OE Preterite-Present Verb *Āgan* – Its Potential as an Auxiliary[1]

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1. Introduction

This paper aims to examine the potential of OE (= Old English) preterite-present verb *āgan* as an auxiliary from a comparative viewpoint of the use in OE and that in some other Germanic languages, namely OHG (= Old High German) and OS (= Old Saxon).

OE *āgan* has largely three usages of (1) a main verb denoting possession, (2) an auxiliary denoting obligation, and (3) an auxiliary denoting perfect, where the third usage is more controvertial among several studies in OE than the second usage is. As the use of OE *āgan* as an auxiliary (especially the use with *to*-infinitive) is already discussed in Kaita (2007a) and (2007b), I do not intend to repeat the same thing in the present investigation. The use or non-use of a (seemingly) perfect auxiliary is, however, not fully discussed in these papers. When we compare the occurrence of OE *āgan* with that of its synonym *habban*, both denoting possession, it can be found that OE *āgan* is more restricted in its occurrence than *habban*. The fact that the occurrence of OE *āgan* is statistically limited makes researchers difficult to decide the use as a perfect auxiliary. When the examination of a given usage in a language is limited, the usage in another cognate language can give some, though not definite, clue to the examination. For this reason I refer to the usage of OHG *eigun* and OS *êgun*.

Through this investigation it will beccme clear that OHG *eigun* with *zi*-infinitive or a past participle can be regarded as an auxiliary. The meaning of *eigun* in combination with *zi*-infinitive can be either future or obligation, which requires further examination of these abstract semantic categories crucial to the semantic study of modals. Its use with past participle, on the other hand, may well be qualified as a perfect auxiliary in *Evangelienbuch*. OS *êgun* in *Heliand* gives ambiguity on the use of a main verb or an auxiliary in that one example with a past participle is attested.

In the examples cited, underlines and translations 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. OE *āgan* and *habban* and their OHG and OS cognates in the use of a main verb

Before proceeding to the main discussion as to the use as an auxiliary of OE *āgan* (or OHG *eigun*/OS *êgun*[2]) it is shown that there seems to be a difficulty to make a semantic

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[2] Another Germanic language, Gothic, can present remarkable data related to the present investigation. It seems difficult, however, to compare the use of Gothic *aigan* and *haban* with the cognates in other Germanic languages because of textual reason (for details, see Metzger 1977). At least two things concern this paper not directly, but indirectly. (1) In Mt 8.20, Lk 9.58, Jn 6.53-54, and Jn 16.33, *aigan*

distionction between OE *āgan* and *habban* in the use as a main verb. One possible and clear way of comparing the use of these two synonyms is to examine a sentence (or a passage) where they appear together, although I do not intend to resort to the oversimplification that there is no semantic difference between OE *āgan* and *habban*.

2.1. OE *āgan* and *habban*

For an OE verse example I reproduce the passage from *Genesis B* (lines 421b-424a), which I have already cited in Kaita (2007a: 46) as the example of OE *āgan* in the use of a main verb (line 422). We should note here that both *habban* (in the relative *þe*-clause) and *āgan* (in the main clause), meaning 'to possess', share the same (semantic) object, i.e. *þone welan* referred to by the particle *þe*.

(1) *Genesis B* 421b-424a

                    nu hie drihtne synt
wurðran micle   and moton him þone welan <u>agan</u>
þe we on heofonrice   <u>habban</u> sceoldon,
rice mit rihte.

     . 'Now they are worthier for the Lord so much and are allowed to possess for themselves the happiness that we must have the kingdom in heaven rightfully.'

A prose passage from "*Ælfric's Homilie über das Buch Judith*" (*ÆHomM* 15) gives us *āgan* and *habban* cooccuring together.

(2) *Ælfric's Homilie über das Buch Judith* 424-428[3]

Heo nolde <u>aȝan</u>,   swa swa us sæȝð seo racu,
þæs wælhreowan hærereaf,   þe þæt folc hire forȝeaf,
ac amansumode   mid ealle his ȝyrlan,
nolde hi werian,   ac awearp hi hire fram,
nolde þurh his hæþenscype   <u>habban</u> æniȝe synne.

    'She did not wish to have, just as the account tells us, the booty of the cruel one, which the folks gave to her, but (she) spurned his clothing entirely, (and she) did not wish to wear it, but (she) cast it away from herself; she did not wish to have any sin because of his heathenship.'

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and *haban* are cooccuring in Gothic, whereas OE versions (*Li, Ru2*, and *WSCp*), and OHG *Tatian* use all *habban* or *haben*. (2) In considering such semantic categories as *future* and *volition* together with the remarks by Klaeber (1938) and Sturtevant (1938) (see Section 4.1), the use of Gothic *haban* with an infinitive in Mk 10.32, Jn 6.6, Jn 6.71, and Jn 12.26 is noteworthy. According to Yamamoto (1997: 4) Gothic *aigan* has no use as an auxiliary, wherefore it may be undesireble at the present to discuss here the auxiliaries in Gothic deriving from possessive verbs.

[3] Text arranged according to the edition.

This passage begins with the description of the refusal of possessing the booty, which is expressed by means of *āgan*. The contextual situation is reworded later a little more metaphorically as 'to have (any) sin' where *habban* is used. The difference of usage between these two verbs here is, however, given contextually, rathet than lexically.

Luke 18.12 shows a variation as to the use of *āgan* and *habban* according to OE *Gospels*. Latin *possideo* is rendered as *ah ł agnigo* (*Li*), *ah* (*Ru2*), or *hæbbe* (*WSCp*). It is remarkable that OHG *Tatian* employs an expression *in ehti bihában*, 'to keep in possession', where the noun *êht* is used instead of the verb *eigun*.

(3) Luke 18.12
    Latin: *ieiuno bís in sabbato decimas dó omnium quae <u>possideo</u>*
    OE (*Li*): ic fæsto tuigo in wico teigðuncgas ic sello allra ðaðe ic <u>ah ł agnigo</u>
    OE (*Ru2*): ic fæsto twige on wica tegðunge gode alra ðaðe ic <u>ah</u>
    OE (*WSCp*): Ic fæste tuwa on ucan. ic sylle teoþunga ealles þæs þe ic <u>hæbbe</u>;
        [Cf. MnE (*AV*): I fast twise in the weeke, I giue tithes of all that I <u>possesse</u>.]
    OHG (*Tatian* 118.2): Ih fasten zuuiron in sambaztage, gibu dezemon allero thero ih
             <u>in ehti bihában</u>.

Finally, in the comparison of the prose and verse versions in *Boethius*, as I mentioned in Kaita (2008a), we find that there seems to be no semantic difference as to the choice of the two verbs. The context (4) is a cooccurrence of them in the prose version, while in corresponding verse text (5) *habban* is converted to *āgan* for alliteration.

(4) *De Consolatione Philosophiae* MS.B, f.41^v
    [S]e þe wille fullice anweald <u>agan</u>, he sceal tiligan ærest þæt he <u>hæbbe</u> anweald his
    agenes modes,
        'He who wishes fully to have power, must try first that he has power of his own
        mind,'

(5) *The Metres of Boethius* 16.1-3a
    [S]e þe wille anwald <u>agon</u>,   ðonne sceal he ærest tilian
    þæt he his selfes   on sefan <u>age</u>
    anwald *i*nnan,
        'He who wishes to have power, then he must try first that he has power of
        himself in mind inside,'

2.2. OHG *eigun* and *haben*

According to the Sievers' glossary OHG *Tatian* shows no example of the verb *eigun*. This might be due to the rendering way that the wording of *Tatian* follows Latin *habere* (see also Sections 4.1.1 and 4.2.3). Another relevant text in OHG is Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, where

the possessive verbs of both *eigun* and *haben* abound. As far as I found there are two pairs of the cooccurence of *eigun* and *haben* within the same sentence, which are the citations (6) below and (15) (V.19.1-2). The latter example, however, is the occurrence of *eigun* in the use of auxiliary which we will see in Section 4.1.[4] In the example (6) I cannot find any significant semantic difference between the two verbs.

(6) *Ludovvico Orientalium Regnorum Regi Sit Salus Aeterna* 79-82

Uuánta thaz ist fúntan,   unz wir <u>hában</u> nan gisúntan,

thaz lében wir, so ih méinu,   mit fréwi joh mit héilu

Símbolon gimúato,   joh <u>eigun</u> zíti guato;

niaz ér ouh mámmuntes,   ni breste in éwon imo thés!

'That is because it is found, so long as we have him (= Ludwig) healthy, that we live, as I think, with bliss and with happiness luckily forever and (we) have good times; may he also enjoy happiness, (and) not lack it for himself forever!'

2.3. OS *êgun* and *hebbian*

OS *Heliand* gives the occurrences of both *êgun* and *hebbian*. As far as I found there are 11 pairs of the cooccurence of them in the same sentence: 67 and 70, 149 and *151, 836 and 841, 1675 and 1676, 1856 (both verbs are found within this line), 1954 and 1955, *2157 and 2159, 2715 and 2716, 2880 and 2881, 5162 and *5164, and *5794 and 5801 (the asterisked number indicating that there is *hebbian* with a past participle following in another line). In addition to these pairs one pair (3380 and 3381) is the occurence of these verbs in near sentences. Here, again, I cannot find any significant semantic difference of them.

(7) *Heliand* 64b-72a

Hie ni uuas thoh mid sibbeon *bilang*

aƀaron Israheles,   eðiligiburdi,

cuman fon iro *cnuosle*,   neuan that hie thuru thes kêsures thanc

fan Rûmuburg   rîki <u>habda,</u>

that im uuârun sô gihôriga   hildiscalcos,

aƀaron Israheles   elleanruoƀa:

suîðo unuuanda uuini,   than lang hie giuuald <u>êhta,</u>

Erodes thes rîkeas   endi *râdburdeon held*

Iudeo liudi.

'He [= Herod] was, however, not belonging to the kin of the children of the Israelites, to the noble birth, (and has) not come from their descent, (but) he

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[4] In II.3.46 and 50, and IV.14.4 and 5 *eigun* and *haben* appear in different, bur near sentences.

had the reign of Rome only by the emperor's grace, so that the warriors, the children of the Israelites, the famous ones, were so obedient to him: (they were) very unwavering friends, as long as he, Herod the mighty, had power and held authority over the Jewish people.'

3. OE *āgan* in the use of a (seemingly) auxiliary

We have seen the synonymy of OE *āgan* and *habban* as main verbs together with the OHG and OS cognates. In Section 3.1 we examine the use of *āgan* with *to*-infinitival complement. The detail of the research on this use is, however, already summarised in Kaita (2007a) and (2007b). Therefore there seems to be no need to repeat the same thing found in these studies. Here it would suffice to extract some factors important for the further investigation. On the other hand these studies leave the problem of the use with past participles open to the further discussion which is handled in Section 3.2. There are several studies dealing with this problem in OE, yet the problem remains controvertial.

3.1. The usage of OE *āgan* with *to*-infinitive

Kaita (2007a) and (2007b) focused mainly on MnE (= Modern English) auxiliary *ought to* (OE *āgan to*) with OE *sculan* and *mōtan* from a historical viewpoint, with the consideration of OHG and OS cognates added. Through these studies it can be stated that the important factors for the formation of *ought to* are (1) the syntactic and semantic ambiguity as to the belonging of the object (either to the possessive verb *āgan* or to the *to*-infinitival complement), (2) the collocation of OE *āgan to* with *mid rihte* 'rightfully',[5] and (3) the change of the status of the (dative, inflected) infinitive itself. It seems possible, therefore, to give the '*āgan* + *to*-infinitive' construction the reading of an auxiliary 'ought to' at Late OE, especially when it appears with an intransitive infinitival complement. The following Early ME (= Middle English) examples show that *āgan* functions as an auxiliary for obligation, since the verb in the infinitival complement is a passive unit consisting of *beon* with a past participle in both of these homilies.

(8) *Lambeth Homily* XIII. 135.10-13

Æuriche sunen deie. *and* oðre heʒe daʒen is time to sawene þet halie sed þet is godes word. *and* ðet in halie chirche þer alle cristene men aʒen to beon isomned to gedere.

'Every Sunday and other high days are the time to sow the holy seed, which is God's word, and that in holy church where all Christian people ought to be gathered together.'

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[5] For further research dealing with the collocation, see Kaita (2008b).

Trinity Homily XXVI. 155.31-33

> Ech sunedai. *and* oðer hegh dai is riht time to sowen þe holie sed— *þat* is godes word. *and* in chirche þer al chirche folc <u>ohg to ben gadered</u>.

>> 'Every Sunday and other high day are the right time to sow the holy seed, which is God's word, and in church where all church folks ought to be gathered.'

3.2. The usage of OE *āgan* with past participle

As I have already mentioned in Kaita (2007a: 51), remarkably *āgan*, meaning 'to have', is said to have an usage like a perfect auxiliary *have*. *DOE* (s.v. *āgan* II. B. "approaching the usage of *habban* as an auxiliary of the (plu)perfect in two examples with a transitive verb") gives only two examples from *The Seafarer* (*Sea* 27) and Wulfstan's *Address to the English* (*WHom* 20.2). The problem is whether *āgan* may well be regarded as an auxiliary or not.

(9) *The Seafarer* 27-30

> For þon him gelyfeð lyt,   se þe <u>ah</u> lifes wyn
> <u>gebiden</u> in burgum,   bealosiþa hwon,
> wlonc ond wingal,   hu ic werig oft
> in brimlade   bidan sceolde.

>> '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.'

(10) *Wulfstan's Address to the English* 53-60[6]

>   Frīge menn ne mōtan
> wealdan heora sylfra, ne faran þār hī willað, ne āteon
> heora āgen swā swā hī willað; ne þrælas ne mōton habban
> þæt hī <u>āgon</u> on āgenan hwīlan mid earfeðan <u>gewunnen</u>,
> ne þæt þæt heom on Godes ēst gōde menn geūðon, and
> tō ælmesgife for Godes lufan sealdon; ac æghwilc ælmes-
> riht þe man on Godes ēst scolde mid rihte georne
> gelæstan ælc man gelītlað oððe forhealdeð.

>> 'Free men are not allowed to control themselves, nor go where they wish to, nor withdraw their properties just as they wish; nor were the slaves allowed to have what they had got in their own time with toil, nor what good people granted them in God's favor and gave for God's love as alms; but everyone reduces or forsakes every right of receiving alms that must be done in God's favor rightfully earnestly.'

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[6] Text arranged according to Onions (revised) (1959: 84).

Kershaw (1922: 21) translates (9): "[a]ssuredly one who has spent a happy life in luxury and feasting in a great house, free from perilous adventures, can hardly believe what exhaustion I have repeatedly suffered on my sea-voyages." Kershaw referes to the passage of (10) in the notes (pp. 168-169), where she proposes another translation, taking into consideration that the participle is emended as *gebideð*: "[h]e who has a happy life and experiences no perilous adventures."

Krapp and Dobbie (eds.) (1936: 296) discusses the emendation of *gebideð*: "Kluge, Schücking read *gebideð*, and so Imelmann, Forschungen, p. 49. But *ah*, l. 27, can be taken as an auxiliary verb here, as the equivalent of *hafað*, see Kershaw, p. 168, who compares *agon ... gewunnen* in Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos (Sweet's Reader, p. 91, l. 56)."

Anderson (1937: 41-42) gives a commentary to this verse: "[m]ost editors retain the MS. reading taking *āh*, line 27, with *gebiden*. I follow Sweet in reading *gebīdeþ* for *gebiden*, parallel with *āh*." The suggested translation reads: "[h]ence he who possesses the delight of life, who, high-spirited and flushed with wine, endures few hardships in his castle, can little believe in what weariness I had often to dwell on the path of the sea" (p. 35).

Gordon (1960: 37) says, "*gebiden* is emended by Sweet and others to *gebideð*, and the scribal error could easily be explained by the fact that both the preceding and the following words end in *-n*. Miss Kershaw points out, however, that *ah* is used (like *hafað*) with the p.pt. in Wulfstan's *Address to the English* Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*,[11] (1948) p. 84, l. 56, and the same usage is found in the OHG *Ludwigslied* 24.[7] Probably the construction retained a more literal force than with *hafað*, and we may translate: 'he who has a pleasant life, lived in dwellings of men, free from dangerous adventures (or hardships)', (*hwon* having, as often, an adverbial force)." Gordon's translation indicates an ambiguity as to the decision whether *āgan* is a main verb or an auxiliary.

Onions' glossary (1959: 230) defines *āgan* as "*aux. of tense* = have."[8] Onions (p. 211) gives the note to (10): "56. āgon ... gewunnen, have earned. This use of *āgan* as an auxiliary of tense like *habban* is found also in 27/27 (*āh ... gebiden*) [= line 27 of *The Seafarer*]. The cognate Old High German *eigan* is similarly used."

Nakajima and Terasawa (eds.) (1970: *s.v. owe*) give an account that *āgan* is sometimes used as a temporal auxiliary like *habban*, found in the *Seafarer* (line 27) and Wulfstan, although controversial. This account is not found in Terasawa (ed.) (1997).

Ono and Nakao (1980: 375, 378) regard this usage as a perfect auxiliary. They say that *āgan* in the use of a perfect auxiliary is quite rare, but found in OHG *eigan* and ON *eiga*. For OE examples they give (10) partially (from *ne þrǣlas* to *mid earfeðan gewunnen*, translated as "[s]erfs are not allowed to have what they have obtained in their own times with labours"), and (9) from *se þe ah* to *burgum*, (translated as "he who has experienced the joy of life in cities").

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[7] See the citation (24) in Section 4.2.1.

[8] So does Whitelock's glossary (1967: 298): "*as aux. of tense* have." Her edition puts the context in MS
   C (*Frige men ... unlaga leofe*) down to the footnote (p. 87). She notes that "[t]his use of *āgon* as a

Mitchell (1985: 304) sums up the remarks by Kershaw and Gordon and points out the difficulty of discussing this use through the limited examples: "[o]ne cannot generalize from two examples – I have noted no more."

Klinck (1992: 131) summarises the opinions by Kershaw, Krapp and Dobbie, and Gordon as admitting *āgan* to be an auxiliary, and Mitchell as dubious about this use. Klinck refrains from the definite proposal: "[t]hough it is possible to translate *agan* as an auxiliary in these particular cases ("has experienced" and "have obtained," resp.), the sense does not demand it. Translate: "he who possesses the joy of life, having remained in cities." Similarly, the Wulfstan passage may be translated: "what they possess ..., won with toil.""

Ogura (2007: 217-218) considers *āgan* functioning as a main verb, giving some grounds that the past participle in the prose retains adjectival force, and "in *Seafarer* 28a *gebiden in burgum* can be a variant of *se (þe)*, meaning 'the remaining one in cities', and *Wulfstan 20.2* 51 *Ne þrælas ne moton habban þæt hi agan on agenan hwilan mid earfedan gewunnen* may be translated as 'No servants are allowed to have, what they possess at proper time, obtained with labour'. I have never found a rivalry between *agan* and *habban* as auxiliaries of the perfect."

These opinions as to the perfect use of *āgan* can be summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: The interpretation of *āgan* with a past participle

Main Verb	Perfect Auxiliary
	Kershaw (1922)
	Krapp and Dobbie (eds.) (1936)
?Anderson (1937)	?Anderson (1937)
	Onions (revised) (1959)
?Gordon (1960)	?Gordon (1960)
	Whitelock (revised) (1967)
	Nakajima and Terasawa (eds.) (1970: s.v. *owe*)
	Ono and Nakao (1980)
? Mitchell (1985)	?Mitchell (1985)
? Klinck (1992)	? Klinck (1992)
Ogura (2007)	

The problem for deciding this use lies in the characteristics of verse texts. In the verse texts a past participle, functioning as an adjective, can attributively modify the object, whereas the possessive verb retains its original meaning. Furthermore the participle in the verse can have a substantive function as a variance rewording the noun. In addition to that, the limited number of occurrence of the text (as Mitchell points out) makes this use unreliable when the emendation of the text is questioned.

Neither *OED* (*s.v. owe, ought*, nor *own*) or *MED* (*s.v. ouen*) refers to this peculiar usage. Through the comparison of Early ME *Lambeth Homilies* and *Trinity Homilies* for the use of a perfect auxiliary we can find that *have* has come to be used even with the past

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perfect auxiliary is rare. It occurs also in 27/27 [= line 27 of *The Seafarer*]" (p. 256).

participle of intransitive verbs (i.e. *ikumen* or *ben* in the citations).

(11) *Lambeth Homily* XV. 145.12-14

> he munegede alle þa þet þo weren oðer seoþðen <u>habbeð ikumen</u>. oðer to kumene beoð to endeles blisse.
>
> 'He admonished all of those who had come, then have come, or are to come to the endless bliss.'

Trinity Homily XXXII. 203.13-15

> he seide þos word to alle þo þe þo weren. *and* siðen <u>hauen ben</u>. *and* þo þe nu ben. *and* þo her aft*er* cumen.
>
> 'He said these words to all of those who were and then have been, and who now are, and who are to come thereafter.'

Mitchell (1985: 304) ends up his comment by introducing Zadorožny (1974: 384-385) as discussing some OHG examples. If the possibility of *āgan* as a perfect auxiliary cannot be persued diachronically (between OE and EME) another method of tackling this problem can be a comparative way of the usage of OE *āgan* with that of its cognates in OHG or OS, which we go into the subsequent sections.

4. Possessive verb with infinitival complement or past participle in OHG/OS

The following Table 2 shows the cooccurence of OHG *haben* and *eigun* with their complements (noun objects, past participles, or *zi*-infinitives) in *Evangelienbuch*. It roughly indicates that the total occurrence of these two verbs amounts 2:1, whereas the given percentages show that *eigun* can take verbal complements more frequently than *haben* does. In Sections 4.1 and 4.2 these occurences are examined in detail.

Table 2: The occurrence of OHG *haben* and *eigun* according to the usage in *Evangelienbuch*

	haben		eigun	
N	83	74%	37	66%
PP	27	24%	17	30%
Inf	2	2%	2	4%
Sum	112	100%	56	100%
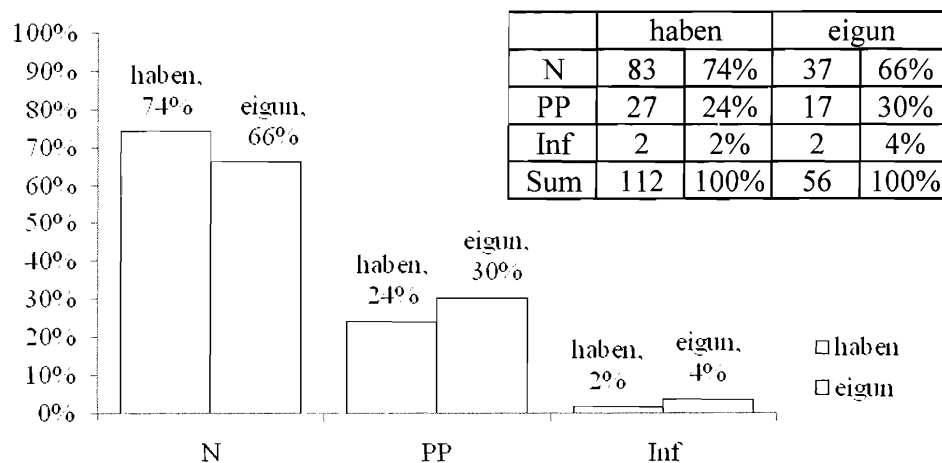
It should be noted, however, that these data present only the number of the collocation with the three elements. The combination consisting of '*haben/eigun* + noun + past participle/*zi*-infinitive' is regarded as that with a past participle or a *zi*-infinitive. That is, I do not intend to state that *haben* and *eigun* collocating with the verbal complements (29 examples for *haben* and 19 examples for *eigun*) can always be interpreted as auxiliaries.

OS *Heliand*, on the other hand, gives 36 occurences of *êgun*, where the combination with a past participle is found only once (line 41, see (25) in Section 4.2.2) within them. No example with *te*-infinitive can be found for *êgun*.

4.1. OHG *eigun* with *zi*-infinitive

As we find in the Table 2, both OHG *haben* and *eigun* have two cases with an infinitival complement respectively, which are (12) and (13) for *haben*, and (14) and (15) for *eigun*.

(12) *Evangelienbuch* III.26.49-50
>   Joh thuruh sína smerza   wir <u>hábetin</u> baldaz hérza,
>   fíanton io thánne   <u>zi widarstántanne</u>;
>   'Also we had bold heart through his pain to resist fiends henceforth;'

The verb *widarstántanne* takes a dative object (*fíanton*), wherefore the finite verb *hábetin* has no syntactic relation to the *zi*-infinitive.

(13) *Evangelienbuch* V.7.23-24
>   <u>Háben</u> ih <u>zi klágonne</u>   joh léidalih <u>zi ságenne</u>,
>   ni wéiz ih, les! in gáhe,   war ih iz ánafahe.
>   'I have to lament and to say sadly, (that) I do not know, alas! I really take it up in haste.'

Syntactically *haben* has no accusative object (as well as *eigun* in (15)), as mentioned by Erdmann (1874: 212). Semantically this context expresses strong emotion. We can easily interpret that the subject must lament and utter something.

(14) *Evangelienbuch* V.16.35-40
>   Zéichono <u>éigit</u> ir giwált   <u>zi wírkenne</u> ubar wóroltlant,
>   thiu ir mih dúan sahut   unz ir mit mír warut:
>   Hórngibruader héilet,   so slíumo ir iz giméinet,
>   thie suhti thána fuaret   so slíumo so ir se rúaret;
>   Dóte man irquíket   thar ir zi mír es thigget,
>   tharzúa sin ouh gizálte   béttirison álte.
>   'You have the power to show token over the world, which you seek to do me
>   until you prove with me: (you) cure leprosy patients, as soon as you show it

soon, (you) take the disease from there as soon as you reach it; Dead man is revived as you pray it for me, in addition to that old bed-liers (= sick people) are also revived.'

The accusative object *giwált* in (14) cannot be read as the object of the inflected infinitive.[9]

(15) *Evangelienbuch* V.19.1-2

> Thes hábet er ubar wóroltring   giméinit einaz dágathing,
> thíng filu hébigaz,   <u>zi sorganne éigun</u> wir bi thaz.
>> 'Therefore he has decided a trial all over the world, a very severe trial, for which we have to worry.'

The inflected infinitive *zi sorganne* in (15) can be read as a part of a phrasal unit with the prepositional phrase *bi thaz.*

    We can find that these four examples entail no such ambiguity as we have seen in Section 3.1 for OE '*āgan* + *to*-infinitive' construction. Moreover (13) and (15) show that OHG *haben* and *eigun* have an example respectively where the verb can be used as an auxiliary. Yet the meaning of *zi sorganne éigun* in (15) can be ambiguous, when we compare it with (20) in OE.

    In OHG there is one more example where *eigun* takes *zi*-infinitive.

(16) *Weissenburger Katechismus* 101-107

> Ther gimartorot ist bi heili unsera, nithar steig ci helliuuizze endi arstuant fona totem, Uf steig ci himilom, sizzit ci cesuun gotes fateres almahtiges, Thanan cumftiger ci suananne lebente endi tote. Ci thes cumfti alle man <u>ci arstandanne eigun</u> mit lichamon iro Endi geltanti sint fona gitatem eiganem redina: Endi thie guat datun, farent in euuig liib, Endi thie ubil datun, in euuig fuir.
>> 'He (= Christ) is martyred for the salvation of us, climbed down to the Hell and rose from death, climbed up to Heaven, sits to the right side of God, Father Almighty, from there he is coming to judge the living and the dead. At his coming all men shall arise with their flesh, and repaying is (done) by the deed of our own vindication: And those who did good, go into the eternal life, and those who did evil (go) into the eternal fire.'
>> [Cf. Latin: Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos et resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in caelos, sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis, inde venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos. Ad cuius adventum omnes homines <u>resurgere habent</u> cum corporibus suis et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem: et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala, in ignem

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[9] Kaita (2008a) discusses the semantics of OE phrases containing '*geweald* + *habban*/*āgan* (sometimes followed by *to*-infinitive in the case with *habban*) with the cognate expression in OS. In this study I mentioned two things: (1) OE *geweald habban*/*āgan* should be regarded as a frequent collocation or a set phrase, and (2) the phrase as a unit lacks the qualification of an auxiliary for the syntactic reason, even if it can denote the notion of possibility ('can').

aeternum.]

Here Latin *resurgere habent* is rendered as *ci arstandanne eigun*. The semantics of this phrase varies according to several secondary sources. Grimm (1898: 208) cites *ci arstandanne eigun* and V.19.2 in (15). The semantics can allegedly be future or something related to it, which Grimm leaves open: "der begrif (*sic.*) ist also bald fut., bald ein schärferer."[10] Klaeber (1938: 250) and Sturtevant (1938: 424) cite *ci arstandanne eigun* in their footnotes. Klaeber's footnote is for his reading of *me aht singan* or *meaht singan* in OE *Bede 4* 25 344.1 (and of Latin *mihi cantare habes* in XXIIII [XXII] p. 259), about which Klaeber explains that Latin *habere*[11] here can mean 'to have to.' It is unclear, however, how this statement is related to this OHG phrase with *eigun*. Sturtevant seems to consider *eigun* in *ci arstandanne eigun* as future auxiliary: he translates as 'shall arise.' He cites this phrase in the footnote to the statement that the use of Gothic *haban* as a future auxiliary underwent the influence of Latin *habere* in its meaning: "Goth. *haban*, as a future auxiliary, represents a semantic 'Kontrafaktur' of Lat. *habēre*" (p. 425). Here Sturtevant seems to pay little attention to the distinction of OHG *eigun* and OHG *haben*.

4.1.1. Contextual comparison between OHG and OE/Latin

The contexts (15) and (16) deal with the topic related to Doomsday of Christianity. With respect to this subject we still find some more examples. The context of (16) is somewhat similar to (17) and (18), where the relevant words are OHG *sculan* and OE *sculan* respectively.

> (17) *Muspilli* 77-93
>> denne uerit er ze deru mahalsteti,   deru dar kimarchot ist:
>> dar uuirdit diu suona,   dia man dar io sageta.
>> denne uarant engila   uper dio marha,
>> uuechant deota,   uuissant ze dinge.
>> denne <u>scal</u> manno gilih   fona dero moltu <u>arsten</u>,
>> lossan sih ar dero leuuo uazzon: scal imo auar sin lip piqueman,
>> daz er sin reht allaz   kirahhon muozzi
>> enti imo after sinen tatin   arteilit uuerde.
>> denne der gisizzit.   der dar suonnan scal

---

[10] Although the spelling *s* in this work is written with long *s*, I write it here with normal *s* for convenience.

[11] To add more remark on Latin *habere* and its rendering, Mitchell (1965) discusses that Latin *habere* does correspond to OE *magan*. He gives three grounds: (1) "both have the sense *posse* 'to be able to' (p. 108), (2) "both have the sense 'to be obliged to, must' (p. 109), which is discussed more in Mitchell (1969) later, and (3) "both refer to the future" (p. 110). The discussion of the semantics of Latin *habere* (especially when accompanied by an infinitive) with its rendering in OE is one of the possible problems for the further research. See also the problem concerning Latin *resurgere habere* and OE/OHG rendering in Section 4.1.1.

enti arteillan scal   toten endi quekkhen,
denne stet dar umpi   engilo menigi,
guotero gomono: gart ist so mihhil.
dara quimit ze deru rihtungu   so uilo, dia dar ar resti arstent.
so dar manno nohhein   uuiht pimidan nimak,
dar scal denne hant sprehhan,   houpit sagen,
allero lido uuelihc   unzi in den luzigun uinger,
uuaz er untar desen mannun   mordes kifrumita.

> 'Then he came to the judge-place, which is ordained there: the tribunal takes place that one had formerly told about there. Then angels go over lands, wake people, summon to the trial. Then one shall likewise arise from dust, resolve himself from burden: (he) shall obtain his flesh again, so that he can advocate his right entirely and be judged according to his deeds. Then the one sits, who shall judge and shall distinguish there the dead and the living, while many of the angels, good people, sit around him: the court is so large. so many (people) come to the judge there, who arise there from rest. So none of men can avoid anything, where hands shall speak, heads tell, (and) each of all the bodies to the little finger (tells), what one committed concerning murder among these people.'

Cook (ed.) (1900: 188), in the notes to the lines 1029-1031 of OE *Christ*, refers to the similarity of this line to *Muspilli* (lines 81-82).

(18) *Christ* 1029b-1032a

<u>Sceal</u> þonne ānra gehwylc
fore Crīstes cyme   cwic <u>ārīsan</u>,
leoðum onfōn   ond līchoman,
edgeong wesan;

> 'Then at the coming of Christ each one shall arise alive, obtain limb and body, (and) be young again;'

On the other hand, we can find two passages in *Blickling Homily*, where present forms of *upastandan* and *forhtian* (without *sculan*) are used.

(19) *Blickling Homily* 109.30-111.1

Ne þearf þæs nán man wenan þæt his lichama móte oþþe mæge þa synbyrþenna on eorþscrafe gebetan; ah he þær on moldan gemolsnaþ & þær wyrde bideþ, hwonne se ælmihtiga God wille þisse worlde ende gewyricean, & þonne he his byrnsweord getyhþ & þas world ealle þurhslyhþ, & þa lichoman þurh sceoteð, & þysne middangeard tocleofeð, & þa deadan <u>upastandaþ</u>, biþ þonne se flæschoma ascyred swa glæs, ne mæg ðæs unrihtes beón awiht bedigled.

> 'No one needs to think about it that his body may or can amend the burden of

sin in the sepulchre; but there he decays in the soil and there await the Doom, when the almighty God will bring end to this world, and when he draws his flaming sword and afflict this world entirely, and strikes through the bodies, and splits this world, and the dead rise up, then the body is made clear like glass, (and) nothing wicked can be concealed.'

(20) *Blickling Homily* 11.2-4

> ond þæt geweorþeþ on domes dæge *þæt* he cymeþ to demenne cwicum & deadum. Þonne forhtiaþ ealle gesceafta, ge heofonware ge eorþware.

> > 'And it happens on Doomsday that he (= Christ) comes to judge the living and the dead. Then all of creatures, both heavenly dwellers and earthly dwellers, are afraid (of it).'

When I venture to compare the contexts and the verbs in (20) with those in (15) (OHG), they are analogous in that all the creatures are expected to 'be afraid (of the judgment)', rather than 'to arise.' This comparison could then show us the semantic overlap between future and obligation. The following citations from OE *Psalter Canticles* may suggest that the context refers to the notion of futurity or obligation.

(21) *Psalter Canticles*[12]

> *PsCaA 2* (Kuhn) (19.40): *c*875-900
> > To þæs tocyme ealle menn arisað habbað mid limgesiþum his & to agyldenne synt of weorcum agenum gescead

> *PsCaD* (Roeder) (19(11).40): *c*950
> > To þæs tocyme ealle menn arisað habbað mid limgesihðum hira & to agyldanne synd of weorcum agenum gescad

> *PsCaL* (Lindelöf) (19(2).40): *c*975-1000
> > To þæs tocyme ealle men arisan habbað mid hira lichaman & agieldende synt be hyra agnum dædum riht

> *PsCaC* (Wildhagen) (19(15).40): *c*1025
> > To þæs tocyme ealle men to arisanne hi habbað mid heora lichaman & to agyldanne synd be agnum gescead

> *PsCaI* (Lindelöf) (19(15).40): *c*1025
> > Þæs on tokyme ealle menn arisan habbað mid heora lichaman & hi synt to agyfenne l to agyldenne be heora agenum weorcum gescead

> *PsCaG* (Rosier) (19(15).40): *c*1050
> > <Tocyme> ealle men to <arisann> habbað mid hira lichama & to <agildann> of geweorcum agenum gescad

> *PsCaJ* (Oess) (19(15).40): *c*1050-1075
> > To þæs tocyme ealle me arisaþ habbaþ mid heomgesihþe heora & to agildane synd of dædum agenum gescad

> *PsCaK* (Sisam) (19(15).40): *c*1100
> > To ðæs tocyme ealle men arisen habbað mid hir lichaman & alysede beoð of weorcum ðam ærran gebedum

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[12] Text from *The DOE Web Copus*. The dating of each text is based on Ogura (2005: 10-11).

PsCaE (Liles) (19(15).40): *c*1150

& to whæs tocuman alle menn <u>sculen arisan</u> mid heore lichoman & geouan antsweare off heore ahgen wercan mid sceadwisnesse

In *PsCaC* and *PsCaG* *to*-infinitive is found with *habban* instead of *āgan*. This can suggest that OE *āgan* is hardly used in the context for future. On the contrary, however, we should not be rash to conclude that OE *habban* with *to*-infintive can function as such due to the fact that the sentences are based on Latin. This may have something in common with respect to my proposal in Section 2.2 that OHG *haben* is preferred to *eigun* in *Tatian* due to Latin *habere*. If we consider the ambiguity between futurity and obligation we could for example further examine the tendency of Latin *habere* with infinitive or OE *sculan*/OHG *sculan* with infinitive.[13] These matters should be followed by the examination concerning the textual study of *Psalter Glosses* as well as the correspondence between Latin and OE/OHG. My research has not yet proceeded to this stage.

In *PsCaE* the auxiliary is *sculan*. O'Neill (1992: 132) regards the "use of *sceal* as an auxiliary to translate Latin future verbs" in this version as the "modernization of the existing Old English gloss." In a similar passage of Early ME *Trinity Homily* the auxiliary *sculan* can be found. This passage can tell us that the context denotes future rather than obligation, if the claim of O'Neill is right.

(22) *Trinity Homily* IV. 23.31-32[14]

And ich leue þat mankin <u>shal</u> a domesdai <u>risen</u> of deaðe. *and* elch man heren his dom bi eftemeste erdede.

'And I believe that on Doomsday mankind shall rise from death and each one (shall) hear his doom according to his last deeds.'

Now that we have examined some OE (or Latin) passages similar to (16) the meaning of OHG *eigun* in '*eigun* + *zi*-infinitive' construction can be either future or obligation, as Grimm suggests. Morris (1990: 82-83) refers to the inclusive relationships between future and some other modal categories as follows: "[w]ith regard to future, research has shown that there are certain semantic categories such as *intent, obligation, ingressum, future time*, which occur over and over as the source for future interpretation (see Ultan 1978). Such is the case in Germanic. These categories, as well as possibly others, must be part of a conceptual framework that is interpreted as *future*." Ultan (1978) examines this interpretation from a typological viewpoint together with the consideration in English language. At this stage the consideration of the semantic categories must inevitably become abstract.

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[13] This proposal is related to the correspondence between Latin *habere* and OE *magan* posed by Mitchell (1965), cited in the footnote 11.

[14] There is no corresponding part to *Lambeth Homily* VII.

4.1.2. Chronological comparison

The argument in Sections 4.1 and 4.1.1 entails that OHG *eigun* accompanying *zi*-infinitive has the possibility of an auxiliary, whose notion is future or obligation. The following Table 3 illustrates the period of the literatures mentioned. This chronological table shows that OHG *eigun* is used as an auxiliary as early as 9th century, while OE *āgan* does not appear. That is, the use of *āgan* with *to*-infinitive for obligation emerges later than the OHG cognate does.

Table 3: Chronological comparison for a context of futurity 'shall arise'

German	English
a900 (17) *Msp*: *scal ... arsten*	(21) *PsCaA 2*: *arisað habbað*
(16) *WKt*: *ci arstandanne eigun*	
	(19) *BlHom*: *upastandaþ*
[(15) *Evg*: *zi sorganne éigun*	(20) *BlHom*: *forhtiaþ*]
1000	(21) *PsCaL*: *arisan habbað*
	(18) *Christ*: *Sceal ... arisan*
	(21) *PsCaC*: *to arisanne habbað*
1100	
	(21) *PsCaE*: *sculen arisan*
1200	(22) *TrinHom*: *shal ... risen*

4.2. OHG *eigun* and OS *êgun* with past participle

4.2.1. OHG *eigun* with past participle

Grimm (1898: 176), Dal (1966: 121), Takahashi (1994: 149), and Shimazaki (2003: 4-5) regard the following example as the oldest one of OHG perfect, where Latin *accepistis* is rendered by *intfangan eigut*.[15]

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[15] "Im Ahd. kann gleichbedeutend mit *habēn* auch *eigan* „besitzen" in dieser Konstruktion [= „in denen das Part. Prät. eines transitiven Verbs als Prädikat auf das Objekt von *haben* bezogen ist"] stehen, so in dem ältesten Beleg: *christāniun namun intfangan eigut* „christianum nomen accepistis" (Exhortatio, Anfang 9.Jh.)" (Dal 1966: 121). Shimazaki (2003: 4), when referring to the citation (23), terms it as the oldest use of '*haben* + past participle', where no distinction between *haben* and *eigun* seems to be made. In this paper I do not discuss the distinction between these two possessive verbs (so for OE cognates) more than I did in Section 2. According to Zadorožny (1974: 384), however, the participle with *haben* showed inflection in the past, while that with *eigun* not: "[e]s ist anzunehmen, daß die Kontamination von beiden Verben [= *habēn* und *aigan*] in dieser Fügung [= mit dem Part. II] zum Chaos in der Frage der Verwendung vom flektierten und nicht flektierten Part. II geführt hat. Wie es scheint, war das unflektierte Part. II ursprünglich nur auf das medial verwendete finite Verb von *habēn* beschränkt, und das flektierte auf *aigan*." In *Evangelienbuch* there are only three examples of the combination with *haben / eigun* with an inflected participle, which are I.4.53 and IV.15.55 for *haben* and V.7.29 for *eigun* (see (30)), as shown by Erdmann (1874: 228) (only giving the line

(23) *Exhortatio ad Plebem Christianam* MS B 1-8

> Hloset ir, chindo liupostun, rihtida thera galaupa, the ir in herzin kahuctlicho
> hapen sculut. ir den christanun namun <u>intfangan eigut</u>, thaz ist chundida iuuerera
> christanheiti, fona demo truthine in man gaplasan, fona sin selpes iungiron
> kasezzit.

>> 'Observe you, the dearest children, the rule of the belief, which you should
>> have in heart cordially. You have received the Christian name, which is the
>> symbol of your Christianity, blew from Lord into men, (and) set by his own
>> apostles.'

>> [Cf. Latin: Audite, filii, regulam fidei, quam in corde memoriter habere debetis,
>> qui christianum nomen <u>accepistis</u>, quod est uestrę indicium christianitatis, a
>> domino inspiratum, ab apostolis institutum.]

This example presents the ambiguity that the phrase *den christanun namun intfangan eigut* means either 'to have the Christian name as received' or 'to have received the Christian name.'

The following example is from *Ludwigslied*, which is referred to by Gordon (1960: 37) discussing the similar use of OE *āgan* (see Section 3.2).

(24) *Ludwigslied* 23-24

> 'Hluduig, kuning min,   Hilph minan liutin!
>   <u>Heigun</u> sa Northman   Harto <u>biduuungan</u>.'
>   'Ludwig, my king, help my folks. The Northmen have oppressed severely.'

The part (line 24) lacks an accusative object. Müller (2007: 306), in the note to the line, terms *Heigun ... biduuungan* definitely as a perfect use. Müller's interpretation is understandable when we read the context describing the situation that the folks have been oppressed by the Northmen.

4.2.2. OS *êgun* with past participle

The only example of *êgun* with a past participle (among 36 occurences) is in the line 41.

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numbers) and Watts (2001: 129) ("of 43 participles only 3 are inflected").

(25) *Heliand* 32-46a

> That scoldun sea fiori thuo fingron scrîban,
> settian endi singan endi seggian forð,
> that sea fan Cristes crafte them mikilon
> gisâhun endi gihôrdun, thes hie selbo gisprac,
> giuuîsda endi giuuarahta, uundarlîcas filo,
> sô manag mid mannon mahtig drohtin,
> all so hie it fan them anginne thuru is *ênes* craht,
> uualdand gisprak, thuo hie êrist thesa uuerold giscuop
> endi thuo all bifieng mid ênu uuordo,
> himil endi erða endi al that sea <u>bihlidan êgun</u>
> giuuarahtes endi giuuahsanes: that uuarð thuo all mid uuordon godas
> fasto bifangan, endi *gifrumid* after thiu,
> huilic than liudscepi landes scoldi
> uuîdost giuualdan, eftho *huar* thiu *uueroldaldar*
> *endon scoldin.*

> 'The four were commanded to write it with fingers, compose, and sing, and tell forth what they saw and heard about the power of great Christ, many miracles that he himself spoke, showed and performed, many things that the great Lord (did) among people, just as the ruler spoke it from the beginning through his own power, that he first created this world and then described with one word everything, heaven and earth and all that have covered them, creatures and entities, which were inscribed firmly all with God's words, and made after that, which people of the land should have power most widely or when the age of world should end.'

Several studies give a remark to this limited use of *êgun*. Grimm (1898: 178) regards *êgun* as one of the perfect auxiliaries. Lussky (1922: 49) refrains from a definite statement about this use of *êgun*: "[w]hether at first two different auxiliaries were used, as in the case of intransitive verbs, cannot be determined. One example would tempt us to assume as much." Arnett (1997) numerates 122 occurrences of perfect actives with *hebbian* with past participle (pp. 56-67) and 13 occurrences of subjunctive perfect actives with *hebbian* with past participle (pp. 68-69). Arnett does not refer to the use of *êgun*. Watts (2001: 125) shows in a table (without the whole list of lines) the number of "Perfective Participle Collocations", where the occurrences of *hebbian* amount 152 (including 28 intransitive participles[16] (p. 130)), and *êgun* "is found in only one token" (p. 129). Because of this

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[16] The lines 465-466, showing the combination of *hebbian* with an intransitive *libbian*, are cited by Zadorožny (1974: 386), Takahashi (1994: 151), and Watts (2001: 130).

> *Heliand* 463a-468
> Thar fundun sea ênna gôdan man
> aldan *at* them alaha, aðalboranan,
> the <u>habda</u> *at* them uuîha sô filu uuintro endi sumaro
> <u>gilibd</u> an them liohta: oft uuarhta he thar lof goda
> mid hluttru hugi; habda im hêlagna gêst,

rarity the use of *êgun* is not examined by Watts any further. Unlike the widespread use of *hebbian* as a perfect auxiliary in *Heliand*, even for the intransitives (see the footnote 16), the one occurrence of *êgun* poses the difficulty of deciding whether it can be regarded as a perfect auxiliary, just as we find only two controvertial examples in OE in Section 3.2.

4.2.3. Formation of perfect in German

In this section, returning to OHG, we review the history of perfect. Through this review it will become clear that OHG *eigun* may well be qualified as a perfect auxiliary. The following examples (26) - (32) are cited by several studies (including some more studies not mentioned in this paper).

(26) *Tatian* 102.2

Tho quad her thesa ratissa: phígboum habeta sum giflanzotan in sinemo uuingarten, inti qúam suochen uuahsamon in themo boume inti ni fant.

[Cf. Lk 13.6 (MnE (*AV*): Hee spake also this parable, A certaine man had a figtree planted in his Vineyard, and he came and sought fruit thereon, and found none.]

(27) *Evangelienbuch* I.25.11[17]

lâz iz sus thuruhgân, sô wir eigun nu gisprochan

'Let it go on so, as we have now spoken'

(28) *Evangelienbuch* III.18.36[18]

nu gene al eigun sus gidân

'nun jene alle so getan haben' (Paul's translation)

'now all have done so'

(29) *Evangelienbuch* IV.19.65-67

„Ir hórtut", quad, „thaz úngimah,   wío er widar góte sprah;
ni bithúrfun wir in wára   nu úrkundono méra.
Waz er sélbo hiar nu quít,   thaz éigut ir gihórit;

'"You heard", he said, "the improper (thing), as he spoke against God; we need indeed no more of testaments now. You have heard what he himself says here now;'

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sáliglîcan seḃon;   Simeon uuas he hêtan.
'There they found a good old man of noble birth at the temple, who had dwelt at the sanctuary so many winters and summers in the light: he often made praise of God with pure mind; (he) had the Holy Ghost, pious mind; he was called Simon.'

[17] Text from Paul (1920: 137).
[18] Text from Paul (1920: 137).

(30) *Evangelienbuch* V.7.29[19]

        sie <u>eigun</u> mir <u>ginomanan</u> lioban druhtîn mînan

        'They have taken from me my dear lord.'

(31) Notker *Psalmen* 76(77).21[20]

        nu <u>habênt</u> sie dir ubelo <u>gedanchôt</u>

        'they have now thanked you badly'

(32) Notker *Psalmen* 105(106).6

        wir <u>eigen</u> <u>gesundôt</u>

        'we have sinned'

Lockwood (1968: 115-116) classifies the history of German perfect into four stages, by using some of these citations. This classification is later reproduced by Davis (1986: 104-105), giving the labels to each stage (e.g. "Stage 1", etc.), which I will use here for convenience.

(33) Periphrases in OHG: Lockwood (1968: 115-116) (Cf. Davis (1986: 104-105))

    Stage 1: "a word-for-word rendering of the Latin sentence": <u>ex. (26)</u>

    Stage 2: "a more advanced example": <u>ex. (30)</u>

    Stage 3: "[T]he inflectional ending, having become functionless, soon falls into disuse": <u>ex. (29)</u>

    Stage 4 <u>(Lockwood)</u>: "By the turn of the eleventh century the construction had been extended to the imperfective intransitive verbs" <u>ex. (31) and (32)</u>

Here I should add some comments, since the classification by Lockwood and Davis differs slightly with each other.

    For Stage 1, Morris (1991: 166) is against Lockwood, and states that "the Tatian translation is not a slavish one." For the justification of this claim Morris mentions the word formation different between OHG and Latin[21]: (1) OHG *phigboum* and Latin *arborem fici*, and (2) OHG *sinemo uuingarten* and Latin *vinea sua.* Although the statement of Morris is not directly related to the perfect auxiliary *haben*, his claim is important in considering the rendering from Latin to OHG (or OE). Aside from the discussion of the word order it is understandable that at an early stage OHG *haben* with past participle is used for the rendering of Latin phrase (as I mentioned in Sections 2.2 and 4.1), while a single perfect form (e.g. *accepistis*, see (23)) in Latin is translated by means of OHG *eigun* with past participle (e.g. *intfangan eigut*), and later the distinction between these possessive verbs became unclear since they are synonymous. This is, of course, still a matter of speculation

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[19] Text from Paul (1920: 137).

[20] Texts and translations of (31) and (32) are from Lockwood (1968: 116).

[21] The Latin version given by Lockwood and Morris is: *arborem fici habebat quidam plantatam in vinea sua.*

and therefore should be researched further.

For Stage 2 the Davis' remark is more precise: "[t]he passive meaning of the verbal adjective that had modified the direct object begins to give way to an active one. The verbal adjective comes to modify the action of the subject of the sentence and thereby becomes the main verb of the sentence; it is a true participle like those used in the passive and the 'to be' + PP active periphrases" (Davis 1986: 105).

For Stage 4, Davis adds a more precise comment: "[i]t [= the 'to have' + PP periphrase in Old High German] had been limited at first to transitive verbs, but soon came to form the perfect periphrase with imperfect intransitives, since they were unable to form a periphrase with 'to be' as could the perfectives" (Davis 1986: 105). Judging from these two statements for the Stage 4 given by Lockwood and Davis, the Stage given by Davis might precede that given by Lockwood in that Lockwood gives the precise dating ("[b]y the turn of the eleventh century" (p. 116)).

Shimazaki (2003: 6-10) claims that *haben* with a past participle in *Evangelienbuch* does not function merely as the modifier of an accusative object. According to his claim, when this phrase is employed for expressing an abstract condition (e.g. IV.19.67 in (29)), the participle is in stronger combination with *haben* than with the noun object. He also points out some examples where no accusative object appears, which include (27) I.25.11 and (28) III.18.36.

As the formation of the perfect tense is out of the scope of this paper, suffice it to say that *eigun* appears at the several stages within OHG period, thus qualifying as an auxiliary of perfect. From the argument above it should be pointed out (even if rather informally) that the formation of the perfect is influenced morphologically by the loss of participle ending, semantically by the weakening of the accusative object, as well as contextually. With respect to these points OE *āgan* with a past particile presents difficulty to decide such use.

4.2.4. Structual analysis of OE *āgan*/OHG *eigun*/OS *êgun* with a past participle

In the end of this section we review the structure of aforesaid examples in OE, OHG, and OS.

Table 4: Structual analysis of the examples of (seemingly) perfect

Phase	OE (9) *Sea* 27	OE (10) *WHom* 20.2 51	OHG (24) *Lwg.* 24	OHG (30) *Evg.* V.7.29	OS (25) *Hld.* 41
1. Participle	Vt	Vt	Vt	Vt	Vt
2. Object	Ac. noun	Ac. pron.	No object	Ac. noun	Ac. pron.
3. Agent of V & p.p.	=	=	=	=	=
4. Contextual Reading: A. 'to have something that was done' or B. "to be under some circumstance"					
	A / B	A / B	B	B	A / B

In all of these five examples past participles are transitive, having accusative objects except for (24). Here OHG *heigun ... biduuungan* in (24) can be termed syntactically as a perfect phrase. With reference to the analysis of Shimazaki (2003) the (semantic) agent of the finite verb and that of the participle are identical in all these cases. Therefore we have to decide the meaning with the aid of the contexts. On the phase 4 the reading A indicates that the possessive verb retains its original meaning, wherefore the context expresses the notion 'to have something that was done.' The reading B expresses a perfect sense. Yet the interpretation of the two OE contexts leaves the ambiguity as to the reading either A or B. Some concrete examples in OHG (i.e. (24) and (30)), however, would allow the aspectual interpretation of two OE cases.

5. Conclusion

We have examined the potential of OE *āgan* as an auxiliary, by comparing the verb with OHG and OS cognates. OE *āgan* is more restricted in its occurrence than its synonym *habban*, thus ambiguous to decide if it has the use as an auxiliary for (1) obligation (in the case with *to*-infinitive) or (2) perfect (in the case with past participle). The usage (2), in particular, still remains problematic due to the limited number of occurrences. When we compare the use of OE *āgan* with OHG *eigun* or OS *êgun* in perfect use, however, we cannot reject such potential of OE *āgan*.

The use of OE *āgan* with *to*-infinitive arises at first in an ambiguous syntax, and later becomes an auxiliary. Such a change might have been caused by the influence of *sculan* (meaning obligation) or the synonym *habban* accompanying *to*-infinitive. Or even Latin *habere* or *debere* might be involved, for which I can say nothing exact until a further investigation is made on the correspondence between Latin wording and its rendering in OE. At least it is an inneglible fact that *habban* and *āgan* coexist in OE.

OHG cognate *eigun* with *zi*-infinitive, on the other hand, can be regarded as an auxiliary, whose meaning can be either future or obligation, although there is little attestation of this usage compared to the use with past participles in Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*. From this argument I conclude that the exploration of the relationship of such abstract modal categories can be important for the semantic study of modals. This study shows the overlap or the inseparable relationship of these categories. At least it can be said that OHG *eigun* has acquired the use as an auxiliary earlier than OE *āgan* does, as a result of which we can examine the history of OE *āgan* from a comparative viewpoint. I hope I have shown that tracking the history of cognate words can shed a new light on the problematic inquiry of a given word in a language.

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