the town-crier's proclamation)
M.V.256(417) Sure each hath left his heart/ In pawne to come againe

E.M.O.H.Characters 30(424) A slave, that hath an extraordinary gift in pleasing his palat (Notional use. Jonson's introductory sketch of the characters is in the literary style).
Sej.II.419(389) One, that hath phrases, figures, and fine flowers

(ii) 'Has' as the conversational form

E.M.O.H.V.2.97(570) Why, has she decipher'd him, gentlemen? (Q_3 hath)
L.R.174(382) 'Tis that Impostor Plutus ... who ha's stolne Love's ensignes
G.M.835(593) Ho, Prue, has he hit you in the teethe with the sweet bitt?

C.A.V.6.32(175) Has he his French linguist? has he? (Notional use)
E.M.I.H.I.3.164 and 168(211) he has no more iudgement then a malt horse ... he ha's not so much as a good word in his bellie (both notional uses)
Stap.N.Induc.41(280) which Actor has the best legge and foote?
Mag.La.Chor.III.37(564) A shrewd Boy! and has me every where.

(iii) Two forms used in same speech

E.M.O.H.V.11.2-3(594) Why, how now, signior Deliro? has the wolfe seene you? ha? hath Gorgons head made marble of you?
N.N.W.106-7(516) Who after a world of these curious uncertainties, hath employed thither a servant of hers in search of truth: who has been there and 519
Sej.IV.516(436) O sir, he ha's a wife .../ And hath a learned nose to' assure his sleepes (Notional use)

A few contrary uses are noted below :-

(∝) 'Has' in verse and solemn speech, documentary and higher prose

In the later plays (including, naturally, revisions)

Jonson uses verse for even the most colloquial dialogue, which accounts partly for the increased use of has in verse.

T.T.I.1.27(12) He has wak'd me,/ An houre before I would, Sir (So V.6.13(84))
C.A.V.1.13(170) the old begger,/ Hath pawned his word to thee, that none but thou,/ Shalt be his sonne in law. Chris. He has.
D.A.IV.5.31(245) though my Cousin heere/ Be a worthy Gentleman, yet his valour has/ At the tall board bin question'd

E.M.I.H.III.1.77(234) He will not sweare: he has some meaning sure (Verse. Notional use)
Sej.III.8(392) Bee cunning in them. Afer ha's them too
Cat.II.44(455) Forth, with your learned lady. Shee has a wit, too? (A colloquial passage, though in verse)
S.P.H.258(331)Here his glad father has him in the view (In this long verse speech of Merlin's hath is the form used)

(β) 'Hath' in conversational prose

E.M.I.H.(F)III.2.41(345) what breath of a coniurer, hath blowne thee hither
E.M.O.H.V.3.26(572) Upon my life, he hath stol'ne your dogge, sir
Epic.I.1.167(169) hee hath chosen a street to lie in
Stap.N.Induc.71(281) hee hath torne the booke in a Poeticall fury
Mag.La.Induc.79(510) This Gentleman hath found the true magnitude
P.A.54(531) One that hath showne his quarters, and plaid his prizes at all the games of Greece
M.A.157(635) For that, Sir, the Bear-Ward hath put in securitie (so line 160)

C.A.II.2.25(127) Why, she hath the name of a very vertuous mayden (Notional use)
E.M.I.H.I.1.83(199) hee hath but one sonne in the world (E.M.I.H.(F)I.2.5(307) has)

(c) Doth and Does

Both -th and -s forms underwent syncope in the earliest stages of the language (see § 126).

Does was apparently slower in gaining acceptance with Jonson than has. There is only one use of it in the Italian version of Every Man in his Humour (viz.V.1.71(272)); in Every Man out of his Humour, however, does is used 27 times and doth 24.

Doth is, like hath, retained in the later plays for verse and solemn speech, documentary and higher prose.

(i) 'Doth' as the literary form

T.T.II.4.47(36) See, how his love doth melt him into Teares!
Sej.IV.~~line~~ 363(430) That our night-ey'd Tiberius doth not see (verse)
Epic.2nd Prol.12(164) If any, yet, will (with particular slight/ Of application) wrest what he doth write

G.A.R.13(421) Which deed he doth the rather,/ That even envie may behold (Notional use)

(ii) 'Does' as the conversational form

C.A.II.7.139(139) Sebast. Hee sayes well, Onion. Valen. I indeed doo's he
E.M.I.H(F)I.3.35(312) he dos so vexe me
L.R.167(382) How? do's any take this for Cupid?
M.A.110(633) what Dutchman doe's build or frame Castles in the Aire?

G.M.1244(607) Admirable tricks, and he do's 'hem all se defendendo (Notional use)

(iii) Two forms used in same speech

Alch.I.3.47(310) your olive-colour'd face/ Do's never faile: and your long eare doth promise

Contrary uses

(α) 'Does' in verse and solemn speech, documentary and higher prose

C.A.III.1.17(140) alas, who doo's not know,/ That lovers periuries are ridiculous
E.M.I.H.V.1.71(272) She takes right after her, she does, she does (Verse)
Cat.II.21(454) How! Do's he bid you/ To anger me for exercise? (This passage between Fulvia and Gulla, though in verse, is highly colloquial)
L.F.I.F.150(363) Love do's often change his mood

T.T.II.4.50(36) To aske his Awdrey how she do's, and heare/ a gratefull answer from her (Notional use)
Poet.V.1.46(291) To quite the worship Caesar does to him (verse)
Sej.IV.173(424) He that is all, do's all, gives Caesar leave/ To hide his ulcerous and anointed face

(β) 'Doth' in conversational prose

C.A.I.8.10(119) Doth any man here understand this fellow?
Epic.III.4.45(209) I confesse, it doth bate somewhat of the modestie I had
P.A.89(532) he doth command any mans teeth out of his head upon the point of his Poynard

E.M.I.H.I.1.26(198) how doeth my cousin, uncle (F_1 doe, F_2 does. Notional use)

(d) Sayeth, saith, and saies, says

Jespersen's theory that saith was protected, like hath and doth, by the frequency of its occurrence, is not supported

by an examination of the plays of Jonson and Shakespeare. It seems that by 1600 sayes (saies) was firmly established in prose plays.

In dialogue the -th forms are comparatively rare in Jonson, while the -s forms are usual, even in verse. In Volpone, a verse play, -th occurs only once. There are two -th endings in the Italian version of Every Man in his Humour, both in prose and both changed in the first folio to -s (see (ii)). In The Staple of News there are no less than 16 uses of the -s form, which is used throughout.

One of the uses of saith seems to be in quoting an old proverb or saying, where it preserves an archaic effect.

(i) Sayeth, saith in verse

T.T.V.5.6(83) Pup. ... I have ask'd consent,/ And she hath granted. Hug. But saith Dido so?
C.A.II.3.21(129) Eate when your stomacke serves (saith the Physitian)
Sej.II.166(380) When the master-prince/ Of all the world, Seianus, saith, he feares
Bart.F.V.4.153(126) It is Hero,/ Of the Bankside, he saith (doggerel verse of the puppet show)
E.Black.253(777) And in fellowshippe calleth her whore,/ And sayth shee will pay her her score
M.O.68(783) And(as the Author saith)/ No ill meaning to the Catholique faith

(ii) Sayeth, saith in prose

C.A.V.7.4(176) What sayth monsier Onion, boy? (The speaker is Juniper, who invariably assumes the grandiloquent manner)
E.M.I.H.I.3.82(209) I shall have it he saith next Action (E.M.I.H.(F)I.4.91(317) saies).
" V.3.39(277) A Souldier, sir, he sayeth (E.M.I.H. (F)V.1.45(393) saies)
Poet.V.3.426(310) What saith Crispinus
Volp.II.2.41(51) I am not (as your Lombard proverb saith) cold on my feet
K.E.30(84) for, so the glorie and light of our kingdome M.Camden, speaking of London, saith shee is
Hymen., marginal note b(210) Lucan ... where he makes Cato negligent of the ceremonies in marriage, saith
M.Qu.562(309) alluding (as Hyginus sayth) to a rescue she made

(iii) Says, saies in verse

T.T.I.3.36(17) The Primitory Colon's; my D'ogenes sayes (so IV.5.4(70))
Sej.IV.488(435) Sayes, he could wish/ It were forborne to all (So V.406(452); V.302(448) say's)
Volp.I.3.12(32) What sayes he? (so I.4.27(36), III.4.111 (74), IV.2.35(95), V.9.4(126); III.4.78(73) Say's, so V.4.86(121); V.4.15(118) sai's)
S.P.H.158(328) If he were now (he sayes)to vow his fires/ Of faith, of love, of service

G.M.534(583) Sayes.../ He must all his torches light
(So 568(584))

(iv) Says, saies in prose

C.A.II.2.1(127) Why sayes my fellow Onion? (II.7.44 (136) saies)
Poet.I.2.88(211) He saies well (V.3.247(305) sayes)
Epic.V.3.101(259) Mr.Parson saies right
Bart.F.Induc.128(16) who can help it? he sayes
C.H.M.166(443) he saies the Players have lent him one too little
G.M.949(597) And Ticlefoot ha's lost his Clout, he sayes

72. 3rd Pers. Singular: Uninflected forms need, dare, list

(a) The irregular 3rd pers. sing. need, which occurs beside needs, became quite common in 16th C, but is difficult to account for. Analogy with the past-present verbs may have given rise to the uninflected form; and the existence of the two forms was possibly aided by the occurrence of similar adverbial uses (with and without -s) in positions which gave them the appearance of verbs, e.g. He had need(s) come.

In modern English the uninflected form need is usual when employed in the sense of 'being obliged to', e.g. Why need he do it? He need not do it.

Used intransitively, both forms occur in Jonson; but need is infrequent.

(i) Inflected

C.A.V.8.20(178) What needs all this?
E.M.O.H.Induc.279(438) He needs not, having a whole Iland to run through
Sej.III.287(402) there needes no farder cause/ Of crime against him

(ii) Uninflected

Alch.III.5.19(356) Shee need not doubt him, sir

(b) Dare (spelt thus from 15th C) was the regular survival of the O.E. past-present form dear. Early in 16th C the -s form made its appearance in the South. It was first used transitively only, but later took on the intransitive function also, followed by the prepositional infinitive. Both forms are used in modern English, dare being preferred in negative sentences (e.g. He dare not do it) or when the order is inverted, as in questions (e.g. How dare he do it?). The uninflected form is rare in Jonson.

(i) Inflected

T.T.II.4.56(37) No, sure the weather dares not so presume/ To hurt an object of her brightnesse
Poet.IV.7.20(283) He dares not fight with a puck-fist
Epic.III.2.14(201) Dares he ever speake?
Cat.IV.8(498) A face/ Worthy a man; that dares looke up (So IV.177(504))
Stap.N.II.4.46(313) no one dares breake/ Company from the rest
N.Inn Prol.25(405) Some are in a consumption of wit,/ Deepe, he dares say
Mag.La.III.4.40(551) Before you know, whether the amorous Knight/ Dares break the peace
M.Beaut.30(182) What ignorance dares make that question? (So T.V.H.184(661))

(ii) Uninflected

T.T.V.2.3(77) The Justice/ Dare not conzent to that
G.M.686(587) Denie it that dare (to rhyme are. The relative that may, however, be regarded as plural)

(c) List (O.E. lystan)

3rd pers. sing. lyst was found in O.E., being the usual Southern assimilation of inflexion -eþ to the stem-final t, from the original form lysteþ. List remained the normal form in M.E. and N.E., but in 16th C a new analogical inflexion -s was often added. The latter does not, however, occur in Jonson.

Assimilated form

Sej.II.185(381) it acteth what it list
Epic.V.4.28(264) weares as good colours when he list
D.A.I.4.31(173) it doth make him doe/ Iust what it list
Stap.N.II.3.20(309) Believe you, he that list (Possibly a subjunctive; similarly next example).
Al.E.15(121) Pipe it, who that list for mee

73. 3rd Pers. Plural

(a) Forms in -en

Jonson, in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XVI), says:

> The persons plural keep the termination of the first person singular. In former times, till about the reign of King Henry VIII, they were wont to be formed by adding en; thus,
>
> loven, sayen, complainen.
>
> But now (whatsoever is the cause) it hath quite grown out of use, and that other so generally prevailed, that I dare not presume to set this afoot again: albeit (to tell you my opinion) I am persuaded that the lack hereof well considered will be found a great blemish to our tongue. For seeing time and person be, as it were, the right and left-hand of a verb, what can the maiming bring else, but a lameness to the whole body?

The termination -en was originally that of the present subjunctive, but in M.E. it began to be applied to the Indicative in the Midland dialects, especially that of the E.Midlands, appearing alongside of the -es and -eth forms of the Northern and Southern dialects respectively (see (b) and (c)). From about the middle of 14th C writers in the London dialect, e.g. Chaucer, showed a marked preference for -en forms; but the termination was gradually weakened and lost, its occasional survival in 16th C being purely literary.

The -en plural of the present indicative does not occur in Jonson's plays, masques and entertainments, but examples are found in Shakespeare, who may have been influenced by Spenser. e.g.

Pericles II.Prol.35 All perishen of man, of pelf
M.N.D.II.1.56 and then the whole quire hold their hips and loffe,/ And waxen in their mirth

(b) Forms in -s

The M.E. Northern plural inflexion -es (later syncopated to -s) was common in the latter half of 16th C (see Wyld's account, H.M.C.E. pp.340-341). It was not, as it is now, a vulgarism of the illiterate; it occurs in State Papers, in the sermons of Latimer, the letters and translations of Queen Elizabeth, and in the works of most of the leading writers of the day. Wyld discounts the theory that writers were directly influenced by Northern forms, and thinks that -s was the result of form levelling with the 3rd pers. sing. (almost certainly the cause of the present-day vulgarism). Wyld points out that the -s inflexion did not appear in the plural until it had begun to assert itself in the singular.

Jonson's -s plurals are found usually when the verb precedes its subject. The following examples occur mainly in prose:

E.M.I.H.IV.1.30(257) out flies their rapiers (F1 flue)
E.M.O.H.III.6.174(514) there resorts your most choise gallants
Volp.II.2.152(54) there goes to it sixe hundred severall simples

Bart.F.III.2.49(63) What flashes comes from him!
" III.5.39(74) Ballad-man, do's any cutpurses haunt hereabout?

Alch.IV.4.50(374) my lords goose-turd bands, that rides with her (verse)

(c) Forms in -eth

The M.E. Southern plural inflexion -eth (O.E. -aþ) was used here and there in literary English until 17th C.

As stated in (a), the N.E. uninflected plural resulted from the weakening of the borrowed inflexion -en in L.M.E. But in London and the South -eth plurals continued to be used sporadically in colloquial speech, and even in written documents, during 15th and 16th C. Wyld ascribes this persistence of the -th of Southern tradition to the conservative usage of the upper classes (H.M.C.E. p.339). But it is just as likely that it was kept alive by analogy with the inflexion of 3rd Pers. Sing. - a theory which Wyld advances for the persistence of -es forms (see (b)).

No examples of the old -(e)th plural occur in Jonson that cannot be otherwise explained.

E.M.I.H.IV.2.34(259) I ... shewd them some two or three trickes of prevention hath got them since admirable credit (F_1 have. The correction by Jonson indicates that this may have been an overlooked solecism of concord due to the singular noun prevention coming between the antecedent and verb of the relative clause.)
" (F)I.2.95(309) the times hath sent us forth (F_3 have. Correction made by editor. Similarly, editors of Shakespeare changed plural uses of hath to have. Jonson may have regarded times here as singular (cf. N.E. news); but generally the word has plural function - see Nouns § 9).
Revels V.8.33(168) our Crites;/ Whom learning, vertue, and our favour last,/ Exempteth from the gloomy multitude. (Influence of last of these singular nouns may be the cause.)
Alch.II.3.13(321) I should be sorry,/ To see my labours .../ Not prosper, where my love, and zeale hath plac'd 'hem. (Compound subjects expressing more or less the same idea often occur with a verb in the singular).

Archaic prefixes and suffixes of participles

74. Weakening of O.E. past-participle prefix ge- to y- or a-. (See also Appendix II, § 32).

Germanic ge- was used with adjectives and nouns* as well

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* Adjectival and substantival uses, with rare exceptions (e.g. handiwork, alike, aware, enough), had disappeared even in the Southern and West-Midland dialects, where the verbal form persisted longest, by the end of 14th C.

as verbs, its function being threefold, to denote (1) association with (2) collectivity (3) completion or achievement of a result. The last accounts for its usage in both weak and strong past participles.

The prefix was lost in pre-literary Scandinavian, and, probably owing to influence of O.N., ge- had practically disappeared in Northern English by the end of 12th C. Its disappearance in the Midlands was sporadic, and where it remained it was in the weakened form y- or i-.

Y- or i- was commonly found in the dialect of London, and so retained in literary English until about the middle of 15th C. Later the past-participial prefix y- was revived by Spenser, and became a conventional archaism of the poets, chiefly in the form yclept (from O.E. clipian, to call).

In the Southern dialects ge- remained as late as 15th C, yielding place in E.N.E. to the weakened prefix [ə], spelt a. The latter survives in the dialects of the South to the present day.

Except in dialect (see Appendix I, § 14), Jonson uses the prefix y- sparingly and generally in affected speech. The prefix a- is equally rare, being employed only for metrical purposes. Both are followed by an apostrophe.

(a) Revels V.4.166(144) this is y'cleped the serious trifle

(b) Volp.V.6.25(123) You will be a'knowne, Sir

75. Suffixes -ant and -and for present participle

(a) The French present participle termination -ant found a traditional place in the language through heraldic and legal phraseology. Rampant is a modern instance. Other French present participles became modern English adjectives, e.g. regardant (still in use in 19th C) and observant.

T.T.IV.1(inter)47(64) a tame Iustice, or an Officer, rampant
Bart.F.Induc.124-127(16) A wise Iustice or Peace meditant ... A civill Cutpurse searchant. A sweete Singer of new Ballads allurant: and as fresh an Hypocrite, as ever was broach'd, rampant (The Induction is presented in the form of an agreement between spectators and the author.)
N.Inn IV.4.299(477) You might ha' knowne that by my lookes .../ Had you beene or regardant or observant

(b) The M.E. suffixes for the present participle were :-

South - inde (the source of -ing); Midlands -ende (same as O.E.); North -and.

Some Northern -and endings apparently passed into literary English, e.g.

F.I.291(717) fine tinckling rime! and flowand verse!
(Speaker Iophiel, who does not speak in dialect)

Note: In the 17th C use of errand for errant, the French pres. participle termination -ant may have yielded to the Northern type. But, as this is unusual, the more probable explanation is confusion with the noun errand (O.E. ærende).

N.Inn II.1.6(423) Pox o' this errand Taylour,/ He angers me beyond all marke of patience

Weak Verbs

76. Preterites and Past Participles in -t and -d for -ed. (See also Appendix II, § 33(i) and (ii))

The history of the suffixes from O.E. to M.E. was as follows:

		Pret.	Past Part.
Weak I	O.E.	-ede, -de	-ed
	M.E.	-ed	-ed
Weak II*	O.E.	-ode (-ade)	-od(-ad)
	M.E.	-ed**	-ed

Loss of final -e in preterite

The history of this in the various dialects of M.E. is given by Wright (M.E.G. § 417). Weakened final -e was dropped, and the preterite was thus levelled with the past part. By L.M.E. the same orthography was, therefore, frequently used for both forms. Final -e in the Elizabethan and Jacobean period was merely a spelling peculiarity; it was not sounded.

Assimilation

This began in O.E. and affected weak verbs whose stems ended

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* There was some confusion in L.O.E., as a result of which some Class II weak verbs passed over into Class I.

** In E.M.E., owing to the weakening of o to [ə], the Class II preterites and p.participles became -ede and -ed respectively. The former was later levelled to -ed. Spellings with medial y or i for e were extremely common.

in voiceless consonants :

Preterite: -de and -ede were assimilated to -te

Past Part: -ed was assimilated to -t

These assimilations, e.g. the past participle sett for seted, passed into M.E.

Syncope

This began in L.M.E. or E.N.E. The -ed of the preterite and past participle became vowelless, except in the endings -ded and -ted.

By 16th C syncope of -e-, both in preterite and participial endings, must have been almost universal in colloquial speech (except in endings -ded and -ted). In literature, verse sometimes required the extra syllable, and scriptural tradition kept the sounded -e- alive in such words as beloved, blessed and cursed. Though in modern English these words (along with learned) have the suffix fully sounded only in adjectival uses, with syncope reserved for the past participle proper, no such distinction appears to have been made in Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, as the following examples show. The determining factor must have been rhythm or metre.

T.T.I.2.3(16) A Contervarsie, 'twixt your two learn'd men here (verse)
Sej.I.191(361) Know you this same Eudemus? Is he learn'd
G.M.851(593) They are arrant learnd men all (prose)
Cat.II.44(455) Forth, with your learned lady. Shee has a wit too? (verse - disyllabic)
Stap.N.I.3.18(290) This is my Founder, this same learned Canter! (verse - disyllabic)
G.M.110(568) Reports sett forthe by the learned in the lawes of Cantinge (prose)
C.A.V.12.49(185) O blest hower!
D.A.II.6.44(202) there's some conspiracy of fortune/ With your poore servants blest affections
L.F.I.F.371(371) Gentle Love is free, and Beautie blest (to rhyme rest)
Stap.N.II.5.121(322) the blessed/ Pokahontas (as the Historian calls her)
Mag.La.IV.7.10-11(573) Blessed woman!/ Blest be the Peace-maker
S.S.II.4.24(32) I often have been stung too, with curst Bees (verse)
E.M.O.H.III.8.27(520) how cursed are the poore (But line 32, Curst be thy fingers - both in prose)

Spelling

The full orthography -ed, or the conventional verse elision -'d, was commonly used after both voiced and unvoiced stem-endings the practice which obtains generally today.

From 16th to 18th C, however, some writers and printers, prompted by the desire to spell as they pronounced, used -t in the preterite and past participle, if the stem-final was an unvoiced consonant preceded by a short vowel or a consonant*. Jonson, with his love of rules, observed this spelling convention fairly regularly at first. Thus, in the Italian version of Every Man in his Humour, he writes:

Voiced: wrongd, ribd

Unvoiced: accomplisht, wrapt, profest, balkt, transfixt

Spelling conventions such as this were bound to fall quickly into disuse. Carelessness and indifference produced many inconsistencies. Jonson himself did not strictly observe the convention**, especially in the later plays. Some examples of apparently inconsistent -d and -t spellings after stem-finals pronounced [s] or [z] are noted :-

(i) [s] in modern English

C.A.I.4.18(110) forc't (so V.8.59(179))
" III.4.32(145) inforc't
" II.6.44(134) forc'd
Revels Induc.191(41) practiz'd (So Mag.La.III.6.129(560))
Cat.V.114(530) practis'd
M.Beaut.277(190) ceas'd
P.R.W.34(480) lac'd
E.M.O.H.Pref.to Epil. in Qq 27(603) purpos'd

(ii) [z] in modern English

C.A.II.6.12(133) dispost
E.M.O.H.Pref.to Epil. in Qq.26(603) oppos'd
G.M.442(579) rast (Duod. ras't. The normal pret. and p.part. have always been rased)

Note: There seems to have been a good deal of variation between [s] and [z] in the pronunciation of words ending in -ce, -se or -ose. Gill's phonetic transcriptions of base and face in Logonomia Anglica are:

bäs (Ch.XIX, p.103, line 28) bäz (Ch.XXII, p.124, line 5)
fäs (Ch.XVI, p.87, line 29) fäz (Ch.XX, p.109, line 23)

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* For modern examples of these old spelling conventions see Lascelles Abercrombie's Principles of English Prosody

** Thus in K.E. he has both mixt (line 106(86) and mixed (line 255(91)).

Daines (Orthoepia Anglicana, 1640) has [s] for the noun Muse and [z] for the verb. Cooper (Grammatica Anglicana, 1685) has [s] for the ending of dispose, while Shakespeare in Love's Labour's Lost rhymes dispos'd with disclos'd, seeming to indicate [z]. The pronunciation of these stem-finals is, of course, by no means settled in modern English.

Double forms

In 16th and 17th C the number of double forms in the preterite and past participle was considerable; they were much reduced by the orthodox grammarians and lexicographers of 18th and 19th C. Jonson's forms are nearly always those of modern English, which suggests that their usage was already being stabilized in 16th C. Exceptions are his use of learned for learnt in the preterite and past participle of learn, and past for passed* in the preterite and past participle of pass.

(i) Volp.I.2.16(28) it learn'd to go a fishing
Mag.La.Induc.47(509) I understand that; sin' I learn'd Terence
E.M.I.H.V.5.82(401) I ha' learned (prose)
Cat.III.301(478) You have learn'd the difference
L.R.10(377) our dances learn'd, our masquing attire on (p.participle)
M.A.112(633) hath learn'd to misuse his owne tongue in travell

(ii) E.Black.102(772) an inspection, of what past from her
C.A.V.8.76(180) The time for my engag'd returne is past
Cat.III.505(485) Let 'hem call it mischiefe;/ When it is past, and prosper'd, 'twill be vertue
M.Black.196(175) In search of this, have we three Princedomes past

Source of Double Forms

(a) Shortening of long radical vowels took place in M.E. before double consonants and consonant combinations. The suffixes added to form the past tenses of weak verbs frequently produced this shortening.

(∝) In M.E. -t was used after voiceless consonants, e.g.

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* In modern English past and passed are differentiated in meaning; the former signifies 'elapsed in time', the latter is merely the past participle of the verb pass (= go). Past acquired its special meaning through the use of be in perfect tenses when describing 'events gone by'. But the differentiation between the -t and -ed forms does not appear to have been established in Jonson's time.

keep, kept, and generally after l, m, n and v, e.g. feel, felt. Parallel forms sometimes arose with the original long-vowel stem + ed, e.g. leap, leapt and leaped.

(i) Forms in -t with shortening

T.T.II.3.12(33) I meant not as you mean (So N.Inn II.1.33(424). Past part. ment F.I.316(718). O.E. mǣnan. Shortened vowel with -t appeared in pret. in 14th C; forms with -d lasted until 19th C.)

" V.4.18(83) A groome was never dreamt of (M.E. drēmen, which was used from 13th C, seems to be derived either from the noun drēm, which appeared about the same time, or from an unrecorded O.E. verb drīēman, drēman. The N.E. spelling dream must signify [drēm], indicating the radical vowel [ɛ̄] in M.E.; which suggests derivation from the noun. Spellings with intrusive p, drempt, dreampt, were common from M.E. to the late 16th C - see next example. Dreamed was still in use in the pret. and past part. in 19th C.)

C.A.V.12.56(185) I drempt of this (Cat.V.264(535) dreamp't)

" II.3.28(129) I wept you saw too (So Stap.N.II.4. 171(317). O.E. wēpan belonged to the strong conjugation, Cl.VII. A weak pret. wǣpde appeared, however, in O.North.(Lindisfarne Gospels). N.E.D. says that in its Germanic origin the verb was probably weak. In 13th C weak forms began to reappear and they predominated in 14th C. Preterite and past part. in -ed were not uncommon from 14th - 19th C.)

Cat.III.650(490) though horror leapt her selfe/ Into the scale (O.E. hlēāpan was a Cl.VII strong verb (ēō preterite). Weak pret. lepte began to appear in 13th C, and the pret. and past part. in -ed in 14th C; but -t did not occur in the past part. until 16th C. Strong forms of the verb are found sporadically until 17th C.)

G.M.662(587) 'Tis ods, you had laid it by to have lept her

Sej.IV.139(423) When not so much, but the bare emptie shade/ Of libertie, is reft us (O.E. rēāfian. Voiced preterite with -ed has been regular since M.E. Shortened stem-vowel with -t ending first appeared in pret. in 13th C, and in p.part. a little later. The word is now archaic and poetical.)

Volp.I.2.36(29) Of that an obstreperous Lawyer bereft me (O.E. berēāfian. Shortened vowel with -t appeared in pret. in 14th C. By 16th C both voiced and unvoiced forms were common)

D.A.V.4.23(257) I ha' procur'd it, ha' the Signet for it;/ Dealt with the Linnen-drapers (O.E. dǣlan. Shortened vowel with -t appeared in the preterite and past participle in 13th C; forms with -d lasted in the preterite to the 16th C, and in the past part. to the 17th C.)

Stap.N.I.5.57(295) many things beside .../ Are crept among the popular abuses. (O.E. crēōpan was a Cl.II strong verb, becoming crēpen in M.E. and creep in N.E. In 14th C weak forms creeped and crept made their appearance in the preterite, and gradually ousted the strong forms. In the 16th C shortened vowel with -t became the regular pre-

terite, and crept then also invaded the past participle, in which creeped had previously sufficed for the weak form.)

" Inter.IV.10(362) If he had left him to his ragges, there had beene an end of him. (O.E. lǣfan. The M.E. preterite and past part. lēved do not appear to have passed into N.E; left was in use in both parts of the verb by 14th C.)

N.Inn Epil.2.2(491) Lord of the new Inne,/ Clep't the light Heart. (A weakened form of yclept, from M.E. clēpe(n), O.E. cleopian. Shortened radical vowel with -t seems to have appeared in the preterite and past part. in 14th C, alongside of the -ed forms. The preterite became obsolete in E.N.E., and the past participle survived only as a poetic archaism (chiefly with -t)).

K.E.W.228(799) But he was wiser, and well beheft,/ For this is all, that he hath left (= 'behaved'. This citation is the only one given in N.E.D. In O.E. behabban meant 'to contain' or 'encompass'. The verb re-appeared, in the sense of 'conduct oneself', in 15th C, the stem being derived from the M.E. stressed form hāve (due to lengthening in open syllables). This radical ā survives only in the word behave. The earliest preterite in N.E.D. is behad (1520). Skelton has past part. behavyd in Magnyficence (1526), line 1366, and Shakespeare behaved in Hamlet III.1.35. Beheft may have arisen through analogy with bereft (O.E. berēafian) and left (O.E. lǣfan)).

(ii) Forms in -ed or -'d apparently without shortening

Sej.IV.287(428) Seeing it throwne/ Into the streame, leap'd in

D.A.V.2.13(253) which of 'hem and how far/ Out-leap'd the other

Stap.N.V.4.43(375) And, when/ Leap'd you on Statute?

Al.E.17(121) There he leaped downe (prose)

Revels V.4.166(144) this is y'cleped the serious trifle

K.E.W.184(797) Then Tawney fra' the Kirke that came./ Acc. And cleped was the Abbots man. (Verse, disyllabic).

G.M.13(565) With those highe favors, and those heapd increases (O.E. hēapian, from noun hēap. Preterite and past participle in -ed have always been regular. N.E.D. however, shows that the preterite hept occurs in Spenser (F.Q.III.7.33) and the past participle two years later.)

(b) M.E. Class I weak verbs with short radical vowel followed by -ll formed the preterite and past participle by adding -ed, e.g. fill, filled; but forms on analogy with (a)(∝)(i) developed commonly, e.g. spill, spilt (loss of one l being regular in such formations). This was responsible for a large number of double forms. But some must undoubtedly have been added to this group, especially in E.N.E., through spelling inconsistency; for instance, the French borrowing spoyle, spoile (O.F. espoillier, Lat. spoliare), which came into the the language in 14th C. (Spellings of this verb in -ll-

seem to have been rare). Both in the preterite and past part. spoilt and spoiled are still in use, but Jonson prefers the latter.

(i) Forms in -d

T.T.III.1.48(43) all the good cheare/ .../ Is spoil'd, and lost (So III.6.42(52))
Revels IV.1.36(100) that title ... spoild him
Sej.V.852(469) Deliver'd her to be deflower'd, and spoil'd
Stap.N.Inter.IV.3(362) and he has spoyl'd it all

(ii) Forms in -t

E.M.O.H.II.3.288(479) he dwelt somewhat too long on this scene (So Mag.La.V.5.23(584))
Volp.I.4.61(37) He smelt a carcasse, sir (So L.R.123(380))
Stap.N.II.4.179(317) To gather up spilt water (Preterite N.Inn IV.2.28(462)).

(c) In M.E a number of weak verbs with stem-final -d, whether the radical vowel of the present stem was long or short, suffered loss of the preterite and past participle suffixes, e.g. feed, fed.

In the past participle this contraction (without shortening) sometimes commenced in O.E. (e.g. gefēdd). The loss of the suffix in the preterite of M.E. fēden may be explained as follows : fēdde > fedde (shortening), and final [ə] eventually became silent. This took place in the London dialect about the time of Chaucer ; in the North it must have been much earlier.

Read, and often lead, preserved the spelling of the present in their preterites, which according to both Gill and Butler were pronounced red, led [ɛ]. A form [rēd] does not appear to have turned up in E.N.E.

Some verbs, especially those with i or y in the present stem of O.E., developed -den formations in the past participle, on the analogy of strong verbs, e.g. hidden (see § 83).

Loss of suffix in the preterite and past participle was commonest in Class I weak verbs with stem-final -d, e.g. spread (O.E. sprædan). Rid (O.N. ryðja) and shed (O.E. scādan, sceādan, strong Cl.VII) were added to the group in M.E.

In M.E. double forms of the preterite and past participle occurred in the two Class II verbs wed and shred; but in N.E. the old formations in -ded tended to remain and are now regular.

In the case of the verb plead (M.E. plaiden (13th C), O.F. plaidier, med.Lat. placitare), loss of suffix in the preterite and past participle (pled) only took place in 15th C. This form, spelt plead, was common from 17th - 19th C, alongside of the original forms in -ded. In the most recent modern English the forms in -ded are regular.

(∝) Long radical vowel (shortening accompanies loss of suffix)

T.T.I.1.7(11) If they be sped of loves (So G.M.435(579); E.Black.104(772) spedd. O.E. spēdan).
T I.6.10(22) watch'd the Cock,/ Till his first warning chid him off to rest (Past part. S.P.H.120(326). O.E. cīdan)
C.A.IV.10.16(166) Of no descent, clad barely in his name (So V.D.150(468). O.E. clǣdan, M.E. cleþen. The preterite and past part. clothed are derived from O.E. cladian).
E.M.O.H.I.3.68(154) lies hid/ Within the wrinckled bosome of the world (so Poet.Prol.12(205), (prose) Sej.V.551 (458) and (verse) Ober.264(350). O.E. hȳdan. Strong past part. hidden, which appeared in 16th C, probably by analogy with ridden, is now regular).
Sej.IV.351(430) led into exile (so Mag.La.III.4.55(551). O.E. lǣdan.)
Epic.V.1.88(253) which of you lead first?
Cat.IV.122(502) bred in's fathers needy fortunes (So Stap.N.I.3.56(292). O.E. brēdan; preterite L.R.97 (379))
D.A.IV.4.81(238) there she lay, flat spred, as an Umbrella (So S.S.I.2.15(12). O.E. sprǣdan)
Mag.La.I.1.29(514) I confesse you to be one well read (O.E., rǣdan)
Hymen.184(215) Her haire,/ That flowes so liberall, and so faire,/ Is shed with grey (O.E. strong VII sc(ē)adan, with ē- preterite. The verb was strong in W. Sax., weak in Northumbrian. The L.M.E, infin. shed, for normal shode, indicates change from rising to falling diphthong. N.E.D. suggests that weak forms in M.E. were not derived from Northumbrian, but arose by analogy with verbs like rede (read) and lede (lead)).
P.A.273(538) And well your flocks have fed their fill (So Chlor.28(750). O.E. fēdan)

(β) Short radical vowel (mainly Class II verbs)

(i) Loss of suffix

T.T.III.6.30(52) I went to Church to have beene wed to Clay (Verse. O.E. weddian. The form with loss of final -d occurs first in Malory.)

(ii) Form in -ded

T.T.II.16(33) rather, then he would be married to you,/ Chose to be wedded to the Gallowes first
M.Qu.550(308) her new-wedded Lord

(γ) Rid

Stap.N.II.4.191(317) Hee's glad he is rid of his torture
Ober.267(350) Of our palenesse to be rid

(δ) Plead

(i) Loss of suffix (with shortening)

This form does not appear to be used by Jonson; but Spenser employs it, e.g.

F.Q.V.IX.43 And with him ... came/ Many grave persons that against her pled

(ii) Form in -ded

Stap.N.I.2.7(285) your worship might have pleaded nonage

(d) In M.E. a number of weak verbs with stem-final -t, whether the radical vowel of the present was long or short, suffered loss of the preterite and past part. suffixes. Thus the preterite mette (from meet) > mett > met. A few words of foreign origin, e.g. hurt and quit, were added to this group; but most verbs derived from French (e.g. cheat and feast) preserved the -ted ending.

In the verbs of native origin new formations in -ted arose beside the contracted ones, e.g. whet, whetted; knit, knitted; wet, wetted; sweat, sweated; light(pret. & past part.), lit, lighted. A number of double forms were in use by 16th C.

(i) Loss of suffix

C.A.IV.4.5(154) the sacred spheare wherein our soules are knit (So N.Inn Ode 3(492), Mag.La.III.5.35(555), I.M. 155(404). O.E. cnyttan. Loss of suffix took place both in pret. and past part. from 14th - 17th C, being uncommon after that date.)

E.M.O.H.IV.3.97(538) They had spit. (So T.T.II.4.10(35) and Sej.V.156(442). There were two O.E. verbs with the same meaning, spittan (of Northern origin) and spǣtan. Both were weak and continued into M.E., and the principal parts of the modern verb are a mixture of the two (see Sweet N.E.G. § 1384). The modern forms are not, therefore, strong by analogy with sittan, though analogous past participles in -en have arisen in dialect.)

Revels II.1.67(65) he dares tell 'hem, how many shirts he has sweat at tennis. (O.E. swǣtan. Sweat as past participle remained in use until 18th C. Sweated began to compete with it in 17th C.)

" II.2.23(66) the invention is farder fet too (So Epic.Prol.21(163). Fett, from O.E. fetian, came into use in 13th C; its past part. fet became obsolete in 17th C. N.E. fetch is derived from another O.E. verb feccan. Platt's theory (Anglia, VI, p.177) that feccan is an altered form of fetian, is supported by

N.E.D. Fet was used as a stock past part. after far, though not always, e.g. Poet.IV.6.71(282) Their farre-fetcht dignitie of soule).

Epic.I.1.159(169) when the rest were quit (Preterite used in Alch.Arg.1(293). O.F. quiter, later quitter. As a result of the two French forms, M.E. had quiten (from 13th C) and quitten (from 14th C). The former was usual, but the form with shortened vowel, quit, occurred most frequently in the preterite and past part. of both verbs. It was not until 17th C that N.E. quitted became a regular form).

Cat.V.276(536) I should have quite defeated your oration;/ And slit that fine rhetoricall pipe of yours. (O.E. Cl.I strong vb. slītan became weak in 13th - 14th C. No M.E. strong forms are given in the N.E.D. The -t of the present stem was doubled.)

Stap.N.IV.2.103(351) a Torch, of Taper light (O.E. līhtan. The past participle light dates from M.E.; lit appeared both in preterite and past part. in 16th C.)

" Inter.IV.84(364) for ever, forfet (K.E.W.242(799) forfeit. The verb is derived from the O.F. noun forfet. In 14th C, when it appeared, the assimilated preterite and past participle were soon current, and the latter is still in good use).

N.Inn Argu.10(398) out of her hurt fancy. (O.F. hurter. The verb appeared in English in 13th C. Hurte and yhurt were at first the normal pret. and past part.; but in 14th C forms in -yd, -id occurred. Hurted remained an alternative as late as 19th C.)

" II.1.62(425) If I have over-shot, I'le shoote no more (preterite S.S.I.1.7(11). O.E. scēotan was a Cl.II strong verb, which retained sporadically its strong preterite till 15th C, and its strong past participle (shotten) till the 19th C. There was in O.E. also a derivative weak verb scotian, with the stem of which the noun shot is probably related. The radical vowel of the 14th C weak pret. and past part. shot(te), the origin of the present forms, is of uncertain descent. It may be from the O.E. weak verb; or arise from the fact that ēo became a rising diphthong, later monophthongised and shortened; or analogy with the past part. stem may account for it. An alternative form shooted only occurred in the preterite, and is mainly confined to 16th C.)

N.Inn IV.1.2(460) Bar. I' the foule weather. Iug. Which has wet thee, Ban. (O.E. wǣtan. Loss of suffix in the pret. and past part., after shortening of the radical vowel, seems to have taken place in L.M.E. In 16th C the stem with short vowel was also extended to the present tense.)

Mag.La.IV.2.31(566) I cast mine eye long since,/ Upo' the other wench (P.part. Hymen.193(216). M.E.(13th C) casten, from O.N. kasta. Forms in -ted, -tid were found in the preterite and past part. from L.M.E., but did not survive 17th C.)

" IV.5.12(570) Com. ... Where's my Lady?/ Ple. Retir'd unto her Chamber, and shut up. (Preterite M.A. 470(647). O.E. scyttan. Forms of the preterite and past part. in -ted have occurred sporadically; but those without suffix have been regular since L.M.E.)

" V.9.6(591) Thou hast put all nature off. (A L.O.E. verbal noun putung suggests an O.E. weak verb putian, of which the radical vowel may have been long or short, probably the former. Preterite putte was shortened to put in 14th C, but in the same century puttede appeared, and the -ted form has appeared sporiadically ever since. Past part. put has been regular since L.M.E.)

S.S.I.6.26(22) What relayes set you? (Preterite. O.E. settan. M.E. had pret. sette, past part. (ge)sett. Loss of suffix occurred in 14th C; but alongside of set was found a new preterite setted(e) from 14th - 16th C. In the past Participle the -ted ending actually occurred in O.E. in Anglain (Vesp.Psalter and Lindisf. Gospels); it disappeared in M.E., but reappeared, though rarely, in E.N.E. as -yt, -it (15th - 16th C)).

N.T.1(681) His Matie being set, and the loude Musique ceasing (= 'seated'. F.I.2(707) sett. O.E. settan. The past participle sett persisted as the regular form from LO.E., the abbreviated spelling set occurring in the 13th C.)

Sej.III.642(414) And furie ever boyles more high, and strong/ Heat' with ambition, then revenge of wrong (So Had.M.191(255). O.E. hætan. Loss of suffix, after shortening of the radical vowel, in the preterite and past participle occurred in 14th C; the forms were first hett and later heat (16th - 17th C). In 16th C, however, the new weak formation heated supplanted heat in both parts of the verb, and by 18th C the latter had disappeared, except in dialect. Jonson's use of the apostrophe is unusual, and seems to indicate deliberate poetic licence. The preterite heat (rhyming set) occurs in M.Black 190(175)).

(ii) Forms in -ted

Sej.V.374(450) I have quitted/ His forward trouble, with as tardie note/ As my neglect (Pret. Cat.IV.866(526))

Cat.IV.837(525) If it be forfeyted, we cannot save it

Ober.228(349) We had thought we must have got/ Stakes, and heated 'hem red-hot (So P.R.V.121(483))

L.T.C.105(738) each a Cupid before him, with a lighted torch (So L.W.B.163(813))

Mag.La.IV.7.44(574) No Theaters are more cheated with appearances (The verb cheat is an aphetic form of M.E. (late 14th C) escheat, from the O.F. noun eschete. The past part. without suffix (escheat) is found in 18th and 19th C (for instance in Scott's Old Mortality); but the regular preterite and past part. of cheat is cheated.)

" Chor.IV.15(578) Wee come here to behold Playes, and censure them, as they are made, and fitted for us. (The verb fit, of uncertain origin, dates from 15th C only. The adj. fit is a hundred years earlier, and is not likely to be from the past part. of the verb. The normal pret. and past part. have always been fitted.)

S.S.Prol.1(9) He that hath feasted you these forty yeares. (M.E.(13th C) festen, O.Fr. fester. Preterite and past part. regularly -ted.)

Hymen.129(214) Hereat Reason, seated in the top of the Globe ... figur'd (So L.W.B.174(813). The first use of the verb seat in N.E.D. is by Googe (1577), who uses the p.part. in the passive. The noun seat (from O.N. sæti) goes back to 12th C and must have been the source of the verb. The past participle has always been seated.)

Note: Of the verbs in this group Jonson therefore employs quit, forfeyt, heat and light with double forms in the preterite or past participle or both.

(e) In M.E. many verbs* ending in the consonant combinations l, n, or r + d assimilated the suffix to the stem-final, which was unvoiced, (see Wright M.E.G. § 239), d being changed to t, e.g. build, built; bend, bent. Some forms in -ded, however, remained (e.g. bended). In Modern English the latter are usually restricted to adjectival uses, but in 16th and 17th C they were sometimes also used as preterites and past participles.

(i) Forms in -t

T.T.III.8.6(55) about what his purposes were bent (So E.M.I.H.IV.1.30(251), Stap.N.Epil.5(382) and G.M.671 (587))
N.Inn I.5.51(417) Faire! and a wit! but of so bent a phant'sie (adjectival use in verse)
E.M.I.H.(F)I.3.62(312) Ile be gelt
Epic.IV.2.129(226) They have rent my roofe (so Sej.V.811 (467), Alch.III.5.12(356), Pan.60(114) and S.P.H.319 (332))
Alch.V.2.40(391) Fine rogues, to have your testimonies built on! (So Stap.N.I.6.88(301); pret. S.P.H.204 (329))
" V.5.110(405) well girt, against an host (So Hymen. 594(230); pret. S.P.H.205(329))
D.A.I.6.3(177) I have lent it forth (Pret. Mag.La.IV.3. 14(567)).
Stap.N.II.5.45(320) Here she is come at last, and like a Galley/ Cuilt i'the prow (K.E.W.247(800) beguilt)
" Epil.11(382) we'are sorry that have so mis-spent/ Our Time (G.A.R.82(423) spent)

(ii) Forms in -ded (invariably with past participles used adjectivally)

E.M.I.H.I.2.98(206) a man so grac'd, guilded (so C.A.V. 1.29(170) and G.M.935(596))
Sej.V.691(463) an oxe/ With gilded hornes (so Hymen.634 (231))
Cat.II.230(462) slack this bended brow;/ And shoot lesse scorne
Hymen.132(214) her garments blue, and semined with starres, girded unto her with a white bend (So M.Qu.98(286))
T.T.II.2.17(28) Tie up your brended Bitch there
L.W.B.76(810) Hay for the Lilly, for, and the blended Rose

Note: (i) Jonson thus employs double forms of the past participle with gild (guild), bend and gird.

(ii) The -t stem-final of the preterite and past parti-

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* Exceptions are found, mend and tend (all of French origin), which did not assimilate the preterite and past participle endings, probably to avoid confusion with find, mean and tent (vb). Some O.E. Class II verbs, derived from nouns, (e.g. endian and wundian) also resisted unvoicing and assimilation in M.E.; the preterite and past participle of these verbs have always been ended and wounded, though a preterite wound was known in 15th C.

ciple is sometimes extended to the present stem, e.g. girt and rent for modern gird and rend.

Poet.V.3.382(309) Captaine, you shall eternally girt me to you (Infinitive. N.E.D. describes this as an altered form of gird.)
Cat.III.642(490) Lentulus, begirt you Pompey's house
N.Inn II.1.6(423) Girt thee hard, Pru

Cf. Shakes. M.N.D.III.2.215 will you rent our ancient love asunder

(f) Burn

There were two verbs in O.E. (i) intrans. strong Cl.III brinnan (by metathesis bernan, beornan) and (ii) trans. weak causative Cl.I. bærnan. The strong forms of the preterite disappeared early in M.E. and the distinction between transitive and intransitive was lost. The form history is somewhat confused, but the -t ending of the preterite and past participle appeared in L.M.E. in the forms brente, brent (cf. the parallel -ded form from Tale of a Tub in (e)(ii)). Burn is a N.E. development from the older stem bern-, and burnt occurs first in the 16th C as past participle, and then in the 17th C as preterite. N.E.D. says that burnt is now the regular form in both parts of the verb; burned, which is becoming archaic and formal, is used mainly in the preterite or as past participle after have.

Jonson prefers the -t ending, using burned, however, for the sake of rhyme or metre.

It is noteworthy that Dr.Blayney of Oxford, when revising the Authorized Version of the Bible in 1769, substituted burned for burnt.

(i) Forms in -t

Sej.III.465(408) give order, that his bookes be burn't
D.A.I.2.43(170) The burn't child dreads the fire
Mag.La.V.1.12(579) They burnt old shoes

(ii) Forms in -ed

Had.M.108(252) At his sight the sunne hath turned,/ Neptune in the waters, burned (Similar rhyme burnd in N.T.155(686))
M.A.347(642) Which way, and whence the lightning flew/ Or how it burned, bright and blew (disyllabic)

77. Preterite of 'dare'. (See also Appendix II, § 33(iii))

Dare, in its O.E. origin, is a past-present verb, with new weak preterite formations. The latter are most conveniently treated here.

Durst is derived from the O.E. weak pret. dorste. The now commoner dared was a new preterite, which appeared in the South at the same time as the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indicative dares (early 16th C). Durst is, however, still in use, especially when followed by the negative not. It is the form preferred by Jonson, who does not use the preterite dared.

(iii) Durst

T.T.III.1.65(43) I durst be his burrough,/ He would not looke a true man in the vace
Sej.I.1.90(358) Where is now the soule/ Of god-like Cato? he, that durst be good
D.A.II.2.63(194) I durst not/ be more direct
N.Inn IV.2.7(461) He had no Father, I warrant him, that durst own him
M.Qu.225(295) When Hecate/ Durst not take chariot
L.R.126(380) that could not be done so privately, as it durst be taken (So M.V.257(417)

(iv) Dared

Greene, Friar Bacon (1590) IV.10 Lovely Eleonor,/ Who darde for Edwards sake cut through the seas
Fuller, Pisgah (1650) I.145 They dared not to stay him

78. Past participles directly or indirectly borrowed from Latin. (See also Appendix II, § 33(iv))

Past participles such as consecrate, which are generally considered to be direct borrowings from Latin past participles, were of frequent occurrence in 16th C; the N.E.D. has an example as late as 1877. On the analogy of similar French formations (e.g. O.F. divers, Lat. diversus), adjectival uses of past participles began very early; content was in use by late 14th C. From these new adjectives weak causative verbs were soon formed.

When such a verb as content came into being, the old participial adjective content at first continued to serve as its past participle. As the stems of these verbs nearly all ended in -t, the usage was aided by the analogy of assimilation in native weak verbs like set. But new past participles in -ed

soon began to appear, and were common in 16th C alongside of the uninflected forms. Gradually the latter were restricted to adjectival uses, and the former became the normal past participles.

On the analogy of these older formations, many verbs were made in 16th C directly from the past participles of Latin verbs, without any intermediate adjectival stage, e.g. venerate, fascinate. The predominance of -ate endings indicates that past participles of the first Latin conjugation were particularly liable to this treatment; though a number had, of course, first been used as adjectives. N.E.D. says that information as to precedence is lacking with a large number of words.

Both Shakespeare and Jonson use inflected and uninflected past participles for the same verb; metre or rhyme is often a determining factor, e.g.

Poet.V.3.242(305) Are you contented to be tried by these? (verse)
Hymen.marginal note a(213) I am contented to hold them this Light (prose)
E.T.74(156) But is my Patron with this lot content,/ So to forsake his fathers moniment?

In the following examples, however, only the obsolete uninflected past participles have been recorded :-

T.T.V.2.27(78) I long .../ To be adopt in your society (Fr. adopter. This verb only came into literary English in 16th C).
C,A.IV.5.8(156) Ha Bully? vext? what intoxicate? is thy braine in a quintescence?
" V.13.30(189) shall we be confiscate now?
E.M.O.H.II.4.92(483) on altars, consecrate to her (So K.E.582 (102), Had.M.32(250))
" IV.8.14(556) they are as nature lent him 'hem, pure simple ... and therefore the more accomodate, and genuine (= suited)
Revels I.4.48(55) the uttering of his sophisticate good parts
" II.4.50(78) Exceeding witty and integrate
" V.7.52(167) simple as the soule, or as an abrase table (L. abradere, p.p. abrasus. There were two verbs derived from the Latin, abrade and abrase. The latter is now rare, the last example in N.E.D. being dated 1867.)
Poet.IV.3.43(267) the fates were infatuate
" V.2.41(295) Is, in particular ends, exempt from sense
Sej.I.88(358) Poore, and degenerate from th'exalted straine
" I.442(369) With so dilate, and absolute a power
Volp.I.2.43(29) a precise, pure, illuminate brother
Cat.V.240(534) a people griev'd, or a state discontent
Mag.La.I.6.15(523) A man so dedicate to his profession (So K.E. 748(108))
M.Black 237(176) which skill Pythagoras/ First taught to men, by a reverberate glasse

Sometimes a verb formed in this way is no longer current, but the adjective still exists, e.g. innate, apt. In such cases

the now archaic past participle in -ed alone is noted, even if used attributively :-

E.M.O.H.II.3.55(471) those innated virtues (Q3 inward. The first example in N.E.D. is from Marston, Antonio's Revenge, 1602. This is an instance of the use in 1599.)
K.E.256(91) a mixed character ... peculiarly apted* to these more magnificent Inventions.

Note (i) In the case of the verb tinct**, both the old adjective and the new past participle tincted are obsolete.

The uninflected participle is employed archaically by Keats in the Eve of St.Agnes ('lucent syrups tinct with cinnamon'). It survives, of course, in the compound extinct.

(α) E.M.O.H.Ded.22(421) tincted with humanity

(β) Sej.IV.142(423) the Genius of the Romane race/ Should not be so extinct

(ii) Intestate (Lat. testari = to bear witness) apparently never became a verb in English; no example of its verbal use appears in N.E.D.

Epic.IV.4.54(231) to poyson me, that I might die intestate (prose)

79. Preterite and Past Participle of Catch, Distract etc. (See also Appendix II, § 33(v))

The early history of the group of O.E. Cl.I weak verbs to which N.E. stretch, teach etc. belonged, is given in Wright O.E.Grammar, §§ 254 and 534.

The O.E. verbs most productive of variants in the preterites and past participles of M.E. and E.N.E. were those whose stems ended in -æc- or -ecc-. This was due to the fact that already in O.E. they had, in these parts of the verb, begun to model new forms on the present stem, a practice continued in M.E. The form history of tæcan and streccan is briefly as follows :-

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* The use of apt as a verb occurs elsewhere in Jonson, e.g. Poet.I.2.101(212) hee shall follow and observe, what I will apt him too (so Epil.217(324)).

** The verb tinct is several times used by Jonson, e.g. Epic.II.3.58(323) I meane to tinct C in sand-heat. (So F.I. 187(713))

O.E. tǣcan	tāhte, tǣhte (from present)	getāht, getǣht
M.E.(13th C)tē̆chen	tahte, tæhte	getaht, getæht
(14th C)	taughte tē̆ched(from present)	(y)taught tē̆ched
N.E. teach	taught teached(to 16th C)	taught teached(to 17th C)
O.E.streccan	streahte, strehte(L.O.E. before[x])	gestreaht, gestreht
M.E.(13th C)strecchen	strahte, streihte	gestraht, gestreiht
(14th C)	straught, streighte strecched (from present)	(y)straught, streiht strecched
N.E. stretch	straught(to 17th C) streight(15th C) stretched	straught(15th C) streight(15th C) stretched

Jonson's forms are those in modern use in the case of all verbs of this group derived from O.E. (but see wrought under (b)).

Catch is the only verb of the type in which Jonson preserves double forms, and this was added to the group by analogy in M.E. (see (a)).

(a) Caught, catched

The verb catch is derived from M.E. cachen, O.N.F. cachier, late Latin captiare (= to strive, to seize, to lie in wait for).

By 1300 there were, from the same source, two distinct English words chacen* and cachen or cacchen. The latter was treated as synonymous with, and eventually took the place of, lacchen (= to seize). By analogy, there appeared in the preterite the forms cahte, cauhte, cauzte, caught, alongside of the regular cacched, catchte, catched. The former finally displaced the latter in the 19th C, though catched, cotched is still prevalent in dialect and vulgar speech.

Catched is more frequently used by Jonson than the modern form. Since M.E. the forms of the preterite and the past participle have been the same.

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*This early form of chase is described in Wyld's Universal Dictionary as a dialectal variant of catch.

Jonson uses only distracted.

(i) Gower, Confessio Amantis (c.1393) I.218 Whereof his herte is so distraught
Spenser, Ruines of Time, 578. Distraught twixt feare and pitie
Shakespeare, Richard III, III.5.4 As if thou were distraught, and mad with terror

(ii) T.T.V.3.13(80) I am distracted
Volp.V.8.24(125) Would stand the fury of a distracted cuckold (verse)
L.T.C.31(736) they dance over a distracted comoedy of Love

80. N.E. weak derivative verbs from adjectives or nouns without suffix -en

In O.E. derivative weak verbs were formed directly from adjectives, e.g. dēād (dead), dīedan (put to death). In 14th C, however, the use of the suffix -en to form verbs, both from adjectives and nouns, made its appearance, according to N.E.D., on the analogy of a few verbs in O.E. and O.N., e.g. fasten (O.E. fæstnian) and harden (O.N. harðna). In this way were produced new verbs such as whiten etc, the practice continuing well into the N.E. period. Old forms without the suffix -en, however, persisted alongside of the new ones, the alternatives being very useful to poets.

C.A.V.8.71(180) Snakes in every bush/ Shall deafe thine eares. (The verb deaf, which dates from 16th C, is a derivative of the O.E. adjective dēāf. It was only used as a poetic archaism after the end of 18th C. Deafen was apparently first used c.1597 by Shakespeare in Henry IV, Part 2, III.1.24).
E.M.O.H.I.36(452) Dull'd, if not deadded with this spectacle. (O.E. dīedan. Dead, as verb, lasted until 19th C, when it was superseded by deaden, which dates from latter half of 17th C only.)
" III.3.12(499) As if one were frighted (so Poet.V.3.281 (306) & E.H.261(144). O.E. fyrhtan (= to terrify). This verb was in good use from 9th - 19th C. Frighten is first cited in N.E.D. from Pepys's Diary.)
Revels III.5.9(93) your passion hath sufficiently whited your face. (O.E. hwītian. In good use until 18th C. Whiten dates from beginning of 14th C.)
Poet.III.4.16(246) rogue, catch-pole, loose the gent'man. (This verb, which is still in good use, began in E.N.E. to take the place of leese (from O.Merc. lēsan). The more common modern verb loosen is from the M.E. adj. lōs (O.N. lauss) + -en. There was, however, an O.N. intrans. verb losna.)
" III.5.79(260) Servius, the Praetor, threats the lawes (Verse - line 72 has threaten. In O.E. þrēātian was usual, but þreatnian appeared in L.O.E. (Aelfric's Homilies). In 16th C both forms were in use. N.E.D. has a few examples of threat as late as early 19th C.)

Volp.I.1.34(25) I would no earth with plow-shares; fat no beasts (Verse. See also T.T.III.7.79(55) fatted. O.E. fættian. Fat has much the older history, fatten coming into use in the latter half of 16th C only.)
" II.2.192(55) list to my song (Verse. So Mag.La.V.5.8(583) & Ober.28(342). O.E. hlystan. Listen is from O.North lysna.)
Alch.I.2.158(308) 'Slid, she may hap to leave you all she has! (So Bart.F.I.3.76(25) & M.A.116(633). The noun hap appeared at the beginning of 13th C, probably from O.N. happ. The verb was not in use until middle of 14th C, and lasted until 17th C, though it was used archaically much longer. Happen is used in Cursor Mundi (early 14th C?) and is possibly the older verb.)
Cat.III.124(472) it glads me,/ To find your thoughts so even (O.E. gladian. The verb glad was still in use in 19th C, but mainly in poetry. Gladden appeared as early as 1300).
Stap.N.I.2.40(286) give him a loaf, Thom -/ Quiet his mouth. (Prose E.Black.153(774). This verb, in the sense of 'to still' was adopted from med.Lat. quietare in 16th C. It is still in use, though somewhat rarer than quieten, which dates from 19th C only).
K.E.W.104(795) Whom the whetstone sharpes to eat (O.E. scierpan, scerpan. The verb sharp was still in use in 19th C, but is now obsolete. Sharpen made its appearance in 15th C.)

Note: In the case of the verb slight (O.N. adject. slettr, verb sletta) 'to treat with disrespect', modern English has retained the form without suffix, which dates from 14th C; but Jonson has the form with -en. The example below is the first cited in the N.E.D., and the last is dated 1646.

Sej.V.901(470) It is an odious wisedome, to blaspheme,/ Much more to slighten, or denie their powers. (The reference is to the gods.)

Verbs with Mixed Forms

81. Source of irregular formations

The clear-cut division which existed in O.E. between weak and strong verbs was not preserved in later developments of the language. Many strong verbs became weak; a few weak verbs became wholly strong. In other cases part of the verb only was affected, analogy with some other verb which it resembled being mainly responsible. The process went on well into the 18th C, and in some verbs finality has not yet been reached, e.g. strew and wake.

In E.N.E., in fact as late as 17th C, there were a number of parallel developments of the same verb. For instance, slide had forms both weak and strong. Some irregular formations were naturally rare in literary usage, e.g spitten and sweaten, past

participles of normally weak verbs. It is in the past participle that most irregularity occurs.

On the whole strong forms were more carefully preserved against weak encroachment in the North of England than elsewhere.

82. From O.E. strong verbs. (See also Appendix II, § 34(a)).

(a) Class I

Shine (O.E. scīnan)

Weak forms appeared in the preterite and past participle in 14th C. Owing to the fact that the strong past participle did not appear in O.E., and occurs only once in M.E., the weak form shyned established itself as the regular past participle from 14th - 17th C. It was less common in the preterite. Shone was extended to the past participle in the latter half of 16th C, and by 18th C had superseded shined. Jonson has the weak form in the preterite.

T.T.III.5.56(50) it shind, as bright as day

Slide (O.E. slīdan)

Weak forms of this verb made their appearance in both the preterite and past participle from 13th C. By 16th C they seem to have been preferred by the best writers, though the strong Northern preterites slad, slade, and Southern slod, slode, with the past participle sliden, remained, and still exist in dialect speech.

E.M.I.H.IV.1.37(257) I slidde down by a bottome of packthread into the streete

Writhe (O.E. wrīþan)

The weak preterite and past part. wrythed began to appear in 14th C. The strong pret. sing. wroth was extinct by 1500, but the past part. writhen held its own against the weak form until 17th C, and is still used in the North of England. Jonson has both strong and weak past participles.

(i) E.M.I.H.III.2.9(238) he had so writhen himself

(ii) Sej.V.98(444) with thy neck/ Writh'd to thy taile

Note:(i) Thrive (from O.N. reflex. verb þrīfask) came into the language at the beginning of 13th C, and was associated with the O.E. Class I strong verbs. The earliest forms were Northern, preterite þraf appearing in 13th C, and þrof (alongside of a weak form thrived) in 14th C. At the same time thriven and thrived appeared alongside of each other in the past participle. Weak forms, as used by Jonson, are apparently still in use, though the strong conjugation is now favoured.

Poet.V.3.452(311) his writings thrív'd better then mine
Sej.V.800(467) had Seianus thriv'd/ In his designe
G.M.80(567) one o'the blood, and of his time if he had thriv'd?

(ii) Strive (from O.Fr. estriver, though probably of Germanic origin, cf. mod.Du. strijven and Ger. streben) appeared in M.E. in 13th C as striven and, like thrive, was at once associated with the O.E. Class I strong verbs, especially drive.

Strong and weak conjugations both date from 13th C, but according to N.E.D. the strong is a little earlier. The still regular past participle striven held the field until 16th C, when stroven (later, strove), from the preterite, appeared alongside of it, the latter existing until 19th C and surviving in vulgar use.

Both the preterite and past participle strove are used by Jonson; but the weak forms do not appear. The Authorised Version of the Bible has regular pret. strove, and past parts. both striven and strived (once each).

(α) S.P.H.309(332) billowes strove/ To out-swell ambition, water ayre out-drove (rhyme)

(β) Cat.IV.464(512) H'has strove to emulate this mornings thunder

(b) Class II

Seethe (O.E. seoðan)

The M.E. verb sēþen began to take weak forms in 14th C in the preterite only. A strong past tense sod, from the past part. soden, was, however, in use in 16th and 17th C. In 18th C seethed re-asserted itself in the preterite and ap-

peared for the first time in the past participle, where it is now regular. The old form sodden is now only an adjective, not associated with seethe. This dissociation is noticeable even in 16th C significations of sodden, though the past part. without -den (sod) is used by Jonson with the meaning of seethe (see first two examples).

E.M.I.H.V.1.42(271) your wife an honest woman,/ Is meate twise sod to you
P.R.V.31(480) devourer of broild, bak'd, rosted, or sod

Revels IV.5.47(127) I scorne him, as I doe the sodden Nymph
Alch.III.3.120(354) did cure me,/ With sodden ale
Stap.N.II.4.53(313) A sodden head, and his whole braine a possit curd!

(c) Class III

Help (O.E. helpan)

This verb had taken weak forms as early as 13th C. The strong past participle employed by Jonson, and still used archaically, probably remained through Biblical influence. Preterite holp (by form-levelling) was used by Shakespeare and survived until 17th C.

E.M.O.H.V.6.5(582) your dogges mischance may be holpen

Starve, sterve (O.E. steorfan)

The M.E. pres. infin. was sterven; the spelling starve did not appear until 16th C. The weak preterite appeared in 15th C, and the weak past part. in 16th C; the strong forms were then quickly superseded. The radical e remained in the preterite and past participle until 17th C.

Stap.N.Inter.I.20(302) Or a Sea-captaine, halfe starv'd
S.S.II.5.7(33) a poore starv'd Muttons carkasse (Used by Robin Hood, and possibly a Northern dialect form. See parallel use of kerved, Appendix I, § 16)

Swell (O.E. swellan)

The weak preterite and past participle swelled did not appear until 15th C. They are still in use, the preterite being the regular modern form. O.E. strong swollen is, however, the now usual past participle.

(i) Preterite

S.S.I.5.55(19) twenty waters more/ That swell'd proud Trent

(ii) Past Participle

(α) Epic.IV.4.168(234) Otters wine has swell'd their humours above a spring-tide

(β) P.R.V.106(483) till your swolne bowells burst
Chor.186(755) Rayne, presented by five persons all swolne, and clouded over

(d) Class V

Weave (O.E. wefan)

This verb has usually retained its strong forms, past part. woven (14th C), by analogy with Cl.IV, giving rise in the same century to a new preterite wove, cf. bore. The weak pret. and past part. weaved also date from 14th C, but have never succeeded in ousting the more regular strong forms. Jonson has both past participles.

(i) Strong past participle

N.Inn II.6.108(438) I have woven a net
M.Beaut.207(187) On her head a gyrland of flowers, Corne, Vine-leaves, and Olive branches, enterwoven (So Chlor. 15-16(750))
Hymen. marginal note(224) in it woven Love (So C.T.52 (390) and L.T.C.196(742))

(ii) Weak past participle

M.Beaut.204(187) In a garment of Gold, Silver, and colours weaved
L.W.B.83(810) differenced by their Garlands only: His of White, and Red Roses; the other of Lilly's inter-weav'd

(e) Class VI

Flay, flea (O.E. flēan)

The modern present flay, like slay, seems to have arisen in E.N.E. by analogy with the past participle flain (E.M.E. ivlazen). Flea (from flēan) is found in the present tense, infinitive and imperative from 13th - 19th C. Jonson has it several times, e.g.

E.M.O.H.V.6.42(583) Flea me your dogge presently ... and stuffe his skin well with straw
Bart.F.II.2.68(43) fleaing your breech, with a candles end

A weak past participle fleyed appeared in 15th C, and was extended to the preterite in 16th C. Flawed was a common alternative past participle in 16th and 17th C, and survives in dialect. Examples of the various spellings are recorded

below:-

T.T.III.9.58(58) The Belwether was flead for't
Bart.F.III.4.72(68) I'le be flea'd, and feede dogs for him
Volp.II.6.30(63) a flayd ape clapt to his brest
Alch.IV.3.100(371) Be curried, claw'd, and flaw'd, and taw'd, indeed

Gnaw (O.E. gnazan)

The verb took weak forms in the preterite in 14th C, but not in the past part. until 17th C. The strong preterite gnew was used until 18th C, and the past part. gnawn is, according to the N.E.D., still in good use alongside of gnawed.

Volp.IV.1.136(93) A rat had gnawne my spurre-lethers

Grave and its compounds (O.E. grafan)

Weak graved appeared in preterite and past participle in 14th C. Strong preterite grove was not used after 15th C; but the past participle graven is still more used (mainly in compounds) than graved.

Volp.I.2.94(31) Massie, and antique, with your name inscrib'd,/ And armes ingraven
K.E.404(96) he had a wreathe of gold, in which was graven this verse

Heave (O.E. hebban)

Even in O.E. this verb had weak preterite and past participle alongside of the more common strong forms. The latter underwent considerable phonetic change in M.E., but, except for the use of the preterite hove in nautical language, were rare after 15th C.

The weak preterite and past participle, first with stem-final f, later v, became very common in M.E., and by E.N.E. were the regular forms.

G.M.1120(603) He heav'd the huge vessell up to his nose

Lade and its compounds (O.E. hladan)

Only the past participle laden of the verb lade is now in use. In such phrases as a bill of lading the form presented is probably a verbal noun. In Jonson's time the verb lade was still, however, in current employment.

Revels IV.3.58(110) I will lade thee with my richest bounties (So Sej.V.80(439)).

The verb was conjugated as weak from 15th C; but strong forms were kept, the past participle laden being commonly employed by Jonson. This in attributive and predicative uses remains a regular modern form. Laded was, however, in use until mid 19th C in the sense (derived from O.Sax.) of 'to draw water'.

(i) Past Participle in -en

T.T.III.3.19(46) The over-laden Asse
Cat.II.175(460) they come laden in the hand
Mag.La.Chor.I.24(528) come home, lame, and all to be laden with miracles
M.Beaut.18(181) a leave-lesse Branch, laden with ycicles (So 238(189))
G.M.52(566) Enter/ A Gipsie, leading a horse laden with five little/ children
N.T.547(700) From aged Indus laden home with pearls

(ii) Past Participle in -ed

Alch.III.2.135(346) as much as fill'd three carres,/ Unladed now

Note: The now commoner weak verb load dates from 15th C and was formed from the corresponding noun (O.E. lād, way, journey, conveyance). The strong past participle loaden was formed in 16th C by analogy with laden:

Bart.F.V.4.184(127) You are knavishly loaden, Sculler

Shape and its compounds (O.E. scieppan)

This verb, and its cognate forms in other Germanic languages, underwent considerable modification. In M.E. weak formations were found as early as 13th C. The origin of the present stem shap- is variously accounted for: Sweet ascribes it to influence of the Scandinavian verb skapa; the N.E.D. suggests that it was formed on the analogy of the past participle. It supplanted shep- in 15th C and by the next century shape was a regular weak verb. The strong preterite fell out of use as early as the 14th C; and though the past participle shapen persists in attributive compounds to the present day, as an independent form it was archaic and poetic even in Jonson's time.

(i) Past Participle in -en (attributive)

E.M.I.H.III.4.66(249) mishapen stuffe (verse)

(ii) Past Participle in -ed

T.T.III.1.91(44) Some thing's mishap'd, that he is come without her

Shave (O.E. sceafan)

Weak forms appeared in the preterite and past participle in 14th C. The strong preterite shove was obsolete by the end of 16th C, but the past participle shaven lasted until 19th C, and is still in use in adjectival compounds, e.g. clean-shaven.

T.T.II.3.38(34) A shaven pate!
" III.9.59(58) A fat Hog/ Was sing'd, and wash'd, and shaven

(f) Class VII

Beat (O.E. bēatan, ēo preterite)

A weak preterite beted occurred as early as 13th C and was later extended to the past participle (see Appendix II, § 34(a), Class VII, for examples from Shakespeare). Loss of suffix then took place and both forms became beat, now regular in the preterite and surviving in the past part. in dead-beat and occasionally in senses of 'overcome in a contest'. The strong preterite [bēt] seems to have fallen out of use in 16th C.

Jonson has both the weak and strong past participles.

(i) T.T.III.1.71(43) I ha' beat 'hun
Volp.V.12.140(135) have mine eies beat out with stinking fish
D.A.II.8.93(209) Your Cousin Ever-ill met me, and has beat mee
Stap.N.I.1.12(284) Thy pulse hath beate inough
S.S.II.6.49(366) Slid, I thought the Swine'ard would ha' beat mee
S.P.H.306(332) Yet by the auspice of Eliza beat (rhymes great)
P.R.V.186(486) Comus, god of cheere,/ beat from his Grove

(ii) T.T.III.7.33(54) I ha' beene simply beaten
Epic.IV.5.17(235) they shall be beaten to thy hand
Alch.II.1.13(314) If he denie, ha' him beaten to't
D.A.II.6.25(201) The Divell is an Asse! fool'd off! and beaten!
Stap.N.Induc.45(280) doe's over-act prodigiously in beaten satten
C.H.M.5(437) his Drum beaten before him
G.M.1089(602) yeomans braines,/ That had beene beaten out

Hold (O.E. W.S. healdan, Anglian haldan, ēo preterite)

In the preterite hēold > M.E. hēld > N.E. held.

The past participle held (from the preterite) began to appear in 16th C alongside of holden, derived from the O.E. Anglian form halden. In the 17th C held became the regular form. Jonson has both past participles.

(i) E.M.I.H.(F)I.5.92(320) the most peremptory absurd clowne ... he is holden

(ii) Epic.IV.5.59(237) you had held your life contemptible

Leap (O.E. hlēāpan, ēo preterite)

From 14th C this verb seems to have been mainly weak; strong forms do not occur in Jonson. For examples, see § 76(a)(∝)(i) and (ii).

Sow (O.E. sāwan, ēo preterite)

Weak forms appeared alongside the strong in 14th C. The strong preterite was superseded in 16th C by sowed; but in the past participle strong sown has kept its place and is probably more usual than the weak form.

Jonson has both past participles.

(i) T.T.III.6.43(52) Husbands, they say, grow thick; but thin are sowne

(ii) Alch.II.1.99(317) The Dragons teeth ... are gather'd, into Iason's helme, ... and then sow'd in Mars his field

S.S.I.1.9(11) And where she went, the Flowers tooke thickest root,/ As She had sow'd 'hem with her odorous foot

Wax (O.E. weaxan, ēo preterite. Originally Class VI, became VII in O.E.)

Weaxan became weak in 14th C, strong preterites being rare after that date. The strong past participle, however, still exists, though its use is archaic and poetical.

Revels V.6.24(162) And not forbid our virgin-waxen torch to burn (verse)

83. From O.E. weak verbs. (See also Appendix II, § 34(b))

(a) Class I

Hide (O.E. hȳdan)

In the past participle Jonson has both hid and hidden. The strong past participle, which appeared in 16th C, is

probably by analogy with ridden.

(i) T.T.III.8.24(56) No, he has hid himselfe out of the way
C.A.V.11.25(182) And that my gold,/ Being so hid in earth, should bee found out
Poet.Prol.12(205) the allegorie and hid sence
Epic.I.1.95(167) Though arts hid causes are not found,/ All is not sweet

(ii) T.T.V.3.49(81) we found Iohn Clay hidden i'the barne

(b) Class II

Claw (O.E. clawian, from cleā, clawu, a claw)

In the past participle Jonson has both clawed and clawn. N.E.D. suggests that there may have been a strong verb clawan in O.E. Strong preterite clew occurs in 14th-15th C, and clewn is found as past participle in modern Scots. Jonson's form clawn is probably by analogy with drawn.

(i) Alch.IV.3.100(371) You shall, in faith .../ Be curried, claw'd and flaw'd
M.A.12(629) to have a Tally made of your pate, and bee clawed with a cudgell

(ii) E.M.I.H.V.3.383(287) I had given you that you should not have clawne of (= off) agayne in hast

Shew, show (O.E. scēawian)

Shew, rhymed with such words as true until early 18th C, was the commoner spelling until the early 19th C. It was derived from O.E. scēawian with falling diphthong [æ ᵃ], which became M.E. shēwen, and had become the normal form in the Southern dialects of M.E. by 14th C.

Show, which was in use from 13th C, was a development from L.O.E. [skᵉᵃwian] with rising diphthong; the latter became in M.E. [shōwen].

A strong past part. shawenn, on the analogy of knawen, appeared in 13th C, and a strong preterite in 14th C. The latter is now in dialect use only, but the strong past participle is regular. Showed is sometimes used, according to the N.E.D., as past participle in the perfect tenses active, especially with a material object; but it is obsolete in the passive.

Jonson has both the strong and weak past participle, but the former predominates. He shows a slight preference

for the spelling shew; show appears only in the later plays, which lacked his personal revision.

(i) T.T.I.6.36(23) Beyond the Coursenes yet of any Clownage,/ Shewen to a Lady! (V.7.9(85) shewne)
Volp.IV.6.98(108) The zeale you' have shew'n to day
Cat.III.303(478) You have ... shewne it, lady (So IV.692 (520))
Pan.37(114) Others would faine have shew'ne it in their words
D.A.II.6.27(201) Since yo' have showne the malice of a woman (So V.5.20(258))
Stap.N.III.4.63(342) Your bravery was but showen
Mag.La.II.6.49(540) As much true secular wit .../ As can be showne
P.A.54(531) One that hath showne his quarters (So G.M. 549(583))

(ii) Poet.IV.6.62(282) There is no bountie to be shew'd to such
M.Qu.marginal note 6(291) one ingredient is the fat boyld, as I have shew'd

Strew, strow (O.E. streowian)

Influence of w produced diphthongisation of the radical vowel in O.E. Strow forms are developed from streowian with rising diphthong, and strew forms from the same verb with falling diphthong (cf. shew, show above).

N.E.D. says that in modern usage the two spellings imply two corresponding pronunciations; but that earlier the spelling strew was often used to rhyme with words like so, and conversely strow to rhyme with words like new*. Strow is, however, now obsolete and dialectal.

The strong past participle strewn seems to have developed in the E.N.E. period by analogy with hewn.

According to the N.E.D., strewn is now the regular form of the passive tenses, and weak strewed of the active tenses.

Both Shakespeare and Jonson prefer the weak past participle.

(i) Strewn (strown) is not found in Jonson's plays, masques and entertainments, and occurs only once in Shakespeare, viz. Tw.Night II.4.59 not a flowr sweet,/ On my black coffin let there be strown (passive)

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* See Rom. & Jul.V.3.12, where strow rhymes with dew; whereas in Cymb.IV.2.287 strow rhymes with so. In Jonson's Hymen.374(223) strowes rhymes with rose.

(ii) T.T.III.4.5(48) See, the streets are strew'd with herbes (passive)
E.M.O.H.II.4.120(484) And these, within my walke, are cut and strew'd (passive)
Hymen.489(226) And violets seeme to grow,/ Strew'd in the chamber there

Stick (O.E. stician, M.E. stĭke, stik)

The parts of this verb were regularly weak in O.E. In E.M.E. there appeared a strong verb steken, apparently from an unrecorded O.E. Cl.V strong verb stecan. The meaning of the latter was 'to shut'; but in 14th C we find steek with its probably original meaning of 'pierce' or 'stab', and it was then inevitably confused with the weak verb stĭke, stik.

In the North the normal development of O.E. stician must have been to stēke, and M.E. steek is thus also found with normal weak forms.

It cannot, therefore, be precisely stated when stick acquired strong preterites and past participles. The preterites stak, stoke, stuck, and the past parts. stoke, stucke, were in fairly common use in 16th C, stuck prevailing in both parts of the verb in 17th C. Weak forms only survived in Scots.

Stuck is the regular form of the preterite and past participle in Jonson, who uses the word with its modern meanings of (1) 'pierced', 'inserted' (2) 'adhered', 'remained'.

(i) Preterite

S.S.III.4.3(46) As if you stuck one Eye into my brest (= inserted)
Stap.N.II.5.73(321) the last stucke to my lips (= adhered)
L.R.137(381) I eene went backe, and stucke to this shape you see me in (= adhered)

(ii) Past Participle

Mag.La.V.7.43(587) Three hundred thousand peeces ha' you stuck,/ Edge-long into the ground (= inserted)
M.Black.61(171) the top thereof was stuck with a chev'ron of lights
D.A.I.4.12(173) Shee hath stuck/ Still i'my view (= remained)

84. Development of the two conjugations of (a) cleave and (b) hang. (See also Appendix II, § 34(c) and (d)).

(a) Cleave

O.E. had a Class II strong verb clēofan (= to split), which evolved as follows :-

(i)	O.E.	clēofan	clēaf	clufon	clofen
	E.M.E.	clēven	clēf	cluven	cloven (pret. clef was obsolete by 1500)
	L.M.E.	clēve	clōve	clōve	clōven (pret.sing. & plur. from past part.)
	N.E.	cleave	clove	clove	cloven

There were also in O.E. a Class I strong verb clīfan, and a weak derivative clīfian, both meaning 'to climb' or 'to cling' (cf. N.E. cliff, and the phrase cleave fast to). The form history of these was :-

(ii)	O.E.	clīfan	clāf	clifon clifen
	E.M.E.	clīven	claf	(only the weak derivative survived after 1300)
(iii)	O.E.	clifian	clifode	clifod
	M.E.(13th C)	cliven*	clivede	clived and cleved
	M.E.(14th C)	clēve	clēvede	clēved
	N.E.(15th-16th C)	cleeve	cleeved	cleeved
	N.E.(from 17th C)	cleave	cleaved cleft	cleaved cleft

The parts of (i) and (iii) were confused in L.M.E. and E.N.E. Thus cleft in the sense of 'split' was employed from about 1500, but not as 'clung', its rightful usage, until 17th C. It was formed on the analogy of the preterites and past participles of leave and bereave.

In 14th C preterite clave, used in both senses, began to appear. Though it came from the North, it is not a normal development there or elsewhere of either (i) or (ii). N.E.D. suggests analogy with the parallel forms of Cl.V (e.g. broke, brake). It was kept alive through

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* The verb cliven survived 13th C, but not in common usage.

Biblical influence until 19th C.

Meaning 'split'

(α) Strong past participle

As in mod. English, the strong past participle cloven is found in Jonson only in attributive function.

D.A.I.3.9(171) those roses/ Were bigge inough to hide a cloven foote. (So line 29)
Ober.102(345) I, and gild our cloven feet?
G.M.1087(602) a Cloven serieants face
Chlor.122(753) a Curtall, with cloven feet

(β) Weak past participle

Sej.I.7(355) We have no shift of faces, no cleft tongues
Volp.III.8.4(86) O, that his wel-driv'n sword/ Had beene so courteous to have cleft me downe
Cat.I.12(435) a dire vapor, that had cleft the ground,/ T'ingender with the night
N.Inn III.2.81(454) man and woman/ Were, in the first creation, both one piece,/ And being cleft asunder, ever since,/ Love was an appetite to be reioyn'd
S.S.II.4.32(32) the Sun .../ Hath with his burning fervour cleft the earth
L.W.B.80(810) a bough of Palme, ... cleft a little at the top (So 103(811))

Meaning 'cling'

Jonson uses the word cleave, with meaning 'cling', only in the infinitive.

Ober.233(349) to heave/ Up your bulkes, that so did cleave/ To the ground

(b) Hang

The two conjugations of hang result from the overlapping of three distinct verbs: O.E. strong transitive verb hōn (from W.Germ. *hãχan), O.E. weak intransitive verb hangian and O.N. causative verb hengjan. The last of these produced the M.E. verb heng, hing, the latter (according to Sweet, N.E.G. § 1369) being frequent in Midland dialects. At first this new verb was weak; but it soon acquired by analogy with the Cl.III verb sing the preterite hang and past part. hung. Past participle hung was in common use in 16th C and by the usual form-levelling it was extended to the past tense. Hang, hung, hung has thus become an anomalous strong verb.

The weak preterite and past participle hanged derive from the M.E. verb hangen (O.E. hangian) and they remained in use, according to the N.E.D., through biblical translation and the archaic pronouncements of judges, who used the verb transitively (although originally intransitive) in the special causative sense of 'to put to death by hanging'.

The strict convention of modern English that the weak verb hang should be used only transitively in this special sense, and the strong verb hang both transitively and intransitively in all other senses, first arose in the North and gradually became universal in literary speech. With occasional exceptions, the distinction is already found in Shakespeare and Jonson; though the latter in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XX) only notes the alternative strong and weak forms, without giving their special uses. Preterite and past participle, having in each case the same form, are grouped together:

(i) Hanged (= put to death by hanging)

T.T.II.3.19(33) Hee might/ Have married one first, and have beene hang'd after
E.M.O.H.IV.6.32(547) Clog, that was hang'd for the robbery
Volp.V.12.63(132) First, I'le be hang'd
Epic.I.1.158(169) He would have hang'd a Pewterers 'prentice once upon a shrove-tuesdaies riot
D.A.I.1.140(168) There is a handsome Cutpurse hang'd at Tiborne

(ii) Hung for modern 'hanged'

E.M.O.H.III.8.78(521) he should have hung himselfe

(iii) Hanged for 'suspended'

E.M.I.H(F)V.5.50(400) you signe o' the Souldier, and picture o' the Poet (but, both so false, I will not ha' you hang'd out at my dore till midnight)
M.A.69(631) you stincke like so many bloat-herrings ... you have beene hang'd in the smoake sufficiently

(iv) Hung for 'suspended', as in modern English

Alch.V.1.7(387) He hung out no banners
Hymen.589(229) one end of which hung carelessly on the left shoulder
G.M.1093(602) Theire Chaines like sausages hung about 'em

Volp.V.12.26(131) his eyes are set,/ Like a dead hares, hung in a poulters shop!
Epic.IV.5.111(238) he is so hung with pikes ... that he lookes like a Iustice of Peace's hall

Cat.I.193(441) Had all the weights of sleepe, and death hung at it
D.A.I.2.46(170) Get him his chamber hung with arras

Strong Verbs

85. Origin of new forms

Owing to a number of factors, the class distinctions of the O.E. strong verbs became obscured in M.E. and E.N.E. The morphology is, therefore, somewhat confused. Chief among the factors which produced this state of affairs were :-

(1) The working of analogy, e.g. the transference of verbs to other classes, because in some respects they resembled verbs in those classes.

(2) The levelling of singular and plural forms of the preterite. The singular stem vowel was retained mainly in the North and the East Midlands*. Elsewhere, either (a) the plural stem predominated, or (b) the past participle stem was applied to the preterite, generally the case in the South-West.

(3) The shortening or lengthening of vowels in the preterite, either for reasons stated in (2), or on the analogy of the present stem. This tendency began in M.E. and gave rise to many double forms.

The loss of the prefix (ge-) and the ending (-en) of the past participle was a frequent source of confusion in L.M.E. The past participle of many verbs then became indistinguishable from the also uninflected preterite plural. Once this identification had become possible, a transference of the two forms began to take place, which was aided by the desire to avoid anomalies and ambiguities.

Other difficulties also arose. For instance, in a Class VI verb like take, the past participle taken might be identical

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* Possibly because of the very great influence of the East Midland dialect on Standard English, the singular stem had the strongest propensity to survive. Where this does not obtain, 2(a) and (b) appear in the majority of cases to be the same process, as the plural stem of the preterite did not tend to dominate the singular, unless it was the same as that of the past participle.

with the infinitive. The result was that the preterite took began to be used for the past participle, e.g. Jonson's Expostulation with Inigo Jones 8, overbearing us/ With mistook names. This extension of the preterite to the past participle took place in several classes of strong verbs where it was not really necessary. In Class VII especially, but also in other classes, a similar difficulty was sometimes avoided by the development of weak forms.

The practice of transferring the parts of strong verbs, whether deliberate or due to chance, was aided by spelling confusion. This is undoubtedly the cause of some of the forms evolved for the preterite and past participle of the verb strike. (See § 91).

The forms discussed in the succeeding paragraphs are classified according to the original grouping of the O.E. strong verbs. The loss or retention of -en in the past participle affected all classes; and this, for convenience, is treated first.

86. Loss of -en or -n in the past participle.

The retention or loss of this verbal suffix, which is due to the influence of competing dialects in M.E., produced many double forms in the past participle. While Northern dialects retained the O.E. -en, Southern dialects usually dropped it, especially where the stem-final was a plosive consonant. This tendency in the South began in O.E. itself with the weakening of final -n, followed by the loss of the remaining -e in the unstressed final syllable.

Standard English preserved many Northern and Southern forms alongside of each other; but in modern English one or other has been preferred.

The loss of -en or -n in the past participle affected all classes of verbs, and the Southern forms writ, chose, broke, and spoke are common not only in Shakespeare and Jonson, but as late as Dickens (see W.Franz, Engl.Studien XII, 'Die Dialektsprache bei Ch.Dickens', pp.217-218).

It seems that in N.E. the double forms which persisted tended to acquire distinct functions. When a past participle was used as an adjective before a noun the -en form was generally used. Franz (S.G. § 168) regards this (a) as a relic of the O.E. weak inflexion of adjectives, which was given to past participles used attributively between the definite article (or demonstrative) and the noun; and (b) as a device to avoid the juxtaposition of two heavily stressed syllables. The latter applies particularly in verse; but even in prose the need of -en was felt where the stem-final of the past participle used adjectivally before a substantive was a plosive.

As the examples show, however, Jonson's usage, both attributively before nouns and in other situations, is far from hidebound. Where alternative forms are in common use, he adopts the one which suits the need of the moment, rhythm being the main consideration.

The order of examples follows that of the O.E. grouping of strong verbs.

(a) Attributively before a noun

(i) With -en

(α) Verse

T.T.II.4.63(37) The Kilborne Clay-pit; that frost-bitten marle
Alch.III.3.120(354) did cure me,/ With sodden ale, and pellitorie o' the wall (So Stap.N.II.4.53(313))
Sej.I.146(360) that voluptuous, rash,/ Giddy, and drunken Macedon's (So T.V.H.256(663))
Cat.II.276(464) Whither your broken fortunes have design'd you
Poet.IV.6.57(282) and thy mis-gotten love/ Commit to patronage of iron doores
Sej.III.223(400) No, my well-spoken man, I would no more
Cat.I.108(438) These my retirements, and stolne times for thought
D.A.I.4.90(175) I am not eager at forbidden dainties

(β) Prose

Bart.F.IV.4.16(97) well said, old Flea-bitten, thou'lt never tyre (noun understood)
K.E.W.92(794) being an industrious Collection of all the written, or reported Wonders of the Peake
Revels IV.5.47(127) I scorne him, as I doe the sodden Nymph
M.A.129(634) passing away the time, with a cheat loafe, and a bumbard of broken beere
G.M.54(566) another horse laden with stolne poultrie

(ii) Without -en

Attributive uses seem to be confined to verse.

Poet.Induc.4(203) this is it,/ That our sunke eyes have wak't for, all this while
Stap.N.III.4.87(343) I am a broken vessel, all runnes out:/ A shrunke old Dryfat
Volp.I.2.33(28) But not on thine owne forbid meates hast thou venter'd?

(b) In other positions.

(iii) With -en

(γ) Verse

Revels V.6.80(163) Nothing which dutie, and desire to please/ Beares written in the forehead, comes amisse
Hymen.245(218) Should be, like Cupid, strooken blind
Cat.V.430(540) Cethegus/ Hath sent, too, to his servants; who are many,/ Chosen, and exercis'd in bold attemptings
Poet.I.1.69 & 70(208) Till Cupids fires be out, and his bowe broken/ Thy verses (neate Tibullus) shall be spoken
F.I.254(716) Plato, is framing some Ideas,/ Are now bespoken
Volp.V.12.121(135) And, since the most was gotten by imposture (So M.Qu.270(297))
" I.5.42(42) Not those, he hath begotten, or brought up (line 44 begot)

(δ) Prose

K.E.11(83) Beneath that, in a lesse and different character, was written/ CAMERA REGIA (So M.Qu.549 (308))
Bart.F.IV.5.102(106) Hide, and be hidden; ride, and be ridden, sayes the vapour of experience. (Hidden, from O.E. weak vb., by analogy with ridden)
Poet.II.2.21(227) You have chosen you a most faire companion
Epic.I.2.29(171) hee has heard of one ... who is exceedingly soft-spoken
Alch.Ded.15(289) This, yet, safe in your iudgement ... is forbidden to speak
Bart.F.I.6.52(37) it may be eaten
" V.4.1(121) Looke yonder's your Cokes gotten in among his play-fellowes
Hymen.10(209) they find afterwards, the good fortune ... to be utterly forgotten

(iv) Without -en

(ε) Verse

Poet.Induc.22(203) For I am risse here with a covetous hope (= risen)
Cat.III.272(477) Would not the barbarous deeds have beene beleev'd,/... by our children,/ Without this fact had rise forth greater, for them? (This interesting spelling probably does not represent the long radical vowel of the present stem, but [I], as in the preceding example. The past participles ris, risse, rise, rize, rizze were fairly frequent in the 17th C and were apparently spelling variants of [rIs] or [rIz], derived from 14th C irise(n). Both the past participle and the corresponding Western preterite were in literary use in the

Elizabethan and Jacobean period, but are now vulgar and dialectal.)
Poet.III.5.3(257) Others, that thinke what ever I have writ/ Wants ꝺ pith, and matter to eternise it (rhyme)
Alch.II.4.1(332) Has he bit? Has he bit?
Al.E.320(131) Be Envie still strooke blind, and Flatterie dumbe
M.Qu.69(285) And make his bridle or bottome of thrid,/ To roule up how many miles you have rid (So L.M.M. 46(454) & T.V.H.107(659))
S.P.H.43(324) When in a day of honour fire was smit/ To have put out Vulcan's
E.M.I.H.V.1.42(271) your wife an honest woman,/ Is meate twise sod to you (So P.R.V.31(480))
Sej.IV.249(426) you/ Have rather chose, to place your aides in him,/ Then live suspected
Cat.III.154(473) Slipt away; all shrunke:/ Now that he mist the Consul-ship
Alch.I.1.58(297) Here, since your mistris death hath broke* up house (So Hymen.121(213), S.P.H.37(324); G.M.1099(602) broake)
T.T.II.1.25(26) A man that's bid to Bride-ale (So Sej.I.425(369))
Cat.II.158(459) I have forbid him, hence
Sej.I.272(364) Report, sir, hath spoke out your art, and learning
Alch.V.1.19(388) If he have eate 'hem,/ A plague o' the moath, say I
M.Qu.389(303) to scorne the Muse, & dye, forgot
L.R.273(385) This motion was of love begot

(θ) Prose

C.A.II.7.57(136) as if he had writ himselfe in artibus magister
E.M.I.H.(F)I.3.24(311) He is rid hence
E.M.O.H.V.2.124(571) I am sorrie your Ladyships sight should be so suddenly strooke
Bart.F.II.5.67(52) would my Booth ha' broake, if they had fal'ne out in't? (So M.A.24(630))
Revels V.4.599(156) Her haire stole from Apollo's goldy-locks (line 600 stolne)
Epic.I.1.1(164) Ha' you got the song yet perfect
Sej.Ded.13(349) hath out-liv'd their malice, and begot it selfe a greater favour (So E.H.63(138))
Epic.II.4.5(188) I have forbid the banes lad

Orthographical and Morphological changes in the Strong Verbs.

(See also Appendix II, § 35)

Class I

87. Present infinitive in ĭ [I]

The extension of the radical vowel of the past participle and Western preterite (see § 89) to the present infinitive is extremely rare, and occurs in Jonson only with bite. The form is not

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* Also used in a compound epithet, e.g.
N.Inn IV.2.6(461) I knew it./ A broke-wing'd shop-keeper? I nose 'hem, streight.

recorded in N.E.D. and may be a spelling error.

C.A.IV.8.10(161) I feare not Garlique, heele not bit Onion his kinsman

88. Preterite spelt a, M.E. [ā], E.N.E. [ɛ̄]

The normal development of an O.E. Class I strong verb was as follows :-

O.E.	drīfan	drāf	drifon	(ge)drifen
M.E.	drīven	drǭf	driven	driven
E.N.E.	drive [drəIv]	drove [droᵀv]	drove	driven

Wright (E.H.N.E.G. § 338) suggests that ā preterites, such as drave, arose in M.E. alongside of the normally developed ǭ forms by analogy with verbs of Class IV (cf. bare and brake). They were common in 16th C, are found in the Authorised Version of the Bible and poetry of the early 17th C, and still exist in some dialects.

In Jonson the only Class I strong verb with this type of preterite is drive.

Sej.IV.190(424) Drave them to frownes, to mutuall iealousies (So S.S.II.4.40(32)). Preterite drave occured as early as 14th C. It was of Northern origin, and held its own against Southern drove until 17th C.

M.Qu.634(311) She drave the Burgundians, and Almaynes out of Liguria

89. Preterites in ĭ [I]

Rid, for rode, is generally explained as a past participle (without -den, see § 86) applied to the preterite. Such formations were common in the West Midland dialects in E.N.E., and the practice spread eastward. By the end of 16th C most Class I verbs were affected by this Western influence; hence the name Western preterites* for such forms as bit for the past tense of bite.

The predominance of the ǭ form (now [oʊ]) in Standard English must have come comparatively late (probably 18th C), though it is fairly commonly used in 17th C alongside of the ā and Western preterites.

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* Western preterites are not confined to Class I verbs; under the general term are included any strong preterites derived from the past participle stem through W.Mid. influence.

Jonson seems to regard ĭ as the normal radical vowel of the preterite. Gill (Log.Angl., Ch.XII) apparently considers the ĭ preterites to be weak forms, and the ō preterites the normal strong forms (see Appendix II, § 35, Class I, Note (ii)).

With the exception of bit, the ō preterites are now regular.

E.M.I.H.I.2.22(203) Its almost halfe an houre ago since he rid hence (So N.N.W.180(519))
" II.3.24(226) the two I writ to thee of (So Poet.Reader 74(319) and D.A.V.4.8(256); M.Qu.35(281) writt)
Cat.I.235(442) Slaughter bestrid the streets
" IV.358(509) Riss' not the consular men? (So V.634(547))
F.I.173(713) Div'd to the bottome of the Sea, like lead,/ And riss' againe like corke
M.Qu.181(292) I bit of a sinew

Note: ō preterites are comparatively rare :-

Stap.N.Inter.III.29(344) And which Boy rode upon Doctor Lambe (So M.Qu.721(314))
N.Inn I.3.136(414) come iustling in,/ And out still, as they one drove hence another (S.P.H.310(332) out-drove)
F.I.289(717) But, wrote he like a Gentleman? (line 286 writ)

90. Past Participle from Preterite

In 16th C the preterite was sometimes extended to the past participle, occasionally with shortening of the radical vowel. Shone has thus become the regular past participle of modern English; but few of these extensions survived 18th C.

Epic.Prol.4(163) Who wrote that piece, could so have wrote a play (So Mag.La.I.4.6(519)
Cat.IV.464(512) H'has strove to emulate this mornings thunder (See § 82(a) Note ii)
N.Inn I.3.94(413) How long have you .../ Drove this quick trade

See also examples of stroke in § 91(b)(i).

91. Forms of strike (O.E. strīcan)

The normal forms in E.N.E. were: strike, stroke, stricken, all of which appear in the late 16th and early 17th C.

Stroke (derived from M.E. strǭk) appears in Jonson only in the past participle; so does the probably variant spelling (common in 17th C) stroake, the pronunciation of both forms being [strō·k]. In the preterite stroke was superseded in the latter part of the 16th C by an unexplained form strook; and in the 17th C an alternative shortened preterite struck also came into use. Both strook and struck were then extended to the past

mod.Du. kauwen, L.G. kawen; the suggestion that it is due to the passing over of the verb to Class VII, as *cēawan *cēow *cēowon *cēawen is rejected as unhistorical.

The apparently related form chow, common in 16th C, is still in dialect and vulgar use. This may be due to analogy with the o variants of shew and strew (see Mixed Verbs, § 83).

C.A.II.2.17(127) he doth chaw the cud in the kindnesse of an honest imperfection
D.A.IV.2.53(232) chawing/ Some graines of masticke

93. Archaic verb leese (O.E. lēosan, M.E. lēsen)

This verb, from which the archaic past participle lorn (e.g. in love-lorn) was derived, was used in the present tense until 17th C. The strong preterite was not in use after 14th C.

Weak forms appeared in 13th C, and the verb was then merged with lose (from O.E. weak verb losian), which gradually superseded leese. The pronunciation of the radical vowel of the former as [u] was due to association with loose.

E.M.O.H.V.1.88(566) Take heed you leese it not
K.E.624(103) that no age may leese/ The memorie of this so rich a day
Al.E.299(130) Shall nothing stay you? not my Masters heart?/ That pants to leese the comfort of your light

94. Past participle of fly (O.E. flēogan)

Modern flown is the normal development of the M.E. past participle flōʒen. The forms fline, flyen, common in 16th and 17th C, were new formations from the present stem. These were replaced in 17th - 18th C by a past participle flew from the preterite. None of these alternatives to flown has survived.

Stap.N.Inter.IV.43(363) I would ha' flyen in his gypsies face.

Class III

95. Preterites with radical ŭ alongside of ă

The verbs here considered belong to the O.E. sub-class typified by drincan. The ablaut forms of this verb were :-

drincan dranc druncon druncen

Generally in the 16th C, but in some verbs earlier, form-levelling extended the u of the past participle to the preterite

singular, giving the type drunk beside the normal, and still regular, drank. In the verbs cling, fling, sling, slink, sting, string, swing, and wring modern English has favoured the Western preterites or u- forms; but in E.N.E. many of these verbs also had their a- forms.

A.E.H.Swaen (Anglia XVII, pp.486-514) has dealt with the verbs in which alternative forms are most common in N.E., viz. begin (O.E. beginnan), drink, ring, shrink, sing, sink, spin (O.E. spinnan) and spring. He might have added stink. He collected a large number of examples from different periods and arrived at the conclusion that no rule can be formulated in regard to the correctness of one form or the other. It is wrong to say that u forms belong to colloquial English, or even that they are avoided by the best writers. All that his examples can be made to yield is the following generalization: The preterites in u and a have both been in good use since 16th C, with a growing preference for the forms in a, except span, which has become obsolete.

The preterite begun is now preserved only in verse; it is twice used by Jonson for the sake of rhyme, and once in a marginal stage direction. Began is, however, his normal form.

As the examples show, both preterites are not always to be found in Jonson*, who in general prefers the u form.

Run (O.E. iernan and rinnan) and win (O.E. winnan) have been added to the verbs in Swaen's list.

(a) a- preterites

Sej.II.346(386) For she began to swell (So Stap.N.Inter.IV. 2(362), Pan.134(116), Al.E.28(122) etc.)
Volp.V.1.5(108) my left legge 'gan to have the crampe (Al.E. 84(122) gan)
G.M.1275(608) yee drancke of his wine (Jonson's usual preterite is drunke)
Stap.N.V.6.5(379) ranne routed/ At every Pannicke terror themselves bred (So M.Qu.357(301))
Cat.III.166(474) Antonius wan it but by some few voices (This spelling was in use from O.E. to 17th C and was very common in 15th and 16th C. Wyld says (H.M.C.E.p.136) that it represents an unrounding characteristic of the S.W., where it occured early in 15th C. Its frequency in the writings of Queen Elizabeth suggests court usage, and the

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* But see list in Appendix II, § 35, Class III.

possible influence of Raleigh in its introduction there.)
Pan.141(117) The temp'rance of a private man did bring,/ That wan affections, ere his steps wan ground

(b) u- preterites

Had.M.225(256) untill the Parcae spunne/ Their whitest wooll; and then, his thred begun
K.E.W.28(792) From whom the warmth, heat, life, begun (rhymes done)
L.W.B.marginal note 67(810) They begun to Dance
E.M.I.H.III.2.126(242) the most divine Tabacco as ever I drunke (So Revels I.4.15(54), Volp.II.2.56(51) & M.Qu. 541(308))
Revels I.1.59(46) the silver roofe of the Olympian palace rung againe with applause. (So Ober.69(344). O.E. hringan was originally a wk.vb., but took strong forms by analogy with sing in 13th C)
S.S.I.5.55(19) Twenty waters more,/ That swell'd proud Trent, shrunke themselves dry
D.A.II.6.45(202) Who was it sung? (So Hymen.63(211) and 729 (234), Had.M.339(26o), Ober.68(344) etc)
Poet.V.1.81(292) As if the filth of povertie sunke as deepe/ Into a knowing spirit as the bane/ Of riches doth (So S.S. I.6.50(23) and II.6.102(37), E.Black.119(773))
" I.1.45(207) the line from whence I sprung (So N.Inn III. 1.101(447) & Hymen.730(234))
" III.4.361(257) forgive me that I said thou stunkst (Volp.V.2.78(112) stunke)
Stap.N.Inter.III.31(344) in the likenesse of a roaring Lyon, that runne away with him in his teeth, and ha's not devour'd him yet (Cf. Nursery rhyme: Tom, Tom, the piper's son/ Stole a pig and away he run.)

96. Preterite of swim

Since O.E. the normal preterite has always been swam, but a number of alternative forms, including weak swimmed, have been in use since M.E.

The preterite swame developed in L.M.E., probably on analogy of the ā preterites of Class IV verbs. Wyld (H.M.C.E. p.347) cites a similar preterite began from Pecok and Machyn. The N.E.D. shows the form history of swame as 14th - 16th C; but Jonson's use is later (c.1610). It is employed, however, for the sake of rhyme.

S.P.H.303(332) As if whole Ilands had broke loose, and swame;/ Or halfe of Norway with her firre-trees came

97. Spelling o for u (and vice versa) in preterite and past participle. (See Appendix II, § 35, Class III, note (iii)).

This affects the sub-class of verbs discussed in § 95.

In L.M.E. u [u] was regularly written o when it preceded or followed m, n, w, or u [v], and this orthographical o was sometimes inconsistently retained in E.N.E.

Shronk(e) and song occurred in both parts of the verb until 17th C, but are rare in Jonson, shrunk and sung being the regular preterites and past participles.

Won is now the regular modern spelling, but in Jonson's time wun was still found in both parts of the verb.

(i) Forms in o now spelt u

E.Black.84(772) 'Twas yours, mrs wetter, and you shronke i'th wetting for it (preterite)
Poet.III.5.78(260) For he shall weepe, and walke with every tongue/ Throughout the citie, infamously song (Epil.238(324) has sung)

(ii) Forms in u now spelt o

E.M.I.H(F)I.4.51(316) his cloke wrapt about him, as though he had neither wun nor lost
E.T.132(158) Where, wee, that loose, have wunne;/ And, for a beame, enioy a Sunne
S.P.H.91(325) when a world is wunne,/ Submit it duely to this state (So Ober.99(345))

98. Forms of wring

As explained in the preceding section, the past participle wrung(en) usually appeared with the spelling wrong(e) in L.M.E. In 16th C, however, wrung reasserted itself alongside of a new form wroong, simultaneously in the past participle and the preterite. It is probable that the latter has [ū] not [ʌ]; but the origin is uncertain. Jonson has both forms in the past participle.

(i) Cat.III.6(468) A most small praise, and that wrung out by force

(ii) Revels II.4.17(77) when they have got acquainted with a strange word, never rest till they have wroong it in

99. Past participle of run (O.E. iernan, M.E. rinnen)

Forms with metathesis were normal in O.E., and N.E.D. suggests that the predominance of rinnen in M.E. was due to the influence of O.N. rinna and renna.

Variations in the forms of this verb have been considerable since M.E. By E.N.E. there were at least three strong past participles runne, ronne and ranne (the second being, of course, a spelling variant of the first). By the 16th C run was the regular form and spelling; ron was archaic. Past participle ran, however, persisted until 19th C. Jonson's single example,

which occurs in broken dialogue, is almost certainly a past participle and not a preterite; but the form may be a grammatical solecism.

F.I.58(709) Iophiel./ Ran on the score!/ Mere-Foole./ That I have (The construction of the passage, as a whole, requires a past participle)

Class IV

100. Forms of the preterite in E.N.E.

The ablaut forms of beran in O.E. were :

W.S.	beran	bær	bǣron	boren
Kentish & Anglian	beran	ber or bær	bēron	boren

During 13th C lengthening of the O.E. short vowels a, e, o took place when they occurred in the open syllables of disyllabic words. As a result the radical vowels of the whole conjugation of class IV verbs, except the first and third person singular of the preterite, were lengthened. In 14th C, by analogy, the forms of the first and third person singular of the preterite often underwent lengthening too. Both the æ and the e preterites were similarly affected, though the former had in E.M.E. been retracted to a. Thus in L.M.E. there were found two different developments of bēren:-

	Infin.	Pret.Sing.	Past Part.
North	bēren	bar and bāre	boren
South		ber and bēre	boren

The preterites bar, ber and bēre continued to occur in the transition period, but did not survive 15th C. This accounts for the prominence of the ā (now [ɛ̄]) preterites in the literature of 16th and 17th C. After 1700 such preterites are due mainly to the influence of the Bible*.

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* The account given above is that favoured by Wright and Wyld. An alternative development of the ā preterites is suggested by Prof.W.S.Mackie:-

O.E.	beran	bær	bǣron or bēron	boren
E.M.E.	beren	bar	bēren (S.W.), bēren or baren(from sing.)	boren
M.E.	bēren	bar	bēren, bēren or bāren (lengthening)	bōren

It is possible in this way to arrive at the L.M.E. preterite singular bār(e) from the M.E. plural bāren.

The ō [oᵀ]** preterites arose in E.N.E. by analogy with the past participle, and were apparently first used in the W.Midland dialects about 1400. They did not, however, come into general use until the late 16th C. They are now the regular modern forms.

(a) Preterites in a [ɛ̄]

T.T.III.6.14(51) And how her Father bare him in the business'
E.M.I.H.I.4.38(214) he bare himself with such observance (So Epic.IV.2.58(224))
E.T.476(98) In her right hand shee bare a club (So M.Qu.306 (299) etc)
Sej.V.52(438) the falling of our bed, that brake/ This morning
Alch.II.3.77(323) the Retort brake,/ And what was sav'd, was put into the Pellicane
K.E.383(95) Others have thought it by reason of the foure elements, which brake out of him
E.T.10(154) out of this pensive posture, after some little pause, he brake (So M.Beaut.124(185) & 395(193))
K.E.W.231(799) Or the Saddle turn'd round, or the Girths brake

(b) Preterites in o [oᵀ]

Sej.III.437(407) Both bore them, and contemn'd them
D.A.IV.1.31(229) I doe wonder/ How Everill bore it!
S.S.Argu.I.20(8) Robin-hood enquires ... how long hee stood, and what head he bore
K.E.91(86) in his hand he bore the standard of the citie (So 551(101))
E.T.K.3(148) one bore a Sunne-diall (So M.Beaut.175(186), Hymen.63(211), G.M.1416(612) etc.)
Epic.IV.5.172(240) I never in my life, broke iest upon any man (So Bart.F.I.3.141(27), N.Inn III.1.147(448) and Mag. La.V.8.24(589))
M.Beaut.61(183) Which they receiv'd, but broke their day
M.O.102(784) He fled by Moone-shine thence;/ And broke for sixteene pence

Note: (i) A past participle brake occurs, as a nonce form, for the sake of rhyme:

M.Qu.258(296) And her Belly shall ake,/ As her Back were brake (see § 101, footnote)

(ii) The O.E. Class VI verb swerian had past participle sworen by analogy with Class IV. In M.E. form developments on the analogy of bear continued, giving in 15th - 17th C the preterite sware alongside of normal swore.

** In L.M.E. final -e after a single consonant was often used to indicate length of the preceding radical vowel e.g. stone for stoon (O.E. stān). Here, as elsewhere, ā and ō preterites are convenient methods of distinguishing forms such as bare and bore, but do not describe the quality of the radical vowels, which I sometimes find it desirable to indicate by phonetic notation.

Cat.V.473(542) I know Syllanus,/ Who spoke before me, a iust, valiant man
Bart.F.II.5.65(52) 'twas in the behalfe of your Booth's credit, that I spoke
D.A.II.2.70(194) I would not have him thinke hee met a statue:/ Or spoke to one, not there
Ober.26(342) To which he spoke
L.R.71(379) His staffe spoke somewhat to that boistrous sense
V.D.34(464) Delight, spoke againe

(ii) Past Participle

Spōken and spēken were the usual past participles in M.E. The latter was exceedingly rare after 15th C.

T.T.II.1.27(26) he has spoke as true as a Gun
F.I.254(716) Plato, is framing some Ideas,/ Are now bespoken

(b) Tread (O.E. tredan)

(i) Preterite

M.E. had trad (12th - 15th C) and trade (14th - 15th C). Weak forms with radical e developed in 14th C, and the form tradde of 15th C may also have been weak.

Troden, on the analogy of the past participle, had been used in the preterite plural as early as 14th C; but o did not appear in the singular until 16th C, when trod and trode came into use, the former the result of E.N.E. shortening before dental consonants. The latter lasted until 19th C, but trod seems to have been the regular form since 17th C.

(α) T.T.IV.6.16(73) The black Oxe never trod yet o' your foot

(β) Revels I.4.79(56) Since I trode on this side the Alpes, I was not so frozen
K.E.479(98) She trode on/ DOULOSIS

(ii) Past Participle

Analogy with Class IV explains the past participle with o, which dates from 14th C. N.E.D. suggests that Norse influence may have had something to do with it.

The past participle tred was, however, found until 17th C and is still in dialect use.

Only the o form appears in Jonson.

E.M.O.H.I.3.30(453) his reekes, and mowes well trod
Sej.II.176(380) Are rites/ Of faith, love, piety, to be trod down?

Cat.III.420(482) In paths ne're trod by men
S.S.II.6.24(35) A pott of Strawberries .../ (His Hoggs would els have rooted up, or trod)

(c) Get and its compounds (O.E. gietan and O.N. geta)

(i) Preterite

The form history is gate (13th - 17th C) and got from 16th C. Gat, which dates from 13th C, is still in archaic use.

(α) Sej.V.865(469) Her drowned voyce gate up above her woes
L.F.I.F.86(361) This their fervour gate such strength

(β) E.M.O.H.II.6.34(490) gat three other gentlemen widdowes
Volp.I.1.22(28) (as it selfe doth relate it)/ Since Kings, Knights, and Beggers, Knaves, Lords and Fooles gat it. (Possibly a mis-spelling, as the rhyme implies the radical vowel in gate)
Alch.IV.1.44(360) Dol. a poore Baron's daughter. Mam. Poore! and gat you? Prophane not.
N.Inn.Ode-title(492) The iust indignation the Author tooke at the vulgar censure of his Play, by some malicious spectators, begat this following Ode to himselfe.
Hymen.marginal note a(226) Romulus, who, by force gat wives for him
M.Qu.375(302) When Vertue cut of Terror, he gat Fame

(γ) C.A.III.3.24(143) how my poore haplesse daughter/ Got that attire
Poet.III.5.81(260) The witch, Canidia, that Albucius got (So Reader 149(321))
Epic.I.3.60(176) my ladies gentleman-usher, who got mee knighted in Ireland
Alch.II.3.270(330) I forgot
" IV.3.29(369) Perhaps some Fleming, or some Hollander got him
D.A.III.2.22(212) That yeere Sr,/ That I begot him, I bought Plutarch's lives
Stap.N.I.5.128(297) He got into a Masque at Court, by his wit

(ii) Past Participle

The fact that o appeared in the past participle stem in 13th C indicates early analogy with Class IV. The e- stem ceased to be used in 16th C, and does not appear in Jonson.

The suffix -en is still employed in compounds and in American English.

E.M.I.H.IV.4.31(269) such favours as these gotten of my maister (So Bart.F.V.4.1(121) & L.F.I.F.21(359))
T.T.V.10.55(90) subtile Bramble, who had Awdrey got,/ Into his hand

Epic.I.1.1(164) Ha' you got the song yet perfect
D.A.I.1.113(167) Car-men/ Are got into the yellow starch
Stap.N.Inter.I.73(303) the poore man had got a shrewd mischance
E.T.57(155) That such a grace, beyond his hopes, hath got (So L.R.17(377))

(d) Sit (O.E. sittan)

(i) Preterite

Sat dates from 12th C. Sate, which appeared in 14th C, has been archaic since 17th C. It was the commoner form with Jonson.

(α) K.E.493(99) shee sat high
M.Beaut.254(189) the Throne whereon they sat

(β) E.M.O.H.V.4.58(577) the sweet lady that sate by her
Sej.V.65(439) Flew to the prison, where they sate, all night (So V.257(446))
Alch.V.1.34(388) As I sate up, a mending my wives stockings
Cat.IV.359(509) left their places,/ So soone as thou sat'st downe (Probably the 2nd pers.sing. of sate not sat)
S.S.I.6.42(23) ore head sate a Raven! (So II.3.45(31), Northern dialect)
K.E.461(98) on the top if it sate a Halcion
E.T.38(155) the three Parcae, that sate low in a grate
M.Black.183(174) As they sate, cooling their soft Limmes (So M.Beaut.261(189), Hymen.222(217) and 650 (231), L.F.I.F.83(361) etc.)

(ii) Past Participle

The old e- stem had gone by 16th C. A form sitten from 14th - 18th C indicates remodelling on the present stem or analogy with Class I.

Sate, an extension of the 14th C preterite, is used from Tindale (mid.16th C) to Thackeray (mid.19th C). It is Jonson's form.

Sat has, however, been the commoner form of the past participle since 14th C.

Revels IV.3.122(112) Humble, because they use to be sate upon
Poet.Reader 143(321) all the rest might have sate still
Sej.V.260(446) The Fathers have sate readie, and prepar'd
Cat.II.140(459) Caesar, and I/ Have sate upon him
Bart.F.IV.6.60(108) I thought you had sate there to be seen

102. Bid and its compounds (O.E. biddan)

The variety of forms even in modern English is noteworthy:

Preterite : bad, bade, bid

Past Part. : bidden, bid

O.E. had two verbs bēodan (Class II) and biddan (Class V), meaning 'offer' and 'beg' respectively. In O.E. itself the two were used in the sense of 'command'. Literary English mainly preserved the forms of biddan. The normal development of this verb in M.E. was as follows :-

O.E.	biddan	bæd	bǣdon) bēdon)	beden
M.E.	bidden	bad	bēden) bĕden)	bēden

N.E. bade, later pronounced [bæd], is a parallel development with the preterite sate of sittan. The past participle bidden may be modelled on the present, or formed by analogy with Class I. The latter would account for the preterite bid, as similar to the Western preterite rid.

(i) Preterite

(α) T.T.I.7.14(24) These were the workes of piety he did practise,/ And bad us imitate (So III.2.23(45))
Epic.II.1.8(177) You have taken the ring, off from the street dore, as I bad you?
Alch.II.3.74(323) According as you bad me
D.A.II.6.18(201) The fellow was not faithfull in delivery,/ Of what I bad (So III.6.55(228))
Stap.N.Prol.1(282) he bad me say (So V.3.4(272))
N.Inn Prol.10(405) For this, the secure dresser badd me tell
S.S.III.2.10(45) my Mother gave it mee,/ And bad mee weare it
M.Qu.178(291) I bad him, agayne blow wind i' the tayle (So M.V.222(416) and G.M.1063(601))

(β) E.T.22(154) Here a voice was heard, from behind darknesse, which bade him

(γ) E.M.I.H.V.3.94(278) your worshippes man bid me doe it
Volp.V.11.11(129) Mosca call'd us out of doores,/ And bid us all goe play
Alch.II.5.64(336) The Brethren bid me say unto you
Cat.V.347(538) Some o' the traytors ... bid him/ Name you

(ii) Past Participle

E.M.I.H(F)II.4.87(333) I scorne to be outbidden
T.T.II.1.25(26) A man that's bid to Bride-ale
Volp.Prol.5(23) This we were bid to credit
Epic.II.4.5(188) I have forbid the banes lad
M.V.78(411) he is bid sleepe secure

103. Forms of eat

The O.E. verb etan differed from other Class V verbs in that the stem-vowel of the preterite sing. was long instead of short. West Saxon had ǣt, other dialects ē̆t. The form history was as follows :-

O.E.	(W.S.)	etan	ǣt	ǣton	(ge)eten
	(Anglian)	etan	ē̆t	ē̆ton	(ge)eten
M.E.	(Southern)	ē̆ten	ē̆t	ē̆ten	ē̆ten
	(E.Mid. and Northern)	ē̆ten	ē̆t	ē̆ten	ē̆ten

The N.E. past tense eate [ɛ̄t] may have been a Southern form or a Western preterite (from the past participle). By 16th century a parallel form with a short radical vowel [ɛt] was also in existence. Shortening was common before dental consonants in E.N.E., but it may even have taken place in M.E. on the analogy of weak verbs like read, preterite [rɛd].

An alternative preterite æ̆t must also have existed in O.E., as in L.M.E. at was a regular form, and, following the development in other Class V verbs, ate appeared in 16th C.

What we have in modern English is the form ate with, apparently, the pronunciation of the shortened form earlier described, viz. [ɛt]. The pronunciation [eIt] is not Standard English.

(i) Preterite

E.M.O.H.V.7.46(587) I eate not a bit since I came into the house
Volp.II.2.55(51) the Christians galleyes, where very temperately, they eate bread, and drunke water
Bart.F.III.6.50(83) two and a halfe he eate to his share
Ober.216(349) He eat the dormouse,/ Else it was hee

(ii) Past Participle

Poet.III.5.71(259) O Iupiter, let it with rust be eaten,/ Before it touch, or insolently threaten [ē]
Epic.I.3.48(176) some other fowle, which I would have eaten
Bart.F.I.6.52(37) it may be eaten
M.Beaut.241(189) Leverets pick'd up the bruised apples, and left them halfe eaten
L.R.78(379) I had beene eaten up else
Alch.V.1.19(388) If he have eate 'hem,/ A plague o' the moath, say I
D.A.I.6.5(177) I have eat or drunk
Mag.La.IV.4.7(568) A Viper, that hast eat a passage through me

104. Forms of lie (O.E. licgan)

In the 2nd and 3rd person sing. pres. indicative of this verb the j which produced doubling of the stem-final in W.Germanic did not appear. The present singular in O.E. was as follows :- licge, ligest or līst, ligeþ or līþ.

The vocalized forms of the 2nd and 3rd person passed into M.E.

In 14th C a new infinitive lyen, and 1pst pers. sing. pres. indic. lye, appeared on the analogy of the vocalized forms of the 2nd and 3rd person singular. Lye had become the regular present stem by E.N.E.

In the preterite O.E. læg > M.E. lai >N.E. lay.

In the past part. O.E. legen >M.E. leien. The latter was superseded by a late 14th C formation from the present stem, lyen, which was used by Shakespeare and Jonson and in the Prayer Book version of the Psalms; the form occurs as late as 18th C. Layn (lain) was also in use from 14th C, but does not appear to have become the regular N.E. past participle until 17th C. Gill (1621) gives only lyn [laIn] as the past participle; Butler (1634) only layn; Jonson in his Grammar has lien or lain as alternative forms, but in practice prefers the former.

Only past participle forms are recorded.

E.M.I.H.III.3.46(244) and he had not lyne in my house, 'twould never have greev'd me
Volp.IV.5.81(101) The aged gentleman, that had there lien, bed-red
Poet.IV.1.41(263) I would not for a world, but you had lyen in my house
Epic.V.2.76(256) they have lyen with her
Alch.IV.1.46(361) Had your father ... lyen but there still, and panted/ H'had done inough
C.T.110(392) they have lyen so flat

105. Quoth (O.E. cweðan)

This verb, which is derived from the O.E. preterite cwæð (M.E. cwaþ, quath), is less commonly used in Jonson than Shakespeare. N.E.D. says that the commonest form from 1350-1550 was quod, and this, according to both Sweet (N.E.G. § 1473) and Wyld (Universal Dict.), was a weak form evolved through lack of stress in combinations such as quath he. The most probable explanation of final d is that it occurred in the past plural and p.participle

of O.E. The o was due to the rounding influence of the labial w.

The common Elizabethan and Jacobean form quoth ([kwō˞θ] and, according to Gill, also [kō˞θ]), has the rounded vowel but retains the [θ]. It probably originated by analogy with spoke, though Wyld suggests the parallel influence of quote (O.Fr. quoter). It was used in the drama of the time both as preterite and present tense, usually with a jesting or ironic signification.

Syntactically quoth has several interesting features :

(a) As found in the present tense in Shakespeare, it is used to repeat mockingly what has just been said by another speaker.

(b) It is seldom placed before a speech; usually after it, or (with its pronoun) as a parenthesis near the beginning of the words quoted.

(c) The verb is always placed before the subject, usually a pronoun.

Udall, Ralph Roister D. I.2.17 Enamoured, quod you?

Poet.II.1.122(224) Citi-sin, quoth'a
L.W.B.111(811) You doe not know (quoth shee)/ The nature of this Infant

Class VI

106. Past Participles in oo

The extension of the preterite to the past participle was frequent in 16th and 17th C with the verbs forsake, shake, stand and take. With the third of these verbs stood is still the regular form of the past participle.

The N.E.D. records a form forsoc as early as 13th C, but forsook was apparently not in regular use until 16th C, competing with forsaken* until 19th C.

The past participle took appeared in the late 16th C (according to N.E.D. in the dramatist Kyd, 1592), and lasted until the 18th C, after which it became vulgar and dialectal.

Sej.III.255(401) Phoebus sooner hath forsooke the day/ Then I the field
Cat.IV.300(507) His spirits have forsooke him
S.S.III.5.1(48) Hath he forsooke mee? (So G.M.1005(599))
S.P.H.324(332) and Neptune shooke/ As if the Thunderer had his palace tooke. (Employed by Jonson as a rhyme-word)

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* Forsaken occurs in Jonson alongside of forsook, e.g.
G.M.1193(605) And gammons of bacon,/ Let nought be forsaken (Rhyme)

Class VII

107. Past participles of hold and behold

(a) The O.E. infinitive was healdan (W.Sax.) and haldan (Angl.), The development in M.E. being as follows :-

. . . . .)	Pres.Inf.	Pret.	Past Part.
L.O.E.(W.S.)	hēaldan	hēold	(ge)hēālden
M.E.(S.W.)	hę̄lden	hēld, held	(y)hę̄lden
L.O.E.(Angl.)	hāldan	hēold	gehālden
M.E.(E.Mid.)	hǭlden	hēld, held	hǭlden

N.E. hold is the regular development from M.E. hǭlden.

Held, the M.E. shortened preterite, was extended to the past participle in 16th C, but did not begin to supplant holden until 17th C.

(i) E.M.I.H(F)I.5.92(320) the most peremptory absurd clowne ... he is holden

(ii) Epic.IV.5.59(237) that you had held your life contemptible

(b) Beheld is found in the preterite in M.E., but not in the past participle until 17th C, so that Jonson's use of the latter in Sejanus (acted 1603) must have been an early one.

Weak past participles beholded and behelded occurred from 14th - 16th C.

Sej.V.706(463) Who would depend upon the popular ayre,/ ... that have to day beheld/ ... Seianus fall
N.Inn Argu.90(400) which beheld by the Lady Frampul, from the window, shee is invited up
L.M.M.207(460) you brighter starres,/ Who have beheld these civill warres
G.M.1475(615) You have beheld ... their change

(c) Beholding, in the sense of 'indebted', is first recorded in the N.E.D. from Caxton (1483). The explanation given seems to be that the form was, in its origin, a present participle from behold(en) meaning 'to look at/to'. In feudal times I am beholding to you would convey the sense of respect and dependence, and mean 'I am looking to you for'. Hence the idea of obligation.

Abbott (Shakes.Gram. § 372) says that Shakespeare appeared to think that -ing was equivalent to the old suffix -en; he gives a number of other examples besides beholding.

Shakespeare, of course, was only preserving a current syntactical practice, still common in modern English, e.g. Two things are wanting to make this complete (where wanted would do as well). It is notable, however, that this use of the present for the past participle is common only with weak verbs.

Behold is, however, a strong verb. The most probable explanation of beholding, therefore, is that it is a corruption of speech which orthography helped to fix and preserve. In M.E. [ŋ] often became [n] in unstressed syllables, and present participles such as huntyn were quite regular (see Appendix I § 13). When the present stem had been weakened to behold, it is probable that the strong past participle beholden was confused with the present participle beholdyn, and that both forms were orthographically represented by beholding.

(i) T.T.III.8.4(55) Wee are beholden to him
Epic.V.1.8(251) Sir Iohn Daw, and I are both beholden to you (So V.4.212(269))
Cat.II.143(459) you are beholden to my woman
Bart.F.III.4.166(72) I am beholden to you, Sir
Stap.N.II.2.45(307) I pray you let mee know, Sir, unto whom/ I am so much beholden
N.Inn V.2.26(481) I had rather dye in a ditch .../ Then owe my wit to cloathes, or ha' it beholden

(ii) E.M.I.H.II.1.43(221) you are beholding to that Saint
E.M.O.H.II.3.176(475) I am the most beholding to that lord
Poet.I.2.154(214) you shall make me beholding to you

Note: An abstract noun from this, beholdingnesse, is also used:

Mag.La.IV.2.21(565) I must confesse a great beholdingnesse/ Unto her Ladiships offer

108. Archaic past participle hight (O.E. hātan)

The normal development of this verb was :-

O.E.	hātan	hēht	hāten
M.E.(North)	hāte(n)	hīght	hāten
(South)	hǭte(n)	hīght	hǭten

In L.M.E. the Northern dialects extended hīght both to the present tense and the past participle. The word still exists in

Scotland, meaning 'promise'.

In the early history of the language the same forms had acquired both active and passive function.

By the latter half of 16th C the verb was already becoming obsolescent, even in the past participle, which now survives only as a poetic archaism.

Volp.I.2.19(28) From Pythagore, shee went into a beautifull peece,/ Hight Aspasia, the meretrix
Bart.F.V.3.113(120) what doe they know ... what Abidos is? or the other Sestos hight?
G.A.R.117(425) You farre-fam'd spirits of this happie Ile/.../ That Chaucer, Gower, Lidgate, Spencer hight
G.M.374(577) in the west/ Hight vesper
" 1041(600) Cock-Lorell he hight
K.E.W.127(796) And Pem she hight,/ A solemne Wight

109. Archaic past participle unknow

This nonce-form is an obvious retention of Chaucer's weakened past participle in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales.

N.Inn II.4.24(430) Hos.... speakes a little taynted, fly-blowne Latin,/ After the Schoole. Bea. Of Stratford o' the Bow./ For Lillies Latine, is to him unknow.

Notional Verbs: Miscellaneous Forms

110. Original forms sometimes regarded as aphetic. (See also Appendix II, § 36).

(a) Firm (= confirm)

Confirm (from O.Fr. confermer) came into the language in 13th C; firm (from O.Fr. fermer) appeared in the early 14th C. The latter does not seem to have been used in the sense of 'confirm' after Pope.

In 15th C both words reverted to the spelling i of Lat. firmare.

M.A.464(646) Jove knocks his chin against his brest;/ And firmes it with the rest

(b) Gratulate (= congratulate, gratify, make glad)

Gratulari and congratulari were used in Latin with the same meaning. Gratulate only precedes congratulate in the N.E.D. by 21 years, both being introduced into the language in the latter half of 16th C. The former was not used later than Sir Walter Scott, except as a poetic archaism.

Sej.IV.514(436) I gratulate the news
D.A.IV.1.14(228) They ha' sent the Spanish-Lady,/ To gratulate with you
Stap.N.V.1.8(365) Come forth, and gratulate mee one of theirs
E.T.K.6(148) And for those faculties chosen to gratulate their comming

(c) Light (= alight)

Both līhtan and alīhtan were in use in O.E. in the sense of 'descend'; but the former is two centuries earlier than the latter, according to the N.E.D. Light seems to have been used only as a poetic archaism after 18th C.

Cat.II.85(457) The lady Sempronia is lighted at the gate
C.T.96(391) Came now the first, with his ten Knights ... and lighting from his chariot, spake.

(d) Peer (= peep, appear)

This word, according to the N.E.D., came into the language about 1590, and is of uncertain origin. It cannot be a phonetic development of its M.E. equivalent piren. Used intransitively, peer had the same meaning as, and was often confused with, appear (O.F. apareir), which dates from 13th C and was from 15th C sometimes spelt appeer. Hence the initial apostrophe, indicating that 'peer was mistaken for an aphetic form.

Cat.IV.92(501) See, how his gorget 'peeres above his gowne (Q peeres)

(e) Plane (= complain)

In Latin complangere (to lament) was formed from the intensive prefix com + plangere (to beat the breast); but plaindre and complaindre had practically the same meaning in French. Plein, plaine appeared in English in 13th C; complain nearly a hundred years later.

N.Inn II.6.146(440) leave your planing

(f) Quite (= requite)

In O.F. there were two verbs, first quiter, and later quitter. This may account for the two M.E. weak verbs quīten and quitten, the former being the more common. The shortening of the vowel of quīten in the preterite and past participle probably explains the frequent substitution of a short vowel in the present stem in the 16th C, with the result

that quit and quite could be used interchangeably.

The first use of the prefix re- before the verb with long vowel stem, in the sense of 'repay', is by Surrey in his translation of the Aeneid (1547). After the 17th C quite in this sense was no longer used, but quit (= repay) continued sporadically until 19th C.

Poet.V.1.46(291) Phoebus himselfe shall kneele at Caesars shrine,/ .../ To quite the worship Caesar does to him

(g) Ware

The O.E. transitive weak verb warian (to guard) had a compound bewarian (to preserve). The verbs in M.E. became waren and bewaren (the latter occurs also in Dutch). In M.E. the former was used with the reflexive dative, e.g. ware thee (= Lat. cave tibi).

Before 13th C, however, the 'verb to be' + adj. ware (O.E. wær, cautious) was used alongside of the reflexive construction. When this came to be written as one word it was confused with the verb bewaren, with which it had really no connection; e.g.

Bart.F.I.3.24(23) I'le beware how I keepe you company

Ware has thus generally been regarded in N.E. as either an adjectival interjection or an aphetic form of the verb beware. Even before 1600 writers employed an erroneous initial apostrophe, indicating that they regarded the form as aphetic.

E.M.O.H.I.2.214(451) 'ware how you offend him
Bart.F.II.5.155(54) 'Ware the pan ... shee comes with the pan, Gentlemen
D.A.V.5.5(258) Ware what you do, M.Ambler
Stap.N.V.5.57(379) 'Ware, 'ware the Hawke. I love to see him flye
Mag.La.I.7.36(526) 'Ware your true jests, Mr.Compasse;/ They will not relish

111. Aphetic Forms. (See also Appendix II, § 37)

(a) Ford, fourd (= afford)

The verb in O.E. was geforðian. In 13th C the prefix was weakened to i-, and in 14th C to [ə], spelt a-. M.E. aforth > aford, afford in 16th C. For phonetic change of

(f) Point (= appoint)

O.F. apointer is the source of appoint, which came into the language in 14th C. The aphetic form point was in use by mid-15th C and is found as late as Steele in one of his Spectator papers.

Mag.La.IV.6.5(571) They say hee's here, he 'pointed to come hither

(g) Say (= assay)

Assay, from O.F. assayer, appeared in 14th C, and the aphetic form about the same time. The latter is still in use in Scotland as sey.

Assay is now only used of metals, essay having taken its place. The latter was introduced by Caxton in 15th C from later French essayer.

Revels IV.1.116(103) Phi. ... he looks like a taylour alreadie. Pha. I, that had sayed on one of his customers sutes
Sej.V.444(453) they that can/ With idle wishes 'ssay to bring backe time
D.A.I.4.39(173) Stage direction - Ingine hath won Fitzdottrel, to 'say on the cloake
N.Inn IV.3.51(466) She did but say the suit on

(h) Scape (= escape)

The O.N.F. verb ascaper appeared in English in 13th C as ascape. In the same century the aphetic form scape came into service. It was in good use until 17th C, and is still found as a poetic contraction.

Ascape was defunct by 16th C, having been supplanted by a new 14th C borrowing escape, at first spelt eschape, from Central O.F. eschaper.

T.T.III.9.29(57) I know no other way to scape the Law
C.A.IV.8.4(161) Nay thiefe thou canst not scape
Sej.I.1.41(356) Nothing can scape their catch (verse)
Cat.III.641(489) I will be/ At hand, with the armie, to meet those that scape
N.Inn IV.4.80(471) He could not scape (verse)
M.V.25(410) he is scap'd
K.E.W.200(798) You scape o' th' Sand-bags

(i) Sess (= assess)

Assess, from O.F. assesser (Lat. assidēre), came into the language in 15th C. The aphetic form sess appeared about the same time and was in common use until 17th C.

Epic.IV.5.114(238) a man of two thousand a yeere, is not sess'd at so many weapons (prose)

(j) 'Spute (= dispute)

The verb dispute dates from 14th C, and is from O.F. desputer (Lat. disputāre). The aphetic form spute is actually earlier, occurring in the first quarter of 13th C. The last example of the latter in N.E.D. is from J.Heywood (1556), though modern examples are said to be found in S.W. dialects and in America.

Mag.La.III.5.64(555) All errant learned men, how they 'spute Latine! (Probably a variant spelling of modern slang spout. The noun spout is given in N.E.D. with this spelling, but not the verb. R.Wilson in Coblers Prophesie (1594), however, says that "spout is used by ignorant speakers in place of spute or dispute".)

(k) Sure (= assure)

Assure, from O.F. aseürer, came into the language in 14th C, being several times used by Chaucer. The aphetic form sure made its appearance about the same time and was used as late as Dryden. It survives only in dialect.

T.T.I.4.23(18) They zaid, your worship had sur'd her to Squire Tub

(l) 'Turn (= return)

The O.E. weak verbs tyrnan, turnian meant 'to turn, revolve about an axis' etc. The intransitive verb return appeared in Chaucer in the latter half of 14th C and has since then been the regular form; the transitive use in the sense of 'give back' dates from the latter half of 16th C only. The only other instance in N.E.D. of turn in the latter sense is from Shakespeare's Richard II(IV.1.39). Jonson's use of the initial apostrophe indicates an aphetic, and not an original, form.

S.S.I.7.11(24) Shee'll 'turne us thanks at least!

112. Contracted Forms

(a) Gi', ga', gi'ing and gi'n

Gill mentions gi'- in his chapter on dialects (Log. Angl.Ch.VI). N.E.D. only records a contracted infinitive, which it shows as a dialect form. Wright in his Dialect Dictionary says gi' is a common dialect form in the British

Isles, Australia and America. The use of this contraction by Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists indicates that it is an unaccented colloquial form.

(i) Present Indicative, Infinitive and Imperative

T.T.I.3.12(16) I can gi' un the hearing
E.M.I.H.I.4.57(316) Gi' me my tankard there
" (F)V.4.12(399) Gi' you joy
Alch.II.3.93(324) Give him nine pound: you may gi' him ten
D.A.I.4.44(174) I had forgot to gi' 't you
Stap.N.V.5.24(378) We'll gi' him a broad side, first
Mag.La.V.10.23(592) Who bids God gi' 'hem joy?
C.H.M.75(440) Gi' me leave to aske (So N.N.W.141(517))
K.E.W.219(799) Gi' the old England Yeoman his due

(ii) Preterite

T.T.III.7.32(54) ga' me that nick-name
Epic.I.1.1(164) Ha' you got the song yet perfect I ga' you boy?
Alch.II.6.9(337) He will repent he ga' you any more
Cat.III.547(486) fetch the silver eagle/ I ga' you in charge
Bart.F.III.3.22(66) one speciall blow he ga' me

(iii) Pres. Participle

S.S.I.4.25(15) sell/ Both Fleece, and Carkasse, not gi'ing him the Fell

(iv) Past Participle

T.T.I.7.23(24) Yo' ha' gi' me a large scope, Madam, I confesse
" IV.1.42(60) I'ld ha' gi'n my life for 'un
N.Inn I.5.18(416) Neither my selfe, nor any of mine have gi'n you/ The cause, to quit my house
Mag.La.III.3.29(549) The Parson he has gi'n him gone, this halfe houre
G.M.551(583) And what ever heav'n hath gi'n you,/ You preserve the state still in you

(b) Le' (= let)

Le' is a colloquial contraction common in many English dialects. It is due to lack of accent and probably of early date.

T.T.IV.1.31(60) le' me have hearing
E.M.O.H.IV.7.66(555) pray' le' me be beholding to you
Epic.V.2.57(255) pray' le' me see't
Alch.IV.1.77(362) le' me be particular

(c) Ope (= open) O.E. openian

In M.E. the final n of the adjective and adverb* open was weakened, as in past participles. The verb was similarly

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*The adverbial and adjectival contractions also occur in Jonson: Cat.III.21(469) yo' have cut a way, and left it ope for vertue (adv.) M.Qu.122(288) Who hath but one eare, and that alwayes ope (adj.)

contracted in E.N.E., ope being a regular form until 17th C, when it became restricted to poetical usage.

C.A.II.1.61(126) Ope the doore Rachel, set it open daughter;/ but sit in it thy selfe
Volp.Arg.5(23) Then weaves/ Other crosse-plots, which ope' themselves
Mag.La.IV.7.42(574) Wee shall marre all, if once we ope the mysteries/ O' the Tyring-house
Ober.135(346) See the rocke begins to ope
P.R.V.218(487) Ope, aged Atlas, open then thy lap

(d) Loss of -k- in Northern forms of take (L.O.E. tacan, Class VI)

About the end of 11th C this verb (from O.N. taka) began to occur in the A.S.Chronicle in the place of niman, which it superseded in M.E.

According to N.E.D. loss of -k- was not confined to the past participle; ta, tas, tan, for take, takes, taken, were Northern contracted forms, which appeared in 14th C.

The contracted past participle was common in the poetry of the 16th and 17th C. The usual spelling in Jonson is tane*. He uses the contracted form both in verse and prose.

C.A.IV.2.51(151) Cupid hath tane his stand in both your eyes (verse)
Volp.III.4.55(72) I have tane a grasse-hopper by the wing (Verse. So IV.3.5(97))
Alch.III.2.121(346) When you have view'd, & bought 'hem/ And tane the inventorie of what they are (verse)
Stap.N.IV.4.162(361) When 't has ta'ne/ A glister
E.H.232(143) A little of this,/ Tane downe here in private, were not amisse
M.Qu.190(293) And, twise, by the Doggs was like to be tane (rhymes bane)
Cat.III.704(492) Varguntеius, and Cornelius/ Have undertane it
Ober.413(355) You'll be overtane by day (verse)

E.M.I.H.II.3.38(227) doest thou thinke that any reasonable creature ... would have taine my father for me (prose)
Epic.II.6.61(198) from that subtle sport, has tane the witty denomination (prose)
Bart.F.I.3.1(23) O Sir, ha' you tane soyle, here? (prose)

O.E. past-present verbs

113. (a) Wot, wote (b) wist (c) iwisse, wis and wusse. (See also Appendix II, § 39(a))

(a) The O.E. preterite-present wāt became M.E. wōt South of the

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*The phonological development of the radical vowel is interesting: O.E. ă > M.E. ā (lengthening in open syllables) > [ɛ̄] (early 16th C) > [ē] (late 16th C).

E.M.I.H.I.1.33(198) Lor. Why I hope you will not a hawking now, will you. Step. No wusse; but ile practise against next yeare
D.A.I.6.40(178) Yes, wusse. Let 'hem laugh, wife

T.T.II.2.43(28) had not I cri'd Murder, I wusse
Poet.V.3.251(305) 'tis more of thy gent'nesse, then of my deserving, Iwusse
Bart.F.I.4.55(29) your father was a Pothecary, and sold glisters, more than hee gave, I wusse

114. Colloquial use of mun meaning 'must'. (See also Appendix II, § 39(b)

This is a Northern and Midland form dating from 13th C and still in dialect use. N.E.D. gives the sourve as the O.N. past-present verb monu, munu, used, like shall, as an auxiliary for the future tense. As the original meaning of the word was 'intend', it is probably also connected with the O.E. preterite-present verb munan, chiefly found in compounds, e.g. gemunan, onmunan.

T.T.I.2.16(15) O, you mun looke for the nine deadly Sims
E.M.I.H.(F)I.1.50(305) Slid a gentleman mun show himselfe like a gentleman
Alch.V.5.129(406) Death, mun' you marry with a poxe?

Verb to be

115. Forms of the present indicative. (See also Appendix II, § 40 (a), (b), (c)).

The conjugation of the 'verb to be' of modern English is a combination of surviving forms of three distinct verbs, whose Germanic stems es-, wes- and bheu- had the approximate meanings of 'exist'*, 'remain' and 'become' respectively.

The history of the various forms before N.E. is given by Wright (O.E.G. § 548, M.E.G. § 440) and in the N.E.D. under Be (p.715). A few generalizations may be made from the information there presented.

Before 1100 eam (am), earþ (arþ), is, of the singular were commoner North of the Thames, and bīo (bēo), bist, biþ in the South. Both groups of forms had, however, penetrated all the

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*Examples which preserve this old sense, the verb having no complement, are found in Jonson :-

Epic.Prol.4(163) But in this age, a sect of writers are,/ That, onely, for particular likings care
Cat.II.256(463) forme strange feares that were not (= did not exist)

principal dialects, North and South, with the addition of the 1st pers. sing. bīom in Anglian. In the plural sind or sindon (from the es- stem) was the most common W.Saxon usage. Earon (aron) appeared in Anglian only; but bīoþ (W.S. bēoþ), which was frequent in the South, was common to both the Northern and Southern areas. These forms passed into M.E., bēs for bēþ being the plural form in the extreme North.

The history of the present tense from 1300 to 1600 was a chequered one, in which be of the South tended for a time to encroach on the Northern forms, especially in the Midlands. Eventually, however, the Northern forms prevailed. Bē, bēst, bēth in the singular, and bēn or bēth throughout the plural, remained the regular usage of the Southern dialects, where they exist to this day; but in Standard English, by the beginning of 16th C, am, art, is in the singular, and are in the plural, had become the recognised forms.

Gill gives only the modern forms of the present indicative, viz. sing.: am, art, is; plur.: are. Jonson (Gram.Bk.I, Ch.XVIII) notes the alternative form be as the plural of the "unused word be, beëst, beëth, in the singular." Butler records be as the alternative plural to are, adding in a note that bee, beest, bee are used in the singular after the adverbs (sic) if, though, although and unless, and after words of wishing.*

(a) Beest in 2nd pers. singular

N.E.D. says that beest was very common in 16th and 17th C after if, though etc. Shakespeare uses it regularly. Influence of the subjunctive would account for the form, which is rare in M.E. The ending -st indicates the indicative, which was used alongside of the subjunctive after such con-

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*Butler's reference is obviously to the subjunctive. Be in the singular is used by Shakespeare and Jonson only after the verb think. The idea of uncertainty is implicit, and it is probable that here, too, the subjunctive, and not the indicative, is being employed:

E.M.I.H.I.3.1(206) I thinke this be the house
Revels I.4.144(59) I think it be great charge though, sir
Poet.III.1.5(234) I think he be composing

junctions.

T.T.III.1.54(43) If thou beest true .../ And if thou find'st thy conscience cleare .../ Pluck up a good heart
Alch.Reader 1(291) If thou beest more, thou art an Understander
C.H.M.254(446) if thou beest a-cold, I ha' some warme waters for thee
C.A.II.7.135(139) and thou bee'st, avoide Mephistophiles
Volp.V.12.124(135) Thou art to lie in prison, crampt with irons,/ Till thou bee'st sicke

(b) Be in the plural

This survival of the Southern form is commonly used even by the most literate speakers, especially after interrogative pronouns and the demonstratives this and that, or their adverbial substitutes here and there.

C.A.II.7.65(137) What be they?
Volp.II.1.36(46) What prodigies be these? (So E.H.205(142))
Mag.La.Induc.142(512) who be these, I pray you?
E.M.O.H.II.1.20(460) These be our nimble-spirited Catso's
Volp.IV.1.18(90) those be they you must converse with
" I.2.55(29) Alas, those pleasures be stale
Revels IV.3.337(119) heere be they will swallow anything
Bart.F.III.2.67(63) here be the best pigs (So C.H.M.144(442))
Sej.I.23(356) There be two,/ Know more, then honest councells
E.M.I.H.I.2.45(204) the stockings be good inough for this time of the yeere
Bart.F.IV.4.166(101) Wee be men
C.H.M.95(440) In all they be ten, foure Cockes to a Hen
Cat.I.582(453) the free/ Tongues, in the Senate, bribed bee (rhyme)
Had.M.391(261) Live what they are,/ And long perfection see:/ And such ours bee (rhyme)
P.A.95(532) is charged to see their gummes bee cleane ... at a minutes warning (probably subjunctive)

(c) Is in the plural

In the Northern dialects of M.E. es, is, ys had a peculiar function in the present indicative. It was used with all persons, singular and plural, when the subject was a noun or relative; in fact, in all circumstances, except when a personal pronoun in the nominative case was immediately joined to it (see N.E.D. under Be, A.I.3).

The use of is with plural subjects is not necessarily, as editors of Shakespeare and Jonson have thought, a solecism of concord; it may be a survival of the construction of Northern M.E.

Jonson uses is in the plural (i) where the copula is preceded by here or there (the verb is then usually contracted to 's); and(ii) where the plural subject is separated from the verb by a phrase or clause.

(i) T.T.V.9.9(88) Here's all are in the note
E.M.O.H.IV.2.87(534) sweet brother, here's foure angels
Bart.F.III.4.1(67) heere's more fine sights
E.M.I.H.III.3.5(243) there's so many (E.M.I.H.(F)III.6.6(358) there are - presumably Jonson's own correction)
Poet.IV.1.9(262) there's many of them would defie the painter
Sej.II.161(380) Betweene his power, and thine, there is no oddes
Bart.F.V.3.41(118) there's twelve pence
Mag.La.II.2.14(530) There's two put out to making for you
L.F.I.F.47(360) ther's none have reason,/ Like your selves
M.V.230(416) There's more, I guesse, would wish to be my daughters

(ii) E.M.I.H.IV.4.31(269) such favours as these gotten of my maister is his onely preferment. (Is may here be due to the influence of the singular complement.)

Note: In modern English the 'verb to be' must be in agreement with its subject; but in 16th and 17th C concord with the complement seems to have been the rule, at any rate in Scriptural language, e.g. The wages of sin is death. Numerous examples are to be found in the Book of Proverbs and elsewhere in the Authorised Version.

C.H.M.275(447) Nor doe you thinke their legges is all the commendation of my sons

116. Use of infinitive been

In O.E. the infinitive bēon was used alongside of wesan. In 11th C, however, the former began to supersede the latter. From 13th C final n was often weakened and lost, be soon becoming the regular infinitive; but -n endings apparently persisted until 16th C. Spenser used the infinitive bene archaically in The Shepherds' Calendar (see June, line 12).

But, unless archaic like Spenser's, survivals of been(e) after 15th C seem rarely to be genuine forms of the present infinitive. The examples from Jonson suggest an elliptical perfect infinitive, in which case been would be the past participle.

E.M.O.H.V.5.77(581) he would ne're ha' desir'd to beene incorporated
Epic.IV.7.2(249) O, sir! here hath like to been murder since you went!

117. Second pers. sing. preterite after thou (a) indicative (b) subjunctive. (See also Appendix II, § 40(d))

(a) In the 2nd pers. sing. preterite indicative O.E. wǣre > M.E. wēre, wēre, which lasted until 16th C, when it was superseded by two forms wast and wert.

Wast actually made its appearance in 14th C, being used by Wyclif in MarkXIV, 67. Tindale perpetuated it in his translation of the Bible, and it was preserved in all subsequent translations. Inflexional -t may be due to the influence of shalt etc.

Wert seems to have been first used in the indicative by Shakespeare, and many writers from 17th to 19th C followed his example (e.g. Shelley in The Skylark, 'Bird thou never wert').

Gill (Log.Angl.Ch.XII) gives wast only. Jonson, in his Grammar (Bk.I, Ch.XVIII) notes wast and wert as alternative forms; but, as he couples the latter with were in the 1st and 3rd pers. sing., it is clear that he has in mind the subjunctive. So has Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.2), when he notes the use of were, wert after if, though, although and unless.

Nevertheless, Jonson uses wert in the indicative in his dramatic works; it occurs at least as frequently as wast.

(i) T.T.IV.2.46(66) Thou cam'st but halfe a thing into the world,/ And wast made up of patches (next line, wert)
Poet.III.4.10(245) I knew thou wast not a physician (IV. 3.33(266) was't)
Cat.IV.283(507) Thou wast, last night, with Lecca (so line 289)

(ii) T.T.IV.2.47(66) when last thou wert put out of service
E.M.I.H.V.3.34(276) wert thou beaten for this?
Volp.III.7.277(85) Fall on me, roofe, and bury me in ruine,/ Become my grave, that wert my shelter
Bart.F.I.3.7(23) None but a scatterd covey of Fidlers ... would have beene up, when thou wert gone abroad
Cat.III.444(483) thou dost forget/ Sooner, then thou wert told

(b) In the Authorised Version of the Bible wast is used in the past indicative and wert in the past subjunctive instead of were. Biblical influence may have aided the persistence of wert in the subjunctive as late as 18th C.

Jonson's use of wert in the subjunctive at an earlier date than the Authorised Version suggests that it may have been in more or less general use at the beginning of 17th C.

As the examples show, however, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the indicative or subjunctive is intended.

Volp.II.5.34(60) I should strike/ This steele into thee, with as many stabs,/ As thou wert gaz'd upon with goatish eyes
" V.2.70(111) I will ha' thee put on a gowne,/ And take upon thee, as thou wert mine heire (So V.2.82(112))
N.Inn IV.2.105(464) Spoke, like a fine fellow!/ I would thou wert one

118. Past Participle bin, byn, for been. (See also Appendix II, § 40 (e)).

The N.E.D. (see under Be, A.IV.8) says that no past participle of the 'verb to be' appears in O.E.* Soon after 1100, however, gebēon began to occur in the Southern dialects, and in the next two centuries lost both its final -n and its prefix. (The form with prefix exists in S.W. dialects today as a-be). Be thus became the Southern, and also the literary, past participle during 14th and 15th centuries.

In the North a slightly different development took place. The prefix was lost, but final n was regularly retained. Bēon > bēn, and it was the latter which ultimately prevailed (about the end of 15th C) in Standard English. The shortening of the radical vowel in the Northern forms ben (from 13th C), byn (from 15th C), bin (from 16th C), must have been due to weakening in unemphatic positions. The last, pronounced [bIn], as it is today, was a common colloquial form in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, and was sometimes even employed in emphatic positions. Its most frequent use by Jonson occurs in the verse dialogue of his masque The Fortunate Isles and their Union.

E.M.O.H.V.2.1(566) I thought ... you had bin gone on your voyage (Qq been, F_2 beene. E.M.O.H. was the first printed of Jonson's 'Humour' plays. He carefully revised the language of this play for the first folio, which is the basis of the editors' text.)
Revels Induc.196(41) ghosts of some three or foure playes ... have bin seene walking on your stage heere (Q been, F_2 beene)
" V.3.32(94) Shee should have beene married to him (Ff beene, original Q been, corrected Q bin).

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*Morris's form gewesen (Historical Outlines of English Accidence, p.265) is apparently unverified.

Poet.V.3.366(309) It still hath bin a worke of as much palme/ In cleerest iudgements (Verse, emphasis doubtful)
Epic.II.2.154(183) Cutberd! here has bin a cut-throate with me (Emphasis thrown on cut-throate)
Bart.F.Prol.7(11) Your selfe have knowne, and have bin vext with long (Verse, unemphatic)
" I.4.106(30) We ha' bin but a day and a halfe in towne (Emphatic)
D.A.II.2.4(192) That had bin such a subtilty,/ As to bring broad-clothes hither (So IV.5.32(245))
Stap.N.II.5.68(320) That's not so good, it should ha' bin a Crucible (Verse, emphatic)
Hymen.726(234) Without that knot, the theame thou gloriest in,/ (Th'unprofitable virgin) had not bin (Rhyme, emphatic)
L.M.M.162(458) Try'd, and refin'd as yours have bin (Rhyme and emphatic)
P.R.V.104(483) & in yt Swines strife/ byn buried under the offence of life

119. Aphetic and contracted forms of 'verb to be' no longer in use.

(See also Appendix II, § 40(f))

This is strictly a matter of orthography, and a few peculiarities only are noted. The commonest colloquial contraction occurs with is.

(a) Am

(i) T.T.IV.1.127(63) I'am glad you ha' made this end. Tur. You stood my friend (Verse - the a is probably meant to be elided, as in (ii))
Volp.V.8.5(125) I'am hartily greev'd, a beard of your grave length/ Should be so over-reach'd
E.H.230(143) Ladies, I'am sure, you all ha' not fooles/ At home

(ii) C.H.M.204(444) Kit Cobler it is, I'me a Father of his

(b) Is

(i) T.T.I.1.72(13) It i' no sand? (Used by Hilts, and apparently originally a dialect weakening of the final consonant)
E.M.O.H.I.3.65(454) I' not this good? (So Alch.III.3.75 (350). N.E.D. under I(p.365) gives i'n't and i'nt as contractions, but not the negative combination here illustrated).

(ii) T.T.II.2.52(29) This's a wise Constable! (Verse. The apostrophe can hardly represent elision of vowel, but rather levelling to [ə])
E.M.O.H.II.6.24(490) this's her garter (Prose)
Mag.La.III.4.62(551) Ironside,/ Although he ha' got his head into a Beaver,/ With a huge feather, 's but a Carriers sonne
V.D.72(465) Your Ostritch, beleeve it, 's no faithfull translator/ Of perfect Utopian

(c) Are

E.M.O.H.II.4.146(485) Alas, you'r simple, you. (Rejection of the final e is a spelling peculiarity.)

(d) Be

Epic.I.2.67(172) God b'w'you (Only found in this greeting, which Jespersen (Progress in Language, p.254) considers to be the origin of good-bye).
D.A.I.4.103(176) Ingine, God b'w'you.
Stap.N.III.2.293(337) well, God b'wi'you

Note: Apparently the greeting was much corrupted in popular usage, e.g. C.A.IV.9.47(165) Garlike God boy ye

Cf.Shakes. As You Like It (Ff)III.2.242 God buy you (Rowe b'w')

Auxiliary Verbs

120. Second pers. sing. of may

In W.S. the 2nd pers. sing. present indicative was meaht (Anglian mæht, Kentish meht). In M.E. various forms arose, e.g. miht, maht, maught, maiȝt, which were regular until 14th C.

New formations from may, with inflexion -st, arose alongside these in L.M.E., e.g. maist, but all were apparently monosyllabic until maiest appeared in 15th C. The -st inflexion was regular by the latter half of 16th C.

Both monosyllabic and disyllabic forms are found until 19th C in poetry, which employed them according to the requirements of metre. (N.E.D. has an example of each from Shelley).
D.A.V.8.27(264) Ma'st not thou be a Cuckold, as well as I? (Verse)

121. Contraction of shall, followed by negative. (See also Appendix II, § 41(c))

The colloquial contraction of modern English is shan't or sha'n't. The vowel of the negative is elided and the two words are converted into a monosyllable, whether the usage is emphatic or not.

Jonson's contraction involves the loss of the final consonants of shall, but the combination apparently remains disyllabic.

T.T.I.1.66(13) Or scarce my shirt; my Cassock sha'not know it (Verse, disyllabic)
D.A.II.1.29(187) You sha'not avoyd it. But you must harken, then. (Verse. Emphasis on sha')
N.Inn Prol.4(405) you sha' not looke/ Long, for your bill of fare (Disyllabic)
Mag.La.IV.4.49(570) Conjur'd a spirit up/ I sha' not lay againe? (Disyllabic)
C.A.V.6.11(174) Your page then, sha'not be super intendent upon me (Prose)
Bart.F.I.5.39(32) Cok. I will see't now, so I will. Was. You sha'not see it, heere. (Prose, apparently disyllabic. Sha' is here emphatic).

122. Spelling shold for should. (See also Appendix II, § 41(a))

The Midland and Southern forms of the preterite in M.E. were schōlde (emphatic) and scholde (unemphatic), which became E.N.E. shūld and shuld respectively. Loss of l, which took place first in unemphatic positions and then in emphatic ones, was already in evidence by 16th C. It seems that by 17th C, if not earlier, modern [ʃʊd], with shortened radical vowel, was used also in emphatic positions.

The form shold, found twice in Jonson, may be merely a variant spelling of should [ʃʊd], but may represent [ʃoˑld] from M.E. schōlde. This form [ʃoˑld] is given by early grammarians, and corroborated by rhymes.

N.Inn II.1.26(424) but stretch'd on his owne yard/ He shold be a little (emphatic)
P.R.V.169(485) Theis/ shold not disturb ye peace of Hercules

Auxiliary Verbs also used as Notional Verbs

123. Forms of will and would no longer in use. (See also Appendix II, § 41(a) and (b))

N.E.D. points out the difficulty of distinguishing the notional and auxiliary uses of will (O.E. willan). It is mainly in auxiliary forms that the radical vowel varies in the present stem, which is found from 13th C as wel, wol and wul, (also as wele, wole, wule.) The N.E. negative wo'nt is from wol + not. It must have come into colloquial use quite early, but is not cited in N.E.D. until 1857.

The M.E. preterite wōlde > E.N.E. wūld, which lost its l first in unemphatic positions, and finally in all its uses. (Cf. parallel development of M.E. schōlde in the preceding section.)

I. Historical forms of present and preterite

(a) Notional use of wooll for will

The pronunciation of the spelling wooll, common from 15th to 17th C, was probably [wūl].

E.Black.41(770) Bee it where it wooll, that will appeare

Note: Shakespeare has a single use of wooll as an auxiliary verb, e.g.

Henry IV, Part II(Q)III.2.279 These fellows wooll do well (Ff will)

(b) Auxiliary use of wold for would

Like shold, wold is most probably a spelling variant of [wʊd], but may represent [wō'ld].

D.A.I.1.3(164) What wold'st thou do on earth?
P.R.V.136(484) what wold I give/ to meet him, now?

II. Aphetic and contracted forms

(a) Notional

Aphesis with notional uses is rare.

Poet.III.1.17(234) you'ld naught else, sir, would you? (= would)

(b) Auxiliary

(i) Will

The contractions wi' and wu' only appear before not:

Alch.II.3.273(330) He wi' not have his name knowne
Bart.F.II.6.135(58) sorrow wi' not keepe it, Sweet-heart
D.A.II.1.64(188) Wi' not be sold for th' Earledome of Pancridge

Poet.III.4.204(252) Hist. ... doe not doe us imputation without desert. Tucc. I wu' not, my good two-penny rascall (Probably auxiliary, with infinitive do understood.)
Bart.F.IV.4.90(99) Edg. ... me thinks you should not be unminded, though. Was. Nor, I wu' not be, now I thinke on't (So IV.4.100(99))
Mag.La.IV.5.21(571) it is an instant business,/ Wu' not be done without you

V.D.100(466) And tell me who'le then set a bottle of hay/ Before the old Usurer

(ii) Would

N.Inn I.3.31(411) You wou' not part with him, mine host?
K.E.W.226(799) His Jade gave him a Jerk,/ As he woul' have his Rider hurle

Sej.V.83(439) whose eare I'ld buy (So N.Inn II.1.66 (425))
Cat.IV.845(525) Discover, who'ld the state surprise
T.V.H.163(661) you'ld thinke them rogues, but they are friends

Stap.N.I.2.79(288) I'd faine be doing some good (Modern orthography)
" IV.4.3(356) thou said'st thou'dst prove us all so!

124. Nill for ne will. (See also Appendix II, § 41(d))

The O.E. negation particle ne was often combined with the commonest verbs, and the practice persisted in M.E., when forms like nam, nis, nas, nylle, nolde were of frequent occurrence.

Nill lasted until 17th C, and in the phrase willy-nilly (= will I, nill I(he, ye)) still exists.

Cat.I.335(446) I tast, in you, the same affections,/ To will, or nill, to thinke things good, or bad
L.W.B.133(812) Unite our appetites, and make them calme./ Er. To will, and nill one thing

125. Unemphatic colloquial forms (a) ha for has (b) ha for have (c) 'ave for have. (See also Appendix II, § 41(e))

The O.E. verb habban had stem-final f in the 2nd and 3rd pers. singular. Stems ending if f and y began to predominate in all parts of the verb in M.E. Largely through the use of the word as an auxiliary, which tended to place it in unemphatic positions, the forms ha (for have) hast, hath, has, had, han, with complete weakening of the stem-final, developed quite early.

Ha was used for have in the infinitive, 1st pers. sing. pres. indicative and the three forms of the pres. indic. plural from 13th C, an example occurring as early as Cursor Mundi. The N.E.D. (see under Ha' and Have) does not, however, record ha in the 3rd pers. singular, though it is used by both Shakespeare and Jonson.*

In E.N.E. the use of unemphatic forms was often extended to emphatic situations, e.g. when the verb was used notionally (a proof that the weakened forms had become current colloquialisms). Examples are not uncommon in the drama of the late 16th and early 17th C.

Swift ridiculed expressions like I should ha thought as slipshod colloquialisms; but this atrophy of have has probably been current in the conversation of even literate persons for centuries.

(a) Ha for has

Except as a dialect form (see Appendix I, § 20), Jonson's use of ha in the 3rd pers. singular is infrequent. From his corrections in the earlier plays, he appears to have been un-

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*In the 2nd pers.sing. with thou the aphetic form 'st appears to have been current, e.g.

D.A.I.4.109(176) I hope thou'st brought me good luck

certain about its fitness.

(i) Auxiliary uses

E.M.I.H.III.3.49(244) his owne shirt ha been at washing
E.M.I.H(F)III.6.54(359) ha's)
Bart.F.IV.6.69(109) He ha' not been seen i' the Fayre
Mag.La.III.4.61(551) Although he ha' got his head into a Beaver (possibly a subjunctive use of have)

(ii) Notional uses

E.M.O.H.III.2.20(498) your wife ha' but one (Qq 2 and 3 has)

(b) Ha for have (present infinitive and indicative)

There is only one instance of ha for have in the quarto of Every Man in His Humour; it is a notional usage:

E.M.I.H.III.4.184(252) such as ha' neither sparke of manhood nor good manners (Used by Giulliano)

The substitution of the colloquial form is, however, frequent in the revisions for the first folio. Thus

E.M.I.H(F)I.1.27(304) I would not ha' come else (E.M.I.H.I.1. 25(198) have)

The use of ha' for have is common in unemphatic and emphatic positions in the subsequent plays, and with many speakers when the verb is used notionally (e.g. Carlo Buffone in Every Man out of His Humour).

(i) Auxiliary uses

T.T.I.1.2(11) You' ha' brought us nipping weather
C.A.I.2.80(108) I might as well ha bene put in for a dumb shew
E.M.O.H.Prol.328(440) a well-timberd fellow, he would ha' made a good columne
Revels IV.3.105(111) ha' you all done? (Emphatic)
Epic.I.1.1(164) Ha' you got the song yet perfect (Emphatic)
Alch.IV.7.94(385) How wouldst tho' ha' done, if I had not helpt thee out?
D.A.IV.1.13(228) They ha' sent the Spanish-Lady
Had.M.190(255) Ha' you shot Minerva, or the Thespian dames? (Emphatic)
M.Qu.167(291) And I ha' bene choosing out this scull

(ii) Notional uses

C.A.III.5.8(146) Ile give it vent, it shall ha shift inough
E.M.O.H.II.1.29(460) ha' you such a one?
Poet.I.2.176(214) What ha' they the yellowes, his moyles, that they come no faster?
" I.2.8(215) tell him I must ha money
Epic.II.2.150(183) Come, ha' me to my chamber: but first shut the dore
Alch.IV.2.63(367) I'll ha' you to my chamber of demonstrations
D.A.I.6.2(177) what do you meane Sir? ha' you your reason?
E.H.230(143) Ladies, I'am sure, you all ha' not fooles/ At home to laugh at
Ober.157(347) They' ha' ne're an eye/ To wake withall (So L.F.I.F.17(359) and L.R.15(377))

(c) 'ave (probably [əv]) for have

This occurs at the end of Jonson's dramatic work and is the forerunner of the modern colloquial contraction 've, which, according to the N.E.D., did not appear until 18th C.

S.S.I.2.18(12) now they 'ave found/ His Layre, they have him sure within the pound

126. Unsyncopated forms of do in 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. Present Indicative

The O.E. forms dēst and dēþ passed into M.E. The forms dōst and dōþ, with o from the 1st pers. sing. and the plural, appeared in the 12th and 13th Centuries respectively. E.N.E [ū] from these forms was shortened to [ʊ], becoming [ʌ] in the 17th C. This shortening may have been due to frequent weak stress.

Forms spelt doest and doeth appeared in 16th C, and are sometimes disyllabic. Printers used or omitted the e according to space. Thus in John IX.34 the Authorised Version has 'And doest thou teache us?', where Wyclif had dost.

Only the -est and -eth spellings are noted, all examples being auxiliary uses.

C.A.V.1.8(169) Thou lovest old Iaques daughter, doest thou? (Verse, disyllabic)
N.Inn IV.4.320(478) Pru, Pru, what doest thou meane? (Verse, monosyllabic. So N.T.438(696))
Royal ms Twelvth Nights Revels, p.198, Niger's speech 'bright Sol yt heatt/ Their bloodes, doeth never rise nor sett' (Monosyllabic. M.Black.191(175) doth)
" p.199, Aethiopia's speech 'This blessed Ille doeth with that Tania end'(Verse, monosyllabic. M.Black.238(176) doth)

127. Colloquial do or doe for does. (See also Appendix II, § 41(f))

As a contraction for does this resembles ha for has. The 3rd pers. sing. form do' not, apparently with long ō, became dont, common in good speech until 18th C, but now regarded as vulgar.

(a) Notional use

E.M.I.H(F)I.1.28(304) How doe my cousin Edward, uncle? (E.M.I.H.I.1.26(198) doeth, F_2 does. Used by Master Stephen, a bucolic character, who is not, however, a regular user of dialect forms).

(b) Auxiliary use

(i) In statements

N.Inn.Epil.1.24(490) Maiors, and Shriffes may yearely fill the stage:/ A Kings, or Poets birth doe ask an age (Corrected by Gifford to doth. The double subject may have given rise to an inadvertent error of concord.)

(ii) In negative interrogative periphrases

C.A.I.7.32(117) What, do not this like him neither? (Used by Onion).
E.M.O.H.Induc.324(440) he do' not heare me I hope (F_2 and F_3 do's. Used by Carlo Buffone.)
" II.3.257(478) He do' not goe bare-foot, does he? (Used by Carlo Buffone.)

128. Infinitive done for do (O.E. dōn, L.M.E. done). See also Appendix II, § 41(g)

In 12th C the final n of the infinitive dōn began to disappear. The last n infinitive cited in the N.E.D. is from the Rolls of Parliament (1411), though the form-history gives done until 16th C. The reason probably is that late forms (after 15th C) are archaic; or they may be, as in Jonson's example below, mistaken (or elliptical) uses of the past participle. (Cf. similar use of infinitive been, § 116).

Revels IV.1.87(102) shee would have had me done him particular grace.

APPENDIX I.

DIALECT FORMS

Dialect forms have only been included when they are interesting as examples of accidence. This appendix contains only those forms which Jonson himself intended as bucolic, i.e. words which he placed into the mouths of rustics as representative of their local provincialism. It must be remembered that many colloquial forms had found their way into the drama that were clearly dialectal in origin, but no longer conceived as such. They were the common parlance of racy speakers, who in other respects spoke what must have been regarded as the Standard English of the time. Examples of the latter are very common in the clipped and colloquial uses of personal pronouns, e.g. th' for thou, y' for you, a for he etc. Such examples have been treated in the main body of the work and not in this appendix.

The two plays which contain a number of dialect words are A Tale of a Tub and The Sad Shepherd. In the former the dialect of the rustics is supposed to be Middlesex, but is difficult to identify, as the forms are mixed (see, for example, aphetic and contracted forms). V for f and z for s, distinguishing features of Southern dialect speech, are inconsistently used.

The dialect in The Sad Shepherd is more consistent; it is clearly Northern, and the weight of the evidence is in favour of Yorkshire. The N.E.D., however, describes it as an "imaginary Sherwood dialect" (see under Fewmand). The following are a few of the more interesting Northern (or unidentified) forms found in The Sad Shepherd, which have not been dealt with :-

Nouns: growne (= ground)

Pronouns: sike (= such), whilke (= which)

Numerals: twa (= two)

Adjectives: wairs (= worse)

Adverbs: by live (= quickly)

Conjunctions: gif (= if - original form)

Verbs: neis (= nose - according to Wright, Scots), rin, claithed,

gang (= go), gar (= cause, induce).

Apparently Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists tended to confuse archaisims and provincialisms. The noun eld, meaning 'age', was used archaically by Spenser and later by Shakespeare; but Jonson (S.S.II.8.12(40)) employs it as a Northern dialect form. Similarly the past participle dight, meaning 'dressed' (S.S.II.1.22(27)) and the preposition withouten, meaning 'without' (S.S.II.6.64(36)).

Less attention has been given to the pseudo-dialect forms of The Irish Masque at Court and For the Honour of Wales; they are outside the province of this study. Herford and Simpson (Vol.VII, p.398) have made it clear that Jonson knew little Irish; "the only genuine Irish words he uses are 'garranes' (misspelt 'garraves' in line 75), 'bonny clabbe' and 'usquebagh' (lines 87, 88)." Actually the Irish characters speak English, or rather their ill-pronounced, but quaint, version of it.

Jonson seems to have known a little Welsh. There is still preserved in the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge, the copy of John Davies's Welsh Grammar procured for him by his friend James Howell in 1634. The gift, it should be noted, was made considerably later than the presentation of the Masque For the Honour of Wales (1618). But the bulk of the speech of the natives is again broken English, probably Jonson's own concoction, and of little linguistic value. A few characteristic features are, however, noted:

(a) The plural form of substantives is frequently used with singular meaning. (Cf. the speech of the Welsh parson, Sir Hugh Evans, in Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor).

F.H.W.48-49(499) A very sufficient litigious fellows in the Termes, and a finely Poets out o' the Termes
" 116(501) By got, I am out of my tempers
" 197-8(503) there was neither Poetries, nor Architectures, nor designes in that bellie-god

(b) Past participles of notional verbs often drop the inflexion -ed or -d.

F.H.W.47(498) his long coat, line with Seepes skin
" 150(502) He is caull now Craig-Eriri

(c) The first personal pronoun I is found with the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. of the verb 'to be'.

F.H.W.136(501) Why, it is I is angry

(d) s'all (213(504)) and s'ud (13(497)) are used for shall and should, corresponding to forms found in Northern English dialects of the time.

NOUNS

1. Number with collective nouns after numerals

N.E.D. has no example of the singular (or possibly uninflected plural) swarm after numerals denoting more than one. Its use is probably a dialectal peculiarity. The speaker is Lorel, a swineherd, who uses Northern dialect forms.

S.S.II.2.17(28) twentie swarme of Bees (O.E. strong masc. swearm).

2. Survival of O.E. Umlaut-plural

Corresponding to the archaic Southern plural kine, the Northern dialect form kie is found in Jonson. It is a survival of the O.E. umlaut plural cȳ, from nom. sing. cū. This plural was still in archaic use in poetry in 19th C, but is now only a Northern and Scottish dialect form.

S.S.II.2.6(28) Large heards, and pastures! Swine, and Kie, mine owne! (The speaker is Lorel)

PRONOUNS

Personal

3. Aphetic, contracted and colloquial forms

(a) 1st person singular: a for I; ch and che for I

(i) a

Wright (Dial.Gram. § 403) records [a] and [ə] as unstressed forms in dialect usage generally. There is no example in the N.E.D.

Poet.IV.3.93(268) It's the name of Horace his witch, as a remember. (The speaker is Cornelius Gallus. There is no indication that Jonson had any living person in mind in portraying him).

(ii) ch and che

Ch is an aphetic form of ich*, formerly used in the dialects of the extreme South-West of England, and still employed in a small area of Somerset (see Wright, Dial. Gram. § 403). Ich, cham, chil etc were noted by Gill (Log.Angl., Ch.VI) as Southern dialect forms. Ch was found in combination with common verbal forms beginning with a vowel, h or w, and fairly frequently employed as a bucolic form in 16th and 17th C drama. In A Tale of a Tub Jonson has an instance of its use even before a consonant (see third example).

T.T.I.1.56(13) Cham not blind Sir/ With too much light (Used by Hilts)
" I.1.75(13) 'Cham no mans wife,/ But resolute Hilts
" II.1.6(25) I would be Mr.Constable, if 'ch could win (Used by Medlay)

N.E.D. describes che as an "expanded syllabic form of ch" and compares it with the S.W. dialect form utchy [ətʃi].

T.T.I.1.58(13) Che can spy that/ At's little a hole, as another (Used by Hilts)
" I.4.1(18) Che lighted, I, but now i' the yard (Used by Clay)

(b) 3rd person singular: hun and un for him (accusative).

Wright (Dial.Gram. § 405 (b)) gives un (a weakened form of O.E. hine) as the unstressed accusative in a number of dialects, particularly in the Southern, South-Western and West-Midland counties. Jonson's uses are intended as Middlesex forms.

T.T.I.2.7(14) Did you ever know 'un, Good-man Clench
" I.2.12(15) A woundy, brag young vellow:/ As th'port went o' hun

(c) 3rd person plural: th' for they; 'em, 'hum and 'un for them.

(i) Th'

Wright (Dial.Gram., Index) gives the unstressed form [ðə] as the nom. plur. in dialects generally. Th', here combined with a' (= have), seems to be derived from this. Jonson employs the combination as a Middlesex dialect usage.

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* The full form is also found in Jonson:

T.T.I.1.73(13) Ich' am no zive, or watring pot (Used by Hilts)

T.T.II.2.21(28) Tha' rung all in a'ready (= they have). (Used by Puppy)

(ii) 'em

This is probably a weakened form of M.E. hem (O.E. heom, dat. pl.) Wright (E.H.N.E.G. § 322 and Dial.Gram. § 410) says that hem was retained as an unaccented form until 16th C, but that [əm], written 'em, is now the universal unstressed form in all dialects. See also Accidence § 14(g)(iii), last paragraph.

S.S.II.1.1(26) Have I not left 'em in a brave confusion (Maudlin, the speaker, uses a Northern dialect, probably Yorkshire, throughout. See especially Act II, scenes 1-3).

(iii) 'hum (accusative)

Wright's Dialect Dictionary (see under Em) gives 'um as the unemphatic form of them in the Yorkshire dialect only. In A Tale of a Tub it is used by Puppy, a Middlesex rustic.

T.T.IV.6.57(75) Or to doe what there? to be torne 'mongst 'hum?

(iv) 'un (accusative)

Neither N.E.D. nor Wright's Dialect Grammar gives 'un for them. It is probably a borrowing from the 3rd pers. sing., used by Jonson as an unstressed dialect form. He places it in the mouth of Turfe, a Middlesex constable.

T.T.II.1.54(27) Let 'un scrape the Gut at home, where they ha' fill'd it

4. Use of yee in nom. and acc. singular.

A full account of the history of ye, yee is given under Accidence (§ 15). Wright (Dial.Dict.) shows it as a North country form in 18th and 19th C. It is so employed by Jonson in The Sad Shepherd in 17th C.

(a) Nom. Sing.

S.S.II.1.18(27) But were yee like her, mother? (The speaker is Douce, daughter of Maudlin)

(b) Acc. Sing.

S.S.II.1.22(27) I ha' but dight yee, yet (So line 28. In both cases used by Maudlin).

Emphatic and Reflexive.

5. Emphatic use of 'her sel''

N.E.D. gives sell for self as a Scottish form from 16th C. Wright (Dial.Dict.) shows that it was in use in Northern counties and Scotland in 18th and 19th C.

S.S.II.1.19(27) So like, Douce,/ As had shee seen me her sel', her sel' had doubted

Demonstrative

6. Thick as demonstrative

N.E.D. gives this as an archaic or dialectal form from M.E. thilke (þe + ilce) meaning 'that same'. The word dates from 13th C and there may have been early confusion with O.E. þylc (= such). Wright (Dial.Gram. §§ 416-421) shows that thick is still used in the South-Western and West-Midland dialects meaning 'this', 'that', 'these', 'those'.

T.T.III.1.38(42) Tur. O you meane warrens, neighbour, doe you not? Med. I, I, thick same (pseudo-Middlesex).

Interrogative

7. Use of whame in accusative

Wright (Dial.Gram. § 422)* says that interrogative whom is rarely used in any dialect, its place being taken by who. An example of the inflected accusative occurs in the Northern dialect of Jonson's The Sad Shepherd.

S.S.II.3.13(30) It is a wittie part, sum-times, to give./ But what? to whame? (Speaker; Maudlin. Probably Jonson applied the grammar of Standard English to a dialect word, wha.)

ADVERBS

Negative

8. Use of ne for no.

For an account of ne meaning 'not', 'nor', see Accidence § 68(c) and footnote.

An example of ne used as the equivalent of N.E. no before comparatives (e.g. no better) is not given in N.E.D. Na, however,

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* His Dialect Grammar and Dictionary cover dialect forms of the 18th and 19th C mainly.

was so used in L.O.E. (see N.E.D. under No, adverb 2), and survives in Scots nae. Wright (Dial.Dict. under Nay) gives modern ne in this function as a Yorkshire form. The vowel quality is probably [ə], indicating lack of stress.

Bart.F.IV.4.3(96) I'le ne mare, I'le ne mare, the eale's too meeghty. (The speaker is Nordern, who, as his name implies, is from the North of England.)

PREPOSITIONS

Contracted forms

9. Fra' and fro' for from

Fra is found at the beginning of 13th C and may be a weakening of O.E. fram through lack of emphasis, or due to the influence of O.N. frā. N.E.D. says the contraction is mainly Northern and Scottish.

Fro' is probably directly derived from O.N. frā; it is unlikely to be a contraction of from. It is also the contracted form in general literary use (see Accidence § 67(d)(iii)).

S.S.II.1.14(27) Hee nêre, fra' hence, sall neis her i' the wind (Speaker, Maudlin; dialect probably Yorkshire)
K.E.W.183(797) Then Tawney fra' the Kirke that came. (Used by Fitz-ale, a preserver of Northern dialect forms; see note to K. E. W. example of outcept, § 10 of this Appendix).
T.T.I.3.31(17) the Clowne sulggard's not come fro' Kilborne yet? (Used by Turfe)

CONJUNCTIONS

Original forms

10. Outcept (= except)

In L.M.E. and E.N.E. many compound verbs were formed with the adverb out (O.E. ūt) instead of Latin ex. N.E.D. thinks that the preposition and conjunction outcept was originally the past participle of the verb. The word seems to have been last used by Jonson, and since it occurs only in the mouths of country folk in A Tale of a Tub, The Gypsies Metamorphosed and The King's Entertainment at Welbeck, he probably intended it as a dialect word. The word is used by Jonson mainly as a conjunction.

T.T.II.4.31(36) Out-cept a man were a post-horse, I ha' not knowne/ The like on't (Used by Hilts)
G.M.913(596) Outcept I were with child of an Owle ... I never sawe such luck (Used by Tom Clod, whose name suggests bucolic origin.)
K.E.W.61(793) Looke not so neere, with hope to understand;/ Outcept, Sir, you can read with the left hand. (This strange inscription appears on a label affixed to Fitz-ale, Herald of Derby, described in lines 87-93 as "the learned Antiquarie o' the North", the "Coat Armour he carries, being an industrious

Collection of all the written, or reported Wonders of the Peake". The word outcept is undoubtedly a local curiosity of speech collected by the Herald).

T.T.I.1.3.50(17) Gentlemen of any other Countie/ I' the Kindome. Pan. Out-cept Kent (Prepositional use)

VERBS

Inflexions of the Present Indicative Active

11. 3rd pers. sing. in -end

This unusual ending, probably pseudo-dialect (cf. 3rd pers. plur. in -and, § 12), has not been identified. It seems intended for Lincolnshire or Yorkshire speech.

S.S.III.3.3(29) A tu luckie end/ Shee wishend thee, fowle Limmer (Speaker, Maudlin)

12. 3rd pers. plural in -and

The source of this plural inflexion, which occurs in The Sad Shepherd, has not been traced. The form appears to be pseudo-dialectal, due to confusion with the Northern present participle. N.E.D. describes it as belonging to "the imaginary Sherwood dialect of the piece".

S.S.II.2.43(29) they fewmand all the claithes,/ And prick my Coates

Prefixes and Suffixes of Participles

13. Endings of present participle

The M.E. suffixes of the present participle were:-
South -inde (the source of -ing); Midlands -ende; North -and.

(a) Southern and Midland -in for -ing

At the beginning of the 13th C, under the influence of Anglo-Norman scribes, the present participle ending -inde was confused with -inge. The confusion must have been phonetic or orthographical; levelling, through functional contact, with the verbal-noun ending (O.E. -ung, M.E. -ing) has not been established. By 14th C -ing was the regular ending in the South, and had also invaded the Midland dialects.

The change of final [ŋ] to [n] in unemphatic positions began in M.E. (A similar curtailment is found in the Northern suffix whereby -and > -an, and the practice may even have spread from the North to the South). Emphatic positions were

similarly affected by E.N.E.

Wright (Dial.Gram. § 437) says that -in is the general dialect ending of the present participle, except in the extreme North of England, which has [ən].

Jonson uses the shortened suffix only as a Middlesex bucolic termination in A Tale of a Tub.

T.T.I.3.15-16(16) What Sirs, disputin,/ And holdin Arguments of verse (Used by Turfe)
" II.1.41(26) What, mutinin Madge? (Used by Turfe)

(b) Northern -and

That the Northern dialect ending was still well preserved in 17th C is indicated by Jonson's uses in The Sad Shepherd.

S.S.II.2.28(29) Twa trilland brookes (Lorel)
" II.3.7(30) A stinkand brock (Maudlin)
" II.3.14(31) mare pleasand things (Maudlin)
" II.3.44-45(31) With all the barkeand parish tykes set at her,/ While I sate whyrland of my brasen spindle (Maudlin)

(c) Northern -ang

The nonce-word gaang* is Jonson's representation of some Northern present participle. The ending -ang is possibly a corruption of the Northern suffix, on the analogy of the Southern one in going. Wright does not note the termination in his Dialect Grammar.

S.S.II.5.17(49) Where are you gaang, now? (Maudlin)

14. Weakening of O.E. prefix ge- to y- in past participle

The prefix ge- of the O.E. past participle disappeared altogether in the Northern dialects of M.E. and frequently in the Midlands also. Where it remained in the Midlands it was generally weakened to y- or i-. Y- or i- was in literary use until the middle of 15th C, but survived later as a dialect form in some parts of the Midlands, notably the South-West.

Only Jonson's dialect uses (all Middlesex) are recorded here. For the archaic literary use of the prefix y-, see Accidence § 74.

T.T.I.1.33(12) there are a knot of Clownes,/ The Counsell of Finsbury, so they are y-styl'd (Speaker, Sir Hugh)

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*The Scottish and Northern stem gang- is preserved in modern dialect speech in the present indicative and infinitive only. The preterite and past participle are gaed.

T.T.III.1.26(42) There is Iohn Clay, who is yvound already (Speaker, Medlay)
" III.5.5(49) a device of hers, yclept her woman (Speaker, Puppy)

Weak Verbs

15. Loss of -ed in past participle

The phenomenon here noted is not a weakening or assimilation as described in § 76 of the Accidence. Jonson seems to employ, as a general dialect form, a colloquial clipping probably due to slovenliness. The curtailment, which is not noted in Wright's Dialect Grammar, appears both as a Northern and Southern peculiarity.

T.T.II.2.23(28) All the horne beasts .../ Sould not ha' pull' me hence (Intended as Middlesex dialect - Speaker, Puppy)
S.S.II.1.37(28) He is command now, to woo. (Used by Maudlin, probably Yorkshire).

Verbs with Mixed Forms

16. Past participle of kerve, carve (O.E. ceorfan, Cl.III strong)

The regular M.E. infinitive of this verb was kerve(n); carve did not appear until 15th C. The verb retained its strong forms until L.M.E. Weak preterites and past participles of both stems appeared in E.N.E.; but the kerv- stems did not survive the 16th C in literary English. Jonson's use of the past participle kerved represents a Northern dialect form, probably Yorkshire.

S.S.II.2.25(29) A Poplar greene, and with a kerved Seat (Speaker, Lorel)

Verb 'to be'

17. Is in the 1st pers. singular

This is rare in Jonson, occurring once in The Sad Shepherd as a Northern dialect form. Wright's Dialect Dictionary notes that the usage is common in the Northern counties, especially Yorkshire. It is clearly a N.E. bucolic development, since in the Northern dialect of M.E. is could not be used with the nom. sing. of a personal pronoun, if, as in the following example, the pronoun was immediately joined to the verb (see Accidence, § 115(c)).

S.S.II.3.21(30) I'is gar take/ Thy new breikes fra' thee

Auxiliary Verbs

18. Sall, Sould, for Shall, Should

In Northern M.E. [ʃ] > [s] in unaccented words or syllables.

In 13th C sal and suld (with s for sh) appeared in the Northern dialects. Though there is no trace of this change in O.E., a parallel development of Germanic [sk] took place in German and Dutch.

Jonson uses the above forms only in dialect speech. In A Tale of a Tub his use of dialect is confused; he places Northern forms in the mouths of Middlesex rustics (see (b), first example).

(a) S.S.II.1.14(27) Hee nere, fra' hence, sall neis her i' the wind (Speaker, Maudlin)

(b) T.T.II.2.23(28) All the horne beasts .../Sould not ha' pull' me hence (Speaker, Puppy)
S.S.I.6.57(23) I suld be afraid o' you, sir, suld I? (The speaker is Scathlock, a Huntsman, whose dialect is probably Yorkshire or N.Lincolnshire)

Auxiliary Verbs also used as Notional Verbs

19. Forms of will and would

In A Tale of a Tub the present wull occurs as a Middlesex dialect form in emphatic positions. Wright's Dialect Dictionary notes the mainly auxiliary use of wul in Scotland and the Northern counties; but it is found also in the Midlands and South.

In the same play Jonson uses 'ull and wu' as contracted forms of wull, and 'ld and wou'd as contracted forms of the preterite would.

(i) Wull

T.T.II.2.13(28) Ile lay it on, and saie;/ Take't off who's wull. (Gifford amends who's to who. The speaker is Hilts.)
" II.2.34(28) You must, an' you wull (Speaker Medlay, a Middlesex cooper.)

(ii) Contractions of wull

T.T.I.1.79(13) he 'ull roare you/ Like middle March (Speaker, Tub)
" IV.6.63(75) Vor I cannot, nor I wu' not (Speaker, Puppy)

(iii) Contractions of would

T.T.I.3.41(17) as you 'ld zay a Farmer (Speaker, Scriben)
" II.2.16(28) I wou'd wish you, vor your good,/ Tie up your brended Bitch (Speaker, Puppy)

20. Ha' for has

Ha' and a have been common dialect weakenings of has since M.E. They occur mainly in auxiliary uses of the verb, and in unemphatic positions. In N.E. the reduced forms were retained in dialect speech, but also became popular colloquial forms much used in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. Shakespeare, for instance, has both forms; Jonson has only ha' (see Accidence § 125). The use of the aspirate is, however, immaterial, as it was probably not pronounced.

Dialect uses of ha' are found commonly in A Tale of a Tub, revised for the stage in 1633. The abbreviation occurs both in auxiliary and notional uses.

(i) Auxiliary uses

T.T.I.4.2(18) Puppy ha' scarce unswadled my legges yet (Used by Clay)

(ii) Notional uses

T.T.II.1.4(25) vor a man ha' his houre, and a dog his day (Used by Medlay)
" II.1.25(26) if hee ha' cake,/ And drinke enough, hee need not veare his stake (Used by Turfe. So II.1.31(26)).

21. Contracted form doe (do) for does in 3rd pers. sing. pres. indicative

The use of this contraction, still current in the S.Western dialects of England, resembles the use of ha' noted in the preceding section. It appears to date from N.E. only.

In Jonson doe, do in the 3rd pers. sing. is mainly a periphrastic auxiliary, employed both in statements and questions. Dialect uses occur in A Tale of a Tub (Middlesex) and once in Bartholomew Fair. (See also Accidence § 127).

(i) In statements

T.T.I.2.34(15) Mr.Tobias Turfe,/ High Constable, would not misse you .../ When he doe 'scourse of the great Charty to us. (Used by Pan)
" I.3.7(16) I thinke in conzience,/ He do' zay true? (Used by Turfe. The mark of interrogation is erroneous.)
" III.1.63(43) He doe not live this day (Used by Clay)

(ii) In Questions

Bart.F.IV.4.14(97) Doe my Northerne cloth zhrinke i' the wetting? (Used by Puppy, a wrestler, described by Gifford in the dramatis personae as 'a Western man').

APPENDIX II

A comparative study of the accidence of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, with notes on the forms found or recommended in the Grammars of Gill, Jonson, Butler and Cooper.*

The order of the notes is that of the Accidence and the relevant sections of the latter have been placed in brackets.

The reference numbers of the citations from Shakespeare are generally from The Cambridge Shakespeare (9 vols.), edited by W.Aldis Wright.

The orthography of the grammarians has been simplified, except in one or two cases where it has been deemed advisable to retain Gill's notation.

NOUNS

1. Number

(a) Singular forms regarded as plural (Accidence § 1)

Pease. Shakespeare uses pease three times as a plural, e.g. L.L.L.V.2.315 This fellow pecks up wit as pigeons pease. He has no occasion to use the singular, which may also have been pease.

Jonson uses pease twice as a singular (on both occasions preceded by the indefinite article). He has no occasion to use the plural.

Gill (Ch.X) gives pez as the same for both numbers.

Butler (Ch.III, § 2) gives singular peas, and plural peasen. (But see his further comment noted in § 1(a)(ii) of the Accidence.)

Cooper (Part III, Ch.II) gives singular pea and plural peas or peasen.

Riches. Shakespeare, like Jonson, has riches with both singular and plural function.

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* The grammars here referred to are:

A.Gill, Logonomia Anglica (1621) in Latin.
B.Jonson, Grammar (probably 1631-4) in English.
C.Butler, English Grammar (1634) in English, but printed throughout in a regularised orthography which Butler devised.
C.Cooper, Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae in Latin.

Jonson (Grammar Bk.I, Ch.XIII) and Gill (Ch.X) both show riches as a plural lacking the singular. They do not realize that its use with verbs in the singular points to the fact that it was once a true singular form.

Succours. Shakespeare uses the -s form (originally a singular) only in the military sense of 'auxiliary troops', e.g.

Henry VI, Part I, IV.4.23 The levied succours that should lend him aid

Jonson, probably better informed as to its etymology, uses succours in the sense of 'help', where modern English and Shakespeare have the new singular succour.

(b) Nouns of measure after numerals (Accidence § 3)

With Jonson the uninflected plural is regular. He uses the inflected plural only with the words pound and year. Shakespeare uses either plural indifferently, except with year, night and pile, which are uninflected only, e.g.

Merch.II.5.26 on Ash-Wednesday was four year

Gill (Ch.XV) says 'three foot high' is regular; that year, mile and pound take either the inflected or uninflected forms after numerals; and that only the inflected form occurs with pence and shillings.

Cooper (Pt.III, Ch.VIII) has the modern usages, viz. fifty foot high, 20 miles, eighty years old.

Both Gill and Cooper treat the matter under syntax. Jonson's practice agrees with Gill's precept, except in the case of mile, the uninflected use of which after numerals is now regarded as dialectal and vulgar.

(c) Uninflected plural of O.E. neut. nouns, the names of animals Accidence § 4).

These are used alike by Shakespeare and Jonson. Shakespeare has a single instance of the plural sheeps, punning with the similarly pronounced word ships:

L.L.L.II.1.218 Mar. Two hot sheeps, marry. Boyet. And wherefore not ships?

Sheeps is apparently still used as a Warwickshire dialect plural.

(d) Collectives (Accidence § 5)

The forms used by Shakespeare and Jonson differ very little; the main divergences occur in generic collectives found in the vocabulary of sport. Here Jonson uses the inflected plural trouts, carps, salmons etc, and Shakespeare usually the uninflected, e.g. mackerel, herring.

In regard to function there is little agreement in Shakespeare, Jonson and the other writers of the time. In fact, in modern English the use of singular or plural verbs with collective nouns is still uncertain. Shakespeare uses both brace and troop with singular function, Jonson with plural function.

The plurals folk and folks seem to be used indifferently by both Jonson and Shakespeare.

There is no adequate treatment of collective nouns in the grammars under review.

(e) Divided articles of clothing (Accidence § 6)

Hose. Shakespeare, like Jonson, employs hose as a singular, e.g.

Two Gent.II.7.55 A round hose, madam, now's not worth a pin

Plural meaning is, however, commoner with both.

Gill (Ch.X) rightly shows that hose in the 17th C still had singular and plural meaning.

Butler (Ch.III, § 2) treats hose like pease. He gives plural hosen, but adds that the singular is mainly used for the plural.

Cooper (Part III, Ch.II) says that hose is both singular and plural.

Breeches. Shakespeare, like Jonson, uses the original plural breech alongside of breeches, though the latter is the commoner with both.

Henry VI, Part III, V.5.24 And ne'er have stol'n the breech from Lancaster

(f) Singular forms for modern plural (Accidence § 7)

Shakespeare has the plural as well as the singular of the words feature, firework and victual. Feature for 'bodily form' is, however, the regular usage of the time.

(g) Use of certain words in plural (Accidence § 8)

Novels. This is not found in Shakespeare, who has modern novelty in several places.

Hilts. The plural is regular in Shakespeare, as in Jonson. Only Quarto 7 of Richard III (1629) has singular hilt.

Funerals. Singular and plural occur in both writers.

Logicks. The plural, employed only once by Jonson, does not seem to have come into use until 17th C. Shakespeare uses the singular:

Tam.Shrew I.1.34 Balk logic with acquaintance that you have

Gill (Ch.X) says that the plural of grammar, logic, music and geometry is wanting.

Skirts. Both Shakespeare and Jonson use the plural with singular meaning:

Tam.Shrew IV.3.133 if ever I said loose-bodied gown, sew me in the skirts of it

Tripes. Jonson uses only the plural, Shakespeare the singular preceded by the indefinite article:

Tam.Shrew IV.3.20 How say you to a fat tripe finely broil'd?

Silks. The singular is commoner in Shakespeare, the plural occurring only three times. The plural seems to be a generic term for unspecified quantities of the fabric and, as used by Shakespeare, would not be out of place in modern English.

Abstract nouns generally. The use of nouns denoting abstract conceptions in the plural was very common in the drama of 16th and 17th C. Jonson's uses outnumber Shakespeare's.

(h) Plural usages established in modern English (Accidence § 9)

Means. There seems to have been general uncertainty about the form and function of this word. Shakespeare and Jonson have the singular mean, and the plural means with singular function.

Two Gent.II.7.5 tell me some good mean,/ How ... I may undertake/ A journey
Merch.II.1.19 His wife who wins me by that means I told you

Thanks. The singular appears in the Auth.Vers. of the Bible and Jonson, but not in Shakespeare. The latter, however, also uses the plural with singular function.

Ant.& Cleo.II.6.47 well studied for a liberal thanks

Nuptials. Both singular and plural are used by Shakespeare and Jonson.

Revels and Times. Shakespeare employs both singular and plural. Plural uses resemble Jonson's.

News. Used with singular and plural function by both dramatists.

Tidings. Used in Shakespeare with both singular and plural function. Jonson has singular function.

Pains. As with means, Shakespeare has both singular and plural with the meaning of 'trouble':

Henry VIII, III.2.72 A worthy fellow, and hath ta'en much pain/ In the king's business
K.John IV.3.138 Let hell want pains enough to torture me

Jonson uses only the plural.

Manners. Shakespeare, like Jonson, uses manners in the sense of 'observance of the social proprieties' with singular function, e.g.

Lear V.3.234 The time will not allow the complement/ Which very manners urges

2. Voicing of medial fricatives in the plural (Accidence § 10)

Butler (Ch.III) regards the changing of f to v, in plurals like wives, as an anomaly. He is unaware of its phonetic history.

Shakespeare's plurals are, in general, those of modern English. Like Jonson, however, he has regular plural scarfs.

Variations between voiced and unvoiced plurals, comparatively frequent of the same words in Jonson, are rare in Shakespeare. The only double plurals found seem to be beefs - beeves, griefs - grieves.

Beefs occurs in the quarto (1600) of Henry IV, Part II, III.2.318, where the folios have beeves: now has he land and beefes.

Shakespeare himself did not write it has to be borne in mind.*

(a) J.Caes.III.2.174 Cassius' dagger (F_4 Cassius's)
As You Like It III.2.164 since Pythagoras' time (Ff Pythagoras, Rowe Pythagoras's)

(b) Lucrece 36, Lucrece'sovereignty [s]
" 322, our mistress' ornaments
Henry VI, Part II, II.1.199 in justice' equal scales

Note: The fact that no mark of elision appears after the possessive horse may indicate long established colloquial usage, e.g.

Henry VI, Part II, IV.3.12 at my horse heels (F_1 F_2 horse, F_3 F_4 horses, Rowe horse's).

Where the governing noun immediately following is either the word sake or side, the apostrophe is also omitted in Shakespeare, probably because no inflexion was sounded in ordinary speech, e.g.

Henry IV, Part I, II.1.68 for sport sake
Cor.II.3.32 for conscience sake
Henry VI, Part III, IV.6.83 on the forest side

In regard to the special use of God before sake, Shakespeare seems to have preferred the inflected form. The uninflected form, which is found once in Jonson, occurs twice, however, in the first folio of The Comedy of Errors:

Com. of Errors (F_1) I.2.93 and V.1.33 for God sake (Yet the inflected form Gods appears three times before sake in the first folio version of the same play, viz. II.1.77, II.2.24 and V.1.36)

The inflected genitive with inanimate objects (both subjective and objective) is used alike by Shakespeare and Jonson, e.g.

J.Caes.(F_1) I.2.61 And groaning underneath this Ages yoake (subjective)

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* Cf. E.K.Chambers, W.Shakespeare, Vol.I.p.190: "The punctuation of the Quartos varies very much, and in some it is extremely bad. The Folio, when reprinting, makes many alterations, generally in the direction of heavier stopping. Clearly different minds have been at work, and as clearly it is impossible to ascribe to Shakespeare much of what we find."

Cf. also R.B.McKerrow, Prolegomena for Oxford Shakespeare, p.26: "During the whole period of the original publication of Shakespeare's texts the apostrophe was, of course, commonly omitted in the possessive case".

As You Like It (F_1)I.1.57 for your Fathers remembrance (objective)

The medial fricative -f- is sometimes voiced before the inflexion -es of the genitives wifes and lifes in the Shakespeare folios, e.g.

Merry Wives (Ff Q_3) IV.2.145 his wives leman (Pope wife's)
K.John (Ff)IV.3.106 his sweet lives loss (Rowe life's)

Jonson has more examples of this voicing than Shakespeare, and with a greater number of words, e.g. calf, knife, thief, wolf, beef, in addition to wife.

Shakespeare's use of the pronominal possessive his as a substitute for the inflected genitive coincides with that of Jonson. It occurs mainly after proper names ending in [s] or where metre requires it, e.g.

Henry V, I.2.88 King Lewis his satisfaction, all appear (Verse; but the use of his provides a redundant syllable)
L.L.L.(Q_1)V.2.524 A' speaks not like a man of God his making (probably metrical - Ff and Q_2 God's)

In Shakespeare, as in Jonson, the possessive Mars is invariably followed by his:

Ham.(Ff)II.2.484 Mars his Armours (Q_2 Q_3 Q_4 Q_5 Marses Armor)

Some instances, found in Shakespeare and Jonson, of nouns used attributively in free-groups, such as 'heart blood', are probably survivals of uninflected forms due to M.E. weakening and loss of the O.E. inflexion (see Accidence, § 12,E,3). But this kind of compounding, especially with proper nouns, is common enough in Shakespeare to raise doubts as to whether a possessive genitive was intended at all (see footnote to § 12,E.4). All that can be said is that in 'a Windsor stag' (Merry Wives V.5.12) the proper-noun is descriptive (not a genitive), whereas in 'our Rome gates' (Cor. III.3.105) the idea of possession is stronger.

In conclusion, it is to be noted that the principles of employing the inflected or non-inflected possessive genitives, or their alternatives, are the same in Shakespeare and Jonson. Where the two dramatists differ is in their use of 's in inflected cases. Jonson employs it fairly frequently,

and there can be little doubt that the punctuation is his own. Shakespeare has it seldom, except in the folios, and those quartos where it is the work of the printers; the probabilities are that he himself did not use it. But even in Jonson the apostrophe merely stood for elision of inflexional e of the case-ending -es. He had no notion of employing 's as the sign of the possessive genitive, in the way it has been regularly used in English since 18th C.

The grammars of the time, Jonson's included (see remarks under § 12 'Jonson's usage'), make this clear.

Gill (Chap.X) merely notes that the genitive of both numbers is made by adding -s ([s] or [z]).

Butler (Ch.III) remarks that the genit. sing. inflexion is the same as that of the nom. and acc. plural, viz. -s or -es. The possessive plural has the same form as the singular, unless (a) the plural ends in -n, e.g. children's bread or (b) the plural has changed some letter of the singular, e.g. knif's edg, kniv's edges. This Teutonic termination of the genitive, he says, some refined wit has turned to his, persuading himself that -s is merely a corrupt abbreviation of his, which he thought necessary to restore.

Cooper (Part III, Ch.1) requires -'s or -es for the possessive genitive singular of nouns ending in -s, e.g. Thomas's vertues, the witnesses credit. He also remarks upon the false view that 's is derived from his, his reason being that it would involve a grammatical solecism after feminine possessors, e.g. the wife his portion, for the wives portion. It is interesting to note his use of the voiced medial fricative as late as 1685.

5. Gender (Accidence § 13)

The gender of substantives in Shakespeare is a more complicated study than in Jonson. Jonson attributes sex (masculine or feminine) to certain abstract qualities and powers, to the earth and heavenly bodies, etc, according to conventional prin-

ciples of personification. The gender he gives to his personified nouns is generally (though perhaps unconsciously) influenced by that of the Latin original or equivalent. Where the same nouns are personified in Shakespeare and Jonson, there is considerable agreement in the sex attributed - forty out of fifty-seven cases.

Shakespeare's personifications vastly outnumber Jonson's. Though he respects the traditions (see notes from Grammars below), he is frequently, in his attributions of gender, a law unto himself. This becomes apparent by reference to the lengthy citations in Franz's Shakespeare Grammatik §§ 204-214. In Shakespeare

(a) Animals are usually masculine (including porpoise, whale, snail, fly, humble-bee); exception coney, which is feminine.

(b) Birds are feminine, except cuckoo (masc.); feminine are also bee, spider, snake, adder and fish.

(c) Serpent is both masculine and feminine.

(d) Body, commonwealth, hand, honour, love, morning, saying, sea and soul are used with both masculine and feminine signification.

(e) Names of rivers are treated as masculine personifications, except that Tiber is once feminine e.g.

J.Caes.I.1.46 That Tiber trembled underneath her banks

(f) Names of countries, counties, towns are feminine, though occasionally in the same passage the gender switches to neuter e.g.

Rich.II, II.1.57-66 this dear dear land,/ Dear for her reputation through the world ... That England, that was wont to conquer others/ Hath made a shameful conquest of itself (cf. J.Caes.I.2.154-157)

Gill (Ch.X) gives only three genders: masculine, feminine and neuter. Masculine includes all males and everything understood to belong to that sex, such as angels, men, horses, and male dogs, also the sun and such stars as are masculine in Latin e.g. Mars, Saturn, Arcturus etc. The feminine gender comprises women and everything female, mares, cows, bitches, also the moon, Venus, Virgo (presumably the constellation), Cassiope etc. By prosopopoeia (the faculty whereby inanimate objects are endowed with life and feeling), winds are understood as masculine; islands,

Most modern editors of Shakespeare amend a to he. There is a good deal of variation in the quartos and folios on this point; many quartos have a, where the folios have he.

(d) For she

Sh' for she appears twice in Jonson, only once in Shakespeare:

K.John(F_1)III.1.56 Sh' adulterates hourely with thine Unckle Iohn

Both poets use the contraction only for verse elision.

(e) For it

Both the proclitic and enclitic 't for it are common in Shakespeare as in Jonson. The usage is general in Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, and is not confined to verse.

Lear IV.6.12(F_1) How feareful/ And dizie 'tis
" II.4.254 speak't again
Tam.Shrew IV.1.51 Let's ha't

(f) For we

The contraction w' for we before are is less used by Shakespeare than Jonson; but this is undoubtedly a matter of orthography.

Henry VIII(Ff) Epil.8 w'are like to hear

(g) For us

Enclitic 's for us occurs more frequently in Shakespeare than in Jonson. It is found not only after let, but also after other notional verbs and after prepositions. The latter uses are rare in Jonson.

Much Ado V.3.32 And Hymen now with luckier issue speed's (Q F_1 speeds, to rhyme weeds)
Ant.& Cleo.III.13.114 make us/ Adore our errors, laugh at's, while we strut/ To our confusion

(h) For they

The contractions th' and the' for they are not found in Shakespeare.

(i) For them

The general aphesis for them in Shakespeare is 'em, not 'hem, which predominates in Jonson.

Henry V.IV.3.124 I will leave 'em them (F_1 um)

7. Use of ye in Nom., Acc., and Dat. Sing. and Plur. (Accidence § 15)

Shakespeare, like Jonson, takes advantage of the contemporary colloquial case-confusion in the use of ye and you. Ye is found in both singular and plural, and in the oblique cases as well as the nominative. A number of uses are undoubtedly unemphatic.

Two.Gent.(F_1)II.4.50 Know ye Don Antonio, your countryman? (nom.sing.)
Cor.III.3.39 Draw near, ye people (nom. plur.)
Merch.III.5.2 I promise ye, I fear you (acc. or dat. sing.)
Lear(F_1) I.4.302 Old fond eyes,/ Beweep this cause again, I'll pluck ye out (Qq you - acc. plur.)

Gill (Ch.XI) and Butler (Ch.III) agree that ye and you are alternative forms in the nominative and vocative plural only. The accusative plural is you. Nom. and voc. sing. are thou, acc. thee.

Cooper (Part III, Ch.II) says that you is substituted in colloquial speech for thou, thee and ye, unless the usage is emphatic, contemptuous or flattering, when thou is preferred. Presumably he refers to singular uses only.

Possessive

8. Aphetic, contracted and colloquial forms. (Accidence § 17)

(a) M' for my does not appear in the Shakespeare texts.

(b) Aphetic 'r for our is used by Shakespeare, as by Jonson, only in the oath by 'r Lady e.g. Tempest III.3.1.

(c) The enclitic use of 's for his in unemphatic positions is as common in Shakespeare as in Jonson, being used in both verse and prose.

Meas.V.1.227 in's garden house,/ He knew me as a wife
Merry Wives III.2.20 I can never hit on's name (prose)

9. Mine, my, thine, thy. (Accidence § 18)

There is a single instance in Shakespeare of mine used before a consonant other than h, (Temp.III.3.93 mine loved darling). Jonson does not employ mine or thine before consonants other than the aspirate, and then only if the latter is unpronounced. Shakespeare, on the other hand, sometimes uses these -ne possessives, even if, as is probable, h was pronounced e.g.

Meas.IV.3.148 I am pale at mine heart to see thine eyes so red

Mine and thine are regular before vowels with both dramatists, but frequently give place to my and thy e.g.

Merry Wives III.3.38 this is the period of my ambition
Henry VI, Part II, II.1.31-32 Glo. Why, Suffolk, England knows thine insolence./ Queen. And thy ambition, Gloster.

The grammarians Gill and Cooper simply state that it is customary to use mine, thine before vowels and my, thy before consonants. According to Butler the use of the -ne possessives before vowels is permissive.

10. N.E. Neuter Possessive. (Accidence § 19)

The regular possessive of the neuter third-personal pronoun in Jonson is his. The use of it and it's is rare.

Though his is most commonly used by Shakespeare too, it and its are not infrequent. In the earlier editions of the plays and poems Schmidt finds fifteen uses of the former and nine of the latter, e.g.

Lear I.4.215 it had it head bit off
Meas. I.2.4 Heaven grant us its peace

Jonson in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XV) mentions only his, and Gill (Ch.XI) only the substitute genitive (of it). Butler (Ch.III) and Cooper (Pt.III, Ch.II) have only modern its (without apostrophe) for the neuter possessive.

Demonstrative

11. Adjectival use of 'this' with plural nouns. (Accidence § 20)

In Shakespeare the use of this with plural nouns only occurs where periods of time are indicated; it may therefore imply, as Jespersen suggests, a unified plural, e.g.

Ham.(Qq)V.1.135 this three years I have tooke note of it (Ff these ... taken)

Jonson, however, has 'this contemplations', which points to this as a genuinely derived form, due to the weakening of the L.M.E. adjectival plural þise.

None of the grammars studied explains the plural use of this.

12. Yon, yond, yonder. (Accidence § 21)

Shakespeare uses all three forms as demonstrative adjectives:

Merch.(Q_1)III.2.239 Nerissa, cheer yon stranger (Q_2 Ff yond)
Troil.& Cres.IV.5.219-220 For yonder walls, that pertly front your town,/ Yond towers, whose wanton tops do buss the clouds,/ Must kiss their own feet

Jonson uses yon (occasionally) and yond (frequently) as demonstratives; but yonder occurs only as an adverbial form. Nevertheless, in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XV), Jonson gives, in addition to the regular demonstratives this and that, the form yonder, as well as yond.

Relative and Interrogative

13. Who and which. (Accidence §§ 22 and 23)

The use of who for whom in the oblique cases is common in Shakespeare, both in the relative and interrogative function:

Macbeth III.1.122 but wail his fall/ Who I myself struck down
Cor.II.1.16 who does the wolf love?

Similar uses are rare in Jonson, probably because he was the more cautious grammarian. No matter what its position, whom is the most frequent form of the accusative and dative, both in the relative and interrogative function.

It is singular that Jonson does not mention who as a relative in his Grammar, although he uses it. Which is given as the general relative (Bk I, Ch.XV). Who, however, appears as an interrogative pronoun.

Gill (Ch.VI) and Butler (Ch.III) restrict who (relative and interrogative) to masculine and feminine uses, i.e. to persons; but which is said to apply to all genders.

In Shakespeare and contemporary writers which is a frequent relative with persons (e.g. in the Lord's Prayer). There are 17 citations from Shakespeare in Franz, e.g.

Temp.III.1.6 The mistress which I serve quickens what's dead
Ham.IV.7.4 he which hath your noble father slain

There are few similar uses in Jonson.

Indefinite

Indefinite pronouns receive scant or no attention from the grammarians Gill, Jonson, Butler and Cooper.

14. Other as plural. (Accidence § 25)

The pronominal use of other (O.E. ōþre) in the plural is as common in Shakespeare as in Jonson; but in the Shakespeare folios and quartos there is much variation with the new plural others, e.g.

L.L.L.(Q_1)I.1.156 Suggestions are to other as to me (Ff Q_2 others)

Merry Wives I.4.114 You shall have An fool's-head of your own (the pun is on the Christian name of Anne Page)

16. Contracted and aphetic forms of the definite article. (Accidence § 27)

(a) The finer points of verse elision are not exhibited in the Shakespeare texts in such variety as they are in Jonson, especially the Jonson first folio.

The contraction th' for the is used by Shakespeare, as by Jonson, for the purposes of verse elision, before vowels, mute h and consonants.

Temp.I.2.387 Where should this music be? i'th' air or th' earth? (verse)
Lear (F_1)V.3.279 Mine eyes are not o' th' best (verse)
Meas.(F_1)I.1.60 To th' hopefull execution doe I leave you

Jonson, however, also uses the contraction colloquially in prose.

(b) Shakespeare sometimes employs the contemporary colloquial forms tother, t'one and the tother, familiar to readers of Jonson.

Hamlet (F_1)II.1.56 I saw him yesterday, or tother day (Qq th'other)
Troil.& Cres.V.4.8 O'the t'other side (Ff o' th'tother)
Rich.II(F_1)II.2.112 Th'one is my sovereign (Q_1 Q_2 Tone)

ADJECTIVES

17. Comparison. (Accidence §§ 29-40)

Gill, Jonson, Butler and Cooper give varying accounts of the comparison of adjectives; but, with the exception of Gill's (Ch.IX), none of them is based on an analysis of the practice of the times.

Jonson (Bk I, Ch.XII), Butler (Ch.3) and Cooper (Pt III, Ch.III) all seem to regard the periphrastic method of comparison (with more and most) as alternative to the derivative terminations in the case of all adjectives except those of the anomalous group, e.g. good.

Gill, however, gives the following list demanding the use of more and most :-

(i) Participles (present and past), e.g. loving, loved.

(ii) Adjectives that employ the suffixes -able, -ful, -less, -like, -ive and -ish; also many with terminations -ly and -ous.

(iii) Adjectives denoting material composition, as golden, stony; also those signifying season and order*, as wintry and second. Gill maintains that the use of -er and -est in the above circumstances, e.g. stonier, famouser, is a colloquial licence.

In practice Jonson's methods of comparing adjectives are similar to Shakespeare's:

(a) In the comparison of monosyllabic adjectives the periphrastic forms are frequent in the verse of both dramatists, but less common in prose:

As You Like It II.1.2-4 Hath not old custom made this life more sweet/ Than that of painted pomp? Are not these woods/ More free from peril than the envious court?
Cor.V.2.63 thou standest not i' the state of hanging, or of some death more long in spectatorship (prose)

(b) In the comparison of adjectives of two or more syllables where modern English has more and most, derivative terminations are frequently used by both dramatists, even after participles. (See Accidence §§ 29 & 31 for sub-divisions).

(i) Tam.Shrew Induc.II.22 the lyingest knave
" " III.2.150 Curster than she?

(ii) Richard III, III.4.106 the fearfull'st time
Meas.IV.2.68 The best and wholesomest spirits

(iii) Much Ado V.4.62 Nothing certainer
Titus Andron.II.3.204 the dismal'st object
Cor.IV.6.74 violentest contrariety
Macbeth III.4.126 The secret'st man of blood
Cymb.IV.2.332 That we the horrider may seem
Alls Well III.5.71 In honestest defence
As You Like It IV.1.144 the wiser, the waywarder

(iv) Merch.III.2.253 the unpleasant'st words
Henry IV, Part I, I.2.78 the most comparative, rascalliest, sweet young prince
Rom.& Jul.I.5.91 my unworthiest hand

(v) As You Like It III.5.51 a properer man

(c) Pleonastic comparatives and superlatives are considerably more frequent in Shakespeare than in Jonson. Franz (S.G. § 217a) cites 11 examples from the former, whereas Jonson has three.

M.N.D.III.1.18 for the more better assurance
J.Caes.III.2.183 This was the most unkindest cut of all

There are in Shakespeare also several uses of the pleonastic forms lesser (for less) and worser (for worse); these do not occur

*The second of these observations is obscure, as ordinals are generally considered, and have always been in practice, incapable of comparison.

in Jonson.

Com.of Errors I.1.109 seeming as burdened/ With lesser weight, but not with lesser woe
Temp.IV.1.27 Our worser Genius

(d) In Shakespeare and Jonson the modern distinction between the comparatives later and latter, and the superlatives latest and last (see § 34), is not fully reached. Latest in Shakespeare always means 'last', though last appears with the same signification beside it, e.g.

Cor.V.3.11 Their latest refuge/ Was to send him (= 'last')
As You Like It II.3.70 To the last gasp (= modern 'last')

Jonson, however, does not employ latest in the sense of 'last'.

Both dramatists use latter in the Biblical way, meaning 'last', e.g.

Henry VI, Part I, II.5.38 And in his bosom spend my latter gasp (= last)

Jonson, however, also uses latter in the sense of 'later'.

Later appears in both drmatists in its normal modern signification of 'done subsequently'.

(e) Shakespeare and Jonson prefer farther (farder) and farthest (fardest) to the u- spelt alternatives, which are probably commoner in modern English. The a- and the u- spellings usually occur in the writers of the time without distinction of meaning, two significations being possible for each set of comparatives, viz. 'increase of distance' and 'increase of number', e.g.

(i) Ant.& Cleo.II.1.31 'tis/ A space for farther travel. (distance)
Meas.I.4.1 have you nuns no farther privileges? (= other)

(ii) J.Caes.II.2.125 your best friends shall wish I had been further (distance)
Temp.II.1.314 let's make further search (= another)

Jonson, however, does not employ further, furder with the meaning of 'another', 'additional'.

(f) More (= greater), most (= greatest), less (= smaller) and least (= smallest) are employed by Shakespeare and Jonson for comparisons of size, e.g.

Wint.Tale IV.4.671 I hold it the more knavery to conceal it
Henry VI, Part II, I.3.144 Though in this place most master wear no breeches

Temp.I.2.335 how/ To name the bigger light, and how the less
" III.2.99 she as far surpasseth Sycorax/ As great'st does least

For moe, and the use of more and most for comparisons of quantity, see Notes to § 38(a) and (b)(ii).

(g) Shakespeare employs the theoretically inadmissible superlatives extremest, chiefest and perfectest, found in Jonson, who also permits the form supremest. Shakespeare compares the following incomparables not found in Jonson.

Henry IV, Part I, I.3.57 the sovereign'st thing
As You Like It I.2.159 a more equal enterprise
" " " " III.3.11 it strikes a man more dead than a great reckoning

NUMERALS

The main principles of enumeration were well-established in the late 16th C, and Shakespeare's and Jonson's use differs in no important respect.

18. Cardinals. (Accidence §§ 42 and 43)

As a syntactical matter, the use of cardinals is discussed by Gill in Ch.XV, § 5. In composite numbers the major may precede the minor, or vice versa, e.g. twenty one or one and twenty; but, says Gill, the latter order is not in use beyond 59*, a statement borne out by the practice of both Jonson and Shakespeare.

In regard to reckoning by scores, Gill says that the method is chiefly employed beyond sixty, though a score (for 20) is, of course, common. Ten score is usually the limit for men, and twenty score for other enumerations; but rarely multiples as high as forty-nine score are found. Gill claims that beyond 980 the method of counting by scores is not employed. These strange provisos are supported by the examples found in Shakespeare, Jonson and the N.E.D. Exceptions are:

c 1330 Arthur and Merlin 3099 Wiþ him he brouȝt þritti score/ Wiȝt kniȝtes him bifore
Shakes.Tam.Shrew.I.2.108 She may perhaps call him halfe a score knaves, or so (cf. Jonson's one half a score yeere)

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* Gill's observation, immediately after 59, is: "Sed ulterius hanc formam non prosequeris".

19. Ordinals. (Accidence §§ 48 and 49)

Gill (Ch.XV, § 5) gives fift, sixt, and eight as the regular ordinals. Alternatives with final -h are not mentioned, though they had been in existence since L.M.E. and occur in both Jonson and Shakespeare. The Shakespeare first and second folios, however, prefer the forms fift, sixt, eight, and so does Jonson generally.

The ordinal twelf(e) occurs twice in Shakespeare (Twelfth Night, title, and II.3.81, folios 1-4) and three times in Jonson. Twelfth is, however, the commoner form and the one recommended by Gill.

According to Gill the e of the ending of twentieth was not pronounced. The spelling twentith is sometimes found in Shakespeare and Jonson, but even where e is supplied it appears not to have been sounded. The test is metrical, e.g.

Ham.(Ff Q_6)III.4.97 A slave that is not twentieth part the tithe/
Of your precedent lord (Other quartos, twentith)

Gill adds that in composite ordinals beyond 20, the minor figure precedes the major, as one and twentith, until 59 is reached. Then the major figure precedes the minor, as two hundred sixty and seventh. But cf. Jonson F.I.118(711).

20. Multiplicatives. (Accidence § 53)

The O.E. sporadic use of cardinals as multiplicatives survived until 17th C, and is sometimes found in Jonson and Shakespeare. The only cardinal so employed by Shakespeare (3 times) is twenty, e.g.

Merry Wives II.1.177 Good even and twenty, good Master Page!
Twelf.N.II.3.50 Then come kiss me, sweet and twenty

Jonson has the usage with myriad and million.

ADVERBS

The treatment of adverbs in the four grammars examined is perfunctory and inadequate.

21. Forms from nouns. (Accidence § 55)

(a) Shakespeare, like Jonson, employs adverbially certain group formations derived from the O.E. or M.E. accusative singular, e.g.

Much Ado IV.1.82 What man was he talk'd with you yesternight
(O.E. gistran niht)

Henry VI, Part III, V.6.64 O, may such purple tears be alway shed (O.E. ealne weg)
M.N.D.II.1.38 And sometime make the drink to bear no barm (M.E. sometyme)

(b) More frequent, however, is the use of adverbial forms either directly derived from the O.E. genitive singular or formed later by analogy, e.g.

Merry Wives II.2.40 come a little nearer this ways (O.E. weges)
Twelf.N.V.1.186 he would have tickled you othergates than he did (M.E. ohergates)
Henry VI, Part I, III.2.39 Hath wrought this hellish mischief unawares (L.O.E. unwæres, M.E. ungewares)

Needs is used by both Jonson and Shakespeare only after the verbs must and will. Need, from the O.E. instrumental or dative, seems to have been restricted to the phrase had need (= would do well to).

Always is, in Shakespeare as in Jonson, more frequently used than the original accusative form alway. The latter occurs only once in Jonson and twice in Shakespeare.

Sometime, meaning 'now and then', is fairly common in both writers; but sometimes appears less frequently in Jonson than in Shakespeare, who slightly prefers the -s form to the old accusative.

(c) Adverbial forms derived from the O.E. dative or instrumental, singular or plural, are far less common. Jonson has somedeale, and Shakespeare the following interesting examples:

Cymb.II.4.147 O, that I had her here, to tear her limb-meal (O.E. dat.plur. lim-mælum)
Temp.II.2.3 All the infections .../... on Prosper fall, and make him/ By inch-meal a disease! (N.E. adverbial phrase compounded of two O.E. words ynce and mæl)

22. Forms from Adjectives (Accidence § 57)

The adverbial use of adjectives, whether of Romance or Germanic origin, without the addition of the suffix -ly, was very general, and writers such as Shakespeare and Jonson often used the -ly forms alongside of the suffix-less ones, as metre or rhythm dictated, e.g.

Troil.& Cress.IV.5.287 As gentle tell me, of what honour was/ This Cressida of Troy
As You Like It II.7.106 Speak you so gently?
Henry IV, Part I, I.3.192 a current roaring loud
Ham.V.2.392 the rites of war/ Speak loudly for him

23. Forms compounded of particle + noun, adjective or adverb (Accidence § 58)

(a) Shakespeare, like Jonson, uses beside and besides indiscriminately when he means 'moreover', 'in addition', 'other than mentioned', e.g.

Meas.I.2.73 Besides, you know
" I.2.177 beside, she hath prosperous art

Examples of besides in this sense are more numerous than beside in Shakespeare; the reverse appears to be the case in Jonson.

The parallel forms betime and betimes appear in Shakespeare (e.g. Ant.& Cleo.IV.4.20 and Cymb.V.2.17); but Jonson regularly uses the latter.

(b) The prefix a- before adjectives was widely used in adverbial formations in M.E. and E.N.E., and with varying significations. Some Shakespearian forms not found in Jonson are recorded.

Richard III, IV.4.86 One heaved a-high (= on high)
Temp.I.1.46 Lay her a-hold (= on hold, or close to the wind)
Com.of Errors V.1.170 Beaten the maids a-row (= in a row, or one after the other)
Lear II.2.69 Like rats, oft bite the holy cords a-twain (= in two)

(c) Afore, a common adverb with Jonson, is used only once in that function by Shakespeare, viz.

Temp.II.2.72 if he have never drunk wine afore (Speaker, Stephano)

Afore is mainly used by Shakespeare as a preposition. His regular adverbial form, whether in a local or temporal sense, is before. To fore is once used by Jonson and Shakespeare, but was apparently already a conscious archaism, e.g.

L.L.L.III.1.77 Some obscure precedence that hath tofore been sain

24. Use of suffix -ward(s). (Accidence § 59)

Jonson only once uses the -s ending, viz. in forwards. For the rest he prefers the suffix -ward.

Shakespeare, however, regards the two endings as normal alternatives. The following is a list of Shakespeare's parallel uses cited by Franz (S.G. § 237(d)): afterward(s), backward(s), downward(s), forward(s), hitherward(s), homeward(s), toward(s), upward(s).

Butler (Ch.III, § 4(1)) regards above in above-named as a preposition 'in composition'.

Cooper (Part III, Ch.II, § 5) is by no means clear about the functions of prepositions; among his examples appear a number of adverbial forms.

The number of adverbs used as prepositions, and prepositions used as adverbs, clearly gave rise to the confusion of function in these two parts of speech, a confusion which is by no means absent in modern English usage.

27. Original forms. (Accidence § 66)

(a) Again. This preposition, which appears six times for against in Jonson, is not used by Shakespeare. Jonson in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XXI) gives only against, and so do Gill, Butler and Cooper.

(b) Anenst. This is a nonce form with Jonson and already archaic, like anent. Of the latter Butler says (Ch.III, § 4(1)) "concerning and touching are forced to supply the room of the forgotten word anent". Shakespeare does not use either form of the word.

(c) Bove, fore, thorough are all used by Shakespeare as by Jonson. As regards the first two, the only forms that appear in the Grammars (including Jonson's) are above and afore (or before), the original forms apparently being regarded as colloquial shortenings.

28. Aphetic, contracted and unemphatic colloquial forms. (Accidence § 67)

(a) Butler (Ch.III, § 4(1)) regards the weakened preposition a in a hunting, afield as a substitute for to, not as a derivative of on. The inference is based upon meaning, not upon etymology.

The use of a as a colloquial weakening of on is very common in 16th and 17th c drama. Shakespeare has it before nouns proper and gerunds, as does Jonson, e.g. a horseback (Henry IV, part I, II.3.98, a-tiptoe (Henry V, IV.3.42), a-height (Lear IV.6.58), a-birding (Merry Wives III.5.114)

The fuller form an, sometimes employed by Shakespeare,

does not occur in Jonson.

Ham.III.4.122 stand an end (= on)

(b) A, representing a weakened form of of, occurs with much less frequency in both dramatists.

Merry Wives II.2.23 your cat-a-mountain looks
Lear (Qq)I.4.188 you are too much alate i'the frown (Ff of late)

(c) The late 16th C contraction before consonants of on and of to o' and in to i' was much resorted to by the dramatists to give raciness to their dialogue. Shakespeare's use is, however, more restricted than Jonson's; in the case of of and in contraction takes place only before the definite article, making the monosyllabic combination o'th' or i'th'. While in Jonson this use predominates, it is clear that the contraction can take place in other circumstances before consonants.

Meas.II.1.172 a box o' the ear (= on)
Lear (F_1)I.4.185 o' both sides (= on. Qq a both)
" (F_1)II.4.308 come out oth' storme (= of)
" (F_1)IV.7.20 I'th' sway (= in)

The use of i'(y') before faith, common in Jonson, does not appear to occur in Shakespeare.

(d) The contractions wi', upo', fro', int' and sin' do not appear to be used by Shakespeare. T' for to is only employed by him before infinitives with initial vowel or h; but by Jonson also before other words.

Lear (F_1)III.4.158 His wits begin t'unsettle
Oth.(F_1)V.2.319 Rodorigo meant t'have sent this damned villaine (Qq to have)

(e) The aphetic prepositions 'bout, 'gainst, 'mongst and 'twixt are used alike by Shakespeare and Jonson; but 'gain, 'mong and 'pon by Jonson only.

CONJUNCTIONS

29. Original forms. (Accidence § 68)

Shakespeare does not favour the orthographical forms by cause and whilest sometimes used by Jonson; he writes because and whilst (the syncopated form of whilest).

Ne (= nor) is used occasionally as a conscious archaism by both dramatists, e.g.

Pericles II.Prol.36 All perishen of man, of pelf,/ Ne naught escapen but himself

30. Aphetic and contracted forms. (Accidence § 69)

The use of 'cause for because is less frequent in Shakespeare than in Jonson. Wher for whether, used once by Jonson, occurs ten times in Shakespeare.

Titus Andron.V.2.63 therefore called so,/ Cause they take vengeance of such kind of men
Henry VI, Part II,(F_1)III.2.265 where you will, or no '

The aphetic form 'less, and the contracted forms sin' and albee, do not occur in Shakespeare.

VERBS

31. Inflexions of the Present Indicative Active. (Accidence §§ 70-73)

(a) The use of -s for -est in the 2nd pers. sing. is not uncommon in Shakespeare, especially the first folio, nor is it always occasioned by euphony or metre. Jonson resorts to the -s inflexion only twice, once for the sake of euphony.

Ham.(Qq & F_1)I.4.53 thou .../ Revisites thus the glimpses of the moon (F_2 F_3 Revisitst, F_4 Revisit'st)
Henry VI, Part II(F_1)V.1.130 But thou mistakes me much to think I do (F_2 F_3 F_4 mistakest)
Ant.& Cleo.(F_1)I.3.103 That thou residing here goes yet with me F_2 F_3 F_4 goest)

The grammars examined record only -est or the syncopated inflexion -'st.

(b) Use of -th and -s in 3rd pers. singular. In the absence of a detailed investigation of Shakespeare's use of -th and -s, it is impossible to do more than generalize.

(i) With notional verbs Shakespeare rarely uses the -th ending in prose dialogue; such examples as occur are chiefly after sibilant and affricative stem-finals. In verse, the -th inflexion is frequent, though by no means regular; it is resorted to mainly when the poet wishes to express himself with dignity or solemnity. The -s ending predominates in rhyme.

Sometimes the folios amend quarto readings. This is noticeable in the folio preference of -eth endings after sibilant and affricative stem-finals, where some quartos had -es.

(ii) In Shakespeare hath and doth are much commoner than notional verbs with -th endings.

Franz (S.G. §§ 174 and 153) says that hath occurs 16 times in the first Act of Hamlet and 28 times in the first two Acts of The Merry Wives of Windsor; whereas notional verbs take -th only twice in the first Act of Hamlet and twice again in the whole of The Merry Wives (mainly a prose play), one of the latter instances being the common form saith.

There is considerable variation in quarto and folio readings, especially in Othello, where has in the quartos is replaced by hath in the folios. It is probable that Shakespeare himself in such instances preferred the -s inflexion, which is frequent in the plays as a whole. There are time, however, when his use of hath and has is vacillating, e.g.

Macbeth I.3.79 The Earth hath bubbles, as the Water ha's
(So Merry Wives I.3.49 and III.2.25)

Jespersen (Growth, Ch.IX, § 212) has drawn attention to similar changes from one form to the other in Macbeth Act I, Sc.7.

Doth appears 8 times in Hamlet Act I, and 3 times in The Merry Wives Acts I and II (Franz, S.G. § 175). Chronology seems to bear some relation to Shakespeare's -th and -s inflexions; doth occurs most frequently in the early verse (or mainly verse) plays, e.g. Love's Labour's Lost, does or do's in the later dramas and in prose plays generally. But again there is variation in quarto and folio readings, especially in King Lear.

The difficulty of comparison with Jonson is accentuated by lack of knowledge of what Shakespeare actually wrote. Editors of the folios almost certainly took liberties with the text, some of them inconsistent, and many of the quartos are manifestly corrupt. But, substantially, the usage of Shakespeare and Jonson is the same - very uncertain, except that -th has the decidedly literary flavour, and

that -s is gradually gaining ground.

(iii) The grammars of the time throw little light on the use of -th and -s in the 3rd pers. sing. pres. indicative. Gill, who under inflexions (Ch.XII, p.63) gives only -eth, under syncope (p.69) gives -es. Hath and doth are, however, the only forms he records (pp.65 and 66) of have and do.

Jonson (Bk.I, Ch.XVI) speaks generally of z and s as shortenings of -eth, which they are not.

Butler (Ch.III, § 3, pars. 2 and 3) notes hath and doth as the only forms of have and do, but gives -eth and -'s as alternatives for exclusively notional verbs.

Cooper (Part III, Ch.4, § 5(6)) is the first to note has and does as alternative forms of hath and doth.

(c) (i) In Shakespeare, as in Jonson, the 3rd pers. sing. is generally needs. While Jonson has only one use of need, nine instances are cited by Schmidt (Shak.Lex. p.763) from Shakespeare, e.g.

Two.Gentlemen II.1.141 What need she, when she hath made you write to yourself?

In transitive uses needs is regular in Jonson and Shakespeare, e.g.

Lear II.4.265 Allow not nature more than nature needs

(ii) Schmidt (Shak.Lex. p.276) says that Shakespeare uses the inflected and uninflected 3rd pers. sing. of dare indiscriminately, but dares regularly when the meaning is 'defy' or 'challenge'. Uses of the uninflected form by Shakespeare greatly outnumber those of Jonson, who uses dare only twice, in spite of the fact that it is the only form recorded in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XX).

Troil.& Cress.V.10.25 Let Titan rise as early as he dare

(iii) The regular 3rd pers. sing. of list in both Jonson and Shakespeare is uninflected. Jonson does not use the inflected form at all, and Shakespeare has it but seldom, lists and listeth appearing once each:

Henry VI, Part I, I.5.22 conquers as she lists
Ven.& Adon.564 While she takes all she can, not all she listeth (to rhyme resisteth)

(d) (i) The pres. indic. plural in -en, as used by Chaucer, was archaic by the end of 15th C, and is not mentioned in the Grammars studied, except Jonson's (see Accidence, § 73(a)). He deplores its loss, but "dare not presume to set this afoot again." There is no example in his works to set beside Shakespeare's deliberately archaic one (Pericles, II, Prol.35).

(ii) Shakespeare's plurals in -s are invariably employed for the sake of rhyme; Jonson's are found mainly when the verb precedes the subject; the latter does not use this so-called Northern plural for rhyme at all. With neither dramatist does the use of the -s plural indicate bucolic origin or illiteracy, as it does in modern English.

Macbeth II.1.61 Whiles I threat, he lives:/ Words to the heat of deeds too cold breath gives

The grammars examined do not note this plural.

(iii) Plurals in -th occur in Shakespeare only in the forms hath and doth:

Cor.(F1)IV.6.51 And three examples of the like, hath beene/ Within my age
Troil.& Cress.(F1)V.3.82 Looke how thy wounds doth bleede at many vents

Jonson has three examples with hath and one with the notional verb exempteth; but all are doubtful.

The grammars do not note the -(e)th plural.

32. Archaic prefix y- of past participle. (Accidence § 74).

Y-, the weakened form of O.E. ge-, is prefixed to different past participles in Shakespeare; Jonson (except in dialect use, see Appendix I, § 14) confines it to the form y-cleped popularized by Spenser. Shakespeare uses the prefix in verse or affected prose.

L.L.L.(Qq, F1 F2)I.1.231 it is ycliped thy park (F3, F4 ycleped. The example occurs in the letter of Don Adriano de Armado, a fantastical Spaniard.)
Henry VI, Part II, I.1.33 Her words y-clad with wisdom's majesty
Pericles (Q2)III.Prol.1 Now sleepe yslaked hath the rout

This archaic prefix is not mentioned in the grammars under review.

33. Weak Verbs

Jonson, Gill and Cooper all group the Weak Verbs together as a so-called 'first conjugation'.

(i) Spelling (Accidence § 76)

E.K.Chambers rightly describes orthography in the 16th C as not only transitional, but in a state of chaos (William Shakespeare Vol.I, p.186). Both in Shakespeare and Jonson the final -ed of preterite and past participle of weak verbs was often written when it was probably not intended to be pronounced as an extra syllable, e.g. banished for banish'd or banisht. The reservation has to be made, in Jonson's case, that this confusion is not frequent in the plays which he personally corrected for the first folio. But no dramatist of the time is exempt from the charges of carelessness and inconsistency.

Syncope is noted by Jonson; so is the use of -t for -d; but the latter is not explained. Cooper (Part III, Ch.4, § 6) is the first to record that -t is substituted for -d after the stem-finals s, sh, ch, x, f, k and p; though Gill mentions it after p, x and sh (Ch.XII).

(ii) Double forms of preterite and past participle (Accidence § 76)

A number of double forms appear in the preterite and past participle of weak verbs. The following, used by Shakespeare, are in the main reproduced by Jonson, the lacunae being indicated by a single asterisk. The significance of the grouping is to be found in § 76 of the Accidence, under Source of Double Forms.

(a)	leap'd (Oth.II.1.290)	leapt (All's Well(F1) II.5.36)
	ycleped (L.L.L.I.1.231)	clept (Macbeth III.1.93)
(b)	spill'd*(Lucrece 1801, rhymes kill'd)	spil't (Ham.IV.5.20)
(c)	speeded* (Meas.IV.5.10, participle only)	sped (Henry VI, Part I, II.1.48)
	wedded (Cymb.V.5.341)	wed (Com.Err.I.1.37)
(d)	casted* (Henry V, IV.1.23)	cast (K.John V.1.39)
	forfeited (All's Well II.3.260)	forfeit (L.L.L.V.2.425)
	fraughted*(Pass.Pilgr.XVIII,26)	fraught (Lear I.4.220)
	heated (Merch.III.1.49)	heat (K.John IV.1.61)

* Not found in Jonson

	lighted** (Macbeth II.3.141)	light (Pericles IV.2.71)
	quitted (Wint.T.V.1.192)	quit (Temp.I.2.148)
	splitted* (Ant.& Cleo.V.1.24)	split (" V.1.223)
	tainted (Meas.I.2.41)	taint* (Henry VI, Part I, V.3.183)
(e)	bended (Ham.II.1.100)	bent (Henry VI, Part III, V.2.22)
	blended (Troil.& Cress.IV.5.86)	blent* (Merch.III.2.182)
	builded* (Ant.& Cleo.III.2.30)	built (Rich.II, II.1.43)
	gelded* (Rich.II, II.1.237)	gelt (Merch.V.1.144)
	gilded (Lear V.3.85)	gilt (Troil.& Cress.II.3.23)
	girded (Henry V, III,Chor.27)	girt (Henry VI, Part III, IV.8.20)
(f)	burn'd (As You Like It IV.3.41)	burnt (Henry IV, Part II, I.2.148)

In the (b) group Jonson has modern dwelt; Shakespeare has dwell'd (Lucrece 1446, rhymes beheld).

In the (d) group sweat alone occurs in both dramatists. Disjoint (partic.) and waft (pret. and partic.) occur only in Shakespeare:

Ham.I.2.20 Or thinking by our late dear brother's death/ Our state to be disjoint and out of frame
K.John II.1.73 a braver choice of dauntless spirits,/ Than now the English bottoms have waft o'er (Preterite, Merch.V.1.11)

The grammarians of the 17th C give various accounts and lists of these double forms; except Gill, who in Ch.XII notes only the assimilated or shortened preterites and past participles, e.g. sweat, left, bereft.

Jonson (Bk.I, Ch.XVII) notes as laternative preterites leaved and left, though the former appears neither in his own works nor Shakespeare's. The explanation given for assimilation of the suffix to the stem-final d in the (e) group is as follows: "Some verbs ending in d, for avoiding the concourse of too many consonants, do cast it away; as

lend, lent; spend, spent; gird, girt."

He does not mention girded, an alternative form he himself uses; nor does he account for unvoicing of the stem-final.

Butler (Ch.III, § 3) assembles together all shortened and assimilated forms belonging to groups (a) to (e), and even includes some strong verbs such as wind, wound, describing the

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** Apparently always means 'to alight' in Shakespeare, but in Jonson 'to apply a flame to'.

unexplained phenomena as anomalies. He plainly favours the assimilated forms, recording only the following doublets:

bereaved, bereft; smelled, smelt; girded, girt.

His inclusion of pitched, pitcht, and kissed, kist, is misplaced, this being a matter of orthography.

Cooper (Part III, Ch.4, § 6) is guilty of the same confusion, grouping girded, girt with expressed, exprest. His list of double forms belongs mainly to the (a) group with shortening of the radical vowel. He notes, however, bended, bent from the (e) group, and is the first of the grammarians to record sweated alongside of sweat.

(iii) Preterite of 'dare' (Accidence § 77)

Both Shakespeare and Jonson use durst only, e.g.

As You Like It V.4.80 I durst go no further than the Lie Circumstantial

Jonson's Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XX) gives durst as the preterite, and an example is cited by Gill (p.78, line 5).

(iv) Past participles from Latin (Accidence § 78)

Shakespeare's use of uninflected past participles, derived either directly from Latin or through French, is as common as Jonson's and, like his, frequently determined by metre. The -ate (or Latin first conjugation) borrowings predominate. The following do not occur in Jonson :-

K.John IV.1.107 Being create for comfort
" III.1.173 Thou shalt stand cursed and excommunicate
Cor.II.2.115 what in flesh was fatigate
Lear I.1.74 I am alone felicitate

So frustrate (Temp.III.3.10), incorporate (M.N.D.III.2.208), suffocate (Troil.& Cress.I.3.125), contract (Rich.III, III.7.179), infect (Troil.& Cress.I.3.187)

(v) Preterite and Past Participle of Catch, Distract etc. (Accidence § 79)

Shakespeare's use of double forms in the preterite and past participle of the group of O.E. Class I weak verbs from which stretch and teach are derived, is more varied than Jonson's. Of the forms modelled on the present stem, Jonson has catched (alongside of normally derived caught), and distracted. The past participle distraught does not occur in Jonson.

Shakespeare has raught three times in the preterite and

twice in the past part.; reached occurs only in the past participle. Catched appears once in the preterite (Cor.I.3. 61) and three times in the past participle, but caught is the normal form in both parts of the verb. Distracted is found regularly in preterite and past participle; but distraught appears twice in the past participle, and (with the same meaning) the nonce-form bestraught (Tam.Shrew, Induc.2.23). Another nonce past participle is pight (M.E. pight, from O.E. hypothetical infinitive piccean):

Troil.& Cress.(Ff)V.10.24 Thus proudly pight upon our Phrygian plains (Q pitcht)

For the verb work Shakespeare uses as regular preterite and past participle the form wrought. Schmidt (Shakes.Lex. p.1391) points out that the emendation of modern editors worked for worke in Timon (F_1 F_2)V.1.111 is therefore inadmissible.

Gill (Ch.XII) gives taught and wrought as regular forms in both parts of the verbs teach and work. Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) adds caught and faught as (in each case) preterite and past participle of the verbs catch and fetch. Except in the case of pitch, where Butler notes pitched alongside of pight, new formations modelled on the present stem are not recorded by either grammarian. Cooper, however, (Part III, Ch. 4, § 6(4)) gives catch't, teached and work't alongside of caught, taught and wrought, indicating that the re-modelled forms were in good use in the late 17th C.

34. Verbs with Mixed Forms

(a) From verbs strong in O.E., or later associated with strong verbs. (Accidence § 82).

Class I

Jonson admits weak preterites and past participles more frequently than Shakespeare. In the preterite the latter has strived (twice) alongside of strove (twice). The past participle, which occurs only once, is strove (Henry VIII, II.4.30). The verb did not appear in O.E., being borrowed from French estriver in M.E.

In Jonson's Grammar the O.E. Class I strong verbs appear as a sub-division of an unexplained third conjugation. The preterites and past participles are said to take indifferently radical vowels i or o; shine, strive and thrive are cited as belonging to this group.

Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) notes weak formations strived and thrived alongside of the strong ones.

Class II

Both Jonson and Shakespeare have the forms sod, sodden in the past participle only. The preterite does not occur.

Jonson's Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XVIII) gives the preterite as sod; weak formations on the present seethe are not noted. Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) shows the principal parts as seethe, sod, sodden.

Class III

Help

Holp(e) is with Shakespeare the regular preterite and past participle of help; helped occurs only twice in the preterite and four times in the past participle.

Jonson (Grammar, Bk I, Ch.XVIII) says that holpe is not much used, except by poets.

Holpen is noted alongside of helped (helpt) in the past participle by Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4); but the weak forms helped, helpt he regards as normal for the preterite.

Swell

Swelled is the only form of the preterite used by Jonson and Shakespeare. It is also used as past participle, but with both dramatists there is a slight preference for swoln(e), which occurs 5 times in Shakespeare, swelled being used thrice.

Class V

The preterite of weave does not occur in Jonson; in Shakespeare it is found once as weaved (Per.IV Prol.21). In the past participle the strong form woven appears with greater frequency in both dramatists; Shakespeare has 4 examples and 2 of weaved.

In his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XVIII) Jonson, by associating weave with break, seems to imply that it is wholly strong.

Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) shows weak and strong forms as alternative.

Class VI

Flay, flea

The verb is treated as weak by Jonson and Shakespeare. The spelling of the latter is flay, but Cooper (Part II, Ch.XX) has the alternative flea.

Gnaw

Shakespeare has the weak preterite (Rich.III, I.4.25) and the strong past participle (Merry Wives II.2.261). Only the past participle (strong) is found in Jonson.

Grave and Engrave

Shakespeare has the weak and strong past participles of both verbs; Jonson prefers the strong.

Lade

Neither dramatist employs the preterite. The strong past participle laden occurs 4 times in Shakespeare, but the weak form does not appear. Jonson has laded once, but his regular form is laden.

The analogous past participle loaden (from weak vb. load) occurs only once in Jonson, but is very common in Shakespeare.

Jonson's Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XIX) gives loaden as the only p.part. of load.

Shape and mis(s)hape

The verb shape is regularly weak in Jonson and Shakespeare. The strong past participle mis(s)hapen is, however, used attributively by both (in Shakespeare it occurs quite commonly); but a single instance of mis(s)haped occurs in the plays of each dramatist (cf.Henry VI, part III, III.2.170)

Shave

The verb is treated similarly by both dramatists, viz. weak throughout, except in attributive uses of the past participle, where shaven is regular.

Class VII

Beat

A weak past participle beated occurs once in Shakespeare:

Sonn.62.10 Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity (Malone 'Bated, Collier Beaten, Steevens Blasted)

Jonson has only beat or beaten, the former being an assimilated weak form. In Jonson the two past participles occur with about equal frequency; in Shakespeare beaten is the commoner.

Jonson (Grammar, Bk I, Ch.XVIII) gives beat and beaten as alternative past participles; Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) has only beaten.

Hold

The principal parts are normally hold, held, held in both dramatists. The past participle holden occurs once in each, however, and a nonce-form hild is found in Shakespeare (Lucrece 1257) for the sake of rhyme.

Jonson, Gill and Cooper in their Grammars give held and holden as alternative p. participles.

Sow

The verb is normally weak in both dramatists. Jonson has a single instance of the strong past participle sown and Shakespeare has a form sawn (Lover's Complaint 91, to rhyme drawn), but the meaning of the passage is extremely doubtful:

> His browny locks did hang in crooked curls;
> And every light occasion of the wind
> Upon his lips their silken parcels hurls.
> What's sweet to do, to do will aptly find:
> Each eye that saw him did enchant the mind;
> For on his visage was in little drawn
> What largeness thinks in Paradise was sawn.

Gill (Ch.XII) gives sown and sow'd as alternative participles; so does Butler (Ch.II, § 3, par.4).

Wax

The past participle does not occur commonly in Shakespeare and Jonson. The former has the strong form waxen twice, and Jonson once. A single instance of the weak p. part. wax'd is found in Shakespeare. (Tim.III.4.11).

(b) From O.E. weak verbs. (Accidence § 83)

Class I

Shakespeare and Jonson use hid as the normal past participle of hide. Hidden is found much less frequently in Jonson than Shakespeare, who has 9 instances of the strong form.

Jonson (Grammar Bk I Ch.XIX) and Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) give hid and hidden as alternative past participles.

Class II

Claw

The past participle clawne is found once in Jonson, but claw'd is regular in Shakespeare.

Shew, show

In both dramatists the past participle shown predominates, but show(e)d is occasionally found.

Strew, strow

Schmidt (Shak.Lex. p.1135) says that strew is the spelling of the older editions. The past participle is regularly weak in both dramatists, a single instance of the -n form occuring in Twelf.N.II.4.59.

Stick

The preterite and past participle are regularly stuck in Shakespeare and Jonson.

Jonson (Grammar Bk I, Ch.XVIII) groups stick with the Class III verbs fling, ring etc.

(c) Cleave. (Accidence § 84)

(i) meaning 'split'

Shakespeare's use of the principal parts shows:

cleave	cleft (twice)	cleft (seven times)
	clove (once)	cloven (only attributively, five times)

The verb is thus predominantly weak in Shakespeare, and the treatment is similar to that of Jonson. Both dramatists occasionally use cleft instead of cloven attributively, e.g.

Lovers Complaint 293 O cleft effect! (cf. Jonson's cleft-tongues)

(ii) meaning 'cling'

Shakespeare and Jonson use the verb only in the present indicative or infinitive.

(iii) No differentiation in meaning is made by the grammarians. Jonson (Grammar, Bk I, Ch.XVIII) groups cleave with break and speak, though the original strong verbs cleōfan (split) and clīfan (cling) belonged to Classes II and I respectively. He also notes (Ch.XX) that the verb takes weak forms.

Gill (Ch.XII), Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4), and Cooper (Part III, Ch.4, § 6) all give :-

cleave	clave	cloven
or	cleft	cleft

(d) Hang (Accidence § 84)

Shakespeare three times, and Jonson twice, use hanged for hung, e.g

As You Like It III.2.161 But didst thou hear ... how thy name should be hang'd and carved upon these trees?

Schmidt (Shak.Lex. p.509) says that hanged is used throughout in the quartos of A Midsummer Night's Dream, hung in the folios.

Jonson has a single contrary use of hung for hanged (E.M.O.H.III.8.78).

Jonson (Grammar, Bk I, Ch.XX) notes both the strong and weak conjugations of hang; Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) only the strong.

35. Strong Verbs

Jonson in his Grammar (Bk I, Chs.XVIII to XX) divides the strong verbs into three conjugations, styled second, third and fourth, the first conjugation being reserved for weak verbs. There is no attempt at phonological or class system; Jonson frankly admits his inability to deal with the confused mass of material before him:

"That which followeth, for anything I can find (though I have with some diligence searched after it), entertaineth none but natural and home-born words, which though in number they be not many, a hundred and twenty, or thereabouts; yet in variation are so divers and uncertain, that they need much the stamp of some good logic to beat them into proportion. We have set down that, that in our judgment agreeth best with reason and good order. Which notwith-

standing, if it seem to any to be too rough hewed, let him plane it out more smoothly, and I shall not only not envy it, but, in the behalf of my country, most heartily thank him for so great a benefit; hoping that I shall be thought sufficiently to have done my part, if in towling this bell, I may draw others to a deeper consideration of the matter: for, touching myself, I must needs confess, that after much painful churning, this only would come, which here we have devised."

List of Strong Verbs

The principal parts enumerated below have been compiled from the complete works of Shakespeare, the grammar and dramatic works of Jonson, and the grammars of Gill, Butler and Cooper. Where a form appears in all five sources, the word "all" appears in brackets behind it. Otherwise the source is indicated by the initial letter of the name :-

Class I (Accidence §§ 87-91)

bestride	bestrid (S.J.)	bestrid (S)
bite bit (J)	bit (J.G.B)	bit (S.J.) bitten (S.J.G.B.)
drive driv [I] (B)	drove (S.J.G.B.) drave (all) driv(e) [I] (J(Gr).G.)	drove(n) (S.J.B.C.) driv'n (B. see note iv) driven [I] (all)
ride	rid (J.B.) rode (S.J.B.)	rid(den) (S.J.B.) rode (S.)
rise	rose (S.J.B.) riss' [I] (J.)	risen (S.J.B.) risse [I] (J.)
strike	stroke (S.G.B.) strooke (J.B.) struck (S.G.) strik (G.) strake (G.B.)	stroke (S.J.B.) strooke(n) (J.B.) struck(en) (S.J.G.) stricken (S.J.G.B.)
write	writ (S.J.G.B) wrote (S.J.G.B.) wrate (G.)	writ(ten) (S.J.G.B.) wrote (S.J.)

Notes: (i) The Western preterite e.g. rid, is used much more frequently by Jonson than by Shakespeare, which is strange, seeing that Shakespeare was a West-country man. The latter prefers the modern forms in ō, though the Biblical ā is sometimes found. (ii) Gill (Ch.XII) regards the conjugation with the so-called Western preterites as weak. He says that writ*, writ, writn belongs to the first (or weak conjugation, that wröt is the normal strong preterite, and that wrät is a Northern form.

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* J is Gill's notation for modern [aI].

(iii) Both Jonson and Shakespeare extend the ō preterite to the past participle of the verbs drive, write, strike.

(iv) Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) has past participles driven and driv'n corresponding to the ablaut forms of present tense driv and driv', the latter representing a long diphthong, probably [aI] or [ɑI].

Class II (Accidence §§ 92-4)

fly	flew (S.J.G.B.)	flown (S.J.G.B.) flyen or flyne (J.)

Note: Gill (Ch.XII) gives the now accepted alternative parts fly, fled, fled, with the meaning 'escape by hurried departure', regarding fly and flee as dialectal variants (Preface, § 4). The original O.E. verbs (both strong and both Class II) were flēogan (fly) and flēon (flee), the latter contracted from the hypothetical infinitive flēohan. Distinction of meaning was lost even in O.E. The infinitive flee is now obsolete and literary.

Confusion of the two verbs is also noted by Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4).

Class III (Accidence §§ 95-99)

begin	began (S.J.C.) begun (S.J.C.)	begun (S.J.) began (S. once)
drink	drunk (S.J.G.B.) drank (All)	drunk (S.J.G.B.) dronke (S.)
ring	rung (S.J.B.C.) rang (B.C.)	rung (S.J.B.)
run	ran(ne) (S.J.G.) run(ne) (S.J.)	run (S.J.G.) ran (J.)
shrink	shrunk (S.J.C.) shronke (J.) shrank (C.)	shrunk(e) (S.J.)
sing	sung (S.J.B.) sang (S.J(Gr.) B.)	sung (S.J.B.) song (J.)
sink	sunk (J.)	sunk (S.J.) sunken (S.)
spin	spun (S.J.B.C.) span (B.C.)	spun (S.J.B.)
stink	stunk (S.J.B.C.) stank (B.C.)	stunk (B.)
swim	swam (all) swom (S.J.(Gr.)) swum (B.C.) swame (J.)	swam (S.) swom (S.) swum (G.B.)

win	won(ne) (S.J.) wan (S.J.B.C.) wun (B.)	won (S.J.) wun(ne) (J.B.)
wring	wrung (S.B.C.) wrang (C.)	wrung (S.J.) wroong (J.)

Notes: (i) Began and ran are the usual preterites with both Shakespeare and Jonson. Begun appears 8 times in Shakespeare and 3 times in Jonson. Run appears 4 times in Shakespeare and once in Jonson.

(ii) Drunk and sung are most frequently found in the preterite in both Shakespeare and Jonson. Drank occurs twice in Shakespeare and once in Jonson. Sang occurs once in Shakespeare, but not in Jonson, though mentioned in his Grammar (vide infra (iii)).

(iii) The paradigm win, wan or won, won appears in Jonson's Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XVIII). Jonson associates with this type fling, ring, wring, sing, sting, stick, spin, strick, drink, sink, spring, begin, stink, shrink, swing, swim. In the majority of these u preterites and past participles predominate, and the inference is that Jonson regarded u and o spellings as identical in pronunciation.

(iv) It is a pity that Gill's treatment of Cl.III verbs (Ch.XII) is so inadequate; the only forms mentioned are, however, those in modern use:

drink	drank or drunk	drunk(en)
run	ran	run
swim	swam	swum

(v) Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) and Cooper (Part III, Ch.4, § 6) give a and u preterites as alternative for nearly all the Class III verbs of the drink type. Exceptions with Butler are sting, string, and wring, for which the u preterite alone is given. Cooper notes preterites stang and wrang, but points out that a number of a preterites are unverified. The treatment of these verbs by Butler and Cooper must be largely hypothetical.

Class IV (Accidence § 100)

bear	bore (all) bare (S.J.G.B.)	born(e) (all) bore (S.B.)

break	broke (S.J.G.B) brake (S.J.G.B.)	broken (all) broke (S.J(Gr.) B.) brake (J. once)
swear	swore (all) sware (S.G.B.)	sworn(e) (all) swore (S.B.)
wear	wore (all) ware (S.J.G.)	worn(e) (all)

Notes: (i) The ō preterites are with all the above verbs more favoured by Shakespeare. Swore and wore are the normal preterites with Jonson, sware being altogether absent and ware occurring only once. But the preterites bare and brake are with Jonson quite as common as the corresponding ō forms.

(ii) All the grammarians, except Cooper, give ō and ā preterites as alternative, though Butler omits the form ware.

(iii) Gill (Ch.XII) gives brast as a preterite, and Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.4) gives burst as a past participle, of break. These forms are, of course, from the O.E. Class III verb berstan.

Class V (Accidence §§ 101-105)

bid	bid (S.J.B.) bad (J.B.) bade (S.J.C.)	bid (S.J.B.C.) bidden (all)
eat(e)	eat(e) (S.J.) ate (B.C.)	eaten (S.J.B.C.) eat (S.J.)
get	got (S.J.B.) gat (S.J.B.C.)	got (S.J.B.) gotten (S.J.B.C.)
lie	lay (all)	lain or layn (S.J(Gr.)B) lien, lyen or lyne (S. J.G.)
sit	sat (S.J.C.) sate (S.J.B.)	sat (S.J.) sate (S.J.)
speak	spoke (S.J.B.) spake (all) spak (J.)	spoken (all) spoke (S.J.B.)
tread	trod (S.J.B.) trode (J.)	trodden (S.B.C.) trod (S.J.B.)

Notes: (i) Jonson, as is natural, confuses Class IV and V verbs in his Grammar (Bk I, Ch.XVIII).

(ii) The ă preterites, except sat, are rare in Shakespeare. He has a single instance of gat, but no examples of bad and spak, which occur in Jonson.

(iii) Neither Shakespeare nor Jonson uses the preterite ate, which is first mentioned by Butler.

Class VI (Accidence § 106)

forsake	forsook (S.J.G.C.)	forsook (S.J.) forsaken (S.J.C.)
shake	shook (S.J.B.C.)	shook (S.) shaken (S.J.B.C.)
stand	stood (S.J.G.B.)	stood (S.G.)
take	took (all)	taken (all) took(e) (S.J.) tane (S.J.)

Notes: (i) The grammarians, including Jonson, all fail to note past participles in oo (from the preterite), except in the case of stood, which is regular in modern English.

(ii) Shakespeare has forsook and shook in the past part. more frequently than forsaken and shaken. Taken (or more commonly tane) is, however, preferred to took by both Shakespeare and Jonson.

Class VII (Accidence §§ 107-109)

behold	beheld (S.J.)	beheld (S.J.)
hold	held (S.J.G.)	held (S.J.G.) holden (S.J.G.) hild (S. once)

Notes: (i) The past participle holden is already obsolete in Shakespeare and Jonson, being only once used by each of the dramatists.

(ii) Beholding in the sense 'indebted' is the regular form with Shakespeare, appearing in his plays 21 times. Editors, from the 4th Folio onwards, have invariably amended the word to beholden, which is that slightly favoured by Jonson, who uses both forms. Butler in his "Index of Words Like and Unlike" (p.67) describes the form beholding (from the vb. behold) as an example of "synecdoche generis". Modern users, he says, prefer to write beholden, but this is no more English than the original form. Nevertheless orthoepists persisted in the emendation. Cooper (Part II, Ch.20, observation 4) gives beholding (aspiciens), beholden (obligatus), showing that by the end of the 17th C a clear distinction in meaning had arisen.

(iii) The archaic verb hight is commoner in Jonson than Shakespeare, especially in the Masques and Entertainments, where it is employed

occasionally for the sake of rhyme. There are only four instances in Shakespeare, two in Love's Labour's Lost. Gill (Ch.XII) notes the extension of hight to the present tense (the form being originally a preterite).

36. Original forms of notional verbs often regarded as aphetic (Accidence § 110)

The verbs gratulate, light (alight), peer, plane or plain (complain), ware are used by both Shakespeare and Jonson. Firm (confirm) and quite (requite) are, however, peculiar to Jonson.

37. Aphetic forms of notional verbs (Accidence § 111)

The verbs gin (pret. gan), gree (agree), point (appoint), say (assay), scape (escape) and turn (return) are used by both Jonson and Shakespeare. Ford (afford), low (allow), peale (appeal), sess (assess), spute (dispute), sure (assure) are peculiar to Jonson.

38. Contracted forms of notional verbs (Accidence § 112)

(a) The only use of gi' (= give) in Shakespeare is doubtful:

Rom.& Jul.(Qq F_1 F_2 F_3)I.2.57 Godgigoden. I pray, Sir, can you read?

This salutation apparently means 'God give you good evening'. The preterite ga' does not occur in Shakespeare. Contractions in all forms of the verb are commonly found in Jonson.

(b) The verb ope and the past participle tane or ta'en (from take) are used by both Shakespeare and Jonson.

(c) The contracted verb le' (let) is peculiar to Jonson.

39. Past-present verbs (Accidence §§ 113 and 114)

(a) The verb wot is used by Shakespeare and Jonson only in the present tense. Shakespeare has no form with lengthened radical vowel (Jonson's wote), but he employs a present participle wotting:

Wint.Tale III.2.74 the gods themselves,/ Wotting no more than I, are ignorant

There is a doubtful passage in the folios in which modern editors often substitute wist (pret. of the hypothetical verb wis) for wish. The emendation is of doubtful validity.

Henry VI, Part I, IV.1.180 And if I wish he did, - but let it rest (wist Capell, Steevens, Wright).

The adverb I-wis, which most modern editors of Shakespeare write as two words (I wis), is much less common in Shakespeare than in Jonson; it occurs only four times. The shortened form wis, and its bucolic counterpart, wusse, both found in Jonson, do not appear in Shakespeare.

Gill (Ch.XII) gives the present tense of wot in full, noting wit as an alternative form. He also gives all the forms of the past tense wist.

Butler (Ch.II, § 3, par.5) gives wit as the infinitive, wis or wot as the form of the present tense, and wist as the past tense.

(b) The colloquial form mun (= must) is not found in Shakespeare, nor is it noted by Gill in his chapter on dialect.

40. Verb 'to be' (Accidence §§ 115-119)

(a) Jonson (Grammar Bk I, Ch.XVIII) speaks of "the unused word be, beëst, beëth, in the singular" (of the present tense). He recommends the use of art for the 2nd pers. sing. Yet he sometimes uses beest after the conjunctions if, till, though etc. With Shakespeare beest is the normal form in circumstances where the influence of the old subjunctive is strong.

The anomaly is noted by both Gill (Ch.XVIII) and Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.2).

(b) The use of the Southern present plural be is as common in Shakespeare as Jonson. The former also has a few examples of been in the same function.

Jonson (Grammar, Bk I, Ch.XVIII) and Butler (Ch.III, § 3, par.2) both note be as alternative to are in the present plural, but Gill has the latter only.

(c) The use of is in the present plural occurs more frequently in Shakespeare than in Jonson. It is found principally after the words here, there and where, and after numerals where apparently a unified whole is conceived, e.g.

Merch.II.2.147 fifteen wives is nothing

But there are many solecisms of number, both in the present and the past tense, e.g.

Com.of Err.(F_1)III.2.20 Ill deeds is doubled with an evil word
Rich.III(Qq)III.2.86 their states was sure

(d) In the 2nd pers. sing. of the preterite Shakespeare's normal usage seems to have been wert, though in the folios the form is generally changed to wast. Once at least the latter occurs in a quarto:

Rich.III(Qq)II.4.33 she was dead ere thou wert born.(Ff wast)
Much Ado (Q.1600)I.1.202 Thou wast ever an obstinate heretique

Wast is the form recommended by the grammarians. Those who, like Jonson and Butler, note wert, confuse the indicative with the subjunctive (see Accidence § 117).

(e) Bin for been in unemphatic uses of the past participle occurs less commonly in Shakespeare than in Jonson. There are several instances in the quarto (1600) of Much Ado, and Franz (S.G. § 173) notes isolated uses in the first quarto of Love's Labour's Lost and the quarto of The Taming of the Shrew. Elsewhere bin is found principally in the first, second and third folios, and must have been the correction of the editors or printers, with the object of following colloquial custom.

In the song Hark, hark! the lark (Cymb.II, sc.3), in order to secure the alternate rhyme scheme, some modern editors have, quite unjustifiably, amended is to bin (= are):

> And winking Mary-buds begin
> To ope their golden eyes:
> With every thing that pretty is (bin),
> My lady sweet arise;

(f) The orthography of Shakespeare's contracted forms is an uncertain study, owing to the obscure history of the texts. The contraction 's for is does sometimes occur (e.g. Othello (F_1)V.2.94 Shee's).

41. Auxiliary Verbs (Accidence §§ 121-128)

(a) Shold and wold are found as orthographical variants of should and would in Shakespeare as in Jonson.

(b) The contractions wi' and wu' (before not) for will, and wou' and woul' for would, do not occur in Shakespeare. The usual contractions for will are -'ll or -'le (described by Gill, Ch.VI,

as Northern dialect abbreviations), and for would -ld or 'd, e.g.

Meas.(F_1)I.2.136 they'll doe
Lear(F_1)V.3.285 He'le strike
Meas.(F_1)II.4.181 hee'ld yeeld them up
Lear(F_1)III.4.9 Thou'dst shun

There are several uses of woo' for will in Shakespeare. They do not correspond to Jonson's wu', as the latter is used only before not. Cf.

Ant.& Cleo.IV.2.7 Woo't thou fight well?

This form is undoubtedly a contraction of the Shakespearian nonce-form wooll [wũl]:

Henry IV, Part II(Q)III.2.279 These fellows wooll do well (Ff will)

(c) Sha' for shall (before not), quite common in Jonson, is not found in Shakespeare. On the other hand the Shakespearian contraction -se for shall does not occur in Jonson. Cf.

Lear IV.6.242 I'se try (Ff ice)

(d) The use of nill (ne + will) for will not is found twice in Jonson, four times in Shakespeare, e.g.

Tam.of Shrew II.1.263 and, will you, nill you, I will marry you.

(e) Ha' is not used as a contraction for has, but only for have, in Shakespeare, e.g.

All's Well V.2.37 you shall hà't

In Tam.of Shrew (V.2.181) ha't rhymes with Kate.

There is a single instance of a for have in Shakespeare:

L.L.L.(Qq, F_1 F_2)V.2.17 She might a been a grandam

The contraction 'ave is not found in Shakespeare.

(f) Jonson's contracted form doe (do) for does is not employed by Shakespeare. On the other hand Jonson does not use doth in the present indicative plural, but Shakespeare does on several occasions, e.g.

K.John V.2.42 And great affections wrestling in thy bosom/
Doth make an earthquake of nobility

(g) Done as infinitive, once found in Jonson, does not appear in Shakespeare.

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