

# The Usage of OE/EME *āgan* and OHG *eigun* compared with OE/EME *sculan* and *mōtan* with their OHG/MHG Cognates

Kousuke Kaita

## 1. Introduction

This paper deals with the comparison of usages both similar and distinct between OE/EME *āgan* (> MnE *owe* and *ought (to)*), *sculan* (>MnE *shall* and *should*), *mōtan* (MnE *mote* and *must*) and their OHG/early MHG cognates *eigun*, *sculun*, and *muozun* at times.<sup>1</sup> I select the transitional period as the field of this study because it is a crucial period for capturing the change of them. The six verbs all belong to a certain verb class called the preterit-present verb (henceforth PPV).<sup>2</sup> The members in this class are characteristic in at least three aspects of morphology (their conjugation), syntax and semantics. On syntax they take a noun phrase or an infinitive in their older stages (e.g. in OE and OHG). From this aspect some members of this class have survived until today as modal auxiliaries both in English and in German grammar. On semantics the original meanings of the members are said to be diminished when they become auxiliaries. The latter two aspects, syntax and semantics, are considered to be interrelated. The process is described as grammaticalization where modal auxiliaries have been made of older main verbs, though oversimplification should be avoided. It is not my intention to give close examination of grammaticalization. Instead, I take a look at usages of PPVs particularly on OE *āgan*, *sculan* and, though less, *mōtan* and OHG *eigun* (we cannot see as modal in Modern High German) and other correspondents. Taking a closer look at several examples we can say that their syntactic and semantic behaviors are distinct among them, so that this paper serves as an example that verbs in the common category are distinct in their behavior between two languages. First I refer to what PPV is, and then compare their usages in earlier English and German.

In the examples cited, italics are mine unless otherwise noted. The short titles of OE texts are based on the abbreviation of *The Dictionary of Old English, Web Corpus*.

## 2. On PPVs

### 2.1. Defining PPV

Preterit-present verb is a verb whose original strong past conjugation has come to entail the present meaning, so that new preterit forms were made through adding dental suffix endings (/t/ or /d/) of weak verbs. For instance, MnE *shall* does not conjugate as *\*he shalls*, but *he shall*, because

<sup>1</sup> For the headwords of these respective three verbs, I use OE forms *āgan*, *sculan*, and *mōtan* also for EME forms and OHG *eigun*, *sculun*, and *muozun* also for MHG. These forms in German are in the plural form according to Schweikle (2002<sup>2</sup>: 186, 188).

<sup>2</sup> In OE (and ME) verbs are classified into four categories including preterit-present verbs: (1) strong verbs (e.g. *cwēðan* 'to say'), (2) weak verbs (e.g. *habban* 'to have'), and (3) anomalous verbs (e.g. *willan* 'to wish, will'). Note that *willan* (> MnE *will*) does not belong to the preterit-present verb, but has become a member of MnE modal auxiliaries.

*shall* is said to be an older preterit form, as in Present-day German (Modern High German) not *\*ich weiße*, but *ich weiß*, and its preterit form *should* has the /d/ sound like regular verbs such as MnE *listened* or *started*. Even if the definition above has been established by seeing conjugation of the verb and purporting that it was the older past form with present meaning, this definition is seen in several literatures on the Germanic grammar.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.2. PPVs corresponding in several Germanic languages

In OE some of the twelve PPVs have become obsolete through the history of the English language, and others in this class, called “pre-modals” by Lightfoot (1979),<sup>5</sup> have been remaining as MnE modal auxiliaries with *will* and *would*. In older Germanic languages there are at least fourteen kinds of PPVs. In the Table in the following page I list these members (with cognates though not all) in Gothic (cited from Braune 1961<sup>16</sup>: 116-118), Old Saxon (from Gallée 1993<sup>3</sup>: 268-9), OHG (from Braune 1970<sup>13</sup>: 64, with Gothic and OS forms in p. 63), MHG (from Paul 1998<sup>24</sup>: 262), Modern High German, OE (from Ogura 1996: 6), ME (from Mossé 1968 [1952]: 82-83), and MnE. The Table shows us the close correspondence between those Germanic languages, although some verbs are lacking, and each usage, meaning, or syntactic behavior among them (e.g. Goth *wait* and OE *wāt*) has to be checked individually. Also it tells us what PPV members have survived in a Germanic language varies cross-linguistically. For example, English *āgan* has still remained as several MnE words, while its OHG cognate *eigun* has been obsolete within MHG.

In each cell in the Table the upper form is in 1st or 3rd person, singular, present, and lower form is its infinitive. Italicized forms in round brackets indicate that the form is (1) a cognate word, or (2) in the person, number and tense other than the upper and lower forms, in which case the identification of form is given on its side or in the footnotes.

## 3. Usages of English *āgan* and German *eigun*, and those of English *sculan* / *mōtan* and German *sculun* / *muozun*

### 3.1. Main verb denoting ‘to possess’

This usage is often seen in both languages. OE *āgan* shares the meaning with its cognate *āgnian*, the ancestor of MnE verb *own*.<sup>6</sup> In the following OE example (1), *agan* is taken by another PPV *moton*. And (2) is an example of OHG *éigun* appearing three times.

<sup>3</sup> As I introduced on the verb classes in OE, what is termed as “strong” or “weak” verb is sometimes different from what MnE grammar terms as “irregular” and “regular” verbs respectively. For example OE weak verb *tæcan* is now treated as an irregular verb because it does not conjugate as *\*tached*, but *taught* in MnE. This fact, with MnE *buy* exemplified, is explained by Wrenn (1949: 17) with a note by Nakajima (p. 208).

<sup>4</sup> Fries (1940: 172-173), using the term “preteritive-present verbs”, gives a clear explanation of PPV from the viewpoint of MnE, although his account gives no precise period except for “Old English”.

<sup>5</sup> According to his definition (p. 101) “pre-modals” are “the antecedents of the modern modals” and its members in OE are *cunnan*, *sculan*, *magan*, *mōtan*, *agan*, and *durran*. Other members but members of “preterite-presents” are *witan*, *dugan*, *unnan*, *þurfan*, *munan*, and *benugan*.

<sup>6</sup> For the detail, Ono (1998: 28-38) gives the difference of verbs of possession in some OE texts. And “Northumbrian *agnian* and Mercian *agan* correspond to West Saxon *habban*” (Ogura 1996: 85).

Table: Preterit-present Verbs (with their Cognates) in Several Germanic Languages

Adlat. Class	1. Gothic	2. Old Saxon	3. Old High German	4. Middle High German	5. Modern High German	6. Old English	7. Middle English	8. Modern English
I	wait	wēt	weiz	wizzan	weiß	wāt	wōt	-
I 2 *	āih	- (ēgan Pl. Pres.) āihan	- (eigum Pl. Pres. 1st.) - - -	wizzen eigen - -	wissen - (eigen Adjective) - (lehre) - (lehren)	witan āh - -	wite(n) owe owen, ōsen	- owe, ought (to), (own) owe, ought (to), (own)
II 4 *	daug	dōg	toug	touc	- (tauge) - (taugen)	dēag	dowe	-
5	-	- (-onsta Sg. Pret. 3rd.) - -	an	gan	- (g ðinne) - (g ðinnen)	ann, onn	-	-
6	kann	kan, can	kan	gumen, gūnnen	kann	cann, conn	can, con	can
III 7	þarf	*kunnan [þaurban]	darf	kunnen, kūnnen	können	cunna	þarf	can
8	ga-dars	*thurban [þaurban] -dar gadaursan	durfan	durfen, dūrfen	darf	þearf	þurvan	-
9	skal	scal	sol (sal)	turren, tūren	dēarr	durren	dare	dare
IV 10	man	*munan, *farmunan	sculan	suln, sūln	sollen	sculan	shall, should	shall, should
11 *	ga-nah, bi-nah	-	gi-nah	-	-	man, mon	-	-
V 12 *	mag	mag	mac	magen, mūgen, magen, megen	māgen	mag	may, mei	may
13	*ga-mōt	*magan	muoz	muoz	müssen	mōt	must	must
VI 14	ōg	[gamōtan] [ōgan]	-	-	-	-	-	-

\*1: For this line 2, Braune (1961<sup>16</sup>: 118) is not sure of the belonging of Gothic *āih*. According to him, its infinitive form *āihan* is "nur einmal in *ǣrīahan* teil haben". The infinitive form in OS is seen as *ēgan* (line 86 in *Heliland*), which is taken by another PPV *mōstan*. Paul (1998<sup>24</sup>: 261) gives MHG *eigen* as plural form (also termed as infinitive form in p. 262), but no example is given and I have found no usage as main verb in MHG text, although the adjective form *eigen* is found (e.g. line 693 in *Nibelungenlied*).

\*2: According to Braune Gothic *daug* is in impersonal use. So does OHG *toug* (Braune) and MHG *touc* often (Paul). In OHG *Evangelienbuch* V. 25. 29 the usage whose subject is pronoun *thaz* is seen.

\*3: For the verbs in this ablaut class V, Braune finds difficulty in classifying Gothic *ga-nah* and *bi-nah* into this class: "Die Zuteilung von *garnah* zu Klasse V ... ist wegen des Ablauts nicht möglich" (1961<sup>16</sup>: 117). Braune (1961<sup>16</sup>: 118 and 1970<sup>13</sup>: 66) and Mossé (1968 [1952]: 83) are not sure of the classification of Gothic, OS, and OHG *mag*, and ME *may* and *mei* in line 12 respectively. They do not have the class V. Ogura (1996: 6) puts OE *magan* and (ge) *magan*, Galée (1993<sup>1</sup>: 269) does OS *magan*, and Schweikle (2002<sup>5</sup>: 188) does OHG *mag* (MHG *mac*) into this class, whose classification I followed for convenience.

\*4: Modern High German *lehren* 'to teach' and MnE *own* are not PPVs.

\*5: Modern High German *taugen* and *gönnen* have regular conjugation, so that it is irrelevant to classify them simply into PPV. Paul (1998<sup>24</sup>) adds *erbarinnen* and *verbarinnen* 'to envy' to the line 5 in MHG.

\*6: The original meaning 'to need' of *dūrfen* is retained in the Modern High German intransitive verb *bedürfen*, which requires genitive object, not infinitive. Paul (1998<sup>24</sup>) adds this verb to the line 7 in MHG.

\*7: MnE has lost the verb *witan* (in OE) 'to know'. We can see the remnant of this verb in a phrase to *wit*.

- (1) nu hie drihtne synt  
 wurðran micle and moton him þone welan *agan*  
 þe we on heofonrice habban sceoldon,  
 rice mit rihte. (Gen B 421b - 4a)<sup>7</sup>

(Now they are worthier for the Lord so much and are allowed to possess for themselves the happiness that we must have in heaven, the kingdom righteously.)

- (2) Thes *éigun* sie io núzzi in snélli joh in wízzi;  
 nī intrátent sie nihéinan, unz sē ínan *eigun* héilan.

Er ist gizál ubar ál, io so édilthegan skál,  
 wíser inti kúani; thero *éigun* sie io ginúagi. (Evangelienbuch I. 1. 97-100)

(They always enjoy benefit by valor and by intellect of him; they fear nothing so long as they have him healthy. He is always bold over everything, as a noble hero should (be), savvy and brave; they always have enough of them.)

### 3.2. Usage of the verbs accompanying infinitive

This usage can be counted as the ancestor of MnE *owe* and *ought to*, whose syntactic characteristics lie in taking *to*. Modern High German does not have this auxiliary, only seen in an adjective *eigen* ‘own’ as the remnant of older *eigun*.<sup>8</sup>

#### 3.2.1. *Āgan* with *to geldanne*

According to *OED*, OE *āgan* with *to*-infinitive appears first as *āgan to geldanne*, ‘to have to pay’ (s.v. *owe* 2.a.) and *āhte to geldanne*, ‘had to pay’ (s.v. *ought* †2.a.), both of which appear with the first example dating c950 from translation of Latin verb *debere* or *debebat*, which has become MnE *owe*. Lk 7.41 (*Tatian* 138.9) is an example of the correspondence between OE *Lindisfarne Gospels* (s.v. *ought* †2.a.), *West Saxon Gospels* and OHG *Tatian*, where *Li.* uses *āgan to geldanne*, while OE *Ags. (West Saxon)* and *Tatian* have *sculan / sculun* in the use of main verb ‘to owe’.

- (3) Lk 7.41 (*Tatian* 138.9)

Latin: [duo debitores erant cuidam feneratori unus *debebat* denarios quingentos alius quinquaginta]

OE (*Li*): tuoege scyldgo woeron sume rice menn an *ahte to geldanne* penningas fif hūnd oðer fif-teih

OE (*WS*): Twegen gafol-gyldon wæron sumum lænende. ān *sceolde* fif hund penega. 7 oðer fiftig;

OHG (*Tatian*): Zuene sculdigon uuarun sihuuelihemo inlihere: ein *solta* finfhunt pfenningo,

ander solta finfzug.

MnE(*Authorized Version*): There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence, and the other fifty.

<sup>7</sup> This context shows typical usages of *mōtan* (auxiliary meaning ‘to be allowed to’), *āgan* (main verb ‘to possess’), and *sculan* (auxiliary meaning ‘must’) respectively.

<sup>8</sup> E.g.: Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiß nichts von seiner *eigenen*. (Goethe, *Maximen und Reflexionen* 1.14) (Whoever does not know foreign languages, knows nothing of his own.)

<sup>9</sup> Modern High German (Menge) uses adjective *schuldig*:

Ein Geldverleiher hatte zwei Schuldner; der eine war ihm fünfhundert Denare *schuldig*, der andere fünfzig;

So long as I cannot find any OHG rendering by *eigun* like OE *ahte to geldanne*, this comparison can be an instance that the cognate words between different languages do not always behave in the same way. In OE *sculan* ‘to owe’ and *āgan to geldanne* ‘to have to pay’ are synonymous, where *āgan* is in the use of main verb whose structure is ‘[*āgan*] + [*to geldanne*]’. This phrase seems to result in the meaning of ‘obligation’.

For the reading of *ah to zeldene* in c1175 (?OE) *Bodleian Homilies* 34/2 in *MED* (s.v. *ouen* 4a.(b)), however, the interpretation of *MED* seems to be ‘[*ah to*] + [*zeldene*]’ meaning ‘to have to, ought to pay’, considering from other examples with infinitive other than *zeldene* under this signification. The same sentence is cited also in *MED shulen* 1.(a) with longer context, which seems to me that *shulen* 1.(a) and *ouen* 4a.(b) are similar in usage. My interpretation of *ah to zeldene* is therefore ‘[*ah*] + [*to zeldene*]’, where *ah* (*āgan*) retains possessive meaning. In LOE examples there is this kind of ambiguity. The detail is introduced in Ono (1989: 62-63, 77).

(4) *Ælc mon eornestlice ah to zeldene sum þing, ant hæfð oðerne mon þe him sceal sum ðing.*<sup>10</sup>

(*Bod. Hom.* 34/2 in *MED shulen* 1.(a))

(Everyone truly has to pay something, and has another one who owes him something;)

(5) a. *MED ouen* 4a.: As modal verb expressing moral or legal obligation, necessity, propriety, etc.: to be supposed (to do, undergo, or be sth.), ought, should; have a duty or right (to do or have sth.); be obliged (to do sth.); -- with complementary inf.:

(b) with selected verbs: ~ **beren**, ~ **comen** (**ben comen**), ~ **don** (**ben don**), ~ **haven**, ~ **holden**, ~ **loven**, ~ **nimen**, ~ **wernen**, ~ **worthen**, ~ **yelden**

b. *MED shulen* 1.(a): To owe (sb. money, a debt, etc.); owe (tribute to sb.), have to pay (a sum to the king or an official); ~ **to**, owe (tribute) to (the government); also, owe (a duty, fee) for (the customs, weighing)

In ME examples, *MED shulen* 1.(a) (and 1.(b)) also has a citation from *New Testament* (Rom.13.7),<sup>11</sup> which are shared with *OED shall* †1.a. ‘to owe (money)’.

(6) a. a1400 *New Test.* (Paues) Rom. xiii. 7 (s.v. *OED shall* †1.a.):

*3elde 3e to alle men 3oure dettes: to hym þat 3e schuleþ trybut, trybut.*

b. c1400 *Bible SNT* (1) Rom.13.7 (s.v. *MED shulen* 1.(a)):

*3elde 3e to alle men 3oure dettes: to hym þat 3e schuleþ trybut, trybut.*

c. c1400 *Bible SNT* (1) Rom.13.7 (s.v. *MED shulen* 1.(b)):

*3elde 3e to alle men 3oure dettes .. to hym þat 3e schuleþ drede, dred; & to hym þat 3e oweþ worschup, worschup.*

<sup>10</sup> The Latin text (from Irvine 1993: 39) is:

Quia omnis homo et debitor est Dei, et debitorem habet fratrem suum.

<sup>11</sup> MnE (*Authorized Version*): Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.

Judging from this MnE version, the reference to second “owed” thing of *custom* is not cited on the two dictionaries.

Note that *shulen* 1.(b) does not contain the same lexical form in *OED shall* †1.a. and *MED shulen* 1.(a), but can be considered as having the same meaning. What is remarkable is that *oweþ* and *schuleþ* coexist in the parallel phrase. Here we can see the synonymy of the two verbs.

### 3.2.2. *Āgan* with infinitive other than *geldanne*

For MnE ‘ought to’, “The most frequent use throughout” (s.v. *OED ought* 5.b.) dates c1175<sup>12</sup> with infinitive other than *geldanne*. But the examples of Ono (1969: 205) (more precisely in Ono 1989: 68-75) tell us that the phrase of *āgan* with *to*-infinitive is not limited only to *geldanne* even in OE.

- (7) a. hwilce gerihtæ he *ahte to habbanne* to xii monþum of ðære scire  
(*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* [E] (the Laud MS.) 216/21 [E 1085])<sup>13</sup>  
(what dues he ought to have in twelve months from each shire)<sup>14</sup>  
b. & ic nelle gefafian þ him anig man fram hande teo anig þære gerihte þes þe he mid rihte  
*to habbene ah* (*Ch* 1096 (Harm 43) 6) (from Ono 1989: 73)<sup>15</sup>  
(And I do not wish to endure that any man deprives his hand of any of the right that he  
righteously ought to have.)

In (7), the infinitive is *habban* ‘to have’, synonymous with *āgan*. Therefore this sentence seems better to be read as ‘ought to have [OBJECT]’ rather than ‘to have [OBJECT] that should be had’. In addition, an adverbial *mid rihte* ‘with rightness, righteously’, expressing propriety, collocates in (7b) and this phrase seems to emphasize the meaning of obligation, because we have seen this phrase also in (1), the context for obligation expressed by *sceoldon* ‘must, should’. Therefore *āgan* with *to*-infinitive in (7) can be regarded as an auxiliary.

The citations (3) - (6) show us that *āgan to geldanne* corresponds to *sculan* in OE and EME. But the corresponding parts do not show the correspondence between auxiliary *sculan* and *mōtan*, and *āgan (to)*<sup>17</sup> and *mōtan*. In OE *mōtan* often means ‘to be allowed to’ rather than ‘to have to, must’<sup>18</sup>. In some parts of *Lazamon’s Brut* at EME period, however, *āgan (to)* and *sculan / mōtan*, and *sculan* and *mōtan* are corresponding between two MSS.<sup>19</sup> From (8) in *Brut* there is a possibility that these three verbs have come to show semantic overlapping in the transitional period between OE and ME.

12 s.v. *ought* 5.b.(a)α.: c1175 *Lamb. Hom. 5 Pes we ahte[n] to beon þe edmoddre*.

13 When seeing 266/22 [E 1140] (in Ono 1969: 205), the infinitive form remarkably differs from - *anne* (1085) to - *en* (1140), showing the difference on infinitive form between LOE and EME. Italics and translation are his.

þe eorl heold Lincol agænes þe king. 7 benam him al ð he *ahte to hauen*. (266/22 [E 1140])

(The earl held Lincoln against the king, and deprived him of all that he ought to have.)

14 This text with italics and translation is by Ono (1969: 205).

15 His examples are collected from *A Microfiche Concordance to Old English*. Italics are his.

16 Cf. German adverbial phrase *mit Recht* ‘righteously’: e.g. Es wird *mit Recht* ein guter Braten gerechnet zu den guten Taten (Wilhelm Buschs Sammlung >>Kritik des Herzens<< (1874), s.v. *Recht* in *Duden* Bd. 12 (2002)). This sentence can be translated like ‘A good roast is righteously counted as a good deed.’

17 There are examples of *āgan* followed by both *to*- and bare infinitive at this period, which is a remarkable syntactic characteristic. See (8a, d, and e).

18 For example, in *The Battle of Maldon*, the former meaning is more than the latter.

19 Both manuscripts Cotton Caligula and Otho date about late 1200’s.

(8) *Caligula*

*Otho*

a. Þus dude þes riche mon;  
swa Locrin hine hefde ihaten.  
for euer ulc god mon;  
*ah* his lauerdes heste *to don*.

Þus dude þis riche man;  
ase he was ihote.  
for euerech god mon;  
*mot* his louerdas his *don*. (*Brut* 2376-9)<sup>20</sup>

(Thus this rich man did, as Locrine had commanded him / as he was commanded,  
for every good man ought to / must do the command of his lord.)

b. Þe king lette witen his durren; He lette witie his dores;  
þat ne *moste* þer na mon in cumen. þat no man ne *solde* in come. (*Ibid.* 6711-2)

(The king / He made his doors guarded so that no one was allowed to / should come  
in there.)

c. he *scal* *uaren* of londe.  
bilæuen scullen þa fiue;  
þa sexte *scal* forð liðe.  
ut of þan leode;  
to ucuðe londe.

he *mot* neod *wende*.

ne beo he na swa leof mon;  
uorð he *scal* *liðen*.

ne beo he noht so riche;  
he *mot* lond *seche*. (*Ibid.* 13860-6)<sup>21</sup>

(He must needs depart from land. The five shall remain; the sixth shall depart forth out  
of the land to strange land. If he be not so beloved a man / so rich; he must depart forth  
/ he must seek land.)

d. Þus tok Samuel on;  
and swa þu *æst* Hengest *don*.

Þus toc Samuel an;  
and so þou *salt* Hengest *don*. (*Ibid.* 16705-6)

(Thus Samuel took on and so you ought to / should do to Hengest.)

e. Ælc mon *mot* liðen;  
þer his lauerd hine hateð gan.  
*nah* na man *demen*;  
erendes-mon to dæðen.

Ech man *mot* *wende*;  
woder his louerd hoteþ.  
ne *sold* no man *deame*;  
herendrake to deape.

bute he weoren swa ufele biwiten;  
þet he weore lauerd-swike.

bote he were so for-æte;  
þat he were louerd-swike. (*Ibid.* 24859-64)

(Each man must go where his lord commands to go; no one ought to / should judge  
a messenger to death except he were kept so evilly / so forgetful; as if he were a  
traitor of the lord.)

20 Lines 2378-9 are cited also in Ogura (1996: 93).

21 Lines 13861-4 in *Otho* are lacking.

For (8b) *MED* (s.v. *mōten* 1a.(d)) contains *Caligula* part and defines as “To be allowed ...”, and the heading (d) is “in neg. clauses”. Here the reading “not to be allowed to come in” can mean prohibition. For (8d), according to *MED* (s.v. *ouen* 4b.(a)), *azest* in *Caligula* means “to be supposed (to do ...) ... with **don** or **ben** used as a substitute for a specific verb or verb phrase (usually supplied in the preceding clause)”. The *don* substitutes *tok* here. For (8e) *sold* in *Otho* is cited in *MED shulen* 3a.(c) “expressing what is appropriate, reasonable, right, prudent, etc.”. Here *ne sold* (with *nah ...demen* in *Caligula*) expresses prohibition.

An example like OE *āgan* with *to*-infinitive is seen in OHG *Evangelienbuch* once as far as I browsed. Other usages of *eigun* are main verb ‘to possess’ (see (1) in section 3.1.) and a variant form of a perfect auxiliary *haben* (see 3.3.).

- (9) Thes hābet er ubar wōroltring      giméinit einaz dāgathing,  
       thing filu hébigaz,      *zi sorganne éigun* wir bi thaz.      (*Evangelienbuch* V. 19. 1-2)  
 (Therefore he has decided a trial all over the world, very severe trial, (and) we have to care  
 for it.)

In the MHG period, as for *Der arme Heinrich*, however, there is no *eigun* as a verb. But two lines have a variation of *sculun* and *muozun*, both meaning ‘should, to have to, must’: according to Paul’s edition (1984<sup>15</sup>) *müeset* (line 224) is *soldet* in MS *B* (1320-30) and *muoz* (line 1292) is *sol* in MS *D* (the latter half of the 14C).

- (10) a. *ir müeset* haben eine maget  
       diu vollen manbære  
       und des willen wære  
       daz si den tōt durch iuch lite.      (*Der arme Heinrich* 224-7)  
 (You must have a girl who is completely undefiled and of the intent that she endures the  
 death on behalf of you.)  
 b. *muoz* ich alsus verlorn hân  
       die rîchen himelkrône?      (*Ibid.* 1292-3)  
 (Must I then have the heavenly crown lost?)

Here we can see that in both language EME *sculan* and *mōtan* / MHG *sculun* and *muozun* are synonymous, while MnE has kept the ‘*āgan* + (*to*-)infinitive’ construction and shares the sense, and German has lost the verb corresponding to it within MHG.



### 3.3. As a seemingly perfect auxiliary

As an incidental but remarkable usage, *āgan* is said to have partly an usage like a perfect auxiliary *have*. Neither *OED* (s.v. *owe*, *ought*, nor *own*) or *MED* (s.v. *ouen*) refers to this peculiar usage. Nakajima and Terasawa (ed.) (1970: 297) (s.v. *owe*) give an account that *āgan* is sometimes used as a temporal auxiliary like *habban*, seen in *The Seafarer* (line 27)<sup>22</sup> and Wulfstan, although controversial. Gordon (1960: 37) gives a commentary for the line 28 that Miss Kershaw points out that *ah* with past participle, “probably” retaining “a more literal force than with *hafað*” (Gordon), is found in Wulfstan’s *Address to the English* Sweet’s *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, (1948<sup>11</sup>) p. 84, line 56, and the same usage is found in the OHG *Ludwigslied* (line 24).

This usage is often seen in OHG *Evangelienbuch*. Paul (1968: 137) gives three examples of *eigun* with past participle<sup>23</sup> and they are said to express the perfect. Some other examples are seen in the selected edition by Shimbo (1993). These examples tell that *eigun* might be a variant of auxiliary *haben* ‘to have’, as Paul puts it.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, I found a similar example from OS *Heliand*: *al that sea bihliðan ēgun* (line 41b) ‘all that have covered them (= heaven and earth)’. This problem, uncommon to OE *āgan* and *āgnian* unless enough examples are provided, seems irrelevant to the present study.

## 4. Conclusion

This paper has briefly examined mainly the usages of OE *āgan* together with *sculan* and *mōtan*, in comparison with their OHG cognates. Among them a main verb *āgan* in OE has come to function as auxiliary with infinitive (other than *geldan*) from *āgan to geldanne*, sharing the meaning of obligation with *sculan* and *mōtan* in *Brut* (EME period). On the other hand OHG *eigun* shows a different usage as perfect auxiliary with past participle rather than the usage with *zi*-infinitive. English *sculan* and *mōtan* have come to show the semantic overlapping at the EME period, and MHG period for their German correspondents alike. What is to be noted is that early MHG lacks or has few PPV *eigun* but English has retained *āgan* (with its cognate *āgnian*, MnE *own*) in the use of main and auxiliary verbs in MnE, i.e. *owe* and *ought* (*to*). Further studies on the individual usage among these three verbs between two languages are significant to obtain a more definite conclusion.

22 The *āgan* (line 27) on *Seafarer* is in the following (the text is from Gordon 1960: 37):

For þon him gelyfð lyt, se þe *ah* lifes wyn  
gebiden in burgum, bealosīþa hwon,  
wlonc ond wingal, hu ic werig oft  
in brimlade bidan sceolde. (*The Seafarer* 27-30)

(Therefore, he believes little, who has the pleasure of life experienced in the dwellings of men, little of hardship, rich and merry with wine, how exhausted I should often remain on sea-way.)

23 They are *eigun* ... *ginomanan* ‘have taken’ (V. 7. 29), *eigun* ... *gisprochan* ‘have spoken’ (I. 25. 11), and *eigun* ... *gidān* ‘have done’ (III. 18. 36).

24 *Eigun* here is termed by Paul as “das später untergegangene Synonymum” ‘the synonym declining later’ of *haben* (1968:137).

## References

### Dictionaries

- Duden. Zitate und Aussprüche.* 2002<sup>2</sup> (Der Duden Bd. 12) Die Dudenredaktion (ed.) Mannheim: Dudenverlag.  
*Kenkyusha's Little Dictionary of English Etymology.* 1970 Nakajima, F. and Terasawa, Y. (ed.) Tokyo: Kenkyusha. [in Japanese]  
*MED = Middle English Dictionary.* 1952 Hans Kurath et al. (ed.) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.  
*OED = The Oxford English Dictionary.* 1989<sup>3</sup> J. M. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner (ed.) Oxford: Clarendon Press.

### Editions

- Doane, A. N. 1991 *The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis.* Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.  
 Fricke, H. (ed.) 1993 *Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Sämtliche Werke* Bd. 13, *Sprüche in Prosa. Sämtliche Maximen und Reflexionen.* Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag.  
 Gordon, I. L. (ed.) 1960 *The Seafarer.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.  
 Madden, F. 1970 *Lazamon's Brut, or Chronicle of Britain*, 3 Volumes. New York: AMS Press. (rpt. from the Edition of 1847, London.)  
 Menge, H. (tr.) 1994 [1949] *Die Heilige Schrift.* Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.  
 Paul, H. (ed.) 1984<sup>15</sup> *Hartmann von Aue, Der arme Heinrich.* besorgt von G. Bonath. (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek Nr. 3), Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.  
 Irvine, S. (ed.) 1993 *Old English Homilies from MS Bodley 343.* (EETS o.s. 302), London: Oxford University Press.  
 Shimbo, M. 1993 *Otfriids Evangelienbuch.* Text mit japanischer Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und Wörterverzeichnis, Tokyo: Daigaku-shorin. [in Japanese]  
 Sievers, E. (ed.) 1966 [1892] *Tatian.* Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh.  
 Skeat, W. W. (ed.) 1970 [1871-1887] *The Gospel according to St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke and St. John.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rpt. Darmsatdt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.  
 Szadowsky, M. (ed.) 1947 *Heliand: ausgewählte Teile.* (Altdeutsche Übungstexte Band 7), Bern: A. Francke.  
*The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments: King James Version.* New York: American Bible Society.

### Studies

- Braune, W. bearbeitet von Ebbinghaus, E. A. 1961<sup>16</sup> [1880] *Gotische Grammatik*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.  
 Braune, W. bearbeitet von Ebbinghaus, E. A. 1970<sup>13</sup> [1891] *Abriß der althochdeutschen Grammatik mit Berücksichtigung des Altsächsischen*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.  
 Fries, C. C. 1940 *American English Grammar: The Grammatical Structure of Present-day American English with Special Reference to Social Differences or Class Dialects*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. (Published by Maruzen Asian Edition, 1964).  
 Gallée, J. H. 1993<sup>3</sup> [1891] *Altsächsische Grammatik*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.  
 Lightfoot, D. 1979 *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
 Mossé, F. translated by Walker, J. A. 1968 [1952] *A Handbook of Middle English*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.  
 Ogura, M. 1996 *Verbs in Medieval English; Differences in Verb Choice in Verse and Prose*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.  
 Ono, S. 1969 *The Development of the English Modal Auxiliaries*, Tokyo: Kenkyusha. [in Japanese]  
 Ono, S. 1989 *On Early English Syntax and Vocabulary*, Tokyo: Nan'un-do.  
 Ono, S. 1998 *Philology-no-Tanoshimi*, Tokyo: Nan'un-do. [in Japanese]  
 Paul, H. 1968 [1920] *Deutsche Grammatik*, Band. IV, Teil IV. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.  
 Paul, H., überarbeitet von Wiehl, P. und Grosse, G. 1998<sup>24</sup> [1881] *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.  
 Schweikle, G. 2002<sup>5</sup> *Germanisch-deutsche Sprachgeschichte im Überblick*, Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.  
 Wrenn, C. L. 1949 *The English Language*, edited with Notes by F. Nakajima [in Japanese], Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1954.