

Weak verbs

Background and phonology

Formation

Weak verbs represent a group of younger but very numerous Germanic verbs, mostly derived from other parts of speech or from strong verbs. Unlike their strong counterparts, which form their preterites and often their past participles by way of vowel gradation (sing-sang-sung), these verbs instead use a dental suffix to form their preterites and past participles (walk-walked-walked). In Old Norse, this suffix has the basic form - δi . Since the personal endings of the verb are added to this element, however, the i is often lost; furthermore, depending on the phonological context, the δ will occasionally show up as d or t.

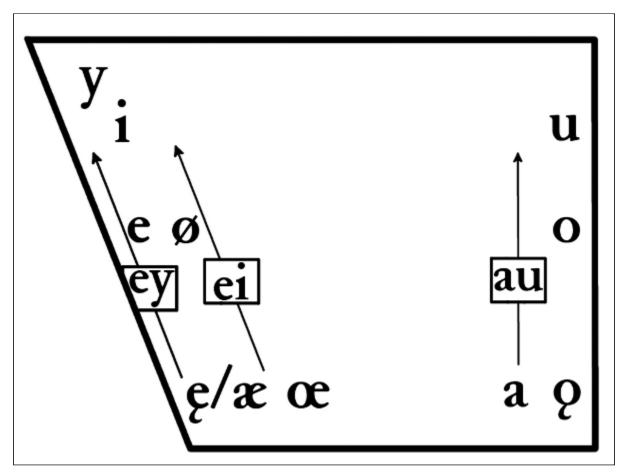
Thematic vowels

If you have read my write-up on noun classes, or at least its first few paragraphs, you are familiar with the concept of the thematic vowel: a sound that historically separated root from inflectional ending, and that is different for each of the noun classes. Just as this variation in thematic vowels serves as the justification for the conventional system of noun classes, so also three different thematic vowels form the basis of the three weak verb classes. Class 1 is made up of *i/j*-stems, class 2 contains *a*-stems, and class 3 represents *i*-stems. Far from being merely a historical grouping, this thematic background has had profound phonological effects on the audible and visible forms of the Old Norse and Modern Icelandic weak verbs. Most importantly, the thematic vowel is still visible in many present-tense forms of all three classes. In addition, it has caused sound changes in various parts of the conjugation. To understand the development from thematic vowel to medieval pronunciation and ortography, we need to be familiar with a series of phonological phenomena, the most important of which is front mutation.

NB that there is no consistent numbering, or even categorisation, of the weak verb classes among grammarians. Noreen orders them by productivity and splits the *i/j*-stems into two (long and short stems), yielding 1) *a*-stems; 2) short *i/j*-stems; 3) long *i/j*-stems; 4) *i*-stems. Sweet and Hall likewise separate out long and short *i/j*-stems, but they furthermore understand *i*-stems as a subclass of the *a*-stems, yielding 1) short *i/j*-stems; 2a) *a*-stems; 2b) *i*-stems; 3) long *i/j*-stems. Valfells and Cathey number the classes in order of ascending difficulty: 1) *a*-stems; 2) *i*-stems; 3) *i/j*-stems; they group members of the *i*-stems with *i*-mutation in the present tense (see below) under the *i/j*-stems. Barnes combines *i*-stems and long *i/j*-stems into a single class 3; thus 1) short *i/j*-stems; 2) *a*-stems; 3) *i*-stems and long *i/j*-stems. The present numbering follows that traditionally used for Old English and adopted by Gordon.

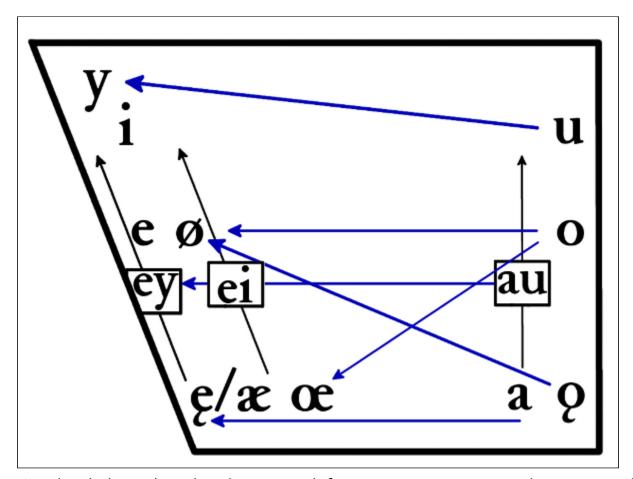
Front mutation

Unlike Modern English, which has central vowels like those in *bird* and the second vowel of *pollen*, or Modern Icelandic, which has similarly neutral sounds in the first two vowels of *könnuðu*, early Norse (ninth to twelfth centuries) had an essentially binary distinction between front and back vowels:



The above image is a vowel chart or vowel diagram: constituting a schematic display of the mouth, it charts whether a sound is produced with the mouth wide open (low in the diagram) or fairly close (high in the diagram), as well as whether the raised part of the tongue is more towards the front of the organ (left side of the diagram) or towards the back (right-hand side). Although it is customary to use phonemic notation in vowel diagrams, I have chosen to use the graphemes of Old Norse in the above representation, i.e. the letters as they were written. All these sounds had long counterparts which I have left out to avoid chaos, but I have written in α because it is the one long vowel whose spelling differs from its short counterpart beyond the addition of an acute accent. Remember: these letters represent reconstructed early Old Norse, not Modern Icelandic or even fourteenth-century Icelandic.

Front mutation (most commonly specified as *i*-mutation) is a sound change that took place at an early stage of the Old Norse language (c. 600–900) where an /i/ or /j/ in one syllable caused a back vowel in the preceding syllable to be fronted. Like labial mutation, this is an anticipatory process: because the speaker knows she will have to raise the tip of her tongue to pronounce the following /i/ or /j/, she began to position her tongue ahead of time, thereby altering the realisation of the preceding vowel. Generally, this meant that a given back vowel would be pronounced with the same qualities as before (e.g. close and rounded in the case of /u/), but with the front or tip rather than the back of the tongue raised (i.e. /y/ in the case of /u/). In the early Old Norse vowel system, this affected diphthongs as well as monophthongs:



Since class 1 weak verbs have -i/j- as their thematic vowel, front mutation is a prominent phenomenon in this class. Because the class 2 thematic is a back vowel, it is not at all affected by front mutation. The i of class 3 actually postdates the fronting process: for most of its members it had been e (i.e. /e/) in early Norse, and they are therefore generally exempt from front mutation. However, some verbs (which we may classify as "type b") have a different history and do display front mutation, so that they behave largely like long-stemmed members of class 1.

i-deletion

i-deletion in the context of weak verbs is a straightforward law stating the following:

- The *i* in the dental suffix $-\delta i$ is dropped before a following vowel (*spur\deltai* + $um \rightarrow spur\delta um)$;
- The thematic vowel *i/j* (class 1) or *i* (class 3) is dropped before the dental suffix; thus the stem *lifi* yields the preterites *lifôi* (third person singular) and *lifôum* (first person plural).

Paradigms

Class 1: i/j-stems

	telja "count" (active voice)							
	present indicative				present si	ıbjun	ctive	
1sg	ek tel	1pl	vér teljum	1sg	ek telja	1pl	vér telim	
2sg	þú telr	2pl	ér telið	2sg	þú telir	2pl	ér telið	
3sg	hann telr	3pl	þeir telja	3sg	hann teli	3pl	þeir teli	
	preterite	indic	ative	preterite subjunctive				
1sg	ek talða	1pl	vér tǫlðum	1sg	ek telða	1pl	vér telőim	
2sg	þú talðir	2pl	ér tǫlðuð	2sg	þú telðir	2pl	ér telőiő	
3sg	hann talði	3pl	þeir tǫlðu	3sg	hann telði	3pl	þeir telði	
pas	past participle		talðr	f.	tǫlð	n.	talit	
ir	nperative	1pl	teljum	2sg	tel	2pl	telið	

	teljask "be counted" (middle voice)								
	present indicative			present subjunctive					
1sg	ek teljumk	1pl	vér teljumk	1sg	ek teljumk	1pl	vér telimk		
2sg	þú telsk	2pl	ér telizk	2sg	þú telisk	2pl	ér telizk		
3sg	hann telsk	3pl	þeir teljask	3sg	hann telisk	3pl	þeir telisk		
	preterite i	indica	ıtive	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek tǫlðumk	1pl	vér tǫlðumk	1sg	ek telðumk	1pl	vér telőimk		
2sg	þú talðisk	2pl	þú tǫlðuzk	2sg	þú telðisk	2pl	ér telðizk		
3sg	hann talðisk	3pl	þeir tǫlðusk	3sg	hann telðisk	3pl	þeir telðisk		
þа	ast participle	<i>m</i> .		f.		n.	talizk		
	imperative	1pl	teljumk	2sg	telsk	2pl	telizk		

	heyra "hear" (active voice)								
	present indicative				present subjunctive				
1sg	ek heyri	1pl	vér heyrum	1sg	ek heyra	1pl	vér heyrim		
2sg	þú heyrir	2pl	ér heyrið	2sg	þú heyrir	2pl	ér heyrið		
3sg	hann heyrir	3pl	þeir heyra	3sg	hann heyri	3pl	þeir heyri		
	preterite	indic	ative	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek heyrða	1pl	vér heyrðum	1sg	ek heyrða	1pl	vér heyrðim		
2sg	þú heyrðir	2pl	ér heyrðuð	2sg	þú heyrðir	2pl	ér heyrðið		
3sg	hann heyrði	3pl	þeir heyrðu	3sg	hann heyrði	3pl	þeir heyrði		
ра	sst participle	<i>m</i> .	heyrðr	f.	heyrð	n.	heyrt		
1	imperative	1pl	heyrum	2sg	heyr	2pl	heyrið		

	heyrask "be heard" (middle voice)								
	present indicative				present subjunctive				
1sg	ek heyrumk	1pl	vér heyrumk	1sg	ek heyrumk	1pl	vér heyrimk		
2sg	þú heyrisk	2pl	ér heyrizk	2sg	þú heyrisk	2pl	ér heyrizk		
3sg	hann heyrisk	3pl	þeir heyrask	3sg	hann heyrisk	3pl	þeir heyrisk		
	preterite i	indica	ıtive	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek heyrðumk	1pl	vér heyrðumk	1sg	ek heyrðumk	1pl	vér heyrðimk		
2sg	þú heyrðisk	2pl	þú heyrðuzk	2sg	þú heyrðisk	2pl	ér heyrðizk		
3sg	hann heyrðisk	3pl	þeir heyrðusk	3sg	hann heyrðisk	3pl	þeir heyrðisk		
Þ	ast participle	<i>m</i> .		f.		n.	heyrzk		
	imperative	1pl	heyrumk	2sg	heyrsk	2pl	heyrizk		

The two paradigms telja "count" and heyra "hear" represent the two subtypes of class 1 weak phonological verbs. The difference between the two is that telja is short-stemmed while heyra is based on a long noted As in explanation of the noun classes, a short stem is one whose root syllable has either a short monophthong vowel followed by no more than one consonant or a long vowel or diphthong followed by no consonant at all; any other combination is long. Short stems of class 1 show the front effects of mutation everywhere except in the preterite indicative and the past participle: the present form telr (from the short stem tel-i/j-) becomes talði in the preterite, talior in the participle. In all short stems of this type, the remainder of the paradigm, including the preterite subjunctive, has a front vowel. In addition, the thematic vowel in these verbs shows up as -jbefore a back vowel (i.e. in teljum(k) and telja(sk)). Heyra (heyr-i/j-) represents the long which have front stems, mutation throughout the including paradigm, the preterite indicative. In the long

stems, the thematic vowel never surfaces as -j-; instead, it shows up as -i- across the present tense system except where displaced by a following vowel (thus cf. *heyri* and *tel*, *heyrir* and *telr*).

Both subtypes of class 1 are common, the long stems being especially numerous. Although these verbs must have front vowels in their stems, they do not have a monopoly on them; the other classes likewise have verbs with this property.

Class 2: a-stems

	kalla "call" (active voice)								
	present indicative			present subjunctive					
1sg	ek kalla	1pl	vér kǫllum	1sg	ek kalla	1pl	vér kallim		
2sg	þú kallar	2pl	ér kallið	2sg	þú kallir	2pl	ér kallið		
3sg	hann kallar	3pl	þeir kalla	3sg	hann kalli	3pl	þeir kalli		
	preterite	indic	ative	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek kallaða	1pl	vér kǫlluðum	1sg	ek kallaða	1pl	vér kallaðim		
2sg	þú kallaðir	2pl	ér kǫlluðuð	2sg	þú kallaðir	2pl	ér kallaðið		
3sg	hann kallaði	3pl	þeir kǫlluðu	3sg	hann kallaði	3pl	þeir kallaði		
þа	ast participle	<i>m</i> .	kallaðr	f.	kǫlluð	n.	kallat		
	imperative	1pl	kǫllum	2sg	kalla	2pl	kallið		

The a-stems are the most numerous class, and the most straightforward. Their stem vowel is not given to front mutation, but a stem vowel a will show labial mutation ($kalla \rightarrow kollum$). Characteristic of this class is that the thematic vowel -a- is visible across the paradigm except where affected by labial mutation or dropped in favour of a following vowel.

	kallask "be called" (middle voice)								
	present indicative			present subjunctive					
1sg	ek kǫllumk	1pl	vér kǫllumk	1sg	ek kǫllumk	1pl	vér kallimk		
2sg	þú kallask	2pl	ér kallizk	2sg	þú kallisk	2pl	ér kallizk		
3sg	hann kallask	3pl	þeir kallask	3sg	hann kallisk	3pl	þeir kallisk		
	preterite	indica	ative	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek kǫlluðumk	1pl	vér kǫlluðumk	1sg	ek kǫlluðumk	1pl	vér kallaðimk		
2sg	þú kallaðisk	2pl	þú kǫlluðuzk	2sg	þú kallaðisk	2pl	ér kallaðizk		
3sg	hann kallaðisk	3pl	þeir kǫlluðusk	3sg	hann kallaðisk	3pl	þeir kallaðisk		
Þ	ast participle	<i>m</i> .		f.		n.	kallazk		
	imperative	1pl	kǫllumk	2sg	kallask	2pl	kallizk		

Class 3: i-stems

	trúa "believe" (active voice)								
	present indicative				present si	ubjun	ctive		
1sg	ek trúi	1pl	vér trúum	1sg	vér trúim				
2sg	þú trúir	2pl	ér trúið	2sg	þú trúir	2pl	ér trúið		
3sg	hann trúir	3pl	þeir trúa	3sg	hann trúi	3pl	þeir trúi		
	preterite	indic	ative	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek trúða	1pl	vér trúðum	1sg	ek trýða	1pl	vér trýðum		
2sg	þú trúðir	2pl	ér trúðuð	2sg	þú trýðir	2pl	ér trýðið		
3sg	hann trúði	3pl	þeir trúðu	3sg	hann trýði	3pl	þeir trýði		
pas	past participle n		trúaðr	f.	trúað	n.	trúat		
iı	mperative	1pl	trúum	2sg	trú	2pl	trúið		

	trúask "be believed" (middle voice)								
	present indicative				present su	bjunc	tive		
1sg	ek trúumk	1pl	vér trúumk	1sg	ek trúumk	1pl	vér trúimk		
2sg	þú trúisk	2pl	ér trúizk	2sg	þú trúisk	2pl	ér trúizk		
3sg	hann trúisk	3pl	þeir trúask	3sg	hann trúisk	ЗрІ	þeir trúisk		
	preterite 1	indica	ıtive	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek trúðumk	1pl	vér trúðumk	1sg	ek trýðumk	1pl	vér trýðimk		
2sg	þú trúðisk	2pl	þú trúðuzk	2sg	þú trýðisk	2pl	ér trýðizk		
3sg	hann trúðisk	3pl	þeir trúðusk	3sg	hann trýðisk	ЗрІ	þeir trýðisk		
þа	ast participle	<i>m</i> .		f.		n.	trúizk		
	imperative	1pl	trúumk	2sg	trúask	2pl	trúizk		

	segja "say" (active voice)							
	present indicative				present si	ıbjun	ctive	
1sg	ek segi	1pl	vér segjum	1sg	ek segja	1pl	vér segim	
2sg	þú segir	2pl	ér segið	2sg	þú segir	2pl	ér segið	
3sg	hann segir	3pl	þeir segja	3sg	hann segi	3pl	þeir segi	
	preterite	indic	ative	preterite subjunctive				
1sg	ek sagða	1pl	vér sǫgðum	1sg	ek segða	1pl	vér segðim	
2sg	þú sagðir	2pl	ér sǫgðuð	2sg	þú segðir	2pl	ér segőiő	
3sg	hann sagði	3pl	þeir sǫgðu	3sg	hann segði	3pl	þeir segði	
pas	past participle m.		sagðr	f.	sǫgŏ	n.	sagt	
i	mperative	1pl	segjum	2sg	seg	2pl	segið	

	segjask "be said" (middle voice)								
	present indicative				present su	bjunc	tive		
1sg	ek segjumk	1pl	vér segjumk	1sg	ek segjumk	1pl	vér segimk		
2sg	þú segisk	2pl	ér segizk	2sg	þú segisk	2pl	ér segizk		
3sg	hann segisk	ЗрІ	þeir segjask	3sg	hann segisk	3pl	þeir segisk		
	preterite i	indica	ıtive	preterite subjunctive					
1sg	ek segðumk	1pl	vér segðumk	1sg	ek segðumk	1pl	vér segðimk		
2sg	þú segðisk	2pl	ér segðisk	2sg	þú segðisk	2pl	ér segðizk		
3sg	hann segðisk	ЗрІ	þeir segðusk	3sg	hann segðisk	3pl	þeir segðisk		
þа	ast participle	<i>m</i> .		f.		n.	segjazk		
	imperative	1pl	segjumk	2sg	segjask	2pl	segizk		

telja no thematic vowel is visible.

Class 3 has the thematic -i-, which is visible almost everywhere in the present tense system. This class is altogether small, but what members it has are mostly like *trúa*. The characteristics of this subtype (a) are that

- only its preterite subjunctive is given to front mutation: trúδa → trýδa;
- thematic -i- in the present tense disappears where displaced by a following vowel in the personal ending;
- there is a tendency towards a second person singular imperative consisting of root + i.

By contrast, subtype (b), represented by *segja*, has

- front mutation everywhere except in the preterite indicative $(segi \rightarrow sag\delta a);$
- the thematic -i- showing up as j before an a or u in the present indicative, but as i everywhere else in the present tense;
 - a second person singular imperative consisting of the root alone.

In other words, type (b) differs from the short stems of class 1 (telja) only in the appearance of the thematic vowel i in the present tense where in