SUPPLETION FOR SUPPLETION, OR THE REPLACEMENT OF *ĒODE* BY *WENT* IN ENGLISH[1]

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1. Suppletion in Germanic

Like other Indo-European languages, also Germanic occasionally employed forms deriving from historically different roots in its inflectional paradigms. In the case where "it is not possible to show a relationship between MORPHEMES through a general rule, because the forms involved have different roots", we deal with suppletion (Crystal 1980). In Germanic, the phenomenon is most evident in adjectival comparison as well as in pronominal and verbal inflection. As regards verbs in Indo-European and Germanic, suppletion dominates in the paradigms of verbs having the sense 'be'. For example, the Indo-European roots **es- *s-* : **bhū-/bheu-* : **wes-* and the Germanic root **ar-* survive as the contemporary English forms *is* : *be* : *was* : *are*, etc. Less consistently, suppletion is found in other verbs, especially those with the sense 'have' and 'go'.

The verb of motion *go* exhibits suppletion in practically all Indo-European languages, except Persian, Kurdish, and Armenian. Although Latin failed to have developed suppletive forms of *go*, its descendants, i.e. contemporary Romance languages, demonstrate a wide range of such forms; cf. It. *vado* '(I) go' : *andare* 'to go', Sp. *voy* '(I) go' : *iba* '(I) went' : *ir* 'to go', and Fr. *vais* '(I) go' : *irai* '(I) went' : *aller* 'to go', etc.

Although the suppletive forms of *go* in Germanic (cf. Go. *gaggan*, OE *gān/gangan* 'to go' : Go. *iddja*, OE *ēode* 'went') are continuations of the Indo-European roots **gheugh* and **ei* respectively, the relevant preterite in Old English is hypothesised to be a direct reflection of the Germanic preterite **ēo* (sg.). The root **eō* which developed to **eū*, was subsequently contracted to form the diphthong **eu*, which ultimately yielded the sequence *ēo*. The attachment of the weak suffix **-d-* to the root of the 1st/3rd singular indicative (but not to the forms of the optative; cf. Fourquet 1941-1942) may have been effected after the contraction *eū > eu*, when a more substantial form representing the preterite was in demand (cf. Cowgill 1960; also Prokosch 1939: 224). If this was the case, the extension of the weak verbal ending was determined by purely functional factors.

The present paper is an attempt at showing how, although successful in disposing of the original suppletive form, English failed to eliminate suppletion as a systemic feature in the forms of the verb *go*. Another aim is to present the circumstances of the spread in dialects of another suppletive form, *went(e)*, which replaced *ēode, -on* in the standard speech despite the occasional use in Middle English dialects of the quasi-regular forms *gaed/goed*.

2. The verb *go* in Old and Middle English

In Old English, the preterite of *gān* showed only little variation, its principal form *ēode* being paralleled by *ēade* in Mercian (Ru¹, i.e. Rushworth Gospels) and in Northumbrian, where the form *ʒeēad* (PP; cf. Campbell 1959 : 348) was also used. In Middle English, the preterite *ēode* survived as either *yōde*, which exhibits stress shift from the first to the second element of the diphthong, or as *ʒē(o)de*, *yēde*, etc., the latter form with either insertion of initial *j-* or preservation of the transformed old perfective prefix *ʒe-* (> *y-*; cf. Brunner 1962: 283). It was in that period that the new suppletive form *wente* began to replace the descendants of *ēode* in a process which was conditioned geographically.

The existing accounts of the change scattered in sections on morphology in historical grammars are, to say the least, very modest. A typical example of how the process is accounted for is Lass (1992: 142-143):

(1)   ... developments of *ēode* remained through the fifteenth century as
      yede/yode. In the north, however, a new suppletive past developed quite
      early: *wente*, originally the past of *wendan* 'turn'. This spread south in the
      thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, gradually replacing *yede/yode*. Chaucer
      has *wente* as his normal form, though *yede* still occurs occasionally, always
      in rhyme positions (e.g. *Troilus* 5.843 rhyming with *Diomede*). But *yede* oc-
      curs well into the next century along with *went(e)*.

A similar statement in Fisiak (1968: 97-98) attributes the introduction of *went(e)* to the impact of Northern and partly Midland dialects so that "At the end of ME *went* existed side by side with *yede, yode*". A simple presentation of the distribution of *go*-preterites in his grammar emphasises the conservative character of the Southern forms; cf.:

(2)   South *ēode ʒēde ʒōde*
      Midlands *ʒēde ʒōde / wente*
      North *went* (also *gaid*; 15c)

Some interesting details are found in Brunner (1963: 86) who adds several 12th century forms, such as early Southern *eode, ode, ede, geode* (from *geēode*), Eastern *ʒede*, and the later variants *ʒede, ʒode, ʒedd, ʒodd* in the South and the Midlands. Their total replacement by the new preterite *went* in the South belongs, claims Brunner, to the 15th century. But in his *Englische Sprache*, published a year earlier, Brunner (1962: 283) states that *yode* and *yede* were preserved until the 16th century, the *e*-form even later. And truly, the evidence adduced in Price's (1910: 182) study of English verbs between Caxton and the end of the Elizabethan period as a list of *yed*-forms from the 16th century in Berners, Machyn, Sackville or Spenser confirms unambiguously their survival not only in that period but also in the 17th century, when *yed-* occurred in poetical language. According to Gill's *Logonomia anglica* published in 1619, the forms *yede* or *yode* were then still used in Lincolnshire (cf. Price 1910: 182).

In fact, the scale of variation in the non-present forms of *go*, as cited in the *OED*, is striking. The classification below groups these verbs according to the root vowel and the presence or absence in the preterite of the semivowel [j] in word-initial position (unless indicated otherwise, all forms are singular):

(3)   a. *j*-less *e(o)*   ¹⁻³*éode* (Nhb. *éade*) ²⁻⁴*eode/n* (pl.) ³⁻⁵*ede*
      b. *j*-full *e*   ²⁻⁴*ʒeode* ²⁻⁵*ʒede* ⁴*ʒedd* ⁴⁻⁵*yedd yed/e* ⁶*yede* (arch.) (N.,
                             Sc. ²⁻⁵*ʒeid/e* ⁴⁻⁵*yeid/e* ⁴⁻⁶*ʒeid*)
      c. *j*-full *i(e)*   ²*ieden* (pl.) ³*ʒied(e)* ⁴*giede ʒide*
      d. *j*-less *o*   ²*oden* (pl.)
      e. *j*-full *o*   ³⁻⁵*ʒodd, ʒod/e* ³⁻⁴*yoede* ⁴*ʒood* ⁴⁻⁵*yodd* ⁴⁻⁶*yod/e* ⁶⁻⁷,⁹*yod/e*
                             (arch./dial.)
      f. *j*-less *u*   ⁵*ude*
      g. *j*-full *(o)u*   ⁴⁻⁶*ʒud/e* ⁵*youd yude*
      h. *h*-full *i(e)*   ³*hiede* ³*hiden* (pl.) ⁴*yhed* ⁵*hedon* (pl.)
      i. *h*-full *o/u*   ³*yhode* / ⁵*yhude* (pl.)

Very little variation is found in the forms of the new preterite which reflects the original past tense form of OE *wendan* 'turn'. Because from the very beginning the semantic field of that verb included the sense of 'go', the occasional

past tense form *wende* is frequently difficult to interpret as it may retain either the original sense 'turned' or the new sense 'went'. For instance, the principal meaning 'turn' is evident in (4a) but a new sense ('went away' for 'turn away') may be postulated in (4b), both citations coming from the *Ormulum* (c. 1200):

(4)   a.   *Ded. 11 Icc hafe* **wennd** [PP] *inntill Ennglissh Goddspelless*
           hallȝhe   lare ...
           2102 *þeȝȝ* **wenndenn** *þatt ȝho wære wif ...*
      b.   12528 *þe deofell* **wennde** *aweȝȝ ... anan Forrshamedd off himm*
           sellfenn ...

Equally interesting are those fragments of the 13-15th century texts, where the variant forms of the past tense of *wende* (i.e. *wynt, whent*) may indicate the new sense:

(5)   c. 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 87 *Ihc wile turnen agen to mine huse þe*
           ich er ut of **wende.**
      1362 Langl. P. Pl. A. v. 14 *þis souþ-Westerne* **wynt** *on a Seterday at*
           euen.
      1482 Cely Papers (Camden) 106 *Thay sayd howr mother schulld go*
           on preschesyon on Corpys Kyrste day ... and a my sowyll
           howr mother **whent** *at that day.*
      1482 Monk of Evesham (Arb.) 75 *Al that...* **whent** *not dedyr.*

Only the modification of the old preterite form *wende* 'turn' to *went(e)*, usually having the present-day sense, and the formation of the regular past tense form *wended*, meaning 'turned', facilitated a correct semantic interpretation of the past tense forms. In due time the verb *wende(n)* developed the metaphoric meaning 'die, be lost' and entered into semantic correlation with the verb *go*, which also included that sense, thus contributing to the permanent association of *go* and *went* (cf. Weman 1933).

Efforts to introduce into the standard speech non-suppletive forms with the dental suffix attached to the infinitive to mark the preterite proved futile since the linguistically crucial Southern and Midland speakers failed to make use of such combinations. However, a tendency to regularise the preterite by creating the past tense forms based on the infinitive *ga/go* may be assumed to have materialised in the North of England and in Scottish English, where forms like *geid, gade, gaed, gede, geed*, as well as *gaid*, were developed; cf.:

(6)   c. 1400 Destr. Troy 369; South Lancashire, NWM *He ...* **Gaid** *vp by*
      a   *grese all of gray marbill*
           1500-20 Dunbar Poems xxx. 25 ... *Gife evir thow wald my*
           saule gaid vnto Hevin.

1535 Lyndesay Satyre 4354 *Scho riftit, routit, and maid sic stends,*
     Scho ȝeild, and **gaid** *at baith the ends.*
1583 Leg. Bp. St. Androis 459 *The vther* **gaid** *hame ...*
1596 Dalrymple tr. Leslie's Hist. Scot. ix. 173 *[He] led her with him*
     quhair euer he **gaid.** 185 *Of this the nobilitie* **geid** *til a*
     counsell.

Although such forms continued into Modern English, some of them even surviving in 19ᵗʰ century poetical language, their distribution and popularity in the standard speech had always been extremely low and practically they never functioned as successful competitors of the suppletive forms. The reason for that may have been processes of grammaticalisation which, throughout Middle English, affected not only the verb *go* but also other high frequency verbs like *be, do* or *have.*

3. The distribution of the preterites *yede* and *wente* in Middle English

Because the quasi-regular forms in *-ed*, like those in (6), are both geographically and functionally peripheral our attention will be focussed on the rivalry of the two standard types, *eode/yede* and *wente*. It should be emphasised that both types coexisted in English not only in the same geographical regions but also, as abundantly shown in the available literature of the period, in particular writers. The examination of the *OED* data from various medieval texts reveals a three-way pattern of distribution exhibited by the relevant preterite forms of *go*. In consequence, Early and Late Middle English texts contain:

(a) the old form (*eode, yede, yode*, etc.) exclusively,
(b) both the old form and the new form (*wende, wente, went*), and
(c) the new form *went* exclusively.

The *y*-less form *ēode* (pl. *ēodon*), with dialectal variants, is frequently used throughout Old English, being found, for instance, in the *Vespasian Psalter*, the *Rushworth Gospels*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, King Alfred's works, *Beowulf*, and the poetry of Cynewulf. However, examples of *wente*, the preterite of *wendan* 'wend', with the sense close to that of the past tense of *go*, can be found in some Late Old English texts of c. 1000; cf.:

(7)   Ags. Treat. Astron. in Wright Treat. Science 16 *He* **went** *adune ...*
      Sax. Leechd. III. 270 *Se firmamentum* **went** *on ðam twam steorran ...*
      Ags. Gosp. Luke xvii. 31 *And se ðe bið on aecere ne* **went** *he*
      on-baec.
      Luke xxiv. 33 *And hiȝ arison ... &* **wendon** *[c. 1160 Hatton* **wenten***]*
      to hierusalem.

The rivalry of the two dominant types, with the most typical representatives *yede* and *went*, continued throughout Middle English, exhibiting a characteristic distribution of the relevant forms against the background of temporal and geographical space. The section below is a presentation of the competing forms of *yede/went*, etc. in texts arranged chronologically and geographically, employing the following sequence of dialects: Kentish, South-Western, West Midland, Northern, and East Midland. The statistical data enclosed in square brackets include the approximate total number of citations of the relevant text in the *OED* and the numbers of the forms of either the old preterite *yede* or the new preterite *went*.

4. Kentish

Confined to the non-Saxon Southeastern area, the Kentish dialect exhibits from the earliest very specific phonological features but offers rather limited morphological evidence as regards the preterite of *go*. But the text of the *Kentish Sermons* (c. 1250) [132] contains an interesting combination of coexisting contrastive preterites; cf.:

(8)   c.   1250 Old Kent. Serm. in O.E. Misc. 26 ... *swo kam si*
             sterre þet yede to-for hem. //

                         27   *þo kinges hem wenten*
                               and hi segen þo sterre

where the context shows that *wenten* (line 27) has the sense 'turned' rather than 'went'. No evidence of the new preterite can be found in William of Shoreham (c. 1315) [752 citations], which contains only a single instance of the old form, cf.:

(9)   c. 1315 Shoreham v. 110 *In þyssere ioye we scholde by-louken Al*
             hyre ioyen of uourti woken þe wylest he ȝede wyþ chylde.

But a work a few decades older, Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyt* [2544], contains, besides *yede* [5], the statistically prevailing form *wente* [24], which undoubtedly stands in semantic correlation with *go*; cf.:

(10)   1340 Ayenb. 166 *We redeþ of zaynte Agase, þet ... hi yede to tor*
             ment alsuo ase hi yede to feste.
       233 *þe wyse maydines ... yeden in mid þe bredgome to þe ale.*
       240 *he yede in-to desert. uor þe desert of religion ...* //
       12 *Ha [Christ] wente into helle... uor to draȝe þannes þe zaules of*
             þe holi uaderes.
       17 *To huam alle triacle went in to venym.*

Summing up, the data from Kentish, modest as they are, show the spread of the new preterite in the latter half of the 14th century.

5. South Western

The Southwestern area (a former West Saxon territory) comprises Berkshire, Buckingham, Devon, Dorset, Gloucester, Hampshire, Oxford, Somerset, Surrey, Sussex, Wiltshire (cf. Jordan-Crook 1974: 4). The texts produced there prevailingly contain the *eode*-type, as does *Layamon* B (c. 1275, Somersetshire) [4827], cf.:

(11)   c. 1275 Lay. 2324 *þe men to gaderes eode an [h]eolde conseil grete*
             ... [4]
             2582 *Suþþe him com a time þat he to wode wende.* [5]

Although *wend* can be alternatively interpreted as 'turned', its direct connection with *go* cannot be excluded. The absence of *went*-forms testifies to the morphologically conservative character of text.

Another manuscript, a late 13th century collection of versified stories of the saints and the New Testament, the *South Eastern Legendary* (c. 1290; Gloucestershire) contains three types of *go*-preterites, with the "intermediate" form *wende* prevailing; cf.:

(12)   c. 1290 S. Eng. Leg. I. 455/215 *ðe bischop eode into ðe vestiarie ...*
             [8] 263/76 *With-oute lettingue In heo ȝeode.* 15/472 *Riȝt ðane*
             wei ðat ore louerd ȝeode toward is passioun.
             268 *... With-oute wetingue ðare-ouer heo ȝeode.* [3] //
             473/400 *To his schyp he wende: and so forz [read forð] in ðe se.* [63
             wende, 0 *went*]

The same tendency to use *wende* is confirmed in another document from roughly the same area, the writings of Robert of Gloucester [3239], where isolated instances of the old forms (cf. (13)) are matched by the new forms, with the intermediate new preterite *wende* predominating:

(13)   a.   1297 R. Glouc. (Rolls) 1217 *After mete as riȝt was ðe*
                   menestraus eode aboute. 3173 *Vor ðe poyson in is slep ðe*
                   veines so ðoru soȝte ðat it of eode [v.r. *ouerwent*] *al ðat*
                   body and to ðe him sone broȝte. [2]
       b.   1766 *Ac basian & al is folc ȝede anon to gronde.* [1]
       c.   (1724) 144 *Aftur fyftene dawes ... To London he wende.* 129 *To*
                   ðe baylys of ðe toun hastiliche heo wende. [? 120]
       d.   24 *Kyng Locryne's herte was al clene vp hire y went ...* [1]

The evidence of *The Life and Martyrdom of Thomas Beket* [637] confirms the above Southwestern tendency since *wende* is the only preterite form of *go* found there, cf.:

(14) c. 1300 Beket 1129 *He **wende** fram Gra[nt]ham; fyve and tuenti myle also To the cite of Lincolne.* 2417 *And **wende** to the holi lond: here synnes forto bete.* 1129 *He **wende** fram Gra[nt]ham; fyve and tuenti myle also To the cite of Lincolne.* [14]

The most frequently quoted author from Oxfordshire is Wyclif [11970], a religious reformer whose works are dated to the last quarter of the 14ᵗʰ century. His texts show a distinct prevalence of *went* [96] over *yede* [25]; cf.:

(15) a. c. 1382 Wyclif Gen. xix. 1 *He ȝede to mete with hem.* 1388 ix. 23 *Sem and Jafeth ȝeden bacward.* 1408 xix. 6 (MS. Fairfax 2) *Loth ȝede out to hem on the bachalf.* [24]
     1382 Wyclif 2 Kings v. 25 *Thi seruaunt ȝeede not o whydre* [1388 *to ony place*]. [1]
   b. Ezek. xxxvii. 27 *Bones **wenten** to boones, eche to his ioynture.* [96]

An analogous tendency is evident in the texts of Wyclif's contemporary, John de Trevisa [6750], which demonstrate only 7 old against 33 new forms of the preterite, practically all [32] found in his translation of *Bartholomaeus de Proprietatibus Rerum*; cf.:

(16) 1387 Trevisa Higden (Rolls) IV. 397 *A lampe ... in ðat hevene ... ðat ȝede* [MS. ... *ȝeode*] *adoun westward as it were ðe sonne.* V. 189 *In the Ester eve whanne ðe sonne ȝede to glade.* [4] V. 423 *ðe kyng meked hym, and ȝeede* [MS. ... *ȝude*] *barfoot.* [3] //
     Rolls Ser. VII. 427 *In the whiche cytees Robert **wente** burethely up and doun* [1],
     1398 Barth. De P.R. xv. cxviii. (MS. Add. 27. 944), *þider Nemroth þe geaunt **went** ... and tauȝt þe perses ...* [32]

Curiously, the 15th century Pecock [1431] (Oxfordshire) offers only 1 instance of the preterite, which happens to be *ȝede*:

(17) c. 1449 Pecock Repr. 225 *The Lord sie that Moyses ȝede to se.* [1]

Summing up, Southwestern shows preference for *wende* in the 13ᵗʰ century, but favours *went* a century later, although the surviving old preterites are occasionally preserved in the later period.

6. West Midland

To historical West Midland belong Lancashire, Cheshire, Derby, Stafford, Shropshire, Herefordshire, and a typically transitional county, Worcestershire. Because of the abundance of manuscripts from West Midland the distribution of forms in various texts will of necessity be presented in a concise form. The titles (or authors) of texts, arranged chronologically, are preceded by the year as well as localisation and followed by the number of citations in the *OED* and the number of particular old and new forms:

(18)

			eode	yede	yode	wende	went(e)
c. 1160 Worc (sWM)	*Hatton Gospel*	[163]	1	–	–	–	–
c. 1175 Staf (sWM)	*Lamb. Hom.*	[933]	8	–	–	–	1
c. 1205 Worc (sWM)	*Layamon* A	[4827]	24	3	–	25(?)	–
c. 1300 Shrop (wWM)	*King Alisaunder*	[1408]	1	–	–	–	10
c. 1325 Heref (sWM)	*Chronicle of England*	[76]	1(ede)	–	–	–	–
c. 1340 Lanc. (nWM)	*Sir Gaw. & Gr. Knight*	[1295]	–	1	–	4	8
c. 1360 (?nWM)	*Early Eng. All. Poetry*	[2688]	–	3	–	–	5
c. 1362 Staff. (sWM)	Langland	[5865]	3	3	–	–	39
a. 1450 Lanc. (nWM)	*The Alliter. Alexander*	[2037]	–	3	–	–	2
a. 1450 Ches. (wWM)	*Chester Plays*	[422]	–	1	1	–	–
c. 1400 Lanc. (nWM)	*Destruction of Troy*	[3530]	–	–	4	–	21
c. 1420 Lanc. (nWM)	*Sir Amadace*	[161]	–	–	–	–	2
c. 1425 Shrop. (wWM)	Audelay	[200]	–	–	–	–	4
c. 1435 Lanc. (nWM)	*Sir Torrent of Portugal*	[227]	–	1	–	–	3
c. 1440 Warw. (eWM)	*Gesta Romanorum*	[813]	–	8	–	–	8
c. 1450 Shrop (wWM)	*Myrc Festial*	[296]	–	1	–	–	2

The above summary shows the loss of *y*-less old preterite and an evident rise of the new forms after 1300. The prevalence of *went* is particularly evident in *King Alesaunder* (1300, Shropshire), *Sir Gawain* (c. 1340, S. Lancashire), Langland (c. 1362, Staffordshire), and the *Destruction of Troy* (c. 1400, S. Lancashire). Surprisingly, 15ᵗʰ century texts, except those from South Lancashire, reveal a relative balance between old and new forms, which seems to indicate a rather conservative character of West Midland morphology. Only Lancashire, even its Southern part, shows a visible tendency towards accepting the new preterite *wente*. As regards forms in *Layamon* A, they evidently reflect a transition from the old to the new preterite, although the latter is represented by the ambiguous form *wende*, registered more than 25 times with the potential sense 'went', against the total of 24 *eode* and 3 *yede* forms.

7. North

The Northern dialects comprise Northumberland, Cumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire. There is a general consensus that the North contributed most to the shape of the contemporary grammar of English and that all major Northern morphological innovations were spreading southwards.

Although relatively few in number, Northern manuscripts are considered very important. However, the earliest valuable literature in the North is dated to around 1300, the first significant document relevant to the area being the *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1340), represented by several manuscripts: *Cotton Vesp.* (Southern Scotland), *Royal College* (Northern) and *Fairfax* (North Lancashire), of which the best is the one from Scotland. Illustrated by an unusually high number of quotations in the *OED* [12751], the poem shows the following distribution of the preterite forms of *go*:

(19)   c. 1340 683 (Trin.) *þese beestis were so meke in dole Wiþouten hurtyng þei ʒeoden hole.*
c. 1300 CM 6970 *Whenne þat þei to bataile ʒede.* 10556 *Anna busked hir and yede.* 1086 *Quen caym had don þat dreri dide, Til his fader hamward he ʒeide.* 21093 *He prechid þare wiþ fote he ʒide.* [20]
a. 1300 Cursor M. 12954 *Bot herdili he [þe warlau] yode him nerr, Qua herd euer best sua bald* [57]
c. 1340 Cursor M. 12305 (Trin.) *Ioseph went also soone Wiþ him marie þat burde bolde.* [118]

It follows from the above that the *Cursor Mundi* contains three types of the preterite, with a marked preference for *went(e)*. It is characteristic that the Trinity MS, of 1340, i.e. a later one, still includes the form *ʒeoden*, with a rather unexpected survival of the digraph <eo> in a northerly text.

Similarly paired preterites are also found in another 14 century writer, Richard Rolle of Hampole [3395], who employs both *ʒode* and *went*, each with only a single representation in the text; cf.:

(20)   c. 1340 Hampole Prose Treat. 5, *I ʒode by sufferynge of werynes and I fand Ihesu wery* ... [1]
25 ... *he lefte þe conuersacion ... and went into disserte vpon the hilles.* [1]

A similar proportion between the old and the new form is found in Barbour's *Bruce* [2669], a poem written in Aberdeen, Scotland in 1387, whose manuscripts come from the late 15th century; cf.:

(21)   1375 Barbour Bruce iii. 302 *His causs ʒeid fra ill to wer.*
iv. 411 *Othir syndry ʒeid thame* v. 580
A *chalmir page thar vith him ʒeid. vii. 203 *Till hym thai ʒeid a full great pass.* [13]
x. 245 *Thai that war went furth* ... x. 222 (Edinb. MS.); *Than Bonnok ... Went on hys way* [24].

Here, the typical Scottish form containing the digraph <ei> rivals with the standard form *went* which is prevalent. But the digraph is absent in the basic form in the *Legends*:

(22)   c. 1375 Sc. Leg. Saints l. (Katerine) 74 *Scho ʒed and sad ... sir king ...* [5]
xxx. (Theodera) 186 *Scho went on to pref hir arte.* [9]

The last texts to be referred to are the cycles of plays, produced in Yorkshire, *York Mysteries* (c. 1440-) [986] and *Towneley Mysteries* (c. 1460) [1309] which contain only several preterites of *go*. What should be particularly noted is the use of *went* as the past participle form; cf.:

(23)   c. 1440 York Myst. ix. 151 *My frendis þat I fra yoode Are ouere flowen with floode.* [1]
xxiv. 64 *Woman! wher are þo wighte men went That kenely here accused þe?*
xli. 347 *My age is went, I feyll no fray.* [9]
c1460 Towneley Myst. xiii, 183, *I wold, or we yode, oone gaf vs a song.* [1]
iv. 12 *Wheder ar all oure elders went?* xxx. 388 *This wykyd warld away is wente.* [4]

In spite of scant statistical data, a more frequent use of *went* than *yode* is evident. But the form *yode* could still be found in Scotland in Early New English and later, i.e. in the period which is not of immediate interest to us.

8. East Midland, including London

The East Midland area, the cradle of Standard English, includes the historical; shires of Nottingham, Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Huntington, Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Hertford, Bedford, Middlesex, Esssex and London. The area had been for a long time under a strong influence of the adjacent dialects. Because of the richness of the data, the relevant statistical as well as geographical features (including the part of East Midland) are shown as a table; see below:

(24)

			eode	*yede*	*yode*	*wende*	*went(e)*
c. 1200 Linc. (nEM)	Orm [2952]		–	18	–	–	–
c. 1200 Hunt. (cEM)	*Trinity Coll. Homilies* [2199]		–	3	–	–	–
c. 1250 Norfolk (eEM)		*Genesis and Exodus* [2109]	–	5	1	–	38
c. 1260 Essex (sEM)	*King Horn* [431]		3	4	–	–	3
c. 1300 Linc. (nEM)	*Havelok* [855]		–	4	–	–	2
c. 1314 Suff. (eEM)	*Guy Warw.* [649]		–	5	–	–	9
c. 1325 London (sEM)	*Coer de Lyon* [589]		–	–	–	–	11
c. 1330 Linc. (nEM)	R. Manning of Brunne [2508]		–	12	2	–	40
a. 1400 London (sEM)	Chaucer [11902]		–	5	–	–	75
c. 1400 London (sEM)	Gower [4066]		–	3	–	–	21
c. 1400 Norf. (eEM)	Mandeville [2547]		–	–	1	1	11
c. 1424- Norf. (eEM)	*Paston Letters* [1550]		–	4	–	–	11
c. 1430 Suff. (eEM)	Lydgate [5289]		–	–	1	–	33
c. 1440 London (sEM)	*Morte Arth.* [1313]		–	1	–	–	12
1440 Norf. (eEM)	Prompt.Parvulorum [5634]		–	1	–	–	–
c. 1440 Norf. (eEM)	*Sir Eglam* [71]		–	–	–	–	5
c. 1450 London (sEM)	Knight de la Tour [713]		–	4	3	–	4
c. 1475 London (sEM)	Malory [1653]		–	4	–	–	23
1483 London (sEM)	*Cely Papers* [191]		–	1	–	–	–
1491 London (sEM)	Caxton [10324]		–	1	–	–	151

The above table shows that the loss of the old forms went through several stages, such as (1) elimination of *y*-less forms (mid-13th century) and (2) a simultaneous development of *yede* and *yode*, the latter especially productive in East Anglia. The *y*-forms are still well represented in the 15th century, although they are found in relatively small quantities, being more numerous only in Robert Manning of Brunne (Lincolnshire), where the new preterite *wente* is employed much more frequently. A drastic drop of *y*-forms observed after 1330 coincided in time with the growing popularity of *went*. Unlike other dialects, the form *wende* does not seem to have functioned as the preterite of *gan*, since our data register only one example where it potentially denotes the preterite of *go* (c. 1400); cf.:

(25) Mandeville (Roxb.) v. 15 *ðai wende gladly to Cipre to fraght ðer schippes with salt* ...

9. General conclusions

Although based on selected Middle English texts, the above review of the forms of the verb *go* may be considered as indicative of the following trends in the rise and establishment of the preterite *went*:

(1) The new preterite need not be a northern form, since it is found in Late West-Saxon and Early Southern Middle English from where it could spread to other dialects, including that of Midland.

(2) The new form *went* is a development of *wende*, a form very common in Southern and Midland areas. Phonologically, this change resembles the devoicing [d > t] in other similar words, like in the preterites *lent, sent, spent*, etc. (cf. Dietz 1981).

(3) The gradual diffusion of *wente* over the Southern and Midland territories resulted in a long-time coexistence of the two or even three types of the preterite in the same texts from those areas. The eventual replacement of *eode* by *went* was due to functional reasons: the simple pattern of *wente*, practically without variation, replaced the wide variety of the descendants of OE *eode*, represented by over 30 forms.

(4) A typically Northern form, *yode*, etc., with <o>, did not manage to gain higher frequency and failed to survive long.

Appendix 1

Selected pairs of the old and new preterites coexisting in the same text: *(y)ed yod*, etc. vs *went(e)*, etc.

971 Blickl. Hom.   165 *To hwon **eodan** ȝe to westenne ... witȝan to secenne.*
                    195 *Forþon ure yldran swultan & swiþe oft us from **wendan**.*

c. 1175 Lamb. Hom. 41 *Mihhal **eode** biforen and Poul com efter.*
                    213 *Iblesced beo þet þus **went** lure to biȝeate.*

c. 1205 Layamon   25756 *Arður **eode** abute ... & his cnihtes bi his siden.*
                    19763 *And ut **wenden** [c. 1275 hout **eode**] bi-nihte*

a. 1225 Ancr. R.   52 *þus **eode** sihðe biuoren ... & com þe deað þer efter.*
                    74 *þe veond of helle mid his ferd **went** þurh þe tutel.*

c. 1250 Gen. & Ex.   2288 *Sone he **ȝede** ut and stille he gret.*
                    2030 *she **yod** himm bitterlike a-gen.*
                    1751 *He toc and **wente** and folwede on ...*

a. 1300 Cursor M.   3353 (Cott.) *He **yode** þar walkand be þe strete.*
                    4567 (Cott.) *þas oþer seuen **yede** i to see.*
                    1284 (Gött.) *Seth **went** ... To paradis þat ilke day.*

a. 1300 K. Horn   118 (Harl.) *þe children **ede** to þe stronde ...*
                    326 (Camb.) ***Went*** [= go] vt of my bur Wiþ muchel mesauentur.*

c. 1300 Havelok   1685 *Vn-to þe heye curt he **yede**.*
                    2450 *Hise nese **went** un-to þe crice ...*

c. 1300 K. Alis.   3410 *Ten myle they **yeode** alang.*

6104 *Of hurdles of bruggen they made flores, And so they **wente** into the mores.*

c. 1314 Guy Warw. (A.)   4828 *Op and doun he **ȝede** hir secheinde.*

35 *Forth he **went** into Speyne And after into Almeyne.*

c. 1325 E.E. Allit. P. C.   355 *þat on Iournay ful Ioynt Ionas hym **ȝede** ...*

B.   858 *He **went** forthe at þe wyket ...*

1340 Ayenb.   233 *þe wyse maydines ... **yeden** in mid þe bredgome to þe bredale.*

17 *To huam alle triacle **went** in to venym.*

c. 1340 Hampole Prose Treat.   5, I ... **ȝode** by sufferynge of werynes and I fand Ihesu wery ...

25 ... and **went** into disserte vpon the hilles.

1362 Langl. P. Pl. A. Prol. 41 *Beggers faste a-boute **eoden*** [1377 *ȝede*].
1393 Langl. P. Pl. C. ix. 279 *Diues for hus delicat lyf to þe deuel **wente**.*

1375 Barbour Bruce iii. 302 *His causs **ȝeid** fra ill to wer.*

x. 245 *Thai that war **went** furth beforn.*

1387 Trevisa Higden (Rolls)   V. 423 *þe kyng meked hym and **ȝeede** barfoot.*

VII. ... *þerafter he **wente** into Normandie.*

1390 Gower Conf.   I. 188 *And to the bed with that he **yede** ...*

I. 71 *She ... At night vnto the temple **wente**.*

c. 1400 Destr. Troy   284 *Mony noble for þe nonest to þe note **yode**...*

4521 *þus **went** þay to water.*

a. 1400-50 Alexander   409 *þis diuinour **ȝede** ... herbis to seche*

1828 *þen lete þe lord þam allane & **went** till his fest*

c. 1420 Chron. Vilod. st.   598 *As saffe as hole as he upoun urthe **ȝede**.*

390 *þen **went** þey þederward as þis tresere lay.*

c. 1440 Gesta Rom.   176 (Harl. MS.) *He **yede** forthe to bataile, and had þe victorye ...*

285 *He **went** and bete him, and lefte hym halfe on lyve.*

c. 1440 Morte Arth.   (1819) 34 *To the bote they **yede** with oute stynte, They two allone.*

(Roxb.) 34 *A clothe ... Sir Gawayne lyfte vp and **wente** in bayne*

1450 Knt. de la Tour (1868) 10 *On a derke night, as she **yede** towardes her lemman to foly.*

(1868) 81 *He **yode** ... and made comenaunt with a surgeon ...*

(1868) 120 *She **went** vnto the kinge and ... made pees betwene the kinge and her husbonde.*

1491 Caxton Vitas Patr. (W. de W. 1495) ii. 186 b/1 *He ... **yede** his waye to enhabyte him selfe in the deserte ...*

i. xxxvii. 50 a/1, *þewe people **wente** for to see him ...*

Appendix 2

A selection of chronologically late *(y)ed* etc. preterites

1423 Acts Privy Council III. 97 *He **yeed** in ambassiate to ... ye Kyng of Polayn.*
1424 in Picton L'pool Munic. Rec. (1883) I. 23 *The Sheriffs ... **yadden** up to the West Derby fen.*
c. 1435 Torr. Portugal 1193 *His squiers habite he had, Whan he to the deyse **yad**.*
c. 1460 J. Russell Bk. Nurture 35 *Where euer y **ede** day by day.*
c. 1470 Gol. & Gaw. 228 *The day **yeid** doun.*
1487 Cely Papers (Camden) 158, *I had xxli more wheyr of **ȝeyde** xijli and mor for carryayge of wholl.*
1508 Dunbar Kynd Kittok 33 *Becaus the wif **ȝeid** wrang.*
1513 Douglas Aeneis ii. xii. 21 *Throw howsis and the citie quhar I **ȝoid**.*
1524 in Ellis Orig. Lett. Ser. i. I. 244 *Saing if he **yode** awaye she must neds do for her self.*
c. 1533 Ld. Berners Huon clxiii. 636 *He issued out of the gate and **yode** towardes the tentes of his enemyes.*
c. 1563 Sackville Induct. Mirr. Mag. xxx, **Yeding** *forth, anone An horrible lothly lake we might discerne.*
1566 Drant Horace, Sat. v. C vij, *When you ... **yeade** to Louaine there to heare the Latine Romishe worde.*
1575 Gammer Gurton iv. ii, *My Gammer then she **yeede**, see now hir neele again to bring.*
a. 1578 Drant (Webster) *Years **yead** away, and faces fair deflower.*
1579 Spenser Sheph. Cal. Sept. 145 *They wander at wil, and stray at pleasure, And to theyr foldes **yead** at their owne leasure.*
1583 Leg. Bp. St. Androis 327 *With this the word **yead** through the toun.*
1590 Spenser F.Q. i.xi. 5 *Then bad the knight his Lady **yede** aloofe.*
x. 53 ... *Till that his army dry ... foot through them **yod**.*
a. 1600 Montgomerie Devot. Poems iii. 29 *That leddir ... Quhairby the angels come and **ȝeid** From hevin to earth.*
1600 Fairfax Tasso xx. xcii, *An armed stead fast by the Soldan **yood**.*
1602 Carew Cornwall 116 *Downeuet ... of downe **yeeding**, as hauing a steep hill.*
1614 Gorges Lucan v. 174 *Yet she, poore soule, was sore adread Into the horrid cell to **yed**.*
1615 R. Brathwait Strappado (1878) 130 *A lang **youd** I.*
1633 Fisher Fuimus Troes iii. ix, *Vnneath thilke borrells May well ne **yede**, ne stand.*
a. 1650 Glasgerion 46 *He did not kisse that Lady gay when he came nor when he **youd**.*
c. 1748 Thomson Cast. Indol. ii. xxxv, *And much they moraliz'd as thus **yfere** they **yode**.*
1768 Downman Land of Muses xii, *Early the morn we will forth **yede yfere**.*
1768 Ross Helenore i. 7 *They **Yeed** hand in hand together.*
1808 Jamieson, **Yede** *is still used in Ang[us] although almost obsolete.*
1808 Scott Marm. iii. xxxi, *In other pace than forth he **yode**, Returned Lord Marmion.*
1823 Galt Entail I. ii. 11 *Frae the time o' the sore news ... her life **gied** out like the snuff o' a can'le.*

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