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<td>Ono, Shigeru</td>
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THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY ought

By Shigeru Ono

Lecturer of English

I

The auxiliary ought developed from the subjunctive use of ðgæ, the past form of OE (Old English) āgan.1 Āgan was a preterite-present verb and originally meant ‘to have, to possess’. This meaning gradually developed into that of ‘to have to pay’ and, accompanied by an infinitive, that of ‘to have as a duty (to do)’. In present-day standard English owe, developed from āgan, is not used in the sense of ‘to possess’ and that of ‘to have as a duty (to do)’, and its use is restricted to the meaning represented by ‘to have to pay’. From the seventeenth century owe in the sense of ‘to possess’ has been superseded by owe. Already before 1200 the past form ðhte, which developed into ought, began to be used in the present sense expressing duty or obligation, and it has become an uninflected modal auxiliary,2 while owe came to be a weak verb with the past form owed, which has been in use from the fifteenth century. Thus ought, which was formerly an inflected form of the preterite-present verb āgan, is now practically a distinct verb from the newly developed weak verb owe. Such functional specialization of the past form is paralleled by must (<mōste, past form of OE mōtan),3 and to some extent by such modal auxiliaries as should, would, might and could. For a satisfactory study of any one of the modal auxiliaries, ought among the number, it is essential to make clear its place in the system, as it were, not only of the modal auxiliaries but of various words implying modality. But at the same time it may be admitted that, as a preliminary to such a large-scale study, a tentative sketch of the development of each word is needed. In the following I shall describe the early development of the auxiliary ought in its outline. The evolution of the whole use of āgan (owe) is to be dealt with. But my chief concern will be to make clear the process of the functional specialization of the past form ðhte (ought) as an auxiliary verb expressing present duty or obligation, and the establishment of the syntactical group ðhte (ought) + to-infinitive.

II

Apart from monographs dealing with the language of a particular author or work, the most detailed diachronic account of the auxiliary ought is found in OED (The Oxford

1 'Pres. indic. 1st, 3rd sg. āh, āg, pl. āgon, subj. āge, past ðhte, inf. āgan,...2nd sg. pres. indic. is ðhst 1W–S, āht Li, and does not elsewhere occur. Pres. part. āgende is frequent in compounds, the pass. part. āgen, āgen own occurs in adjectival use.' A. Campbell, Old English Grammar. § 767.
2 Ought in the past sense is now found usually in dependent clauses.
English Dictionary). Therefore it will be convenient for any further study of the word to refer to the chronological survey in OED. The earliest and the latest quotations (abbreviated as EQ and LQ respectively) in OED of the chief senses of *owe* and *ought* are as follows.¹

**Owe**

I. To have; to possess; to own.

†1. trans. To have; to have belonging to one, to possess; to be the owner of, to own. Obs. (since c 1680) exc. dial.

EQ. c 888 K. ÆLFRED Boeth. xiv. § 2 *Pa micles bepurfon þe micel aþann willap.*

LQ. a 1825 Forby Voc. E. Anglia s.v., Mr. Brown owes that farm.

II. To have to pay.

This branch and the next were expressed in OE., as in the other Teutonic langs., by the vb. *seal*, pa. t. *secelde*, inf. *sculan* (Goth. skal, skulda, skulan), mod. Eng. SHALL, SHOULD. The first traces of the mod. use appear in the Lindisf. Gloss, which renders L. *debère* (where the Rushw., like the later Ags. Gosp., uses *sculan*) by the phrase *d5an t6 5eldanne* ‘to have to pay’. Examples are wanting during the following two centuries to show the stages by which this was shortened to the simple *d5an*, which is found by 1175 in full use, both in the sense ‘to owe (money)’, and ‘to have it as a duty’, ‘to be under obligation (to do something)’, in both taking the place of OE. *sculann*. (See also OUGHT v. 2, 5.) The result was that *shall* gradually ceased to have the sense ‘owe’, retained that of obligation with a weaker force, and became mainly an auxiliary of the future tense; while *d5an*, *a5en*, *o5en*, *o5en*, *owe*, in taking *debère* as its main sense, has in Standard Eng. lost that of *habère*, or handed it over to the cognate *Own*, which shares it with *have* and such Romanic synonyms as *possess*.

2. To be under obligation to pay or repay (money or the like); to be indebted in, or to the amount of; to be under obligation to render (obedience, honour, allegiance, etc.). Const. with simple dat. or to. (The chief current sense.)


LQ. 1871 Freeman Norm. Conq. IV. xviii. 140 On behalf of the land to which they owed a temporary allegiance.

III. To have it as a duty or obligation.

†5. To have as a duty; to be under obligation (to do something). (Followed by inf. with or without to.) Obs.

(a) with to and infin.

EQ. c 1175 Lamb. Hom. 21 Swilcne lauerd we a5en to dreen.

LQ. 1537 Let. in Cranmer’s Misc. Writ. (Parker Soc.) II. 352 As obedient ... as a true Christian oweth to be.

(b) with simple infin.

¹ The part of OED containing Ought was published in 1903, that containing Owe in 1904.
THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY OUGHT

1960]

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY OUGHT

E.Q. c 1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 53 Nu aȝe we allè...nime forbisne.
L.Q. 1524 Hen. VIII Let. to Pace in Strype Eccl. Mem. (1724) I. ii. App. xiii. 28 They shuld & owe, not onely forbere to give ayde.

†6. quasi-impers. (usually with inf. clause as subject): (It) behoves, is the duty of, befits, is due (to); e.g. him oue (or oweth)=it behoves him, he ought; as him ow(e=as befits him, as is due to him. Obs.

E.Q. c 1220 Bestiary 350 Ano~er kinde, Þat us oȝ alle to ben minde.
L.Q. c 1450 Mirour Saluaciowa 4486 Hym awe serve and luf godde with his hert alle & some.

Oughta

I. Pa. t. of OWE v. in sense 'to have or possess'.

†1. Possessed, owned. Obs.

α. E.Q. a 1000 Beowulf 31 Leof land-fruma longe ahte.
L.Q. a 1670 Spalding Troub. Chas. I. (1850) I. 205. The poor men that aucht thame follouit in.

β. E.Q. a 1225 Ancr. R. 390 He...bead for to makien hire cwene of al Þet he ouhte.
L.Q. 1632 Lithgow Trav. v. 204 The Turke who ought my Mule.

γ. (only one example) 13...Curser M. 6719 (Cott.) Pe lord pat pat beist aght Sal Þar-for ansuer at his maght [G. iht...miht, Tr. ight...myȝt].

II. Pa. t. of OWE v. in its existing sense.

†2. Had to pay, was under obligation to pay or render; owed. Obs. or dial.

The full phrase ahte to zeldeanne 'had to pay' =debebat, owed, appears in the Lindisfarne Gospels; but, for the following two centuries and a half, examples are wanting to show the passing of this into the simple ahte: see OWE v. 2.

L.Q. a 1825 Forby Voc. E. Anglia s.v. Aught, He aught me ten pounds.

β. E.Q. a 1225 Ancr. R. 124 A mon Þet leie ine prisune, & ouhte muche raunsun.
L.Q. c 1685 Life A. Martindale 231 (E.D.D.) Burton...said he ought him nothing.

III. As auxiliary of predication.

5. 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, proper, correct, advisable, or naturally expected. Only in pa. t. (indic. or subj.), which may be either past or present in meaning. (The only current use in standard Eng.)

α. In past sense:=Owed it to duty; was (were) bound or under obligation (to do something). Usually, now only, in dependent clause, corresponding to a pre-

Quotations are classified according to the forms of ought: α=ahë, aȝt(e auȝt(e, auȝt(e, aucht, etc.; β=ohë, ouȝt(e, auȝt(e, ouȝt(e, ow(e, ow(e, etc.; γ=ȝt(e, iht(e, iht, ȝht.
ceding past tense in principal clause: *he said you ought* = he said it was your duty.

α. EQ. c 1200 ORMIN 19108 And the swa pehh ne cnew himm nohht pe werelld alls itt ahhte.

LQ. c 1425 WYNTOUN Cron. viii. ii. 52 Robert pe Brwys, Erle of Karryk Aucht to succeed to pe Kynryke.

β. EQ. c 1305 St. Lucy 4 in E. E. P. (1862) 101 Of such a child wel glad heo was: as heo wel ou3te.

LQ. 1892 Law Times XCIII. 414/2 He [the judge] did not think that the defendant ought to be kept in prison any longer.

b. In present sense: =AM (is, are) bound or under obligation; *you ought to do it* = it is your duty to do it; *it ought to be done* = it is right that it should be done, it is a duty (or someone's duty) to do it. (The most frequent use throughout. Formerly expressed by the pres. t., OWE v. 5.)

(a) with to and infin.

α. EQ. a 1200 Moral Ode 2 Mi wit ahte bon mare.

LQ. 1578-1600 Sc. Poems 16th C. (1801) II. 271 Than acht he be of all puissance denude.

β. EQ. a 1225 Ancr. R. 326 Nie. shungs beo9 pet ouhten hien touward schrifte.

LQ. 1868 BROWNING Agamemnon 796 How ought I address thee, how ought I revere thee?

c. With past sense indicated by the use of a following perf. infin. with have: *you ought to have known* = it was your duty to know, you should have known. (The usual modern idiom.)

EQ. 1551 Bible 2 Kings v. 13 Yf y prophet had byd the done some great thinge oughtest thou not then to have done it?

LQ. 1895 Law Times XCIX. 465/1 Lord Londesborough knew, or ought to have known, that his bill of exchange was intended to circulate.

†(b) with simple infin. Obs. or arch.

α. EQ. a 1200 Moral Ode 2 Mi wit ahte bon mare.

LQ. 1578-1600 Sc. Poems 16th C. (1801) II. 271 Than acht he be of all puissance denude.

β. EQ. a 1225 Ancr. R. 326 Nie. shungs beo9 pet ouhten hien touward schrifte.

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LQ. 1895 Law Times XCIX. 465/1 Lord Londesborough knew, or ought to have known, that his bill of exchange was intended to circulate.

†6. quasi-impers., with dative object.

†a. In past sense: Behoved, befitted, was due (to). Obs.

α. EQ. 1297 R. Glouc. (Rolls) 7348 Watloker it a3te her.

LQ. c 1420 Sir Amadace (Camden) Iviii. That ladi gente . . . did wele that hur aghte to do.

β. (two examples) c 1366 CHAUCER A. B. C 119 But oonly pe we diden not as us ouhte Doo. 1470-85 MALORY Arthur vi. xii, I haue no thynge done but that me ought for to doo.

†b. In present sense: Behoves, befits, is due (to). Obs.
α. EQ. c 1340 Cursor M. 12988 (Fairf.) Pe ne hast haue na doute. LQ. c 1450 Mirour Saluacioun 1185 Than aght vs ofre to crist golde of dilectionne.

β. EQ. a 1225 Ancr. R. 2 Pis nis nowt ibet ȝet al se wel hit oughte. LQ. c 1500 Lancelot 2995 For well it ought o prince or o king Til honore and til cherish in al thing O worthi man.

γ. (two examples) 13...Min. P. Vernon MS. xxxvii. 126 I oughte loue Iesu, ful of miȝte, And worschipe him...as me well ȝste. c 1450 Mirour Saluacioun 3755 The forsaiđe stedes eght vs to visit.

The diagram below with the dates of the earliest and the latest quotations in OED will give an idea of how various uses came and went.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>I. 1 'to possess'</th>
<th>II. 2 'to have to pay'</th>
<th>III. 5 'to have as a duty (to do)'</th>
<th>III. 6 Impersonal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Form Date</td>
<td>Owe ought</td>
<td>Owe ought</td>
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<td>Ought ought ought pt. prs.</td>
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<td>c 950</td>
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<td>c 1450 1470-85 1551 c 1500</td>
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<td>Obs. exc. obs.</td>
<td>Obs. or dial.</td>
<td>Obs. or obs. obs. cur. obs. or dial. cur.</td>
<td>Obs. obs. obs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Dates for EQ and LQ of ought are given irrespective of forms.
** Abbreviations: c =circa (about); a =ante (before); obs. = obsolete; dial. = dialectal; arch. = archaic; cur. = current; exc. = except.
as to the relative frequency of each use in a certain period, nor does it tell us in what relations a certain use stands to other uses. No linguistic phenomenon stands alone. It has a status peculiar to itself in the linguistic system of a given dialect in a given period. Therefore any diachronic study must be based upon a synchronic description. Mere chronological description of a phenomenon cannot be regarded as a linguistic history in its adequate sense, unless due consideration is given to its status in successive linguistic systems. Bearing this in mind, I have examined a few texts, ranging from Beowulf to Malory's works. The results thus obtained, though far from satisfactory, will carry the study of the auxiliary ought at least a step further.

The table below is intended to show the relative frequency of the uses in the texts examined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>I 'to possess'</th>
<th>II 'to have to pay'</th>
<th>III. 5 'to have as a duty (to do)'</th>
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In the table the classification of meanings and uses is in accordance with that of OED. For to-infinitive is classified separately from to-infinitive. As for the impersonal use those instances only are considered in which the oblique case form of personal pronoun is clearly recognized.
In *Beowulf* we find 8 instances of *āgan*, all of which can be taken as meaning ‘to have, to possess’.

Present (3): 1088 *pæt* hie healfre geweald wið Eotena bearn *āgan* moston (that they might have power over half of it with the sons of the Jutes); 1727 *heä* ealra geweald (he has control of all); 2252 *Nah*, hwa sworde wege (I have no one to bear sword).

Past (5): 31 *leof* landfruma lange *āhte* (dear prince of the land long reigned); 487 *āhte* iċ holdra þy læs, deorre duguþe, þe *pæ* deað fornam (I had the fewer trusty followers, dear warriors, because death had taken them away); 522 *pær* he folc *āhte*, burh ond beagas (where he had subjects, a stronghold and treasures); 533 Soð iċ talige, *pæt* ic merestrengo maran *āhte*, earfeþo on þþum, ðonne ænig oþer man. (I claim it to be true that I had more strength in the sea, hardships in the waves, than any other man.)

According to OED ‘to have, to possess’ was almost the only meaning of *āgan* throughout the OE period, except a few examples of the meanings ‘to have to pay’ and ‘to have as a duty (to do)’ in the Lindisfarne Gospels (c 950), which are quoted in II under Owe 2 and Ought 2. Examples are wanting during about two centuries (from c 950 to a 1175).

But we know from other sources that the use of *āgan* with the infinitive was by no means very rare. Callaway gives 32 examples with to-infinitive (Chron. [A]: 1; [E]: 2; Laws: 14; Wælfærth: 1; A. S. Hom. and L. S. II: 1; Wulfstan: 13), and one example with simple infinitive from Wulfstan. Six examples with to-infinitive are quoted in Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, Supplement, s.v. *āgan* (Charters: 3; Laws: 1; Lindisf. Gosp.: 2). Wülfing quotes only one example with the infinitive: *Leges Alfredi Regis* 58, 12 *nage* he hie ut on elpeodig folc to bebyeagganne (he ought not to sell her to foreign people). Three instances with the infinitive are found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, one in A (the Paker MS.) two in E (the Laud MS.): A 1070 *pæ* forsoc he. *J sæde* þe hit nahte to donne (then he refused and said that he was under no obligation to give it)/E 1085 hwilce gerihte he *āhte* to habbanne to xii monþum of ðære scire (what dues he ought to have in twelve months from each shire)/E 1140 *pær* heold Lincol agænes pe king. *J benam* him al ðe he *āhte* to havun. (The earl held Lincoln against the king, and deprived him of all that he ought to have.) Besides these examples with the infinitive there are 26 examples of *āgan* in the sense ‘to have, to possess’ in Chronicle [E].

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8 M. Callaway, Jr., *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*. p. 80 f.
It was towards the end of the eleventh century that the meanings 'to have to pay' and 'to have as a duty (to do)' became prevalent. In the earlier period these meanings were usually expressed by sculdan. The earliest and the latest quotations in OED of sculdan with these meanings are as follows:

†1. trans.
   †a. To owe (money). Obs.
      LQ. c 1425 HOCCLEVE Min. Poems xxiii. 695 The leeste ferthyng pat y men shal.
   †b. To owe (allegiance). Obs.
      EQ. c 1325 Poem temp. Edw. II (Percy Soc.) xxxxiv, Be the fayth ic schal to God.
      LQ. [c 1530 Crt. of Love 131 By the feith I shall to god.]

†2. In general statements of what is right or becoming: = 'ought'. Obs. (Superseded by the pa. subjunctive should: see sense 18.)
   EQ. Beowulf 20 (Gr.) Swa scéal zeong guma gode zeowyrcean...pæt [etc.].
   LQ. 1562 LEGH Armory 149 Whether are Roundells of all suche coloures, as ye haue spoken of here before? or shall they be named Roundelles of those coloures?

18. In statements of duty, obligation, or propriety (originally, as applicable to hypothetical conditions not regarded as real).
   This conditional form of expression was from an early period substituted for the unconditional shall in sense 2, and in mod. Eng. the pres. tense in this use is obs., and should = ought to.
   EQ. Beowulf 2708 (Gr.) Swylc sceold sceg wesan, þe þæg æt þeaðere./c 897 ÆLFRED Gregory's Past. C. iv. 36 Ðonne mon forlet ðone ege...þe he mid ryhte on him innan habban sceold.
   LQ. 1896 Law Times Rep. LXXIII. 616/2 He should have looked up and down the line before he ventured to cross it.

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10 Compare the following examples with habban: 890 | Bryttas him wið gefuhton. | ha Sweon headon weallstowe geweald./1025 | heæfdon sige./1025

11 It is worth noting that sculdan is used in Anglo-Saxon, Rushworth and Hattole Gospels to translate ðæbba, while in Lindisfarne Gospels ðægan is used. Lindisf. glosses are written in Northumbrian dialect. Therefore the use of ðægan may possibly be characteristic of the dialect.
THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY OUGHT

The diagram in II suggests that almost all of the chief uses of *ägan* (ME South. *o3en*, *owen*, etc.; North. *a3en*, *awen*, etc.) existed in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The data drawn from the *Trinity Homilies* (c1200) and the *Ancrene Riwle* (a1225) to a considerable extent corroborate this. The meaning ‘to possess’ was on the wane, while *owen* became a usual verb to express ‘to have to pay’. The use of the past form in the present sense began to appear, of which the earliest quotations in OED are dated c1175 (with *to-infin.*) and a1200 (with simple infin.). But the prevalent form to express present obligation was the present form, compared with which the past form in the present sense did not count much. Thus we see a marked contrast to the usage in the earlier period.

Examples from the *Trinity Homilies* (25)

I. ‘to have, to possess’ (1)
   105. 25 *nahte* ich no betere wate.

III. 5. ‘to have as a duty (to do)’ (25)
   a. present (23)
      with *to-infin.* (17):
      17. 6 *Ac* for *pat e1ch man beõ* on fulcninge of alle synnen.
      and *ogh to cummen* his bileue ar he fulcninge underfo./21. 6 we *habbeõ* bigunnen
      to sege ou on englis hwat bitocneõ pe crede. *pat e1ch kristeneman oh to cum-
      nen.*/27. 24 pe *pridd* is for mete *pat e1ch man agh mid him to leden.* *pan* he sal
      of pesse liue faren./40. 4 *Dus agen* alle gode herdes *to wakegen* gostliche./41.
      28 *Swo we aqed to don* ure lichames wille to forleton./47. 21 and we *ogen ec to
      folgen* hire faire forbisne/47. 23 *also we ogen to heren* ure hlowerd ihesu cris
      on ure heorte./47. 31 and *forpi e1ch kristene oh to habben* on honden to-dai in
      chircbe: *lege bernende./57. 4* *also we ogen to don./57. 6 and forpi we *agen to
      cumen* to ure preste er *panne* we biginnen to festen./59. 4 *and forper we agen
      alle to ben* shrifene of ure synnes her we biginnen to fasten./65. 15 and is *pat
      we agen to gabben* us seluen for *pat we synegeden./65. 19 *oder* is *pat we agen
      ure synnes menende to *shewen* hem pe prestes./71. 12 *and awich oder stede age
      we hem to *shewen.* vre drihten us seido on pe godspelle, pe sein lucas makede./
      153. 4 *Swo we agen alle to don./189. 2* *pat ilke wei ogh al mankin to *holden* pe
      *pencheõ* to cumene to gode./[Moral Ode 2] *Ich weilde more pan idude mi wit
      oh to be more.*
      with simple infin. (6):
      17. 25 *Ne noman agh werne./53. 11* *Nu age* we alle and
      al cristene folc *nime* forbisne after *pat isrealishe folic./65. 19 and we *agen
dai *understonden* *pese pine./189. 14* *hereõ nu to wiche fhte we *o3en pis
strengõe notien./189. 17* *An[õ] to-genes hwuch fo man agh furbiend seido pe holi
apostle./217. 6 *Panne heh* dai *cumeõ* man *hoh herien* god mid rihte leue. and
mid soõe luue.

b. past in present sense (2)

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12 Cf. “*a3en*’ as a full verb is largely supplanted by ‘hadde’ in B...or it may take on the inflection of
an ordinary verb’ N. Bøgholm, The Layamon Texts. p. 75 f.
13 Cf. Lambeth MS. *Ich welde mare jene ich dede mi wit ahte bon mare.* / Jesus MS. *Ich welde more
pan ich dude. my wyt ahte beo more.*
with *to-infin.* (2): 157. 33, 35 On *pe* feorde wise man silleth his almes penne he
ziefe swiche men *pe* he *aghted* mid rihte *to helpe*: to feden. and to shruden.
also *pe* man doeth. *pe* zife his almes fader. *ofer* moder. suster *ofer* broder.
*ofer* ofre swo sibbe: *pat* he *aghted* mid rihte *to helpe* to feden. and to shruden.

Examples from the *Ancrene Riwle* (75)

I. ‘to have, to possess’ (2)
177. 25 he...bead for to makeyn hire cwene. of al ¿et he *ouhted*/182. 8 nolde amon
uor on on of peos. *ziuen* al *pet* he *ouhte*:

II. ‘to have to pay’ (8)
a. present (6): 55. 8 al riht o pisse wise we beo alle ine prisune her & *owen* god
greate dettes of sun-nen.55. 21 ichulle nimen hit onward ¿e dette ¿et tu *ouwest*
me./107. 34 pench ec hwat tu *ouwst* god: uor his goddened./141. 18 (twice) he
nimeles lesse ¿en we *ouwen* him. & is þauh wel ipaied. we *ouwen* him blod: for
blode./185. 11 Sire ich luuede ham uor þine luue: þe luue he *ouh* þe.

b. past (2): 54. 38 amon pat leie ine prisune & *ougte* muche raun-sun./185. 9 *pu*
3uilde *pet* tu *ouhlest*.

III. 5. ‘to have as a duty (to do)’ (65)
a. present (56)
with *to-infin.* (19): 2. 13 alle *ouwen* hire in on: uer to *halden*./10. 22 *ze* *ouwen* to
beon nomeliche i beoden & i bonen./22. 28 & te wise *ouh* to uole-wen wisdom:
/25. 21 *pe* bestliche mon *þ* ne *pencheþ* nout of god. ne ne *noteþ* nout his
wit ase mon *ouh te donne*.28. 12...*þ* he *ouh* to *sigen*.29. 30 uor *þi* *ouwen* þe gode
uor to *hab-ben* witnesse./30. 17 *ancre* & *huselstede*: *ouh* muche *to beon*
bit-weonen./36. 8, 9 *zif* heo *ouwen* to *beon* ueor urom alle world-liche men: hwat.
hu ancren *ouwen* to *hatien* ham. & *schuine*.//44.¿ 2 *zif* þu ert me treowe. ase
spuse *ouh* to *beonne*.56. 1 *ancre* *ouh* *þus* to *sigen*.62. 20 auh ancre ase ich
habbe iseid *ouh* to *beon* al gostlich/62. 32 heo under stonden ¿et heo *ouwen* *to*
beon of so holli luue://72. 20 hwui *ze* *ouwen* onlich rif swuode *to lumiuen*.153. 6
Schrift *ouhen* *to beon* willes./176. 35 nimed gode ¿eme mine leouve sustren. uor
hwui me *ouh* him *to lumiuen*.183. 14 *pencheþ* *zif* *ze* *ne* *ouwen* eade *to lumiuen* pene
king of blisse./190. 25 *ancre* ne *ouh* nout to *habben* no *ping* *pet* drewe utward
hire horte./195. 18 uor swuch *ouh* wummmone lore *to beon*.

with *for to-infin.* (22): 47. 12 er *heo* *ouh* *forto* *desien* martir in nir meseise./63.
17 binihte *ouh* ancre *vorte beon* waker & bisi abuten gostliche *bijete*.//69. 14
hwo se wule bi weopen hire owene & *ofer* monnes sunnen ase ancre *ouh* *forte
don*.//72. 22 i hereð nu reisuns hwui me *ouh* for *to fleon* pene world./115. 5 heo
...*nauh* non *vorte nimen* godes flesch & his blod:/121. 21 *pe* *zetward*: *¿et* is
wittes ski-le. *¿et ouh* *forto* *winden* hweate./137. 6 auh me *ouh* *forto* *sigen*.//140.
29 peonne *ouwstu* *vorte* *beon* anhundred siõe sõiriure./148. 24 *hwi* schrift *ouh*
*forte beon* i makeþ euer on hiõe./149. 21 *Schrift ouh* *forte beon* scheomeful./
152. 16 *Schrift ouh* *forte beon* soõ./154. 4 *Schrift ouh* *forte beon* owune./154. 26
Schrift *ouh* *forte beon* bipouht buoren longe./157. 26 þis word nomeliche: lim-
peø to an-cren. hwas blisse *ouh* *forto beon* allunge ine godes rode./158. 18 auh
[heo] habbeð hore horte. euer touward heouene. & *ouwen* wel *vorte* *habben*./
172. 37 auh *ze* *ouwen* *vorte* *unnen* *pet*.../181. 17 þus alle ¿e reisuns. hwui me
ough forto ziven luue: pu meiht i vinden in me./181. 23 Me sulleð wel luue uor luue. and so me ough forto sulven luue./187. 20 me ham ough forto lunien./189. 19 Marie ne ough uorte entremeten hire þerof:/ 189. 22 An oðer half non ancre ne ough forto nimen bute gnede-liche þet hire to neodeð./192. 12 auh ancre ough forto zemen bute god one.

with simple infin. (11): 2. 13 alle mu-wen & owen holden one riwle:/ 2. 24 & alle owen hire in on: ever to holden. auh alle ne muwe nout holden one riwle. nene puruen. nene owen holden on one wise: ðe vtture riwle./6. 4 hwi me ough & hwi me schal crist lunien.14/20. 29 pauh ze owen þenchen of god euerichone: / 30. 8 speken buten uor neode ne owen ze buten et þeos two þurles./33. 21 Ure deorewurðe lefdi seinte marie þet ough to alle wumen beon uorbasne. 68. 3 vor so ough ancre hire one in onliche stude ase heo is. chirimen & cheateren uer hire hire bonen./101. 32 Nu an oþer elne ough muchel uroren ou:/120. 51 þu nouhst nout sturien ne trudlen ðïne heorte./172. 35 ze noven nout unnen. þet.../195. 9 þe ancren owen þis lutle laste succhen reden to our wumen eueriche wike enes wort ðet heo hit kunnen.

absolute (4): 30. 11 Silence euere et te mete. vor zif oþre religiuse doð hit. ase ze wel wuteð: ze owen biuoren alle./93. 8 zif me zemeð wurse ei þing ileasned oþer bityh to witene. þen he wene þet hit ough./ 166. 35 vre god is zif we doð þet we owen./195. 4 þe meidenes wið uten zif heo serueð þe ancre also ase heo owen:

b. past in past sense (2)
with for to-infini. (2): 143. 24 Ich am on ancre. a nunne. awif iwedde. ameiden. awummo ðet me ileueð so wel. and þet habbe er ibeon iberned mid swuche þincge. & ough ðe betere uorte beon iwar-ned./143. 36 Sire ich wað of swuche elde: ðet ich owhte wel uorte habben i wust me wisluker.15

c. past in present sense (7)

with for to-infin. (1): 194. 34 non ancre servant ne owhte mid rihte uorto asken i sette huire:

with simple infin. (4): 56. 6 Iudit bi-tund inne bitocneð ancre bitund. þet owhte leden herd liif ase dude ðe lefdi iudit: efter hire efne./114. 18 and sent mon oþer wumen ðet telleð to ðe & biðe. oðer sum suwinde sawe. þet te suster ne owhte noute siggen biðe suster./140. 9 þenc euerich of his owu-ne stat ðet he is. oðer was inne. and he mei i seon. hwareuere he owhte siken sore./147. 19 nie þinges beoð þet owhten hien touward schrifte.

absolute (1): 1. 15 þis nis nout ibet þet also wel ase hit owhte.

14 In 2. 13, 2. 24 and 6.4 owen is juxtaposed with another auxiliary and is construed with the same infinitive.
15 This is the earliest example of ought with the perfect infinitive in my collection. The earliest quotation in OED dates from 1551 (s.v. Ought III. 5. c.).
In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* there is only one instance of the meaning 'to possess':

C 361 the good-man, that the bestes oweth

I have found 9 examples of the meaning 'to have to pay':

D 425 I ne owe hem nat a word that it nis quit/D 1615 As I wol bere aweye thy newe panne For dette, which thou owest me of old/D 2106 By god, we owen fourty pound for stones/I 252*6 (twice) Wel may he be sory thanne, that oweth al his lif to god as longe as he hath lived, and eek as longe as he shal live, that no goodnesse ne hath to paye with his dette to god, to whom he oweth al his lyf/I 369 For sooth is, that if a man yeve his love, the which that he oweth al to god with al his herte, un-to a creature/I 746 For it bireveth him the love that men to him owen/I 772 (twice) And therfore, certes, the lord oweth to his man that the man oweth to his lord.

As these examples show the present form of *owen* is conjugated as a weak verb. On the other hand, Chaucer never used the past form *owed*. Throughout his whole work I have found only two instances of the past form *ought* in the sense other than 'to have as a duty (to do)'. As for the present form, out of 20 examples in Chaucer's whole work 15 can be taken as meaning 'to have to pay' and only 5 express duty or obligation. Thus it may be said that in Chaucer the present form of *owen* was usually used as a main verb meaning either 'to have to pay' or, rather sparingly, 'to possess', and the past form was, almost without exception, used as a modal auxiliary expressing either present duty or obligation or, rather sparingly, past duty or obligation. In a general way the functional specialization of the past form *ought* may be said to a considerable extent to have been established by the end of the fourteenth century.

Examples of *owen* in the sense of 'to have as a duty (to do)' in the *Canterbury Tales* (Examples of impersonal use will be given in VII.)

a. present (1): B 2691 Also ye owen to enclylee and bowe your herte to take the pacience of our lord Jesu Crist.

b. past in past sense (2)

with for to-infin. (1): B 2488 And seyden also, that in this caas ye oughten for to werken ful avysely with greet deliberacioun.

with simple infin. (1): G 926 It was nat tempred as it oughte be.

c. past in present sense (58)

with to-infin. (10): A 3089 For gentil mercy oughte to passen right!/B 2173 And al were it so that she right now were deed, ye ne oughte nat as for his deeth your-self to destroye./B 2279 and eek how wel that I can hyde and hele thinges that men oughte secreely to hyde./B 2283 certes, your wyf oughte rather to be

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16 Italicized numbers show that quotations are made from prose parts.
17 The earliest instances of weak forms in OED are: pres. 3rd. sg. ah5 (c1160), o3ep (c1205); pl. awed (c1200), o3ed (a1175); past owed (a1425). The only example of *owed* in Chaucer is in the past participle: Bo 4. p. 5. 18 sin that, namely, prisoun, lawe, and thise othre tormentes of lawefull peyne ben rather owed to felonous citezieins,...
18 LGW 589 So fil hit, as Fortune him oughte a shame... / LGW 1609 And, as fortune her oughte a foul meschaunce,
pressed than y-blamed./B 2362 now wol I teche yow which conseil ye oughte to escheue./B 3033 And every man oughte to doon his diligence and his businesses to geten him a good name./G 6 Wel oughten we to doon al our entente/I 1762 O gode god, muchel oughte a man to drede swich a Iugement/I 300 More-over, man oughte to sorwe for his wikkede wordes as wel as for his wikkede dedes/I 674 Of Pacience comth Obedience, thurgh which a man is obedient to Crist and to alle hem to whiche he oughte to been obedient in Crist.

with for to-infin. (2): A 505 Wel oughte a preest ensample for to yive, By his clennesse, how that his sheep shold live./A 4333 Wel oughte a man avysed for to be Whom that he broughte in-to his privattee.

with simple infin. (46): A 660 Of cursing oughte ech gilty man him drede—For curs wol slee, right as assoiling saveth/A 1249 Wel oughte I sterve in wanhope and distresse/A 3051 And gladder oughte his freend ben of his deeth/B 1038 I oughte deme, of skilful Iugement, That in the salte see my wyf is deed./B 1290 ‘Nece,’ quod he, ‘it oughte y-nough suffyse Fyve houres for to slepe up-on a night/B 1833 This abbot, which that was as holy man As monks been, or elles oughten be/B 2128 I wol telle a litel thing in prose, That oughte lyken yow, as I suppose/B 2465 but ye oughte the rather gardone hem and scheue hem your largesse./B 2686 we oughte paciently taken the tribulacions that comen to us/B 2696 Also the grete pacience, which the seinted that been in paradys han had in triublacions that they han y-suffred, with-outen hisert of gilt, oughte muchel stiren yow to pacience./B 2714 And therfore, me thinketh men oughten nat repreve me, though I putte me in a litel peril for to venge me./B 2806 and knoweth wel, or oughte k, to ze'e, that whan he is deed, he shal nothing bere with him out of this world? /B 2927 but we oughte requeren it with greet contricioun and humilitee/B 3029 which is a vicious thing, and oughte been eschewed of every good man./B 3172 Lo! this declaring oughte y-nough suffyse./B 3567 Wel oughten men thyt pithy deeth complayn!/B 3648 Of this Tragedie it oughte y-nough suffyse./C 434 Of this matere it oughte y-nogh suffyse./E 132 so that it oughte seme Honour to god and yow/E 635 Wel oughte I of swich murmur taken hede/E 1351 every man that halt him worth a leek, Up-on his bare knees oughte al his lyf Thenken his god that him hath sent a wyf/E 1524, 1526, 1528 Senek among his othere wordes wyse Seith, that a man oughte him right wel avyse. To whom he yeveth his lord or his castel. And sin I oughte avyse me right wel To whom I yevhe my good awey fro me, Wel muchel more I oughte avysed be To whom I yevhe my body/E 1540 But natheles, it oughte y-nough suffyse With any wyf, if so were that she hadde Mo gode thewes than hir vyces badde/F 1397 Wel oughte a wyf rather hir-selven slee Than be defouled, as it thinketh me./G 1182 This is nat couched as it oughte be/I 133 The causes that oughte moeve a man to Contricion been six./I 142 The seconde cause that oughte make a man to have desdeyn of sinne is this/I 143 And certes, wel ought a man have desdayn of sinne/I 149 O gode god, wel oughte man have desdayn of sinne/I 152 Allas! wel oughten they thanne have desdayn to been servauntz and thrall to sinne/I 158 The thriddle cause that oughte moeve a man to Contricion, is drede of the day of dome, and of
the horrible peynes of helle./I 231 The fourthe point, that oghte maken a man to have contricion, is the sorweful remembrance of the good that he hath left to doon here in erthe/I 255 The fifth point, the thing that oghte move a man to contricion, is remembrance of the passion that our lord Jesu Crist suffered for our sinnes/I 279 Thanne was his visage, that oghte be desired to be seyn of all man-kinde, in which visage angules desyren to looke, vileynsly bispet./I 282 muchel oghte sinful man wepen and biwayle/I 283 The sixte point that oghte move a man to contricion, is the hope of three thynges/I 317 Now shul ye understande what is Confession, and whether it oghte neded be doon or noon/I 621 And over alle thing men oghten escheve to cursen hir children/I 672 ye oghten first correcte youre-self/I 679 in-as-muche as it binimeth the service that men oghte doon to Crist/I 813 But for-as-muche as some folk been unmesurable, men oghten eschwe foo l-largesse, that men clepen wast./I 910 The fifth spece is thilke abominable sinne, of which that no man unnethe oghte speke ne wryte/I 927 The experience of day by day oghte suffyse./I 1000 Certes, a man oghte hastily shewen hise sinnes for manye causes.

VII

Chaucer's usage shows a marked contrast to ModE usage in two respects: (1) the form of the infinitive, and (2) the impersonal construction.

(1) The form of the infinitive.

In the Canterbury Tales I have found 15 cases of ogen (oughte) with to-infinitive, 3 with for to-infinitive, and 59 with simple infinitive. As regards Chaucer's whole work Kenyon says, 'Though I have not made an exact count to find the proportion of simple and prepositional infinitives with ogen, a partial count shows about 135 cases of simple infinitive, 40 with to, and 5 with for to.' I have counted 139 cases of simple infinitive, 46 with to, and 6 with for to. These figures show the predominance of simple infinitive over prepositional infinitives. This is contrary to the general tendency of the usage both in earlier and in later periods.

Concerning the origin of the usage Mätzner says, 'ought...trift man hier und da im Neuenglischen vom reinen Infinitiv begleitet, obwohl ihm der Infinitiv mit to ursprünglich zukommt.' He quotes only two OE examples, both with to-infinitive: Micel is and mere pät sacred ăh tō dōnne (Legg. Cnut. I. A. 4)/And sède pät he hit nāhte tō dōnne (Sax. Chr. 1070.). As to the reason why the infinitive with to was predominant in OE, the following remark of Callaway is suggestive: 'How shall we account for the instances in which we have an inflected [i.e. prepositional] infinitive as the complement of an auxiliary verb? With all the strict auxiliaries except agan, the predicative infinitive is normally uninflected [i.e. simple], and the straggling examples of the inflected infinitive are clearly the exceptions that prove the rule. With agan, however, the predicative infinitive is frequently

21 Callaway, op. cit., p. 82f. Cf. 'That the predicative use of the uninflected infinitive active with auxiliary verbs is native to the Germanic languages, as to Anglo-Saxon, is indisputable; this use of the inflected infinitive is sporadic except with agan (agan)...' Op. cit., p. 237f.
inflected; why? Because of the strong datival sense of the verb,—its signification of propriety or fitness, I think. Thus Callaway thinks that there is a functional basis that distinguishes *ægan* from other auxiliaries. It may be that *ægan*, because of its ‘datival’ sense, governed the inflected infinitive (originally the dative case of a neuter verbal noun), while other auxiliaries governed the uninflected infinitive (originally the accusative case of a neuter verbal noun). At the same time it must be considered that OE *ægan* was predominantly used as a main verb and its combination with the infinitive had not been established till early ME, while in the case of other auxiliaries such combination had already been established in early OE. Though from a historical point of view the ‘datival’ sense of *ægan* may have been the cause of the use of the inflected infinitive, from a descriptive point of view we can do nothing but accept the fact that the inflected infinitive was predominantly used with *ægan*.

In early ME *for* -infinitive began to be used, and it ‘originally expressed purpose, but was used extensively in ME as a simple equivalent of *to* with the infinitive.' It was used as frequently as *to*-infinitive in the *Ancrene Rissele*, in which I have found 25 cases of *owen* with *for* -infinitive, 20 with *to*-infinitive, and 15 with simple infinitive. *For* -infinitive became ‘ein scharfer Konkurrent’ of *to*-infinitive in early ME, but it went out of fashion in early ModE. Already in Chaucer we find only 6 cases of it with *owen* as against 46 cases with *to*-infinitive.

In early ME texts Sanders found 107 cases of *owen* with prepositional infinitive, 36 with simple infinitive. In Layamon’s *Brut* the two constructions are found in much the same proportion as this. According to Wandschneider *owen* with simple infinitive was rare in Piers the Plowman. Thus Chaucer’s usage was contrary to general tendency. Kenyon says, ‘The large number of simple infinitives is no doubt due to analogy of other auxiliary verbs.’ This may perhaps have been the cause, but I have not enough data to decide whether or not this phenomenon was peculiar to Chaucer. I have examined the difference of usage between verse and prose. The table below shows the frequency of the three forms of the infinitive in verse and prose of the whole work of Chaucer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verse</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Prose</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>to</em>-infin.</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>for to</em>-infin.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>simple</em> infin.</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>108</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We know form the table that *to*-infinitive shows a slightly higher percentage in prose than

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11 The first instance of *for*-infinitive appears in *Chron. (E)* 1127 (Cf. Bøgholm, *English Speech from an Historical Point of View*, p. 252) The earliest quotation in *OED* dates from a1175. (s. v. For 11)
14 Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
17 Kenyon, *op. cit.*, p. 98, n. 2.
in verse. But in prose as well as in verse Chaucer's usage was far from general tendency.

About a century later Malory, in the first seven books, never used simple infinitive with _owe_. I have found 13 cases with _to-infinitive_ and one with _for to-infinitive_. (Examples from Malory will be given in VIII.)

(2) Impersonal construction.

The earliest quotations in OED of impersonal construction such as _him owe_ (or _owe_), _him ought_, are dated c1220 (pres.), 1297 (past in past sense), a 1225 (past in pres. sense). This use had not a long life, the latest quotations in OED being dated 1450 (pres.), 1470–85 (past in past sense), c1500 (past in pres. sense). It is not always possible to decide whether an example is impersonal or personal, unless the oblique (dative) case form is discernible. I have found 24 discernible cases in the _Canterbury Tales._

a. past in past sense (7)

with simple infin. (2): B 2921 and seyde to hem in a goodly manere, how that _hem oughte_ have greet repentance of the iniurie and wrong that they hadden doon to Melibee hir lord, and to hir, and to hir doghter./G1340 mighte no man sey nay, But that they weren as _hem oughte_ be.

absolute (5): B 1097 Alla goth to his in, and, as _him oughte_, Arrayed for this feste in every wyse As ferforth as his conning may suffyse./B 2438 the whiche three thinges ye han nat anientissed or destroyed hem, neither in your-self ne in your conseilours, as _you oughte_./B 2458 I sey yow, that the surgens and phisiciens han seyd yow in your conseil discreetly, as _hem oughte_/B 2603 thou ne hast nat doon to him swich honour and reverence as _thee oughte_./E 1120 And ther she was honoured as _hir oughte_.

b. past in pres. sense (17)

with _to-infinit_. (4): I 84 Seint Ambrose seith, that 'Penitence is the pleyninge of man for the gil that he hath doon, and na-more to do any thing for which _him ought to pleyne_.'/I 395 Despitous, is he that hath desdeyn of his neighe-bore, that is to seyn, of his evenecristene, or hath despyt to doon that _him ought to do_./I 403 Irreverence, is whan men do nat honour thereas _hem ought to doon_, and waiten to be reverenced./I 676 Obedience generally, is to perfourne the doctrine of god and of his sovereyns, to which _him oughte_ to ben obeisaunt in alle rightwysnesse.

with simple infin, (10): B 2188 Wherefor _us oughte_, as wel in the deeth of our children as in the losse of our goodes temporels, _have_ pacience./B 2531, 2532 Now sir, as to the thridde point; wher-as your olde and wise conseilours seyden, that _yow ne oughte_ nat sodeynly ne hastily _proceden_ in this nede, but that _yow oughte purreyen_ and _appaillen_ yow in this caas with greet diligence and greet deliberacion/C 512 O glotonye, on thee _wel oughte us pleyne!_E 1150 For, sith a womman was so pac ient Un-to a mortal man, wel _more us oughte_ Reccyuen al in gree that god us sent/G 14 Wel _oughte us werche_, and ydelnes withstonde./I 89 For as seith seint Isidre: 'he is a _Iaper and a gabber, and no verray repentant, that eftsoone dooth thing, for which _him oughte repente_.'/I 403 Presumpcion, is whan a man undertaketh an empysre that _him oughte_ nat do, or elles that he may nat do/I 712 he that dredeth god, he spareth nat to doon that _him oughte doon_./I 1061 he that hath nat been ashamed to doon
foule thinges, certes him oughte nat been ashamed to do faire thinges, and that is confessiouns.

absolute (3): B 2403 For certes, resoun wol nat that any man sholde biginne a thing, but-if he mighte parfourne it as him oughte./I 358 And venial synne is it, if man love Isu Crist lasse than him oughte./I 376 Eke if he flatere or blandishe more than him oughte for any necessitee.

The imperonsal construction occurred only when oughte implied duty or obligation. This use was perhaps due to the analogy of other impersonal verbs expressing duty or obligation. Van der Gaaf says, 'A3en was often used to express a duty, and it is only when it had this signification, that it adopted the A construction [i.e. impersonal construction with the verb governing a dative or an accusative]. Duty, obligation was also denoted by me bird, me behowe, me semp, me nedep, all of them type A constructions, and it was on the analogy of these that me a3e, me a3t, me ou3t was formed.' In this construction Chaucer used the past form (in past or present sense) except in one case: LGW 360 He moste thinke hit is his lige man, And that him oweth, of verray duette, Shewen his people pleyn benignitee, And wel to here hir excusaciouns.

Van der Gaaf says, 'At one time me a3e must have been very usual. Instances occur in almost every text dating from ab, 1300 to ab, 1490 I have examined, and my collection of examples is consequently pretty large, numbering about 100 in all.' This use seems to have become obsolescent towards the end of the fifteenth century. I have found only two clear instances in Malory's first seven books.

VI. 198 'Sir,' he seyde, 'I have nothying done but that me ought for to do. /VII. 242 for I consyder your grete laboure and your hardynesse, your bount6 and your goodnesse as me ought to do.

VIII

As was touched upon in VII Malory's usage shows a marked contrast to Chaucer's in two respects: (1) we find no instance of simple infinitive, and (2) impersonal construction occurred rather rarely. Thus apart from the high frequency of the meaning 'to possess' and the use of ought as the past form in contrast to owed, Malory's usage is near to Modern usage.

Examples from Malory (Bks. I-VII) (Examples of impersonal construction are quoted in VII)
I. ‘to possess’ (7)
a. present (3): IV. 114 Ther is a knyght in this contrey that owyth this whyght

29 W. van der Gaaf, The Transition from the Impersonal to the Personal Construction in Middle English, §175. Cf. Kenyon, op. cit., p. 98, n. 2. We find impersonal constructions with such auxiliaries as must and thar in Chaucer: G 946 Us moste putte our good in aventure / A 5320 Him thar nat wene wel that yvel dooth / D 329 Have thou y-nogh, what thar thee resche or care—? (also D 336, D 1365, H 352) van der Gaaf says, 'Rememben and must cannot be said ever to have been current as type A verbs; there are, however, four verbs, which, although 'personal' in O. E. and in early M. E., became so very usual in the type A construction that they have even erroneously been called 'impersonal'. These four verbs are M. E. a3en (owe, owe, a3t, ou3t etc.), dey'ee, repente'e and par (parf.)' Op. cit., §174.

30 Out of some 30 examples quoted by van der Gaaf there are only 3 cases of the present form.

Therefore thou shalt have thy mede throw Mychael that ouyth this mounte./VII. 228 'Lo,' seyde the damesel, 'yondir is a lorde that ouyth yondir cité.'

b. past (4): I. 11 wherfor kynge Arthur maade the londes to be yeven ageyne unto them that ounhte hem./V. 163 yf youre tytil be the trewer than ever ounht ony of your elders./VI. 185 Than within an owre there com that knyght that ounht the pavylyon./VI. 196 'Fayre sir,' they seyde, 'the name of this castell is called Tyntagyll, and a deuke ounht hit somtyme that had wedded fayre Igrayne.

II. 'to have to pay' (10)

a. past (9): I. 38 I oughe the Emperour no trewage/I. 43 But telle thou thy kynge thus, that I oughe hym [none homage] ne none of myne elders/II. 53 And this damesell slew hirself for his love, which repentith me. And for hir sake I shall oughe all women the bettrir wylle and servyse all the dayes of my lyff./IV. 117 And all good ladyes and jantyllwomen, I oughe them my servyse as a knyght ounht to do./V. 163 Now sey ye to the Potestate and all the lordys aftir that I sende hem trystbet that I oue to Rome/VII. 233 'We woll nat discover you,' seyde they bothe, 'tyll ye commaunde us, by the fayth we oue to Jesu./VII. 244 Therefore we avyse you, ryde nat aftir sir Gry nagamour but yf ye oue hym good wylle./VII. 245 by the fayth that I oughe to God and to the hygh Ordir of Knyghthode../VII. 245 And therefore, brother, I oue hym my servyse afore all knyghtes lyvynge.

b. past (1): I. 5 he asked hir by the feith she ounht to hym whos was the child within her body.

III. 'to have as a duty (to do)'

a. past in past sense (2)

with to-infin. (2): I. 5 and soo I went unto bed with hym as I ounht to do with my lord/I. 11 Also thenne he made alle lordes that helde of the croune to come in and to do servyce as they ounht to doo.

b. past in present sense (10)

with to-infin. (10): I. 27 'A, sir Arthure,' seyde kynge Ban and kynge Bors, 'blame hem nat, for they do as good men ounht to do...'/II. 53 and I woll ryde with you and put my body in adventure with you, as a brothir ounht to do./III. 74 'Yee, hardely, sir, he ounht to be a good man for he ys com of good kynrede as ony on lyve, and of kynges bloode.'/III. 90 'Truly ye ounht sore to repente hit,' seyde Merlion, 'for that lady was youre owne doughtir,...'/IV. 117 And all good ladyes and jantyllwomen, I owghe them my servyse as a knyght ounht to do./IV. 126 'Loo,' seyde the Damsell of the Lake, 'ye ounht to be ashamed for to murther suche a knyght.'/V. 137 Sir, thou ounht to be aboven all othir Crysten kynges/VI. 192 'Sir my name is sir Launcelot du Lake that ounht to helpe you of ryght for kynge Arthurs sake,...'/VII. 237 Mesemyth thou ounhtyste of reson to beware by yondir knyghtes that thon sawyste hange on yondir treis./VII. 267 'Alas! my fayre brother,' seyde Sir Gawayne, 'I ounht of ryght to worship you, and ye were nat my brother, for ye have worshipte kynge Arthure and all his courte,'
From the foregoing survey it may be remarked that the auxiliary ought was nearly established towards the end of the fifteenth century. As for the subsequent history of the word such exhaustive studies as those of Visser and Franz give an idea.

On the present form owe+-infinitive expressing moral obligation Visser says, 'Owe in this meaning and use died out soon after More; it may already have been obsolete in his time (latest quotation in OED is dated 1537), since instances with owe are rare and examples with ought in exactly the same meaning (and function) abound in his language.'

'The type him oweth (to flee) is not represented in More; it seems to have been already obsolete; the latest quotations in OED are dated c 1450 and 1470–1500.' There is one instance of the past form owed = ought in More: Conf. Tynd. 463 H 14, And then yf he hadde aunswered that himself being such as he was, and for suche testified by writying, and by the word of his father, and by his owne wonderous workes ought [1532 owed] to be believed of them in euery thyng...they might haue sayd... On the form of the infinitive with ought, Visser says, 'In the majority of cases the verbal complement is preceded by to. Plain infinitives, however, are by no means rare.'

'The time-sphere of the units in which ought occurs is usually the present or in the case of general statements no special time at all. Only rarely is the reference to past time-sphere.' More does not seem to use ought+-for infinitive. 'It may have become obsolete about his time.'

'Neither are there instances in More of the type me ought, us ought'

A few examples are:

*Tp. I. ii. 454 Thou do'st vsurpe The name thou ow' st not/John IV. ii. 99 That blood which ow'd the breth of all this Ile/Mac. I. iii. 76 Say from whence You owe this strange Intelligence/Oth. I. i. 66 What a full Fortune do's the Thick-lips owe If he can carry't thus?

Franz says, 'Ought kommt neben der jetzigen Bedeutung 'have, possess ist Sh. noch sehr geläufig.'

* Few examples are:*

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IX

According to Franz, 'Owe in der Bedeutung 'have, possess ist Sh. noch sehr geläufig.'

*Few examples are:*
It may at first sight seem strange that the meaning 'to possess', which showed signs of decline already in ME, had a very long life. But, as Dieth says, the two meanings 'to possess' and 'to have to pay' 'follow constructions of their own; e.g. Who owes this house? I don't owe him a penny.' In other words, owe in the sense 'to possess' is construed with one (direct) object, while owe in the sense 'to have to pay' is construed either with two objects (indirect and direct) or with one (direct) object and a to-phrase: e.g. I owe no thanks to her. Such syntactical contrast may have been one of the reasons for the coexistence of the two meanings. But the meaning 'to possess' was to become obsolete except in dialects. Owe in this sense was superseded by own, which expresses this sense more unambiguously than owe, whose main sense has been 'to have to pay'.

X

In the foregoing sections I have tried to trace the development of OE āgan on the basis of the relative frequency of various uses in several texts ranging from Beowulf to Malory's works. My chief concern has been to make clear the process of the functional specialization of the original past form ought (OE ough) as an auxiliary verb expressing duty or obligation, and the establishment of the syntactical group ought+to-infinitive. We have seen from the survey that the auxiliary ought, in form as well as in function, was nearly established in the day of Malory.

The elucidation of the problem has involved not only a comprehensive study of the development of āgan, but occasional glimpses at various related words. Various questions have arisen in the course of investigation, many of which remain to be considered further. It must be admitted that, as a basis of an extensive study, the material I have collected so far is far from sufficient. The insufficiency of data has forced me to leave several problems untouched, among which are counted questions of dialects, characters of texts examined, the relations of āgan to related words. In spite of such defects I hope my original purpose has to some extent been effected, which was to describe the early development of the auxiliary ought in its outline.

APPENDIX

No examples have been quoted from Havelok the Dane, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and Pearl, because the number of awe, owe, etc. did not seem to be enough to consider the frequency. Examples from these texts are given below for reference.

Havelok the Dane (11)

43 Own derives from OE āgnian. ‘Used in OE. and early ME. in senses 1 [‘To make (a thing) one’s own, appropriate, take possession of; to seize, win, gain; to adopt as one’s own’] and 2 [‘To have or hold as one’s own, have belonging to one, be the proprietor of, possess’]; but after this scarcely found till the 17th c. It seems as if the verb itself went out of use before 1300, but was restored from the derivative owner, when owe in its original sense of ‘possess’ was becoming obsolescent.’ (OED s. v. Own) The earliest quotation of own thus ‘restored’ is from Shakespeare: Cor. I. viii. 3 Not Affricke ownses a Serpent I abhorre More then thy Fame and Enuy.
THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE AUXILIARY OUGHT

I. 'to possess' (6)
   a. present (4): 1188 pe deul him awel/1292 I gan Denemark for to awe/1298
   And panne y wolde mine armes drawe Til me, and [pouhte hem] for to [awe]/
   1932 'Deus!' quoth Ubbe, "hwat may pis be? Betere is i nime miself and se
   hwat] pis baret [oweth on] wold, Panne i sende yunge or old.
   b. past (2): 207 And al the lond he euere awhte/743 And for pate Grim pate place
   awhte, Pe stede of Grim pe name lauhnte.

II. 'to have to pay' (1): 1666 Bi pe fey ye owe to pe.

III. 'to have as a duty (to do)' (4)
   a. past in past sense (1): 2787 Foru hem witen wolde he Yif pat she auht quen
   to be.
   b. past in present sense (3)
      with to-infin. (1) 2173 Man-red, louer bede y pe, Pi man auht i ful wel to be.
      with for to-infin. (1) 2800 For Englond auhte forto ben Youres
      with simple infin. (1): 801 Pe man pat may wel eten and drinken [Par] nout
      ne haue but on swink long.

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (5)

I. 'to possess' (4): 767 A castel pe comlokest pat euer knyzt a3te/843 & pu3t
   hit a bolde burne pat pe burz a3te/1775 zif he schulde make synne & be
   traytor to pat tolke pat pat telde a3te/1941 As is pertly payed pe [pray] pat
   I a3te.

III. 'to have as a duty (to do)' (1): 1526 & pe, pat ar so cortays & coynt of your
   hetes, Oghe to a zonke pynk zern to schewe & teche sum tokene3 of trweluf
   craftes.

Pearl (4)

II. 'to have to pay' (1): 543 Gyf hem pe hyre pat I hem owe.

III. 5. 'to have as a duty (to do)' (1): 1139 Ani breste for bale a3t haf forbrent Er
   he perto hade had deyty.

III. 6. impersonal (2)
   a. present (1): 552 Vus pynk vus o3e to take more.
   b. past in present sense (1): 341 Pe o3te better pyseluen blesse.