

A STUDY OF VERB FORMS AND VERB  
USES IN CERTAIN AMERICAN WRITINGS  
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Thesis for the Degree of Ph. D.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE

Orville Lawrence Abbott

1953

This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

A Study of Verb Forms and Verbs Used in  
Certain American Writings of the Seventeenth  
Century

presented by

Orville Lawrence Abbott

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph. D. degree in English

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Date November 18, 1953

A STUDY OF VERB FORMS AND VERB USES IN CERTAIN  
AMERICAN WRITINGS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By

ORVILLE LAWRENCE ABBOTT

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan  
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English

1953

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For suggestions, guidance, assistance, and encouragement in the carrying out of this study I wish to express my deep indebtedness to the following professors of the Michigan State College English Department: Dr. Anders Orbeck, Dr. C. M. Newlin, Dr. R. B. Nye, and Dr. C. C. Hamilton.

I wish also to express my gratitude to Dr. H. H. Thornton, Head of the Department of Foreign Languages of Michigan State College for his many kindnesses.

For her continued patience and understanding during the course of this study I am deeply indebted to my wife, Margaret E. Abbott.

O. L. A.

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AN ABSTRACT

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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1953

Approved

Phineas B. Nye



The purpose of this thesis is to examine the verb forms and verb uses in American English of the seventeenth century.

As a basis for this study samplings were made from writings of the New England area from c. 1630 to c. 1700. The following types were considered; History and Narrative, writings on Religious subjects, Diaries, Letters, writings of a legal character, and Poetry.

This thesis is divided into four chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter I, "Personal Endings", deals with the personal endings of verbs. Particular attention is given to the endings of the third person singular present, -th and -s. Tabulations indicate the relative frequency of these two forms. The conclusion drawn is that the -th form was ordinarily employed for language of a serious tone and the -s form in informal language. The poetry showed a preference for the -s forms. The stereotyped forms doth, hath, and saith were by far the most common -th forms. Some attention is given to the second person singular endings, levelings of the singular and the plural, and the form be in a non-subjunctive sense.

Chapter II, "Preterite and Past Participle of Strong and Weak Verbs", considers the regular and unusual forms of the preterite and past participle of strong and weak verbs. A number of variant forms were noted. In virtually all cases both the variant and the current form were found. The conclusion that a single form for the preterite and past participle of certain strong verbs had not been definitely established. The weak verbs had more nearly reached their present form.

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## PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to examine the verb forms and verb uses in a variety of types of writing in America in the seventeenth century. Since so much was written here in America during the period from 1630-1700 it has been necessary to limit this study to only a small portion of what was written. This limitation is all the more necessary since for a study of this type it is imperative to consider each verb carefully in relationship to its context. As a basis for this study I examined the verb forms of approximately one thousand pages of material written in the New England area drawn from the following types of writing: History and Narrative, writings on Religious Subjects, Diaries, Letters, writings of a legal character such as the Town Records, and Poetry.

I have endeavoured by citations to show the verb forms and verb usages that existed in this section of America during the last three-quarters of the seventeenth century and to draw some comparison between these forms and usages and those of present day English. In some cases, for example in the use of the subjunctive, and the perfect auxiliary, be or have, I have tried to make some comparison between the uses in my material and those of French and occasionally of German. I have given no attention to the infinitive and present participle of the verbs since there seemed to be little variation in these forms or their usage from that of the present day.

It is possible that a study of more material would turn up forms that I have not found. However, my belief is that the samplings taken are fairly representative of the forms and usages of this period.

## Chapter I

### PERSONAL ENDINGS

The present chapter will consider the personal endings of verbs, in the present and past indicative, as found in the materials examined in the study. In many instances of course the endings are identical with those of current American English, but there is considerable evidence for other endings in some categories in the seventeenth century.

In the present tense the endings we shall here be particularly concerned with include: are (instead of art) and -s in the second person singular; -s and -th in the third person singular; be (instead of are) in the first person plural; and be (instead of are), -s, and -th in the third person plural.

The regular form of the verb in the first person singular had no special ending, except in the verb to be, in the seventeenth century documents, and is identical therefore with the form of the infinitive. The verb to be has to be considered by itself. Otherwise the only evidence I have for a special ending of the first person singular is that by these two instances:

sais I (Knight, 1704, 3)

sais I (Ibid., 3)

These two cases of -s in the first person appear to be a leveling of the first person with the third person singular. This use of a first person singular in -s is still heard at times among uneducated people today. Wyld makes the following comment on the matter of leveling:

The tendency is to reduce singular and plural to a common form, so that certain sections of the people inflect all Persons of both singular and plural with -s after the pattern of the third person singular, while others drop the suffix even in the third singular, after the model of the uninflected first person singular and the plural of all Persons.<sup>1</sup>

The first person plural of the verb to be was regularly are in the indicative. However, I have two instances of the form be as a first plural indicative. This is apparently a survival of the OE beo ~~B~~

And whereas we transgressors be (Wigglesworth, 1662, 33)  
Sisters we are, ye twins we be (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)

The ending in the second person singular was usually -st but there are some other forms as well. Since a large part of the material examined was not of a nature to involve the second person, comparatively few instances of the second person singular were noted. Of the forms usually associated with thou today the following instances were noted: the form art of the verb to be both as auxiliary and finite verb, sixteen, the form dost of the verb to do, both as auxiliary and finite verb, eighteen, hast of the verb to have, both as auxiliary and finite verb eighteen, saist of the verb to say, two, other verbs ending in -st in the second person singular, other than the verbs to be, to do, to have and to say, twenty-two. I have listed part of the citations.

The form art appears to be the form of the verb to be regularly used with the second person singular:

To prove thou art, and that thou art the best (Taylor, 1671, 33)  
Hence thou a Sinner art, or I a Saint (Ibid., 1671, 59)  
Art fancy sick or turn'd a Sot (Bradstreet, 1678, 382)

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1. H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 340.

Art thou so full of Glory (Ibid., 372)  
Thou art justly angry with me (C. Mather 1, 1681, 12)  
thou art ... able to depend on Him (Ibid., 1681, 7)  
thou art our Father (Williams 2, 1652, 6)  
Alas! poore Heart! how art thou damnifi'de (Taylor, 1671, 40)  
O strange effect! now thou art Southward gone (Bradstreet, 1678, 40)

I have this one case of a variant from the usual form art of the verb to be:

The court of Justice thee acquits: therefore Thou to the court of Justice are bound, ore (Taylor, 1671, 42)

The form dost appears to be the form of the verb to do regularly used with the second person singular:

Thou dost no wrong (Taylor, 1671, 38)  
Dost thou not hear his murthering Canons roare (Ibid., 1671, 50)  
when thou dost go to serve (Ibid., 58)  
Lord why dost thou reject us now (Wigglesworth, 1662, 30)  
as thou thyself dost say (Ibid., 27)  
Dost honour like (Bradstreet, 1678, 382)  
Dost dream of things beyond the moon And dost thou hope to dwell there soon (Ibid., 382)  
Thou dost send (C. Mather, 1680-81, 3)  
Thou dost even beseech Sinners (Ibid., 1681, 13)  
Dost thou perceive, dost no believe (Wigglesworth, 1662, 11)  
thou dost not make but give (Shepard, 1634, 13)  
If thou art weigh'd in Golden Scales, Dost do To others as thou wouldst be done unto (Taylor, 1671, 57)

Hast appears to be the form of the verb to have regularly used with the second person singular:

And hast no Favour for a failing friend (Taylor, 1671, 50)  
thou hast had ... experience (Williams, 2, 1652, 1)  
what hast thou there (Williams 1, 1644, 61)  
thou hast begun (Ibid., 57)  
much good thou hast in store (Wigglesworth, 1662, 9)  
Thou hast said (C. Mather, 1681, 7)  
thou hast spoken (Ibid., 1681, 13)  
thou hast bid me to believe (Ibid., 1681, 2)  
By means of those whom thou hast chose (Wigglesworth, 1662, 38)  
How oft thy slave, hast thou me made when I believed, what thou hast said (Bradstreet, 383)  
Hast treasures there laid up in store That all the world thou count'st but poor (Ibid., 382)

Thou hast an house on high erect Fram'd by that mighty Architect  
(Ibid., 41)

Thou hast Acquittance, in thy surety (Taylor, 1671, 42)

The ending -(e)st appears to be the regular ending of verbs in the second person singular present tense in all verbs but the verb to be, to have, and to do in strong and weak verbs alike:

thou seest (Winthrop, 1630-31, 164)  
thou seest (C. Mather 1, 1681, 34)  
thou standest charged (Williams 1, 1644, 11)  
thou knowest (Ibid., 56)  
Thou knowest my heart (Winthrop, 1630-31, 175)  
For I have meat thou knowest not of (Bradstreet, 1678, 283)  
Thou speakest me fair but hatst me more (Ibid., 383)  
Lord, thou saist (C. Mather, 1680-81, 3)  
thou saist (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
thou thinkest thy conscience bound (Williams, 1, 1644, 12)  
doe as thou thinkest best (Winthrop, 1630-31, 178)  
And what thou offer'st (Taylor, 1671, 58)  
thou followest (Williams 1, 1644, 11)  
shew me where thou feedest (Williams 2, 1652, 7)  
thou that workest in me to (C. Mather 1, 1680, 5)  
thou that workest in me to will (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
thou discernest (Williams 2, 1652, 16)  
Sister, quotha Flesh what liv'st thou on (Bradstreet, 1678, 381)  
How I do live thou need'st not scoff (Ibid., 383)

The following citations show the -s form of the verb used as the second singular:

O, happy Flood that holds thy race,  
Till thou arrive at thy beloved place (Bradstreet, 1678, 377)  
Thou as a Bridegroom from thy Chamber rushes,  
And as a strong man joyes to run a race (Ibid., 371)

O merry Bird (said I) that fears no snares,  
That neither toyles nor hoards up in thy barn,  
Feels no sad thoughts, nor cruciating cares  
To gain more good, or chun what might thee harm  
Thy coaths n'ere wear, thy meat is everywhere,  
thy bed a bough, thy drink the water cleer  
Reminds not what is past, nor whats to come dost fear (Ibid., 379)

The dawning morn with songs thou dost prevent,  
Sets hundred notes unto thy feathered cress, (Ibid., 379)

Since the personal ending of the English verb occurs most frequently in the third person singular of the present indicative this form will receive most attention. An attempt will be made to compare the frequency and use of the third singular endings, i.e. the -s and the older -th form.

Apparently the struggle between the -s and -th endings is a very old one. All strong verbs in OE ended in -(e)þ in the third person singular. Weak verbs of class I also ended in -(e)þ in the third singular. This -(e)þ ending remained -(e)th in ME. OE had the ending -aþ in the third person singular in weak verbs of the second and third categories, and this ending developed in ME into -(e)th. Thus in East Midland ME all verbs had the ending -(e)th in the third person singular.

The ending -s was substituted for -th, according to Jespersen, in the Northumbrian dialect of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> This ending gradually crept south into East Midland, and then for a long time the two endings -s and -th existed side by side. Wyld states, "In the sixteenth century, apart from poetry, ith, &c., is practically universal in private letters, until well into the third quarter of the century."<sup>2</sup> From 1600 on, he goes on to say,

the third singular present nearly always ends in -s in all kinds of prose writing except in the stateliest and most lofty. Evidently the translators of the Authorized Version of the Bible regarded -s as belonging only to familiar speech, but the exclusive use of -eth here, and in every edition of the Prayer Book, may be partly due

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1. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, VI, 15.
  2. H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 333.

to the tradition set by the earlier Biblical translations and the early editions of the Prayer Book respectively. Except in liturgical prose, then, -eth becomes more and more uncommon after the beginning of the seventeenth century...<sup>1</sup>

Wyld's statement of the situation applies to American English of the seventeenth century on the whole pretty well. In keeping with Wyld's idea, it seems that -(e)th forms are more common in prose than in poetry. There seems, however, to have developed since this period a change in attitude toward the -s and -th forms. Possibly because of the influence of the King James Version of the Bible the -s form came to be felt as more informal and the -th form as more solemn and conservative.

I shall now try to show the proportion of -s and -th forms in the third person singular in the various types of material covered.

#### In Poetry

The following table will show the frequency of the two third person singular endings -s and -th in poetry in relation to the number of pages examined. The authors are listed chronologically according to the date of publication of the work used in this study.

Author	Work	Date	Pages	<u>-s</u> Forms	<u>-th</u> Forms
Danforth	Poems	1647-1662	10	23	13
Wigglesworth	The Day of Doom	1662	25	31	43
Taylor	Poems	1671	28	93	60
Bradstreet	Poems	1678	17	72	32

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1. Ibid., 334.

I am listing here all my citations from Danforth for the -s and -th forms in the third person singular:

-s forms

At this trees roots Astraea sits and sings  
And waters it, whence upright Justice springs,  
Which yearly shoots forth Lawes & Libertyes, (Danforth, 1648, 105)  
Bright Phoebus casts his silver sparkling ray,  
....  
And with a pleasant aspect smiles upon (Ibid., 1648, 105)  
A coal-white Bird appeares this spring  
That neither cares to sigh or sing (Ibid., 1647, 104)  
Why so, when as she humbly stands (Ibid., 1647, 104)  
Justice abhors; & one day hopes to finde (Ibid., 1648, 105)  
In Britain 'twill not downe, it hangs so fast. (Ibid., 1648, 105)  
A loosnes (true) it breeds (Ibid., 1648, 105)  
And what falls down knocks Error on the head (Ibid., 1648, 106)  
Blinde Novio says, that nothing here is True,  
Because thinks he, no old thing can be new (Ibid., 1648, 106)

-th forms

God hath returnd my long captivity (Ibid., 1666, 20)<sup>1</sup>  
My pains are Curd, no greif doth me anoy (Ibid., 1666, 19)  
Which nothing but it's parallel doth want (Ibid., 1648, 104)  
Where truth doth grow, on this or on that Tree (Ibid., 1648, 106)  
But since 'twas nipt, 't hath scarce been seene again (Ibid., 1648, 106)  
Whose pleasant sight aloft hath many fed (Ibid., 1648, 106)  
That since the mighty Cow her crown hath lost, (Ibid., 1648, 106)  
That plenty groweth on this tree (Ibid., 1648, 106)  
Forsaken Truth Times daughter groweth here (Ibid., 1648, 106)

Sometimes Danforth uses both the -s and -th endings in the same sentence:

A skilful Husband-man he was, who brought  
This matchles plant from far & here hath sought  
A place to set in: & for it's sake  
The wildernes a pleasant land goth make,

---

1. 1666 is the date of the death of William Thompson about whom the poem was written.

And with a tender care it setts and dresses  
Digs round about it, waters, dungs & blessees,  
And that it may fruit forth in season bring,  
Doth lap & cut & prune it every spring (Ibid., 1648, 104)  
That which hath neither tongue nor wings  
This month how merrily it sings: (Ibid., 1648, 104)  
Peace is another fruit; which this tree bears,  
The chiefest garland that this country wears,  
Which over all house-tops, townes, fields doth spread  
And stuffes the pillow for each weary head (Ibid., 1648, 105)

If we may judge from this sampling, Danforth shows a strong preference for the -s form. The proportion is nearly two to one. If we exclude the stereotyped forms doth and hath we find only two instances of the -th form.

I am listing here part of my citations from Wigglesworth for the -s and -th forms in the third person singular:

-s forms

Straight way appears (they see't with tears) the Son of God most  
dread (Wigglesworth, 1662, 10)  
Who with his Train comes on amain  
To judge both Quick and Dead (Ibid., 10)  
His brightness damps heav'ns glorious lamps and makes them hide  
their heads, (Ibid., 11)  
No heart so bold, but now grows cold (Ibid., 11)  
The judge draws nigh, exalted high (Ibid., 11)  
as soon as he draws near (Ibid., 13)  
Forthwith he cries, ye Dead arise (Ibid., 13)  
The same translates, from mortal states (Ibid., 14)  
Thus all their ways Christ open lays to men and Angels View,  
And as they were, makes them appear in their own proper hew (Ibid.,  
25)  
He unto light and open sight the works of darkness brings (Ibid.,  
23)  
The Judge replies, I gave you eyes (Ibid., 38)  
Mean fruit it is, and vile, I wiss that springs from such a root  
(Ibid., 35)  
There Christ demands at all their hands (Ibid., 22)  
Thus Christ detects their vain projects and close Impiety and  
plainly shews that all their shows were but Hypocrisy (Ibid., 32)

-th forms

Our hardiness (fool hardiness.) hath us undone, undone (Ibid., 11)  
Of whom the Devil, with seven more evil, hath fresh possession  
taken (Ibid., 16)  
Nor from true faith, which quencheth wrath hath your obedience  
flown (Ibid., 34)  
Thus to obey, hath been our way (Ibid., 33)  
The judge hath seen, and privy been (Ibid., 23)  
Nor from true love, which wont to move  
Believers hath it grown (Ibid., 34)  
For your excuse, doth you accuse (Ibid., 33)  
God doth desire and eke require (Ibid., 33)  
And to obey as he doth say (Ibid., 32)  
Thus he doth find of all Man-kind that stand at his left hand  
No mothers Son, but hath mis-done (Ibid., 25)  
without true Faith, the Scripture saith (Ibid., 34)  
They draw down wrath (as Scripture saith) (Ibid., 25)  
Sinners awake, their hearts to ake,  
Trembling their laynes surprizeth;  
Amaz'd with fear, by what they hear,  
each of them arizeth. (Ibid., 10)  
Surpriz'd they are in such a snare as cometh suddenly. (Ibid., 10)  
The excellence of whose presence and awful Majesty.  
Amazeth nature, and every Creature, doth more than terrify.  
(Ibid., 12)  
And every one that hath mis-done, the Judge impartially  
Condemneth to eternal wo and endless misery (Ibid., 22)  
It judgeth them and doth condemn though all the world say nay  
(Ibid., 23)  
It so stingeth and tortureth it worketh such distress (Ibid., 23)  
which addeth to their pain (Ibid., 21)  
Whereas the same deserveth shame and meriteth Damnation (Ibid., 35)

Wigglesworth sometimes uses -s and -th in the same sentence:

To whom the Judge: what you alledge, doth nothing help the case;  
But makes appear how vile you were, and rend'reth you more base  
(Ibid., 38)  
Now it comes in, and every sin unto mens charge doth lay (Ibid., 23)  
The Sea doth roar, forsakes the shore and shrinks away for fear  
(Ibid., 13)  
Viewing this light, which shines more bright then doth the Noonday  
Sun (Ibid., 10)  
God makes no treasure, nor hath he pleasure (Ibid., 37)

Wigglesworth is the only one of the four poets considered to show  
a predominance of -th forms over -s forms. However, if we subtract the

number of instances of doth and hath from the number of -th forms we find the -s forms predominating two to one. There are only thirteen -th forms other than these two verbs.

I am listing here part of my citations from Taylor for the -s and -th forms in the third person singular.

-s forms

The heart beats up ... to call (Taylor, 1671, 34)  
Thy crumb of Dust breaths two words from its breast (Ibid., 33)  
He lookes within, and sad amazement's there  
(Without, and all things fly about his Eares,)  
Above, and sees Heaven falling on his pate  
Below, and spies th' Infernall burning lake,  
Before and sees God storming in his Face;  
Behinde, and spies Vengeance pursues his trace:  
To stay he dares not, go he knows not where;  
From God he can't to God he dreads for Feare (Ibid., 34-35)  
thy Soul lies dead asleep (Ibid., 59)  
thy heart runs up with joy to sing (Ibid., 59)  
This makes me ready leave thy Grace and run (Ibid., 60)  
For Sin prooves very Costly unto all (Ibid., 58)  
Is it not selfish, And comes in by th' by, (Ibid., 58)  
For one true man, that in that path appears (Ibid., 56)  
If no, thy tongue belies itselfe (Ibid., 57)  
Like as an aspen leafe the Winde makes quake. (Ibid., 31)  
Where stand the Pillars upon which it stands? (Ibid., 31)  
The Vengeance he halls down with Violence (Ibid., 36)  
Offended Justice comes in fiery Rage (Ibid., 36)  
But while he Sculking on his face close lies,  
Espying nought, the Eye Divine him spies. (Ibid., 35)  
Mercy pursues apace (Ibid., 46)  
Grace therefore calls them all, and sweetly wooes. (Ibid., 46)  
Grace by the Aid of Justice wins the day,  
And Satans captives, captives leads away (Ibid., 48)  
The court of Justice thee acquits (Ibid., 42)  
Who mourn when Justice frowns, when Mercie playes (Ibid., 41)

-th forms

Thus man hath lost his Freehold by his ill (Ibid., 43)  
And what delight hath he in such a friend? (Ibid., 58)  
And Graces Coach in Grace hath fetcht us in (Ibid., 53)  
Yea, hand a Pen whose moysture doth guild ore (Ibid., 33)

till thy glory forth doth flame (Ibid., 33)  
Thy Soule doth peep out at thine Eares and Eyes (Ibid., 58)  
Doth not a Pagans Life out Shine thy Light? (Ibid., 55)  
The Reasonable Soule doth much delight (Ibid., 55)  
But still his heart for fear doth pant within (Ibid., 35)  
And hast no Favour for a failing Friend,  
That in thy Quarrell trippeth with his toe? (Ibid., 50)  
Thy Holy Conference is onely like  
An Empty Voice that tooteth through a pipe (Ibid., 58)  
Hence in their joy, he straweth payson on  
Those Objects that their senses feed upon (Ibid., 52)  
Yet though he painteth o're his Velvet smut (Ibid., 52)  
when th' Weather waxeth cold (Ibid., 52)

Taylor sometimes uses -s and -th in the same sentence.

To him that smiteth hip and thigh  
My foes as his: Walks warily,  
Ile give him Grace (Ibid., 51)  
Yet this he easily feels, he liveth in  
A Dying Life, and Living Death by Sin (Ibid., 35)  
Those that are ignorant, and do not know  
What meaneth Sin, nor what means Sanctity (Ibid., 35)  
It laquyes after ill; doth good foregoe (Ibid., 55)  
His hand hath made this noble work which stands (Ibid., 31)  
out Rebell out (saith Justice), to the wrack which every joynt  
unjoynts, doth stretch and strain (Ibid., 36)  
Justice (saith mercy) if thou Storm so fast  
Man is but dust that flies before thy breast (Ibid., 36)  
Hath all on Nothing set, lets nothing fall (Ibid., 31)  
He makes as nothing but a pack of Sins;  
He maketh Grace no grace but Crueltie (Ibid., 60)  
man at a muze, and in a maze doth stand,  
while Feare, the Generall of all the Band,  
Makes inroads on him; then he Searches why,  
And quickly finds (Ibid., 34)

The -s forms in Taylor's poetry do not appear to predominate as heavily as in the poetry of Bradstreet and Danforth. However, all but eight of the sixty -th forms in Taylor are doth, hath, or saith. It is evident that aside from these three verbs Taylor prefers the -s forms.

I am listing here part of my citations from Bradstreet for the -s and -th forms in the third person singular:

-s forms

Blesses himself, to think vpon his dangers past, and travailes done  
(Bradstreet, 1678, 42)  
All cares and fears, he bids farwell and meanes in safty now to  
dwell. (Ibid., 43)  
The Gardner now superfluous branches lops,  
And poles erects for his young clambring hops. (Ibid., 169)  
The grass grows long, the hungry beast to nourish (Ibid., 170)  
The clocking her chirping chickens leads  
With wings & beak defends them from the gleads. (Ibid., 171)  
The Sun now enters Loving Gemini  
And heats us with the glances of his eye,  
Our thicker garments makes us lay aside (Ibid., 171)  
It makes a man more aged in conceit (Ibid., 373)  
But Man grows old, lies down, remains where once he's laid (Ibid.,  
376)  
Here sits our Grandame in retired place (Ibid., 374)  
The weeping Imp oft looks her in the face  
Bewails his unknown hap, and fate forlorn;  
His mother sighs to think of Paradise, (Ibid., 374)  
Sometimes in Eden fair he seems to be,  
Sees glorious Adam, there made Lord of all,  
Fancies the Apple, dangle on the Tree, (Ibid., 373)  
There Abel keeps his sheep, no ill he thinks,  
His brother comes, then acts his fratricide (Ibid., 374)  
But suddenly a storm spoiles all the sport,  
And makes him long for a more quiet port, (Ibid., 380)

-th forms

Art thou so full of glory, that no Eye  
Hath strength, thy shining Rayes once to behold? (Ibid., 372)  
or all the riches that the East doth hold (Ibid., 394)  
For glory doth from God proceed (Ibid., 385)  
A Chrystal River ther doth run,  
which doth proceed from the Lambs Throne (Ibid., 384)  
Nor such like trash which Earth doth hold (Ibid., 384)  
Mine Eye doth pierce the heavens, and see (Ibid., 384)  
Earth hath enough of what you will (Ibid., 382)  
Industry hath its recompence (Ibid., 382)  
Doth contemplation feed thee so  
Regardlessly to let Earth goe? (Ibid., 382)  
'Its purchased, and paid for too  
By him who hath enough to doe. (Ibid., 42)  
for waters cold he doth not long (Ibid., 43)  
Each Season hath his frutt, so hath each clime:  
Each man his own peculiar excellence,  
But none in all that hath preheminance. (Ibid., 171)

The primrose pale and azure violet  
Among the Virduous grass hath nature set (Ibid., 170)  
And all that seem'd as dead afresh doth live (Ibid., 169)  
Thy heart from death and dulness doth revive (Ibid., 371)  
The morn doth usher thee, with smites & blushes (Ibid., 371)  
If so, all these as nought, Eternity doth scorn (Ibid., 371)  
Who to the tenth of theirs doth now arrive? (Ibid., 375)  
So he that sailleth in this world of pleasure (Ibid., 380)

Bradstreet sometimes uses -s and -th in the same sentence. I

have listed some instances of this:

The Seeds man too, doth lavish out his grain  
In hope the more he casts, the more to gain (Ibid., 169)  
Hath thousand thoughts to and his brothers dayes,  
Upon whose blood his future good he hopes to raise (Ibid., 344)  
The Mariner that on smooth waves doth glide,  
Sings merrily, and steers his barque with ease, (Ibid., 380)  
The Virgin Earth of blood her first draught drinks  
But since that time she often hath been cloy'd; (Ibid., 374)  
The sun in Taurus keeps his residence,  
And with his warmer beams glanceth from thence (Ibid., 374)  
Tenth of the first, Sol in Aries enters  
And bids defiance to all tedious winters,  
Crosseth the Line and equals night and day (Ibid., 169)

To judge from this sampling of her poetry it is clear that Bradstreet shows a distinct preference for the -s form since the -s forms outnumber the -th forms by more than two to one. If we except the stereotyped forms doth and hath, the proportion is overwhelmingly in favor of the -s forms since we find only three instances of -th aside from those two verbs.

It is perhaps of interest to point out that neither has nor does was noted in any of the poetry considered. Danforth uses sayes once. No other instances were found.

# In Solemn Style

The third person singular ending in what might be called Solemn Style will now be considered. The following table will show the frequency of the two third person singular terminations -s and -th in relation to the number of pages covered. The table is mainly chronological except that I have put Roger William's two works, The Bloudy Tenent and Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health together even though they are eight years apart.

Author	Work	Date	Pages	<u>-s</u> forms	<u>-th</u> forms
Cotton	The Keyes to the Kingdom of Heaven	1644	36	5	129
Williams 1	The Bloudy Tenent	1644	75	57	143
Williams 2	Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health	1652	25	83	49
Ward	The Simple Cobler	1647	25	56	44
Eliot	The Glorious Progress of the Gospel	1649	10	4	35
Norton	The Orthodox Evangelist	1654	15	29	84
C. Mather 1	Diary	1680	25	20	12
Willard	The Fountain Opened	1700	12	41	19
I. Mather 3	A Disquisition Concerning Ecclesiastical Councils	1716	5	17	1

Since both the -s forms and the -th forms are quite numerous I shall list only part of the citations.

-s forms

he gives (Cotton, 1644, 20)  
 the church discerns (Ibid., 52)  
 which belongs (Ibid., 27)  
 it becomes (Ibid., 28)  
 which makes them loath (Eliot, 1649, 11)  
 the Soule goes (Ibid., 12)  
 it comes (Ibid., 12)  
 my heart thinks, (Ibid., 12)  
 what intends my Lord to do (C. Mather, 1681, 9-10)  
 my ... Soul desires to love thee (Ibid., 1681, 13)  
 my Soul melts (Ibid., 1681, 12)  
 My heart testifies (Ibid., 1681, 12)  
 It belongs to my Lord (Ibid., 1681, 10)  
 Hee has done ... (Ibid., 1581, 8)  
 [Hee] has still more to do (Ibid., 1681, 2)  
 a Jesus who delivers (Ibid., 1581, 13)  
 [The] Lord knowes (Ibid., 1680-81, 5)  
 Hee professes (Ibid., 1681, 13)  
 It deserves (I. Mather 2, 1716, 5)  
 Power belongs (Ibid., 4)  
 which covenant ... gives (Ibid., 5)  
 our ... Platform dislikes (Ibid., 6)  
 Mr Hooker thinks (Ibid., 6)  
 Mr John Beverley complains (Ibid., 6)  
 Mr Paul Baine affirms (Ibid., 6)  
 a late author says (Ibid., 6)  
 whose life has been written (Ibid., 5)  
 that Term has been used (Ibid., 6)  
 This has been esteemed (Ibid., 14)  
 he has been supposed to be (Ibid., 5)  
 a learned professor has informed us (Ibid., 5)  
 Mr Georg Gillespy has ... confuted (Ibid., 4)  
 Dr Ames has honoured (Ibid., 4)  
 It has been (Ibid., 4)  
 the Name ... has been imposed (Ibid., 4)  
 he that repents (Norton, 1654, 20)  
 the sun sends forth (Ibid., 23)  
 He appoints the rule (Ibid., 23)  
 Abuse takes not away their use (Ibid., 7)  
 the light ... consumes (Ibid., 7)  
 The Scripture mentions (Ibid., 4)  
 Providence consists (Ibid., 22)

this exceeds both the former (Ibid., 22)  
 the soul propends (Ibid., 24)  
 it stops not (Ibid., 24)  
 the light breakes forth (Ward, 1647, 2)  
 the Roofe ... stands open (Ibid., 3)  
 the first Article provides (Ibid., 4)  
 She that weares it (Ibid., 25)  
 he that confutes (Ibid., 7)  
 he that holds (Ibid., 7)  
 every lyes that lyes (Ibid., 6)  
 the Sun begins to turne (Ibid., 1)  
 which binds every conscience (Ibid., 4)  
 the Devill presents him (Ibid., 18)  
 the Lord Jesus seemes to make (Williams 1, 1644, 107)  
 the Lord Jesus ... gives (Ibid., 106)  
 the ... work of the church concernes (Ibid., 106)  
 the Parable holds forth (Ibid., 102)  
 which Paul speakes of (Ibid., 99)  
 He that kills (Ibid., 59)  
 no man attaines (Ibid., 13)  
 the church believes (Ibid., 12)  
 it comes (Ibid., 13)  
 who has put (Ibid., 52)  
 the Lord Jesus tells us (Williams 2, 1652, 21)  
 a ... child desires (Ibid., 12)  
 Job cries out (Ibid., 12)  
 he finds ... burnt walls (Ibid., 24)  
 the Lord Jesus speaks (Ibid., 10)  
 Ahab humbles himself (Ibid., 11)  
 a Dog respects his Master (Ibid., 24)  
 he sees (Ibid., 8)  
 he knows the Lord (Ibid., 5)  
 one that turns aside (Ibid., 7)  
 This Doctrine affords (Willard, 1700, 11)  
 God ... tells us (Ibid., 2)  
 he goes about (Ibid., 9)  
 when that time comes (Ibid., 8)  
 The Psalmist resolves (Ibid., 11)  
 Christ speaks (Ibid., 7)  
 God makes mention of doing it (Ibid., 6)  
 the least error stands (Ibid., 3)  
 the word, Sin, signifies (Ibid., 3)

-th forms

Amos doth not alledge (Cotton, 1644, 50)  
 The place ... doth not so speak (Ibid., 49)  
 revenge ... doth not follow (Ibid., 41)

what ... doth not ... satisfie (Ibid., 26)  
 this he doth (Ibid., 35)  
 one church hath liberty (Ibid., 46)  
 one church hath liberty (Ibid., 45)  
 Christ hath given (Ibid., 33)  
 Satan hath (Ibid., 27)  
 it hath proved (Ibid., 23)  
 saith he (Ibid., 31)  
 so saith the Apostle (Ibid., 36)  
 saith Christ (Ibid., 19)  
 the Text saith (Ibid., 21)  
 saith Paul (Ibid., 49)  
 he maketh (Ibid., 29)  
 as he believeth (Ibid., 29)  
 our Saviour speaketh (Ibid., 22)  
 he explaineth (Ibid., 22)  
 Christ blesseth (Ibid., 23)  
 he rectifieth (Ibid., 24)  
 the Lord Jesus communicateth (Ibid., 24)  
 It appeareth also (Ibid., 50)  
 Paul reproveth (Ibid., 39)  
 Christ investeth (Ibid., 20)  
 why doth God make (Elliot, 1649, 13)  
 the Lord ... who doth speak (Ibid., 6)  
 he doth take pains (Ibid., 8)  
 Doth the Devill dwell (Ibid., 12)  
 him that so doth (Ibid., 12)  
 our Cutshamoquin hath some subjects (Ibid., 8)  
 She was the first that hath dyed (Ibid., 6)  
 God saith (Ibid., 11)  
 Mr Elliot teacheth (Ibid., 13)  
 the work goeth (Ibid., 12)  
 my husband prayeth (Ibid., 6)  
 my heart thinketh (Ibid., 6)  
 God delighteth in small beginnings (Ibid., 8)  
 which belongeth (Ibid., 11)  
 the Lord expecteth (Ibid., 18)  
 he seeth (Ibid., 12)  
 it appeareth (Ibid., 10)  
 Capt Willard who tradeth (Ibid., 10)  
 why doth he call (C. Mather I, 1681, 10)  
 why doth he knock (Ibid., 1681, 10)  
 the Lord hath (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
 thy Father hath putt me (Ibid., 1680, 1)  
 such an Experience as hath caused (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
 what hath been (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
 what hath been (Ibid., 1680-81, 4)  
 The Lord hath caused (Ibid., 1680-81, 6)  
 thy Grace hath made (Ibid., 1681, 11)

the God of heaven hath been calling (Ibid., 1681, 12)  
 the spirit of this world hath brought (Ibid., 1696-97, 214)  
 The Jesuit Saunders raveth (I. Mather 3, 1716, 21)  
 whatsoever he doth (Norton, 1654, 23)  
 he doth as men do (Ibid., 20)  
 A new ... attribute doth not ... suppose (Ibid., 21)  
 such a relation doth really belong (Ibid., 21)  
 he doth not give (Ibid., 5)  
 which manner ... doth ... principle and fortifie (Ibid., 14)  
 it hath light (Ibid., 23)  
 he hath attributes (Ibid., 13)  
 God hath all power (Ibid., 12)  
 he hath willed (Ibid., 24)  
 The Lord ... hath sanctified (Ibid., 7)  
 it hath pleased God to give (Ibid., 11-12)  
saith he (Ibid., 11)  
 he saith (Ibid., 15)  
 jurisdiction descendeth (Ibid., 23)  
 the shadow dependeth (Ibid., 22)  
 God willeth (Ibid., 22)  
 composition implieth (Ibid., 15)  
 he asketh two (Ibid., 11)  
 Paul supposeth (Ibid., 4)  
 the husbandman soweth (Ibid., 5)  
 Christ aludeth (Ibid., 12)  
 God sustaineth and upholdeth (Ibid., 12)  
 The same heat produceth (Ibid., 14)  
 he doth best of all (Ward, 1647, 18)  
 He that doth it (Ibid., 5)  
 the least Truth ... doth ... uphold (Ibid., 21)  
 The spirit ... doth not tie up (Ibid., 20)  
 God doth nowhere tolerate (Ibid., 3)  
 hee doth not ... quench (Ibid., 14)  
 God hath his remnant (Ibid., 23)  
 the most High hath them in derision (Ibid., 13)  
 though it hath not one crust (Ibid., 21)  
 he hath taken (Ibid., 21)  
 my heart hath ... detested (Ibid., 5)  
 God ... hath blasted (Ibid., 4)  
 the scripture saith (Ibid., 9)  
saith the apostle (Ibid., 17)  
 when that cause ceaseth (Ibid., 24)  
 whose damnation sleepeth not (Ibid., 20)  
 he that sitteth (Ibid., 13)  
 he doth not say (Williams 1, 1644, 38)  
 he doth not say (Ibid., 37)  
 The church ... doth ... terrifie (Ibid., 35)  
 the church doth not persecute (Ibid., 34)  
 whosoever doth undertake (Ibid., 36)  
 no man hath power to make (Ibid., 35)

the ... Monarch hath the Lyon (Ibid., 5)  
the issue hath been (Ibid., 8)  
it hath been convinced (Ibid., 49)  
which hath reference (Ibid., 42)  
the Apostle saith (Ibid., 42)  
he saith (Ibid., 37)  
Luther saith (Ibid., 35)  
his Majesty saith (Ibid., 32)  
the Lord Jesus pronounceth (Ibid., 125)  
the Householder answereth (Ibid., 113)  
the foundation remaineth secure (Ibid., 111)  
such a person suffereth (Ibid., 63)  
Christ commandeth (Ibid., 97)  
Christ calleth (Ibid., 97)  
this Parable urgeth (Ibid., 101)  
God chooseth (Ibid., 104)  
the Church consisteth (Ibid., 105)  
he acknowledgeth (Ibid., 105)  
he that doth evil (Williams 2, 1652, 6)  
as a Father doth in giving (Ibid., 11)  
the wonder which doth possesse a child (Ibid., 17)  
this Inner-man hath his tempers (Ibid., 2)  
an Hypocrite hath many Lords (Ibid., 6)  
he hath deserved it (Ibid., 11)  
It hath pleased the most high (Ibid., 2)  
he hath sent forth (Ibid., 5)  
my father saith (Ibid., 9)  
not every one saith (Ibid., 6)  
saith she (Ibid., 23)  
saith he (Ibid., 19)  
God saith (Ibid., 25)  
the wonder causeth (Ibid., 17)  
it pleaseth God (Ibid., 21)  
my soul loveth (Ibid., 14)  
he riseth (Ibid., 20)  
the Spirit ... breatheth forth (Ibid., 20)  
the Lord asketh (Ibid., 24)  
Jacob professeth (Ibid., 23)  
He ... keepeth himself (Ibid., 9)  
he acknowledge (Ibid., 10)  
as Paul distinguisheth (Ibid., 4)  
the foregoing chapter hath a special respect (Willard, 1700, 4)  
this hath respect to (Ibid., 2)  
He hath seen meet (Ibid., 2)  
God hath engaged in it (Ibid., 11)  
God hath said (Ibid., 11)  
he saith (Ibid., 3)  
he saith (Ibid., 6)  
the word fountain cometh (Ibid., 3)  
the Church acknowledge (Ibid., 12)  
this Fountain hath been and continueth opened (Ibid., 10)  
a noun from this root signifieth (Ibid., 3)

The -s form and -th form were noted sometimes in the same sentence.

God ... communicateth himself without division, effusion or multiplication of himself; all that he communicates not withstanding, he remaineth infinite and the same. (Norton, 1654, 24)  
Goodnesse so descends and cometh from God unto the creature that it stops not there, but ascends and returns (Ibid., 24)  
he holdeth or practiseth what he believes to be a Truth (Williams 1644, 3)

Williams shows a marked favor for the -th forms in Bloudy Tenent but in Experiments, addressed to his wife and presumably more informal, he shows a preference for the -s forms. Cotton Mather's Diary, which, although a diary, I place here among the more solemn pieces because it is written in a highly serious vein, shows a preference for the -s forms. The diary form may be the cause of this. Ward tends toward the simple style even though dealing with a theological matter. This may account for his slight preference for the -s forms. It may be of interest to point out that both Mather and Willard who show a preference for the -s forms appear from twenty-five to sixty years later than the other items. Jespersen says, "in the first half of the seventeenth century -s must have been the ending, universally used in ordinary conversation."<sup>1</sup> Jespersen's idea on this would seem to be compatible with what we have noted here, i.e. that as the style becomes less formal the -s ending appears to predominate.

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1. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, VI, 19.

# In History and Narrative

I shall now consider the third person singular ending in the material covered in this study which comes under the classification of history and narrative. The following table will show the frequency of the -s and -th endings of the third person singular. The table is chronological as far as possible. When two or more works have the same date they are listed alphabetically under the name of the author.

Author	Work	Date	Pages	<u>-s</u> forms	<u>-th</u> forms
Bradford	Of Plimoth Plantation	1630	200	29	57
Higginson	New-Englands Plantation	1630	31	16	31
White	Planters Plea	1630	20	36	27
Morton	The New English Canaan	1637	41	33	52
Johnson	Wonder-working Providence	1654	15	6	7
Josselyn	New-Englands Rarities Discovered	1672	25	38	23
Hubbard	A General History of New England	1680	20	28	27
I. Mather 1	Remarkable Providences	1680	5	1	3
Wise	Narrative	1690	13	40	8
I. Mather 2	Brief Account	1691	10	3	0
Sewall 2	Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica	1697	2	3	1
C. Mather 2	Decennium Luctuosum	1699	20	28	12

Since the number of instances of the -s and -th forms is rather large I have listed only part of my citations.

-s forms

he taks in (Bradford, 1630, 167)  
 he goes and sues to them (Ibid., 167)  
 ye scripture speaks (Ibid., 175)  
 a ship comes into ye harbor (Ibid., 153)  
 the man or woman yt begines (Ibid., 9)  
 Peter Martire writs (Ibid., 164)  
 he comends (Ibid., 117)  
 ye tender love ... appears (Ibid., 77)  
 the Lord presents (Ibid., 150)  
 he discovers, (Ibid., 158)  
 it retains (Ibid., 94)  
 it comes to passe (Higginson, 1630, 42)  
 the land growes weary (Ibid., 41)  
 it partakes (Ibid., 6)  
 any Curious Criticke ye lookes (Ibid., 57)  
 hee that fayles (Ibid., 42)  
 one ... thing that commands (Ibid., 13)  
 the world yeelds (Ibid., 16)  
 hee makes no bargain (Ibid., 47)  
 it requires (Ibid., 48)  
 as appeares (Ibid., 47)  
 the lightning shines (White, 1630, 12)  
 Christ Jesus takes in the Nations (Ibid., 6)  
 he requires (Ibid., 7)  
 God directs (Ibid., 7)  
 our Saviours Prophecie points out (Ibid., 12)  
 it proceedes (Ibid., 12)  
 which moves them (Ibid., 13)  
 whose will concurres (Ibid., 15)  
 The Psalmist tells us (Ibid., 5)  
 the History ... makes manifest (Ibid., 11)  
 as the wind sitts (Morton, 1637, 135)  
 which is as a dog does (Ibid., 147)  
 it has been observed (Ibid., 116)  
 he has bin seene (Ibid., 151)  
 before the same has bin ended (Ibid., 151)  
 a ... Clowde has darkened (Ibid., 151)  
 that has amazed (Ibid., 151)  
 it has not been reconciled (Ibid., 153)  
 It has been a common received opinion (Ibid., 138)  
 The wise man sayes (Ibid., 116)  
 It seemes (Ibid., 125)  
 which makes his course (Ibid., 121)



Mr. Wood declares (Ibid., 155)  
it keepes (Ibid., 154)  
he attaines (Ibid., 142)  
this meanes (Ibid., 134-35)  
either champion watches (Ibid., 153)  
it begins (Johnson, 1654, 49)  
that which makes (Ibid., 49)  
grace supplants (Ibid., 44)  
the Author purposes (Ibid., 42)  
Christ calls for (Ibid., 38)  
his herald proclaimes (Ibid., 50)  
it has (Josselyn, 1672, 190)  
the snow lies (Ibid., 157)  
the first plant that springs up (Ibid., 173)  
no man knows (Ibid., 170)  
a vapour that comes (Ibid., 168)  
It grows (Ibid., 174)  
that helps the toothach (Ibid., 164)  
it hangs (Ibid., 142)  
one sort ... bears (Ibid., 192)  
it breaks (Ibid., 192)  
she ... preys (Ibid., 143)  
a creature that hunts (Ibid., 156)  
a creature that brings (Ibid., 165)  
this whale feeds upon (Ibid., 166)  
the first that withers (Ibid., 173)  
after it ... comes (Hubbard, 1680, 22)  
the earth begins to smile (Ibid., 21)  
a countrey ... that lyes (Ibid., 20)  
it takes it leave (Ibid., 20)  
it runnes (Ibid., 17)  
that gives ... encouragement (Ibid., 16)  
the river finds (Ibid., 16)  
the purity ... makes amends (Ibid., 21)  
itt seems (Ibid., 15)  
It appears (Ibid., 10)  
it kills (Ibid., 23)  
Capt. Weymouth reports (Ibid., 12)  
Luther speaks (I. Mather, 1680, 10)  
All New England has cause to be sensible (I. Mather, 1691, 277)  
as has been mentioned (Ibid., 285)  
as to what concernes Hamphire (Ibid., 285)  
he sayes (Wise, 1690, 528)  
he says (Ibid., 537)  
our March holds (Ibid., 534)  
the Army begins (Ibid., 535)  
he bidd the Boates take of the men (Ibid., 535)  
he takes (Ibid., 535)  
[he] goes (Ibid., 535)

the Action falls (Ibid., 537)  
My Second Reasons grows (Ibid., 527)  
he gives (Ibid., 532)  
wch runs (Ibid., 529)  
Lieut Savage comes back (Ibid., 528)  
the whole Army gets off (Ibid., 535)  
this brings (Ibid., 537)  
the General orders us to goe (Ibid., 533)  
he tells (Ibid., 528)

-th forms

he that doth worst (Bradford, 1630, 194)  
as usually he doth (Ibid., 106)  
ye Govr ... doth receive (Ibid., 177)  
this gentle-man doth acknowledge (Ibid., 154)  
yt countrey doth subsiste (Ibid., 16)  
it doth bear (Ibid., 195)  
he hath these passages (Ibid., 117)  
he hath these lines (Ibid., 153)  
which course hath continued (Ibid., 187)  
[it] hath been declared (Ibid., 96)  
Satan hath seemed to hold (Ibid., 50)  
ye psalmist saith (Ibid., 139)  
saith he (Ibid., 164)  
O! saith he (Ibid., 113)  
saith he (Ibid., 13)  
saith our saviour (Ibid., 10)  
saith he (Ibid., 9)  
he that siteth ... and judgeth and fighteth (Ibid., 11)  
he thus writeth (Ibid., 193)  
That croucheth & boweth (Ibid., 205)  
experience teacheth (Ibid., 196)  
as wistneseth Socrates (Ibid., 4)  
which are as foloweth (Ibid., 56)  
hee that doth good (Higginson, 1630, 44)  
Experience doth manifest (Ibid., 13)  
the Countrey doth abound (Ibid., 17)  
the Countrey doth abound (Ibid., 15)  
the life ... doth depend (Ibid., 5)  
our Gouvernour hath (Ibid., 9)  
New England hath (Ibid., 10)  
God hath giuen (Ibid., 146)  
shee hath had (Ibid., 67)  
God hath consumed (Ibid., 47)  
Come there springeth (Ibid., 8)  
it groweth (Ibid., 7)  
It becommeth not a Preacher of Truth (Ibid., 6)

This Countrey aboundeth (Ibid., 9)  
God blesseth (Ibid., 8)  
This savage People ruleth (Ibid., 46)  
that he doth ought in vaine (White, 1630, 2)  
why doth our Saviour ... choose (Ibid., 12)  
he hath discharged (Ibid., 7)  
God hath determined (Ibid., 16)  
God hath made (Ibid., 7)  
this end ... hath been ... reserved (Ibid., 10)  
it hath ... held (Ibid., 12)  
it hath extended (Ibid., 12)  
our late Colony hath chosen (Ibid., 14)  
[it] quickneth invention (Ibid., 5)  
the husbanding ... enforceth (Ibid., 4-5)  
necessity enforceth (Ibid., 19)  
the deceitfulnesse ... occasioneth (Ibid., 19)  
the same urgeth (Ibid., 3)  
hee avengeth (Ibid., 7)  
he doth anything (Morton, 1637, 123)  
he ... doth live (Ibid., 109)  
that doth point out (Ibid., 119)  
and doth participate (Ibid., 121)  
highe land ... doth not yeeld (Ibid., 140)  
that which hath too much heate (Ibid., 116)  
it hath a very large bay (Ibid., 122)  
the Zeale ... hath encouraged (Ibid., 109)  
what hath been required (Ibid., 109)  
time hath enabled me (Ibid., 110)  
as Solomon saith (Ibid., 119)  
the Coast eyeth (Ibid., 121)  
which groweth (Ibid., 135)  
God knoweth (Ibid., 127)  
a ... peece ... that goeth (Ibid., 142)  
Every male ... wereth (Ibid., 142)  
when he sitteth (Ibid., 147)  
him that sleepeth (Ibid., 137)  
Pasco signifieth (Ibid., 124)  
as history maketh mention (Ibid., 126)  
it burneth (Ibid., 135)  
God hath appointed (Johnson, 1654, 50)  
it hath burnt up (Ibid., 49)  
which hath fired (Ibid., 49)  
Hee hath ... caused (Ibid., 49)  
thy Christ hath ... promoted (Ibid., 45)  
Christ hath cal'd thee (Ibid., 44)  
as followeth (Ibid., 40)  
by what the country hath not (Josselyn, 1672, 147)  
what it hath (Ibid., 147)  
it hath no nightingals (Ibid., 147)

the knowledge ... hath slept (Ibid., 191)  
 the water hath stood (Ibid., 172)  
 the tuft ~~that~~ groweth (Ibid., 154)  
 the raccoon liveth (Ibid., 151)  
 upon the top standeth (Ibid., 190)  
 This Beareth (Ibid., 192)  
 as the spring approacheth (Ibid., 156)  
 It flowereth (Ibid., 172)  
 that doth ... clothe the earth (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
 Mr Rosier ... doth mention (Ibid., 14)  
 he hath no harvest (Ibid., 8)  
 it hath taken (Ibid., 20)  
 it hath run (Ibid., 17)  
 that hath bin dismantled (Ibid., 21)  
 providence hath brought (Ibid., 22)  
 God hath not beene (Ibid., 22)  
 saith Capt. Smith (Ibid., 12)  
 as saith Capt. Smith (Ibid., 12)  
 as saith Capt. Smith (Ibid., 13)  
 the sea runneth in (Ibid., 12)  
 on the north lyeth that called Nova Scotia (Ibid., 15)  
 the frost here useth to visit (Ibid., 20)  
 the land trendeth away (Ibid., 15)  
 one hath not Fifty fears (C. Mather 2, 179)  
 which hath broke them up (Ibid., 185)  
 he hath not pull'd (Ibid., 182)  
 New-England hath had (Ibid., 179)  
 The ... Article hath related (Ibid., 197)  
 my reader hath not been (Ibid., 185)  
 there hath been (Ibid., 185)  
 any one hath made (Ibid., 182)  
 he hath done (Ibid., 182)  
 it hath been (Ibid., 182)  
 he hath not left (Ibid., 181)  
 He hath ... thought (Ibid., 180)  
 This MSS. doth also mention (I. Mather 1, 1680, 10-11)  
 Thus doth the Devil use to serve his Clients (Ibid., 21)  
 which is as followeth (Ibid., 11)  
 as soon as a General doth come to a place (Wise, 1690, 526)  
 this hath been (Ibid., 537)  
 anything ... hath been said (Ibid., 527)  
 [It] hath not been (Ibid., 526)  
 the Lieut Generall saith (Ibid., 534)  
 Saith he (Ibid., 534)  
 Saith he (Ibid., 530)  
 he saith (Ibid., 533)

As previously noted some writers may use -s and -th in the same sentence. I have the following instances.

who knowes but yt God hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he meanes to save (Higginson, 1630, 41)  
New England hath water enough ... the greatest Sea ... runs all along the Coast thereof (Ibid., 11)  
it seeldome falls out that a shipp perisheth (Ibid., 70)  
a thunder clap hath been heard that has amazed the natives (Morton, 1637, 151)  
that Country doth beginne and endes (Ibid., 121)  
it advanceth and deserves (White, 1630, 10)  
every calling he hath use of exhausting so much for the commodities it puts off unto him (Ibid., 19)

Of the writers considered under history and narrative only Bradford, Higginson, and Morton show a preference for the -th form. It should be pointed out that all three of these writers are in the earlier part of our period. However, it should also be noted that White, writing in 1630, shows a slight preference for the -s form. The majority of the -th forms are found in the third singular of the verbs to do, to have, and to say. Thirty-one of the fifty-seven instances of -th noted in Bradford were in these three verbs. In Higginson seventeen of the thirty-one instances of -th were in these three verbs. In Morton thirty of the fifty-two instances of -th were doth, hath, or saith. The form hath is the most common of all. Eighteen of the -th forms in Bradford are hath. Of the thirty-one -th forms noted in Higginson twelve are hath. The same preponderance of that is noted in Morton where twenty-four of the fifty-two -th forms are hath. The traditional hath appears to be a persistent form. In the sampling from Cotton Mather's Decennium Luctuosum we find hath twelve times. There are no other -th forms in this sampling. It is perhaps worth noting that in



these same pages Mather uses has seven times. Apparently has was in use, however, before the middle of the seventeenth century. While I have no instances of has in Bradford, Higginson or White, I have seven instances of it in Morton, writing just a few years later.

### In Legal Style

I shall consider next the third person singular ending in the material covered which might be considered legal language or style. While Thomas Lechford is the only lawyer that I have considered, the town records are also legal in tone. The following table will show the frequency of the -s and -th forms in this material. The table is chronological as far as possible. Where the work covers samplings over a period of years I have entered it under the earliest date.

Work	Date	Pages	<u>-s</u> forms	<u>-th</u> forms
Watertown Records	1634-1679	15	16	13
Salem Records	1636-1656	44	6	37
Manuscript Note Book- Lechford	1638-1641	20	1	14
Portsmouth Records	1646-1682	27	2	39

Since the instances noted were not very numerous I have listed all my citations.

### -s forms

Land yt lies (Watertown Records II, 1679, 146)  
whereas ther lies several hundreths acres (Ibid., 1662, 74)  
until it coms (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
Ye lane yt runs (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
ye flock yt belongs (Ibid., 1679, 146)

to him whom the fence belongs (Ibid., 1640, 6)  
 what any person paise (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
 until it meets (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
 ye law requirs (Ibid., 1679, 144)  
 the law directs (Ibid., 1679, 144)  
 as he needs it (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
 ye highway yt leads (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
 ye highway yt leads (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
 yt high way yt leads (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
 that highway that leades (Ibid., 1639, 5)  
 that highway wch leades (Ibid., 1639, 5)  
 the next ... yt goes (Salem Records, 1647, 150)  
 the ... water runs out (Ibid., 1635, 14)  
 he desires (Ibid., 1635, 12)  
 hee owes (Ibid., 1646, 144)  
 Job Swinnerton desires (Ibid., 1646, 143)  
 he leaves (Ibid., 1635, 15)  
 that belongs to it (Lechford, 1638-41, 10)  
 Phillip Shearman desiers (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 38)  
 after the Sarjant warns (Ibid., 1650, 44)

-th forms

& doth not fill it vp (Watertown Records I, 1641, 7)  
 as dooth appeare (Ibid., 1663, 77)  
 excepted hee doth remaine debtor (Ibid., 1663, 76)  
 as it doth [stand] (Ibid., 1680, 147)  
 whosoever hath a Lott (Ibid., 1635, 1)  
 every Person that hath a Lott (Ibid., 1640, 6)  
 he hath Received (Ibid., 1653, 77)  
 the line which runneth (Ibid., 1638, 4)  
 he refuseth to come (Ibid., 1641, 7)  
 as Followeth (Ibid., 1679, 144)  
 which order is as Followeth (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
 for euery person he doeth ferry over (Salem Records, 1636, 31)  
 the Towne doeth order (Ibid., 1646, 144)  
 the towne doeth promise (Ibid., 1647, 150)  
 the said Tho: wheeler doeth binde himselfe (Ibid., 1646, 145)  
 the said Jno Stones doth promis (Ibid., 1636, 29)  
 hee hath (Ibid., 1647, 148)  
 mr Batter hath power to call (Ibid., 1656, 194)  
 Robt Codman hath (Ibid., 1647, 150)  
 [she] hath four bushels of corn granted her (Ibid., 1636, 32)  
 some othr hath (Ibid., 1636, 35)  
 [he] hath a ... lott graunted to him (Ibid., 1635, 11)  
 he hath a ticket (Ibid., 1636-7, 40)  
 mr Endicott hath (Ibid., 1636, 35)



hee hath sould (Ibid., 1647, 148)  
he hath paid (Ibid., 1636-7, 40)  
[she] hath sould (Ibid., 1647, 147)  
hee hath giuen (Ibid., 1646, 144)  
[she] hath so purchased (Ibid., 1636, 29)  
the Towne hath appointed (Ibid., 1636, 28)  
he hath built (Ibid., 1636, 25)  
mr Corwine hath promised (Ibid., 1647, 149)  
mr Corwine hath promised (Ibid., 1647, 150)  
Gerwas Garford hath built (Ibid., 1636, 34)  
who ever hath or shall cutt (Ibid., 1635, 14)  
And hath there allowed (Ibid., 1635, 15)  
he hath giuen (Ibid., 1636, 16)  
transporting ... hath bared our woods (Ibid., 1636, 31)  
that parte ... that lyeth (Ibid., 1647, 148)  
that ground that lyeth (Ibid., 1646, 143)  
said Marshe conteynth halfe (Ibid., 1635, 13)  
the Towne promiseth (Ibid., 1647, 148)  
the said Jo. Pickering refuseth (Ibid., 1646, 144)  
who keepeth the records (Ibid., 1636, 36)  
mr Stilman promiseth (Ibid., 1636, 30)  
wher he dwellleth (Ibid., 1646, 143)  
she purchaseth (Ibid., 1636, 29)  
the said John Hood ... doth covenant (Lechford, 1638-1641, 12)  
[he] doth grant (Ibid., 12)  
it doth and may appeare (Ibid., 5)  
it Doth & may appeare (Ibid., 14)  
John Hood doth hereby constitute (Ibid., 13)  
as the said Anne hath (Ibid., 13)  
[he] ... hath granted (Ibid., 12)  
the Lord hath given (Ibid., 17)  
my wife hath ... joyned (Ibid., 8)  
after the said John hath used (Ibid., 7)  
my wife hath joyned (Ibid., 9)  
John Hood ... hath granted (Ibid., 14)  
my sister dwellleth (Ibid., 9)  
This Indenture ... Witnesseth (Ibid., 11)  
and [he] doth not take (Portsmouth Records, 1682, 218)  
which high-way doth lead (Ibid., 1669, 150)  
it doth apeere (Ibid., 1671, 158)  
he that hath (Ibid., 1649, 42)  
the owner hath ... warning (Ibid., 1682, 218)  
any freeman hath libertie to (Ibid., 1682, 218)  
Abel Tripp hath liberty to finnish (Ibid., 1682, 217)  
William Earl hath liberty to build (Ibid., 1682, 217)  
Joseph Anthony hath liberty to build (Ibid., 1682, 218)  
he hath his damage (Ibid., 1671, 160)  
henery Eues hath an acr ... granted to him (Ibid., 1650, 40)  
Gregorie Coale hath 2 acrs ... granted (Ibid., 1650, 45)

there hath bin (Ibid., 1682, 215)  
 John Bordon hath liberty to finnish (Ibid., 1682, 217)  
 William Rickerston hath petitioned (Ibid., 1682, 217)  
 it hath been represented (Ibid., 1681, 210)  
 he hath forfeited (Ibid., 1671, 140)  
 the said Lott Strainge hath been deprived (Ibid., 1671, 159)  
 the Sayd Newman hath petitioned (Ibid., 1671, 160)  
 [he] hath desired (Ibid., 1671, 159)  
 mr William Almy hath fenced in (Ibid., 1669, 150)  
 he hath declared (Ibid., 1671, 159)  
 Ensigne Lott Strainge hath declared (Ibid., 1671, 159)  
 Nicolas Wyle ... hath placed (Ibid., 1646, 33)  
 mr Porter hath resignede (Ibid., 1647, 36)  
 that land that lyeth (Ibid., 1648, 40)  
 that land that lyeth (Ibid., 1650, 45)  
 his land now runeth (Ibid., 1647, 34)  
 The Towne Conseeenteth (Ibid., 1646, 33)  
 to him that sueth (Ibid., 1646, 34)  
 one half to him that sueth (Ibid., 1646, 34)  
 [it] aproveh thereof (Ibid., 1646, 33)  
 he that Gilleth a wolfe (Ibid., 1646, 33)  
 him that refuseth (Ibid., 1649, 42)  
 the land he now liveth on (Ibid., 1650, 45)  
 he now dwelleth (Ibid., 1650, 4)  
 he now dwelleth (Ibid., 1682, 218)

In legal style the -th forms heavily outnumber the -s forms in all but my sampling of the Watertown Records. Here we find a very slight margin in favor of the -s forms. By contrast in the sampling from the Salem Records the -th forms outnumber the -s forms six to one. In the pages covered in Lechford's Manuscript Notebook only one -s form was noted. As usual, the traditional hath is by far the most common of the -th forms. In the sampling of the Salem Records twenty-two of the thirty-seven -th forms are hath. Likewise in the pages considered in the Portsmouth Records twenty-two of the thirty-nine -th forms are hath. No cases of has were noted in any of the material falling under the legal style.

# In Informal or Familiar Style

I shall now consider the ending of the third person singular in the material examined which employs a more informal or familiar style. The following table will show the frequency of the -s and -th terminations of the third person singular in relation to the number of pages covered. The table is chronological as far as possible. In the case of the Winthrop papers which are letters written over a period of years the work is entered under the earliest date.

Author	Work	Date	Pages	<u>-s</u> forms	<u>-th</u> forms
	Winthrop Papers	1626-1675	28	27	39
Winthrop	Letters	1630-31	20	13	17
Shepard	Autobiography	1634	20	3	4
Sewall 1	Diary	1673-98	50	137	17
Knight	Journal	1704	72	66	1

Since there are a good many instances of both the -s form and the -th forms I have listed only part of the citations.

## -s forms

therefore, saies he (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
he saies (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
the sachem saes (Ibid., 1638, 264)  
your father ... desires to see you (Ibid., 1629, 7)  
he intends the Barbadoes (Ibid., 1629, 7)  
wt concerne my part (Ibid., 1639, 274)  
Here he knowes (Ibid., 1675, 275)  
as he threatens to die (Ibid., 1675, 426)  
[he] claimes (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
me thinks (Ibid., 1641, 149)  
he writes to me (Ibid., 1639, 275)  
the sachem tells (Ibid., 1638, 264)  
he wishes us to consider (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
the saide sachem comes (Ibid., 1638, 263)

Captaine Mason goes (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
ye bond it self runns (Ibid., 1634, 275)  
he relates us aforesaid (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
wch comes (Winthrop, 1630-31, 170)  
he beginnes (Ibid., 164)  
he sees (Ibid., 171)  
he upholds (Ibid., 113)  
he makes (Ibid., 164)  
it grieves me (Ibid., 160)  
Sathan bends his forces (Ibid., 164)  
the Lord takes care of thee (Shepard, 1634, 12)  
this Cork calls for hatchets, tells the master (Ibid., 50)  
the Rose-Frigot arrives (Sewall 1, 1686, 137)  
Mr. Wigglesworth preaches (Ibid., 1686, 136)  
which causes great thoughts (Ibid., 1686, 136)  
Court makes a Decree (Ibid., 1686, 136)  
My son reads to me (Ibid., 1686, 140)  
He turns back (Ibid., 1692, 366)  
He fears the clouds (Ibid., 1689, 267)  
he seems ... to be offended (Ibid., 1689, 266)  
Mr Sanford dyes (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
Mr Smith speakes to me (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
His time expires (Ibid., 1674, 7)  
Cold encreases (Ibid., 1676, 13)  
he thanks me (Ibid., 1698, 481)  
It seems the stroke makes a deep impression (Ibid., 1698, 481)  
my brother [who] has gone too (Ibid., 1674, 6)  
the Government has proclaimed (Ibid., 1674, 269)  
Their son ... has a plantation spoiled (Ibid., 1692, 367)  
She has lost (Ibid., 1698, 481)  
he has it (Knight, 1704, 41)  
after the sack has gone ... about (Ibid., 55)  
[It] has a great many Large towns (Ibid., 66)  
This gentleman ... has ... Gain'd the affection (Ibid., 45)  
nay, sais his worship (Ibid., 36)  
sais my deluded eye (Ibid., 16)  
yes, says he (Ibid., 3)  
poor child sais Gaffer (Ibid., 27)  
it ... sesembles a pillory (Ibid., 36)  
into the dish goes the black hoof (Ibid., 38)  
when the buyer comes (Ibid., 41)  
the man that keeps the gate (Ibid., 57)  
whose very Dung brings (Ibid., 63)  
The Government ... begins (Ibid., 66)  
this bare mare hurts mee (Ibid., 27)  
then she enquires (Ibid., 43)  
the Chap Reply's (Ibid., 41)  
all dark appears (Ibid., 15)

-th forms

if he doth refuse (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
this great increase doth arise (Ibid., 1639, 129)  
the juncture ... doth ingage our hearts (Ibid., 1675, 425)  
his love that hath loved (Ibid., 1627-8, 5)  
he hath not sent (Ibid., 1639, 274)  
[he] hath given (Ibid., 1641, 151)  
The Prince of orange hath married (Ibid., 1641, 151)  
ther hath beene (Ibid., 1639, 129)  
as he saith (Ibid., 1639, 276)  
he saith (Ibid., 1639, 274)  
he sayth (Ibid., 1675, 428)  
Mr woolcot ... that goeth into those parts (Ibid., 1639, 276)  
Hee giueth mee (Ibid., 1637, 247)  
Hee that teacheth his people (Ibid., 1637, 247)  
hee alleageth (Ibid., 1675, 428)  
it pleaseth God (Ibid., 1675, 429)  
it seemeth (Ibid., 1639, 129)  
Mr Cornish acknowledgeth (Ibid., 1639, 275)  
any sonne hath (Winthrop, 1630-31, 179)  
the Lord hath stripped us (Ibid., 174)  
he hath ... magnified (Ibid., 177)  
who hath kept (Ibid., 178)  
the Lords hand hath been heavy (Ibid., 160)  
he hath afflicted us (Ibid., 163)  
Shee hath made ... many a prayer (Shepard, 1634, 11)  
this hath bin (Ibid., 11)  
to him that hath bin (Ibid., 130)  
the Lord hath shown (Ibid., 51)  
he godly man hath ... more afflictions (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
Hath a ... long indisposition (Ibid., 1686, 131)  
a letter saith (Ibid., 1686, 134)  
Saith tis the first time (Ibid., 1692, 364)  
Mrs. Elizabeth Jeffries dieth (Ibid., 1698, 481)  
he ... refuseth (Ibid., 393)  
Mr. Willard exerciseth (Ibid., 1686, 128)  
he adviseth (Ibid., 1689, 268)  
Court adviseth (Ibid., 1694, 393)  
who judgeth (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
[He] confesseth (Ibid., 1694, 393)  
I sat down and did as followeth (Knight, 1704, 21)

I have only one instance in the informal or familiar style where  
the -s and -th forms occur in the same sentence.

Mr. John Usher comes to the door, which surprizeth me (Sewall 1,  
1689, 268)

The Winthrop Papers is a collection of letters and miscellaneous papers written by various people associated with John Winthrop over a period of about fifty years. Letters, of course, may range from more or less formal communications to the more informal personal letters. The Winthrop Papers show no strong preference for either ending nor is there any preference in Winthrop's letters addressed to his wife. Nor does Shepard's Autobiography show any preference, the parts read being mainly historical in the past tense. There is a real preference for the -s form in Sewall's Diary and Knight's Journal both of which are of later date and of a much more informal style.

#### Are as a Singular

I have a few instances of are as an apparent present third person singular. This appears to represent a tendency to level all the forms of the present of the verb to be to are. I have listed here my citations for this construction.

The hollow of these fangs are as black as ink. (Josselyn, 1672, 168)

In this sentence are appears to be an unmistakeable singular.

The whole mystical Body of Christ made up of both Jews and Gentiles are frequently called the Israel of God and the Seed of Abraham (Willard, 1700, 4)

It is possible that the verb are instead of the grammatical is is suggested by the immediately preceding "Jews and Gentiles" which are not the subject.

The owl, Avis devia, which are of three kinds (Josselyn, 1672, 147)  
The river-turtle which are venomous and stink (Ibid., 165)  
The porcupine ... are as big as an ordinary mungrel cur (Ibid., 152)

The "owl", the "river-turtle", the "porcupine" in these citations, all from Josselyn, an educated and sophisticated man, may be considered generic nouns and therefore suggestive of plurality.

The inside of them are neat (Knight, 1704, 52)

"Inside" here could be considered as an identical plural, not originally a noun, on the order of "the good die young." Current English has of course a definitely plural form "insides".

I have two citations with both singular and plural verbs  
(Incidentally both from Josselyn)

The wolf is very numerous and go in companies (Josselyn, 1672, 150)  
which the whale breaking up, some scape his devouring paunch and  
is afterward cast upon shore (Ibid., 166)

#### Third Person plural in -s and -th

A number of instances of the third person plural in -s and -th were noted in the material covered. I shall consider the -s plural first.

#### -s forms

According to Wyld the third person plural in -s "was evidently in good colloquial usage well into the eighteenth century."<sup>1</sup> He explains this third person plural in -s as "analogy with the singular."<sup>2</sup> He goes on to say that, "The -s plurals do not appear until the -s forms of the 3rd Sing. are already in use."<sup>3</sup> According to Wyld the third plural -s

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1. H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 304.

2. Ibid., 304.

3. Ibid., 340.

forms "are never anything like so widespread as the Singular -s forms."<sup>1</sup>

I have listed my citations for the -s form in the third person plural.

This is the month whose fruitful showrs produces (Bradstreet, 1678, 375)  
My hopes and Treasure lyes Above (Ibid., 43)  
No sooner born but grief and care makes fall (Ibid., 170)  
There stands all Nations and Generations (Wigglesworth, 1662, 17)  
Illness and Vapour ... growes upon me (C. Mather 1, 1692, 147-8)  
the truth and life appears (Williams 2, 1652, 13)  
he and all Israel brings (Ibid., 13)  
the soul and spirit paies and mourns (Ibid., 2)  
wherein there hangs a thousand shields (Williams 1, 1644, 100)  
The Lawes extends (Ibid., 36)  
where heat and moisture prevayles (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
on the south ... lyes partly the sea and partly the country (Ibid., 21)  
they make stockinges that comes within their shoes (Morton, 1637, 142)  
when fish comes in (Ibid., 138)  
both horsemen and footmen makes shots at our men (Wise, 1690, 529)  
upon this does arise two questions (Ibid., 535)  
how comes this great Scarsitie and famine (Ibid., 537)  
an Attempt and a Birth proues (Ibid., 526)  
There comes ... two Messengers (Ibid., 532)  
there comes scores or hundreds (Ibid., 529)  
5 pound Remanes due to me (Watertown Records, 1663, 77)  
for every two acres yt so lies (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
[flocks] yt goes in comon or highwaie (Ibid., 1680, 143)  
ye highwaie yt leads to ye mill (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
ye English takes no cognezens of (Knight, 1704, 40)  
Indian beads wch serves for change (Ibid., 41)  
his doged speeches of you makes many of your frinds fear (Winthrop Papers, 1635-6, 10)  
yea says they (Knight, 1704, 65)

I have one instance of the third plural in -s and the third person plural without ending in the same sentence.

warres, that leave neither Spiritual nor Civill State, but burns up Branch and Root (Williams 1, 1644, 58)

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1. Ibid., 340.

A majority of the third person plural verbs in -s are unmistakable plurals ("This is the month whose fruitful showrs produces", Bradstreet, 1678, 375). In some cases what appears to be a compound subject may be two nouns used synonymously. ("Illness and Vapour ... growes upon me," C. Mather 1, 1692, 147-8). The tendency toward the use of a singular verb in inverted order is a very old one in English. This may account for some of the apparent -s plurals (on the south ... lies partly the sea and partly the country", Hubbard, 21). The use of a singular verb after there may explain some apparent -s plurals. ("There comes two messengers," Wise, 1690, 532). This may be a similar use to that which Jespersen refers to as the Empty there.<sup>1</sup> Speaking of there is Jespersen says "there is in the beginning of the sentence becomes a fixed formula and is often pronounced before the speaker has considered whether it is a sg or pl word that is to follow ..."<sup>2</sup> The possibilities just mentioned may, as I have said, account for some of the apparent third person -s plurals. However a good many of the citations are unmistakable plurals ("where heat and moisture prevayles," Hubbard, 1680, 21). ("The Lawes extends," Williams 1, 1644, 36).

#### -th forms

The OE ending in the plural of present was aþ or iaþ. In East Midland ME this ending was replaced analogically by en (cf. Chaucer's "and smale foules maken melodie"), but the OE -aþ survived in ME too

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1. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, VII, 109.
  2. Ibid., 109.

as eth. Where it survived the -th ending could represent either the singular or the plural. Wyld says speaking of the present plurals in -th, "we have seen that these are in use in documents over a wide area, besides in the London and Literary English throughout the fifteenth century..."<sup>1</sup> He goes on to show that he has examples of this type of plural until about the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> I have listed my citations for the third person plural in -th.

Hath hundred winters past since thou was born? (Bradstreet, 1678, 371)

All mortals here the feeling knowledg hath (Ibid., 372)  
[those predictions] doth not forbid (Williams 1, 1652, 45)

However fair, however square,

Your way and work hath been (Wigglesworth, 1662, 33)

whose flaming Eyes hid things doth spy (Ibid., 12)

Falshood and Slander hath been ... carryng of Darts (C. Mather 1, 1696-7, 216)

ye fish it selfe & ye bubble resembleth a shipp with sailes  
(Higginson, 1630, 72)

our Pine Trees ... doth allow vs plenty of candles (Ibid., 102)

Five or six grains of Indian wheat hath produced ... six hundred  
(Josselyn, 1672, 187)

the east and south winds ... produceth warm weather (Ibid., 138)

The fox which differeth from ours but are somewhat less (Ibid., 155)

all that wrong and rapine hath left me to bring (Morton, 1637, 109)

the Cattel that doth him damage (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 160)

the Cattel that doth him damage (Ibid., 1671, 160)

from cambridge bounds yt lieth below old Goodman Grants (Watertown Records, 1679, 146)

the distance of place and danger of travelling ... hath ... deneyed us (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 429)

I have one instance of -th and -s plural used in the same sentence.

all Lands yt are propriated yt lieth unfenced and so lies for feed on y east side (Watertown Records, 1679, 146)

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1. H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 339.
  2. Ibid., 339.

Most of the citations noted appear to be unmistakable plurals. ("our Pine Trees ... doth allow us plenty of candles," Higginson, 1630, 102). ("Five or six grains of Indian wheat hath produced ... six hundred," Josselyn, 1672, 187). Some may be thought of as the singular verb of a compound subject (i.e., two nouns used synonymously) ("all that wrong and rapine hath left me to bring," Morton, 1637, 109). In some cases we may have a collective idea which might cause the verb to be thought of as singular ("Cattel that doth him damage," Portsmouth Records, 1671, 160).

Wyld says in his concluding paragraph on the survival of present plurals in eth and ith:

It seems evident ... that Southern -th plurals survived longer in good usage than might be gathered from the late M.E. literary works. This form is one of the Southern characteristics of the original London dialect which were gradually ousted by E. Midland encroachments, but it lingered long in the conservative usage of the upper classes of society.<sup>1</sup>

#### Be as Indicative

A number of instances of the form be of the verb to be were noted in a non-subjunctive use in the third person plural. As was pointed out under the first person plural this form be is apparently a survival of OE bēoþ. According to Lounsbury "Chaucer almost invariably uses be or ben as the plural of the present ..."<sup>2</sup> He goes on to say further that "Be ... was constantly used as an indicative form down to the

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1. Ibid., 339.

2. T. R. Lounsbury, History of the English Language, 348.

seventeenth century, and even later ..."<sup>1</sup> My own observation is that be is still used by some speakers today as an indicative form. I have listed my citations for this form.

what the keys be (Cotton, 1644, 20)  
there be two keyes (Ibid., 30)  
what the keyes ... be and what their power (Ibid., 19)  
the keys ... be not (Ibid., 21)  
as there be who are loath to change (Ibid., 33)  
as ... the keys ... be divers (Ibid., 34)  
there be no Rulers left (Ibid., 42)  
there be 100 schemes (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
All that survive, and be alive (Wigglesworth, 1662, 14)  
Dead works they be, and vanitie (Ibid., 34)  
what if ere-while they were as vile and bad as any be (Ibid., 19)  
That Heav'n is theirs, that they be heirs (Ibid., 21)  
These men be those my Father chose (Ibid., 19)  
whenas within they woods they be (Danforth, 1647, 103)  
saving a few that be good (Eliot, 1649, 13)  
I shewing them how incapable they be (Ibid., 18)  
for many such there be (Ibid., 10)  
when they be sick (Ibid., 11)  
they be truths now ... known (Ibid., 7)  
and there be more people by far then be amongst us (Ibid., 8)  
their soules be in a searching condition (Ibid., 14)  
for those that be aged (Morton, 1637, 149)  
in which his instruments be (Ibid., 143)

#### Is as a Plural

Wyld says, "A tendency to extend the use of is to sentences in which there was a plural subject is traceable in the sixteenth century and continues among educated people well into the eighteenth century."<sup>2</sup> I have a few instances of this usage of is as plural which are listed here.

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1. Ibid., 348.

2. H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 356.

wherein that plenty and better state is found (Williams 2, 1652, 15)

the hallowing, the magnifying, and glorifying of the name of God is our great work and business (Ibid., 18)

Their livers and sounds, eaten, is a good medicine (Josselyn, 1672, 164)

Their hearts, swallowed fresh, is a good antidote (Ibid., 169)  
there is three kinds (Ibid., 176)

And such is our text and Context (Willard, 1700, 6)

Their Diversions ... is Riding Sleys (Knight, 1704, 55)

In most instances here the form is is a definitely plural verb  
i.e. it has a plural subject ("Their livers and sounds eaten is a good medicine", Josselyn, 1672, 164). In some instances a compound subject (i.e., two nouns used synonymously) might be construed as a singular taking a singular verb ("the hallowing, the magnifying, and glorifying of the name of God is our great work and business," Williams 2, 1652, 19). The introductory word there used as an anticipatory subject is often followed by is even yet today if a plural follows the verb ("there is three kinds," Josselyn, 1672, 176).

#### Leveling

The following instances of verbs other than to be appear to represent a leveling of the singular with the plural.

a ridge of mountains run (Josselyn, 1672, 139)

The pond-frog which chirp and croke (Ibid., 168)

There is a little beast ... that feed upon these plants (Ibid., 188)

The form run may be influenced by the preceding -s of "mountains".  
The "pond-frog" and "beast" are both generic nouns in these citations.

It seems quite evident that the verb in the following citations is singular even though the form is the same as the plural.

5 dayes before the Court to which it belonge (Portsmouth Records, 1649, 41)

The said Joseph underwood doe Ingage in a bond (Watertown Records, 1680, 148)

Sargent Collidg have agreed (Ibid., 1679, 145)

as he have done formerly (Ibid., 1679, 144)

upon consideration that ye contry high-way ... hav not yet been stated or laied oute (Ibid., 1679, 145)

#### Past Tense

As far as the past tense is concerned I have evidence only for the personal ending of the second person singular of a number of verbs and for was as a preterite plural of the verb to be.

The preterite of the verb to be occurs six times as wast, once as was, and once as wert. Wast represents the old Germanic -t ending of strong verbs which had already been replaced in OE and survives only in certain forms of the modals e.g. shalt, wilt. Some consideration will be given these forms in the chapter on the modals. I have the following citations for wast.

How long since thou wast in thine Infancy (Bradstreet, 1678, 371)

Hath hundred winters past since thou wast born (Ibid., 371)

Thou by old Adams wast begot (Ibid., 383)

thou wast angry (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 2)

How wast thou tickled (Taylor, 1671, 57)

when thou wast at such a Boon or Feast why didst thou rather ly than lose thy jeast (Ibid., 57)

Was represents the regular OE form for the second singular preterite of beon, waes. I have one instance of this form.

When thou was got in such a merry veane

How far didst thou exceed the golden mean (Taylor, 1671, 57)

Wert represents a leveling with the plural form were with a -t added. I have one instance of this form.

thou wert so feeble (Shepard, 1634, 1)

Fifteen past tense forms of verbs other than to be were noted in the second person singular with the -st ending. This -st ending in the case of the preterite of strong verbs is an analogous extension from the weak verbs. I have listed the citations.

we may alledge thou gav'st a pledge (Wigglesworth, 1662, 28)  
And never had more cause of woe  
Then when I did what thou bad'st doe (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)  
or thousand since thou brakest thy shell of horn (Ibid., 371)  
If thou saw'st (Taylor, 1671, 58)  
Didst thou thy Grace on Treators arch expend (Ibid., 50)  
why didst thou glaver men of place (Ibid., 57)  
Didst fix thy hope on mouldring dust (Bradstreet, 1678, 41)  
Thou who didst make (C. Mather, 1680-81, 3)  
as thou didst (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
Thou saidst thy hear was dresst (Taylor, 1671, 57)  
as thou saidst (Williams 1, 1644, 57)  
where hadst thou beene (Ibid., 71)  
according as thou promisedest (Ibid., 57)  
Weigh, weigh thy words: thy Untruths all which came  
out of thy mouth, and thou Confest the same. (Taylor, 1671, 57)  
Why thoughtst thyselfe out of the world as shut (Ibid., 57)

#### Was as a Plural

Wyld indicates that there was a tendency "to extend the use of was to the 3rd Pers. Pl. ..." <sup>1</sup> I have a few citations of this usage which are listed here.

Ye orders that was drawne vp ... and presented ... and was twice redd (Watertown Records, 1679, 146)  
The bringing of the Gospel-Dispensation and the great changes ... was a matter of Admiration (Willard, 1700, 3)  
Their call and return was before Christs coming (Ibid., 6)  
whose beams was shaded (Bradstreet, 1678, 371)  
such was the contents (Knight, 1704, 47)

The most significant aspect of the personal endings considered in this chapter seems to be the use of the -s forms and -th forms in the

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1. H. C. Wyld, A History of Modern Colloquial English, 356.

third person singular of the present tense. I have not been able to establish a definite pattern for the use of these two forms. My conclusion is however that aside from poetry, which shows a preference for the -s form, the tendency on the part of the writers considered is to use the -s form in material which tends to be informal and to use the -th form in more serious or lofty writing.

As previously indicated a large proportion of the -th forms are found in the three verbs to do, to have, and to say. Baugh points out that writers felt free to use either the -s or the -th form. Baugh further cites Richard Hodges writing in 1643 to the effect that while -th is often the written form the people commonly use the -s form in speaking. The -th form has of course virtually disappeared from today's English. As our language had tended toward more informality the -s form which is closely tied up with the spoken word has completely replaced the older -th form everywhere except in prayers and religious ritual.

## Chapter II

### PRETERITE AND PAST PARTICIPLE OF STRONG AND WEAK VERBS TO BE AND TO HAVE AS PERFECT TENSE AUXILIARY VERBS

#### Preterites of Strong Verbs

A number of preterite forms, some of which are not usual today, were noted in the material covered. I have listed my citations for these forms alphabetically under the infinitive form of the verb. I have also listed my citations for the form which is usual today. All my citations are listed unless a statement is made to the contrary.

##### to abide

Mr Dudley came and abode with us (Sewall 1, 1686, 133)

Abraham abode (Williams 1, 1644, 38)

while man unmarr'd abode (Taylor, 1671, 34)

I find no indication in the NED or Webster that the form abode is archaic as preterite of the verb to abide.

##### to bear

Pride bore the Bell (Wigglesworth, 1662, 235)

The wildest Shrubs that forest ever bare (Danforth, 1648, 107)

I bore their grief (Wigglesworth, 1662, 20)

You bore the Cross (Ibid., 21)

he bore them in hand (Bradford, 1630, 203)

they bore it (Ibid., 133)

all that bore armes (Ibid., 122)

they bore up (Ibid., 179)

which ... they bore sundrie years (Ibid., 12)

The NED indicates that bare is a northern form which became the literary form. "The later bore [it goes on to say], assimilated in vowel to the pa. pple; appears in w. midl. texts about 1400; it was not general till after 1600; the Shaks folio of 1623 has bore and bare,

but the Bible of 1611 has only bare.<sup>1</sup>

to become

He and his Aunt ... held a right understanding and lived as become  
such Relations (Knight, 1704, 49)

He became (Bradford, 1630, 114)

These people became (Ibid., 13)

their cause became famous (Ibid., 21)

he became (Ibid., 93)

And [they] became several congregations (Ibid., 6)

Some became souldiers (Ibid., 32)

they became (Ibid., 171)

they became contemned & scorned (Ibid., 157)

others became (Ibid., 157)

Since Madam Knight frequently uses the form come as a preterite of the verb to come one might surmise that she used the form become as a preterite of the verb to become by analogy.

to beget

of whome he begat many children (Shepard, 1634, 20)

he begat 2 children (Ibid., 16)

it begat a good opinion (Eliot, 1649, 1)

an Impulse that begat such a Courage (Wise, 1690, 528)

Webster lists begat as archaic.<sup>2</sup> NED also lists begat as archaic and gives a citation with begat from Jowett's Plato, 1875.<sup>3</sup>

I have no examples of the preterite form begot.

to begin

before this Plantation begun (Higginson, 1630, 106)

I begun (Knight, 1704, 1)

I begun on Tuesday to drink (Sewall 1, 1689, 268)

It is of interest to note that all three of the above citations have the form begun with a singular subject. I have forty-three instances of the form began as a preterite. Part of the citations are listed here.

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1. NED I. 731.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 245.

3. NED 1, 766.

I began to fear (Knight, 1704, 3)  
when I first begane (Bradford, 1630, 9)  
till God began (Wigglesworth, 1662, 10)  
it began to rain (Sewall 1, 1692, 366)  
we began (Wise, 1690, 529)  
they began to doubt (C. Mather 2, 1699, 198)  
they began to plant (Bradford, 1630, 121)  
they began to build (Ibid., 121)  
they begane to gather (Ibid., 124)  
they began to come (Ibid., 136)

The citations for the form began as a preterite were divided almost equally between singular and plural. The NED has the following comment on the past tense forms of to begin:

As in other verbs having grammatical vowel change in the pa. t. there was an early tendency to level the forms of the 1-3 sing. began 2 sing. begunne, pl. begunnon which has resulted in the establishment of began as the standard form; but an alternative form from the old plural begun has come down to the present day.<sup>1</sup>

Webster does not list begun as a past tense of to begin.

to bid  
[U] bad him acquaint me (Sewall 1, 1677, 39)  
thou bad'st doe (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)  
he bad them not fear (Bradford, 1630, 18)  
a seaman bad ... those which rowed (Ibid., 105)  
I bid him send (Sewall 1, 1689, 270)  
he bid the Marshall General look to (Ibid., 1686, 133)  
Capt Frary ... bid us welcom (Ibid., 1686, 136)  
he bid them be (Bradford, 1630, 105)  
a voyce ... that bid them look (Ibid., 182)  
[I] bid them farewell (Knight, 1704, 29)  
So as the Post bid me (Ibid., 12)  
She bid me sitt (Ibid., 7)  
hee ... bid me not fear (Ibid., 12)  
Landlady ... bid the girl hand her (Ibid., 46)  
[she] Bid him see (Ibid., 51)  
they bid her go call (C. Mather 2, 1699, 199)  
[they] bid us looke (Shepard, 1634, 50)

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1. NED, I, 768.

All of the above citations for the form bad or badst have a singular subject. All but two of the citations for the form bid have a singular subject. According to the NED there are three forms of the preterite of the verb to bid, bad, bade, and bid. Bad and bade appear to be from the ME singular past tense bad, while bid is a later past tense from the past participle bidden.<sup>1</sup> Webster gives bad as archaic.<sup>2</sup>

to break

thou brakest (Bradstreet, 1678, 371)  
 at midnight brake forth a light (Wigglesworth, 1662, 10)  
 the plague brake out (Shepard, 1634, 16)  
 [he] brake (Sewall 1, 1674, 4)  
 [they] brake (Wigglesworth, 1662, 10)  
 a fire that broke out (Bradford, 1630, 181)  
 which broke out (Ibid., 182)  
 which broak out of ye house (Ibid., 126)  
 [it] broke it up (Sewall, 1698, 481)  
 as ye seas broak over such places (Bradford, 1630, 187)  
 they broake (Ibid., 105)

The NED says that "in late ME brake became the regular form both in sing. and pl., which being retained in the Bible of 1611, is still familiar as the archaic form. But in the early 16th c. ... brake began to be displaced by the modern broke formed after the Pa. pple."<sup>3</sup>

to cleave

Your Souls clave to the dust (Wigglesworth, 1662, 29)  
 Ye Govr and better purt which clave together (Bradford, 1630, 111)

NED says of the form clave "The (originally northern) Pa. t. clave which appeared in both verbs [clifan and cleofian] is not normal in either; it was apparently analogical taken over from one of the other

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1. NED I, 849.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 254.

3. NED I, 1070.

classes of strong vbs. having a in the past ..."<sup>1</sup>

to come

having crossed Providence Ferry we come to a River (Knight, 1704, 9)

lost in Thought ... I come up with the post (Ibid., 11-12)

whch as we come nearer the bottom twas totally dark (Ibid., 12)

I told her I come ... to have (Ibid., 6)

mounting again ... [I] come to an ordinary (Ibid., 30)

About seven that Evening, we come to New London Ferry (Ibid., 28)

after we left the Swamp, we come to Billinges (Ibid., 5)

I was ... tired and cold when we come to our Inn (Ibid., 61)

foreseeing we should not have such another Opportunity till we come to Killingsworth (Ibid., 31)

we putt forward ... and about seven ... come to Killingsworth (Ibid., 32)

[we] come to New rochell ... where we had a good Breakfast (Ibid., 48)

From hence we come to Hors Neck, where we Baited (Ibid., 60)

we come to our Inn and could get nothing (Ibid., 61)

from whence they both come (Ibid., 49)

Some ... come there one day to visit him, who being then abroad, they sat down (Ibid., 65)

which they delayed till Thursday and then come with new amusements (Ibid., 67)

at length ... we come to an accomodation (Ibid., 68)

till we come to New London and Lodged (Ibid., 68)

wee come to a river which ... was swell'd (Ibid., 69)

wee come to the other side (Ibid., 69-70)

the first Inn wee come to had (Ibid., 70)

Landlady come in, with her hair about her ears (Ibid., 31)

I had scarce done thinking when an Indian-like Animal come to the door (Ibid., 25)

so much asunder that the Light come throu' everywhere (Ibid., 23)

we come to Fairfield where we met (Ibid., 47)

we ... went forward and come to Spitting Devil (Ibid., 57)

about three [we] come to half-way house where we baited (Ibid., 57)

Those that come on their perticuler looked for (Bradford, 1630, 177)

the whole Instrument ... met with Opposition, and all come to Nothing (C. Mather, 1696, 211)

our men beat them from place to place and about Sun set or Companies come back (Wise, 1690, 535)

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1. NED II, 485-6.

Since the citations for the form came are quite numerous and since this is the current form today I have listed only a few of my citations.

[I] came (Sewall 1, 1698, 482)  
Jane came (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
he came (Bradford, 1630, 69)  
which ... came to pass (Ibid., 24)  
before Christ came (Williams 1, 1644, 58)  
he came (Portsmouth Records, 1647, 35)  
Mr. John Indicot came over (Johnson, 1654, 44)  
we soon after came into (Knight, 1704, 33)  
about 11 we came to (Ibid., 46)  
they came (Ibid., 1689, 267)  
they came to dye by it (Bradford, 1630, 113)  
they came to raise a living (Ibid., 24)  
the servants came (Ibid., 102)  
they came to see me (Wise, 1690, 532)  
we came (Ibid., 532)  
they came (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)  
they came (Hubbard, 1690, 11)

Outside of Madam Knight the form came was virtually universal for the past tense of to come in the material covered. It is perhaps of interest to point out that Madam Knight uses the form came as a past tense of to come only twice in her Journal. Madam Knight appears to have been a woman of some culture and her fondness for the form come as past tense can hardly be ascribed to a lack of education.

The NED lists the form come as a preterite from the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries and gives a citation from Sir W. Bulwer writing in 1523. The NED appears to consider the form come used as a preterite of to come as dialectal in modern English.<sup>1</sup>

to drink  
he drunke water (Bradford, 1630, 112)  
being ye first New England water they drunke of (Ibid., 99)

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1. NED, II, 650-651.

I drank (Wigglesworth, 1662, 19)  
I drank (Sewall 1, 1686, 138)  
we drank (Ibid., 1689, 265)

The NED gives drank only as the present day form of the preterite of to drink. It lists the form drunk as a preterite of to drink in the seventeenth century and gives a citation from Shakespeare writing in 1606.<sup>1</sup> Webster lists the form drank as the preterite of to drink and adds, "formerly also drunk".<sup>2</sup>

to drive  
the wind ... drave our ship (Shepard, 1634, 7)  
[it] drave (Ibid., 50)  
they drave it hence (Danforth, 1649, 108)  
they drave Catle (Wise, 1690, 530)

the force of ye wind being so great as made her anchors give way  
and she drive right upon them (Bradford, 1630, 186)  
as ye seas broak and drive her against great roks (Ibid., 187)  
they drive her into deep water, where she lay sunke (Ibid., 188)

I drove a treenail (Sewall 1, 1692, 369)  
our Armie drove them (Wise, 1690, 530)  
the things which drove mee (C. Mather 1, 1681, 9)

The NED states that drave is a northern form "which long held the field (as in various versions of the Bible) against the southern drove".<sup>3</sup>

The form drive(n) is listed as a preterite plural only in the NED, thirteenth to fifteenth century with a citation from Merlin 78, c 1450.

There seems little doubt from the context that the instances of drive listed here are past tense. This form appears to be from the OE preterite plural drifon. The form drove is a development of the OE singular preterite draf.

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1. NED, III, 667.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed. 1934, 788.

3. NED, III, 670-671.

to eat

as good as I ever eat in England (Higginson, 1630, 9)  
one of which paysoned a whole ships company that eat of it  
(Morton, 1637, 116)  
Satterday, June 5th I rode to Newbury ... on which day eat  
strawberries and cream (Sewall 1, 1686, 143)

I noted no instances of the form ate as a preterite of the verb to eat.  
The NED lists the form eat as a past tense of the verb to eat from the  
seventeenth to the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The spelling ea in the above  
citations does not throw any clear light on the pronunciation during  
the period: it could mean either [e] (from OE plural æton) or [ɛ]  
(the vowel current in British English today). Webster gives the form  
eat as an archaic preterite of the verb to eat.<sup>2</sup>

to dare

I dare not venture; so the Post got a Ladd and Cannoo to cary me  
to tother side (Knight, 1704, 9)  
I darid not venture to ride (Ibid., 23)

neither durst [I] leave off the same (Higginson, 1630, 14)  
he durst not venture to assault us (Ibid., 65)  
I durst write no more (Winthrop, 1630-31, 163)  
These things I durst scarce think off (Ibid., 178)  
I durst freely joyne (Eliot, 1649, 14)  
she durst not say (C. Mather 2, 1699, 200)  
nor ye mr [master] durst venture any further (Bradford, 1630, 155)  
he durst stay no longer (Ibid., 158)  
[he] never durst goe from them (Ibid., 137)  
as he durst not put further to sea (Ibid., 83)  
ye mr [master] durst not put to sea (Ibid., 121)

we durst not put into ye chanell (Higginson, 1630, 62)  
we durst not make ourselves known (Shepard, 1634, 7)  
to which they durst not trust (Bradford, 1630, 152)  
as far as they durst (Johnson, 1654, 45)  
they durst not since hold (Sewall 1, 1686, 131)  
[they] durst not board them (Wise, 1690, 529)  
they durst not cease (Williams 1, 1644, 63)

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1. NED, III, pt. 1, 22.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary 2nd Ed., 1934, 811.

In the first citation from Madam Knight ("I dare not venture") she is clearly using the form as a past tense. According to Webster the form dare is an original past tense form.<sup>1</sup> In the second citation ("I darid not venture") Madam Knight seems to have transferred the verb to the weak category. I find no indication in either the NED or Webster that the form durst, from OE preterite dorste, is not heard as a variant of dared, past tense of to dare, in current English.

to fling

he dash'd out its Brains and then flang it into the river (C. Mather 2, 212)

The NED lists flang as a preterite form in the seventeenth century and gives a citation from Drayton writing in 1622.<sup>2</sup>

to go

also ther gad in the ship 52 planters (Higginson, 1630, 60)

The NED lists the form gade as northern dialect and gives a citation from Ramsay writing in 1725. It lists the form yode as archaic in the sixteenth, seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> The form gad appears to be from yode and from the earlier OE singular preterite form eode.

to help

I holp preach (Sewall 1, 1674-5, 8)

God holp me to pray (Ibid., 1678-9, 46)

he helped (Bradford, 1630, 159)

According to the NED the ME plural form of the past tense, holpen, with the o of the past participle was extended to the singular also about 1500 and was used frequently until the seventeenth century. A citation is

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1. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934. 668)

2. NED, IV, 326.

3. Ibid., 249-250.

given in NED from Mirror for Magistrates, 1559.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to point out that Bradford used the weak form of the verb to help in the single citation noted.

to ride

I rid to Tyburn and saw (Sewall 1, 1689, 265)

[I] Din'd in Great Russell Street ... then ridd to Hemsted (Ibid., 1689, 265)

[I] bought the Gazett there. From thence ridd to Highgate (Ibid., 1689, 265)

I Ridd on slowly ... where the Rode was very stony and uneven (Knight, 1704, 26)

the Post got a Ladd and Cannoo to carry me ... and he rid thro (Ibid., 9)

they gott into ye Cape-harbor wher they ridd in saiftie (Bradford, 1630, 93)

so we rid it out ... though the anchor stopt the ship (Shepard, 1634, 51)

Mr. Cook and I rid in the Coach (Sewall 1, 1698, 482)

Majr Generall. Cook and I rid in it to Charleston, and laid it there (Ibid., 1698, 482)

Here we Ridd over a Bridge made of one entire stone ... it lay over a passage (Knight, 1704, 59)

I rode ... to Charleston Ferry (Sewall 1, 1674, 6)

as farr as I Rode (Knight, 1704, 37)

like the Creature Balaam rode on (Ibid., 42)

they road (Sewall 1, 1674, 4)

Father and self rode (Ibid., 1677, 39)

we Rode on (Knight, 1704, 12)

by there direction we Rode on (Ibid., 32)

being very glad of his Company we rode something harder (Ibid., 70)

The form rid(d) appears to be a development of the OE preterite plural ridon which was extended to the singular. To judge from the NED rid(d) was quite common as a preterite in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Webster lists the form rid as an archaic preterite of to ride.<sup>3</sup>

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1. NED, V, 209.

2. NED, VIII, pt. 1, 654.

3. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 2145.

The preterite form rode is a development of the earlier singular form OE rad.

to rise

which was from the time I went to bed to the time I riss (Knight, 1704, 48)

having sat and talk'd ... He Riss, took his Hatt (Knight, 1704, 50)

I rose (Sewall 1, 1689, 271)

ye ship rose againe (Bradford, 1630, 19)

To judge from the NED the form riss, from the OE plural rison, was dialectal in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> I have heard uneducated people use riz as a preterite of to rise. The form rose develops from an earlier singular preterite.

to run

the sea run high that altho some attempt was made (Wise, 1690, 528)  
they could not come to the Bark nor land the Sea run so high  
(Ibid., 529)

I went and run the Line (Sewall 1, 1686, 128)

She drew a chair ... and then run upstairs (Knight, 1704, 7)  
in going over a Bridge under wch the River run ... my horse  
stumbled (Ibid., 31)

they left me and runn (Winthrop Papers, 1637, 247)  
some runn away in the night (Ibid., 1637, 247)

they fled ... & rane up into ye woods (Bradford, 1630, 98)  
they rane away (Ibid., 98)  
their men rane (Ibid., 103)

The NED lists the form run, from an earlier plural preterite form runnon, as a preterite of the verb to run, in the seventeenth century and gives a citation from Stanley writing in 1655.<sup>2</sup> The form ran is a development of an earlier singular form.

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1. NED, VIII, 708-9.

2. Ibid., 897.

to shrink

And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts (Bradford, 1630, 21)

The NED indicates that the form shrunk, from an earlier form shrunken, is the original plural preterite of the verb to shrink and that shrunk still survives as a preterite both singular and plural.<sup>1</sup> Webster lists both shrank and shrunk as preterite forms of to shrink.<sup>2</sup>

to sing

[I] Sung, or rather wept and chattered the 142 Psalm (Sewall 1, 1689, 271)

As he went along he sung Psalms (Sewall 2, 1697, 15)

[we] Sung twice after my being there which was late (Sewall 1, 1692, 369)

[we] Sung after dinner (Ibid., 1692, 369)

[we] sang (Ibid., 1686, 140)

The NED gives both the form sang, from an earlier singular, and the form sung, from an earlier plural, as the preterite of to sing, and says that sung was the usual past tense form in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>3</sup> Webster gives both the form sang and the form sung as the preterite of to sing.<sup>4</sup>

to sink

being ... laid on the Water he immediately sunk right down (I. Mather 1, 1684, 21)

one of their wheels ... Sunk into the Ground (C. Mather 2, 1699, 235)

The NED lists both sank and sunk as the preterite of the verb to sink

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1. NED, VIII, pt. 2, 728.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2325.

3. NED, IX, pt. 1, 76.

4. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2343.

and says "the use of sunk as the pa. t. has been extremely common."<sup>1</sup>  
Webster also gives both sank and sunk as the preterite to the verb to sing.<sup>2</sup> Sunk is from an earlier plural form OE suncon. Sank is a development of an earlier singular form OE sanc.

to speak

he never spake more (Bradford, 1630, 139)  
those ye Apostle James spake of (Ibid., 139)  
he only spake of it (Ibid., 185)  
our Lord spake (Cotton, 1644, 27)  
he spake (Eliot, 1649, 10)  
who [sing] spake (Taylor, 1671, 31)  
Thus spake the Judge (Wigglesworth, 1662, 21)  
then spake the Holy one (Ibid., 18)  
Solomon ... spake (Williams 1, 1644, 58)  
So spake the Lord (Ibid., 123)  
the Lord spake (Ibid., 112)  
well spake the famous Elizabeth (Ibid., 56)  
as Jesus Christ spake of (Williams 2, 1652, 4)  
Frederic ... spake (Ward, 1647, 8)  
he spake (Shepard, 1634, 22)  
nor hot nor, cold she spake (Bradstreet, 1678, 168)  
He spake (Sewall 1, 1686, 396)  
I spake (Ibid., 1686, 396)  
he spake (Ibid., 1689, 268)  
Mr. Phillips spake (Ibid., 1674-5, 8)  
he spake (Ibid., 1674, 5)  
Mr Stoughton spake (Ibid., 1686, 133)  
major spake (Ibid., 1686, 141)  
[he] spake (Ibid., 1689, 270)  
Mr. Mather spake (Ibid., 1689, 266)  
Cousin Savage spake (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
Mr. Gersham Hobart spake (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)  
Mr Torrey spake (Ibid., 1676-7, 36)  
The Governour spake (Sewall 2, 1697, 13)

General ... and Self spake (Ibid., 1686, 139)  
A Protest which some spake for (Ibid., 1686, 139)  
my father-in-law and Goodman Needham spake (Ibid., 1676-7, 36)  
Mr. Noyes and Mr Slden spake (Ibid., 1676-7, 37)  
they that spake (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 129)  
we spake to many (Lechford, 1638-41, 278)

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1. NED, IX, pt. 1, 90.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2345.

he spoke in broken English (Bradford, 1630, 114)  
The Marquis ... spoke (I. Mather 3, 1716, 3)  
I spoke to Mr. Usher (Sewall 1, 1689, 268)  
none ... snoke (Ibid., 1686, 129)

they snooke (Bradford, 1630, 170)

The form spake appears to be the usual preterite form both singular and plural in the material covered. But apparently one felt free to use either spake or snoke. Sewall uses both in the following sentence "I snoke to Mr. Usher not to do harm ... because he spake of going to the King" (Sewall 1, 1689, 269). The NED indicates that the form spake was used as a preterite in the seventeenth century and gives a citation from W. Forde writing in 1616.<sup>1</sup> Webster lists the form spake as an archaic past tense of to speak.<sup>2</sup>

to spring  
my selfe walking in the woods sprung a Partridge (Higginson, 1630, 15)  
they sprung a leak (Sewall 2, 1697, 13)

NED lists sprang, originally a singular, and sprung, originally a plural, as preterite forms of the verb to spring.<sup>3</sup> Webster also lists sprang and sprung as preterite forms of the verb to spring.<sup>4</sup>

to wit  
I wist not what to wish (Bradstreet, 1678, 370)

This form is apparently from the OE preterite singular wiste of the preterite present verb witan. The NED lists it as a pseudo archaic form.<sup>5</sup>

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1. NED, IX, pt. 1, 533.
  2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2412.
  3. NED, IX, pt. 1, 692.
  4. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2440.
  5. NED, X, pt. 2, 200.

to write  
I writt to manuscripts (Lechford, 1638-41, 2)  
I writt a petition (Ibid., 3)  
I tooke out a little book ... & writ down (Shepard, 1634, 23)  
[he] writ to others (Bradford, 1630, 151)  
he write a leter (Ibid., 153)  
he also write (Ibid., 184)  
Mr. Robinson write a leter (Ibid., 77)  
by a ... letter he write (Ibid., 86)  
he taught himselfe and write many books (Ibid., 27)  
Mr. Secretary ... writt (Sewall 1, 1689, 131)  
[I] writt to Cous. Nath. Dumer (Ibid., 1689, 270)  
[I] writt to Eliakim (Ibid., 1689, 270)  
[I] writt to my wife (Ibid., 1689, 268)  
[I] writt to Cous. Quinsey (Ibid., 1689, 270)  
[I] writt Mr. Zech Tuthill (Ibid., 1689, 271)  
[I] writt ... that they would remitt (Ibid., 1689, 270)  
[I] writt him the News (Ibid., 1689, 267)  
[I] writt to my Unkle (Ibid., 1689, 267)  
[I] writt to my dear wife (Ibid., 271)  
[I] writt to my wife inclosing (Ibid., 1689, 269)  
[I] writt to Mrs. Poole (Ibid., 1689, 271)  
he writ to Calvin (Sewall 2, 1697, 12)

they were forst to selle of some of their provissions. Then they  
write a letter (Bradford, 1630, 75)  
they write to ye Govr and desired they might joyne with them (Ibid.,  
154)  
they tooke exception at ye warrante ... and write to him (Ibid.,  
183)

[I] wrote (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)  
The Authour ... write (Williams 1, 1644, 61)  
Beza ... wrote (Ibid., 61)  
a Friend who thus wrote (Ibid., 29)  
[I] wrote (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 36)  
I wrote (Ibid., 1674, 6)

those who both wrote and preached (Bradford, 1630, 30)

The NED indicates that the form writ, originally a plural, was used as  
a preterite of the verb write from the fifteenth to the nineteenth  
century and gives a citation from Lady Halkett writing about 1669.<sup>1</sup>

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1. NED, X, pt. 2, 337.

Webster lists the form writ as an archaic preterite of the verb to write.<sup>1</sup> The form wrote is from an earlier singular form OE wrāt.

### Clipped Past Participles of Strong Verbs

A number of instances of the abbreviated or clipped past participle of strong verbs were noted in material covered. This clipped past participle is really the regular phonetic development of the OE past participle ended in en. In ME this en ending remained en or the n dropped off leaving e as the ending of the past participle. The following citations from Chaucer will show that he used either the en or e form of the past participle.

And to be bounden under subjeccioun (Man of Law's Tale, 1.270)  
Under this yok of mariage ybounde (Merchant's Tale, 1.1285)  
Soun ys noght but eyr ybroken (House of Fame, 1.765)  
Ryt so soun ys air ybroke (Ibid., 1.770)  
whan she dronken hadde hir draughte (General Prologue, l. 134-5)  
And when ech of them had dronke his part (Miller's Tale, l. 3498)  
Unknowen was the quern and eek the melle (The Former Age, l. 6)  
For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe (General Prologue, l. 125)

The e ending of the past participle generally disappeared leaving no ending. Thus OE eten (Past participle of etan) became eate or eat.

This will account for such a form as eate which is noted here in seventeenth century American English. The en ending of the past participle eaten, spoken, etc. which is the usual form today in all strong verbs, except those of the third category, represents a re-establishment of the en form. The past participle of the verb to sing,

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1. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2959.

sung represents a past participle which has never had the lost en termination restored. Apparently the same process took place in the case of sung as in that of the past participle of other strong verbs: OE sungen > ME sungen > sunge > sung. This is, of course, true of the verbs to ring and to swim, and in general of strong verbs of the third category. It is perhaps of interest to point out that the past participles sung, rung, swum are seldom used as attributive adjectives. It seems possible that this may have something to do with the fact that there has been no re-establishment of the en ending.

I have listed my citations for the clipped form of the past participle and for the corresponding full form in en if any full forms were noted. All the citations found are given unless a statement has been made to the contrary under a particular verb. The citations are listed under the infinitive form of the verbs arranged alphabetically.

to beat

[They] returned having fought and beat them (Wise, 1690, 529)

I also have the en form.

a few ... had beaten (Ibid., 539)

to beget

Thou by old Adam wast begot (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)

The Indian dog is a creature begotten twilt a wolf and a fox (Josselyn, 1672, 150)

to bid

Thou has bid me to beleeve (C. Mather, 1681, 2)

Eliakim not bidden (Sewall 1, 1686, 136)

to bite

former things boyling in his mind but bit in as was discern'd (Bradford, 1630, 161)

[But] they were once Bitt by a sharper (Knight, 1704, 63)

to break

a bone broak and disjoynted (Williams 2, 1652, 14)  
John Francis ... had his right legg ... broke (Sewall 1, 1674, 5)  
your Honours have broke ... and taken (Williams 1, 1644, 6)  
H'eth broke his legs (Taylor, 1671, 39)

The following instances of broken were noted.

our Discourse was broken off (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 37)  
whose streams are obstructed with falls of broken rocks (Hubbard, 1680, 16)  
the broken bagges of riches (Williams 1, 1644, 13)  
this broken piece (Williams 2, 1652, iii)

to choose

By means of those whom thou hast chose (Wigglesworth, 1662, 38)  
But as for those whom I have chose (Ibid., 20)  
thousands ... have rather chose to yeeld (Williams 1, 1644, 63)  
John Jackson is chose constable (Salem Records, 1647, 147)

The form chosen heavily outnumbers the clipped past participle of this verb. I have eighty-seven instances of chosen. A few of the citations are given here.

two were chosen (Sewall 2, 1697, 12)  
Capt. Townsend is chosen (Sewall 1, 1686, 138)  
The three chosen are (Watertown Records, 1634, 1)  
These 11 Freemen chosen (Ibid., 1637, 3)  
John Anthony chosen Town Clerke (Portsmouth Records, 1681, 210)  
voted major John Albro chosen moderator (Ibid., 1681, 210)  
mr William Hall is chossen (Ibid., 1670, 152)  
John Robinson is chosen Cunstable (Salem Records, 1647, 150)  
John Balch & William Dodge are chosen (Ibid., 1647, 148)  
Also Mr. William Brewster who was chosen (Bradford, 1630, 14)  
ther was one chosen in England (Ibid., 69)

to drink

eaten as a sollade, and the broth drunk with it (Josselyn, 1672, 192)  
made drunke (Williams 1, 1644, 60)  
drunken men (Ward, 1647, 1)

to eat

they would have eate it up (Bradford, 1630, 151)  
But we have in thy presence been, say some, and eaten there  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 27)  
eaten as a sollade (Josselyn, 1672, 150)



to forget

Their names without a Record are foregot (Bradstreet, 1678, 381)  
not to be forgotten (Bradford, 1630, 112)

to get

Got(t) appears to be the common form of the past participle of the verb to get in the material covered. I have sixteen instances of the of the form got and only two of the form gotten.

he had gott his language (Bradford, 1630, 114)  
some yt had got (Ibid., 175)  
all things were got ready (Ibid., 71)  
all other things were gott in readiness (Ibid., 72)  
[the men] which were gott aboard (Ibid., 18)  
store ... might be got (Ibid., 154)  
after ye first boat full was gott aboard (Ibid., 18)  
[he was] got into ye shipe (Ibid., 93)  
ye shalop being got ready (Ibid., 100)  
corn that was got (Ibid., 156)  
what was gott was divided (Ibid., 166)  
ther was never got other recompence (Ibid., 168)  
what was gott (Ibid., 151)  
they had got a patente (Ibid., 203)  
they had gott (Ibid., 113)  
safe got or'e (Knight, 1704, 14)  
The field pieces being got to shore (Wise, 1690, 531)  
until we had gotten more (Ibid., 527)  
some springs ... have gotten some tincture (Hubbard, 1680, 24)

to hide

I have six instances of the form hid as a past participle and one of the form hidden. I have listed my citations.

[I] spent that Sabbath lying hid in the cornfealds (Shepard, 1634, 22)  
whose flaming Eyes hid things doth spy, (Wigglesworth, 1662, 12)  
I have not hid (Williams 1, 1644, 12)  
that which is hid (Hubbard, 1680, 24)  
where he might lye hid (Ibid., 26)  
that any of the posterity of Adam should ly hid (Ibid., 26)  
which was hidden or not known (Willard, 1700, 3)

to ride

I have four instances of the form Ridd as a past participle, incidentally all from Sarah Knight. I do not have any instances of the form ridden.

we had Ridd (Knight, 1704, 4)  
when we had Ridd ... we come (Ibid., 4-5)  
when we had Ridd about an hour we come (Ibid., 5)  
Having Ridd thro a difficult river (Ibid., 62)

to speak

those ... sink deepest which are spoke latest (Bradstreet, 1678, 3)  
ye select men have spoke with old Goodman Joans (Watertown Records, 1680, 147)

they have spoke (Williams 1, 1644, 58)

as was once spoke (Ibid., 7)

after I had spoke to her (Sewall 1, 1698-9, 492)

to be spoken in its place (Bradford, 1630, 148)

the command is spoken (Williams 1, 1644, 44)

there is another spoken of (Willard, 1700, 6)

there somethings spoken of (Ibid., 9)

I have spoken (Ward, 1647, 23)

I had spoken (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 38)

the Praesident having spoken (Ibid., 1686, 141)

Salaries are not spoken of (Ibid., 1692, 267)

to sing

the 2<sup>d</sup>s sung (Sewall 1, 1686, 138)

133 Ps sung (Ibid., 1686, 130)

to sink

She lay sunke (Bradford, 1630, 188)

some ... were ... buried and others sunke (Ibid., 49)

to shrink

For Aches and Shrunk Sinews (Josselyn, 1672, 151)

Their grease is soveraign for all manner of aches and shrunk sinews (Ibid., 151)

to spring

such plants as have sprung up (Josselyn, 1672, 141)

a new-sprung sect of Phantasticks (Ward, 1647, 25)

to sting

an Indian was stung to death (Higginson, 1630, 17)

to write

I have eight instances of the form writ(t) or write as a past

participle of the verb to write. I have eleven instances of the form written.

a brefe leter writ at ye same time (Bradstreet, 1630, 77)  
another leter writ to ye Govr (Ibid., 167)  
A leter ... write to Mr. Carver (Ibid., 131)  
Another leter was write (Ibid., 141)  
ye former letter write by Mr. Sherley (Ibid., 193)  
he had writ (Sewall 2, 1697, 15)  
the most of it was penn'd and writ (Williams 2, 1652, iv)  
the Essex Magistrates [were] writt to be here (Sewall 1, 1686, 131)  
shewing me a letter written to (Ibid., 1686, 136)  
the word of God ... written to ... churches (Johnson, 1654, 46)  
they had written (I. Mather 1, 1684, 19)  
a relation written by him (Bradford, 1630, 116)  
the day and yeare above written (Salem Records, 1635, 13)  
the day and yeare above written (Ibid., 1635, 14)  
himselfe had written (Williams 1, 1644, 61)  
the Answer ... written from godly intentions (Ibid., 61)  
Scriptures ... written long since (Ibid., 29)

I have two instances of the rather curious form writnd as past participle of the verb to write.

for ye true ... performance of what is above writnd (Watertown Records, 1680, 148)  
what is above writnd (Ibid., 1680, 146-7)

The -d of writnd in the above instances may be an excrescent -d after final n.

Jespersen points out that these clipped past participles persisted to some extent into the nineteenth century. Speaking of the form broke he says, "In the 17th and 18th centuries broke was common as a ptc alongside of broken."<sup>1</sup> Jespersen goes on to point out that broke is a present-day colloquial form meaning 'out of money, bankrupt'.<sup>2</sup> The apocopated participles are still heard today among uneducated people. I have heard broke and spoke frequently and also such combined forms as snake-bit and dog-bit.

1. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, VI, 61.
2. Ibid., 61.



Jespersen seems to believe that the position of the past participle may be a factor in determining whether the clipped or full form is used. He says, "There is a tendency to drop the n in absolutely final position, e.g. he was drunk, but to keep it in the middle of a syntactic (and phonetic) group to form a sort of continuing link or 'buffer-syllable', e.g. a drunken sailor." Jespersen appears to imply that rhythm may be involved in the choice between the clipped or full form of the past participle.<sup>1</sup>

Leveling of Past Participle of Strong Verbs  
with Preterite Singular

The following instances appear to be a leveling of the past participle with the preterite singular.

we had began (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 428)  
three Companies that had taken up houses and began to roast and  
bake (Wise, 1690, 531)

The NED says of began as a past participle, "The rare Pa pple began shows a form leveling in another direction."<sup>2</sup> I should assume that a leveling of the past participle with the preterite singular is indicated by this statement.

which being pulveriz'd and drank in white wine is a present  
remedy (Josselyn, 1672, 164)  
which being pulveriz'd and drank in a convenient liquor will stop  
(Ibid., 164)

The NED says of the form drank, "from the 19th c. drank was intruded from the pa. t. into the pa. pple., prob. to avoid the

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1. Ibid., 77.

2. NED I, 768.

inebriat associations of drunk."1

if it had fell out (Wise, 1690, 534)

The NED lists the form fell as a past participle in the seventeenth century but apparently did not give any example of it.<sup>2</sup>

the Hills are shook (Wigglesworth, 1662, 13)

The NED gives a citation of the form shook as past participle from Blackmore, 1695.<sup>3</sup>

though had never spake more word in it (Ward, 1647, 8)

The NED lists the form spake as a past participle in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a citation from W. Forde writing in 1616.<sup>4</sup>

after they had tooke out (Bradford, 1630, 84)

Major Pynchon has not took his Oath (Sewall, 1, 1686, 137)

a Print Cousin Hull had took in (Ibid., 1689, 267)

those things were drawn up by a pully, and so took in at a window (Ibid., 1675, 10)

[we] could not have took it (Ibid., 1686, 135)

Mercy hath took it off (Taylor, 1671, 54)

they are took Captive (Ibid., 47)

The NED gives a citation of the form took as a past participle from Jeremy Taylor writing about 1667.<sup>5</sup>

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1. NED III, 667.
  2. NED IV, 38.
  3. NED, VIII, pt. 2, 728.
  4. NED IX, pt. 1, 533.
  5. NED IX, pt. 2, 36.

Some of these levelings of the past participle with the preterite singular are heard fairly commonly today among careless or uneducated speakers. We hear for example the expression, "He was badly shook up in the accident." Last week I heard "That is the third trip he's took to Jackson." I have also this citation from the editorial page of Collier's: Mr. Ruark has obviously got took down with genius in the foot."<sup>1</sup> While the form took in this citation is obviously used facetiously it is not enclosed in quotation marks and is clearly used as a past participle. It is also of interest to point out the use of the clipped past participle got in the above citation.

#### Weak Past Participles of Strong Verbs

A few instances of weak past participles were noted of verbs which today normally have the strong past participle. The citations are listed here.

##### to drink

I drank so much ... that I was dead drunk ... & [I] was so carryed from the place where I had drinked (Shepard, 1634, 21-22)

It is interesting to note the several forms of the verb to drink in this single sentence. I do not find the form drinked listed as a past participle of to drink in the NED.

##### to sting

except the partie stinged haue about him some of the root of an Herbe (Higginson, 1630, 17)

The NED lists the form stinged as a past participle of the verb

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1. Collier's, July 18, 1953, 70.

to sting in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a citation from R. Crompton writing in 1587.<sup>1</sup>

to swell

An Indian whose thumb was swell'd (Josselyn, 1672, 195)  
For Swell'd Legs (Ibid., 176)

The NED gives both the form swollen and the form swelled as the past participle of to swell. It states "Pa. pple. swollen less usually swelled." It gives a citation for the form swelled from Dryden writing in 1697.<sup>2</sup>

#### Old Past Participial Forms

A few survivals of earlier past participial form were noted, some of which are still used adjectivally today. I have listed these alphabetically under the infinitive form of the verb.

to behold

to whom I have been beholden (C. Mather 2, 1699, 198)  
unto whom myselfe & many others were much beholden (Bradford, 1630, 112)

The NED indicates that beholden in an adjectival sense meaning obligated is current English.<sup>3</sup>

to cleave

the wood of the Pine tree clouen in little slices (Higginson, 1630 16)

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1. NED IX, pt. 1, 966-7.
  2. NED IX, pt. 2, 317.
  3. NED I, 775.

The NED lists the form cloven as a past participle of to cleave a variant of cleft. It appears to be used only as an adjective, especially with reference to the idea of cloven hoof or foot.<sup>1</sup>

to hold

till he was hald up (Bradford, 1630, 93)

to be holden ... by the rents due (Lachford, 1638-41, 12)

To be holden of the chief Lord (Ibid., 12)

At the towne Court houlden at Portsmouth (Portsmouth Records, 1650, 46-7)

the towne Corte to be houlden upon the 16 day (Ibid., 1650, 46)

At a generall Towne meeting holden the 18th (Salem Records, 1647, 150)

The NED states "The Pa. pple became holden north halden."<sup>2</sup> One might assume that hald is a clipped form of the northern past participle. The NED goes on to say that "in 16th c. holden began to be displaced by held from Pa. t. and is now archaic, but preserved by its use in legal and formal language."<sup>3</sup>

to help

[I] was holp ... to argue (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 45)

The NED says that the past participle holpen of the verb to help "occurs shortened to holpe" from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

to lade

being laden (Bradford, 1630, 130)

ye ship was laden (Ibid., 132)

to have been better laden (Ibid., 155)

this ship was ... laden with clapbord (Ibid., 177)

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1. NED II, 531.

2. NED, V, 330

3. NED V, 330.

4. NED V, 209.



I found no indication in either the NED or Webster that the form laden is unusual in current English.

to lie

Sam Moody dyed having lyen sick of the jaundice (Sewall 1, 1675, 9)

The NED gives the form lyen as a past participle of to lie from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century and gives a citation from de Foe writing in 1756.<sup>1</sup>

to mis-do

But every one that hath mis-done (Wigglesworth, 1662, 22)

And every one that hath mis-done (Ibid., 22)

no Mothers Son but hath mis-done (Ibid., 25)

The NED indicates mis-done as rare or archaic and gives a citation from Dryden writing in 1676.<sup>2</sup>

to smite

their Powwows ... were ... smitten (Johnson, 1654, 41)

[The Pecods] ... were smitten (Ibid., 41)

[they] were most smitten (Ibid., 41)

I found no indication in either Webster or the NED that the form smitten is not current English in the above sense.

to strike

others begane to be well stricken in years (Bradford, 1630, 29)

ye mr was something strucken (Ibid., 113)

Webster indicates the form stricken is "chiefly Poet or Rhet." He indicates that the form strucken is obsolete.<sup>3</sup>

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1. NED VI, 252.

2. NED VI, 507.

3. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2496.

### Preterite of Weak Verbs

The preterite of weak verbs in current English as in the case of the past participle, ends as follows:

1. [t] written -ed, as in walked of the verb to walk
2. [t] written -t as in crept of the verb to creep
3. [d] written -ed, as in seemed of the verb to seem
4. [ɪd] written -ed as in pretended of the verb to pretend
5. [t] written -t (in one-form verbs) as in hit of the verb to hit or in lit of the verb to light

I have listed here a number of my citations of [t] in the preterite of weak verbs spelled -t, -t, -et, and -te in verbs with stems ending in a voiceless consonant. The -t spelling here undoubtedly indicated a voiceless rather than a voiced stop.

he advanc't (Knight, 1704, 42)  
I ask't him (Ibid., 10)  
I blest (Ibid., 24)  
[ɪ] dismist (Ibid., 7)  
my horse dropt (Ibid., 70)  
the old man laught and kik't (Ibid., 28)  
I slipt out (Ibid., 22)  
it smelt strong (Ibid., 32)  
the boat tos't (Ibid., 28)  
she us't to serve (Ibid., 27)  
I wish't (Ibid., 18)  
Fabius maximus cropt his ears (Ward, 1647, 7)  
it burnt (Bradford, 1630, 182)  
[ɪt] burnte (Ibid., 182)  
ye storne beat of their round house (Ibid., 169)  
Ye Lord crost (Ibid., 167)  
he confest (Ibid., 181)  
necessitie forste a way (Ibid., 21)  
they ... look't (Ibid., 185)  
they mist him (Ibid., 126)  
Pithy speeches peirst each harte (Ibid., 73)  
others quenchet ye same (Ibid., 134)  
Lord, in thy name, and by the same, we Devils dispossest (Wiggleworth, 1662, 26)

we pray'd and wept (Ibid., 29)  
such as profest (Ibid., 38)  
we kept (Higginson, 1630, 62)  
we tack't about (Ibid., 74)  
I litt upon this passage (C. Mather 1, 1681, 14)  
the anchor stopt the ship (Shepard, 1634, 51)  
I markt (Bradford, 1678, 377)  
which rapt me so (Ibid., 378)  
I walk't (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 38)  
such things as my sister furnisht (Winthrop Papers, 1635-6, 10)  
four years twice could i dwelt (Danforth, 1666, 19)

The t spelling was not universal in verbs with stems ending in a voiceless consonant. There were many -ed and -'d spellings presumably pronounced [t]. I have listed a number of my citations for these spellings.

he hoped (Bradford, 1630, 128)  
it decreased (Ibid., 127)  
some wished (Ibid., 175)  
which fished (Ibid., 142)  
ye waves tossed (Higginson, 1630, 69)  
ye Kings ship pressed (Ibid., 62)  
The company ... furnished (Ibid., 59)  
Mr Mather ask'd (Sewall 1, 1689, 266)  
I walk'd (Ibid., 1698, 481)  
I whip'd (Ibid., 1692, 369)  
he touch'd (Ibid., 1694, 392)  
[he] preach'd (Ibid., 1692, 369)  
he silenc'd him (Sewall 2, 1697, 12)  
that fair Planett produced (Knight 1704, 14)  
[she] finished (Ibid., 57)  
I conversed (Ibid., 64)  
we passed (Ibid., 61)  
which looked (C. Mather 1, 1681, 11)  
I ... rebuked (Ibid., 1681, 12)  
I annexed (Ibid., 1696, 210)  
the poor Child Shrieked (C. Mather 2, 1699, 200)  
those that professed (I. Mather 3, 1716, 6)  
[they] searched (Hubbard, 1680, 13)  
they promised (Ibid., 23)  
he punished (Williams 1, 1644, 48)  
Sane ... typed out (Ibid., 122)  
the ... world worshipped (Ibid., 39)

The preterite of many weak verbs as in the case of the past participle was often found written -ed, -'d, or -de in the material covered. It seems possible that these spellings indicate that the writers recognized that the preterite ending of certain verbs was pronounced [d] and that the above spellings were an attempt to show this sound. I have listed here a number of my citations with these spellings.

he kneeled (Sewall 1, 1674, 4)  
 They adjourn'd (Ibid., 1698, 483)  
 He showed (Ibid., 1674-5, 8)  
 he lodgd (Ibid., 1692, 366)  
 they ordained (Cotton, 1644, 41)  
 they kild (Bradford, 1630, 119)  
 [he] plaid (Ibid., 136)  
 they deemd (Ibid., 163)  
 their fathers wrastled (Ibid., 71)  
 the Lambe ... who so abhorr'd (Williams 1, 1644, 11)  
 which caused (Williams 2, 1652, 13)  
 he cried out (Ibid., 15)  
 he ... praid (Ibid., 21)  
 he loved (Ibid., 9)  
 a Committee apply'd themselves (C. Mather 1, 1696, 211)  
 I beg'd (Ibid., 1692, 147)  
 I cry'd (Ibid., 1696-7, 214)  
 I renewed (Ibid., 1681, 12)  
 Christ ... call'd (Wigglesworth, 1662, 15)  
 [they] drown'd their care (Ibid., 10)  
 I esteem'd (Ibid., 19)  
 we form'd (Ibid., 29)  
 I believ'd (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)  
 I gaz'd (Ibid., 371)  
 she trim'd (Ibid., 168)  
 I judg'd (Ibid., 378)  
 I endeavor'd (Wise, 1690, 533)  
 God afforded (White, 1630, 11)  
 they received (Ibid., 14)  
 I fared (Winthrop, 1630-31, 170)  
 my mate procur'de (Taylor, 1671, 43)  
 Who Lac'de (Ibid., 31)  
 who ... bowld the Sun (Ibid., 31)  
 How wast thou tickled when thy doughty Eares  
Allay'de their Thirst (Ibid., 57)

they sowed (Ibid., 11)  
[he] ruined (Ibid., 10)  
he encouraged (Shepard, 1634, 50)  
shee died (Ibid., 16)  
my father marryed (Ibid., 17)

Weak verbs ending in a dental [t] or [d] were regularly spelled with an -ed ending in the preterite, and this ending suggests a pronunciation [Id]. I have listed a few citations of this spelling.

it abated (Higginson, 1630, 68)  
we rested (Ibid., 61)  
they expostulated (Cotton, 1644, 37)  
I saluted (Wise, 1690, 533)  
we parted (Winthrop, 1630-31, 177)  
he granted (Hubbard, 1680, 8)  
who ... fillited (Taylor, 1671, 43)  
Mr. Carver pleaded (Bradford, 1630, 74)  
[they] defended (Ibid., 103)  
David tolerated (Williams 1, 1644, 47)  
we intended (Knight, 1704, 71)  
they departed (Ibid., 65)  
one ... Parson officiated (Ibid., 60)  
I attended (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)  
her Master commanded (C. Mather 2, 1699, 200)  
the Monster ... Relented (Ibid., 201)

#### Past Participles of Weak Verbs

The past participle of weak verbs in current English ends as follows:

1. [t] written -ed, as in walked of the verb to walk
2. [t] written -t, as in crept of the verb to creep
3. [d] written -ed, as in seemed of the verb to seem
4. [Id] written -ed as in pretended of the verb to pretend
5. [t] written -t (in one-form verbs) as in hit of the verb to hit

I have listed here a number of my citations of [t] in the past participle of weak verbs spelled -t, -t, -et, and -te in verbs with stems ending in a voiceless consonant.

many were well whipt (Bradford, 1630, 152)  
many of them had brusht away their coats (Ibid., 128)  
all was like to be dashte (Ibid., 56)  
pithy speeches peirst each harte (Ibid., 73)  
being now hear pitchet (Ibid., 23)  
they were ... mete with and nipt in ye head (Ibid., 24)  
whose garments are dipte in blood (Ibid., 11)  
This ship ... was ... dispatcht (Ibid., 130)  
A Pilgrim I, on earth perplex  
with sinns with cares and sorrows vext (Bradstreet, 1678, 43)  
my heart being ... sett (C. Mather 1, 1692, 144)  
not any one of them were hurte or hitt (Bradford, 1630, 104)  
who have opprest (Danforth, 1648, 105)  
my teares are wipt away (Ibid., 1666, 19)  
now I am slipt home (Ibid., 1666, 19)  
a little Lento Chamber furnisht ... with a High Bedd (Knight, 1704, 47)  
they are askt (Ibid., 43)  
having ask't it (Ibid., 32)  
And their fingers hoop't with rings (Ibid., 55)  
the rest ... are disperst (Morton, 1637, 122)  
it is tuckt up (Ibid., 142)  
made of a board forket at both ends (Ibid., 147)  
Iosephs encrease ... is out-stript (Higginson, 1630, 8)  
who being possest (Johnson, 1654, 41)  
one Edw Andrews being foxt and falling (Josselyn, 1672, 149)  
which is express (Ibid., 141)  
which being prickt yeldeth (Ibid., 167)  
already prest and ordered (Norton, 1654, 13)  
it Shall be ... Stakt (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 160)  
wth condition that hee be dismist (Salem Records, 1636, 25)  
the ship was stopt (Shepard, 1634, 51)  
the hand ... was strecht out (Ibid., 12)  
she felt herself pluckt back (Ibid., 11)  
thy heart was dresst (Taylor, 1671, 57)  
they are influenc't (Ibid., 52)  
They're forc't (Ibid., 47)  
or hackt in pieces are (Ibid., 47)  
A Cripple is ... sore opprest (Ibid., 44)  
their Spirits ... are prest enough (Ward, 1647, 2)  
All have transgrest (Wigglesworth, 1662, 25)  
so was our purpose stopt (Ibid., 36)  
our youthful flow'r was cropt (Ibid., 36)  
they are but sins guilt over (Ibid., 35)  
Are quite abasht, their courage dasht (Ibid., 11)  
God's people ... are ... pluckt up (Williams 1, 1644, 112)  
it is ... express (Ibid., 112)  
forc'd and ravisht by Emperours (Ibid., 60)  
we have flusht them (Wise, 1690, 536)

The following form appears to be a regularized past participle of to catch.

that they may be catcht (Portsmouth Records, 1640, 32)

The Past participle of many weak verbs was often found written -'d, -d, -de in the material covered. It seems possible that these spellings indicate that the writers recognized that the past participial ending of certain verbs was pronounced [d] or [ɪd] and that the above spellings were an attempt to show this sound. I have listed here a number of my citations with these spellings.

A lonely place, with pleasures dignifi'd (Bradstreet, 1678, 377)  
he was pull'd and garbidg'd (Josselyn, 1672, 144)  
seldome any are kill'd (Ibid., 150)  
I had ... been dog'd (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)  
I was employ'd (Ibid., 1696-7, 213)  
he was drown'd (Sewall 2, 1697, 15)  
as not to be asham'd (Ibid., 12)  
13 Houses burnd ... and corn stroy'd (Sewall 1, 1694, 391)  
Their lives are spar'de (Taylor, 1671, 47)  
He's turnd out (Ibid., 43)  
Like payson'd splinters (Ibid., 44)  
what! come uncall'd (Ibid., 53)  
'They are arraign'd and there detain'd (Wigglesworth, 1662, 22)  
who by the Rod were turn'd to God (Ibid., 15)  
Sepulchers open'd are (Ibid., 13)  
No sooner said but 'tis obey'd (Ibid., 13)  
The Heresy ... was Condemn'd (I. Mather 3, 1716, 14)  
A neighbour ... that had entertain'd (Morton, 1637, 151)  
it had ... enjoy'd (C. Mather 2, 1699, 208)  
Four or five ... were kill'd (Ibid., 1699, 206)  
an agreement confer'd vpon Ralph Fogge (Salem Records, 1647, 148)  
an itch that loves ... to be scrub'd (Ward, 1647, 15)  
the braines ... should be parboyl'd (Ibid., 12)  
The whole body ... form'd & pitch'd in true Battalia (Williams 1, 1644, 5)  
by letter of autorny assign'd to me (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 274)  
yors for every oblidgd (Ibid., 1639, 277)  
Long I land had payd tribute (Ibid., 1637, 245)  
whether duely proved, and orderly proceeded (Cotton, 1644, 52)  
any person that hath digged a pit (Watertown Records, 1641, 7)

I have included the form digged here even though the verb customarily has a **strong** past participle. The NED classifies to dig as a weak verb having the form digged as its past tense and past participle. It received a **strong** past participle in the sixteenth century which has also been used as a past tense since the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Webster gives both dug and digged as past participles of to dig.<sup>2</sup>

in long white Robes yclad (Wigglesworth, 1662, 15)

Webster lists yclad as an archaic past participle of the verb to clothe.<sup>3</sup> NED lists yclad as archaic since the sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

they were hasted ashore (Bradford, 1630, 112)

The NED says that the verb to haste is chiefly literary now and that the ordinary form is to hasten, the extended <sup>form</sup> of to haste.<sup>5</sup> Webster lists to haste as literary and dialectal today.<sup>6</sup>

The -t spelling, the usual form in verbs with stems ending in a voiceless consonant, undoubtedly indicated a voiceless rather than a voiced stop. The -t spelling however was not universal in such verbs. There were many -d spellings, presumably pronounced [t], after voiceless consonants. I noted no cases of the past participle ending

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1. NED III, 347.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 728.

3. Ibid., 2968.

4. NED X, pt. 2, XYZ Section, p. 24.

5. NED V, 111.

6. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 1143.

in -t in Sewall except such participles as set and burnt which end in -t in current English. Roger Williams also used very few -t forms except such participles as kept and put which are still the current forms. Bradford uses a good many -t forms but has a far larger number of other endings. Some writers used both forms for [t]. I have listed a few citations.

The ship was ... dispatcht (Bradford, 1630, 130)  
other messengers were dispatched (Ibid., 39)  
he was forc't to take (Ibid., 189)  
she was forced to cut (Ibid., 186)  
forc'd and ravisht by Emperours (Williams 1, 1644, 60)

In some writers only the -d spelling was noted. I have listed a few citations.

they have pitch'd (Sewall 1, 1689, 271)  
who has confess'd (Ibid., 1692, 365)  
which they finde ready furnished (White, 1630, 6)  
he had punished (Ibid., 15)  
the title ... prefixed ... implies (Ibid., 1)  
although not reached (Hubbard, 1680, 9)  
the difficultye is increased (Ibid., 20)

One would expect [t] in the above citations. Unfortunately the spelling does not throw much light on the pronunciation.

#### Strong Past Participles of Weak Verbs

of Talents lent by them mispent and on their lust bestown (Wigglesworth, 1662, 24)

The NED lists bestown(e) from ME bestowen as a past participle of to bestow in the seventeenth century and gives a citation from Wither writing in 1628.<sup>1</sup> I do not find bestown listed in Webster.

to overflow  
that are oft time over flown by the channels of water (Hubbard, 1680, 22)

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1. NED I, 826.

The NED says that the strong past participle flown of the verb to flow occurs down to the eighteenth century "as an archaism or blunder, esp. in the compound overflown."<sup>1</sup> Webster does not list overflown as a past participle of to overflow. He lists flown as an obsolete past participle of to flow.<sup>2</sup>

to shape  
whose reformation is cut or shapen (Bradford, 1630, 13)

The NED says that while to shape has been a regular weak verb from the sixteenth century on the strong past participle shapen still survives "in archaizing use."<sup>3</sup> The form still survives in the compound mis-shapen. Webster lists shapen as archaic.<sup>4</sup>

to saw  
of boards or of sawen timber (Salem Records, 1636, 30)  
other sawen timber (Ibid., 1636, 30)  
It is ordered that noe sawen boards ... be sold (Ibid., 1636, 30)

The NED lists both sawed and sawn as past participles of to saw. The two forms were apparently both in use in the seventeenth century. The NED gives citations of both from the 1611 Bible.<sup>5</sup> Webster lists both sawed and sawn as past participles of to saw.<sup>6</sup> Sawn is apparently current today among educated speakers. I heard a college professor use it quite recently.

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1. NED IV, 351.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 973.

3. NED VIII, pt. 2, 629.

4. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2302.

5. NED VIII, pt. 2, 146.

6. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2224.

to show

and they were showne unto him (Bradford, 1630, 54)  
this ... is shewn (Morton, 1637, 120)

as is shewed (Bradford, 1630, 202)  
I have been shewed (Morton, 1637, 154)

Both the strong and weak past participle of the verb to show were noted. The NED gives only shown as the current past participle of the verb to show.<sup>1</sup> Webster gives both shown and showed as current past participles of to show.<sup>2</sup>

To judge from the evidence found in the material covered the preterite and past participle of the weak verbs in seventeenth century American English had reached virtually their current forms. There were more forms written -t, -'t etc. in verbs with stems ending in a voiceless consonant than is the case today, e.g. dropt, mist, tackt, quenchet. Occasionally a form such as catch'd or catcht was normalized according to the regular weak pattern, but this form has survived only in sub-standard English.

More variation from the current forms was noted in the case of the strong verbs. The clipped past participle such as broke, hid, rid, writ, was fairly common. In the preterite the usual practice in current English is to use a form developed either from the old preterite singular or from the old preterite plural or past participle. In the seventeenth century this practice was not so well stabilized; we have both began and begun, rode and rid, writ and wrote, as preterite form of to begin, to

1. NED VIII, pt. 2, 763.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 2323.

ride, and to write. In current English more of the preterite forms are derived from the old preterite singular. In the seventeenth century, forms derived from the old preterite plural or past participle were apparently in fairly common use, e.g. drunk, holp, rid, writ. A few of these variant forms still survive today, e.g., according to Webster's New International Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1934, sang and sung of the verb to sing.

#### Perfect Tense Auxiliary Verbs

The verb to be was noted in a good many instances as an auxiliary verb in the perfect tenses. The verb to have is normally the present-day auxiliary. The use of to be as an auxiliary occurred for the most part with verbs of motion. This use of to be as an auxiliary is old in English. It is very similar to the use of être and sein as the perfect tense auxiliary with certain verbs in modern French and modern German. I have listed here part of my citations for to be as a perfect auxiliary with verbs of motion.

A Ship is arriv'd (Sewall 1, 1689, 269)  
Mr Brattle was arriv'd (Ibid., 1694, 391)  
they are arrived in ye Haven (Bradford, 1630, 49)  
Being thus arrived at Cap-Cod (Ibid., 97)  
Being thus arrived in a good harbor (Ibid., 94)

I am come (Wise, 1690, 523)  
we were come (Higginson, 1630, 65)  
The French shippe is now come (Winthrop, 1630-31, 169)  
the Land Army was come (Wise, 1690, 527)  
they were come (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 262)  
the day of Grace is not yet come (Eliot, 1649, 14)  
Being come to mr Havens (Knight, 1704, 16)  
Being entred into ye sea (Higginson, 1630, 64)  
men, being newley entred into their possessions (White, 1630, 61)  
I am entred at the strait Gate (C. Kather 1, 1681, 10)

their time limeted them being expired, they returned (Bradford, 1630, 99-100)  
till ye 7. years were expired (Ibid., 201)  
Lord prelates, deanes, prebends are fallen (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 151)  
[they] were fallen into his Power (Sewall 1, 1697, 13)  
Babylon is fallen (Johnson, 1654, 50)  
[which] they were fallen into (Bradford, 1630, 156)  
upon the Government's being fallen on him (Sewall 1, 1694, 395)  
Such trees as are fallen on our bounds (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 38)  
the streame ... being issued in so small ... a course, itt is not mentioned (Hubbard, 1680, 19)  
hee and Momonothuk are fled (Winthrop Papers, 1637, 248)  
many of them are fled ye kingdome (Ibid., 1641, 150)  
hoping for a ... time to settle the Voyage ... when he was gotten below ye Narrows (Wise, 1690, 537)  
but being gotten among their great multitude they waited to see (Johnson, 1654, 40)  
Being got to Milford ... I could go no further (Knight, 1704, 64)  
Being got to the Top, [I] was there amply recompenced (Ibid., 14)  
If I am gon (Sewall 1, 1689, 271)  
He is gon to Prison (Ibid., 1694, 396)  
Mr Gookin ... was gone (Ibid., 1674, 4)  
the Magistrates were gone (Ibid., 1686, 138)  
after they were gone to sea (Bradford, 1630, 84)  
her mast being gone (Ibid., 186)

The use of to be as the auxiliary with to go is of course current in modern English.

Being landed, it grew late (Bradford, 1630, 101)  
Being thus passed ye vast ocean ... they had no friends to welcome them (Ibid., 94)  
Three weeks are not passed (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 6)  
eight months are not passed (Sewall 2, 1697, 16)  
being put to Sea [they] might encounter with a storm (Morton, 1637, 127)  
as soon as tares and wheat are sprung up (Williams 1, 1644, 103)  
Portugall is totally revolted from ye Spaniards (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 151)  
Catalonia likewise is ioyned with them (Ibid., 151)  
light is risen (Williams 1, 1644, 65)  
much light is risen (Ibid., 70)  
these are the ... objections which they that are returned make against you (Bradford, 1630, 193)  
those that came over and were returned home (Ibid., 193)

ye people were run away (Bradford, 1630, 100)  
the Princes treasurers are run from him ("Winthrop Papers, 1637, 248)

The use of to be as a perfect auxiliary in verbs of motion was not universal. I have listed here a few citations with to have as the auxiliary of some of these verbs.

until I have arrived (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 6)  
I have come (Ibid., 1680-81, 2)  
some have ... come (Bradford, 1630, 193)  
you have come ("Wigglesworth, 1662, 33)  
we had come (Wise, 1690, 522)  
after the sack has gone ... about (Knight, 1704, 55)  
All men have gone astray (Wigglesworth, 1662, 34)  
If we had gone (Wise, 1690, 527)  
they had not gone farr (Bradford, 1630, 83)  
having been gon a Moneth (Sewall 1, 1686, 138)

Some of the verbs noted with to be as their perfect auxiliary do not appear to be verbs of motion, but show a resultant state. I have listed some of these instances.

God is become thy God (Shepard, 1634, 11)  
how are they become factious (White, 1630, 61)  
Some passages that are befallen the Indians (Winthrop Papers, 1638 261)  
the Natives are descended from a people (Morton, 1637, 124)  
Amunition was growne Scarce (Wise, 1690, 532)  
We are grown to ye excesse (Higginson, 1630, 42)  
which was of late grown upon me (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)  
But now 'tis grown unto such comely state (Danforth, 1648, 104)  
my wife was ... recouered of her sea sicknesse (Higginson, 1630, 71)  
being all well recovered in health (Bradford, 1630, 127)  
These troubles being blowne over (Ibid., 90)  
In what darke corner are we two met (Williams 1, 1644, 55)  
the Apostles and Elders being met ... give direction (Cotton, 1644, 52)  
when they are met in his name (Ibid., 24)  
The Brethren ... being gathered together ... did deliver (Ibid., 39)

To judge from the evidence of the material examined the use of the verb to be as an auxiliary for the perfect tenses was much more

common in American English of the seventeenth century than it is today.

In current English its use is virtually limited to the verb to go.

Even in the case of to go we may say either "he is gone" or "he has gone."

## Chapter III

### THE FORMAL SUBJUNCTIVE

Any approach to a consideration of the subjunctive mood must be made from the view-point of both function and form. Function is the meaning which one intends to convey. Form is a technique for expressing function. As forms which express the subjunctive function disappear other forms or techniques tend to take over their functions. Thus the subjunctive idea in present day English may depend on context, modal auxiliaries, relative pronouns, adverbs, or conjunctions.

In the present chapter consideration will be given only to the formal subjunctive, i.e., where the form of the verb itself or the introductory word let + the infinitive indicates a subjunctive. This type of subjunctive falls under five headings:

1. The form be of the verb to be both as auxiliary and finite verb as an indication of the subjunctive in all three persons singular and plural of the present tense.
2. The past tense were of the verb to be first or third person singular.
3. Have as a third person singular present of the verb to have.
4. The s-less form of the third person singular of the present tense of verbs other than to be or to have except the modals.
5. Let + the infinitive as an indication of the subjunctive.

The figures in the following table show the frequency of the formal subjunctive in relation to the number of pages covered.

Work	Date	Forms	Pages
Winthrop Papers	1626-75	31	28
Bradford	1630	33	200
Higginson	1630	19	31
White	1630	28	20
Winthrop Letters	1630-31	25	20
Shepard	1634	2	20
Watertown Records	1634-79	31	15
Salem Records	1636-56	40	44
Morton	1637	15	41
Lechford	1638-41	19	20
Cotton	1644	35	36
Williams Bloody Tenent	1644	48	75
Williams Experiments	1652	27	25
Portsmouth Records	1646-82	30	27
Ward	1647	36	25
Danforth	1647-8-9	7	10
Eliot	1649	19	10
Johnson	1654	10	15
Norton	1654	17	15
Wigglesworth	1662	4	25
Josselyn	1672	6	25
Sewall Diary	1673-98	24	50
Sewall Phaenomena	1697	2	5
Bradstreet	1678	13	17
Hubbard	1680	10	20

C. Mather Diary	1681-97	14	25
C. Mather Decennium Luctuosum	1699	9	20
I. Mather Remarkable Providences	1684	2	10
I. Mather Brief Account	1691	2	10
I. Mather Disquisition	1716	2	5
Wise	1690	9	13
Willard	1700	10	12
Taylor	1671	23	28
Knight	1704	7	72

The dates in this table are mainly arranged chronologically. In the case of a work like the Winthrop Papers, for example, where the samplings extend over a period of years the work is entered under the first date. All dates for a particular author are given together. More detailed information on authors or works will be found in the bibliography.

The formal subjunctive appears most frequently in subordinate clauses. It is found most commonly after the subordinate conjunctions if, (al)though, before, lest, whether, provided that, in case, so that, til (until), unless.

#### After if

One hundred and eighty-seven instances were noted of the subjunctive after if distributed as follows: be of the verb to be both as finite verb and auxiliary in any person or number, eighty-five, were, first

or third singular of the verb to be, twenty-eight, have; third singular of the verb to have, six; and s-less forms of other verbs in the third singular, sixty-eight.

The form be of the verb to be was the form most commonly found after if. Part of the examples are listed here.

If I be just (Taylor, 1671, 40)  
If you be hungry (Morton, 1637, 137)  
wo if you be not ... such (Danforth, 1647, 107)  
if ye be wise (Ward, 1647, 14)  
if he be not too obstinate (Morton, 1637, 140)  
if she be then living (Lechford, 1638-41, 6)  
if it be wood, hay, stubble (Norton, 1654, 4)  
if any fault be in the fence (Watertown Records, 1636, 2)  
if they be not enough to serve (Ward, 1647, 21)  
if persons be ... obstinate (Williams 1, 1644, 123)  
if two be one (Bradstreet, 1678, 394)  
If there be young women (Eliot, 1649, 13)  
if it bee thy Will (C. Mather 1, 1681, 9)  
if this Collection be not compleat (C. Mather 2, 1699, 182)  
if any Freemen be absent (Watertown Records, 1639, 5)  
if they be (Morton, 1637, 149)  
if God be with us (Higginson, 1630, 21)  
If more ... to little bee (Taylor, 1671, 37)  
If this Course bee warrantable (Higginson, 1630, 46)  
If a man be almost a good man (Eliot, 1649, 12)  
if we be overtaken (Higginson, 1630, 44)  
If great things be attempted (Ibid., 48)  
if any swine be found (Portsmouth Records, 1682, 218)  
If Justice wronged be (Taylor, 1671, 36)  
if said fence be not made up (Watertown Records, 1680, 148)  
if there be ... a passage found (Josselyn, 1672, 140-1)  
if they be rewarded (Winthrop, 1630-31, 165)  
if it be well accepted (Morton, 1637, 109)  
if it be agreed (Portsmouth Records, 1647, 35)  
if it be said (Bradford, 1630, 96)  
if any trespass be done (Watertown Records, 1636, 2)  
if any Goats be found (Ibid., 1637, 3)  
if any Oxen or Steers be found (Ibid., 1636, 3)  
if this be suffered (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
if release ... be produced (Ibid., 1639, 275)  
if all be taken (Cotton, 1644, 23)  
if it be said (Ibid., 42)  
if there be found any occasion (C. Mather 2, 1699, 185)

if it be not conserved (Ward, 1647, 2)  
if some part ... be replenished (White, 1630, 3)  
if it be objected (Cotton, 1644, 49)  
if it be not well fenced (Eliot, 1649, 8)  
if his life be spared (Sewall 1, 1692, 367)  
if his pleasure be not acknowledged (Norton, 1654, 22-23)

Were after If

if it were (Sewall 1, 1689, 267)  
if it were possible (C. Mather 2, 1699, 191)  
if it were possible (Ibid., 194)  
if he were ... better talented (Ibid., 180)  
if I were to give (Ward, 1647, 15)  
if he were (Bradford, 1630, 112)  
if it were (Williams 2, 1652, 11)  
if all were clear (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 276)  
if it were in his Power (I. Mather 2, 1690, 278)  
if the King were in England (Ibid., 284)  
if any [form]were so (I. Mather 2, 1716, 4)  
if he were not a God, (Norton, 1654, 24)  
if it were possible (Ward, 1647, 19)  
if it were (White, 1630, 3)  
as if he were (Williams, 1644, 34)

If ever man were lov'd (Bradstreet, 1678, 394)  
As if it were sunk (Eliot, 1649, 18)  
if the number were ... abated (White, 1630, 19)  
if it were not Iron-blested (Ward, 1647, 17)  
If I were perswaded (Williams 2, 1652, 13)  
if he were ... reprov'd (Bradford, 1630, 91)  
if Libertie of Conscience were suffered (Williams, 1644, 38)  
If Paul, if Jesus Christ were present ... and the question proposed  
(Williams 1, 1644, 11)  
if a man were torne and rack'd (Ibid., 123)  
if libertie ... were suffered (Ibid., 53)  
if the blindness ... were ... compared (Ibid., 123)

I am listing here a few citations with were in inverted order  
expressing a condition with if implied.

And were ye many free (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 276)  
Were it not for (Norton, 1637, 117)  
Were I but nigh (Knight, 1704, 16)  
Were it not for (Hubbard, 1680, 17)  
Were it not for (Ibid., 17)  
Were it not for (Ibid., 18)

The construction if + were is often spoken of as representing a condition contrary to fact. However, if + were often indicates a mere possibility and not a condition contrary to fact. This can be seen from the following citations:

if I were to give (Ward, 1647, 18)  
if I were to come (Winthrop, 1630-1631)  
his Majesty was pleased to bid me rest assured, that it should be so, if it were in his Power (I. Mather 2, 1690, 278)  
[They] Resolved ... That they would free their friends ... if it were possible (C. Mather 2, 1699, 191)  
Which we are wont to account a sorer affliction, then if a man were torne and rack'd (Williams 1, 1644, 123)  
it is no prejudice to the common wealth if Libertie of Conscience were suffered (Ibid., 38)  
it is ... no prejudice to the Common-wealth if Libertie of Conscience were suffered (Ibid., 53)  
if the number ... were abated, the rest ... might be able to abate their prices (White, 1630, 19)  
he would allway be contemning ye poor in their sickness ... and did not let to tell them that he hoped to cast halfe of them over board ... and if he were by any gently reproved he would curse and swear most bitterly (Bradford, 1630, 91)

The idea of futurity is plainly evident in the foregoing citations. The thought of were in each case is quite clearly should be. Curme refers to this idea of futurity in the past subjunctive as "the almost universally recognized principle that the past subjunctive refers to the present or the future."<sup>1</sup>

Ramsey says, speaking of the subjunctive, "even the apparently past, but really present tense, is often shifted so far that its reference is future."<sup>2</sup>

The use of have, third singular of the verb to have, was not of very common occurrence after if. The following cases were noted.

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1. G. O. Curme, Syntax, 221.
  2. Samuel Ramsey, The English Language and English Grammar, 447.

if the church have no just cause to refuse (Cotton, 1644, 45)  
if a member have just occasion to remove (Ibid., 45)  
if it haue sea-room (Higginson, 1630, 70)  
if the said James Parker have a desire to go (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 159)  
if the conversation have beene peaceable (White, 1630, 61)  
if he haue giuen (Winthrop Papers, 1634, 275)

The s-less form of third singular occurs frequently after if. Part of the examples are listed here.

if need require (Watertown Records, 1679, 145)  
if he work so long (Salem Records, 1646, 145)  
Mrs. Higenson is shew come (Salem Records, 1636, 21)  
if Mr. Endecott doe agree (Ibid., 1646, 146)  
if the towne require it (Ibid., 1636-7, 40)  
if he please (Taylor, 1671, 31)  
which if he refuse to give, to carry him to prison, (Sewall 1, 1686, 134)  
if God so please (Morton, 1654, 6)  
if hee sleepe (Morton, 1637, 137)  
if any mistake worth noting do appear (C. Mather 2, 1699, 179)  
if a War do appear (Ibid., 182)  
if he do all this (Ibid., 183)  
if he do Erect (Ibid., 183)  
if he effect ... the same (Lechford, 1638-41, 15)  
if their mother dye (Ibid., 18)  
if the said Margaret dye (Ibid., 6)  
if the said estate wch I shall have in England come over to these parts (Ibid., 19)  
if Christ give strength (Johnson, 1654, 51)  
if the quantity doe not more harme (Hubbard, 1680, 24)  
If one sleep ... at meeting (Eliot, 1649, 12)  
If any talk ... and tell (Ibid., 12)  
if the offender refuse (Cotton, 1644, 35)  
if Christ come (Taylor, 1671, 48)  
If Justice sue the Bons that cancelld are (Taylor, 1671, 40)  
which if he doe not (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 160)  
if any man carry (Ibid., 1647, 34)  
If God helpe not the one and the devill leave not helping the other (Ward, 1647, 23)  
if there happen any interruption of trade (White, 1630, 17)  
if a man hold forth or professe (Williams 2, 1644, 43)

The cases which follow appear to be subjunctive with if omitted.

For set a Beggar on horseback, see

He'll ride as if no man as good as hee (Taylor, 1671, 39)

But slack the rains, and come a Loop-hole lower:  
You'll finde it was but Pen-coopt up before (Ibid., 55)  
Our life compare wee with their length of dayes  
Who to the tenth of theirs doth now arrive? (Bradstreet, 1673, 375)

Noah Webster in his Dissertations on the English Language commenting on the use of the subjunctive after subordinate conjunctions cites these two examples after if:

But if thou linger in my territories (Two Gentlemen of Verona, act 5, 5, 6)  
If the second be pronounced thus, the Verse will be degraded into hobling prose (Sheridan's Art of Reading)

It is needless [he says] to multiply similar passages; the same use of the verb without the personal termination, occurs in almost every page of our best writings, and it is perfectly correct.

But [he continues] will any person contend that the verbs in these passages are in the present tense: The sense is entirely future, and could not be translated in Latin or French without employing the future tense. The expressions are elliptical, and cannot be clearly understood, without inserting shall or should before the verbs. This pretended present tense of the subjunctive is therefore the real future of the indicative.<sup>1</sup>

Webster appears to be in error twice in the foregoing statements.

1. The sense of his citations, "if thou linger in my territories," "if the second be pronounced thus," is perfectly clear without the insetion of shall or should before the verbs.

2. The French language does not employ the future tense after the French equivalent of if i.e. si when a condition is involved. The following citations from seventeenth and eighteenth century French writers will show that the present indicative is used in si (if) clauses and not the future indicative as Webster says.

Mais si vous en avez envie,  
observez les choses que je vous diray (Honore D'urfé, L'Astrée I, 167)

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1. Noah Webster, Dissertations on the English Language, 251-252.

Et s'il ne vous croit, <sup>o 2.</sup> sayes certain qu'à sa confusion il emploirera son temps vainement (Ibid., 302)  
Si mon oeuvre n'est pas assay bon modèle J'ai du moins ouvert le chemin (J. De. La Fontaine III, 169)  
il faudra que ce monceau s'altère. Si je le laisse à la maison (Ibid., 23)  
Si nous suivons le progrès de l'inegalité ... nous trouverons que (J. Rousseau I, 308)  
Mon fils, si vous nous quittez, qu'allons nous devenir? (Berardin de Saint-Pierre, Paul et Virginie, 103)  
J'eus avec lui une conversation que je vais vous rapporter si je ne vous suis pas trop ennuyeux (Ibid., 129)

#### After (Al)though

Fifty instances of the subjunctive after (al)though were noted, distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, both as finite verb and auxiliary, thirty-one, were of the verb to be six, have third singular of the verb to have two, s-less forms of other verbs in the third singular eleven. Since the clauses introduced by (al)though were less frequent than those introduced by if, I have listed part of the citations noted in the readings covered.

although ... it be (Williams, 1644, 5)  
though the Things be Erroneous (Ibid., 41)  
Though it be true (Ibid., 46)  
though they be spiritual (Ibid., 45-6)  
although it be (Williams 2, 1652, 22)  
though Abraham be ignorant (Ibid., 6)  
for though Elders be a superior order (Cotton, 1644, 35)  
though they be both of them of equal authority (Ibid., 46)  
though they be never so true (Sewall, 1675, 10)  
though the designation be (Norton, 1654, 23)  
though it be in God's hands (Ibid., 5)  
though it be nearer (Morton, 1637, 121)  
though my case be very bad (C. Lather, 1681, 13)  
although sometimes it be in the middle of May (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
though there be lead in Meridin Hills (Ibid., 23)  
though all the countrey be (Higginson, 1630, 6)  
though it be ... cold (Ibid., 16)  
though it be like to be ... difficult (Eliot, 1649, 11)  
though the earth here be fertile (Winthrop, 1630-31, 165)

though the rest be waste (White, 1630, 38)  
though none be damnd (Taylor, 1671, 38)  
though there be a mystical sense (Williard, 1700, 6)  
tho it be turned into Cornish his name (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 276)  
though this be fled (Bradstreet, 1678, 42)  
though ourselves be saved (Norton, 1654, 4)  
Although the fire ... never die or be extinguished (Williams 2, 1652, 4)

although the number ... were ... few (Johnson, 1654, 165)  
though the voyage were more tedious than hath been known (Williams, 2, 1652, 11)  
Though it were to be wished xt diverse things were reformed (Bradford, 1630, 8)  
though it were 5. or 6. days before (Bradford, 1630, 165)  
altho it were at a very great distance (Wise, 1690, 529)

These instances of the subjunctive form were clearly refer to possible occurrences and not occurrences contrary to fact.

Although New England have no tallow (Higginson, 1630, 16)  
Though a man have light enough (Ward, 1647, 11)

although the fire never die (Williams 2, 1652, 4)  
although it seem (Ibid., 22)  
although her heart wake (Ibid., 3)  
and though it say (Taylor, 1671, 55)  
Though this ten thousand times much more,  
Though doubled o're and o're for little goe (Ibid., 38)  
though all the world say nay (Wigglesworth, 1662, 22)  
thoughtit discover (Bradford, 1630, 86)  
though the church want authoritie (Cotton, 1644, 43)  
though it goe (Ibid., 26)  
though it doe reforme (White, 1630, 20)

#### After Before (Afore)

Ten instances of the subjunctive were noted after before. They were distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, both as finite verbs and auxiliary, seven; have, third singular of the verb to have, one; s-less forms of other verbs in third singular, two. I have listed all of the ten citations encountered.

before this year bee out (C. Mather, 1692, 144)  
at or afore twelve months be expired (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 38)  
before the fallowed ground bee willing to receive (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
before the fruit tress be blossomed out (Ibid., 21)  
before hypocrites be manifested by fruits (Williams 1, 1644, 103)  
before it be fully finished (Josselyn, 1672, 137)  
before they be transported (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 38)  
  
before he have notice of it (Watertown Records, 1637, 2)  
before he offer it (Salem Records, 1635, 11)  
before the Gospell binde (Taylor, 1671, 54)

#### After Except

Three instances of the subjunctive after except were noted, all of be of the verb to be, both as finite verb and auxiliary. I have listed the three citations.

except it be by common consent (Watertown Records, 1640, 6)  
except there be some better consent (Sewall 1, 1692, 367)  
except they bee smoked out (Higginson, 1630, 17)

#### After Lest

Eleven instances of the subjunctive after lest were noted, distributed as follows: be of the verb to be as auxiliary verb only, five; s-less forms of other verbs in the third singular, six. I have listed all of these citations.

lest the whole house, masse of dough, body and flocke, be set on fire, with the sparke, be sowred with the leaven, be putrified with the rotten flesh, perish by the scabbed beast (Williams 1, 1644, 50)  
lest by his fervor we be torrifi'd (Bradstreet, 1678, 171)  
lest themselves and the church be cumbred with ... agitations (Cotton, 1644, 52)

Lest that your little Sin asunder fall  
And two become, each bigger than before (Taylor, 1671, 42)  
Lest that the Soule in Sin Securely ly  
And do neglect Free Grace I'll stepping in,  
Convince him by the Morrall law (Ibid., 40)

After Provided (that)

Five instances of the subjunctive after provided (that) were noted, distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, both finite verb and auxiliary, four, s-less forms of the third singular, one. I have listed the five citations.

Provided it be for an house (Watertown Records, 1639, 6)  
Provided ... that the propriety be reserved (Salem Records, 1636, 10)  
Provided that those deputed ... be paid (Ibid., 1636, 10)  
Provided that the hy way ... be not hindered (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 39)  
Provided that ... he leau it vnto the towne (Salem Records, 1636, 38)

After in case (that)

Five instances of the subjunctive were noted after in case (that), distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, as auxiliary verb, four; s-less forms of the third singular, one.

in case Mr. Cole be disposed to part with it (Salem Records, 1635, 11)  
incase he be not dismissed (Ibid., 1636, 38)  
in case Mr. Page be remoued (Ibid., 1646, 147)  
in case that noe goods of his be found (Watertown Records, 1663, 76)  
in case he deprt (Salem Records, 1636, 22)

After Till (untill)

Twenty-eight instances of the subjunctive after till (until) were noted, distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, both as auxiliary and finite verb nineteen, s-less forms of the third singular of other verbs, nine. I have listed all the citations.

till at least they be muskeeto prooffe (Bradford, 1630, 196)  
till there be no more place (White, 1630, 4)

till it be as round and big as an egg (Josselyn, 1672, 150)  
 till it be like a hasty pudden (Ibid., 187)  
 till he be convinced (Williams 1, 1644, 47)  
 until such distempers be cleansed and got out (Williams 2, 1652, 20)  
 until that which is perfect is come and that which is imperfect  
be done away (Norton, 1654, 5)  
 Till they be carted away (Danforth 1647, 102)  
 Till's house be rais'd against the Reckoning Day (Taylor, 1671, 43)  
 until their meate be dished up (Morton, 1637, 137)  
 until one or both be slaine (Ibid., 154)  
 untill it be all consumed (Ibid., 135)  
 till that be brought about (Willard, 1700, 5)  
 till the very scum ... be boyled cleane away (Ward, 1647, 14)  
 till a judgement ... be procured (Portsmouth Records, 1699, 151)  
 untill further order be taken (Ibid., 1647, 36)  
 till the bridge be ended (Salem Records, 1646, 145)  
 till further order be taken (Ibid., 1656, 194)  
 till a new [constable] be chosen & sworne (Ibid., 1647, 150)  
 O happy flood, quoth I, that holds thy race  
 Till thou arrive at thy beloved place (Bradstreet, 1678, 377)  
 until it come to the Rayle (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 160)  
 till he come to New port (Ibid., 1648, 40)  
 until Jesus rescue, redeem and ransome (Williams 2, 1652)  
 It were better to stay till it come (Higginson, 1630, 44)  
 And till the pay day come, I'll be his baile (Taylor, 1671, 37)  
 Until he dance after the Gospell Pipe (Ibid., 1671, 41)

#### After Unless

Twelve instances of the subjunctive were noted as follows: be  
 of the verb to be seven; were of the verb to be, one; have third  
 singular of the verb to have one; s-less forms of other verbs in the  
 third singular three.

unlesse it be to expresse (White, 1630, 12)  
 unless his error be fundamental (Williams 1, 1644, 47)  
 unless he be a scorner (Cotton, 1644, 35)  
 unless he be received (Portsmouth Records, 1646, 32)  
 vnless the said boards be first offered to sell (Salem Records,  
 1636, 30)  
 unles he be suddenly surprised or violently forced, by mighty  
 temptations (Williams 2, 1652, 9)  
 unless they be found to make all friends (Taylor, 1671, 36)

unless the fault were their owne (Johnson, 1654, 38)  
Unless he first have the consent of the Freemen (Watertown Records,  
1635, 1)  
unless Gods providence hinder (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
unless Mr. Batter dye (Sewall 1, 1674, 7)  
unless he give (Salem Records, 1646, 144)

#### After So That

Three instances of the subjunctive after so that were noted, two were the form were of the verb to be used as an auxiliary verb. One was the s-less singular. The citations are listed here.

the wind carrying it thither so that his warehouse were quickly burnt down and much Money and Goods lost with the Buildings (Sewall 1, 1698, 481)  
it pleased God ... so to dispose that not any one ... were either hurt or hitt (Bradford, 1630, 104)  
ordered that there be no Land granted ... butting upon another mans Land ... that he sustaine no damage by it (Watertown Records, 1637, 3)

#### After Whether

Eleven instances of the subjunctive were noted after whether, distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, five; were of the verb to be, four; s-less forms of other verbs in the third singular, two. I have listed the eleven citations.

whether Persecution be not against the Doctrine of Jesus Christ (Williams 1, 1644, 29)  
whether Persecution ... be not against the Doctrine of Jesus Christ (Ibid., 41)  
whether it be their office or their place (Cotton, 1644, 20)  
whether it be so (Willard, 1700, 2)  
whether the offence be really given (Cotton, 1644, 52)  
  
I questioned whether there were a God (Shepard, 1634, 23)  
I could not tell whether 'twere so convenient then (Sewall , 1698, 36)  
which made me think whether it were not best to overlook all (Ibid., 1698, 482)  
he waited to see whether his faith were the operation of God's spirit (Ibid., 1676, 36)

whether the said Margaret came over to W.F. or no (Lechford, 1638-41, 7)  
 whether he mean ... the **rightnesse** or corruptnesse (Williams 1, 1644, 67)

It may be pointed out that the use of the subjunctive after subordinate conjunctions in the seventeenth century English considered in this study closely resembles that of present day French after certain subordinate conjunctions. I have listed a number of instances in which this parallel can be observed.

Though it <u>be</u> true (Williams 1, 1644, 46)	Quoiqu'il <u>soit</u> vrai
Though it <u>be</u> nearer (Morton, 1637, 21)	Quoiqu'il <u>soit</u> plus près
Though none <u>be</u> damn'd (Taylor, 1671, 38)	Quoique nul ne <u>soit</u> damne
though ourselves <u>be</u> saved (Norton, 1654, 4)	Quoique nous <u>soyons</u> sauves
Although a man <u>have</u> light enough (Ward, 1647, 11)	Quoiqu'un homme <u>ait</u> assey de lumiere
Although New England <u>have</u> no taller (Higginson, 1630, 16)	Quoique la Nouvelle-Angleterre n' <u>ait</u> pas de suif
and thoughtit <u>say</u> (Taylor, 1671, 55)	et <u>qu'il</u> <u>dise</u>
though it <u>discover</u> (Bradford, 1630, 86)	quoiqu'il <u>découvre</u>
though it <u>goe</u> (Cotton, 1644, 26)	quoi qu'il <u>aille</u>

#### After Before

before this year be out (C. Mather 1, 1692, 144)  
 before the fruit trees be blossomed out (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
 before it be fully finished (Josselyn, 1672, 137)  
 before he have notice of it (Watertown Records, 1677, 2)  
 before he offer it (Salem Records, 1635, 11)  
 Before the Gospell binde (Taylor, 1671, 54)

#### After Avant que

Avant que cette année ne soit terminée  
 Avant que les arbres fruitiers ne soient in fleur  
 Avant qu'il soit complètement terminé  
 avant qu'il en ait notice  
 avant qu'il ne l'offre  
 Avant que l'Evangile ne lie

After Except

Except it be by common consent  
(Watertown Records, 1640, 6)  
Except there be some better  
consent (Sewall 1, 1692, 367)  
Except they be smoked out  
(Higginson, 1630, 17)

After Lest

lest by his fervor we be  
torrifi'd (Bradstreet, 1678,  
171)  
lest themselves and the church  
be cumbred with agitations  
(Cotton, 1644, 52)  
we had need be serious lest God  
chastize us (Winthrop Papers,  
1675, 426)

After Provided (that)

Provided that it be for an house  
(Watertown Records, 1639, 6)  
Provided that the propriety be  
reserved (Salem Records, 1636,  
15)  
Provided that the hy way ... be  
not hindered (Portsmouth Records,  
1648, 39)  
Provided that he Leaue it to the  
Towne (Salem Records, 1648, 39)  
Provided he make his first prof  
[fer] to the towne (Ibid., 1635,  
11)

After in Case (that)

in case he be not dismissed  
(Salem Records, 1635, 11)  
in case Mar: Page be removed  
(Ibid., 1646, 147)

A moins que

À moins qu'il ne soit d'une commune  
voix  
À moins qu'il n'y ait un meilleur  
consentement  
À moins qu'ils ne soient enfumés.

De peur que

de peur que nous ne soyons brûlés  
par sa chaleur  
de peur qu'eux et l'église ne soient  
emcombres d'agitations  
Il nous faut prendre les choses au  
sérieux de peur que Dieu ne nous  
châtie

Pourvu que

Pourvu que ce soit pour une maison  
Pourvu que la Propriété soit réservée  
Pourque que la route ne soit pas  
embarrassée  
Pourvu qu'il le laisse à la ville  
Pourvu qu'il fasse sa premier offre  
à la ville

Au cas que

au cas qu'il ne soit pas relevé  
au cas que Mar: Page soit retirée

in case that noe goods of his  
be found (Watertown Records,  
1663, 76)

in case he deprt (Salem Records,  
1636, 22)

au cas qu'aucuns de ses biens ne  
soient trouvés.

au cas qu'il parte

After Till (until)

till there be no more place  
(White, 1630, 4)

until one both be slaine  
(Morton, 1637, 137)

until it all be consumed  
(Ibid., 135)

until that be brought about  
(Willard, 1700, 5)

until it come to the Rayle  
(Portsmouth Records, 1671,  
160)

till he come to New Port  
(Ibid., 1648, 40)

Jusqu'à ce que

Jusqu'à qu'il n'y ait plus de place

Jusqu'à ce que l'un ou les deux  
soient tués

Jusqu'à qu'il soit consume tout  
a fait

Jusqu'à ce que cela soit amené

Jusqu'à qu'il vienne au barrier

Jusqu'à qu'il vienne a New Port

After Unless

unless his error be funda-  
mental (Williams 1, 1644, 35)

unless he be a scorner (Cotton,  
1644, 35)

unless they be forced (Williams,  
1644, 105)

unless he be received (Ports-  
mouth Records, 1646, 32)

unless he first haue the  
consent (Watertown Records,  
1635, 1)

unless Mr. Batter dye (Sewall  
1, 1674, 7)

À moins que

À moins que son erreur ne soit  
fondamentale

À moins qu'il ne soit un contempteur

à moins qu'ils ne soient forcés

à moins qu'il ne soit admis

à moins qu'n'ait le consentement

à moins que M. Batter ne meure

(So) that

ordered that there be no Land  
granted ... butting upon  
another mans Land ... that he  
sustaine no damage by it  
(Watertown Records, 1637, 3)

de sorte que

de sorte que qu'il n'en ait  
pas damage

This parallel cannot be carried out with all the subordinate conjunctions. The subordinate conjunction si (if), for example is regularly followed by the indicative in French.

After an indefinite relative pronoun or adjective

Ten instances of the subjunctive were noted following an indefinite antecedent distributed as follows: be of the verb to be both as finite verb and auxiliary, eight; have, third singular of the verb to have as auxiliary, two. I have listed all of the citations.

Whoever they be (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 130)  
Whoever they be (Ward, 1647, 19)  
in whose custody soever they be (Lechford, 1638-41, 12)  
whatever this history be (C. Mather 2, 1699, 183)  
whatever be the event (Williams 2, 1652, 21)  
whatever be the State Religion (Williams 1, 1644, 126)  
whatever be the infection (Ibid., 126)  
by what name or names soever they be called (Lechford, 1638-41, 11)  
they came as near ... as any other church ... have done (Bradford, 1630, 26)  
every person yt haue land (Watertown Records, 1680, 146)

After the conjunctive adverb howsoever

Two instances of be, of the verb to be were found after howsoever. Both are of be as a finite verb. The two citations are given.

Howsoever it be (White, 1630, 163)  
howsoever our fare be but coarse (Winthrop, 1630, 163)

After when

One instance of have third singular of the verb to have, used as an auxiliary verb was noted after when.

George lawton shall haue 40 acrs of lande ... when he haue bult a suffissient Mill (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 39)



After expressions of command, agreement, etc.

Thirty-three instances of the subjunctive were noted in dependent clauses following expressions of command expressed or implied. They were distributed as follows: be of the verb to be, both as auxiliary and finite verb, twenty-one; have, third singular of the verb to have, two; s-less forms of other verbs in the third singular, ten. I have listed all of the citations.

ordered ... that it be such a way (Salem Records, 1646, 145)  
It is ordered ... that not any of the Rayles be (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 160)

[It is ordered] that the next be (Ibid., 1671, 160)

It is voated ... that Ralph Erls house bee Recorded (Ibid., 1650, 47)

voted ... that Strangers be not Entertained (Ibid., 1682, 215)

It is ordered that a Suffitient Powd be Sett up (Ibid., 1671, 161)

agree ... that [they] be sure to lea[ve] room (Salem Records, 1639, 9)

it is ... ordered that ... libertie be granted (Ibid., 1636, 30)

agreed that a pen be made (Ibid., 1636-7, 39)

[it is ordered] That a peticon be drawne (Ibid., 1636, 35)

its ordred That all the ... ffences ... be made vp (Ibid., 1656, 192)

Its agreed yt two blackstaves be provided (Ibid., 147)

ordered that there be no land granted (Watertown Records, 1637, 3)

Agreed ... that they be sufficiently repaired (Ibid., 1635, 2)

Ye select men agreed to goe ... to see yt all childrin and youth be brought up (Ibid., 1635, 145)

it is the ... command ... that Peace be kept (Williams 1, 1644, 59)

[the governor promises] That they ... be subject to all such laws (Bradford, 1630, 178)

[the governor promises] That they be freed and exempte (Ibid., 178)

I have propounded ... that a place be found our (Eliot, 1649, 18)

wth condition that hee bee dismist (Salem Records, 1636, 25)

be sure they be bestowed in the snippe (Winthrop, 1630, 31, 165)

Its agreed that John Talbee haue (Salem Records, 1636, 17)

It [agreed] that Bemiamyn ffelton haue (Ibid., 1636, 17)

Itm [It is ordered] that he take care to send (Ibid., 1656, 194)

[It is agreed] that Mr Burdet apoynt (Ibid., 1635, 9)

furthere ordred that the line runn (Portsmouth Records, 1646, 33)

It is ordered that every person ... bring in (Watertown Records, 1680, 146)

[The selectman] allso doe order yt said Bullward doe make up his proportion (Ibid., 1680, 148)

It is agreed ... & that he pay (Salem Records, 1636, 34)

The condicon is that he appeare (Ibid., 32)

[I] prayed that their might be orders ... Capt Willy march up (Wise, 1690, 532)

It agreeth ... that every man worship ... and believe (Williams 1, 1644, 35)

#### As it were

The phrase as it were was noted twelve times in the material examined. Jespersen refers to as it were as a "set phrase".<sup>1</sup> It was used as a sort of formula expression meaning so to speak. I have listed all the citations.

and as it were touch with his finger (Williams 1, 1644, 7)

As it were upon his death bed (Williams 2, 1652, 18)

As it were by the way (Bradford, 1630, 9)

they left them as it weer weeping (Ibid., 9)

as it were (Ibid., 95)

being consumed ... as it were (Ibid., 32)

as it were a thicke wood (Higginson, 1630, 6)

carrying the lover as it were (Norton, 1654, 24)

and, as it were, dragg'd back to duty (Knight, 1704, 37)

it is ... called That Day as it were (Willard, 1700, 1)

and are, as it were Earnests of things to come (Ibid., 5)

these Indians were as it were their men (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 264)

#### After Expression of Wish

Only three instances of the subjunctive after an expression of wishing were noted. I have listed the citations.

[I prayed] that he give word to severall other Captaines (Wise, 1690, 532)

I wish 'twere day (Knight, 1704, 15)

the heavens reward thee manifold I pray (Bradstreet, 1678, 394)

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1. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, IV, 129.

The only remaining forms of the subjunctive are be of the verb to be in any person or number, were of the verb to be in the first or third singular, have of the verb to have in the third singular, and the s-less forms of verbs other than to be or to have in the third singular.

However, it is inconceivable that the subjunctive idea should be restricted to these forms only. Therefore it must be assumed that the subjunctive idea may be present even if the form of the verb does not indicate it. It is logical to assume that if an s-less form of the third singular for example is subjunctive, that the first and second singular and the plural forms, are also subjunctive in a like situation even though these forms are identical with the indicative. This is also true of have of the verb to have and were of the verb to be.

In the reading covered in this study the subjunctive was most commonly found in subordinate clauses after the conjunctions if, (al)though (though), before, lest, whether, provided that, in case, so that, till (until), unless. It appears reasonable to believe that since the formal subjunctive was regularly found after these conjunctions that the verb forms which have no formal indication of the subjunctive are also subjunctive in function after these subordinate conjunctions.

#### After If

Forty-four instances of the subjunctive after if in the first or second singular or the plural were noted, distributed as follows; have of the verb to have, five; were of the verb to be, nine; other verbs thirty. I have listed part of the citations.

if I see (Ward, 1647, 25)  
if thou dost call (C. Mather 1, 1681, 9)  
if ye lose (Ward, 1647, 24)  
if I have (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 150)  
if we have (Ibid., 1630-31, 165)  
if they have power (Ward, 1647, 3)  
if you have found (Ibid., 1641, 150)  
if two families  dwell (Eliot, 1649, 13)  
if ... they powre forth (Williams 1, 1644, 49)  
if false witnesses accuse (Eliot, 1649, 13)  
If I reprove (Ibid., 13)  
If I dy (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 4)  
If they mean (Bradford, 1630, 194)  
if any members fall (I. Mather 3, 1716, 4)  
if we ... doe not (Bradford, 1630, 196)

if things were right (Higginson, 1630, 42)  
if any were so (I. Mather 3, 4)  
No marvell if they were (Bradford, 1630, 94)

Were in inverted order with if omitted was also noted.

were they but in a settled way of Civility (Eliot, 1649, 14)

#### (Al)though

Twenty-one instances of the subjunctive after (al)though in the first and second singular and the plural were noted distributed as follows: were of the verb to be, four; have of the verb to have, four; other verbs, thirteen, I have listed all of the citations.

although themselves were ... not affected (Williams 2, 1652, 14)  
though their minds were free and willing yet their bodies bowed under the weight (Bradford, 1630, 31)  
though they were buy yonge justices (Ibid., 181)  
though some of their bodies were thus buried (Ibid., 49)  
Though we have not (Winthrop Papers, 1630-31, 175)  
althoughe ... we have reason to justifie God (Ibid., 1645, 428)  
though we have mett (Ibid., 1630-31, 16)  
though I have slipped many (Eliot, 1649, 11)  
although they slip (Taylor, 1671, 51)  
though they doe catch (Morton, 1637., 153)  
although they believe (I. Mather 3, 1716, 4)

though they stand farre distant (Higginson, 1630, 11)  
though y<sup>e</sup> refuse it (Ibid., 1630, 44)  
though they doe ... abhor (Eliot, 1649, 7)  
though I see (Ibid., 7)  
though we see (Winthrop Papers, 1630-31, 163)  
though I find (Williams 2, 1652, 8)  
though some doe it not willingly (Bradford, 1630, 194)  
though they want the key (Cotton, 1644, 27)  
though I find (Williams 2, 1652, 8)  
though thou grindest me (C. Mather 1, 1681, 8)

#### After Before

Only two instances of the subjunctive after before were noted outside of those which I have listed under the third singular.

before I come to other things (Bradford, 1630, 200)  
before ye come to Heaven (Ward, 1647, 24)

#### After Except

Only three instances of the subjunctive after except were noted besides those which I have listed under the third singular.

except they pray (Williams 2, 1652, 21)  
accept I see them (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 130)  
except they buy a mans right (Watertown Records, 1635, 2)

#### After Lest

Four instances of the subjunctive after lest were noted aside from those listed under the third singular.

I was afraid lest there were sinners (C. Mather, 1696-97, 214)  
lest you spoil (Sewall 2, 1697, 16)  
least I fall (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 276)  
least ... they come (Ibid., 1638, 264)

#### After Until (till)

Twelve instances of the subjunctive after until (till) were noted outside of the third singular. None of these were of the verbs to be or

to have. I have listed the citations.

till I receiue (Winthrop Papers, 1630-31, 175)  
untill I see thee laid in the dust (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)  
until I make it do (Taylor, 1671, 38)  
until I feel (C. Mather, 1681, 11)  
until they receiue (Williams 2, 1652, 22)  
but winding ... till you come (Josselyn, 1672, 139)  
till new Apostles come (Johnson, 1654, 50)  
till they fall into the ditch (Williams 1, 1644, 43)  
Nor so long as till the Angels come (Ibid., 100)  
Until they see something done (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
till they see me closed in the earth (Ibid., 1639, 130)  
to peruse 'till I come (Ibid., 1641, 150)

#### After Unless

Only one instance of the subjunctive after unless was noted outside of the third singular.

unless you dare (Taylor, 1671, 51)

#### After Whether

Only one instance of the subjunctive after whether was noted outside of the third singular.

Whether the Scriptures were true (Shepard, 1634, 23)

#### Had as present subjunctive

The form had of the verb to have shows futurity in the subjunctive use just as were of the verb to be shows futurity. Four instances of this were noted.

if they had rather have warre then peace they might beginne (Bradford, 1630, 133)  
if they had their deserts it were woe unto them (Williams 2, 1652, 23)  
these particulars ... are not discouragements ... as if we had no life at all (Ibid., 16)  
the sun ... had it an eye would behold all that (Norton, 1654, 13)

As I have already indicated Curme refers to the past tense forms as referring to future time when used in the subjunctive.<sup>1</sup>

#### Indicative Substitutions

A number of instances of what appear to be substitutions of the indicative for the subjunctive have been found. These are listed here according to the pattern which I have been following. In some citations both subjunctive and indicative forms occur in the same sentence.

#### After If

If ever man were lov'd by wife, then thee;  
If ever wife was happy in a man (Bradstreet, 1678, 394)  
if I am left (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 3)  
if it was only to keep our men stirring (Wise, 1690, 534)  
If I as yet was thine, I thus do say  
I from they flag would quickly flag away (Taylor, 1671, 59)  
As knowing I should be left alone if he was gone (Shepard, 1634, 18)

Yet jims in th' Downy Path with pleasures spread,  
As 'twas below him on the earth to tread; (Taylor, 1671, 44)  
If one sleep ... at meeting, and another awaketh him, and he be angry at it and say (Eliot, 1649, 12)  
if two families dwell in one house, and one prayeth and the other not (Ibid., 13)

#### After Although

tho' my Distempers are ... strong (C. Mather 1, 1681, 13)  
though mine enemyes ... are not satisfied (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 130)  
though that is still ... expected (Willard, 1700, 5)  
Yet not withstanding still this is too Small,  
Although there was a thousand times more done,  
If sinless man did, sinful man will fall (Taylor, 1671, 37)  
though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after (Bradford, 1630, 93)  
Such a one will trouble the whole Israel of God though he makes the bones of his vanity stick up (Ward, 1647, 3)

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1. G. O. Curme, Syntax, 425.

After lest

ye have turned the Devill out of doores: fling all his old parell  
after him...lest he makes another errand for it againe (Ward,  
1647, 14)

After Until (till)

I have little hopes, till those flames are over (Williams 1, 1644,  
12)  
until that which is perfect is come and that which is imperfect be  
done away (Norton, 1654, 5)

After Whether

I questioned whether there were a God, my unbeleefe whether Xt.  
was the Messiah (Shepard, 1634, 23)

Subjunctive in Main Clauses

Subjunctive of Wish

Fifty-seven instances of the subjunctive used to express a wish  
in a main clause were noted. They were distributed as follows: be of  
the verb to be, both as finite verb and auxiliary thirty-six; have,  
third singular of the verb to have, one; s-less forms of other verbs  
in the third singular, twenty. This use of the subjunctive in wishes  
is still commonly found in religious parlance. All of the citations  
noted were listed here.

Ye Lord be mercifull (Bradford, 1630, 105)  
Grace & peace be with you all (Winthrop, 1630-31, 175)  
The blessings of the Lord be upon all (Ibid., 166)  
Thankes be to God (Higginson, 1630, 21)  
ffor be it that I should repine (Bradstreet, 1678, 40)  
far be it from me (Ward, 1647, 11)  
woe be to them (Ibid., 20)  
woe be to them (Ibid., 19)  
woe be to them (Ibid., 20)

his will be done (Winthrop, 1630-31, 171)  
blessed be ... his name (Ibid., 170)  
Admir'd ador'd forever be that majesty (Bradstreet, 1678, 372)  
blessed bee God (Winthrop Papers, 1637, 247)  
far be it from any pious breast (Williams 1, 1644, 64)  
thy will fulfilled bee (Taylor, 1671, 38)  
blessed be God (Sewall 1, 1686, 135)  
blessed be God (Ibid., 1692, 366)  
blessed be God (Ibid., 1636-7, 37)  
blessed be God (Ibid., 1636-7, 37)  
Blessed be God (C. Mather 1, 1692, 148)  
blessed be thy name (Ibid., 1681, 10)  
Blessed bee His name (Ibid., 1681, 10)  
blessed bee the Name (Ibid., 1681, 10)  
you are well ... as praised be ... we are (Lechford, 1638-41, 9)  
as praised be God we are (Ibid., 8)  
ye Lord be praised (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 150)  
thankes be to God (Higginson, 1630, 71)  
blessed be the Lord (Eliot, 1649, 8)  
blessed be the Lord (Ibid., 18)  
be it spoken (Bradford, 1630, 111)  
Blessed be God (Ibid., 136)  
Blessed be the Lord (Winthrop Papers, 1630-31, 159)  
blessed be his name (Ibid., 177)  
God be praysed (Ibid., 175)  
The blesse of the Almighty be upon thee (Ibid., 173)  
The good Lord be with thee & blesse thee (Ibid., 161)

Lord have mercy (Sewall 1, 1694, 392)

The Lord forgive me and help me (Sewall 1, 1676, 38)  
The Lord give me a holy ... Life (Ibid., 1686, 130)  
The Lord help me ... to improve (Ibid., 1689, 265)  
The Lord save N.E. (Ibid., 1689, 208)  
The Lord unite us... and remove our Animosities (Ibid., 1692, 369)  
the Lord direct thee (Winthrop Papers, 1630-31, 178)  
the Lord strengthen & comfort her heart (Ibid., 160)  
the good Lord blesse thee (Ibid., 171)  
the Lord blesse, guide, & supporte thee (Ibid., 166)  
the Lord keepe you all & worke his true fear (Ibid., 166)  
The Lord Jesus lead you (Williams 1, 1644, 53)  
The Lord ... continue your welfare (Winthrop Papers, 1626, 4)  
the Lord God guide you & keepe you (Lechford, 1638-41, 10)

#### Were in main clauses

Jespersen refers to the use of were as an equivalent of would be or should be as, "imaginative were." He states that it "is pretty

frequently used even in our own days, especially in highflown style." 1

Fifteen instances of were with this conditional meaning were noted.

They are listed here.

it were better to stay (Higginson, 1630, 40)  
it were woe unto them (Williams 2, 1652, 23)  
ells I suppose it were not (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 276)  
it wear inought for them to bring (Ibid., 1638, 130)  
it wear not a misse (Ibid., 1639, 130)  
if he were not a God of benignity, he were not our God. (Norton, 1652, 24)  
God were blessed forever though he had never willed of his goddness (Ibid., 24)  
Something that were not first (Ibid., 15)  
it were hard measure to condemne (White, 1630, 61)  
It were little less then impietie to conceive (Ibid., 14-15)  
a great part ... were needless (Ibid., 18)  
it were a great wrong to conceive (Ibid., 2)  
were it charitie to cast (Ibid., 61)  
It were an unreasonable taske to undertake (Ibid., 61)  
It were ... requisite that the city would repaire (ward, 1647, 12)

#### Let + Infinitive

Eighty-one instances of let + the infinitive to show a subjunctive idea in the first singular and plural and third singular and plural were noted. They were distributed as follows: Let + be of the verb to be twenty-eight; let + have of the verb to have, three; let + the infinitive without the sign to of other verbs, fifty. Curme considers this construction as a volitive subjunctive. He says that let + the infinitive "is the modern subjunctive form corresponding to the old simple subjunctive."<sup>2</sup> Since this construction is still very common today I have listed only part of the citations found.

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1. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, IV, 140)
  2. G. O. Curme, Syntax, 394)

Oh! lett that blessed thing be done (C. Mather 1, 1681, 10)  
let him be excommunicated (Cotton, 1644, 24)  
let this ... be (Norton, 1654, 7)  
let him be pleased to cause (Sewall 2, 1697, 14)  
let the men ... be produced and named (White, 1630, 61)  
let our excesses be limited (Ibid., 18)  
let such ... offences be punished (Williams 1, 1644, 111)  
let this be interrupted (Wise, 1690, 532)  
let no man be offended (Johnson, 1654, 44)  
let it also be considred (Bradford, 1630, 96)  
let the Lord be glorified (Williams 2, 1652, 10)  
let the good wheat be pluckt up (Williams 1, 1644, 111)  
let their worship be tolerated (Ibid., 111)  
let word be sent (Wise, 1690, 531)  
let such be told (Danforth, 1647, 103)

let his name have ye praise (Bradford, 1630, 165)  
let his holy name have all ye praise (Ibid., 101)  
let his holy name have ye praise forever (Ibid., 127)

let them try (C. Mather 1, 1681, 8)  
let him save mee (Ibid., 1681, 8)  
let the Reader judge (C. Mather 2, 1699, 189)  
let none objecte (Bradford, 1630, 164)  
let them put (Cotton, 1644, 33)  
let all men know (Johnson, 1654, 39)  
Let him whose foot doth hit a stone  
Through weakness, not reuelion,  
Not faint but think on former days (Taylor, 1671, 51)  
let him take her (Ward, 1647, 25)  
let his ... Chapmen make (Ibid., 13)  
let sorrow cease (Wigglesworth, 1662, 9)  
let that Scripture reject (Williams 1, 1644, 127)  
let our faith give a ... subsistence (Willard, 1700, 12)  
let them ripe their houses (Bradford, 1630, 135)  
let them not divide (Cotton, 1644, 33)  
Your hearts let wooden breast-plates shield (Danforth, 1647, 103)  
let my son provide 12 axes (Winthrop 1630-31, 167)

let them be left at my Door (Wise, 1690, 527)  
let us consider (Williams 1, 1644, 43)  
let us improve (Ibid., 57)  
let us strike (Ibid., 35)  
let us leave these two extreames (Morton, 1637, 119)  
let us leave our English Nation (Johnson, 1654, 39)  
Let's hiss this Piety (Taylor, 1671, 46)  
let's so persever (Bradstreet, 1679, 394)

Although the function of let + the infinitive in the first person is not quite comparable to the use of let + the infinitive in the first person plural and the third person singular, I have included the first person singular under this heading. I have listed the citations.

let me show (Bradford, 1630, 85)  
let me strike (Taylor, 1671, 37)  
let me give (Eliot, 1649, 11)  
lett me write (C. Mather 1, 1681, 9)  
lett me do something (Ibid., 1681, 9)  
let me adde (Williams 1, 1644, 42)  
let me dye (Williams 2, 1652, 15)  
let me spend (C. Mather 1, 1684-5, 88)

If the material examined in this study may be considered typical of its time, it is quite clear that the formal subjunctive was in much more frequent use in American English of the seventeenth century than it is in our language of today. Outside of prayers and other religious ritual we seldom come upon have as a third singular of the verb to have or the s-less third singular of other verbs. Even the form be of the verb to be is regularly replaced by am, is, or are except in the most formal language. It should be pointed out here, however, that the modal auxiliaries which are discussed in the next chapter have taken over many of the functions of the formal subjunctive. The idea of the subjunctive is still present in today's English even though the verb form may not show it. It is inconceivable that such an important notion as the subjunctive could have been lost from our language. It is highly unlikely that our system of thinking is less complicated than that of our forefathers. It appears to me that we rely today on something other than the verb form itself to give us the subjunctive idea, e.g. the modal auxiliary or the subordinate conjunction.



## Chapter IV

### THE MODALS

This chapter will deal with the modals, shall and will, should and would, may and might, can and could, must and ought as they were observed in the material examined. These verbs are sometimes spoken of also as modal auxiliaries.

#### Shall and Will

Shall and will occurred frequently in the material covered in situations where mere futurity appears to be implied. It is of course extremely difficult to decide from the written language whether mere futurity is indicated or whether determination, or volition, or compulsion is involved. Perrin points out that "the usage of shall and will has never been uniform in English although some grammarians have attempted to make it so."<sup>1</sup> Fries states that his survey of fifty English dramas from the sixteenth century to the present indicates that in dramatic literature will has always predominated in independent declarative statements in the first person without much shift in frequency or development. He states further that will has gradually displaced shall in independent declarative in the second and third persons.<sup>2</sup> Perrin further points out that determination may be expressed by either word in the spoken language by putting emphasis on the word.<sup>3</sup>

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1. P. G. Perrin, An Index to English, 553.

2. C. C. Fries, "Shall and Will in Modern English," PMLA, XL, 1023.

3. P. G. Perrin, An Index to English, 553.

I have listed here a number of my citations of shall and will which appear to indicate merely a future idea.

Shall with First Person Singular

I desire your prayers to the Lord ... that they may embrace that message which from the Lord I shall bring unto them (Eliot, 1649? 12)

I shall therefore leave Arguments to acuter heads, and onely speak a work of Love (Ward, 1647, 16)

and if time permit me I shall present you wth some Notes upon the Country (Wise, 1690, 525)

I shall hear againe take libertie to insert a few things out of shuch letters as came in this shipe (Bradford, 1630, 172)

I shall expect thee next somer (if the Lord please) & by that time I hope to be provided for thy comfortable entertainment (Winthrop, 1630-31, 161)

And herewith I shall end this year (Bradford, 1630, 134)

only I shall remember one passage more (Ibid., 134)

I shall here set them downe, with ye answers (Ibid., 193)

A touch of which things I shall give in a letter (Ibid., 69)

I shall shew their greevances ... by their owne letters (Ibid., 58)

These things premised I shall now prosecute (Ibid., 200)

I shall ... retorne back and begine (Ibid., 109)

The which I shall endeavor to manifest in plain stile (Ibid., 3)

I shall be ... bold to say, that ... a more necessary ... debate was never yet presented (Williams 1, 1644, 5)

I shall be briefer in the Scriptures following (Ibid., 113)

I shall ... prove that these Tares can be (Ibid., 107)

the particular instances whereof ... I shall pick and gather an bind up (Williams 2, 1652, 16)

The severall ... trialls ... I shall bind up into three ... parcells (Ibid., 16)

Having given you some short notes ... I shall now enter upon the proposed discovery (Josselyn, 1672, 141)

[I] shall leave it to you to judge ye validity of my Assertion (Wise, 1690, 528)

to satisfy your Inquiry ... I shall impart them (Ibid., 525)

to give you an account ... I shall proceed (Ibid., 534)

I shall be willing to Retract and Correct (C. Mather 2, 1699, 185)

I shall ... Intermeddle no further than to offer (Ibid., 187)

Being a sheep ... I shall never miscarry (C. Mather 1, 1681, 10)

what shall I do now but come? (Ibid., 1681, 10)

Shall I never be awakened until I feel ...? (Ibid., 1681, 11)

And what shall I make of this Instance? (Ibid., 1681, 11)

I shall make bold to borrow ... and mispend (Ward, 1647, 25)

I shall expresse my thoughts in these brief passages (Ibid., 21)

what shall I do in this case? (Eliot, 1649, 12)  
what shall I saye for this vnvaluable jewell (Winthrop Papers,  
1626, 3)  
I shall doe my best indeauors to procure them (Ibid., 1641, 150)  
[I] shall most willingly do you any service (Ibid., 1641, 148)  
If God please ... I shall make amends (Winthrop, 1630-31, 171)  
If so, I, Justice, shall of Justice faile (Taylor, 1671, 39)  
Has Cod answered me ... and shall I part for fancy (Sewall 1,  
1698, 482)

Will with First Person Singular

Now instead of filling up the Space ... I will leave that for a  
more Accurate Observer (Wise, 1690, 526)  
[they were] therby put to great trouble & charge, of which I will  
give an instance or tow & omitte the rest (Bradford, 1630, 16)  
it [the letter] shows much of ye providence of God ... I will hear  
relate it (Ibid., 86)  
I will heer breake off, because I hope to receive Lrēs from thee  
soone (Winthrop, 1630-31, 175)  
But after all ... I will do these things (C. Mather 1, 1681, 8)  
I will never leave thee; tho' thou killest mee I will put my  
trust in thee (Ibid., 1681, 8)  
when I can't pray I'll groan (Ibid., 1681, 8)  
the Father said ... such an elect Soul there is that I will bring  
into the fold (Ibid., 1681, 1)  
Lord, this course I will follow (Ibid., 1681, 8)  
I will proceed no further to trouble you (Eliot, 1649, 14)  
I will ten thousand times more do.  
I will not oneley from his sin him free (Taylor, 1671, 38)  
Though simple, learn of me; I will you teach True wisdom (Ibid.,  
42)  
I will you comfort sweet extend (Ibid., 51)  
I'll surely Crown you in the End (Ibid., 51)  
Although their slip I'll mercy show (Ibid., 51)  
[I] will come down if I can (Sewall 1, 1639, 267)  
and herewith I will end this chapter (Bradford, 1630, 71)  
yt ye I be not tedious ... I will omitte ye rest (Ibid., 21)  
Some of ye cheefe of which I will hear breefly relate (Ibid., 30)  
I will therefore mention a perticuler or two to show ye contrary  
(Ibid., 26)  
I will hear take liberty to make a litle digression (Ibid., 153)  
But he is now dead, and I will leave him to ye Lord (Ibid., 169)  
if he doe not ... pay it, I will ... sve ys bond (Winthrop Papers,  
1639, 276)  
therefore I will absolutely conclude but some difference there may  
be (Ibid., 1639, 130)  
the sachem himself wth divers of his men are here to complaine,  
and I will verbatim declare the matter of their complt (Ibid.,  
1638, 262)

I will name now but such as are nearest to thee (Winthrop, 1630-31, 171)  
I will not confine it to those alone (White, 1630, 11)  
I will name a few for instance (Williams 2, 1652, 20)  
I will not now enter into disputes about that question (Ibid., 2)  
if it be not [good] I will perfit it (Lechford, 1638-41, 9)  
I will say this solely ... before the Lord (Eliot, 1649, 14)  
I will assure you things sent on wth Unsufferable Dulness (Wise, 1690, 531)  
Thy flatt'ring shews Ile trust no more (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)  
And combate with thee [I] will and must,  
Untill I see the laid in th' dust (Ibid., 38)

#### Shall with First Person Plural

The like wee haue desired of our Confaederate bretheren of the  
Massachuets, and shall, by the helpe of God, at that time wayte  
upon you with a more perticuler account (Winthrop Papers, 1675,  
430)  
wee can apeale to God, and shall, we hope, bee able also to  
satisfe men that we stand as innocent as it is possible (Ibid.,  
1675, 428)  
It is enough that we shall have heaven even though we should passe  
through hell to it (Winthrop, 1630-31, 170)  
And Graces Coach in Grace hath fetcht us in unto her feast. We  
shall not dy in Sin (Taylor, 1671, 53)  
None of the wisest now will crave  
To know what winter we shall have (Danforth, 1647, 103)  
wee shall also desire yor aduise concerning the remainder  
(Winthrop Papers, 1638, 264)  
we haue here ... good newes ... Euery 3 yeares we shall haue a  
Parliament (Ibid., 1641, 150)  
we shall only sentire nos mori (Sewall 1, 1636, 131)  
Frontiviak will give no other Answer ... then what we shall meet  
with at the mouth of his Gunns (Wise, 1690, 528)  
the Lord or God ... will ... preserve us ... that we shall meet  
in joye & peace (Winthrop, 1630-31, 178)  
I hope we shall agree in these particulars (Williams 1, 1644, 12)  
we shall presently see what preservatives ... the Lord Jesus hath  
appointed (Ibid., 126)  
If he will influence us ... we shall flourish (Willard, 1700, 10)  
And shall we be cast off by thee,  
And utterly forsaken? (Wigglesworth, 1662, 28)

#### Will with First Person Plural

Now because wee are as well studious of peace, as of truth, wee  
will not leane to one of these interpretations more than to another.  
(Cotton, 1644, 23)

we will not contend about words, so there be no erroneous apprehension  
wrapt into the matter (Ibid., 28)  
If they meane, not so wholesome as ye good beere and wine in London  
... we will not dispute with them (Bradford, 1630, 194-5)  
we will not excuse them, but labour to reforme them as best we  
cane (Ibid., 194)  
to whom I replied let them come we will fight with all Canada if  
they come (Wise, 1690, 533)

#### Shall with Second Person Singular

The larger discourse of all thinges thou shalt receive from my  
brother (Winthrop, 1630-31, 160)  
we have mett wth many sadd & discomfutable things as thou shalt  
heare (Ibid., 160)  
thou shalt understand by this how it is wth us since I wrote last  
(Ibid., 174)  
be not discouraged by anythinge thou shalt heare (Ibid., 164)  
no bridegrooms voice ere heard shall bee  
In silence ever shalt thou lye (Bradstreet, 1678, 40)  
such an elect Soul there, that I will bring into thy Fold, and  
thou shalt undertake for that Soul, as a ... Saviour (C. Mather  
1, 1681, 1)  
Fear nothing, thou shalt be strong (Ibid., 1681, 7)

#### Will with Second Person Singular

thou who didst make Mans Mouth ... wilt bee with my Mouth (C.  
Mather 1, 1680-81, 3)  
Thou saist, Thou wilt never forsake them that seek thee (Ibid., 3)  
Thou hast said, Thou wilt bee with thy Disciples to the End of  
the World (Ibid., 1680-81, 7)  
I beleeve thou wilt enable mee to glorify thy name (Ibid., 1680-81,  
7)  
Thou mighty Saviour who hast bid all the Ends of Earth to look unto  
thee and hast said that thou wilt cast out none (Ibid., 1681,  
8-9)  
I knowe thou wilt not be wanting to her in this distresse (Winthrop,  
1630-31, 160-161)  
Strong valiant, John, wilt thou march, on and take up station first  
(Johnson, 1654, 44)  
undanted wilt thou not allow Malignant men to wast (Ibid., 44)

#### Shall with Second Person Plural

when I know more you shall heare more: my Capt. and Tho.  
Lauthoup salute you (Winthrop Papers, 1637, 247-8)

For the other things you shall receue according to your directions and this inclosed note (Ibid., 1635-6, 9)  
 you shall aillso recieue a large box with linine and pewter wich I desire you to conceall the donor therof (Ibid., 1635-6, 9)  
 not that theer is any wronge done heerby ... as you shall vnderstand very shortlie (Ibid., 1635-6, 9)  
 I haue taken the best care I can to get you a bill of exchange, wich I hope you shall recieue with this (Ibid., 1629, 7)  
 These bookes you shall receive by Mr Evans shippe, wch ... will arrive ... as soon as this (Ibid., 1641, 150)  
 more particulars you shall heare by ye shippe (Ibid., 1641, 151)  
 for phisick you shall need no other but a pound of (Winthrop, 1630-31, 165)  
 At other times you shall seldom see above two in a dozen miles (Josselyn, 1672, 146)  
 only to gratifie your Curiositie and theires to whom you shall see cause to impart them (Wise, 1690, 526)

#### Will with Second Person Plural

makeinge little question you will doe the like with speede, least ... they come to the same height (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263-4)  
 or neighbor goeing so suddenly inforces mee to [be] breife and somewhat rude, hoping you will not curiously observe the confusednes of these lines (Ibid., 1638, 264)  
 Like Pearls in Puddles cover'd ore with mudd: whom, if you search, perhaps some few you'll finde (Taylor, 1671, 46)  
 You third are feeble-hearted; if Christs Crown Must stand or fall by you, you'll fling it down (Ibid., 48)  
You'll then be mawld worse than the hand that's right  
 Between the heads of wheelhorn'd Rams that fight (Ibid., 49)  
 You Second Ranck are cowards; if Christ come with  
 With you to fight his field, you'll from him run (Ibid., 48)  
 what will you do when you shall squeezed bee (Ibid., 49)  
you'll then have sharper service than the whale (Ibid., 49)  
 For when I shall let fly at you you'll fall (Ibid., 48)  
you'll finde it was but Pen-coop't up before (Ibid., 55)  
 which if you do you certainly will finde (Ibid., 55)  
 Sr I wonder you will urge this thing so long as there is no reason in the Contrivance (Wise, 1690, 534)

#### Shall with Third Person Singular

the least Error ... shall set open the Spittle-door (Ward, 1647, 21)  
 that state that will admit Errors in Religion, shall admit Errors in Policy (Ibid., 21)

Nor shall hee need to stretch his hand overmuch in this worke (Ibid., 1647, 2)  
the most High hath them in Derision and their folly shall certainly  
be manifested to all men (Ibid., 13)  
It shall then be no griefe of heart that you have now attended to  
the cries of Soules (Williams 1, 1644, 7)  
with words borrowed from the state of Glory, to which it shall at  
length arrive (Willard, 1700, 9)  
The virtue of this Fountain shall then appear abundantly (Ibid.,  
11)  
the State of Glory to which it shall at length arrive (Ibid., 9)  
This shall be in the evening of the Gospel day (Ibid., 10)  
the body ... shall shortly give up the ghost (Williams 2, 1652, 3)  
My greatest honour it shall be  
when I am Victor over thee (Bradstreet, 1678, 383)  
Nor withering age shall e're come there  
But beauty shall be bright and clear (Ibid., 385)  
But he whose name is grov'd in the white stone  
Shall last and shine when all these are gone (Ibid., 381)  
Dost now perceive, doest now believe that Christ thy Judge shall  
be? (Wigglesworth, 1662, 11)  
Henceforth no fears, no care no tears no sin shall you annoy  
(Ibid., 21)  
wherefore it shall be now  
For Sidon and for Sodoms Land more easie than for you. (Ibid., 27)  
Poor Tinker thinks't our shrubs will sing  
The Bramble here shall be our king. (Danforth, 1647, 103)  
the names are taken, not one elect ... shall perish (Williams 1,  
1644, 126)

#### Will with Third Person Singular

If thou bringest her, she willbe more trouble ... then all the  
rest (Winthrop, 1630-31, 178)  
I knowe my sister willbe tender of her till I may send for her  
(Ibid., 178)  
Having been the Authro Hee will bee the Finisher, of my Faith  
(C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 2)  
I beleeve that I am a chosen Vessel, and the Lord will pour mercy  
unto mee (Ibid., 1680-81, 6)  
I now send thee that which I know will be sweeter ... then the  
Honey (Williams 2, 1652, 1)  
your godsonne, I hope, will be ready to go to sea (Winthrop Papers,  
1629, 7)  
I hope the Lord will send us a message (Ibid., 1629, 7)  
I hope God will spare his life (Ibid., 1627-8, 5)  
the tenth person ... will hardly finde ... imployment to yeeld ...  
maintenance (White, 1630, 18)

it will be a great difficulty to find out profitable employments  
(Ibid., 20)  
It will be granted then that the words include ... the force of a  
Precept (Ibid., 2)  
It is one thing to guess what God will bring to passe (Ibid., 7)  
the harvest ... will bee fit ... and the fruits ready ... at the  
appointed season (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
Take any of them, it will not hinder our purpose (Cotton, 1644, 23)  
Church libertie ... will appeare, if we consult the context (Ibid.,  
30)  
a strong partie ... will be ready to side with them (Ibid., 42)  
He presumeth the Church will be of the same mind (Ibid., 31)  
For your excuse, doth you accuse and will your boasting mar  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 33)  
The glorious Judge will priviledge nor Emperour, nor King (Ibid.,  
22)

#### Shall with Third Person Plural

yet in the power of that God ... your honours shall see the  
Controversie is discussed with men as able as most (Williams 1,  
1644, 5)  
Some letters from them shall beter declare these things being as  
followeth. (Bradford, 1630, 189)  
and if they well consider their words, in England they shall not  
find such grasse in them as in their fields & meadows (Ibid., 115)  
Though I might aledg ... other perticulers ... yet these shall  
suffice (Ibid., 29)  
other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keep away from us  
(Ward, 1647, 3)  
Imbosom in't designs that shall Display  
And trace into the Boundless Deity (Taylor, 1671, 33)  
All my flowers shall be some ... examples ... pickt out from the  
Garden of the holy Scriptures (Williams 2, 1652, 33)  
The three ... sorts shall be according to that division (Ibid., 17)  
whereon who feed shall never need as thou thy self dost say  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 27)  
The Jews shall ... be affected and perswaded to come in (Willard,  
1700, 9)  
In what order these shall be brought about, I dispute not (Ibid.,  
9)  
they shall be brought forth as ripe for Church-Censures (C. Mather  
1, 1696-7, 213)  
Thy People too shall see witness of the token (Ibid., 1680-81, 3)  
there shall be two parts ... doctrinal and applicatory (Ibid.,  
1680-81, 4)  
Shall creatures abject thus their voices raise? (Bradstreet, 1678,  
373)  
what shall they doe to them that doe not? (Eliot, 1647, 13)

Will with Third Person Plural

for that sinn, they will haue cause to looke aboue them and bemoone  
it ("inthrop Papers, 1639, 130)  
I shall shew their greevances heareaboute by their owne letters,  
in which ye passages of things will be more truly discerned.  
(Bradford, 1630, 58)  
which [pl] will give much light to ye former things (Ibid., 196)  
who knowes how far they'll spread and when they'll out (Williams  
1, 1644, 6)  
which is contrary to all order as doublesse the Answers will  
grant (Ibid., 103)  
Some will say these things are indeed full of horroure (Ibid., 124)  
How many Thousands ... will they finde captivated? (Ibid., 66)  
your little sins will just like mountains bee (Taylor, 1671, 42)  
And as they are, just so they will appeare (Ibid., 42)  
so hearing of the terms, whist! they'll abide (Ibid., 45)  
His Spirits are so low they'll scarce afford Him winde enough  
(Ibid., 43)  
Some seeming Friends prove secret foes, which will Thrust fire  
i'th thatch (Ibid., 43)  
they will speak much but doe little (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
they will come & take it away (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
they will not goe awaye vntill they see some thinge done (Ibid.,  
1638, 263)  
Hypocrites will pray and fast and give (Williams 2, 1652, 19)  
they will prove themselves semi-separatists at least (White,  
1630, 61)  
if they come not they will much wronge themselves ("inthrop,  
1630-31, 179)  
or dayes of Affliction will soon have an ende (Ibid., 170)

Shall in Official Actions and the Like

In statements of official actions, resolutions, etc. taken by  
official bodies shall seems almost universal (there are only three  
instances in my collection with will). According to Perrin shall  
occurs in current usage in laws and resolutions.<sup>1</sup>

it was voted and Concluded that the measurer shal be (Portsmouth  
Records, 1647, 36)  
It was Concluded that George Parker shall haue three pounds giuen  
him (Ibid., 1647, 36)

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1. P. G. Perrin, An Index to English, 554.

it is granted that Nicolas Browne shall haue twenty acrs added  
(Ibid., 1646, 33)  
further ordered that there shall be a way layed our (Ibid., 1646,  
32)  
It is ordered that Samuel Wilbore Junior; shall run his fence  
(Ibid., 1646, 33)  
It is ordered that the Wolfe Catcher shall be payed (Ibid., 1646,  
33)  
It is granted that George lawton shall haue 40 acrs (Ibid., 1648,  
39)  
It is ordered that the towne Councell shall apoynt (Ibid., 1649,  
43)  
It is ordered ... that he or they ... Shall Recover Satisfaction  
(Ibid., 1671, 160)  
It is Voated and Concluded that Thomas Gorton ... shall supply  
(Ibid., 1649, 42)  
Ordered that the little strip ... shall be giuen. (Salem Records  
1646, 143)  
It is ordered That John woodbury ... shall lay out (Ibid., 1636,  
35)  
It is ... ordered that the land shall be layed out (Ibid., 1636,  
35)  
It is ordered that all the Land ... shall be reserved (Ibid., 1636,  
34)  
It is ... agreed that the said mr Garford shall pay (Ibid., 1630,  
34)  
It is agreed that Mr Samuel Sharpe shall haue a farm (Ibid.,  
1636, 33)  
It is agreed that Thomas wheeler shall worke (Ibid., 1646, 145)  
It is ordered that Capt Trask shall bring in (Ibid., 1646, 144)  
Its Ordered that Mr Symon Bradstreet shall haue ftiety Acres  
(Ibid., 1656, 194)  
The Towne doeth agree that the said Bull & Cow shall be sold  
(Ibid., 1646, 144)  
It is agreed and ordered that there shalbe a rate forthwth of  
tenne pounds (Ibid., 1645, 142)  
Ordered that ... every man shall take his choise (Watertown Records,  
1638, 4)  
Ordered yt the Highway ... shallbe laid out (Ibid., 1638, 5)  
ordered yt ... ye warning shalbe given (Ibid., 1639, 5)  
ordered yt ... he shall forfeit (Ibid., 1639, 5)  
ordered yt ... there shalbe ... Notice given (Ibid., 1639, 6)  
ordered yt Thomas Filbrick shall set vp an house (Ibid., 1639, 6)  
ordered that there shalbe a Cartway (Ibid., 1640, 6)  
Agreed that the Charge shalbe ... gathered (Ibid., 1634, 1)  
it is ... agreed that the said John Sherman shall hire (Ibid.,  
1662, 751)  
It was agreed that the pastoor shall haue (Ibid., 1663, 76)  
ordered that Ensigne John Sherman and Willyam Barsham shall view  
and appoynte (Ibid., 1662, 75)

Will in Official Actions and the Like

And the 7 men desire Robert Adams that hee will execute this law (Salem Records, 1646, 143)  
Ordered that if Mr Edecott doe agree with Mr Allen & Mr Dunster for the mortar peece ... that the Towne will see the same satisfied (Ibid., 1646, 143)  
It is agreed that wee ... will underwrite vnto such things as are agreed on (Ibid., 1636, 32)

Shall in Legal Papers

In statements of agreement, wills, deeds etc., shall is the usual auxiliary.

then this obligation shall be voyd and of none effect, or els shall be and remaine in full power (Lechford, 1638-41, 14)  
if the said Thomas ... cannot effect the sale aforesaid then he shall have only tenne shillings (Ibid., 15)  
the said John shall receive the money ... whether the said Margaret come ... or no (Ibid., 7)  
my will is that my wife ... shall have the rents (Ibid., 17)  
But if he ... shall refuse ... then the said lands shall be sold ... and only one hundred and fifty pounds shall be payd (Ibid., 17)  
I give and bequeath to my daughter ... tenne pounds wch my wife shall pay (Ibid., 18)  
Item, that the moneys the premises shall be sold for shall be disposed (Ibid., 23)

In some statements of this kind both shall and will are used, and it might be argued that in legalistic style these are synonymous.

Item that the said John Hood his heires executors administrators or assignes shall and will ... save keepe harmelesse the said Thomas Parish (Lechford, 1638-41, 15)  
And that he the said John Hood his heires & assignes shall and will ... make doe and execute ... all such ... assurances (Ibid., 13)  
Item that the said Augustin Clement and Elizabeth his wife ... shall and will ... make doe ... all & every ... act & acts (Ibid., 7)  
Item that the said Elizabeth and Augustine ... shall and will ... save and keep harmelesse the said John Tinker. (Ibid., 7)

Shall in Subjunctive Statements

Shall appears to be very common in subjunctive statements in subordinate clauses. Will was noted only a few times. When will does occur in subordinate clauses it appears usually to indicate volition rather than futurity.

Shall after If

if any shall shoot a deere ... he shall forfeit 5 pounds (Portsmouth Records, 1646, 34)  
wch if he the said henry shall refuse to doe it is ordered that Capttaine shall essue out a warrent ("atertown Records, 1663, 76)  
if any one ... shall warne in any person ... & that he refuseth to come ... he shall forfeit ... 5<sup>s</sup> (Ibid., 1641, 7)  
if the Land ... shall not suffice the rest ... then they shall have (Ibid., 1639, 5)  
if any of ye Freemen deputed to order the Civell affaires ... shall absent himselfe ... he shall forfeit 2<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> (Ibid., 1639, 5)  
and 3 acres ... If they shall giue way beyond Castle Hill (Salem Records, 1636, 28)  
if ~~the~~ said mr Blackleech shall ... make sale ... the towne shall have (Ibid., 13)  
and if he shall refuse, the Lott shall return to the Towne againe (Watertown Records, 1634, 1)  
if any Hogs ... shall doe any Dammage the owner shall pay (Ibid., 1640, 6)  
if any shall offend he shall forfeit to the Towne 10<sup>s</sup> (Ibid., 1641, 7)  
if such a Man ... shall still persist and be ... punished (Williams 1, 1644, 42)  
If the Civill magistrate shall command me to believe ... I should answer him (Ibid., 36-7)  
if the members ... shall ... kneel ... great tendernessee ought to be used (Ibid., 100-101)  
If you shall be pleased to accept this rude intelligence ... I doubt not but you will declare the somme of it to the Church (Winthrop Papers, 1637, 247)  
if they shall all have liberty ... to ransacke them, they must desert the place & goe southwards (Ibid., 1638, 263)  
I am more sorry, if despondency of mind shall cause the least tergiversation (Ward, 1647, 13)  
if he shall see good to make us partakers ... his will be done (Winthrop 1630-31, 171)  
& those whom I expect to see ... shortly if it shall please the Lord (Ibid., 177)  
if he shall influence us... we shall flourish (Willard, 1700, 10)

At this faire fruit, no wonder if there shall  
Be cudgells flung sometimes (Danforth, 1646, 106)  
if the said lands shall be sold & the said Margaret will not come  
... that then the said John shall receive the value of the  
interest (Lechford, 1638-41, 6)  
if the said Margaret shall ... be disposed to come ... that then  
the said John shall advise, help & assist the said Margaret  
(Ibid., 6)  
if the said premises shall not be sold ... that then the said John  
his heires and assignes shall reconvey the said premises unto the  
said Augustin (Ibid., 7)  
If the said premises cannot and shall not be sold ... then the  
Augustin shall give & pay ... the summe of twenty shillins (Ibid.,  
7)  
if he ... shall refuse to give such bond ... then the said lands  
shall be sold (Ibid., 17)  
if it shall please God that I live to sell off these lands ...  
Then I give it to my eldest daughter ... twenty pounds (Ibid., 18)  
the said John shall joyne in sale of the premises wth the said  
Margaret ... if she shall live so long (Ibid., 5)  
if the said John shall effect the business aforesaid ... then the  
said John shall receive (Ibid., 7)  
but if shee be dead or shall dye before the sale, then the said  
John shall or may sell the premises himselfe (Ibid., 5)  
if the above-bounden John Tinker his heirs executors ... shall ...  
fulfill performe, keepe and observe all such Articles ... then  
this obligation shall be voyd (Ibid., 8)  
if it shall be lost ... then only tenne pounds to be payd him  
(Ibid., 19)  
if he ... shall be stubborne ... and will not be reclaymed, then  
he shall have but thirty pounds (Ibid., 17)

#### Will after If

if no other will owne them let them be left at my door (Wise, 1690,  
527)  
if you will take any notice of my Observations upon the Providence  
of God concerning us this then hath been much with me that ...  
whilst we were with God ... God was with us (Ibid., 527)  
proving if God at any time will give them repentance that they may  
acknowledge the truth (Williams 1, 1644, 215)  
the Town shall have that if they will accept it in Lieu ... of their  
Said Demand (Portsmouth Records, 1682, 215)  
if they will joyn with us to act according to the Generall Corte  
Order for this yeare we are redie thear to, if not we must helpe  
our selfs (Ibid., 1647, 35)  
yett if thou wilt afflict mee ... I submitt; here I am; afflict me,  
(C. Mather 1, 1631, 11)

the said Tho: wheller doeth binde himselfe to worke ... if the  
wether will permit (Salem Records, 1646, 145)  
They need fear no want heer, if they will be guided by Gods word  
(Winthrop, 1630-31, 179)

Shall After As

all such orders as the towne shall thinke meet to be published  
(Salem Records, 1635, 11)  
to them ... or others as shallbe thought most meet (Ibid., 1635,  
15)  
or some other way ... as the surveiors shall approve of (Ibid.,  
1636, 40)  
vpon the payne or penaltie ... of such damage as shall fall vpon  
the Towne (Ibid., 1646, 144)  
he shall pay the party damified as 2 freemen shall iudge  
(Watertown Records, 1637, 3)  
and in length as far as needs shall require (Ibid., 1635, 1)  
Abram Browne shall have power to include any Swampe ... as he  
shall think meet (Ibid., 1638, 4)  
otherwise the owners ... are to pay as they shall iudge it (Ibid.,  
1636, 2-3)  
In ye most sueable place as they shall judge meet (Ibid., 1679, 145)  
as they wch are deruted ... shall see good & appoint (Ibid., 1638,  
4)  
so you hearing both may advise as God shall guide you (Winthrop  
Papers, 1639, 274)

Shall After So Long As

So long as he shall keepe and maintaine ... a mill there (Portsmouth  
Records, 1682, 217)  
So long as the ould man shall live (Ibid., 1648, 40)  
so long as there shall be use of marriage the warrant ... shall  
continue (White, 1630, 3)

Will After As

which caused some diferance and distrubance amongst them as will  
after appeare (Bradford, 1630, 172)  
with some cloathing & other necessaries, as will further appear  
(Ibid., 189)  
as will appear by that which follows (Ibid., 167)  
so much labour and charge as by ye sequell will appeare (Ibid., 52)  
this ... turned to great inconvenience ... as in ye sequell will  
appeare (Ibid., 69)  
and this is done ..., as will afterward be observed (Willard, 1700, 3)

Shall After Before

All this I'll do, and do it o're and o're,  
Before my Clients Case shall ever faile.  
I'll pay his Debt, and wipe out all his Score, (Taylor, 1671, 37)  
Nevertheless, if it be thy Will, I would live, to do some special  
Service for thee, before I shall go hence and bee no more (C.  
Mather 1, 1681, 9)

Shall After In Case

in case these Tares shall attempt ought against the peace and  
welfare of it, let such Civill offenses be punished (Williams 1,  
1644, 111)  
But this hindreth not that Christians ... may ... be censured ...  
in case they shall corrupt others (Ibid., 51)

Shall After Provided

alwaies provided they ... Shall be together in and at the view and  
Survey (Portsmouth Records, 1681, 210)

Shall After Unless

he shall giue ... attendance therevpon ... vnless he shall giue  
... occation to the Contrary (Salem Records, 1636, 29)

Shall After Though

What tho my flesh shall there consume it is the bed Christ did  
perfume (Bradstreet, 1678, 43)  
I have bene ye larger in these things, and so shall crave leave in  
some passages following, (thoug in other things I shal labour to  
be more contracte,) that their children may see with what  
difficulties their fathers wrestled (Bradford, 1630, 71)

Shall After Until

he is granted the East-End of the Towne-House ... untill those who  
desire his Ministry shall provide a fitter place (Sewall 1, 1686,  
141)  
Idolaters, False-worshippers, Anti-Christians ... must be let alone  
... untill the great Harvest shall make the difference (Williams 1,  
1644, 109)

my will is that my wife ... shall have the rents, profits and  
revenues ... untill my sonne shall attaine the age of Twenty  
and foure yeares (Lechford, 1638-41, 17)  
Where ever, ever stay, and go not thence,  
Till natures sad decree shall call thee hence; (Bradstreet, 1678,  
395)  
They're held in place before Christs face till he their Doom shall  
tell (Wigglesworth, 1662, 18)

Shall After When or Whenever

untill the time ... when the Goats and Sheep ... shall be ...  
separated (Williams 1, 1644, 105)  
it is the Day ... when God shall bring them to true Sorrow (Willard,  
1700, 3)  
and particularly on the Jews, when He shall come to call them home  
(Ibid., 2)  
it is to be waited for, when that General Calling in shall Commend  
(Ibid., 2)  
Truly this will not passe when it shall coome before the Iudge  
(Winthrop Papers, 1639, 129)  
when men shall have occassion to looke for satisfaction (Portsmouth  
Records, 1671, 161)  
when any Meddowes ... shalbe laid out ... yt warning shall be  
given (Watertown Records, 1639, 5)  
This order shall stand in force ... when Abram Browne shall  
measure (Ibid., 1640, 7)  
wch hee shall ... enter upon ... when he shall come to the age of  
(Lechford, 1638-41, 18)  
lett me write something that my do good ... when I shall be dead  
and gone (C. Mather 1, 1681, 9)  
And when a few yeares shall be gone this mortall shall be cloth'd  
(Bradstreet, 1678, 43)  
whenever you shall return to God he will undoubtedly receive you  
(Shepard, 1634, 11)

Shall After Whether

Nor need we fear whether it shall be accomplished (Willard, 1700,  
11)

Shall After an Indefinite Antecedent

it shall be lawful ... to impound the said swine that shall be  
taken vnringed (Salem Records, 1646, 143)

the other halfe [to be paid] to him that shall impound them  
 (Ibid., 1646, 143)  
 every person that shall fell any tymber ... shall pay a fine  
 (Ibid., 1636, 17)  
 [he] shall giue notis ... of what shall be done (Ibid., 1636, 31)  
 mr Batter that power to call ... & to take into his hand what  
 shall be due to the towne (Ibid., 1656, 194)  
 he shall forfeit 5 shillings for every default which shalbe taken  
 by distraint (Ibid., 1650, 46)  
 [they] doe allow of Ratify and Confirm what the Said Committee ...  
 Shall see Cause to doe (Ibid., 1682, 217)  
 to whomsoever hee or they shall appoint (Lechford, 1638-41, 7)  
 To all ... to whom these presents shall come (Ibid., 10)  
 [it] will be euedent to any man that shall consider that husbanding  
 ... enforceth men to frugalitie (White, 1630, 4)  
 whosoever shall denie us to be a Church ... we cannot beare it  
 (Ibid., 62)  
 no Foreainer ... or any Family ... shall have any benefitt ... but  
 what they shall purchase (Watertown Records, 1635, 2)  
 whosoever shall take any wood ... shall pay (Ibid., 1636, 3)  
 whosoever shall kill a wolfe ... shall have for ye same 5<sup>s</sup>  
 (Ibid., 1638, 5)  
 whosoever shall offend in selling any trees shall pay for every  
 tree (Ibid., 1635, 2)  
 whosoever shall ... breake down any fence shall forfeit ... 20<sup>s</sup>  
 (Ibid., 1640, 6)  
 he that shall sell be a measuer or waight ... shall forfeit 10<sup>s</sup>  
 (Portsmouth Records, 1650, 44)

### Will After Indefinites

Of these citations with will the meaning of the auxiliary in the  
 first four instances is desire. In the last one it seems to indicate  
 futurity.

He that may chuse or else refuse, all men to save or spill  
 May this man chuse, and that refuse redeeming whom he will  
 (Wiglesworth, 1662, 20)  
 It agreeth both with humane reason and naturall equity, that every  
 man worship God uncompelled and beleieve what he will (Williams 1,  
 1644, 35)  
 Affect's thou pleasure? take thy fill  
 Earth hath enough of what you will (Bradstreet, 1678, 382)  
 you may know where they belong ... meet them where you will  
 (Knight, 1704, 44)  
 dying linnen so that no washing will wear it out (Josselyn, 1672,  
 167)

The verb in these subordinate clauses I take to be subjunctive. (For a discussion of the formal subjunctive in subordinate clauses see Chapter III.) The clauses are conditional, hypothetical, concessive, indefinitely temporal, indefinitely adjectival, and indefinitely comparative. If we compare the citations here listed with the citations listed under the formal subjunctive in subordinate clauses we detect very little difference in meaning. "if their mother dye" (Lechford, 1638-41, 18) and "if ... she shall dye" (Ibid., 5) are equivalent statements. So also "which if [he] refuse to give" (Sewall, 1, 1686, 134) and "if he shall refuse to give such bone" (Lechford, 1638-41, 17) That is the conclusion E. Lavancha Holmes reaches in her study of the subjunctive in John Lyly. Lyly in the late sixteenth century, according to Miss Holmes, employs in such statements the formal subjunctive, the modal subjunctive, and the subjunctive with indicative substitution about equally frequently.<sup>1</sup>

In my collection of subjunctive statements involving shall and will one hundred and twenty-one instances were noted with shall and nineteen with will. This is approximately seven to one in favor of shall. One can conclude that shall was the usual modal used to re-enforce the subjunctive notion in the subordinate clause. when will occurs it appears to have the meaning of volition when the subject is personal. When it is impersonal will probably had then as now a purely future significance.

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1. E. Lavancha Holmes, The Subjunctive in John Lyly, unpublished Master's dissertation, Michigan State College, 1945, 115-155.

It is extremely difficult to determine the meaning of the modals shall and will from the written language. In the first person shall seems to indicate futurity fairly obviously in the instances noted. Will also appears to indicate futurity in the first person. These citations from the same author both appear to carry nothing more than the idea of futurity: "I shall leave it wth you ... to judge ye Validity of my Assertion" (Wise, 1690, 528); "Now instead of filling up the Space ... I will leave that for a more Accurate Observer" (Ibid., 526). But will may also carry something of the meaning of to be willings, to want. In no instance does the verb will unmistakably express determination. In the second person shall and will seem to express futurity in the instances in my collection. It would be difficult to establish that they could have any other meaning. To be sure, both could be interpreted to imply a promise or possibly a kind of threat.

In the instances noted in the third person shall and will both appear to indicate futurity. It is possible that some of the instances of shall may indicate determination on the part of some one other than the subject of the sentence. Even a careful reading of the context will not establish to any certainty whether futurity or determination is intended. Writers may use both in the same sentence "In what order these shall be brought about, I dispute not; but God will doubtless prepare the way ..." (Willard, 1700, 9); "It will be a very peaceable ... state of the Church when there shall be neither adversary nor evil occurent." (Ibid., 13); "that Policy which will suffer irreligious errors, shall suffer the losse of so much Liberty (Ward, 1647, 21-22).

As Perrin points out, "In speech determination is expressed by stress which may be used on either word [shall or will]"<sup>1</sup> It is of course hardly possible to determine stress from the written language. Jespersen indicates that the biblical use of shall which was employed to translate the Latin future "exercised a powerful influence on literary style, especially in solemn and serious writings."<sup>2</sup>

The following table will show my findings as to the frequency of shall and will in situations where futurity seems indicated.

First person singular	<u>shall</u>	73	<u>will</u>	90
First person plural	<u>shall</u>	22	<u>will</u>	5
Second person singular	<u>shall</u>	8	<u>will</u>	9
Second person plural	<u>shall</u>	15	<u>will</u>	15
Third person singular	<u>shall</u>	59	<u>will</u>	233
Third person plural	<u>shall</u>	61	<u>will</u>	61

As will be seen from this table shall is outnumbered somewhat by will in the first singular. In the first person plural shall outnumbers will about four to one. In the third singular will predominates over shall by about four to one.

There were comparatively few question forms noted in the material covered. These are included in the numbers of the foregoing table.

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1. P. G. Perrin, An Index to English, 553.
  2. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, IV, 275-6.

The following brief tabulation will show the relative frequency of shall and will in the question forms noted:

First person singular	<u>shall</u>	7	<u>will</u>	8
First person plural	<u>shall</u>	8	<u>will</u>	0
Second person singular	<u>shall</u>	0	<u>will</u>	2
Second person plural	<u>shall</u>	1	<u>will</u>	2
Third person singular	<u>shall</u>	1	<u>will</u>	1
Third person singular	<u>shall</u>	5	<u>will</u>	1

Should and Would

Should and would are the past tense of shall and will and, according to the earlier handbooks, follow the same distinctions of meaning. In many instances in my material should has lost its original idea of obligation. Would frequently retains its original idea of volition.

I shall list first my citations of should after a subordinate conjunction in conditional sentences. In these instances should appears to be an equivalent of the formal subjunctive.

God's sword hath stricke out the right eye of their mind ... a greater punishment then if the Magistrate should command both the right and left eye ... to be bored or pluckt out (Williams 1, 1644, 123)  
if any ... magistrate should make question what were his duty (Ibid., 115)  
if yet against their soules perswasion ... tney should be forced to beleeve (Ibid., 13)  
if they ... should blaspheme ... they ought to be ... punished (Ibid., 49)  
if those ... should be destroyed ... they should never come but be prevented (Ibid., 31)  
if one of the severall sorts should attaine the Sword ... what weapons doth Jesus Christ authorize them to fight with (Ibid., 11)  
If the whole Creature should conspire to do the Creator a mischief ... it would be (Ward, 1647, 5-6)  
If it should be further objected (Cotton, 1644, 32)  
and yet if some one or two ... should be found ... factiously enclined, it were hard measure to condemne a whole Society (White, 1630, 61)  
if some stranger should chance to bee there (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
itt need not be wondered at if the patents ... should be altered (Ibid., 22)  
New England would be undone, if the Letter should come to them (I. Mather 2, 1691, 277)  
if they should ... be restored, that would make his Majesty's name Great (Ibid., 281)  
if the Lord should not hear me ..., my soule would be discouraged (Shepard, 1534, 9)  
The others [should] keep their ground to answer the enemy if they should Attaq us (Wise, 1690, 535)  
If there should be that mistake ... then would ther be 20s difference (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 130)

if there should bee such a mistake, it is noe difference (Ibid., 1639, 130)  
if they should unsettle themselves ... it might prove dangerous  
(Bradford, 1630, 39)  
they might view the Countrie ... if ... they should have occasion  
(Ibid., 123)  
if Mr. Weston & others ... should come over ... they would ...  
fall to him (Ibid., 141)  
partly to defend them ... if they should surround them (Ibid., 102)  
If there should be any crie of fire, a company were appointed for  
a gard (Ibid., 134)  
famine must still insue if not ... prevented or supplie should  
faile (Ibid., 152)  
he tould them if any thing but well should have befallne ye people  
... he hoped had vitails enough (Ibid., 128)  
if all the rest should fall of, yet he would never quit (Ibid., 131)  
if they should let him have it it were enough to make a matinie  
(Ibid., 161)  
and yet if they should, the miseries ... would be hard to be borne  
(Ibid., 33)  
if they suffer their freinds ... to be wronged, they should have  
none (Ibid., 125)  
if afterwards ther should be a purpose ... to wrong them it would  
not serve ye turne (Ibid., 39)  
if they should ther live, the ... Spaniard would never suffer them  
long (Ibid., 37)  
[if its pen] ... should golden Letters write  
It would but blot and blur (Taylor, 1671, 33)

#### Should with If Omitted

I have one instance of should in the conditional clause of a  
conditional sentence with if omitted.

Should I not keepe promise they whould take it unkindly (Ward,  
1647, 25)

In these conditional sentences involving should after if we have  
should serving as a subjunctive in a hypothetical statement. If we  
compare the following pairs of citations, the first in the present and  
the second in the past, we see that should + infinitive is the equivalent  
of the formal subjunctive in if clauses in conditional statements:

You Second Ranck are Cowards; if Christ come with him to fight his field you'll from him run (Taylor, 1671, 48)  
New England would be undone if that letter should come to them (I. Mather 2, 1691, 277)

if any Goats be found it shall be lawfull ... to drive them to the pound (Watertown Records, 1637, 3)  
if one or two ... should be found ... factiously enclined it were hard measure to condemne a whole Society (White, 1630, 61)

In each instance should could be replaced by were + infinitive or a past tense form (which is identical in form in the indicative and the subjunctive). All three ways of expressing the hypothetical subjunctive are frequent in my material.

In all the above citations should has lost all its original meaning and has become a colorless sign of the subjunctive. The verb would in the main clause is also subjunctive. Would in a main clause is spoken of as the conditional.

#### Should After (Al)though

[he] professeth to trust in him although his God should kill him (Williams 2, 1652, 10)  
It is enough that we shall have heaven though we should passe through hell to it (Winthrop, 1630-31, 170)  
tho' there should happen any ... Mistake in our Story ... yet even this ... I shall be willing to Retract (C. Mather 2, 1699, 185)  
a great hope ... they had of laying some good foundation ... yea though they should be but even as stepping stones unto others... (Bradford, 1630, 32)  
yea, though they should loose their lives in this action yet they might have some comforte in the same (Ibid., 1630, 35)  
such articles ... being kept, wch afford evasions too many there, tho the money should not be paid here at all (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 275)  
though the town should refuse to bye ... yet who so shall sell ... shall pay vnto the Town eightene pence (Salem Records, 1636, 30)

In this concessive type of clause should + an infinitive appears to be the equivalent of the formal subjunctive. This may be seen by examining the following pair of citations.



a great hope they had of laying some good foundation ... yea though they should be but as stepping stones to others (Bradford, 1630, 32)  
they are held forth in a meeke and peaceable way though the things be erroneous (Williams 1, 1644, 41)

In sentences involving a concessive idea should carries the subjunctive notion while the verb in the main clause is usually in the indicative.

#### Should After Provided

they might take their choice anywhere ... provided there should be at least 100 miles distance between the two colonies (Hubbard, 1680, 13)

Should after provided expresses the notion of the subjunctive: in this citation, still current in English, the verb could be the subjunctive be.

#### Should After Lest or For Fear That

wch makes me to write these ... lines ... lest the shippe should be gone (Winthrop, 1630-31, 173-4)  
if was canceled least it should make and funder delay (Bradford, 1630, 56)  
they began to consulte to take ye sayls from ye yeard least ye ship should gett away (Ibid., 128)  
least you should not hear of vs ... I must be breef (Winthrop, Papers, 1627-8, 4)  
My Heart grew full of Distress, lest the unreasonable Pride should provoke the God of Heaven (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)  
least it should hinder the building of a College wch would be manie [mens] losse (Salem Records, 1636, 16)  
Gods children tremble ... lest they should depart or fall off from it (Williams 2, 1652, 18)  
And therefore I must pass it by, lest speaking should transgress (Wigglesworth, 1662, 13)  
Doth hold his breath, lies still for fear lest hee Should by his breathing lowd discover'd bee (Taylor, 1671, 35)  
[I] writ down what God taught me lest I should forget them (Shepard, 1634, 23)  
Now lest it should be objected ... The Apostle answereth (Cotton, 1644, 31)  
least we should loose ye field pieces (Wise, 1690, 535)

I have been ... tormented ... lest the Third Church ... should  
not be in Gods way ... (Sewall, 166-7, 46)  
Several ... desired a dissolution, lest some Emergency should  
require the Calling of an Assembly (Ibid., 1694, 342)  
[he] speaks to her to be ... careful lest [she] should have a sore  
fit of sickness (Ibid., 1694, 392)  
he did it ... least he should be mistrusted (Ibid., 1674, 3)  
I thought no Delay was to be made lest the Scholars should be  
lodged elsewhere (Ibid., 1676-7, 36)

In these citations, where an idea of fearing is involved, should + infinitive in the subordinate clause is subjunctive and can be replaced by the formal subjunctive. Cf. the following pair of citations (for further instances of the formal subjunctive see Chapter III)

we had need be serious ... lest God chastize us (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 425-26)  
My Heart grew full of Distress lest the unreasonable Pride should provoke the God of Heaven (C. Mather 1, 1681, 15)

It is interesting to point out that should + infinitive in the subordinate clauses occurs with either a present tense verb or a past tense verb in the main clause. The indication is (1) that should in the subordinate clause with a present tense in the main clause refers either to present time or future time subsequent to the time of the main verb and (2) that should in the subordinate with a past tense in the main clause refers to time subsequent to the time of the main verb. The tense distinction between shall and should, in other words has become considerably obscured. The verb in the main clause in such instances is in the indicative.

#### Should After When or Whenever

Ye Govr was contente to take his owne bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or ye lords should send for him (Bradford, 1630, 181)

they would undertake to make payments when Mr Weston, or their supply should come (Ibid., 154)  
that he might prevent the offence of the Church, when he should appear before them (Cotton, 1644, 52)  
which ... I reserved to note down when I should come to my Stage (Knight, 1704, 14)  
when the Law of Moses ... should cease and Christ's Kingdom be established ... They shall breake their Swords into Mathookes (Williams 1, 1644, 30)  
whenever the Affair ... should come before the Council Board, they would to what in them was (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280)

In a sentence involving should after when we may have either the subjunctive or the indicative in the main clause. The equivalent of should + infinitive in the fourth citation is be established. The distinction between shall and should in this citation also has disappeared. I do not have instances of all the subordinate conjunctions used before should.

#### Should After Indefinites

ye propositions between them & such marchants & freinds as should either goe or adventure with them (Bradford, 1630, 52)  
they gave him authorie to chuse such other as he should find fit (Ibid., 179)  
they should pay ... ye on halfe of such goods and comodities as they should raise (Ibid., 188)  
according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cast them (Ibid., 1630, 13)  
those which should escape ... should yett be in continuall danger (Ibid., 33)  
I had drawn up a Bill for Justices and such others as the Assembly should appoint (Sewall 1, 1692, 368)  
to defend and maintaine the said Land ... against all such as ... should Invade, Molest or Disturbe (Johnson, 1654, 38)  
He would have the Agents ... Nominate a Person that should be agreeable to the Temper ... of the People (I. Mather 2, 1691, 282)

In all cases where should follows a subordinate conjunction or an indefinite it appears to be the equivalent of shall + an infinitive or of the formal subjunctive. Should in such a subordinate situation

although past tense in form, always shows time future in relation to the verb of the main clause.

Should in subordinate clauses (introduced by that or an indefinite relative adverb) after verbs like believe, wish, wonder, intend, resolve, suppose, command, desire, imagine, effect, or their equivalents

I am not willing they should go away without some refreshing (Eliot, 1649, 11)

[they] desire I should come oftener and stay longer (Ibid., 8)  
the Lord never intended that any ... should be so permitted (Williams 1, 1644, 110)

I have little hopes ... that this "discourse ... should passe currant (Ibid., 12)

if you can not beare it, that any should usurpe Authoritie (Ibid., 37)

how do you thinke that God should suffer you to thrust him from his Seat, (Ibid., 37)

I have small hope that this should come into thy hands (Winthrop 1630-31, 177)

[he] told them that it was against his conscience that they should play & others worke (Bradford, 1630, 135)

At length ... the Govr ... gave way that they should set corne every man for his own perticuler (Ibid., 162)

Amazed I was not being able to conceive how furniture should be brought up those stairs (Sewall 1, 1675, 10)

Villagagnon commanded that they should be brought before him (Sewall 2, 1697, 14)

I resolved that their Lethargy should be no excuse for mine (C. Mather 1, 1692, 14)

I wonder what should be the meaning of this (Ibid., 1696-7, 214)

Suppose we should find ten drunkards in the company (White, 1630, 61)

those books which you desire I should procure for you (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 149)

He had rather the Earth should swallow him up ... then he should give a toleration ("ard, 1647, 8)

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give Timothie the solemnest charge (Ibid., 19)

you must expect ... that they should attend all the Ceremonies martial (Wise, 1690, 530-531)

These instances of should appear to be clearly subjunctive in character.

they are like the formal subjunctive in such a sentence as " [I prayd]

that he give word to severall other Captaines" (Wise, 1690, 532). They are also in many cases similar to the use of the subjunctive in French. Current English uses the same construction or an infinitive construction.

Should in Noun Clauses  
After Impersonal Subjects in Main Statements

it is better that they should be restrained ... then that they should be suffered to draw many others (Williams 1, 1644, 52)  
the world ... being dead in sin ... it is impossible it should be infected (Ibid., 125-6)  
it is impossible that a child ... should live (Williams 2, 1652, 25)  
what pity it is, that this Country ... should now become the Aviary of Errors (Ward, 1647, 9)  
It is affecting that an only child should be snatched away (Sewall 1, 1698, 481)  
It is ... unreasonable, that ... Congregational Men should be Nicknamed (I. Mather 3, 1716, 6)  
it was no marvell they should be thus affected (Bradford, 1630, 175)  
Pity 'tis any should blame their ... Zeale (Wise, 1630, 14)  
and [there is] noe doubt our happines should yet be more enlarged (Winthrop Papers, 1627-8, 5)  
it were pity that those ... should change (White, 1630, 14)  
there will be a necessitie, that young persons should remove (Ibid., 3)  
we had not time to consult our freinds ... as was meet we should (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 429)  
T'was meet that ye should judged be (Wigglesworth, 1662, 19)

It seems quite clear that should in these instances refers to the present or future and not to the past.

Should in Statements of  
Official Actions and the Like

It was agreed ... that Ralph Fogg should haue ffive acres (Salem Records, 1636, 28)  
wee thinke it meet that he should be sent (Ibid., 1656, 193)  
It was agreed ... that six men should be nominated (Ibid., 1636, 16)  
It was agreed that there should be a Town Rate levied (Ibid., 1647, 150)

[It was agreed] that mr Endicot ... and mr Alford should consider (Ibid., 1635, 10)

It was agreed ... that he should haue (Ibid., 1635, 13)

It is agreed that ... it should be rectified (Ibid., 1635-7, 38)

ye select men were willing ye said fence should stand (Watertown Records, 1680, 147)

It was agreed ... that Henry Mattuck should haue (Ibid., 1663, 76)

it was ordered that the offecirs ... should ... take care of (Ibid., 1680, 147-8)

it was ordered yt this order ... should be sent (Ibid., 1680, 148)

it was ... agreed unto yt ye sheep ... should be lessoned (Ibid., 1679, 147)

ye select men ... did by avoat declare that ye said Josiah Treadway ... should ... make up said fence (Ibid., 1680, 147)

voated yt it should be entered Into ye Towne booke (Ibid., 1679, 146)

the towne voated: that they should doe something for the placing of the youth (Ibid., 1679, 144)

the towne ... declared ... that the said mill should be freed from towne Rates (Ibid., 1679, 144)

it was Concluded that mr William Balston should have ... the aforenamed Cowe (Portsmouth Records, 1649, 40)

It was concluded that the Lieut Genll and myself should go (Wise, 1690, 532)

In statements of official actions tense sequence is usually observed

e.g.

It is ordered that the towne Councell shall apoynt (Portsmouth Records, 1649, 43)

It was ordered that the offecirs ... should take ... care of (Watertown Records, 1680, 147-8)

However we do find violations of this tense sequence.

It was voated and Concluded that he that is chosen ... shall pay (Portsmouth Records, 1649, 41)

it was agreed ... that there shall be five and twentie pound added (Watertown Records, 1679, 145)

It is quite evident that shall and should both show time future with reference to the main verb no matter whether this is present or past tense.

### Should and Would in Main Clauses

Both should and would occur in my materials as subjunctives in the main clause after a conditional clause. Should and would in this usage are also called the conditional. An attempt is made in school grammars to differentiate between the use of should and would in this conditional usage i.e. to differentiate between should in the first person and would in the second and third person to express futurity. As in the case of shall and will the distinction does not always obtain in this material, nor does it always obtain in current usage.

### Should First Person Singular Conditional

I should take it for a great fauor if you would send me a catalogue (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 150)  
if the Lord had not beene gracious ... I should not haue been able to speak (Ibid., 1639, 129)  
I should ... maruill your seruant ... and you wear ... parted, but that I know your man Richards ... qualities (Ibid., 1635-6, 9)  
Soome difference ther may be, ... wch receiuinge any light I should be glad to coouer (Ibid., 1639, 130)  
one altogether dead ... whome I should have been glad to have lived and dyed with; yea whom I should have been glad to have lived and dyed for (Norton, 1654, 6)  
I should be over tedious ... to runne into particulars (Eliot, 1649, 11)  
I should be glad if they would leave such follies (Knight, 1704, 44)  
I should be left alone if he were gone (Shepard, 1634, 18)  
To this I dare not subscribe for then I should ... condemme thousands (Williams 1, 1644, 64)  
If the ... Magistrate shall command me ... I should answer him. (Ibid., 37)  
I should suspect that Opinion that will corrive with two or three errours (Ward, 1647, 13)

Would First Person Singular Conditional

I would have kept him ... but that his ... desire to returne ...  
yielded stronger reason to let him goe (Winthrop, 1630-31, 163)  
if I were to come againe I would not have altered my course  
(Ibid., 170)  
I would have written ... if I had tyme (Ibid., 172)  
I would talke ... against it, did I not know (Ward, 1647, 10)  
I would answer to this ... did I not know (Ibid., 12)  
If I were to give physick ... I would do so too (Ibid., 18)  
If I as yet was thine, I thus do say, I from thy flag would  
quickly flag away (Taylor, 1671, 59)  
I would ... helpe forward ye digging of some ... mine, if you  
haue found any (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 150)  
I would hardly beleeeve that ... such wickedness should be  
attempted (Shepard, 1634, 15)  
If ever the Lord did bring me to shore ... I would live (Ibid.,  
51)

Should First Person Plural Conditional

wee should desire you not take it amisse  
wee haue written backe nothinge (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 264)  
It was ready ... we should only stay ye telling of it (Ibid.,  
1639, 276)  
benifit ... and assistance that (I doubt not) wee should redily  
haue obtayned (Ibid., 1675, 429)  
would London had been free from that crime, then we should not  
have been trobled (Bradford, 1630, 195)  
I ... prayed that God would help us else we should never get to  
our journey's end, (Sewall 1, 1675, 10)  
unlesse they had wasted the people ... we should have devoured  
(White, 1630, 7)  
Neither should we have found this error ... if it had been so  
unadvisedly built (Morton, 1637, 139-40)

Would First Person Plural Conditional

To declare to the French people ... that they Submit themselves  
... or else we would lay all their countrey waste (Wise, 1690,  
533)  
we would have eat a morsell ... But the Pumkin ... had such an  
Aspect (Knight, 1704, 47)  
if any men ... do ... affect to keep the terms ... we would not  
stick upon the words (Cotton, 1644, 33)  
we would wish such to keepe at home till they ... be muskeeto  
proofe (Bradford, 1630, 196)

So far as I can determine I have no examples of the conditional with either should or would in the second person singular or plural. This might partly be explained by the fact that most of my material is narrative and does not involve the second person.

Should Third Person Singular Conditional

if any of his did any hurte ... he should send the offender  
(Bradford, 1630, 115)  
if any thing were taken away ... he should cause it to be restored  
(Ibid., 115)  
if any did ... warr against them he should aide them (Ibid., 115)  
He should send to his neighbours ... to certifie them that they  
might not wrong them (Ibid., 115)

The four citations above from Bradford are part of the terms of a peace treaty with the Indians.

he never shewed it, or made any use of it; (it should seeme he  
saw it was in vaine) (Ibid., 185)  
it should seeme it was ye difficulty of sending (Ibid., 147)  
if he were their owne father he should have none (Ibid., 112)  
She Bid him see what his father owed and he should have the money  
to pay it (Knight, 1704, 51)  
he would ask nothing else ... nor should he need (Ward, 1647, 4)  
his mercy should be all the more wonderful if ... he would heal my  
sins (Shepard, 1634, 10)  
which if I do, Justice herselfe should sin (Taylor, 1671, 39)  
it should be so, if it were in his power (I. Mather 2, 1691, 278)  
he could ... goe to the said Guoor, & he should say wereagea  
(Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
he that should slight them is thought to commit a crime (Morton,  
1637, 151)

Would Third Person Singular Conditional

he would have borrowed ... of the Indians but they would lend him  
none (Bradford, 1630, 156)  
other things considered, it would not be so fitt for them (Ibid.,  
36)  
if they should ther live ... the Spaniard would never suffer them  
long (Ibid., 37)  
He bad them not fear, for he would doe well enough (Ibid., 18)

if a better ... place ... could be had ... it would take away  
their discouragements (Ibid., 30)  
ther would ... be no great danger, if they did not overpress  
her sails (Ibid., 92)  
though they had a seale ... it would not serve their turne (Ibid.,  
39)  
if ther was no securitie ... ther would be no ... certainty  
(Ibid., 39)  
it would have bene more but that they kept one (Ibid., 202)  
if that failed ... he would sett them forth (Ibid., 54)  
were there any composition in God it would follow (Norton, 1654,  
15)  
shee told us shee had some mutton wch shee would broil (Knight,  
1704, 31)  
who had he bin one degree impudenter would have out done his  
Grandfather (Ibid., 62)  
none but she would have turn'd out a Dogg (Ibid., 58)  
a wry thought would have oversett our wherey (Ibid., 10)  
The maner of this would be too tedious to relate (Winthrop Papers,  
1629, 7)  
If the devill might have his, ... option ... he would ask nothing  
else (Ward, 1647, 4)  
a shameful sliding ... as which a rational mind would never  
entertain (Ibid., 17)  
If the States ... would make it their ... Care ... it would ease  
you (Ibid., 10)  
If the whole Creature should conspire ... it would be nothing more  
(Ibid., 5-6)

#### Should Third Plural Conditional

such as have given ... any unfriendly reports, should doe well  
to recollect themselves (Ward, 1647, 3)  
If truth be one ... all opionists ... should not be all one in  
that one truth, some ... I doubt are (Ibid., 10)  
For ther they should be liable to famine (Ibid., 33)  
if they lived to farr of, they should have neither succour nor  
defence (Ibid., 37)  
they should have none to protect them, & their owne strength would  
be too Smale (Ibid., 37)  
if they lived near the English ... They should be in as great  
danger to be troubled (Ibid., 37)  
they should be infected by coming to help them (Ibid., 113)  
and they should fare no worse till Mr. Weston ... came (Ibid., 159)  
if they should suffer their firends ... to be wronged they should  
have none (Ibid., 125)  
then they should have anything for it they stood in neede of  
(Ibid., 161)

he bente his force against ye holy discipline ... by which there  
doctrines should be preserved (Ibid., 6)  
ye ... planters would have eat up the proviseions brought and  
they should have fallen into ye like condition (Ibid., 177)  
neither did yey fear them, or should they find them unprovided  
(Ibid., 133)  
They were weak Men, and unfit to appear as Agents of a Colony,  
that should make question about it (I. Mather 2, 1691, 286)  
prudent men ... should doe we not to ingage themselves in  
conference (Ward, 1647, 17)  
if those should be destroyed because they come not at first then  
they should never come (williams 1, 1644, 31)  
how should they doe for fuel to keep them ... from freezing  
(Korton, 1637, 126)

#### Would Third Person Plural Conditional

if they gott not a place in time, they would turn them ashore  
(Bradford, 1630, 96)  
they would undertake to make paymente when Mr. Weston should come  
(Ibid., 154)  
when they came ashore they would use their own libertie (Ibid., 9)  
they would have preferred it otherwise if he would if he would  
(Ibid., 28-29)  
no means they could use would doe any good (Ibid., 23)  
any thing they had they would have given to have been ashore  
again (Ibid., 19)  
others ... would venture nothing excepte they wente to Virginia  
(Ibid., 55)  
if any did ... warr against him they would aide him (Ibid., 115)  
they would doe nothing if they went thither (Ibid., 55)  
they would ... fall into wants if Mr. Weston came not ... amongst  
them (Ibid., 150)  
had it been in their owne custody they would have eate it up &  
then starved (Ibid., 151)  
within a few years more they would be in danger (Ibid., 31)  
if they should, the miseries ... would be hard (Ibid., 33)  
as for ye decks ... they would calke them (Ibid., 92)  
if they were penned up ... a few that are stronger plants would  
encrease and ... starve the weaker (white, 1630, 4)  
if those men were perswaded that ... they did me good ... they  
would ask the Lord ... to forgive them (Winthrop Papers, 1639,  
130)  
they trade ... for rum for wch they'd hazzard their very lives  
(Knight, 1704, 40)  
whenever the Affair ... should come before the Council-Board,  
they would do what in them was (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280)  
such Rulers would not be agreeable to them as were proper to the  
other ... Plantations (Ibid., 281)

without such tools mens honest lives would end (Danforth, 1648, 107)

If Paul ... were present ... The Papists ... would ... say (Williams 1, 1644, 11)

Should I not keepe promise ... they would take it unkindly (Ward, 1647, 25)

No man ... could be insensible of the Hazard and Danger that would attend his Person (I. Mather 2, 1691, 276)

if it were possible they would use all other force (C. Mather 2, 1699, 190)

they would, if it were possible, extinguish all Essays (Ibid., 194) their houses having three stories, which would be to large to discourse (Josselyn, 1672, 152)

they would else be spoiled in this ... cold Night (Wise, 1690, 534)

Oares without all question they would store themselves with in such a case (Morton, 1637, 127)

It is extermely difficult to determine the precise meaning of should and would in the foregoing citations. In these instances as in the case of those involving shall and will we need the emphasis on the spoken word should or would to help us clarify the meaning. From the written word should and would appear to be used in many cases interchangeably. However, there sometimes appears to be a notion of obligation clinging to should and of volition adhering to would. The subjective character of the modals is clearly shown in should and would.

The following table will show the frequency of should and would in the conclusion in conditional sentences examined in my material.

First person singular	<u>should</u>	14	<u>would</u>	10
First person plural	<u>should</u>	7	<u>would</u>	4
Second person singular	I have no instance of the second person			
Second person plural				
Third person singular	<u>should</u>	14	<u>would</u>	78
Third person plural	<u>should</u>	22	<u>would</u>	52

It seems fairly evident from the above table that both should and would were used in the main clause of a conditional sentence. The indication seems to be that should is slightly more frequent than would in the first person to express futurity. Would is definitely more frequent than should in the third person. This suggests the usual prescription for current usage. However it seems quite evident that the writers felt free to use either.

#### Should Showing Obligation

Should occurs a number of times in my material in what seems to be a situation involving obligation on the part of the subject of should or expectation on the part of someone other than the subject. This use of should is, of course, very common in current English.

that which should most sway our hearts, is respect unto Gods honor (White, 1630, 5)

The Righteousness of God should be his all,

The which he cannot have for want of hands (Taylor, 1671, 38)

This Caveat should keepe the bankes and sluices firm and strong, that strife ... breake not in (Williams 1, 1644, 59)

I took a Discourse ... Expressing the Use that all should make of the terrible Disasters (C. Mather 1, 1696, 210)

they had instructions ... upon what conditions they should proceed (Bradford, 1630, 40)

let them keepe their houses ... ther should be no gameing ... in ye streets (Ibid., 135)

but what heard they daly ... but yt they should looke out a place (Ibid., 96)

ye fishing should be free (Ibid., 170)

when ther men came ..., they should leave their bows and arrows behind them (Ibid., 115)

without this how should men live and be maintained (White, 1630, 18)

how men should make benefit of the earth but habitation ... cannot be imagined (Ibid., 3)

Fifthly, That every Prophet, to whom God hath given the tongue of the learned should teach (Ward, 1647, 15)

It is not always possible to be sure whether or not should means obligation even by a careful reading of the context.

Would meaning willingness,  
or desire or, in the negative, refusal

Would was noted a number of times in the material covered as indicating willingness. This idea which is of course current today is the original idea of the verb. Would plus the negative appears to be tantamount to refusal. I have listed here a number of citations of this usage of would.

Some would have had ye goods throwne out; but if they had, ther  
would have been much stolne (Bradford, 1630, 182  
Mr. Weston ... came privatly to ye Govr ... to know whether they  
would suffer Captaine Georges to apprehend him (Ibid., 181  
They would neither trade nor fish, excepte they had wages (Ibid.,  
186)  
suchaas would be stiffe & rigned ... and invey against others, and  
yet be remisse in themselves (Ibid., 25)  
if they had rather have warre ... they might begine when they  
would (Ibid., 133)  
Some would keepe ye boate for fear they might be amongst ye  
Indians (Ibid., 106)  
he could stir up warr against whom he would (Ibid., 136)  
they could send it the plague amongst whom the would (Ibid., 137)  
But ye Govr would not be perswaded, but sent a ... warrante (Ibid.,  
183-4)  
he would not stirr from the spot till a safe harbor was discovered  
(Ibid., 96)  
they would not receive it but sente it back againe (Ibid., 133)  
the Lord would have not any followers of his to hold the place  
Civill Magistracy (Williams 1, 1644, 114)  
his Disciples should be far from persecuting those that would not  
be of their Religion (Ibid., 30)  
Christ is ... far from persecuting those who would not be of his  
Religion (Ibid., 45)  
it is true, Christ would have his Disciples to be farre from  
persecuting (Ibid., 46)  
therefore he would have their punishment deferred until their  
final destruction (Ibid., 43)  
Mr. Shrimpton would not take any blame to himself as to the  
substance of what he said (Sewall 1, 1686, 133)

Marshall Generall required a Warrant which Secretary would not grant (Ibid., 1686, 133)  
the Governour had notice of it ... and would not Answer (Ibid., 1686, 129)  
he that would be delivered, let him avoid those blasphemers (Ward, 1647, 19)  
Christ would have his church without spot or wrinckle (Ibid., 14)  
he that would not lay down his life ... will tell his own heart (Ibid., 7)

### In Dependent Statements

#### Would After If First Person Singular

he would be glad if I would come and live with them (Eliot, 1649, 10)

#### Would After If Second Person Plural

if you would translate any plate into other fashions, if it be sent me ... I could haue a new fashion (Winthrop Papers, 1628, 5)  
I should take it for a great favour if you would send me (Ibid., 1641, 150)  
if you would not harbour a man guiltie of this ... vice ... I pray you reject all trust in him (Ibid., 1635-6, 9)

#### Would After If Third Person Singular

if any ... ground ... would be acceptable to me he would willingly let me have it (Eliot, 1649, 10)  
if the sun would ever shine, there would I dwell (Bradstreet, 1678, 377)  
if modestie would suffer me ... I might declare (Bradford, 1630, 19)  
I told her I had some Chocolett, if shee would prepare it (Knight, 1704, 16)  
I made some covenant, if God would do it to serve him better (Shepard, 1634, 18)  
this kindness would be to me fruit in season, if ... he would give me this (Ibid., 9)  
he would think of it if he would recant his error (Sewall 2, 1697, 15)  
to have taken them ... had cost ... but a little more fear if he would have been so valiant (Wise, 1690, 537)  
as if he would say, fearfully and wonderfully bred (Williams 2, 1652, 17)

Hobomack was asked if he would goe (Bradford, 1630, 125)  
he asked him if he would maintain what he had writ (Sewall 2,  
1697, 15)

Would After If Third Person Plural

If the States ... would make it their ... care ... it would ease  
you (Ward, 1647, 10)  
they began to persecute all ye ... professors ... if they would  
not submitte (Bradford, 1630, 8)  
I should be glad if they would leave such follies (Knight, 1704,  
44)  
such pleasant situations ... as them selves had fancied; as if they  
would be great men (Bradford, 1630, 177)

Would After Though

ye kings majestie was willing ... to suffer them ... though ...  
he would not confirme it (Bradford, 1630, 39)

Would After Whether

I desired the Hostess to inquire ... whether any of them would  
go with me (Knight, 1704, 2)  
it was ... proposed to the King, whether he would have the People  
... make the laws ... or whether he would not appoint a Governour  
(I. Mather 2, 1691, 281)  
Villagagnon asked whether he would stand to the Confession he had  
sign'd (Sewall 2, 1697, 16)

In many citations would has the meaning of "desired" or "was  
willing". Would + the negative here, as in main clauses, is tantamount  
to a refusal.

Would After Verbs of Wishing, Telling,  
Saying, Thinking and Their Equivalents

All the Favour he desires of you is, that you would not Enquire  
after him (C. Mather 2, 1699, 180)  
I pray that God would make use of myself (Ibid., 180)  
I cried unto the Lord, for this gentleman ... that the Lord would  
work ... on his Heart (C. Mather 1, 1681, 14)

I cried ... unto God ... that Hee would help mee to beleeeve (Ibid., 1681, 10)

I ... beg'd ... that Hee would accept (Ibid., 1692, 147)

I was crying to God ... that he would fill mee (Ibid., 1692, 146)

I wrestled with my God, that he would awaken those Churches (Ibid., 1692, 146-7)

The Lord putt itt into my Heart to make this prayer before Him.

That he would give mee to write something (Ibid., 1681, 7)

[I] prayed the Lord earnestly that he would helpe me (Shepard, 1634, 18)

I earnestly prayed that God would help us (Sewall 1, 1675, 10)

I prayd that God would pardon all my sinful wanderings (Ibid., 1692, 369)

[I pray'd] that God would bless the Assembly (Ibid., 1692, 369)

Mr. Nowell prayed that God would pardon each Magistrate and Deputies Sin (Ibid., 1686, 140)

most of them desired he would help them (Bradford, 1630, 159)

Oh that the Lord would be pleased to raise up (Eliot, 1649, 10)

I would to God that men would better weight and consider of things (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 129)

we desire to bow our knees ... that the Lord would be pleased to still the sad unquietnesse (Ward, 1647, 24)

In most of these instances would + infinitive is the equivalent of the formal subjunctive, though willingness is more evident in the would construction than in the formal subjunctive.



### May in Main Clauses

One of the uses of may in my material appears to be to express the idea of ability or capacity. This use of may may be spoken of as "the potential". This idea of may is not greatly different from the idea of can. This meaning seems to represent a survival of the meaning of OE magan. The NED speaks of may as a complete verb in the sense "to be strong, to have power to influence, to prevail (over). If I may: if I have any power in the matter; hence, if I can avoid it or prevent it" but considers this use now obsolete, the last citation listed being 1430. As an auxiliary according to the NED may "expressing ability or power; =can" is obsolete. It gives as its latest example a citation from Drayton writing in 1627,

Thy mighty strokes who may withstand?<sup>1</sup>

Below I am listing a number of citations from my material in which may could be understood to the earlier meaning of ability or capacity although the meaning of possibility or permission cannot be definitely excluded.

### May with First Person Singular

Seldome to make a Visit, without contriving what I may do for God,  
in that Visit (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 4)  
And I may stand untill the Chilly Dews  
Do pearle my locks before he'll stand on mee (Taylor, 1671, 39)

### May with First Person Plural

We may build, and work; but if it be wood, hay, stubble, we shall  
suffer loss (Norton, 1654, 4)

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1. NED, VI, 257.

it hath pleased God to give unto himself many names ... by the  
help of which we may better conceive thereof (Ibid., 12)  
for our better understanding we may consider them as negative  
(Ibid., 14)  
let us look forward and we may gather abundant Refreshment  
(Willard, 1700, 11)  
we may expect that God will make short work of it (Ibid., 12)  
we may guesse at his intention ... to have the earth replenished  
by the ... fruitfulness hee gave (White, 1630, 6)  
I make no question wee may easily find more (Ibid., 61)  
we may observe here the great necessity and bennifitt both of  
Education and conversation; for there people have as Large a  
portion of mother witt (Knight, 1704, 43)  
if we have corne enough we may live plentifully (Winthrop Papers,  
1630-31, 165)

May with Second Person Singular

Nor is't enough that thou alone may'st slide  
But hundred brooks in thy clear waves do meet (Bradstreet, 1678,  
377)

May with Third Person Singular

[they] delight to torment men in ye most bloodie manner that may  
be (Bradford, 1630, 34)  
The which may the better appear in one of ye ... letter (Ibid.,  
46)  
A right emblime, it may be, of ye uncertine things of this world  
(Ibid., 52)  
The experience ... may well evince the vanitie of that concerte  
(Ibid., 163)  
Peter may sit at the right hand of John, without any change in  
Peter, (Norton, 1653, 21)  
a man may ... discerne ... that mens consciences ought in no sort  
to be violated (Ibid., 7)  
but the Lord may pittie mee and Releeve mee (C. Mather 1, 1681, 8)  
lett me write something that may do good (Ibid., 1681, 9)  
In vain do they to Mountains say  
Fall on us and us hide  
From Judges ire more hot than fire  
for who may it abide? (Wigglesworth, 1662, 12)  
He that may chuse or else refuse  
all men to save or spill  
May this man chuse or that refuse (Ibid., 20)  
A man may stand on a ... hilly place and see diuers acres of ground  
(Higginson, 1630, 7)

Prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, than hazard all by yeelding nothing (Ward, 1647, 7)

#### May with Third Person Plural

false Christians may easily satisfie themselves ... with any ... performance (Williams 2, 1652, 7)

What are those ... preservatives which may keep the Soul (Ibid., 5)  
what are the Arguments ... which yet may stand (Ibid., 5)

Hypocrites may do this, and pretend pure ... ends (Ibid., 19)

a Precept which some may conceive was to continue (White, 1630, 2)

they who are ... Persecuters ... may become ... disciples  
(Williams 1, 1644, 45)

whose faithful lips may ... revive my ... spirits (Ibid., 56)

they may doe a world of mischief before the Worlds end (Ibid., 111)

Wherewith they may subsist by labour (Eliot, 1649, 18)

some ... distempers may hinder and obstruct the operations  
(Williams 2, 1652, 21)

children ... by setting of Corne may earn ... more than their owne maintenance (Higginson, 1630, 8)

They it may finde i' th' bellies of our fish (Danforth, 1648, 107)

where they may satisfie themselues in every perticular (Salem Records, 1636, 36)

Another use of may in my material is to show possibility. This is of course a current use of may in such expressions as "I may go or I may not". I am listing here a number of my citations which seem to show this use of may.

#### May with First Person Singular

who can tell what miraculous Things, I may see, before this Year bee but (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 144)

the Answer for it [is written] (as I may say) in bloud (Williams 1, 1644, 61)

#### May with First Person Plural

if we be ouertaken in it we may be well content to suffer  
(Higginson, 1630, 44)

May with Third Person Singular

And this may be as ye 2. Booke (Bradford, 1630, 109)  
let me hear make use of his conclusion, which ... may be applied  
(Ibid., 165)  
the like Answer may be returned to Luther (Williams 1, 1644, 50)  
if a man hold forth ... any Errour ... he may ... be punished  
(Ibid., 43)  
others are circumstantiall ... wherein a man may differ (Ibid., 64)  
a man may be persecuted because he holdeth ... what he beleeves  
(Ibid., 63)  
the Question is, Whether an Hertick ... may be tolerated (Ibid., 53)  
whereunto a treble answer may briefly be returned (Williams 1, 1644, 46)  
this abstract ... which hee may peruse and plainely perceave ...  
that it [the land] is nothing inferior (Morton, 1637, 122)  
he knows not why his best writing may not shelter him (C. Mather 2, 1699, 181)

May with Third Person Plural

What an Inhumanity it is, to deprive Parents of that comfort  
they may take from the baptisme of their infants (Ward, 1647, 16)  
The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States ...  
may stand quiet (Ibid., 1)  
Gods Israel and people ... may ... be slaves (Ibid., 52)  
[they] may ... be reformed by establishing better order (Ibid., 20)  
against the extremity whereof wayes may be found ... to secure  
themselves (Hubbard, 1680, 20)  
the Natives may be ... conjectured to be from the ... Trojans  
(Morton, 1637, 128-9)  
which are covered with mats which may be rowled up (Ibid., 135)  
they may be oppressed for righteousness sake say (Williams 1, 1644, 45)  
Doubtless these ... Allegations may be answered (C. Mather 2, 1699, 187)  
things, and passages [that] may seeme to be profitable (Bradford, 1630, 109)  
be sure they be bestowed ... where they may be readily come by  
(Winthrop, 1630-31, 165)

The modal may also expresses in my material the idea of permission.  
This meaning is of course current today in such expressions as "may I  
leave at four o'clock" or "you may go whenever you wish." In some  
instances which I have noted may + the negative appears to have almost  
the same meaning as must not.



May with First Person Singular

With lamentation I may adde: How can their Soules be clear  
(Williams 1, 1644, 67)  
he makes it sweet & wholesome to us that I may truly say I desire  
no better (Winthrop, 1630-31, 164)  
I longe for the time when I may see they ... face (Ibid., 171)  
I trust I may say with all reverence, they can do more (Ward,  
1647, 22)  
of the dead I may speak freely (Eliot, 1649, 6)  
Having so placed these ... Accounts ... I think I may safely  
proceed (C. Mather 1, 1699, 190)  
what I have said of these, I may say of many others (Bradford,  
1630, 112)  
In the Prosecution of this Matter I may truly say, 'twas the  
Spirit of God, that was my teacher (C. Mather 1, 1681, 1)  
I may rationally suppose that an account ... will be expected  
(I. Mather 2, 1691, 276)  
But I may not hear pass by an other ... passage not to be forgotten  
(Bradford, 1630, 112)  
Yet I may not omitt ye fruite that came hearby (Ibid., 21)  
They told me a ... story ... wch I may not omit the relation of  
(Knight, 1704, 34)  
the Honble Govenor Winthrop whose wonderful civility I may not  
omitt (Ibid., 68-69)  
Your Power extends not so farre ... Therefore herein I may not  
hear you (Williams 1, 1644, 37)

May with First Person Plural

while we are upon this Head, we may at once dispatch it (C.  
Mather 2, 1699, 189)  
whence we may conclude, that the salubriousnesse of the aire ...  
depends ... upon the winter's frost (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
To this we may refer the Prophecy (Willard, 1700, 7)  
from what hath been said we may proceed to the thing in hand  
(Ibid., 6)  
By these we may understand whose that are the People of God  
(Ibid., 3)  
we may take a brief account of this affair in the following  
Conclusions (Ibid., 8)  
out of all question we may be bould to conclude them to be but  
weake witches (Morton, 1637, 150)  
but what fear may we think now surprised her (C. Mather 2, 1699,  
199)  
Yet we may not looke at great thinges heer. It is enough that we  
shall have heaven though we should pass through hell to it  
(Winthrop, 1630-31, 170)  
yet we may not doe evill that good may come therof: And evill it  
would be to tolerate ... evill doers (Williams 1, 1644, 46)

It is true ... what he saith, that neither the Apostles did nor may we propagate [the] Christian Religion by the Sword (Ibid., 49) if this course he warrantable, we may trust in Gods Providence (Higginson, 1630, 46)  
we may digge Wells and find water where we list (Ibid., 13)

#### May with Second Person Plural

This ... Gentleman hath found this goulden meane to be scituated about the middle of those two extreames, and for directions you may proove it thus (Morton, 1637, 120)  
there is meat for you, where if you will eat you may (Ibid., 137)  
I intend to be as true as plain and you may take my Reasons cast into this method (Wise, 1690, 526)  
the Account of it you may take thus Capt. Ephraim Savage ... attended his orders (Ibid., 529)  
Are not your Children well provided for ... May you not ... practise the two chiefe Duties of a Christian ... (Johnson, 1654, 51)  
he made about 327 pounds of it ... as by reckoning will appear: where you may see how God blesseth husbnadry (Higginson, 1630, 8)  
That Abram Warren may haue a ten acre lott (Salem Records, 1635, 11)

#### May with Third Person Singular

That R. Hollingsworth may haue halfe an acre (Ibid., 1635, 12)  
That mr Burdet may haue a tenne acre lott (Ibid., 1635, 12)  
yt he may haue a tenn acre Lott (Ibid., 1636-7, 40)  
Its agreed that Hugh Laskin may haue (Ibid., 1635, 15)  
That Tho: Faborne may haue three acres (Ibid., 1636, 38)  
That mr Hathorne may haue 200 Acres (Ibid., 1636, 36)  
it is voated ... that it may be at Portsmouth (Portsmouth Records, 1647, 35)  
[That] every person may keepe two sheep (Watertown Records, 1679, 146)  
[That] no man may keep sheep above his proportion (Ibid., 1679, 146)  
the said Thomas ... shall or may ... hold & enjoy the premises (Lechford, 1638-41, 12-13)  
The least boy in the plantation may ... catch and eat what he will (Higginson, 1630, 12)

May with Third Person Plural

And why may not Christians haue liberty to go & dwell amongst ym  
(Higginson, 1630, 46)

the Government of the Civill Magistrate extendeth no further than  
over the Bodies ... of their Subjects ... And therefore they  
may not undertake to give Lawes to the Soules (Williams 1, 1644,  
50)

that place ... will appeare to be far from proving such Kings ...  
Iudges of Ecclesiastical causes: and if not Iudges, they may  
not punish (Ibid., 121)

men may differ in judgement, without prejudice of salvation  
(Ibid., 41)

May not and ought not the children ... say: Our fathers were  
Englishmen (Bradford, 1630, 96)

[it was voted] that all Lands ... may ... feed one sheep (Watertown  
Records, 1679, 146)

Theire returne [decision] is that the Suruayers may ... prop vp  
the planks (Ibid., 1662, 76)

That Thomas Moore ... & his wife are received for Inhabitants and  
may haue one fishing lott (Ibid., 1636, 17)

these resorting vnto mee & paying what they owe in the Towns book  
... they may Lay them forth (Ibid., 1636, 37)

[That] any three of them may lay them our (Ibid., 1636, 38)

Its ordered that ... greater families may [haue] more (Ibid.,  
1634, 8)

May in Subordinate Clauses

May occurs in my material in subordinate clauses showing purpose  
following the subordinate conjunction that [so that] meaning in order  
that. This use of may which appears to be clearly subjunctive in  
character still occurs in today's English in such a sentence as: "I  
shall write to him that he may clearly understand the problem".

the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at ye very roote  
... of ye same (Bradford, 1630, 3)

But that I may come more near my intendment (Ibid., 11)

that I may handle things together I shall here inserte 2 other  
letters (Ibid., 196)

But yt I may be not tedious ... I will omitte ye rest (Ibid., 21)

But to omite other things (that I may be breefe) ... they fell in  
with that land (Ibid., 92)

and, that I may methodically deliver them unto you, I shall cast them into this form (Josselyn, 1672, 141)

and that [thing] I will see after ... that I may be sanctified (C. Mather 1, 1681, 10)

These Passages I recite ... that so ... I may do something (Ibid., 11)

I would sett apart a Day ... [to] I pray Thee, shew me Favour, that I may not succumb (Sewall 2, 1697, 16)

what shall we do that we may go thither (Eliot, 1649, 13)

So much we see of him that we may live (Norton, 1654, 11)

I pray let word be sent ... that we may lodge here (Wise, 1690, 531-2)

we must thus Distinguish that so we may separate between the Overruling and Blameable Cause (Ibid., 527)

he hath pleased to preserve unto us this hope a joyfull meetinge, that we may see the faces of each other againe (Winthrop, 1630-31, 177)

whither is thy Beloved gone ... that we may seek him (Williams 2, 1652, 14)

I have written to thee ... that thou maiest see the goodnesse of the Lord (Winthrop, 1630-31, 174)

I onely write now, that thou mayest knowe that I yet live (Ibid., 160)

I haue sent you some ... that you may see the experience of them (Higginson, 1630,

As New born Babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that you may grow thereby (Williams 2, 1652, 7)

I ... send you Dr. Davison's workes ... that you may see how they proceede (Winthrop Papers, 1641, 150)

I make bold to informe you ... so your hearing both may advise (Ibid., 1634, 274)

he stripped us of or vaine confidence that he may have us relye ... upon himselfe (Winthrop, 1630-31, 169)

And that it may fruit forth in season bring

Doth lop & prune & cut it every spring (Danforth, 1648, 104)

As allso that some use may be made hereof in after times by others (Bradford, 1630, 71)

God delighteth in small beginnings that his name may be magnified (Eliot, 1649, 8)

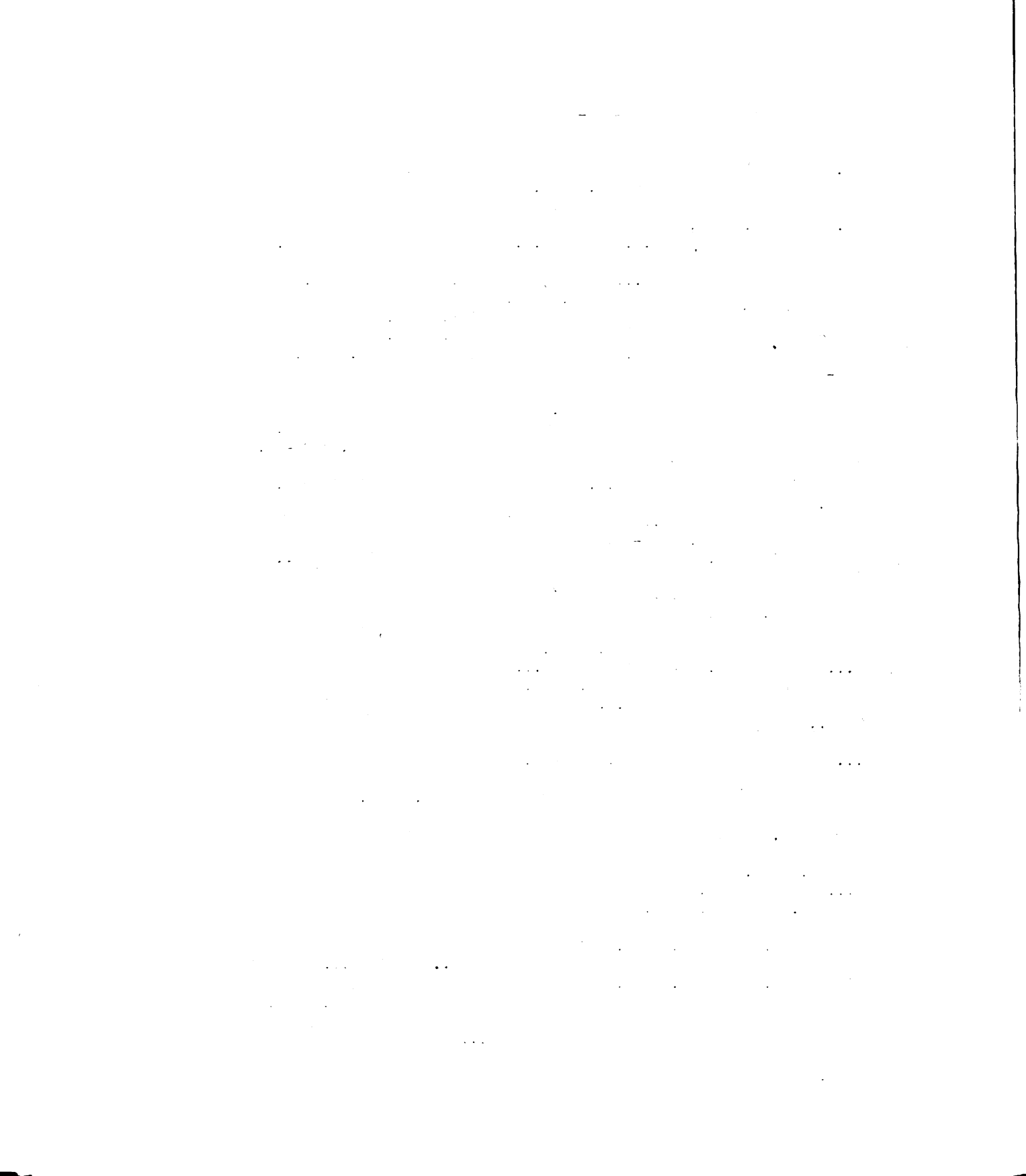
I ... mention this, that so all New England may be excited to pray (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280)

why doth Hee knock at the door of my Soul? Is it not that he may come in (C. Mather 2, 1699, 183)

that the History may not want a Subscription ... he will ... **Subscribe** himself (C. Mather 2, 1699, 183)

we may not doe evill that good may come thereof (Williams 1, 1644, 46)

that he may not loose the Benefitt therof ... Lott Strainge hath desired the Towne to graunt him leave to fence (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 159)



[they] apoynt ffrancis Frayten twelve acrs ... at the hed of mr Bostons farm so that it may not hinder the town Cattell from water (Ibid., 1648, 38)

[voted] that the said ... order may be truly observed ... that damage may not acrue (Ibid., 1681, 210)  
men shall not feed there goates there ... but shall bring them ... that grasse may growe against the Lords dayes (Salem Records, 1634, 9)

Itm that he take dare to send in mr Norris wood so that he [mr Norris] may not want (Ibid., 1656, 194)

to whom the mist of darknesse is reserved forever, that they may suffer ... shipwrack upon the sands (Ward, 1647, 20)

it is full Season for him to worke Soveraign worke ... that men may fear him (Ibid., 23)

Gods people are commanded ... to pray for all men ... that they may have peace (Williams 1, 1644, 113)

I have bene ye larger in these things ... that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrasttled (Bradford, 1630, 71)

But in this Case, alas, what must be done

That haughty souls may humble be, and low?

That Humble souls may suck the Honey Combe (Taylor, 1671, 40)

Thus I esteem'd, thus I redeem'd all these from every Nation,

That they may be (as now you see) a chosen generation (Wigglesworth, 1662, 19)

John Briggs is authorized to repair the Stocks ... that thay may be an Ensigne of Justice (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 45)

they were men, who made signes to stay their flight, that they may have Trade with them (Johnson, 1654, 40)

these facts shall ... be ... declared, that so they may remaine a monument (Hubbard, 1680, 8)

that is their intention in removing from us that they may free themselves from our government (White, 1630, 61)

Raise vp thy thoughts above the skye

That dunghill mists away may flie (Bradstreet, 1678, 41)

The Towne voated: that they would doe some thing for placeing of the youth ... that so they may be ye better Inspected (Watertown Records, 1679, 144)

to be kept by ... herds men yt so they may be able to give an account of ye number of sheep (Ibid., 1679, 146)

to speak his Name to their understandings that they may embrace that message (Eliot, 1649, 11)

It is not difficult to see that may in this usage has developed from the OE meaning "to be able". Usually may in this sense follows a present or future form of the main clause. But occasionally may follows a past tense:

he stripped us of or vaine confidence that he may have relye upon himselfe (Winthrop, 1630-31, 169)

The second person singular form maiest, mayest is apparently an indicative substitution for the subjunctive in such a citation as:

I have written to thee that thou maiest see the goodnesse of the Lord (Winthrop, 1630-31, 174)

I have some instances of may in subordinate clauses following subordinate conjunctions (if, though, and till) and following conjunctive adverbs (whether, whenever). I have also some instances of may in noun clauses after verbs of wishing, hoping, praying etc.

If I of heaven may have my fill,  
Take thou the world, and all that will (Bradstreet, 1678, 385)  
if I may bee brought ... to see thee more, I submitt (C. Mather 1, 1681, 11)  
the Author will count himself ... favored, if he may pass (C. Mather 2, 1699, 183)  
If a man may do good, it is enough (Ibid., 183)  
if it may be thought that these people came ... then would it be (Morton, 1637, 125)  
they are willing he shall be accomodated if conveniently it may be (Portsmouth Records, 1682, 217)  
if such a way may be found then ... to sett vp a footebridge (Salem Records, 1646, 145)  
although an Hypocrite ... may desire ... yet will be pick and choose (Williams 2, 1652, 7)  
though an Hypocrite may weep ... yet a true child ... can only ... cry out (Ibid., 8)  
Though knowledge may be without grace ... there can be no grace without knowledge (Norton, 1654, 5)  
though there may be accounted then to have been a Specimen, yet the ... expressions ... say (Willard, 1700, 2)  
some ... dispensation ... is aimed at ... though others ... may be comprized in it (Ibid., 2)  
together with all her false Doctrines, although they may seeme... never so contradictory (Johnson, 1654, 50)  
[he is to] be tolerated till God may be pleased to manifest his Truth (Williams 1, 1644, 43)  
my sister wilbe tender of her till I may send for her (Winthrop, 1630-31, 178-9)

the Question is, Whether an Heretick ... may be tolerated  
(Williams 1, 1644, 53)  
We are to think of new methods ... wherever ye fault may be  
(wise, 1690, 527)  
I wish my Sun may never set, but burn (Bradstreet, 1678, 395)  
I desire it may be well observed (Williams 1, 1644, 63)  
Let him be pleas'd to cause that it may not die but may produce  
(Sewall 1, 1697, 14)  
I desire it may be so accepted (Ward, 1647, 6)

In the first three instances that follow the verb of wishing is implied.

now may it please you (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 276)  
May all that dread the cruel freind of night Keep on (Knight, 1704, 21)  
O that there may be a lengthening of Londons tranquillitie (Williams 1, 1644, 6)  
I hope and ... desire they may be ever in our thoughts (Williams 2, 1652, 1)  
Christ Jesus teacheth all his to make it their first request to God, that they may hallow his ... his name (Ibid., 18)  
They pray that men may know so much (Ibid., 21)  
they desire their eyes may never cease trickling tears (Ibid., 23)  
your mother Peters desires my nieces clothes may stave (Winthrop Papers, 1635-6, 9)  
we craue our sines may not extenuate his mercies (Ibid., 1628, 6)  
I desire all good men may be saved (Ward, 1647, 19)  
I would sett apart a Day ... [to] intreat that I may be delivered (C. Mather, 1, 1681, 15)  
I cry'd ... that if ruines must come I may be advised of them (Ibid., 1696-7, 214)  
I pray that ... we may not be seen (C. Mather 2, 1699, 180)  
who knoweth but that these poor sheets may find a place (Norton, 1654, 5)

In all but a few of these citations may + infinitive might have been replaced in the seventeenth century by the formal subjunctive. Apparently the modals came to replace the older formal subjunctive partly to differentiate the different meanings of the formal subjunctive.

### Might in Main Clauses

The modal might occurs in my material in independent statements with the meaning of "to be able to". This use of might is of course current in today's English in such an expressions as: "We might make this clearer by saying it this way". In many of the citations following and of the citations in the next section it is very difficult to draw the line sharply between the meanings "to be able to" and "might possibly".

### Might with First Person Plural

our onely way would be to March our Army ... to the North Towne  
and there we might ... either Impale or Intrench our Selves  
(Wise, 1690, 533)  
we could ruine those two places ... and we might take ye forrage  
of both (Ibid., 533)  
The more is our greefe, that our pastor is kept from us, by whom  
we might injoye them (Bradford, 1630, 194)

### Might with Second Person Plural

You oft were told, and might behold that Death no Age doth spare  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 37)

### Might with Third Person Singular

a Bridge made of one entire stone of such a Breadth that a cart  
might pass in safety (Knight, 1704, 60)  
he would not lay down his money ... while he might have had it  
(Ward, 1647, 7)

### Might with Third Person Plural

The rest ... made shift to escape ... those only staying that best  
might (Bradford, 1630, 20)  
they whose eyes God had not justly blinded might see (Ibid., 8)  
if necessitie required they might have them out with all speed  
(Ibid., 182)  
the rest ... might be able to abate their excessive prices  
(White, 1630, 19)

as a horse and carte might have gone through (Bradford, 1630, 187-8)

[they] let fly their shafts among the little company, whom they soon might have inclosed, but the Lord otherwise disposed of it (Johnson, 1654, 43)

The modal might occurs also in my material with the meaning "might possibly". This meaning is of course current in such an expression as: "It might prove dangerous to do that".

#### Might with First Person Singular

if modestie would suffer me, I might declare (Bradford, 1630, 19)

#### Might with First Person Plural

the want of Time the want of Amunition ... may be Reckoned great Obstructions to or future Attempts we might think of (Wise, 1690, 537)

You begin with Hilary, whose testimony we might admit without any prejudice (Williams 1, 1644, 48)

easy termes might ... disadvantage us from taking such measures as we might have thought of (Wise, 1690, 526)

#### Might with Second Person Plural

Your selves deceiving by your believing all which you might have known (Wigglesworth, 1662, 30)

#### Might with Third Person Singular

if they should unsettle themselves ... it might prove dangerous (Bradford, 1630, 39)

it might so exasperate the Indeans as might endanger their saftie (Ibid., 156)

so much of their trading comodities as their part might come to (Ibid., 154)

they weare fested in the best manner that might be expected (Morton, 1637, 155)

he replied ... hee could not tell, his wife might play the whore (Ibid., 148)

such a thing ... might make them ... eger to hinder the Bill (Sewall 1, 1689, 266)

I bad him acquaint me if he knew anything that might hinder my coming (Ibid., 1677, 39)  
if some stranger should chance to bee there ... hee might be ready to think (Hubbard, 1680, 21)  
Probably every year's experience might adde something (Ibid., 14)  
notwithstanding any defect that might attend the Form (I. Mather 2, 1691, 286)  
if he haue giuen an other bond ... it might be his weakenes (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 275)  
No sooner was an house here built, to keep  
This Out-cast dry, where it might rest and sleep (Danforth, 1649, 108)  
without all house-room it might end its life (Ibid., 1649, 108)  
to gain more good, or shun what might thee harm (Bradstreet, 1678, 379)  
God ... hath blasted that enterprize, which otherwise might have prospered (Ward, 1647, 4)  
[others] were prepared ... to glean up what ye cuntrie might have afforded (Bradford, 1630, 146)  
[a] possibility by which he might not have been, or may be not (Norton, 1654, 15)  
could he have written a book ... the Author might have been under temptation (C. Mather 2, 1699, 180)

#### Might Third Person Plural

it might be sundrie of ye things feared might never befall  
(Bradford, 1630, 35)  
[and as great miseries] just as great might befall them in this place (Ibid., 35)  
all of them, through the help of God, might either be borne or overcome (Ibid., 35)  
if they had rather have war then peace they might beginne when they would (Ibid., 133)  
Riches might make him proud like Nebuchadnezar (Morton, 1637, 116)  
from what people ... the Natives ... might be conjectured to proceede (Ibid., 123)  
The labours of many others might well be spared, as serving little else than luxury (White, 1630, 18)  
my old Iniquities might make me walk ... in the Bitterness of my Soul (C. Mather 1, 1681, 12)  
I must pray for some of our ... friends who might be in Distress (Ibid., 1696-7, 212)  
all those that might adventure and joyn with them (Hubbard, 1680, 12)  
with circumstances which the English might not think very Honourable (C. Mather 2, 1699, 184)



As for medicinall herbes, Gerard and Johnson ... might have made  
herballs here (Hubbard, 1680, 24)  
hear they gott seed to plant ... or els they might have starved  
(Bradford, 1630, 100)  
[they] might have starved if ye plantation had not succoured them  
(Ibid., 142)

I have a few cases where might seems to indicate permission rather  
clearly.

he said I might be there: he knew not if I could testify (Sewall  
1, 1689, 266)  
[They were to tell them] that Mr Deputy, with whom he pleased to  
take with him, might go to Capt. Paige's and see the Comission  
(Ibid., 1686, 137)  
they might retaine diverse harmles ceremonies; and tho it were to  
be wished yt diverse things were reformed, yet this was not the  
season for it (Bradford, 1630, 8)

#### Might in Subordinate Clauses

The modal might occurs in my material in purpose clauses. In  
present day English we commonly express purpose with an infinitive  
construction. However might may be used in this sense as in the sentence:  
"He wrote us in order that we might understand the situation". In these  
purpose clauses might seems to carry an idea of futurity even though it  
is past tense in form.

inviting him to my house that I might show my love (Eliot, 1649,  
11)  
[she] sett herself ... before me, showing the way to Reding, that  
I might see her ornaments (Knight, 1704, 7)  
That I might make this Instrument the more easy ... I did ...  
weave it, all into my Prayer (C. Mather 1, 1692, 145)  
I devoted the Day unto the Lord; that I might abase myself before  
Him (Ibid., 1681, 12)  
a Noble Personage did me the Honour to introduce me to the Queen,  
that so I might have an opportunity to solicit Her Majesty's  
... Favour (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280)  
I should take it for a ... favour if you would send me a catalogue  
yt I might know what ... bookes are in your hands (Winthrop  
Papers, 1641, 150)

the others [were] to answer the Enemy if they should Attaq us ...  
that we might not be put into confusion (Wise, 1690, 535)

we were much perplexed ... where to stay that we might not be  
known (Shepard, 1634, 8)

That you might ... have a knowledge of him ... The end of the  
Gospel is to be known (Norton, 1654, 4)

[he] dyed ... desiring ye Govr to pray for him, that he might goe  
to Englishmens God (Bradford, 1630, 155)

[he] accused another ... man ... that so he might slip his own neck  
out of ye collar (Ibid., 49-50)

and that he might curry favour with the Admiral he confirm'd the  
hopes he had given (Sewall 2, 1697, 12)

[he] took up another errant ... that the Malignant spirit of Saul  
might not hinder the work (Johnson, 1654, 38)

Julian ... granted liberty to Hereticks ... that he might ...  
choake the vitals of Christianity (Willimas 1, 1644, 48)

why doth he call for my Heart. Is it not that he might work all  
his own works (C. Mather 1, 1681, 10)

A clause was added ... that so Mens Titles ... might not be  
invalidated (I. Mather 2, 1691, 286)

to fix that Name upon those possessed of the Truth; that so the  
Truth ... might be made nauseous (I. Mather 3, 1716, 6)

he was ... watched that so he might be kept from Self-Murder  
(I. Mather 1, 1684, 10)

the Governour, that he might Express his resolutions ... turned  
upon them ... a Machin (C. Mather 2, 1699, 193)

we were perplexed ... [to] keepe my ... child so secretly as that  
it might not be baptised (Shepard, 1634, 9)

he ... relinquished his farme ... that soe mr Humphryes might ...  
be accomodated (Salem Records, 1636, 17)

Adam mott haveinge offered a Cowe ... that so he might be discharged  
from any further Chardge (Portsmouth Records, 1648, 40)

you should be ... both sound and strong ... that Christ might not  
only be formed but perfected (Norton, 1654, 4)

That they might ... encrease their tillage ... they made suite to  
the Govr to have some portion of land given them (Bradford, 1630,  
201)

This they did, that they might conceive that they were not affraide  
of them (Ibid., 104)

they were ... made to drinke water, that ye sea-men might have  
ye more bear (Ibid., 112)

to obtaine a better crope than they had done, that they might  
not ... languish in miserie (Ibid., 162)

they had taken ... pains ... that they might injoye the same  
(Ibid., 176)

to bestow upon him some gratuitie to bind him ... unto them;  
as also that hearby they might view ye countrie (Ibid., 123)

Christian States ought to disavow ... such Errors ... that subjects  
... might not delude themselves with vaine hopes (Ward, 1647, 14)

he advised 'em to Yield quietly that they might save their lives  
(C. Mather 2, 1699, 191)  
which they conflicted with, and all upon no other Account but that  
so they might enjoy a pure Discipline (I. Mather 3, 1716, 3)  
A Vagabond to Land of Nod he goes.  
A City builds, that woes might him secure from foes (Bradstreet,  
1678, 37)  
that they might prosecute this designe ... one Ship they ...  
purchase and many more they hire (Johnson, 1654, 50-51)  
The matter ... was presented to ye Towne yt so that might know to  
whome to goe (Watertown Records, 1680, 147)  
I challenge them to get up and run for a Dram ... that they might  
be kept in accon (Wise, 1690, 534)  
That there they might this fearful sight and dreaded presence shun  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 12)  
I bore their grief ...  
That they of bliss and happiness might firmly be assur'd (Ibid.,  
20)

In most of the foregoing citations might occurs when the main verb  
is in the past tense. However there are a few instances when might is  
used when the other verb is in the present tense.

I have some instances of might in subordinate clauses following  
subordinate conjunctions (if, (al)though, except, (un)till, for fear  
[that]) and following conjunctive adverbs (whether, where). I have  
also some instances of might in noun clauses after verbs of wishing,  
praying, thinking etc. In such subordinate statements might can have,  
as in independent statements, the meanings "to be able," or "might  
possibly" or "to be permitted".

Some Essays were ... made to see if ... the Case ... might be  
brought out of Chancery (I. Mather 2, 1691, 279)  
if any thinge might be procured for your good I should be very  
glad (Winthrop Papers, 1628, 6)  
if he might have the lighter ... he was sure ... he could doe it  
(Bradford, 1630, 203)  
the rest marched ... to see ye land, if any fit place might be  
for their dwelling (Ibid., 101)  
ye English followed them ... and partly to discover if ther might  
not be more of them (Ibid., 98)

The Hypocrite if he might have his own choice, had rather be rid of his pain than his sin (Williams 2, 1652, 12)

Salaries are not spoken of; as if one sort of men might live on the Aer (Sewall 1, 1692, 368)

If the devill might have his free option ... he would aks nothing else (Ward, 1647, 4)

Although my sins might hinder him from doing this yet ... his mercy should be the more wonderful (Shepard, 1634, 10)

though I might aliedg ... other perticulers ... these shall suffice (Bradford, 1630, 29)

I will ommitte the rest, though I might relate other ... passages (Ibid., 21)

I am satisfied tho we might gain ground yet we lost heart (Wise, 1690, 29)

nothing would satisfie them excepte they might be suffered to be in their perticuler allso (Bradford, 1630, 188)

which they were ready to do ... untill they might have opportunity of returning (Sewall 2, 1697, 13)

Some would keepe ye boate for fear they might be amongst ye Indians (Bradford, 1630, 106)

He desired advice whether he might not take it ... by force (Ibid., 156)

I did question whether that ... estate might not be the truth (Shepard, 1634, 24)

[I wondered] whether education might not make me beleieve (Ibid., 24)

the King was ... inquisitive to know whether he might ... set a Governor over that Colony (I. Mather 2, 1691, 281)

The first Question propounded whither it might be Consistent ... to propound such ... termes (Wise, 1690, 533)

the Lord ... called us to come thither where my wife might have all helpe (Shepard, 1634, 8)

he doubted not but they should find one place ... where they might ride in saftie (Bradford, 1630, 105)

they would goe ... westward wher ... they might here of Mr. Weston (Ibid., 159)

if they were in a place wher they might have libertie (Ibid., 30)

I prayed that I might see it, and carry it to the Council (I. Mather 2, 1691, 285)

I thought ... I might ... promote the general Repentance (C. Mather 1, 1696, 210)

Another thing that exercised me was, that I might not be left without necessary Supplies of Speech (Ibid., 1680-81, 2)

he would go to a House with us, where he thought we might be better accomodated (Knight, 1704, 58)

some were apt to think, that ... we might prevail with his Majesty (I. Mather 2, 1691, 284)

I prayd ... we might set out Centinels (Wise, 1690, 531)

I ... intreated him that we might march away (Ibid., 534)

A petition was Signed ... praying, That no Property ... might ... be taken from them (I. Mather 2, 1691, 285)

[praying] That the Province of Mayn might be Confirmed (Ibid., 285)

[praying] That New Hampshire might be put under that Government  
(Ibid., 285)

[he] pleaded that [he] might be heard by the ... Court (Sewall 1,  
1686, 133)

Mr. Smith speaks to me to solicit that his Son ... might obtain  
Mr. Sanfords House (Ibid., 1676-7, 35)

I cry'd unto the Lord, that none of their Sins ... might be laid  
unto my Charge (C. Mather 1, 1696-7, 214)

I cry'd That my poor Countrey might not be overwhelmed (Ibid.,  
1696-7, 214)

other said that none of the late silenced ministers might passe  
into the Ships (Johnson, 1654, 36)

and yt this might be obtained, they were putt in good hope by some  
great persons (Bradford, 1630, 37)

seing it might come to pass they should never meete againe (Ibid.,  
53)

Mr. Weston answered ... [that it] might have befallen any man  
(Ibid., 180)

It was conceived ther might be some danger (Ibid., 98)

[he said] one might be of the Church ... though not joined to a ...  
Congregation (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 36)

Major Richards said ... it might prove inconvenient (Sewall 1,  
1686, 264)

[we] thought Sir Edmund might have friends there (Ibid., 266)

and this childe the father desired might an English name (Morton,  
1637, 148)

he petitioned ... he might send for some Divines (Sewall 2, 1697, 12)

[he said] this might be a meanes to procure warr (Winthrop Papers,  
1638, 264)

If discontented Bellies shall wish that the highest now might fall  
(Danforth, 1647, 103)

[they thought] yt they might well proceede (Bradford, 1630, 39)

[they] desired they might joyne with them (Ibid., 154)

it was conceived ... that she was sufficient & they might proceede  
(Ibid., 83)

a peace that their pillote ... did assure them was a good harbor  
... & they might fetch it before night (Ibid., 105)

he feared they ... might betray them (Ibid., 135)

they conceived things might arise from ... jealocie (Ibid., 146)

in the hope they might leave their crutches on the trees

(Hubbard, 1680, 24)

it may ... be granted that the Natives might ... come of the ...  
Trojans (Morton, 1637, 126)

he moved that Sacerdotal Garments might be provided (Sewall 2,  
1697, 12)

it was consented to ... that some sober youths might ... be seated  
there (Sewall 1, 1647, 3)

I mov'd ... that they might make it up now (Ibid., 396)  
she desired that that people might ... have what was Just done  
for them (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280)  
praying, That Charter-Priviledges might be restored (Ibid., 281)  
[praying] that some Frigats might be sent (Ibid., 281)  
he thought ... they might burne ... or beds (Ibid., 1690, 534)  
it was thought they might better have presumed hear (Bradford,  
1630, 39)  
Some conceive, their Predecessors might have had some commerce  
with Iewes (White, 1630, 14)

The following comment from the NED appears to throw considerable  
light on the various meanings of might:

May shares with various other auxiliary vbs. (as can, will, shall)  
the characteristic that the inflected past subjunctive (though  
coinciding formally with the past indicative) retains its original  
functions. Like other past subjunctives, might is frequently  
used in a sense which differs from that of the present form not  
temporally but modally (partly corresponding to the 'present  
conditional' of Romanic grammar). The fact that might thus admits  
of three different meanings is sometimes productive of ambiguity,  
which has to be avoided by recourse to some different form of  
expression. Further, may agrees with certain other auxiliaries in  
having no pa. pple; hence its pa. t. is used with the following  
perfect where logical correctness would require the plupf. tense  
(ind. or subj.). Thus in sense 3 below he might do may be  
paraphrased either 'he was free to do' or 'he would be free to do';  
and he might have done - either 'he had been free to do' or 'he  
would have been free to do'.<sup>1</sup>

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1. NED, VI, 257.

Can

The modal can appears in my material so far as I can judge only in the current senses. I have no instances of the obsolete meaning of to know. According to the dictionaries can means "to know how", and "to be able". The definition of "to be able" includes "to be able" physically and mentally, and also to have the "necessary resolution, courage and the like". Can also expresses the idea of "contingency and possibility" or "to be permitted or enabled by the conditions of the case" in this sense it seems to mean "may be able". Can may also be used in the sense of "have permission, to be allowed". In this sense it is the equivalent of may.<sup>1 & 2</sup>

I am listing first a number of citations of can in the sense of "to be able" physically or intellectually.

I have no instances of can in the sense of "to know how" or "to have the necessary resolution or courage".

Can with First Person Singular

I cannot express the concern ... this relation sett me in  
(Knight, 1704, 10)

[They] seem to deal with ... exactness so farr as I can see (Ibid., 54)

take my squalling Brat ... [I] cant get the Rogue to sleep (Ibid., 65)

I am so streightened with much businesse, as [that I] can no way satisfie myselfe in wrightinge to thee (Winthrop, 1630-31, 165)  
many other necessaryes wch I cant now think of (Ibid., 167)  
sume ill newes I can impart to you, wch I am sorry to be the messenger of (Winthrop Papers, 1629, 7)

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1. NED, II, 58.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 387.

there is affection enough in the author to apprehend what I can  
not express (Ibid., 1627-8, 4)  
a little book ... which I neither inioy nor can find (Ibid., 1641,  
150)  
I haue taken the best care I can to get you a bill of exchange  
(Ibid., 7)  
Yet I cannot see it proved that light is risen (Williams 1, 1644,  
65)  
when I can't pray I'll groan (C. Mather 1, 1681, 18)  
I am heartilie sory that I can neuer deserve it (Winthrop Papers,  
1627-8, 4)  
suppose it miscary ... how can I answer it (Ibid., 1639, 276)  
I will improve ... with wt faithfulness I can (Ibid., 1639, 276)  
I will say nothing of my Love .... Neither can I mention salutations  
to my good friends (Winthrop, 1630-31, 175)  
whatever Christianity ... will allow I can afford (Ward, 1647, 25)  
Shall Creatures abject thus their voices raise?  
And in their kind resound their makers praise;  
Whilst I as mute, can warble forth no higher layes. (Bradstreet,  
1678, 373)

#### Can with First Person Plural

it pleaseth God to keep us still under the rod our enemy keeping  
them selues within the ... swamps ... where we cannot ingage  
them (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 429)  
In these times he spoke as we 2 cann depose (Ibid., 1639, 276)  
he hath ... abused ... you ... as Mrs Peters, myselfe and ...  
other frinds ... can witnes (Ibid., 1635-6, 9)  
it is wholesome enough to us that can be content therwith (Bradford,  
1630, 195)  
haveinge aduised together, wee cannot see but we are bounde to  
see them righted (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)  
att this tyme we cannot drawe our people together (Ibid., 1638,  
264)  
we cannot imagine how these Nations should once heare the name  
(White, 1630, 13)  
we have more men than we can imploy (Ibid., 20)  
we cannot ... conceive that God ... aymed at any other thing (Ibid.,  
15)  
as soon as conveniently we can, we intend to consider it (Winthrop  
Papers, 1638, 264)  
we will not excuse them but labour to reforem them ye best we cane  
(Bradford, 1630, 194)  
we shall ... give you the best entertainment we can (Lechford,  
1638-41, 9)  
let us march away ... as fast as we can or our men are warme now  
but they will Stiffen and Coole (Wise, 1690, 531)

Can with Second Person Singular

what's thy Repentance, Cans't thou come and show (Taylor, 1671, 58)

Thou canst rectify my Spirit every Way ... as I have reason to expect (C. Mather 1, 1681, 11)

having ... thus given such a Knock upon thy Head ... that thou cans't never ... Hiss at our History, we shall proceed (C. Mather 2, 1699, 185)

Bring Amy ... wth thee if thou canst (Winthrop, 1630-31, 179)

Can with Second Person Plural

you'st stand between us two our spears to dunce

Can you Orifend and Fence both wayes at once? (Taylor, 1671, 49) and good Sr. get to sleep as early as you can (Wise, 1690, 532)

pray do what you can to encourage yor self ... and pray do you burn and destroy all that you possibly can (Ibid., 531-2)

I pray you assist and further him what you can (Lechford, 1638-41, 9)

Can with Third Person Singular

a mans way is not in his own power; God can make the weak to stand (Bradford, 1630, 160)

And are not these greate things, who can deney it (Ibid., 11)

Such a sentence no Civill Judge can passe such a Death Civill sword can inflect (Williams 1, 1644, 125)

as soon as tares and wheat are sprung up ... every husband man can tell which is wheat (Ibid., 103)

only a true wife ... can grieve and mourn ... and cries out in bitterness (Williams 2, 1652, 14)

which when he once ... suspects, he cannot walk a step with ease (Ibid., 25)

hee shall either pas the same or give bond ... as soon as he can make sale (Lechford, 1638-41, 17)

[The surveyors are ordered] to set up a raile which may serue vntill the town can make a new bridg. (Watertown Records, 1662, 76)

which will not be done without more stir than the Peace of the State ... can indure (Ward, 1647, 7)

if they will not [stand] quiet Hee can ... shake them off (Ibid., 1)

we have meet with ... great troubles (as this bearer can certifie) (Winthrop, 1630-31, 160)

if he please he can upholde us in this estate (Ibid., 70)

Can with Third Person Plural

[Those] that cannot endure the biting of a muskeeto; we would such  
to keepe at home (Bradford, 1630, 196)  
diverse take such pains with their own as they can (Ibid., 194)  
all ye homly ... offices ... wch dainty ... stomacks cannot  
endure to hear named (Ibid., 111)  
the casulties ... (Which none can be free from (Ibid., 33)  
our enemy keeping them selues ... within the most hideouse  
swamps they can finde (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 429)  
which I constantly teach the Children and the Children can ...  
answer me in them (Eliot, 1649, 7)  
I trust I may say ... they can do more then the Senate of Heaven  
(Ward, 1647, 22)  
they who have found the way to heaven cannot find the way to  
Church (Ibid., 20)  
having no long feathers ... which is the reason they cannot fly  
(Josselyn, 1672, 146)  
A blessing they can never be thankful enough for ... if it ever  
be their hard fortune to lose it (Knight, 1704, 44)

I am listing now citations of can in the sense of "may be able" or  
"enabled or permitted by circumstances". I have no instances of can in  
the sense of "permission".

Can with First Person Plural

we can apeale to God, and shall, we hope, be able ... to satise  
men (Winthrop Papers, 1675, 428)

Can with Second Person Singular

if thou hunttest any ... how canst thou say thou followest the  
Lambe of God (Williams 1, 1644, 11)

Can with Second Person Plural

this few words wish you as many hapyneses as you can be capable of  
(Winthrop Papers, 1633, 81)  
O be contented then, you cannot lack (Danforth, 1648, 106)  
what helps can you have there that you must not carry from hence?  
(Johnson, 1654, 51)

Can with Third Person Singular

It cannot be denied to be a pious ... act ... to call for advice  
(Williams 1, 1644, 8)  
the Word of God ... is so cleare, that hee cannot but be convinced  
(Ibid., 42)  
[Some] points are fundamentall without right belief whereof a Man  
cannot be saved (Ibid., 41)  
although her heart wake in the truth of marriage love, which can  
never wholly dye (Williams 2, 1652, 3)  
they cannot though they would grant such tolerations (Ward, 1647,  
12)

Can with Third Person Plural

there Tares cannot signifie Hupocrites in the Church (Williams 1, 1644,  
110)  
they cannot be offenders against the civill state (Ibid., 110)  
hid Elect cannot perish nor be ... deceived (Ibid., III)  
Dead men cannot be infected (Ibid., 125)  
the Persons in whom they grow cannot be rooted out (Ibid., 443)  
I could particularize other exercises ... which cannot be denied  
(Ibid., 70)  
How can their Soules be cleare in this foundation (Ibid., 67)  
Several Churches having ... made a Catalogue of such things as  
can ... be found amiss (C. Mather 1, 1692, 144)  
they must look forward; and many things cannot be understood of  
any but the Gospel-day (Willard, 1700, 6)

Can in Subordinate Clauses

I have a few instances of can in subordinate clauses after  
subordinate conjunctions. I have also a few instances of can in  
noun clauses after verbs of saying, thinking, fearing, etc.

Bring Amy ... with thee if thou canst (Winthrop, 1630-31, 179)  
if you can not bear it that any should usurpe Authorities, how  
due you thinke (Williams 1, 1644, 37)  
Compare with me ye women if you can (Bradstreet, 1678, 394)  
the Treasurer ... is to take Care and Cause it to be Sett up if  
it can be (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 161)  
he is bound in conscience to return if he can (Ward, 1647, 24)  
If the ... conclave ... can so compromise ... I trust I may say  
(Ibid., 22)

if the said Thomas can not effect the sale ... then he shall have  
(Lechford, 1638-41, 15)  
if said premises cannot or shall not Be sold ... then the said  
Augustin shall give (Ibid., 7)  
if Pagans cannot be won ... they are not to be compelled ("illiams  
1, 1644, 49)  
he Replied -- as well as can be expected (Knight, 1704, 25)  
hee shall either pay ... or give bond ... as soone as he can make  
sale (Lechford, 1638-41, 17)  
thou maiest be well onward of thy way hether before these can  
come to England (Winthrop, 1630-31, 177)  
a raile which may serue vntill the town Can make anew bridg  
(Watertown Records, 1662, 75)  
it is not easy ... to finde: unless the astrologers can find it  
(Hubbard, 1680, 26)  
Am afraid little can or will be done (Sewall 1, 1686, 10)  
he thinks there cannot be a procedure in the Court (Ibid., 1692,  
367)  
I conclude that they cannot ... be intended to signifie ("illiams  
1, 1644, 103-4)  
I shall prove that these tares can be no ... sort of sinners  
(Ibid., 107)  
which tels them they cannot be Gods children except they pray  
(Williams 2, 1652, 20-21)  
May not Hypocrites professe they are not Papists, that they can  
deserve nothing at Gods hands (Ibid., 23)

In the foregoing dependent statements can appears to mean either  
"to be able" or "may be able".

In both main statements and dependent statements can shows either  
present time, or future time in my material, depending on the context,  
just as it does in current English.

Could Past Tense of Can

Could is historically the past tense of can and often retained the meaning of was able or were able in my material. This meaning of could is of course current in today's English e.g. "I was so tired I could go no further"; "They tried to open the door but they could not." I list here some citations of could in this usage.

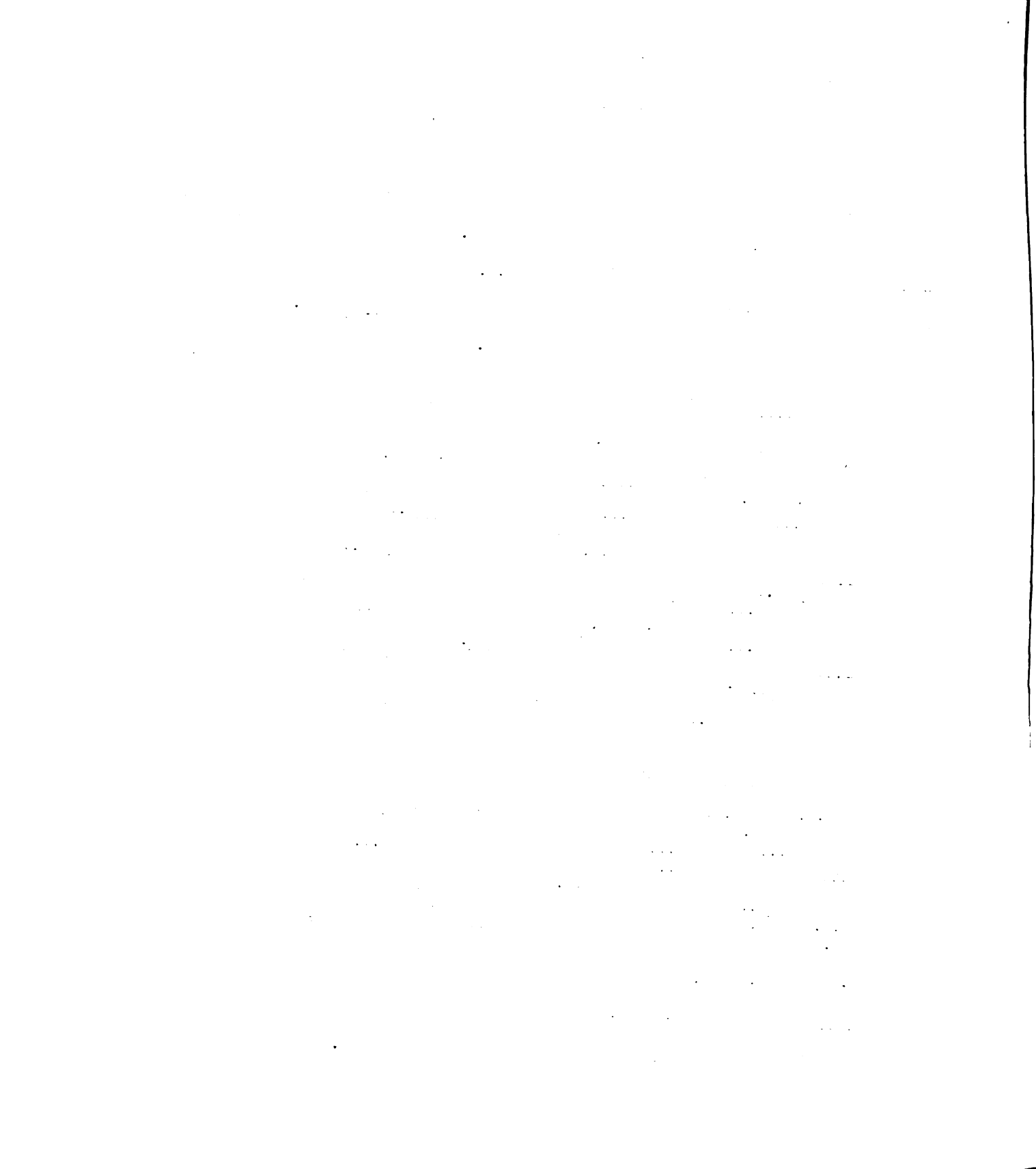
Could with First Person Singular Past Tense

And when I could no longer look,  
I blest his Name that gave and took (Bradstreet, 1678, 40)  
I sought for the first and could not prevaile for his life  
(Shepard, 1634, 9)  
when I could not take notes ... I was troubled (Ibid., 19)  
[these things] did so far trouble me, that I could not read the  
Scriptures or hear them read ... without blasphemy (Ibid., 24)  
I could do nothing but I did seeke mysele in it an was imprisoned  
there (Ibid., 24)  
takeing leave ... tho with no little Reluctance that I could not  
proceed with them (Knight, 1704, 23)  
it being late ... I could go no further (Ibid., 64)  
I could get no sleep because of some of the Town tope-ers in the  
next Room (Ibid., 17)  
Hee and ye Post put on very furiously, so that I could not keep  
up with them (Ibid., 19)

Could with First Person Plural Past Tense

I was ... tired ... when we come to our Inn, and could get nothing  
there (Knight, 1704, 61)  
the Trees ... gave us ... welcomes with their Branches ... wch we  
could not avoid (Ibid., 13)  
we were forced to ride 22 miles ... before we could bait our  
horses (Ibid., 20)  
who ... heard, any helped us, where we could not cry (Shepard,  
1634, 51)  
Some other Alterations we prayed for but we could not obtain them  
(I. Mather 2, 1691, 286)  
we had no knowledge of it but from the French Captives whom we  
could not trust (Wise, 1690, 527)

I have no instances of could in the second person singular.



Could with Second Person Plural Past Tense

you had a season, what was your reason such precious hours to waste?

What could you find, what could you mind that was of greater haste? (Wigglesworth, 1662, 36)

Could you find time for vain pastime, for loose licentious mirth?  
For fruitless toys, and fading joyes that perish in the birth?  
Had you leasure for carnal Pleasure in day of health and youth?  
(Ibid., 34)

you trusted to what you could do and in no need you stood (Ibid., 34)

You that could preach, and others teach what way to life doth lead;  
why were you slack to find that track and in that way to tread?  
How could you bear to see or hear of others freed at last from  
Satans Pawes, whilst in his jawes yourselves were held more fast?  
(Ibid., 27)

Could with Third Person Singular Past Tense

when he could not prevaile by ye former means ... he bente his  
force against ye holy discipline (Bradford, 1630, 5)  
it was ... towards ye ende of Desember before she could land  
(Ibid., 120)

and this was all the cheefe ... could doe (Ibid., 38)

he got them all ye corne he could (Ibid., 159)

though he had the best means ye place could aforde, yet he dyed  
(Ibid., 203)

neither Mr. Weston nor Govr could scarce rule them, for they  
exclaimed they were abused and deceived (Ibid., 186)

Mr. Weston excused it as well as he could but he could not deny  
it (Ibid., 180)

Could with Third Person Singular Past Tense

the master professed he had done what he could (Shepard, 1634, 50)

The young gentleman was put out of countenance—no way hee could  
think of to Redress himself (Knight, 1704, 50)

a ... Brother who had mortgaged what Estate hee could not sell  
(Ibid., 49)

[a river] wch was so fierce a hors sometimes could hardly stem it  
(Ibid., 10)

the last pleaded hard, but could not get off. (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 38)

I made Atemppts at Prayer, yett a disconsolate Heart, that I had,  
could make no work of it (C. Mather 1, 1681, 8)

[She] hid herself ... as well as she could (C. Mather 2, 1699, 200)

it could not be their fault for the Guns were covered with Tide  
(Wise, 1690, 536)  
he could not be blamed for his Comission was but Subordinate (Ibid.,  
536)

Could with Third Person Plural Past Tense

ye shipe came, but they were fast, & could not stir (Bradford, 1630,  
18)  
Those ... looked for greater matters then they found or could  
attaine unto (Ibid., 177)  
many yt came to them ... could not endure yt great labor (Ibid.,  
30)  
[they] could not deliver them, till an order came (Ibid., 17)  
he spoke ... in broken English, which they could well understand  
(Ibid., 114)  
ye people were rune away & could not be seen (Ibid., 100)  
no means they could use would do any good to cure ye same (Ibid.,  
23)  
the best dish they could presente their freinds with was a lobster  
(Ibid., 175)  
they bore what they could to get while they could see (Ibid., 105)  
it was ye best they could find (Ibid., 106)  
they kept ye plague buried in ye ground and could send it amongst  
whom they would (Ibid., 137)

Could with Third Person Plural Past Tense

one ... parson officiated in all these three towns ... and they  
all could hardly maintaine him (Knight, 1704, 60)  
the people went as far as ... vote and suffrage could go (Cotton,  
1644, 37)  
near half the Magistrates could not vote for either (Sewall 1,  
1686, 135)  
Men could it stifle, or with it trifle, when it as them accused  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 23)  
we sent out some of our Boats but they could not come to the Bark  
(Wise, 1690, 529)  
The General & Captaine Eldrige made many shot wth their great Guns  
wch could doe but little Execution (Ibid., 529)  
Some of it was spent in the ordinary Braveries of Warr which could  
not be avoided (Ibid., 526)  
they either knew nothing of them or could not get them out without  
Diving (Ibid., 536)

Could in Subordinate Clauses

I have some instances of could after subordinate conjunctions in what seems to be a subjunctive idea. I am listing my citations here. I have treated elsewhere verb forms after subordinate conjunctions as formal subjunctives: cf. Chapter III.

Sundry would gladly be taught the knowledge ... if I could goe unto them and teach them (Eliot, 1649, 7)  
I resolved (if I could get an opportunity to speak with Mr. Torrey (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 36)  
he pray'd ye Govr to entreat for him, and pacifie him if he could (Bradford, 1630, 181)  
if a better place ... could be had, it would draw many (Ibid., 30)  
they thought it better to disloge ... to some place of better advantage ... if any such could be found (Ibid., 31)  
neither if all could have been ready, had ther been means to have trasported them (Ibid., 53)  
ye English followed them ... to see if they could speake with them (Ibid., 98)  
If Mercies could have softened ... mee I should not have been as I am (C. Mather 1, 1681, 11)  
If they could not believe, yettlett them try what they would do (Ibid., 1681, 8)

I have two instances of could in inverted order in which if seems to be implied.

Could he have invited his Excellency unto such a ... Table ... or could he have written a Book ... the Author might have been under a Temptation (C. Mather 2, 1699, 180)

Although I found a hard hart & could not be affected with them Shepard, 1634, 23)

First, that Parliament will not though they could: Secondly that they cannot though they would grant such Tolerationes. (Ward, 1647, 12)

who [pl.] desired to be excused ... though they could not all be Catoes (Bradford, 1630, 30)

Mr. Thomas Trowbridge ... must needs take a Journey there, before it could be accomplished as these people were forot to doe ... (Knight, 1704, 145)

before they could get a mille (Bradford, 1630, 202)

before they could visite him he went to ye eastward (Ibid., 179)

they must live ... a whole year before any could be raised (Ibid., 140)  
[they] Snapt the rest, before they could Recover the Fort (C. Mather 2, 1699, 197)

they would have none of it except they could purchase any of it  
(Bradford, 1630, 176)

[they] thought it no wisdom to send away the ship ... till they  
could procure some shelter (Ibid., 120-121)

I would talk as loud as I could against it did I know (Ward, 1647, 10)

I would answer this as well as I could did I not know (Ibid., 12)  
though the Wind points were as fayre as they could desire (Hubbard, 1680, 11)

haveing disposed these late comers ... as best they could  
(Bradford, 1630, 133)

they would calk them as well as they could (Ibid., 92)  
they fell to trad ... as best they could (Ibid., 23)

[he] said they could not acknowledge them as such and could in no  
way capitulate with them (Sewall 1, 1686, 139)

he divolged it to some ... that he could now get them ... by the  
ears (Bradford, 1630, 161)

being sorry they could not gett about the Cap. (Ibid., 155)

He was tould they could not hinder him (Ibid., 181)

seeing they could no longer continue (Ibid., 15)

our friends did conclude that the child could not live (Shepard, 1634, 10)

In some of the instances immediately preceding the subordinate  
conjunction that is omitted.

#### Could in Main Clauses

The modal could in my material appears sometimes to have the  
meaning of would (should be able, might, or might be able). This meaning  
of could is also current in today's English in such expressions as "I  
am not going but I could" or "He could if he wanted to". This meaning  
of could appears to be subjunctive in character.

Could with First Person Singular

I could particularize other exercises of "or'ship which cannot be denied ("illiams 1, 1644, 70)  
I could name the persons, time and place when some of them were ... admonished for using of the Common prayer (Ibid., 69)  
I could as easily say as that Noble Lord did, as to the two contending Parties, without concurring in his general Negative (I. Mather 3, 1716, 4)  
from whom ... could I encourage myself with better expectation; for you are our glory and joy (Norton, 1654, 7)  
I could wish you either were here or had the best means London could afford you (Winthrop Papers, 1628, 6)  
were ye many free I could send it home by as good a hand as I could desire (Ibid., 1639, 276)  
if I knew but the wayt of it I could haue newe of any fashion (Ibid., 1628, 5)  
which caused me to love the place, wch I could have been content to live in it (Knight, 1704, 59)

Could with First Person Plural

if the French would not Subject wee could ruine those two places (Wise, 1690, 533)  
when we had done all we pleased ... we could lay all their houses ... in Ashes (Ibid., 533)  
the Lord will doe us more good ... than we could have expected (Winthrop, 1630-31, 170)  
we could not come to their rescue if we had exposed the whole Fleet (Wise, 1690, 529)

Could with Second Person Singular and Plural

I have no instances of could in this subjunctive sense in the second person.

Could with Third Person Singular

ye Govr caused him to send his wife ... to see what she could observe (Bradford, 1630, 136)  
what could sustaine them but ye spirite of God (Ibid., 96)  
if he might have the lighter to cary clay, he was sure then he could doe it (Ibid., 203)  
what a treasure they had lost ... yea such a loss as they saw could not be repaired (Ibid., 25)

Mr. Winslow was sent to procure what provissions he could (Ibid., 151)  
I would talk as loud as I could against it did I not know what more apt and reasonable Sacrifice England could offer (Ward, 1647, 10)  
she hoped it would be done for us, only it could be done but by the Council (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280)  
untill whose Happy Return nothing could be effected (Ibid., 280)  
No man of common Prudence could be insensible of the Hazard ... that would attend his Person ... in appearing at Court (Ibid., 276)  
I could wish you either were here or had the best means London could afford (Winthrop Papers, 1678, 6)  
more corne was planted then other waise would have bene by any means ye Govr ... could use (Bradford, 1630, 162)  
could twenty pence it recompence?  
could that have clear'd the score? (Wigglesworth, 1662, 33)  
shee had done better ... than he could have done (Knight, 1704, 52)

#### Could with Third Person Plural

the length of ye vioage was such as ye weak bodys of women ... could never be able to endure (Bradford, 1630, 33)  
they could not well give less this winter till fish came in (Ibid., 133)  
it was ... concluded ... to prosecute it by the best means they could (Ibid., 35)  
nor have they [any] that could spare the tyme and have more skill (Hubbard, 1680, 24)  
[the] Dismal downness of or Lieut Generals Countenanse and Spirit obvious (to all men that could look a man in the Face) (Wise, 1690, 532)  
they could have wished that many of them had been in beter condition (Bradford, 1630, 129)

In all of the foregoing citations I look upon could as a subjunctive. I shall comment further on this at the end of this chapter.

In some of these citations could appears to retain a good deal of its original idea of ability or capacity. As in the case of the other modals even a full context does not tell us the definite meaning of could in the written language. We need the spoken word to help us to understand the meaning clearly.

Could + infinitive shows a present or future subjunctive idea.

Could + have + past participle shows a past subjunctive idea.

When could is used in a sentence containing another verb in the present tense it shows action concurrent with or future to the other verb. When could is used in a sentence containing another verb in the past tense it shows action subsequent to the past action of the other verb.

### Must

The modal must occurs in my material usually with the meaning of compulsion or necessity. cf. "This must be done". This is of course a current meaning of must in today's English. I have only two instances in which must appears to indicate an assumption. This meaning of must is common today in such an expression": You must be tired you have worked all day". I have no evidence that must retains any of the meaning of motan = "may", unless it is in the phrase must needs. This may be the source of the present meaning of must: must needs "may of necessity," hence "has to" or "is obliged to." The latest citation for must meaning may or might given in NED is C. 1400.<sup>1</sup>

### Must = Compulsion

I am listing first a number of citations in which must seems to indicate compulsion by reason of necessity or restraint.

#### Must with First Person Singular

I must be constrained to conclude ... that the Natives ... have no worship (Morton, 1637, 141)  
before I come to other things I must speak a word of their planting (Bradford, 1630, 200)  
the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at ye very roote (Ibid., 3)  
My Good Brother--  
My husband being att Neillms I must answere for us both (Winthrop Papers, 1626, 3)  
I have slept my appointed time ... therefore ... I must be breefe (Ibid., 1626, 4)  
I must confess you have not straitned your loues (Ibid., 1633, 8)  
But I must break off. & [I] desire thee to comende me ... to all my ... friends (Winthrop, 1630-31, 171)

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1. NED, VI, 791.

every day my heart thinks I must dye and goe to hell (Eliot, 1649, 13)  
before you depart from this I must crave your patience (Williams 1, 1644, 113)  
I must abbreviate the information at this time (Wise, 1690, 528)

#### Must with First Person Plural

since we must part anon, let us ... improve our Minutes (Williams 1, 1644, 57)  
having tried, we must hold fast ... we must not let goe for all the flea bitings of present afflictions ... having bought truth deare, we must not sell it cheape (Ibid., 57)  
we must thus Distinguish that so we may separate (Wise, 1690, 536)  
there is not so much as meat ... for them that go unto them ... but we must carry all things with us (Eliot, 1649, 11)  
Testimony; we must therefore Search the Scriptures (Willard, 1700, 4)

#### Must with Second Person Singular

Thou must be sure to bringe no more companye than ... shall have full prvisio (Winthrop, 1630-31, 172)  
Thou must sustain that burden, that will make (Taylor, 1671, 37)  
Thou from thy Fathers bosom must depart  
And be incarnate like a slave below  
Must pay mans Debts unto [the] utmost marke (Ibid., 37)  
Thou rotting worrne, to dust must turn (Johnson, 1654, 45)  
Yet must thou fall to grave (Ibid., 45)

#### Must with Second Person Plural

You must shortly ... appeare at the great Barre (Williams 1, 1644, 7)  
Are prisoners made and Jayle Birds must remain (Taylor, 1671, 48)  
what helps can you have there that you must not carry from hence, (Johnson, 1654, 51)

#### Must with Third Person Singular

he that confutes them, must confute all three (Ward, 1647, 7)  
That State that will give Liberty ... must give Liberty (Ibid., 8)  
it must have the tale on, or else they account it defaced (Morton, 1637, 143)

Must with Third Person Plural

whose mouths must be stopped (Williams 1, 1644, 99)  
So they must now Justice's Captives bee (Taylor, 1671, 47)  
Ever obtain'd; they must be pained with everlasting fire  
(Wigglesworth, 1662, 18)

Must = Should

I am listing next a number of citations in which must appears to involve a rule of conduct or politeness, or perhaps expectation on the part of someone other than the subject of must. In a number of these citations must seems to mean should.

Must with First Person Singular

I see why I must fear Hell ... But why must I fear God (Eliot, 1649, 13)

Must with First Person Plural

We must know that all the banners ... which are the Glory of a Crown ... ought ... to be defended (Wise, 1690, 536)  
why must we love our enemies and how shall we do it? (Eliot, 1649, 12)  
we must doe all we may (Sewall 1, 1689, 266)

Must with Second Person Singular

Thou must excuse me ... This is the 3<sup>l</sup>lfe I have written to thee (Winthrop, 1630-31, 172)  
Thou must excuse my not writing ... at this tyme (Ibid., 176)  
I'll take thy Bond: But know thou this must doe (Taylor, 1671, 37)

Must with Second Person Plural

you must Pardon some Expressions of Immodesty or such as Carry self Arrogance (Wise, 1690, 537)  
you must not expect when men are let loose ... that they should attend all the Ceremonies (Ibid., 530)  
you must understand this whale feeds upon ambergreec (Josselyn, 1672, 166)

Must with Third Person Singular

... must resolve ... to sustaine mocks (Bradford, 1630, 9)

Must with Third Person Plural

they must be ... let alone or permitted (Williams 1, 1644, 106)  
persons must ... be tolerated ... in the observation of ...

Christmas (Ibid., 100)

[they desire] satisfaction whereof themselves must be judges (Ward, 1647, 15)

the cheeses must tary till I come (Winthrop Papers, 1627-8, 4)

Gospel-ordinances ... must be interpreted (Willard, 1700, 5)

all ... must try their ... strength (Williams 2, 1652, 16)

or eyes must be towards him (Winthrop, 1630-31, 166)

Must = Assumption

In the two instances which follow must appears to express "the inferred or presumed certainty of a fact"<sup>1</sup> or as Webster puts it "obliged by physical or logical necessity".<sup>2</sup>

Some [people] found a longe firebrand ... lying under ye wale ... which could not have come their by cassualtie, but must be laid ther by hand (Bradford, 1630, 183)

the passage ... and discovery ... which must needs have proved impossible unto former ages (White, 1630, 14)

Must Needs

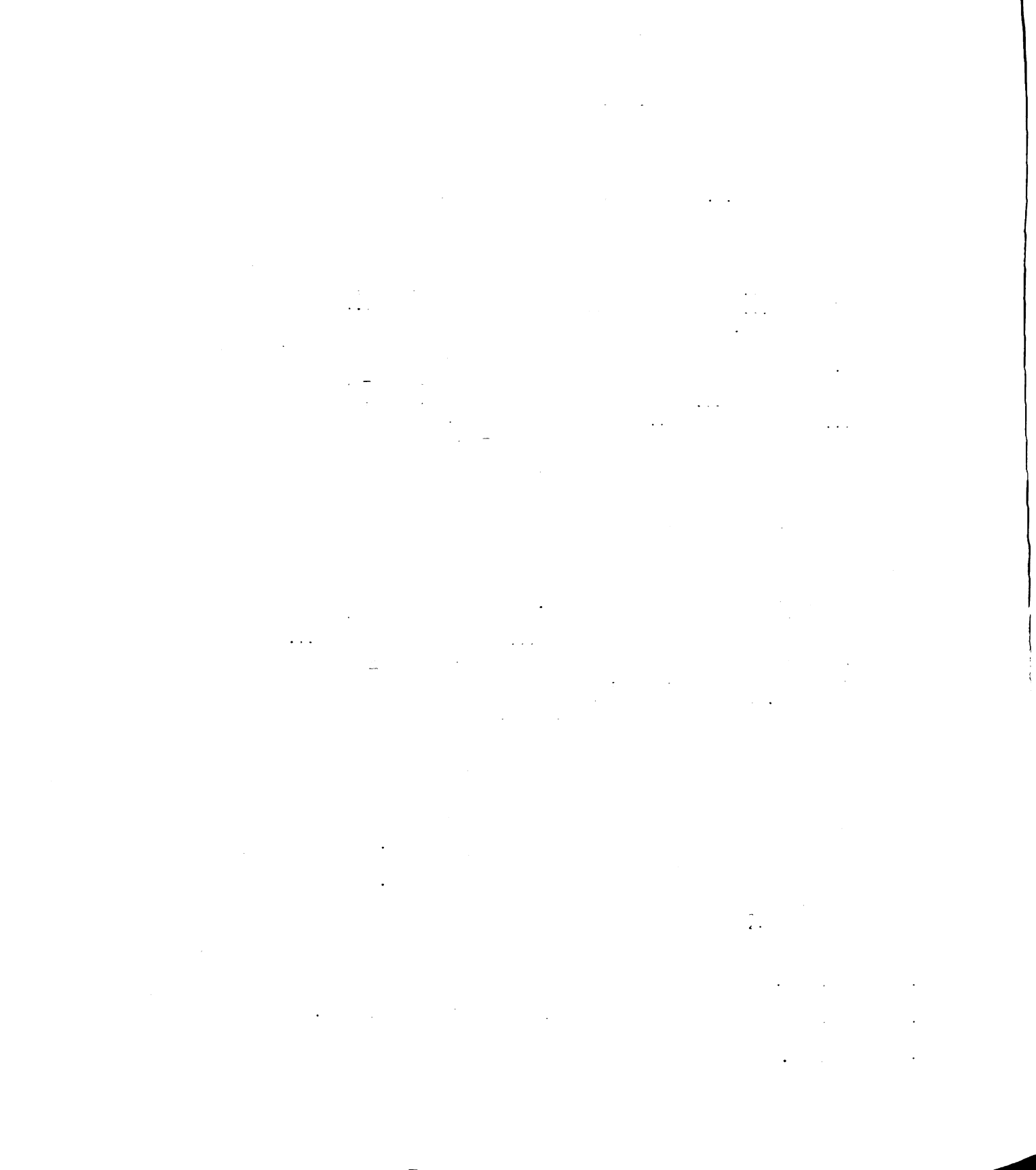
As previously stated it seems possible that must retains some of the original meaning of motan "may" in the phrase must needs. The earliest citation for this expression given in the NED is c. 1374 and the latest is 1875.<sup>3</sup> The phrase must needs does not seem to me to be

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1. NED, VI, 791.

2. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1934, 1616.

3. NED, VI, 75.



current in today's English. I am listing here some citations from my material for this expression.

Gods honour must needs be much advanced when ... religion is conveyed (White, 1630, 6)  
Now what a disease this must needes be ... where mens necessities inforce them (Ibid., 20)  
And heaven being distinguished from the Church on earth, must needs be meant the kingdome of Glory (Cotton, 1644, 20)  
it must needs argue a life of grace, when we can view (Williams 2, 1652, 14-15)  
which [sing.] must needs refer to times yet unfulfilled (Willard, 1700, 8)  
it must needs intend a work of the Spirit (Ibid., 3)  
the passage ... and discovery ... which must needs have proved impossible unto former ages (White, 1630, 14)

#### Must Past Tense

In the foregoing citations must shows either present or future time as it does in current English. I am listing now some citations in which must indicates past time. Must does not indicate past time in today's English so far as I can determine.

#### Must with First Person Singular

I pray'd Miss to shew me where I must Lodg (Knight, 1704, 7)  
I ralyed all the Courage I was mistriss of, Knowing that I must either venture my fate by drowning or be left (Ibid., 12)  
I had concluded that I must have a blind child to be a constant sorrow to me till my death (Shepard, 1634, 12-13)  
It was ... imprinted on my mind that I must pray (C. Mather 1, 1696, 12)  
This Request was granted, only I must return the Copy within a few days (I. Mather 2, 1691, 286)

#### Must with First Person Plural

Hee said wee must Ride a little farther (Knight, 1704, 33)  
the rapid stream was ... terrifying--However we must over and that in a small Canoo (Ibid., 69)  
they told us we must Ride a mile (Ibid., 32)

I askt him the rest of the Mode, foreseeing we must travail in the night (Ibid., 10)  
I spoke to Mr. Usher not to do any harm, as knowing the great King we must finally appear before (Sewall 1, 1689, 268)  
his Majesty was resolved to settle the Countrey and we must take what would follow (I. Mather 2, 1691, 283)

#### Must with Third Person Singular

theirs [famine] hear must needs be great, therefore, who not only wanted the staffe of bread, but all these things (Bradford, 1630, 176)  
It must needs be their great disorder for they spent excessively (Ibid., 156)  
it must needs make ye inhabitants rich, seing less provisions... would serve (Ibid., 36)  
he must & would keep sufficient for them selves (Ibid., 96)  
it well appeared that famine must still insue (Ibid., 152)  
his ship was so leake as he must beare up or sinke (Ibid., 84)  
other things which were come to his knowledg ... which he must answer too (Ibid., 184)  
his first salutation ... was that he must get up and go into the boat (Sewall 2, 1697, 16)  
the Deputy Governour said the Government must not be tumbled down (Sewall 1, 1686, 131)  
Governour said it must fall (Ibid., 1692, 360)  
he told them he must haue some wampom & if deny it he would kill them (Winthrop Papers, 1638, 263)

#### Must with Third Person Plural

they tould them they would help him ... but must doe it secretly (Bradford, 1630, 161)  
Seeing ... the course was probable, they must rest on Gods providence (Ibid., 39)  
he tould them, they must then looke to stand on their owne leggs (Ibid., 75)  
ye time being come that they must depart they were accompanied with (Ibid., 72)  
to goe to a countrie they knew not ... where they must learn a new language (Ibid., 15)  
they had ... great herds ... which ... must needs produse other food (Ibid., 176)  
they made her go ... through ... Swamps where ... they must scramble over ... Trees and sometimes they must climb up ... mountains (C. Mather 2, 1699, 200)

[he said] he and his must take up their habitation among the dead  
(I. Mather 1, 1684, 9)  
some [people] found a longe firebrand ... lying under ye wale ...  
which could not have come their by cassualtie, but must be laid  
ther by hand (Bradford, 1630, 183)

Must + Have + Past Participle

I have only two instances of must + have + past participle.

else we must have troubled Brother (Sewall 1, 1686, 135)  
the passage ... and discovery ... which must needs have proved  
impossible unto former ages (White, 1630, 14)

Ought

The modal ought occurs in my material in the sense of obligation. The NED speaks of ought as "The general verb to express duty or obligation of any kind; strictly used of moral obligation, but also with various weaker shades of meaning, expressing what is befitting, correct, advisable or naturally expected".<sup>1</sup> All of these meanings of ought are of course current today. The NED gives a citation from Cleveland writing in 1658 in which ought is used as the past tense of to owe, as a finite verb:

"To whose Christian Piety he ought the last two days of his life."<sup>2</sup> I noted no instances of ought as a main verb in my material. However the idea of to owe is still clearly present in the expression of moral obligation in the modal ought.

According to the NED while ought is past tense in form it may be either past or present in meaning.<sup>3</sup> It appears to me however that ought may also have a future meaning: e.g. "he ought to go tomorrow". I have only one instance of the compound form ought + have + past participle:

Church-Discipline not being then so practised as ought to have been (I. Mather 1, 1684, 11)

I am listing a number of citations from the material considered which appear to show ought in various shades of meaning.

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1. NED VII, pt. 1, 236.
  2. Ibid., VII pt. 1, 236.
  3. Ibid., VII, pt. 1, 236.

Ought with First Person Singular

my Call was very Questionable wch will then I had not so Prudently  
as I ought considered (Knight, 1704, 13)  
He said I ought to be encouraged and that my stirring up to is was  
of God (Sewall 1, 1677, 39)

Ought with First Person Plural

I questioned whether we ought to go to the Devil to be helpt out  
of affliction (Knight, 1704, 20)  
The whole Creation groans for this day, and we ought to live upon  
the hope of it (Willard, 1700, 11)  
I conceive we doe and ought to put a great difference betweene  
Separation, and Non-conformity (White, 1630, 62)

Ought with Third Person Singular

no man ought to forsake his owne countrey, but upon extraordinary  
cause (Ward, 1647, 24)  
Authority ought to see ... children baptized, though their Parents  
be against it (Ibid., 17)  
there ought to be a singular Regard unto Truths of this nature  
(I. Mather 3, 1716, 3)  
This ought not to prejudice men against Magistracy (Ibid., 14)  
Church-Discipline not being then so practised as ought to have been  
(I. Mather 1, 1684, 11)  
tenderesse ought to bee used in winning his soul from the errour  
of his way (Williams 1, 1644, 101)  
toleration ... ought to continue till Doomes day (Ibid., 101)  
but also that ye lordly & tiranous power of ye prelates ought not  
to be submitted unto (Bradford, 1630, 12)  
it is ye Lord's doing, and ought to be marvelous in our eyes  
(Ibid., 10)  
The Principles ... are such as these.  
That a Perticular Church ought to consist of such as use ...  
Saints, and ... Brethern in Christ (I. Mather 3, 1716, 5)  
I thought ... I might promote the general Repentance, which ought  
to be the effect of the Devine Dispensations (C. Mather 1, 1696,  
210)

Ought with Third Person Plural

all Christian States, ought to disavow such Errours (Ward, 1647,  
14)  
Christians ought not to wonder ... at the works of God (Ibid., 23)

Civill Magistrates ought not to meddle with Ecclesiastical matters  
(Ibid., 12)

Men ought to have Liberty of conscience (Ibid., 12)

all Christians ought to be ready to give an account of the hope  
(Sewall 1, 1697, 14)

if neither offenders ... ought to be let alone: nor the Spirituall  
estate ... ought to beare with them that are evill ... I conclude  
(Williams 1, 1644, 109)

I conceive ... that [dem. prs.] for divers Reasons, which ought  
to be taken into ... consideration (White, 1630, 11)

[agreed] That those who had Rams of their own ought not to pay pro  
fetching Rams (Salem Records, 1636-7, 39)

[agreed] That ye orders for hay grase ... ought to be observed  
(Ibid., 1636-7, 39)

if they ... should blaspheme the true God ... they ought to be  
punished (Ibid., 49)

all banners ... ought ... to be defended ... rather then to be  
betrayed and Surrendered (Wise, 1690, 536)

the Commons ... voted the Taking away the Charters ... to be  
illegal, and a Grievance, and that they ought to be restored  
(I. Mather 2, 1691, 278)

In some of the foregoing citations ought may show "a natural or  
logical consequence or result."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Webster, New International Dictionary, 2nd Ed., 1934, 1730.

In general the modals in the material which I examined appear to be about as they are today. About the only differences in usage that I noted are that tense sequence is not so carefully observed in my material and that must was used a number of times as a past tense.

The modals are all subjective in character. They impress one as being unstable and vague both in meaning and time distinctions. There appears to be a great deal of straddling of meanings. The distinctions between shall and will are sometimes non-existent. May and can are often close together. Ought and should can hardly be distinguished in the sense of obligation.

Some of the modals have retained part, at least, of their original meaning. Will keeps a great deal of the earlier meaning of volition and shall has still some feeling of obligation. Can in the sense of "know how" has some of the meaning of cunnan. Ought retains a good deal of the meaning of to owe. May seems to have lost most of the meaning of to be able.

Time distinction between the present and past tense of the modals has been largely lost. May and might, can and could, will and would, shall and should may all express either present or future time. We have obviously felt the lack of a past tense of these verbs, hence the periphrastic forms may have gone, should have gone, etc.

The modals all appear to be subjunctive in character. They are in large measure non-factual and usually show future or unrealized situations. Regardless of their form they often show indefinite future time. In many cases they may be replaced by the formal subjunctive without change of meaning.

Curme has the following comment on the subjunctive nature of the modals:

As the simple subjunctive forms ... lost their distinctive endings, modal auxiliaries were pressed into service to express the same ideas. In large measure they are subjunctive forms, although not recognizable by a distinctive ending. In fact, however, whether indicative or subjunctive in form, they perform the function of the older simple subjunctive and are here treated as modern subjunctive forms.<sup>1</sup>

Jespersen does not call the modals subjunctives. However, he seems to feel that they are subjunctive in character. He speaks for example of might being used "in main sentences of imagination with reference to present time".<sup>2</sup> Jespersen appears to recognize only the formal subjunctive.<sup>3</sup> Personally I quite agree with Curme on the subjunctive character of the modals.

As far as today's use is concerned I do not believe that speakers in general differentiate very clearly in their use of the modals. If one says "can I speak to you?" his meaning is clearly the same as "May I speak to you?". Likewise "I will go" may mean merely "I shall go." I doubt that many people today feel any difference between "I ought to write to my mother" and "I should write to my mother."

As stated in the beginning of this summary I found little difference in usage of the modals in my seventeenth century material from that of today. I have already pointed out the occasional failure to observe tense sequence and the use of must as a past tense.

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1. G. O. Curme, Syntax, 393.

2. Otto Jespersen, A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles, IV, 121.

3. Ibid., IV, 113.

I will point out also that purpose clauses involving may or might were of much more frequent occurrence in the material considered than is the case today. The serious biblical tone of a large part of the material might explain this. In today's English the infinitive is commonly employed to express purpose rather than a clause with may or might.

It is of course impossible to say with complete certainty what the modals meant in the seventeenth century. Even the full context does not absolutely establish the meaning. However, so far as I can judge, the writers considered in this study used the modals, for the most part, virtually as we use them today.

## CONCLUSION

Various verb forms and verb uses which were noted in the material covered in this study have been discussed in some detail in the foregoing chapters. An attempt will now be made to summarize these findings.

The first chapter deals with the personal endings. As previously stated, the endings of the present and the past indicative are, in most cases, identical with those found in current English. However, there is considerable variation from today's usage in some instances.

In the second person singular present, which is largely restricted to religious parlance today, we ordinarily find the -(e)st ending. There are a few cases where -s is the second person singular ending. "Thou as a Bridegroom from thy Chamber rushes" (Bradstreet, 1678, 381).

The greatest variation from current usage occurs in the third singular of the present indicative. Here we see the struggle for supremacy between the -s form, which is our current third singular ending, and the older -th form. Both -s and -th occurred frequently in the material examined. Although writers apparently felt free to use either form, the conclusion is, that aside from poetry, the -s ending was preferred in language which tended toward the informal, while the -th ending was more commonly used in material of a lofty or serious tone. For the most part, the poetry considered showed a preference for the -s form.

The verb to be offers certain variations from today's usage. Occasionally, we find are used as a singular, "The hollow of these fangs are as black as ink" (Josselyn, 1672, 168). We also find is used as a plural, "Their livers and sounds eaten, is a good medicine"

(Ibid., 164). The form be of the verb to be occurs rather frequently as a third plural indicative. "All that survive and be alive" (Wigglesworth, 1662, 14).

In the verb to have we find have a few times as a third singular present indicative. "Sargent Coolidg have agreed" (Watertown Records, 1679, 145). We also find hath a few times as a third plural. "Hath hundred Winters past since thou wast born" (Bradstreet, 1678, 371).

The form doth of the verb to do occurs a few times as a plural, "Our Pine Trees ... doth allow us plenty of candles " (Higginson, 1630, 102).

A few instances of -s and -th as plurals were noted in other verbs. "This is the month whose fruitful showers produces" (Bradstreet, 1678, 375); "the east and south winds produceth" (Josselyn, 1672, 187).

In the past tense very little variation was noted from today's English. The most significant variation was noted form was of the verb to be used as a plural. "Ye orders that was drawn up ... and presented ... and was twice redd " (Watertown Records, 1679, 146)

The second chapter of this study deals with the preterite and past participle of strong and weak verbs. The auxiliary verbs to have and to be are also considered in this chapter.

A number of preterite forms of strong verbs which were noted are unusual today. Those of most frequent occurrence were come of the verb to come, "after we left the Swamp we come to Billinges" (Knight, 1704, 5); rid(d) of the verb to ride, "I ridd to Tyburn and saw"

(Sewall 1, 1689, 265); spake of the verb to speak, "he never spake more" (Bradford, 1630, 139); writ(t) of the verb to write, "I tooke out a little booke ... & writt down" (Shepard, 1634, 23). In the case of all the verbs having an unusual preterite form, the form which is current today was also noted. The conclusion is that a single preterite form had not been established and that the writers felt free to use either form.

The abbreviated or clipped past participle of strong verbs was observed in a number of instances. Those of most frequent occurrence were got(t) of the verb to get, "he had got his language" (Bradford, 1630, 114) and writ(t) of the verb to write, "he had writ" (Sewall 2, 1697, 15). The full form of the past participle as well as the clipped form was found in the case of most of the verbs. It would appear that the writers felt free to use either form.

There were a few instances of leveling of the past participle with the preterite, "After they had tooke out" (Bradford, 1630, 84).

A few cases of weak past participles of strong verbs were found. "I drank so much ... that I was dead drunk ... & [I] was so carryed from the place where I had drinked" (Shepard, 1634, 21-22).

A few survivals of earlier past participial forms were noted. "[I] was hulp to argue" (Sewall 1, 1676-7, 45).

Considerable variety of spellings was noted in the case of the preterite of weak verbs. Those with stems ending in a voiceless consonant were written -t, "my horse dropt (Knight, 1704, 70); -t, "I ask't" (Ibid., 10); -et "others quenchet ye same" (Bradford, 1630,

134); -te, "necessitie forste a way" (Ibid., 21).

The spellings -ed, "he hoped" (Bradford, 1630, 128) and -'d, "I walk'd" (Sewall 1, 1698, 48) were also very common in these verbs.

One might assume that these spellings were also pronounced [t].

The preterite of many weak verbs was often found written -ed, "he kneeled" (Sewall 1, 1674, 4); -'d, "They adjourn'd" (Ibid., 1698, 483); -'de, "my mate procur'de" (Taylor, 1671, 43). It seems possible that these spellings indicated the sound [d].

Weak verbs ending in a dental [t] or [d] were regularly spelled with the -ed ending in the preterite, "it abated" (Higginson, 1630, 68); "we intended" (Knight, 1704, 71). This spelling suggests the pronunciation [Id].

The past participle of weak verbs with stems ending in a voiceless consonant had the same spellings as the preterite of these verbs: -t "many were well whipt" (Bradford, 1630, 153); -'t, "They're forc't" (Taylor, 1671, 147); -te, "all was like to be dashte" (Bradford, 1630, 56). One would assume that these spellings were pronounced [t].

A few strong past participles of weak verbs were noted, "whose reformation is cut or shapen" (Bradford, 1630, 13).

To judge from the evidence found in the material considered, American English of the seventeenth century still offered a good deal of variation from today's English in the preterite and past participle of strong verbs. The weak verbs, save for a larger proportion of -t, -'t spellings in the preterite and past participle, had reached virtually their present forms.

The use of the verb to be as an auxiliary verb for the perfect tense of certain verbs was fairly common in the material examined. This use of to be as a perfect auxiliary was limited to verbs of motion, "the Princes treasurers are run from him" (Winthrop Papers, 1637, 248) or verbs which show resultant state, "my wife was ... recovered of her sea sicknesse" (Higginson, 1630, 71)

The verb to have was also noted in verbs of motion, "until I have arrived" (C. Mather 1, 1680-81, 6). The conclusion is that to have which is virtually the universal auxiliary for the perfect tenses in today's English was beginning to replace to be as the perfect auxiliary in all verbs.

The third chapter of this study deals with the formal subjunctive. In the formal subjunctive either the verb form itself indicates the subjunctive to the introductory word let + the infinitive indicates the subjunctive.

The formal subjunctive occurs in the material examined as the form be of the verb to be in all three persons and numbers of the present tense, "If I be just" (Taylor, 1671, 40). It occurs as the form were of the verb to be in the first and third person singular past tense, "If it were possible" (C. Mather 2, 1699, 191). It is found as the form have of the verb to have in the third singular present tense, "if the church have no just cause to refuse" (Cotton, 1644, 45). In verbs other than to be and to have the -s -less form of the third singular present tense indicates the subjunctive "if he sleepe" (Morton, 1637, 137). Let + the infinitive is also taken as an indication of the subjunctive, "let him be excommunicated" (Cotton, 1644, 24).

The formal subjunctive was most commonly noted after subordinate conjunctions. "If a man be almost a good man" (Eliot, 1649, 12); "Though a man have light enough" (Ward, 1647, 11); "before he offer it" (Salem Records, 1635, 11).

A parallel can be drawn between the use of the subjunctive in English in subordinate clauses introduced by subordinate conjunctions and subordinate clauses introduced by equivalent subordinate conjunctions in French. "Though it be true" (Williams 1, 1644, 46)—"Quoiqu'il soit vrai"; "before he offer it" (Salem Records, 1635, 11)—"Avant qu'il ne l'offre."

The formal subjunctive was noted in number of times after expressions of command, agreement, etc. "It is ordered that a Suffitient pownd be Sett up" (Portsmouth Records, 1671, 161); "It is agreed that John Talbee haue" (Salem Records, 1636, 17).

Although the formal subjunctive can be identified only in certain forms of the verbs to be and to have and in the third person singular present of other verbs, it must be assumed that the subjunctive idea is present in other verb forms where the subjunctive notion is involved even though the verb form itself does not show it. If the verb in the expression "if their mother dye" (Lechford, 1638-41, 18) is subjunctive then the verb in the expression "If I dy" (C. Mather 2, 1699, 191) is logically also subjunctive.

The subjunctive idea may also be present even if the indicative form of the verb is substituted for the subjunctive form. The following citation showing both indicative and subjunctive forms will bear this

out. "If ever man were lov'd by wife, then thee; If ever wife was happy in a man" (Bradstreet, 1678, 394). If were in this citation is subjunctive, then was is also logically subjunctive.

The subjunctive was of fairly frequent occurrence in the material covered in main clauses expressing a wish, "Ye Lord be mercifull" (Bradford, 1630, 105); "The Lord forgive me and help me" (Sewall 1, 1676, 38). This use of the subjunctive is still common in religious language.

The form were of the verb to be occurred a few times as an equivalent of would be, "it were better to stay" (Higginson, 1630, 40).

Let + the infinitive was found very frequently to show a subjunctive idea in the first singular and plural and in the third singular and plural, "Lett me write" (C. Mather 1, 1681, 9); "lett them be left at my Door" (Wise, 1690, 527). This construction is frequently found in current English.

The subjunctive idea appears to be always future no matter whether the verb is in the present or past tense. The verbs in both these expressions show futurity: "If it were possible" (C. Mather 2, 1699, 194) and "If a man be almost a good man" (Eliot, 1649, 12).

To judge from the evidence found in the material examined, the formal subjunctive was far more common in American English in the seventeenth century than it is in our current language. Except in the most formal language, the tendency today appears to be to replace the formal subjunctive either with an indicative substitution or a modal auxiliary + an infinitive.

The fourth chapter of this thesis deals with the modals shall and will, should and would, may and might, can and could, and ought.

In the writings examined, as in today's English, the distinction between shall and will as future auxiliaries is not always observed. These two citations from the same author appear to show merely the idea of futurity: "I shall leave it to you ... to judge ye validity of my Assertion" (Wise, 1690, 528); "Now instead of filling up the space ... I will leave that for a more accurate observer" (*Ibid.*, 526). As a future auxiliary shall was found to be only slightly more common than will in the first person singular. In the instances noted in the first person plural, shall definitely outnumbered will. In the second person singular and plural the use of shall and will was about equally frequent.

In the third person singular will predominates over shall by about four to one.. The two auxiliaries were noted an equal number of times in the third person plural. The conclusion appears to be that the use of shall for the first person future auxiliary and will for the second and third persons was not universally established in American English in the seventeenth century.

In statements of official actions, resolutions, etc., shall was almost always employed. "it is granted that Nicholas Browne shall haue" (Portsmouth Records, 1646, 33)

In statements of agreement, wills, deeds, etc., shall is the usual auxiliary. "if the said <sup>Th</sup>omas ... cannot effect the sale aforesaid then he shall have only tenne shillings" (Lechford, 1638-41, 14).

Shall was the usual auxiliary found in subjunctive statements in subordinate clauses, "if any shall shoot a deere ... he shall forfeit 5 pounds" (Portsmouth Records, 1646, 34). In such subordinate statements shall + the infinitive appears to be the equivalent of the formal subjunctive. The two statements "if their mother dye" (Lechford, 1638-41, 18) and "if ... she shall dye" (Ibid., 5) show no appreciable difference in meaning.

Will in subordinate statements seems to involve the idea of volition, "if no other will own them let them be left at my door" (Wise, 1690, 527).

Generally speaking, shall often seems to retain some of its original meaning of obligation and will its original idea of volition.

In conditional sentences involving should and would a situation was noted similar to that in the case of shall and will. It is difficult to see any difference in meaning between should and would in the following pair of citations: "I should be glad if they would leave such follies" (Knight, 1704, 44); "I would talke ... against it did I not know" (Ward, 1647, 10). As in the case of shall and will it is extremely difficult to tell the meaning of should and would from the written language. In conditional sentences should was found to be slightly more frequent than would in the first person singular and plural. No instances of either were noted in the second person. In the third person singular would outnumbered should by more than five to one. In the third person plural the proportion is more than two to one in favor of would.

The conclusion is that while writers favored should in the first person and would in the third person they used either form in the main clause of a conditional sentence without apparent distinction of meaning.

In a situation showing obligation should was the usual auxiliary as in current English. "that which should most sway our hearts is respect unto Gods honor" (White, 1630, 5).

As in today's usage would usually indicated willingness or desire, "if they had rather have warre ... they might begin when they would" (Bradford, 1630, 133).

Would + a negative seems to be equivalent to refusal. "Mr. Shrumpton would not take any blame himself as to the substance of what he said" (Sewall 1, 1686, 13)

Should appears to be the usual auxiliary after a subordinate conjunction in conditional sentences. "if any ... magistrate should make question what were his duty" (Williams 1, 1644, 123); "[he] profeseth to trust in him although his god should kill him (Williams 2, 1652, 10); "it was canceled least it should make further delay" (Bradford, 1630, 56). In such citations as those just given should + the infinitive appears to be the equivalent of the formal subjunctive.

Both should and would were noted in subordinate clauses after verbs of wishing, saying, thinking, etc. "They desire I should come oftener and stay longer" (Eliot, 1649, 11); "most of them desired he would help them" (Bradford, 1630, 11). In the above citations should and would could be replaced by the formal subjunctive without change in meaning.

Both should and would may show future time. "Should I not keepe promise ... they would take it unkindly" (Ward, 1647, 25).

A common use of may in the material examined was to express the idea of ability or capacity. "Let us look forward and we may gather abundant refreshment" (Willard, 1700, 11). This use of may is similar to can.

May also expresses possibility. "Gods Israel and people ... may be ... slaves" (Ward, 1647, 53). May expresses permission as well.. I longe for the time when I may see they face" (Winthrop, 1630-31, 164). May + not seems to be the equivalent at times of must not. "the Government of the Civill Magistrate extendeth no further than over the Bodies ... of their Subjects ... And therefore they may not undertake to give Lawes to the Soules" (Williams 1, 1644, 50).

May was noted frequently in subordinate clauses of purpose. "But that I may come more near my intendment" (Bradford, 1630, 11). May in purpose clauses usually follows a present tense verb in the main clause. Sometimes may follows a past tense, "he stripped us of our vaine confidence that he may relye upon himselfe" (Winthrop, 1630-31, 169). May occurred occasionally in dependent clauses after subordinate conjunctions. "If a man may do good, it is enough" (C. Mather 2, 1699, 183). There were a few instances of may after verbs of wishing, hoping, praying, etc. "I desire [it] may be so accepted" (Ward, 1647, 6). Virtually all the uses of may noted in my material are current today.

For the most part the uses of might which were noted are similar to those of may. Sometimes might carries the idea of "would be able"

or "were able", "they whose eyes God had not blinded might see" (Bradford, 1630, 8). Might also seems to mean "might possibly", "if he haue giuen another bond it might be his weaknes" (Winthrop Papers, 1639, 275). In a few cases might appears to indicate permission, "he said I might be there: he knew not if I might testify" (Sewall 1, 1689, 266).

Might occurred frequently in purpose clauses, "inviting him to my house that I might show my love" (Eliot, 1649, 11). Might in purpose clauses usually followed a past tense verb in the main clause. However, tense sequence was sometimes violated, "that they might prosecute this designe ... one ship they purchase and many more they hire" (Johnson, 1654, 50-51). Might was often found in dependent clauses following subordinate conjunctions and conjunctive adverbs, "if any thinge might be procured for your good I should be very glad" (Winthrop Papers, 1628, 6). There were a few cases of might in noun clauses following verbs of wishing, praying, thinking, etc., "she desired that that people might ... have what was Just done for them" (I. Mather 2, 1691, 280).

As noted in the case of may, virtually all the uses of might encountered in this material are still current.

The modal can was noted in the sense of "to be able" physically or mentally, "I cannot express the concern this relation set me in" (Knight, 1704, 10). Can had also the meaning "may be able", i.e. "possibility". "It cannot be denied to be a pious ... act ... to call for advice" (Williams 1, 1644, 8).

Only a few instances of can in dependent statements after subordinate conjunctions were noted, "Bring Amy wth thee if thou canst" (Winthrop, 1630-31, 179). There were a few cases of can in noun clauses after verbs of saying, thinking, fearing, etc. "Am afraid little can or will be done" (Sewall 1, 1686, 10).

The meanings of can observed are also current today. As in present day English can in these writings may show either present or future time.

Could was often found as the past tense of can, i.e. "was able" or "were able", "and this was all the cheefe ... could doe"(Bradford, 1630, 5). Could also appears to mean "would (should) be able, might, or might be able", "if the French would not Subject wee could ruine those two places" (Wise, 1690, 533)

Could also occurred in dependent clauses after subordinate conjunctions. "If mercies could have softened mee I should not have been as I am" (C. Mather 1, 1681, 11).

As the past tense of can, could refers to past time. When could carries a subjunctive meaning it may refer to either present or future time.

So far as I can judge, could appears in this material only in the current senses.

The modal must was noted in this material in only these senses: "compulsion or necessity", "he that confutes them must confute all three" (Ward, 1647, 7); "moral obligation", "we must doe all we may" (Sewall 1, 1689, 266); "assumption", "the passage ... and discovery ... which must

needs have proved impossible unto former ages" (White, 1630, 14). In the phrase must needs, must may retain some of the meaning of "motan, i.e. "may of necessity", hence, must.

Contrary to today's usage, must was noted a number of times as a past tense, "he tould them they must then looke to stand on their owne leggs" (Bradford, 1630, 75).

Ought appears in my material in the current sense of "obligation or duty". "All Christian states ought to disavow such errours" (Ward, 1647, 14). Ought may express either present or future time. The original meaning of ought, "to owe", is still clearly evident in ought showing various types of "obligation".

As indicated before, the modals in many cases seem to carry a subjunctive notion and may often be replaced by the formal subjunctive without perceptible change of meaning. Some of the modals frequently appear to overlap each other in meaning. Sometimes shall and will are nearly impossible to differentiate; likewise, should and would, and may and can. Even the tenses of the same modal have lost their distinction. Shall and should both may show future time; likewise, both may and might may show future time.

As previously stated, the modals in the material considered in this study appear to differ very little in usage from that of today. The only significant differences observed were must used rather often as a past tense and an occasional violation of tense sequence in purpose clauses involving may and might.

To judge from the evidence found in the writings examined for this thesis, the status of the verb forms in seventeenth century American English is as follows: 1. The -th ending for the third person singular of the present tense was much more common even in language of a secular nature than it is today; 2. Certain variant forms of the preterite and past participle of strong verbs were fairly frequent; 3. The past participle and preterite of weak verbs were quite close to their present form; 4. The verb to be was fairly common as a perfect auxiliary of certain verbs; 5. The formal subjunctive was far more prevalent than it is now; 6. The modals were virtually the same in form and usage as at the present time.

Everything being considered, the conclusion to be drawn from this investigation seems to be that the verbs of our language in the seventeenth century while offering certain interesting variations, were quite close in form and use to the verbs of current American English.

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