A Diachronic Investigation of English 'have'

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ABSTRACT

Die vielseitige Verwendbarkeit von ‚to have' im Englischen steht im Mittelpunkt dieser Arbeit. Dessen einzelne Funktionen und Interpretationen im heutigen Englisch werden sowohl vom syntaktischen als auch vom semantischen Standpunkt betrachtet, wobei bei einigen auf deren historische Aspekte eingegangen wird. Es folgt ein Exkurs über ‚have' als Hilfsverb.

Besonderes Augenmerk gilt jedoch der Funktion von ‚have' als ‚leichtes Verb'. Die Definition eines solchen wird zunächst umrissen. Mit Hilfe von drei Korpora, dem *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*, dem *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition* und dem *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* werden Untersuchungen über die Entwicklung bestimmter Phänomene, wie die Austauschbarkeit von ‚leichten Verben', Modifikation, die Konjunktion mehrerer verbaler Elemente und Idiomatisierung, durchgeführt. Die einzelnen deverbalen Nomen in Verbindung mit ‚have' sind in tabellarischer Form aufgelistet. Zum Schluss werden die Ergebnisse der einzelnen Epochen – altenglisch, mittelenglisch und frühneuenglisch – miteinander verglichen und diskutiert.

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I. Introduction

At first sight, the English verb *have* appears to be quite trivial. However, by looking up the verb in a dictionary it becomes clear that there is much more behind than just "the most general verb denoting possession".[1] This very original meaning of *have* is merely the tip of the iceberg. The various possibilities to interpret *have* lead to the assumption that *have* itself is inherent in a very general connotation. Hence, *have* seems to receive nearly all of its interpretation from the environment. Depending on its environment, *have* can function in the sense of: to be related to (*I have a brother and a sister.*); to cause (*I had her feed my cat.*); to give birth to (*She is having a baby right now.*); to be affected by an occurrence (*He had his wife walk out on him.*); to take part in an action (*I had breakfast at six o'clock.*); etc. In addition, *have* serves as auxiliary in perfect tense (*She had gone by the time he arrived.*) and as supplement for *must* (*I have to go home now.*). Simultaneously, *have* can occur in a 'light' sense, which means it lies somewhere between lexical and functional usage.

There are a number of articles about English *have*. Some deal with the various functions of *have* (e.g. Ritter & Rosen), others list *have* as one of the five most frequent light verbs (e.g. Brinton & Akimoto), and others consider *have* historically (e.g. Hayase). Here I am trying to combine all these aspects: I would like to discuss the various functions of *have* – with a special weight on *have* as a light verb – and consider all that historically from Old English to Middle English and Early Modern English and finally to Present-day English.

I will begin with a general overview of *have* in its different interpretations and functions in Modern English from a syntactic perspective as well as from a semantic one. There will also be an excursus about *have* as an auxiliary. The following chapter deals with the historical aspects of *have* in Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English. Before investigating *have* as a light verb and its historical development, I would like to define what a light verb actually represents. After the corpora are introduced in Chapter V, *habban* as a light verb in Old English is discussed. There will be a special regard to the interchangeability of light verbs, simplex verb use versus light verb construction, modification, conjunction of verbal actions and idiomatization. Analogue, this procedure will be applied for Middle English and Early Modern English. In the end, all three stages will be compared to each other. (Table 3)

[1] The Oxford Dictionary, 1966.

II. *HAVE* IN GENERAL

A. *HAVE* FROM A SYNTACTIC PERSPECTIVE

This chapter deals with the different uses of *have* in Present-day English including the locational reading, alienable and inalienable possession, experiencer reading as well as causative and 'light' readings, and properties of auxiliary *have*. *Have* stands for different meanings in different contents:[2]

(1)	a. *John has a hat on*.	Locational
	aa. **John is having a hat on*.	
	b. *John has a sister*.	Inalienable Possession
	bb. **John is having as sister*.	
	c. *John has a new car*.	Alienable Possession
	cc.**John is having a new car*.	
	d. *John had the students walk out of his class*.	Experiencer
	dd. *John had the students walk out of* pro *class.*	
	ddd. **John is having the students walk out of his class*.	
	e. *John had the students read three articles*.	Causative
	f. *John had a party*.	Nominal event
	g. *John has read the NYT*.	Auxiliary
	gg. **John is having read the NYT*.	

In the first half of this chapter, I will turn to the syntactic aspects of *have*: based on the supposition that *have* has no independent semantic content, it is assumed that the various interpretations of *have* are a result from the syntactic structure. That is, *have* obtains an interpretation as an effect of the relation it forms between the subject and the predicate. Since *have* lacks lexically specified semantics, the subject requires an interpretation by one of two possibilities: For non-eventive predicates, the subject gets an interpretation via co-reference with a constituent in the predicate. For eventive predicates, all arguments are supposed to get a syntactically determined event role, so that the subject of *have* is interpreted by virtue of the role it plays in the event. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 295)

At the outset, the question rises if there is one verb *have* or multiple *haves*. As "the meaning of *have* is not fixed at the level of lexical representation"[3] and the lexical representation of *have* therefore has no independent semantic content the various

[2] The examples are from Ritter and Rosen 1997: 296.
[3] Ritter & Rosen 1993: 520.

interpretations consequently are derived from the syntactic structure.[4] Ritter & Rosen (1997) list the following postulates and consequences to analyze the function of *have*:

(2) Postulates
- (i) There is only one verb *have*.
- (ii) *Have* is a functional item; it has no specific thematic content, and no thematic roles to assign.
- (iii) *Have* provides the additional syntactic structure necessary for the insertion of an extra argument, and/or for the modification of event structure.

(3) Consequences
- (i) *Have* lacks the semantic content necessary to provide an interpretation for its subject argument (Ritter & Rosen, 1993).
- (ii) The subject of *have* must be related to some other constituent in order to get an interpretation.
- (iii) The meaning of *have* is determined post-lexically by the nature of the relation it sets up, i.e. by the possible construal of the items related.

While it seems to be plausible that there is only one lexical entry for the main verb *have*, the question rises whether there might not be a second entry for the auxiliary *have*, as its use is completely functional. For the entry of 'light' *have* (e.g. nominal event) see Chapters VI, VII and VIII.

1. NON-EVENTIVE USES OF MAIN VERB *HAVE*

The challenge of the examples in (1) is in which way an interpretation for the subject of *have* can be assigned without recourse to either event structure or specific lexical semantic content of the verb. As already mentioned above, the subject of the different non-eventive uses of *have* in (1 a-d) receives its interpretation via co-reference with a constituent in the predicate. In each case, the element that provides the subject with an interpretation will be identified.[5] (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 307)

1.1 LOCATIONAL *HAVE*

(1) a. *John has a hat on*.[6]

In the non-eventive uses of *have*, the subject behaves like a role-bound topic and acquires its interpretation via co-reference with a subordinate constituent.[7] This use always includes

[4] Ritter & Rosen 1997: 296.
[5] This approach is based on the analysis of Brunson and Cowper (1992). They observed that the range of interpretations available to the subject of have are essentially the same as those available to a base-generated topic.
[6] For convenience, I will repeat the concerning examples from (1) in each section.

a locational PP, and the complement of this P refers back to the subject. Even if the complement of P is non-overt as in (1a), it is well understood that it refers back to the subject of *have*, i.e., this sentence cannot mean that *John* has *a hat* on someone else's head. The locational use of *have* derives from the relation between a PP predicate and its subject. The subject of *have* does not introduce a new individual, but rather topicalizes the individual that constitutes the location. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 309)

1.2 INALIENABLE POSSESSION

With inalienable possession, the possessed N selects an internal argument that provides an interpretation for the subject of *have*:

(1) b. *John has a sister*.

Relational nouns (*sister*) and nouns denoting parts of wholes (*legs* and *blue eyes*) can be identified as nouns, which have a null pronominal internal argument (*pro*). (Guéron (1985, 1995) and Tellier (1990)) This internal argument is co-indexed with the subject of *have*, and consequently provides it with an interpretation. While relational Ns always have an internal argument, non-relational Ns only do so when they denote a part of a larger entity. (Ritter & Rosen: 1997: 309f)

1.3 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

The main difference between alienable possessive and inalienable possessive *have* sentences is the internal structure of the possessed DP.[8] That is, alienable possessed DPs are non-relational, and therefore they do not have a *pro* complement. However, alienable possession expresses a mentally constructed relation between people and things they own:

(1) c. *John has a new car*.

Elsewhere, such ownership sets up a relation between a possessor in [Spec, DP] and a possessed noun inside D', as in *John's car*. A *pro* in [Spec, DP] provides a way to interpret *John*, the subject of *have*. Specifically, co-indexation of the subject of *have* and pro enables the subject to be interpreted as the possessor.

As is well known, alienable possession requires an animate possessor. This animacy restriction also accounts for locational *have* constructions. So, there must be an animate pro

[7] This assumption is not truly concord with the analysis proposed by Brunson and Cowper.
[8] In other respects, they are structurally similar to each other.

inside the complement of *have* assuming that is must be co-indexed with the subject of *have*: clearly, co-indexation of animate *pro* with an inanimate subject is not possible.

In the following, the animate subject is construed as the location of the inanimate object. Implicit in this analysis is the assumption that alienable possession specifies an abstract locational relationship between an entity and a human referent. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 312ff)

1.4 EXPERIENCER *HAVE*

In Ritter & Rosen (1993), it has been argued that experiencer *have* receives an event structure interpretation just like causative *have* below. This does not seem to be true. In contrast to causative *have* experiencer *have* is non-eventive and so it can be concluded that it has no event structure representation. Consequently, its subject does not receive an interpretation from the event structure.

However, the experiencer subject generally requires a co-referential item in the embedded predicate. It seems plausible to assume that the co-reference, which cannot be too deeply, embedded displays experiencer *have* with locational and possessive *have*. In these cases, the subject of *have* is interpreted much like a role-bound topic, i.e. it obtains its interpretation from a co-referential DP that it c-commands. The assumption that the subject of experiencer *have* is in the same way role-bound could be responsible for the observed locality restriction. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 315)

(1) d. *John had the students walk out of his class*.
dd. *John had the students walk out of* pro *class.*

(1d) includes a co-referential pronoun while (1dd) does not have one. But it is understood anyway that *the students walked out of John's class*. Thus, the possessive relation (between *John* and *the class*) must be represented as some other possessive relation: there is a possessor in [Spec, DP], which in this case is realized as *pro*. The difference in interpretation of the subject between location/ possession and experience is based on the nature of the predicate. The predicate denotes an event rather than an entity in the case of experiencer *have*. A non-eventive relation between a subject and an event is supposed to be one of experience. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 316)

2. EVENTIVE USES OF MAIN VERB *HAVE*

In the eventive use, *have* joins an eventive VP predicate whereas the subject of *have* receives its interpretation from the event structure. The functional heads that constitute *have*

represent the event structure syntactically. The event structure, which is provided by the functional projections is supposed to be a syntactic structure and not a lexical one. (Borer 1994)

2.1 CAUSATIVE *HAVE*

The causative use of *have* was interpreted as a functor predicate. (Ritter & Rosen 1993) They lack independent semantic content, just like functional categories. Due to this lack, they are unable to assign theta-roles or license an independent event. Rather, they serve to modify an existing event:

(1) e. *John had the students read three articles*

The inclusion of *have* and its subject extends the event denoted by the lexical predicate embedded under *have*. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 302)

In sum, this analysis proposes that the subject of *have* is licensed syntactically rather than lexically. *Have* provides two functional projections, each allowing an argument to appear.

2.2 'LIGHT' *HAVE*

Some DP complements of *have* denote events in which the subject of *have* is a participant. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 303) What Ritter & Rosen call 'nominal events' is also known as 'light verb construction'. I will use the latter terminology in this text.

To distinguish events from states, Ritter & Rosen use two well-known event tests:

1. Only events appear in the progressive, and
2. only events can follow the phrase *'what happened was…'* (Jackendorff 1983). It is discovered that *have* may appear in the progressive with some DPs, and the same DPs pass the *'what happened was…'* test.

(5) a. *Mary is having fun.*
b. *Mary is having a party.*
c. *Mary is having supper.*
d. *Mary is having a talk with Bill.*
e. *Mary is having a bath.*
f. *Mary is having an exhibition.*

(6) a. *What happened was that Mary had fun.*
b. *What happened was that Mary had a party*.
c. *What happened was that Mary had supper*.
d. *What happened was that Mary had a talk with Bill*.
e. *What happened was that Mary had a bath*.
f. *What happened was that Mary had an exhibition*.

Not only are the above examples eventive, but the subject of *have* may be interpreted as having volitional control over the event, as is evident from the fact that they can all appear in the imperative:

(7) a. *Have fun!*
b. *Have a party!*
c. *Have supper!*
d. *Have a talk with Bill!*
e. *Have a bath!*
f. *Have an exhibition!*

It is important to mention that not all eventive DP complements of *have* co-occur with an agentive subject.[9]

3. SUMMARY

The subject of *have* receives an interpretation whereas *have* itself does not need to be considered as a thematic verb assigning specific thematic roles. In the case that *have* establishes event structure, the subject of *have* initiates the event, and therefore receives a causer interpretation. But for the other cases, no event structure is available to provide a role for the subject of *have*, which is forced to receive an interpretation elsewhere. The subject of these non-eventive uses (locational, alienable and inalienable possession, and experience) is topic-like due to its role-boundness by a referential DP in the predicate embedded under *have*. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 316)

Causative and 'light' uses of *have* are unusual in assigning the causer/ investigator role to the subject. All other uses of *have* (locational *have*, inalienable possession of *have*, alienable possession of *have*, experiencer *have*, auxiliary *have*) cannot be realized in the progressive[10] or as the complement to '*what happened was'*, which leads to the assumption that the clause only denotes an event when a causative interpretation is available. Hence, it is ineffective to extend this analysis to the non-eventive uses of *have*.[11] (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 305f)

[9] See Ritter & Rosen 1997: 304 for examples.
[10] See (1).
[11] It is an interesting fact that English allows a causative use of *have*. It appears that few languages permit an event structure interpretation of this functor predicate and that its availability in English derives from a more general property of the language. The availability of eventive uses of *have* in English might be due to the existence of a dynamic (e.g. non-stative) preposition *to*. (Déchaine et al. 1994)

Beginning with *Chapter V*, I will further investigate *have* as a light verb and its historical development. Before, we will turn to the function of *have* as an auxiliary and in the second half of this chapter, we will deal with the semantics of *have*.

4. EXCURSUS: AUXILIARY *HAVE*

Repeatedly, it has been tried to present an analysis of *have* that combines its auxiliary and main verb uses.[12] However, auxiliaries *have* has thus far resisted such an analysis. According to Ritter & Rosen, there are some advantages to integrating auxiliaries and main verb *have*. As a matter of fact, there remain some outstanding problems for a unified analysis.

One difference between main verb *have* and auxiliary *have* is that while main *have* introduces a new subject argument, there is evidence that auxiliary *have* is a raising verb. Auxiliary *have* can take unaccusative predicates and no additional subject is added, as in (8); auxiliary *have* can take expletive subjects, as in (10); and auxiliary *have* can appear in clausal idiom chunks, where no arguments are assigned, as in (11). In addition, when auxiliary *have* takes an unergative or transitive as in (9), it is not likely that a subject argument is added. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 316f)

(8) Unaccusatives
   a. *John has died*.
   b. *John has arrived*.
   c. *The ice has melted*.

(9) Unergatives and transitives
   a. *John has walked to the store*.
   b. *John has hit the fence*.
   c. *John has built a house*.

(10) Expletive subjects
   a. *There has been a riot*.
   b. *There has arisen a problem*.
   c. It has been proposed that…
   d. It has (often) appeared that…

(11) Idiom chunks
   a. *The shit has really hit the fan this time*.
   b. *The cat has got his tongue again*.

[12] For example, the proposal has been made that there is only one verb have whose surface properties differ depending on what it combines with. (Kayne (1993) and Guéron (1995))

In fact, auxiliary *have* differs from main verb *have* in many respects:[13]

(12)

	auxiliary verb	**main verb**
	adds no extra argument	adds an extra argument
	fails to assign case	assigns accusative case
	raises to I	fails to raise
	contracts with subject	fails to contract
	takes negation	fails to take negation

Although Ritter & Rosen (1997: 317) do not have any concrete proposal for the distinction between auxiliary and main verb *have*, they assume that the differences listed above are linked. Unlike main verb *have*; auxiliary *have* does not seem to be a case assigner. There is a robust link between the ability of a verb to assign accusative case and the ability of the verb to license an external argument. Further, the ability of auxiliary *have* to raise to I (and subsequently to C) may be related to the inability of its verb to license an argument. If there is a distinction between licensing an argument and assigning a theta-role[14] (e.g. semantic interpretation), it is possible that the verbs that raise to I fail to license arguments. In sum, it is not impossible that the range of differences between auxiliary and main verbs have all risen from one difference, namely that of case assignment.

The question rises why main verb *have* and auxiliary should be unified at all since they are syntactically and semantically different. Ritter and Rosen offer some interesting evidence why auxiliary *have* should be incorporated into the analysis of main verb *have*. A subtle look at the role of auxiliary *have* in the predicate denoted by the main verb reveals that its contribution to the semantic interpretation is quite similar to that of main verb *have*: auxiliary *have* provides an additional association between the event or state and the (derived) subject by making the event/state a property of the subject. That means, auxiliary *have* turns a past tense event or pre-existing state into a current property of the subject. It has been speculated that the meaning of main verb *have* is always ‚include'. (Belvon 1993) This speculation is consistent with Ritter & Rosen's proposal; and so it provides support for the assumption that there is really only one verb *have*.

According to Ritter & Rosen (1997: 318ff), the semantic interpretation does not derive from the lexical semantic content of *have* itself, but from the semantic structure it projects. The source of the subject should explain the differences in interpretation between the

[13] The last three differences do not hold for all dialects of British English. (Ritter & Rosen 1997: 317)
[14] According to Pollock (1989), there is non-theta assigner raise in English.

auxiliary and main verb uses of *have*, and this may originate in a difference in case assigning properties. In all other respects, the two uses are supposed to be the same: for both, the subject is not assigned a theta role by *have*, but rather *have* contributes the additional structure required to affect the semantic interpretation of the construction.

However, it seems that Ritter & Rosen try to understate the differences between main verb *have* and auxiliary *have*. Such an enforced unison might lead to a loss of useful information. As it has been testified (see Chapter IV) there are situations in which it is important to distinguish main verb *have* from auxiliary *have*. So, there might be only one lexical entry in the lexicon for *have*. However, underspecification within this single entry can be assumed. From a semantic perspective, there is evidence that there are at least two different meanings of *have*.

B. *HAVE* FROM A SEMANTIC PERSPECTIVE

This section deals with the semantics of *have*-constructions and relates it to the complement types they take. From a semantic perspective there are four types to classify the meaning of *have*-constructions: causative, resultant state/ event, affecting event, and attributive. (Brugmann 1988)

(13)	a. *She has children come to her house every Sunday.*	Causative
	b. *I had him angry the minute I walked in the door.*	Resultant State/ Event
	c. *I had two dogs die of snakebite.*	Affecting Event
	d. *I have keloid tissue on my back.* [15]	Attributive

Resultant state/event can be situated between attributive and causative or effecting event in the sense that the adjectives following the direct object of *have* are realized as complements rather than a modifier to the object. The main difference between resultative event/state and causative is that the former, while mainly involving adjectival or participial complements, focuses on resultative state, whereas the latter, while co-occurring with infinitival complements, focuses on inchoative as well as resultative state. Causative and effective event have developed relatively late at approximately 1400. They differ in the direction of the affecting relation. (Hayase 2000: 8)

Causative	person → event
Affecting Event	person ← event

[15] All four examples are taken from Brugmann (1988).

5.1 THE SEMANTICS OF *HAVE* AND ITS EXTENSIONS

The question rises then why there exist two different meanings of the verb *have*. To answer the question this section of the text will focus on the semantics of the predicate *have* and relates its extensions to the development of its complement.

Have can also be regarded as a grammatical tool which is based on the more general mental process. Hayase (2000: 9ff) tries to capture the general abstract schema that covers all the diverse meanings of *have* with the help of Langacker's reference-point model (1993).

According to the Old English Dictionary, the verb *have* entered the language formerly with a concrete, active, and specific meaning; in the sense of *to take, to grab, to hold in hand*. The original purely physical-manual meaning became bleached by both attenuation of the agentivity and by increase of the subjective involvement of the conceptualizer. After that the meaning became extended in the sense of 'possess the relation', whose agentivity is diluted enough to refer to some reciprocal relation, typically used to describe kinship relation. In the end it has generalized to cover even the condition of experience. That means, the subject just takes mental contact to the target, if not controlling it directly. At this point, the specific physical meaning has been lost completely. That is why the verb *have* itself is insufficient to signal the more specific meanings; to indicate the original meanings specifically some locative information like 'in hand' or 'with one(self)' or 'got' needs to be added. (Hayase 2000: 10)

(14) The Development of *have* (OED *have* v.)

(I) *GRASP:* to hold in hand, in keeping, or possession; to hold or possess as property, or as something at one's disposal. [Beowulf (Z.) c888]

(II) *POSSESS THE RELATION:* to hold or possess, in a weakened sense; the relation being other than that of property or tenancy. The relation is often reciprocal: *the father has a son, the son has a father; the king has subjects, his subjects have a king*; (…) *a man has a house, the house has an owner or tenant*. [c1000]

(III) *TO BE POSSESSED OR AFFECTED WITH:* to be possessed or affected with (something physical or mental); to be subjected to; to experience; to enjoy or suffer. [c1000] (e.g. *he had very bad health*)

5.2 THE SEMANTIC ATTENUATION OF *HAVE*

So, the semantics of *have* show a diachronic development from physical meanings like 'obtain' to mental ones like 'experience'. That is, the synchronic diversity is motivated diachronically by attenuation of the agentive force of *have*. Generally, it can be said that the description of a physical or mental change of state involves two participant roles: the experiencer undergoing the change of mental state, and the stimulus bringing it about. Besides, it has often been pointed out that at least two ways are responsible for the relation between experiencer and stimulus.[16]

The shift of the semantics of *have* from a verb of physical possession to that of mental/perceptual took place around 1000 AD, due to the fact that the subject used agentive controls which were attenuated to the extent that it only exercises mental contact to the target. Thus, the semantics of *have* extended their physical domains to mental ones.

While the predicate has entered into a semantic verb group of mental/perceptual class that is the same as *see* or *hear*, it requires a potentiality of bi-directional nature of the mental state. Hayase (2000: 12) claims this to be the origin of the opposite direction in the relational nature observed in the causative and effective event interpretations.

Indeed, the verb *have* in the construction with infinitival complement denotes an attenuated meaning of 'experience' and is in many contexts interchangeable with other verbs of perceptual experience like *see* or *find*.

(15) "[*Have* with the direct objects and infinitive complements] expresses experience and can in many contacts be replaced by see, find, etc." [17]

(16) "Here [the chapter of mental perception] we may place *have* in a special sense, nearly ='experience'." [18]

The question of the rise of two different meanings with opposite affecting relation, causative and affecting events, is attributable to the attenuated meaning of *have*; it has

[16] Croft (1993): „There are two processes involved in possessing a mental state (and changing a mental state): (1) the experiencer must direct his or her attention to the stimulus, (2) the stimulus (or some property of it) causes the experiencer to be (or enter into) a certain mental state. Thus, a mental state is actually a two-way causal relation, and is better represented as follows:

*---------- direct attention to (1) ----------→ *
←---------- cause mental state (2) ----------

[17] Visser 1973: 2268.
[18] Jespersen 1965: V. p.281.

developed a mental or perceptual meaning with attenuation of agentive force. However, this is no idiosyncratic phenomenon; it can be observed synchronically in some verbs other than *have* as well.

In sum, the attenuation of agentive control is likely to co-occur with the rise of an affected experience interpretation. The more attenuated the degree of agentive control which is exerted by the subject towards its object becomes; the more probable is the opposite-directional implication to occur. This phenomenon is not peculiar to *have*-constructions but a more general tendency observed in other constructions as well. Hayase (2000: 13) has shown the relatedness of two interpretations from diachronic point of view: their development is attributable to the semantic attenuation of *have* into mental/ perceptual meaning like 'experience'.

5.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF V-O-INFINITIVE FORM

By completing the attenuation of *have* the verb allowed for infinitives as its complements. The semantic attenuation of agentive force implies that the schematicity of the predicates is amplified. It also means that various constraints on the linguistic form will become diluted and that the possibility of extensional use increases. The process of schematization before category shift seems to be typical for other grammaticization channels, the channel from main verb to auxiliary, for example.

The subject of *have* serves as reference point for identifying the target. If it only had maintained the original concrete meaning 'grasp', then it would not *have* been allowed to take events as its target. By the time, it has developed and expanded its own complement structure: the complement that corresponds to the target allows not only for an individual thing but also an event denoted by a small clause.

The syntactic form V+O+ infinitival complement, which the verb *have* finally comes to take is also applicable to other verb categories. Among them are perceptual verbs (*see, hear, feel*) as well as causative verbs (*make, let*). These two categories show the earliest rise of this syntactic form. (Hayase 2000: 13f)

It may be claimed that the overall process of development of *have*-constructions consists of logical analogical extension. The extension from original form or function toward extensions was semantically driven by semantic analogy. The category change from adjectives to participle complements is due to the functional similarity between both

categories. And the change from participle to infinitival complements is based on the profile shift in terms of figure-ground reversal.

Furthermore, the rise of two interpretations with opposite affectedness relation, namely causative and affecting event, is due to the attenuated meaning of *have* and its analogy to other perceptional verbs that also show bi-directionality in nature.

Lastly, after *have* comes to be a category member of mental perception, it applies to the V+O+ infinitive forms; and based on the constructional similarity, it is also extended to causative category, with the help of a future marker like *will/ would*. (Hayase 2000: 18)

Summarizing, it becomes clear that the verb *have* with an originally simple meaning has become attenuated through the history and due to this attenuation more possibilities have been allowed. I will further investigate the historical development in the following chapter.

III. HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF *HAVE*

1. OLD ENGLISH

Old English, also called Anglo-Saxon, was spoken in parts of England and in Southern Scotland from 450 to 1100 AD. It is a language that underwent several major changes and – although being a Germanic language – was especially in the early years influenced by the two Norsk dialects of the Vikings and by some Celtic languages. One of the major difficulties is that Old English disposes of a wide number of dialectal varieties.[19] This variety leads to the next problem, the spelling, which provides multidious versions.

The syntax, however, is broadly uniform. Unlike Modern English, Old English is not dependent upon SVO word order. The syntax of Old English sentences can be in SVO order, VSO order, or OVS order. The only constant rule is that the verb must come as the second concept. Word order became less flexible as time went on: that means, the older a text is, the less likely it is to have a fixed word order.[20]

Despite the problems mentioned above, it does not appear to be too difficult to investigate the certain functions of *have*. In Old English *have* already occurs with adjectival and past participle forms. Infinitive and noun complements are not documented before the late 14th century, that is, in the Middle English period. So, the development path of *have*-complements shows a major change in morphosyntactic category – approximately from adjective via verb to noun. Following the classic theory of categorization, the category change is significant in its morphosyntactic consequences. It completely changes the attributes associated with the characterization of the category. The claim is that participles, which functionally belong to the adjective class here suddenly find themselves as their neighbour category infinitives, which are a member of verbal category. Later even a noun, which is another new category, can also participate in the same syntactic slot following the direct object of *have*.

In cognitive linguistic terms, it is possible to give a reasonable and natural account for the category change. This historical change observed above is nicely captured by a cognitive-linguistic notion, namely profile shift, which can be compared to a type of figure-ground

[19] The four main dialect forms of Old English were *Mercian, Northumbrian* (known collectively as *Anglian*), *Kentish*, and *West Saxon*. Each of these dialects was associated with an independent kingdom on the island.
[20] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_English

reversal[21] here. It is more natural to assume that there is no abrupt historical change especially in linguistic fields. It is rather a gradual process of language change based on partial similarity with the examples that already exist. Adjective forms have already been used on Old English. They originally served as modifier of the direct objects of *have*. Present and past participles had also been used in Old English, probably based on the semantic-functional similarity to adjectives in that they can modify the preceding direct object. The continuum between adjectives and participles is also motivated on their notional characterization. They are all categorized as denoting a temporal relation between things. In addition, a predication that denotes a temporal relation takes a nominal as its target. It is quite natural that the participle that originally occurred in *have*-complement functions as an adjective which modifies the following object nominal. The difference between adjectives and participles is that the latter implicitly introduces interconnections associated with the direct object, for it necessarily involves some other participants. So, participle complements serve as the first step toward allowing relational complements in general. (Hayase 2000: 2f)

2. MIDDLE ENGLISH

The Middle English period is considered to begin in 1066 when the Norman Invasion took place and lasted up to the end of the 15th century. Still, there is an enormous dialectal and scribal variety.

After the overt inflection in nominal and adjectival uses has been lost, the participles with adjective status have come to serve as complements, relating themselves to the main verb *have* rather than to the objects of *have*. By 1400, Middle English, the use of infinitival complements with *have* seems to have established. First to-infinitives were predominant while later bare infinitives spread.[22] The figure-ground reversal does not necessarily occur abruptly; it also allows gradual shift. The change from participle to infinitive was a gradual one as historical data shows. Semantic gradability is observed even within the *have*-complement of the same syntactic category. (Hayase 2000: 4f)

[21] Figure-ground reversal: the interconnection as a whole, which originally functioned as a ground, come to serve itself as figure.

[22] This category change ban also be explained from a cognitive view: past participles like *broken* profiles only a part of events, i.e. the last state of event as a whole. present participles such as *breaking* take an internal perspective on a process, profiling internal structure only and excluding both the initial and final states. (Hayase 2000: 4)

Around the latter half of 1300s when infinitives were sporadically used, several examples are found in which adverbs modify not only resultant state but also the process of the action itself. Later than 1440 to 1500, there are examples with high transitivity predicates. For that reason, it may be concluded that the development of possible complements proceeded gradually. This view is naturally motivated in cognitive grammar, which provides a notional characterization of categories. The syntactic transition is not at random; in conceptual terms it forms a motivated and highly predictable path, based on the semantic similarity. (Hayase 2000: 6)

In summary, it has been observed that the category change occurring in diachronic development of *have*-complements can be reinterpreted in conceptual terms as an example of profile shift based on figure-ground reversal.[23] By this assumption, Hayase (2000) has demonstrated that the category change occurs not abruptly but gradually, and the conceptual characterization of the syntactic category makes it possible to motivate the change as a consecutive sum of natural small steps from the base structure.

It has also been shown that the first predicates to serve in the newly emerging infinitive construction were stative verbs, as would be predicted by a hypothesis of construction development by analogy and incremental semantic change. Later it was extended to include predicates with higher transitivity. These observations support the claim that the transition of category change is gradual and naturally captured by a cognitive-linguistic view. (Hayase 2000: 6)

3. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

Early Modern English was an active language from 1500 to 1800. Due to the introduction of printing the more people had access to reading. For that reason the language became more standardized.

Most examples of causative *have*-constructions refer to future time whereas the majority of the early examples dated before the 17th century involves future by means of *will/would* or related words. The *have* used here also retains the meaning analogous to 'to see physically and mentally' or 'to experience'. The collocation with future marker *will/would* seems to amplify the *have*-construction toward agentivization, adding inchoative implication. (Visser 1973: 2265f)

[23] See [21].

IV. LIGHT VERBS IN GENERAL

Light verbs occupy a special position as it is not trivial to class them either with proper lexical verbs or with function words. (Butt & Geuder 2001: 323)

Otto Jespersen coined the term 'light verb' for English V+NP-constructions:[24]

(17) *"The most unusual meaning of sbs [substantives] derived from and identical in form with a vb [verb] is the action or an isolated instance of the action. This is particularly frequent in such everyday combinations […] after* have *and similar 'light' verbs. They are in accordance with the general tendency of ModE to place an insignificant verb, to which the marks of person and tense are attached, before the really important idea – of combinations with* do, can*, etc. […] Such constructions also offer an easy means of adding some descriptive trait in form of an adjunct. :* we had a delightful bathe *[…]. They thus in some way form a parallel to those with a 'cognate object':* fight the good fight *[…]."*[25]

Even so the light verb is form-identical to a main verb, the predicational distribution is different. It rather modifies the main verb semantics "by expressing such notions as completion, inception, benefaction, forcefulness, suddenness or volitionality". (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 7)

Light verbs come to existence due to the semantic bleaching of a main verb. That means, there is a full verb *have* which has full argument structure and event semantics. Parallel to this full verb rises a light verb *have* which retains only some of the semantic content of the full verb, the remaining semantic content having been "bleached" away over time. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 30)

(18) <u>Characteristics of light verbs:</u> [26]

1. They are always form-identical with a main verb.
2. They have a "funny syntax" in that they can be distinguished syntactically (and phonologically) from both auxiliaries and main verbs. That is why they contribute a separate semilexical syntactic class.
3. They also have "funny semantics": the systematic semantic contribution of a light verb is hard to characterize.
4. Their purpose is to further structure or modulate the event which is described by the main verb/ predicator in a way that is completely different from auxiliaries, modals, or other main verbs. Light verbs straddle the divide between the functional and lexical in that they are essentially lexical elements but do not predicate like main verbs.

[24] The notion of light verbs has been extended to cover V+V-constructions in several languages as well. (Butt & Geuder 2001: 323)
[25] Jespersen, Otto: 1965, Volume VI; p.117.
[26] Butt 2003: 3f.

1. LIGHT VERBS VS. COMPLEX PREDICATES

Generally speaking, a light verb is part of a complex predicate. (Butt & Geuder 2001: 324) Complex predicate constructions can always be connected with a standard type of syntactic construction in several languages. In English, they are N-V complex predicates; such as *have a bath*. All known complex predications seem to be derivative of already existing complementation or adjunction structures in the language. This association between complex predicates and already existing structures in the language is not accidentally. There is a parasitic relationship between the two of them whereas complex predicates have syntactic, semantic and phonological properties which indicate that they are distinct constructions. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 28f)

According to this theory, complex predicate constructions appear through the reanalysis of already existing syntactic complementation or modification patterns. In this way, a more subtle modification of the semantics is made possible by these derivative structures. This special event modification is part of the universal grammar, but each language applies different strategies to realize it. There is no further reanalysis takes place because complex predicates are "historical dead ends". (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 30)

One of the main characteristics of complex predication is that two or more predicational elements combine to predicate as a single element. So, establishing a monoclausality is very important in the identification of complex predication. (Butt 2003: 4) However, monoclausality can only be established on a language internal basis; but then conclusively. Therefore, a careful investigation of the syntax of a certain language is necessary to identify complex predicates and light verbs. (Butt 2003: 6)

Butt & Lahiri (1998: 30f) point out that there must be a clear distinction between complex predicate constructions, which are derivative, and light verbs, which are probably not. While complex predicates come in a variety of phonological flavours and syntactic forms, light verbs seem to be universally available in the same way. However, there is such a wide variety in the terminology that this distinction might not always be given.

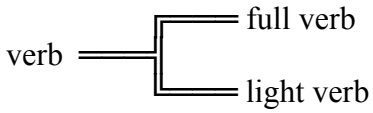
2. LEXICON

Light verbs are historical dead ends because of their syntax-semantics interface. There are three ways to deal with the relationship between main verbs and light verbs.

There could be two entries for each. This option does not seem to be possible due to the diachronic facts. This relationship would predict that the light verb may undergo

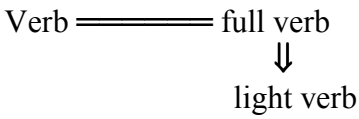
independent historical change at some point and therefore lose its form-identity with the main verb.

(19)



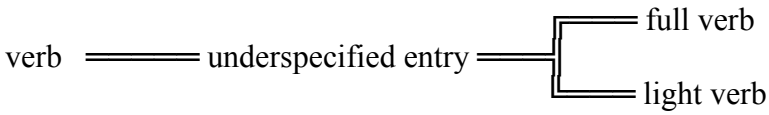
A second option is to put a main verb entry in the lexicon from which the light verb meaning is derived. However, there is a problem in the constraint if the verb is not parsed.

(20)



The third option posits an underlying underspecified entry from which both light and full verb versions may be derived dynamically. This is the most interesting possibility as it has been proven that underspecification plays an important role in the representation of the mental lexicon.

(21)



Under both (20) and (21), historical change cannot affect the light verb without also affecting the main verb; which holds with the diachronic facts. Auxiliaries, on the contrary, must be derived from main verbs via diachronic processes. There is no synchronic relation in the lexicon which connects auxiliaries with main verbs as close as main verbs and light verbs in (20) and (21). (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 43ff)[27]

Among a handful of verbs, *have* acts as passepartouts universally. These verbs are always drawn from the lexically simplest part of the verbal lexicon and they have a very broad range of application due to the much underspecified nature of their lexical entries. Because of that, exactly these verbs are able to enter into complex predicate constructions, as well as form the basis for auxiliary or modal uses. So, there is not a main, fully specified use of these verbs from which the lighter versions are derived, but one underspecified entry which allows both full verb and light verb uses. The full verb uses in turn lend themselves nicely for auxiliary formation due to the very basic nature of the predication involved. The exact

[27] Due to this reason (and some others following on the next section) Ritter & Rosen's proposal to unify main verb *have* and auxiliary *have* does not seem to be a desirable approach.

interpretation of these verbs relies very much on further contextual information that is supplied, in contrast to other, more specified verbs. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 31)

(22)
have ═══ underspecified entry ═══ full verb ═══ **auxiliary**
                                  ═══ light verb

The universality of the semantics of these particular verbs makes it possible to interact with the grammar in differing ways. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 31)

So, any morphological change undergone by the main verb is also undergone by the light verb (and vice versa). Therefore, they do not differ morphologically from each other. The auxiliary, however, follows a different path of development. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 32)

3. FULL VERB VS. LIGHT VERB VS. AUXILIARY

Auxiliaries and light verbs (and modals) are often considered to be in the same syntactic class as they are all functional elements which serve temporal, modal or aspectual purposes. Nonetheless, they do differ significantly in terms of their semantic, syntactic, morphological and phonological properties. Therefore, it is better to split them into separate syntactic classes. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 3)

According to Ramat (1987), full verbs develop a more restrictive predicative meaning, which then gives rise to periphrastic auxiliary constructions. This may cause further historical change in the way that independent words are realized as affixes. Moreover, the same kinds of verbs are generally implicated in auxiliary formation, such as *have, be*, *go, come,* etc. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 3)

Light verbs should also establish a category which is distinct from full verbs as well as from auxiliaries because light verbs are primarily lexical elements in that they contribute to the predicational force of the clause. (Butt & Geuder 2001) Light verbs cannot be analyzed as full verbs which enter into some kind of raising or control construction with the other main predicational element in the language. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 10) So, light verbs must be acknowledged to have properties which differ from that of main verbs. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 12)

All the same, light verbs must also be differentiated from auxiliaries. This is a very important aspect as there is very often no distinction made between light verbs and auxiliaries, mainly because most approaches deal with either auxiliaries or light verbs, but

hardly ever with both. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 12) The central difference between light verbs and auxiliaries lies in the diachronic development of auxiliaries and temporal affixes as opposed to the relative historical stability of light verbs. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 4) In contrast to auxiliaries, light verbs always cover the entire verbal paradigm. That means, light verbs are not restricted to occur with only one tense or aspectual form. A light verb also does not display a defective paradigm, which is also different from an auxiliary. Besides, auxiliaries and light verbs display distinct syntactic behaviours with regard to case marking, word order, reduplication, and topicalization. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 12)

4. HISTORICAL ASPECTS

Formerly, it has been assumed that the light verb form developed from the main verb and that the light form lost part of its semantic content in the course of historical change. (Butt 2003: 1) However, this does not seem to be plausible as light verbs are always form-identical to a main verb in the language at any stage. This holds crosslinguistically. If light verbs were really the result of continual historical change, the light verb form should be assumed to diverge from the main verb form; just as it happens with auxiliary forms. (Butt & Lahiri 1998: 27)

Thus, light verbs do not appear to be subject to historical change in the same way that auxiliaries are.[28] Light verb constructions can be identified clearly and continually over thousands of years. As for N-V complex predicates in English (Traugott 1999), the syntactic construction itself is relatively stable. Only the overt form of the gerundive morphology has changed but the syntactic co-occurrence of a main predicate and an inflected light verb has remained constant, as well as the choice of the light verbs (*have, do, make, give*, and *take*). Due to the fact that the light verb is always form-identical to a main verb in the language, light verbs seem to be historically stable, different from what has been documented for auxiliaries.

This evidence indicates that light verbs have not derivatives from main verbs but they do not enter the grammaticalization cline at all. (Butt 2003: 14ff)

[28] There is evidence in Indo-Aryan since this language family has as unbroken historical record of about 3000 years.

5. SYNTACTIC CLASSES

It is not easy to classify light verbs as their syntactic distribution lies neither in the fully verbal, nor the fully functional domain. Light verbs might be identifiable as a separate syntactic class, but are still language specific. (Butt 2003: 6)

Light verbs can clearly be established as a distinct syntactic category in a number of languages. The relevant test differs from language to language, just like the tests for monoclausality, but by investigating the language internal structure very accurate criteria for distinguishing light verbs from main verbs or aspectual auxiliaries can be found. (Butt 2003: 12)

When a verbal passepartout [29]enters the syntax as a main verb, it is able to predicate like a main verb (*have a book*). But when another verb is already functioning as a main verb and preconditioned that the language permits complex predication, then the lexical semantic specification of this same set of verbal passepartouts allows a 'light' predication which enters into a syntactic dependency with the main predicate and interacts with it semantically. (Butt 2003: 18)

6. ENGLISH LIGHT VERBS

Although light verbs obey the standard verb complement schema in English, they are not predicating fully. Hence, the light verbs seem to be more of a verbal licenser for nouns. Nevertheless, the light verbs are evidently not completely without semantic predicative power, either. They seem to be semantically light in the meaning that they are contributing something to the predication. However r, this complement, is difficult to characterize. (Butt 2003: 1)

According to Traugott (1999), English N-V complex predicates have occurred in the language at least since Old English. Through the Middle Ages she documents a marked increase in their use; the light verbs do not diminish in form and they do not lead to the development of functional categories. So, the overall system seems to be relatively stable since the number and type of light verbs remains relatively constant and since their ranking in terms of frequency of use remains stable as well. Sometimes aspectual nuances can be observed, which is crosslinguistically typical. (Traugott 1999: 253; Butt 2003: 13)

[29] As already mentioned in 2. Lexicon.

Kearns (2002) claims it to be important to make a distinction between true light verbs (TLV) and vague action verbs (VAV) in English; both falling into the traditional definition of light verbs coined by Jespersen. Their differences affect the following properties: passivization, WH-movement, pronominalization, definiteness, the complement NP and some special semantic properties. The main difference, however, is that the complement of a TLV is headed by a verb. Since there is evidence that light *have*-constructions occupy mainly TLV properties, (Wierzbicka 1982) I will not further pursue this issue.

Stevenson, Fazly and North (2004) come to the conclusion that semantic verb classes are highly relevant to measuring the acceptability of light verb constructions in English. The productivity of light verb constructions also depends on the different light verbs themselves.

V. THE CORPORA

Light verbs are rather stable throughout the history of a language. So they seem to be part of the universal grammar. Before I will investigate the historical development of *have* as a light verb from Old English via Middle English to Early Modern English. The relevant corpora will be introduced in this chapter: [30]

1. HELSINKI

First, the original Helsinki corpus contained about 1.6 million words dating from the earliest Old English Period (before 850) to the end of the Early Modern English period (1710). The Helsinki corpus covers a range of genres, regional varieties and sociolinguistics variables such as gender, age, education and social class. Then, this corpus has been extended and divided into three 'sister corpora': The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE), the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2) and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME).[31]

2. OLD ENGLISH

The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE) is the third part of the *English Parsed Corpora Series*. The YCOE consists of more than 1.5 million words. As a sister corpus to the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2) and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME), it uses the same form of annotation and is accessed by the same search engine, CorpusSearch.

Despite of the same kind of annotation scheme, there are some differences between the YCOE and the PPCME2/ PPCEME. The biggest difference is due to the inflected nature of Old English which required a number of changes to the annotation. In addition, some changes have been made to facilitate searching.

2.1 FILENAMES

All filenames begin with **co** following Helsinki practice. Texts that were already included in the Helsinki Corpus have the same filename.

[30] If not mentioned separately, all information about the corpora is taken from the corpora description concluded in each corpus.
[31] http://bowland-files.lancs.ac.uk/monkey/ihe/linguistics/corpus4/4hist.htm

Texts adopted from the Helsinki Corpus have the Helsinki period attached as an extension following PPCME2 practice.

(23)

Period	Composition Date
O1	Before 850
O2	850-950
O3	950-1050
O4	1050-1100

That is, a file name with the extension .o2 is a text from the Helsinki Corpus from 850 to 950. When there are two periods, the first refers to the period of composition and the second to the period of manuscript. File names without extensions refer to texts which are added anew in the extended corpora. Unfortunately, there are no dates given in the texts that are not adopted from the Helsinki corpus. So, there is only one large period, from 450 to 1100 covering those texts.

Some of the texts in the corpus are included in more than one manuscript version. The texts involved have the same filename but end with a capital letter, different in each case, indicating the manuscript. This letter is in most cases the traditional letter name for the manuscript (e.g., **cochronA** is the A manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the others being designated **cochronC, cochronD, cochronE**), but when no traditional letter name exists, it is just a convenient letter (e.g., the names **comargaC** and **comargaT** do not reflect a traditional letter name). It is important to consider whether to include all manuscript versions, since a search may result in unintended duplicate data.

Numbers ending otherwise identical filenames, on the other hand, have no such significance. They are either part of the name of the text (e.g., **cocathom1** Catholic Homilies I), indicate parts (e.g., **comart1, comart2, comart3**), or number two unrelated Old English translations of the same source (e.g., **coeluc1, coeluc2**).

All parsed files have the final extension .psd. Part-of-speech tagged files have the same names with the extension .pos.

2.2 MAIN VERBS AND AUXILIARY USE OF *HAVE, BE, DO*

As well as in the PPCME2 and the PPCEME the forms of the verbs *be, have* and *do* are distinguished from all other verbs, but no distinction is made in the tag for auxiliary and main verb use for *be, have* and *do*. In the syntactically annotated (parsed) files, auxiliary forms of *be* and *have* can be distinguished from main verb forms by the presence of a participle in the clause, for *be* either a perfect or passive/adjectival participle and for *have* a perfect participle. Periphrastic *do* is always accompanied by an infinitive. In the POS files, however, empty categories are not added, and thus care must be taken to distinguish main verb use of *be, have* and *do*, from cases in which the untensed verb has been elided.

3. MIDDLE ENGLISH AND EARLY MODERN ENGLISH

The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, 2nd Edition (PPCME2) and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME) are part of a larger project at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of York to produce syntactically annotated corpora for all stages of the history of English. The corpora contain the following text genres: bible, biography, autobiography, diary, drama, educational treatise, fiction, handbook, history, law, private and non-private letters, philosophy, trials, medical and other science, sermon and travelogue.

3.1 PPCME2

The PPCME2 text samples are based largely on the Middle English section of the Diachronic Part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts, with some additions and deletions. However, the size of the samples is considerably larger.

The main Helsinki time periods are M1-M4, each covering approximately one hundred years. In addition, texts originally written in a given period but for which the earliest manuscript is from a later period are given two digit period designations. The following is a list of all Helsinki periods as they appear in the corpus file names:

(24)

Period designation	Composition date	Manuscript date
MX1	unknown	1150-1250
M1	1150-1250	1150-1250
M2	1250-1350	1250-1350
M23	1250-1350	1350-1420
M24	1250-1350	1420-1500
M3	1350-1420	1350-1420
M34	1350-1420	1420-1500
MX4	unknown	1420-1500
M4	1420-1500	1420-1500

The PPCME2 includes a total of roughly 1.2 million words of running text. It comprises 55 text samples, each of which is given in three forms: a text file, a part-of-speech tagged file and a parsed file. In addition, there is a file with philological and bibliographical information about each text.

Text files have the extension .txt. Besides the text, they contain Helsinki text level codes, converted into HTML type codes, as outlined in the text markup. The original page layout is not retained. Rather, the text is divided into tokens, which generally correspond to a main clause together with any subordinate clauses that it contains.

Parsed files have the extension .psd. They contain a labelled bracketing of the text, with the first set of labelled parentheses around a word repeating the information from the POS-tagged files. The division into tokens in the parsed files is the same as in the text files. Each token is enclosed with its ID in a set of unlabelled parentheses.

Part-of-speech (POS) tagged texts have the extension .pos. They contain the material in the text files with a POS tag added to each word. Editorial material is given the tag `CODE`. Text elements are separated from their POS tags by an underscore. The text is divided into tokens in the same way as in the text and parsed files. Also, as in the text files, tokens consisting entirely of CODE material do not receive a token ID, but are counted by the token counter. I used the POS-files as they posses the highest transparency. The text

markup of the POS files can be found in the appendix. For further information see the corpus description of the PPCME2.

A table of the number of words by Helsinki time period is following:
(25)

Period	Word count
MX1	62,596
M1	195,494
M2	93,999
M23	17,013
M24	35,591
M3	385,994
M34	99,994
MX4	5,168
M4	260,116
Total	1,155,965

3.1.1 MAIN VERB AND AUXILIARY USE OF *BE, HAVE* AND *DO*

As already mentioned above the forms of the verbs *be, have* and *do* are treated like in the YCOE.

3.2 PPCEME

The PPCEME (Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English) consists of nearly 1.8 million words. Similarly to the PPCME2, each of the texts in the corpus is available in parsed, POS-tagged, and unannotated form. In addition, the corpus is divided into three subcorpora: The Helsinki directories, consisting of roughly 573,000 words, contain the Helsinki Corpus in parsed, POS-tagged, and unannotated form. The Penn1 directories, consisting of roughly 615,000 words, contain a first supplement to the Helsinki Corpus. As far as possible, it has been used material by the same authors and from the same editions as the material in the Helsinki Corpus. The Penn2 directories, consisting of roughly 606,000 words, contain a second supplement to the Helsinki Corpus. Again, it has been tried to use material by the same authors and from the same editions as the material in the Helsinki

Corpus. However, the Penn2 directories contain more new material than the Penn1 directories.

As just mentioned, the PPCEME consists of texts from three time periods in three subdirectories. In the following table, the number of words in the corpus is given broken down by time period and subcorpus.

(26)

Table 1: Word count summary by time period and subcorpus				
	Helsinki	**Penn 1**	**Penn 2**	**Total**
E1 (1500-1569)	196,754	194,018	185,423	576,195
E2 (1570-1639)	196,742	223,064	232,993	652,799
E3 (1640-1710)	179,477	197,908	187,631	565,016
Total	572,973	614,990	606,047	1,794,010

3.2.1 FILE NAMES

The filenames for the texts contain an indication of the time period to which they belong:

- `E1` indicates that the text dates from 1500-1569.
- `E2` indicates that the text dates from 1570-1639.
- `E3` indicates that the text dates from 1640-1720.[32]

In addition, the filenames in the PPCEME contain an indication of which subcorpus they belong to:

- `H` indicates that the text is part of the Helsinki Corpus.
- `P1` indicates that the text is part of the first Penn supplement.
- `P2` indicates that the text is part of the second Penn supplement.

4. PROBLEMS

Rissanen (1989) pointed out three main problems connected with using historical corpora: The first problem is called the 'philologist's dilemma': The use of a corpus and a computer may replace the in-depth knowledge of language history, which is to be gained from the study of original texts in their context. The second one is 'God's truth fallacy'**:** A corpus may be used to provide representative conclusions about the entire language period,

[32] Note that the Helsinki Corpus officially includes texts until 1710, but itself contains one or two texts from the 1710's, as do their supplements.

without understanding its limitations in the terms of which genres it does and does not cover. Last but not least, there is the 'mystery of vanishing reliability'**:** the more variables which are used in sampling and coding the corpus (periods, genres, age, gender, etc.) the harder it is to represent each one fully and achieve statistical reliability. The most effective way of solving this problem is to build as large corpora as possible.

It is important to be aware of these difficulties, nevertheless – with appropriate care – the corpus-based linguistics are very valuable.[33]

[33] http://bowland-files.lancs.ac.uk/monkey/ihe/linguistics/corpus4/4hist.htm

VI. OLD ENGLISH *HABBAN* AS A LIGHT VERB

1. PROBLEMS

The verbs in composite predicates are usually thought to be semantically light and to have less lexical meaning than full verbs, whereas the nouns in these constructions are 'nouns of action' or 'deverbal nouns', which carry the semantically full meaning of a verb.

However, Brinton & Akimoto (1999: 22f) pointed out two main problems when these definitions are applied to OE. First, the question rises whether the pattern of Old English *habban* + N, respectively N + *habban*, corresponding to the modern composite predicate has semantic relationship to the corresponding single verb, as holds for *have rest* vs. *rest*. The second problem is how to decide the semantic 'lightness' of the Old English verb and the semantic 'heaviness' of the Old English 'noun of action' or 'deverbal noun'. In this case, a noun was included if a verb corresponding to that noun existed in Old English, since, it is not always possible to determine whether the noun or verb is primary. (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 23) This problem is even more significant as Old English has a very variable word order.[34] Due to both problems, it is not clear if the event test proposed by Ritter & Rosen can also be applied for Old English light verb constructions. Therefore, I included the *habban* + N collocations that dispose of a deverbal noun equivalent in Middle English and/ or Early Modern English additionally.

As already mentioned, Old English is equipped with many versions of spelling. Fortunately, the YCOE marked the POS tags *have* (as well as *be* and *do*) separately from other verbs: Thus, it was relatively easy to access the relevant cases.

2. COLLOCATIONS OF *HABBAN*

As shown above (Chapter II; 5.2), *habban* is used in Old English in the sense of 'to possess, as an attribute, quality, faculty, function, position, right and soon'. (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 42) There are various expressions in Old English in which *habban* seems to act as a light verb:

[34] Note that despite of these difficulties of definition, I will continue to use the notion of 'light verb' in Old English for convenience and simplicity. Just keep in mind that there are even more difficulties in Old English to specify light verbs than in Modern English.

(27) *andan habban* 'have envy' cf. *andian* 'to envy'

Oft_ADV^T eac_ADV +da_D^N gramb+ara_ADJ^N leoga+d_VBPI him_PRO^D selfum_ADJ^D ,_, +donne_P hie_PRO^N wena+d_VBPI+d+at_C hie_PRO^N ryhtne_ADJ^A ***andan****_N^A* ***h+abben****_HVPS ._. cocura,CP:40.289.16.1898_ID*[35]

(28) *angyte habban* 'have understanding' cf. *ongitan* 'to understand

[…] *and_CONJ seo_D^N an_NUM^N sawul_N^N is_BEPI +a+delboren_ADJ^N +te_C +donne_ADV^T lufa+d_VBPI +te_C heo_PRO^N fram_P com_VBDI ,_, +te_C hi_PRO^A +tyllice_ADJ^A gesceop_VBDI +t+at_C heo_PRO^N on_P hire_PRO$* ***andgyte_N habban_HV*** *mihte_MDD Godes_NR^G anlicnesse_N and_CONJ gelicnesse_N ,_, and_CONJ +t+as_D^G wyr+de_ADJ^N w+are_BEDS +t+at_C hyre_PRO^D God_NR^N onwunode_RP+VBD ._. coaelive,+ALS_[Christmas]:93.76_ID*

(29) *anweald habban* 'have authority' cf. *onwendan*

He_PRO^N w+as_BEDI him_PRO^D to_P +tam_D^D wunderlice_ADV leof_ADJ^N &_CONJ itreow+a_ADJ^N swa_P +t+at_C he_PRO^N ***h+afde****_HVD* ***andweald****_N^A ofer_P all+a_Q^A +ta_D^A $+ding+a_N^A +te_C he_PRO^N +aht+a_VBD corood,LS_5_[InventCrossNap]:94.94_ID*

(30) *awyrđnesse habban* 'have honour'

Gif_P +tu_PRO^N nu_ADV^T for+d+am_ADV cwist_VBPI +t+at_C +tu_PRO^N ges+alig_ADJ^N ne_NEG sie_BEPS +te_C +tu_PRO^N nu_ADV^T ***n+afst****_NEG+HVPI +da_D^A hwilendlican_ADJ^A* ***awyr+dnessa****_N^A &_CONJ +da_D^A bli+tnessa_N^A +te_C +tu_PRO^N +ar_ADV^T h+afdest_HVDI ,_, +tonne_ADV^T neart_NEG+BEPI +du_PRO^N +teah_ADV unges+alig_ADJ^N ,_, $for+d+am_P $+de_C <TEXT:for+d+am+de>_CODE +ta_D^N unrotnessa_N^N +te_C +tu_PRO^N nu_ADV^T on_P eart_BEPI swa_ADV ilce_ADV oferga+d_RP+VBPI swa_P +du_PRO^N cwist_VBPI +d+at_C +ta_D^N blissa_N^N +ar_ADV^T dydon_VBDI ._. coboeth,Bo:8.20.13.331_ID*

(31) *bletsunga habban* 'have blessings' cf. *bletsian* 'to bless'

And_CONJ riht_ADJ^N is_BEPI +t+at_C +anig_Q^N gehadod_VBN^N mann_N^N his_PRO$ sceare_N ne_NEG helige_VBPS ,_, ne_NEG+CONJ hine_PRO^A misefesian_VB ne_NEG l+ate_VBPS ,_, ne_NEG+CONJ his_PRO$ beard_N^A +anige_Q^A hwile_N^A h+abbe_HVPS ,_, be_P +tam_D^D +te_C he_PRO^N wille_MDP Godes_NR^G ***bletsunga****_N* ***habban****_HV and_CONJ Sancte_NR Petres_NR^G and_CONJ ure_PRO^G ._. cocanedgX,WCan_1.1.2_[Fowler]:47.54_ID*

(32) *blisse habban* 'have joy' cf. *blissian* 'to gladden'

&_CONJ swa_P we_PRO^N nu_ADV^T on_P maran_QR forh+afdnesse_N lifia+t_VBPI +tas_D^A dagas_N^A ,_, &_CONJ on_P andrysnum_ADJ^D +tingum_N^D beo+t_BEPI on_P +tysse_D worlde_N ,_, swa_ADV magon_MDPI we_PRO^N +te_D^I maran_QR ***blisse****_N* ***habban****_HV +ta_D^A Easterdagas_NR^A ,_, &_CONJ swa_ADV we_PRO^N sceolan_MDPI +ta_D^A hwile_N^A +te_C we_PRO^N lifga+t_VBPI her_ADV^L on_P worlde_N ._. coblick,HomS_10_[BlHom_3]:35.170.478_ID*

(33) *care habban* 'have care' cf. *carian* 'care about'

Gif_P ure_PRO^G +anigum_Q^D sum_Q^N ungelimp_N^N becume_VBPS ._, +donne_ADV^T sceole_MDP we_PRO^N beon_BE gemyndige_ADJ^N +tises_D^G m+aran_ADJ^G weres_N^G ._, and_CONJ ge+dyldige_ADJ^N beon_BE on_P +dam_D^D +dwyrnyssum_N^D +te_C us_PRO se_D^N +almihtiga_ADJ^N on_P besent_VBDI ._, and_CONJ ***habban****_HV maran_QR* ***care****_N ure_PRO$^G sawle_N^G ._, +tonne_P +d+are_D^G scortan_ADJ^G ges+al+de_N^G ._, +te_C we_PRO^N sceolon_MDPI forl+atan_VB ;_. cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_35:267.234.6022_ID*

[35] I choose the POS-notation as to my opinion it is more convenient in Old English; and I will retain it for Middle English and Early Modern English as well for consistency. All POS tags are listed in the appendix.

(34) *cyđđe habban* 'have knowledge' cf. *cyđan* 'to make known'

Riht_ADJ^N is_BEPI ,_, +t+at_C mynicena_N^N mynsterlice_ADV macian_VBPS ,_, efne_ADV swa_P we_PRO^N cw+adon_VBDI +aror_ADVR^T be_P munecum_N^D ,_, and_CONJ n+afre_NEG+ADV^T wi+d_P worldmen_N^A +anigne_Q^A gemanan_N^A worldlicre_ADJ^G ***cy+d+de_N^G habban_****HVPS to_ADV swi+de_ADV ._. coinspolD,WPol_2.1.2_[Jost]:84.117_ID*

(35) *cyre habban* 'have choice' cf. *ceosan* 'choose'

&_CONJ let_VBDI hi_PRO^A ***habban****_HV agenne_ADJ^A* ***cyre****_N^A ._, swa_CONJ hi_PRO^N heora_PRO$ scyppend_N^A lufedon_VBDI &_CONJ filidon_VBDI ._, swa_CONJ hi_PRO^N hine_PRO^A forleton_VBDI ._. cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_1:179.27.33_ID*

(36) *đearfe habban* 'have need' cf. *đearfan* 'to need'

Oft_ADV^T we_PRO^N magon_MDPI eac_ADV +da_D^A upah+afenan_RP+VBN^A +dy_D^I bet_ADVR gel+aran_VB to_P urum_PRO$^D willan_N^D ,_, gif_P we_PRO^N him_PRO^D cy+da+d_VBPI hu_WADV micle_Q^A +dearfe_N^A we_PRO^N hiera_PRO^G habba+d_HVPI ,_, suelce_P we_PRO^N maran_QR ***+dearfe****_N* ***h+abban****_HVPS +d+at_C hie_PRO^N ge+deon_VBPS +donne_P hie_PRO^N selfe_ADJ^N ,_. cocura,CP:41.304.1.2017_ID*

(37) *dema habban* 'have judegment' cf. *deman* 'to judge'

We_PRO^N +donne_ADV^T sculon_MDPI his_PRO$ mildheortnesse_N geearnigan_VB ,_, +t+at_C $we_PRO^N eft_ADV^T mildne_ADJ^A ***deman****_N^A* ***h+abben****_HVPS ._. coverhom,HomS_40.3_[ScraggVerc_10]:113.1450_ID*

(38) *drohtnaÞ habban* 'have living' cf. *drohtnian* 'to live'

Hw+at_WPRO ,_, +t+at_D^N +tonne_ADV^T bi+d_BEPI sarlic_ADJ^N sar_N^N &_CONJ earmlic_ADJ^N gedal_N^N lices_N^G &_CONJ saule_N^G gif_P se_D^N earma_ADJ^N innera_ADJR^N mon_N^N ,_, seo_D^N sawul_N^N ,_, sceal_MDPI slidan_VB in_P +ta_D^A ecean_ADJ^A helle_N^A &_CONJ in_P +ta_D^A ecean_ADJ^A witu_N^A mid_P +done_D^A awergdan_VBN^A gast_N^A Antecrist_NR^A ,_, &_CONJ +t+ar_ADV^L mid_P deofle_N^D ***drohtna+t****_N^A* ***habban****_HV ,_, in_P mor+tre_N^D &_CONJ in_P mane_N^D ,_, in_P susle_N &_CONJ in_P sare_N^D ,_, on_P wean_N &_CONJ on_P wyrmum_N^D ,_, betweonan_P dea+tum_N^D &_CONJ deoflum_N^D ,_,* [...] coverhomL,HomU_15.1_[Scragg]:110_ID

(39) *ege habban* 'have fear'

&_CONJ swi+dost_ADVS man_MAN^N t+ale+d_VBPI &_CONJ mid_P olle_N^D gegrete+d_VBPI ealles_Q^G to_ADV gelome_ADV^T +ta_D^A +de_C riht_N^A lufia+d_VBPI &_CONJ Godes_NR^G ***ege****_N* ***habba+d****_HVPI be_P +anigum_Q^D d+ale_N^D ._. cowulf,WHom_20.1:103.1627_ID*

(40) *ende habban* 'have an end' cf. *endian* 'to end'

Ic_PRO^N m+ag_MDPI eac_ADV on_P urum_PRO$^D agnum_ADJ^D tidum_N^D gelic_ADJ^A anginn_N^A +t+am_D^D gesecgan_VB ,_, +teh_P hit_PRO^N swelcne_ADJ^A ***ende****_N^A* ***n+afde****_NEG+HVD ,_, +t+atte_C Constantinopolim_NR Creca_NR^G burg_N^N on_P swelcre_ADJ^D cwacunge_N^D w+as_BEDI ,_, &_CONJ hiere_PRO^D gewitgad_VBN w+as_BEDI of_P so+df+astum_ADJ^D monnum_N^D +t+at_C heo_PRO^N sceolde_MDD on_P eor+tan_N besinca_VB ;_. coorosiu,Or_3:2.56.5.1091_ID*

(41) *forgifennesse habban* ,have forgiveness' cf. *forgifan* ,to forgive'

And_CONJ +alc_Q +t+are_D^G +te_C his_PRO$ synne_N^G ***forgifennesse****_N* ***habban****_HV wille_MDP on_P +tinre_PRO$^D lufan_N^D ,_, eall_Q^N hit_PRO^N sio_BEPS forgifen_VBN ._. comargaC,LS_14_[MargaretCCCC_303]:20.8.331_ID*

(42) *friđ habban* 'have peace' cf. *friÞian* 'to make peace'

&_CONJ +tonne_P hie_PRO^N ***fri+d****_N^A* ***h+afdon****_HVDI ,_, +tonne_ADV^T w+aron_BEDI ealle_Q^N +ta_D^N dura_N^N betyneda_VBN^N ,_. coorosiu,Or_3:5.59.9.1134_ID*

(43) *geđyld habban* 'have patience' cf. *đyldian* 'to endure'

+D+at_D^N is_BEPI +donne_ADV^T Godes_NR^G +a_N^N +d+at_C mon_MAN^N ***h+abbe***_HVPS ***lufe***_N^A ***&***_CONJ ***ge+dyld***_N^A *,_, +d+at_D^A +donne_ADV^T fullfremma+d_VBPI +da_D^N ane_NUM^N +te_C hie_PRO^A ne_NEG forl+ata+d_VBPI ,_, +donne_P hie_PRO^A mon_MAN^N greme+d_VBPI ._. cocuraC,CP_[Cotton]:33.218.13.37_ID*

(44) *gefean habban* ,have joy' cf. *gefeon* ,to rejoice'

For+dan_ADV is_BEPI gedafenlic_ADJ^N +t+at_C swa_ADV hwylc_WADJ^N man_N^N swa_C wille_MDP ***gefean***_N ***habban***_HV *+t+at_C he_PRO^N hine_PRO^A +dyde_VBD to_P +dam_D^D gefean_N^D se_D^N is_BEPI ece_ADJ^N gefea_N^N ,_, +te_D^I l+as_P him_PRO^D gefea_N^N aspringe_VBPS ._. coverhom,HomS_1_[ScraggVerc_5]:164.943_ID*

(45) *gefelnesse habban* ,have (a) feeling' cf. *gefelan* ,to feel'

+After_P +ton_D^I lacnige_VBPS mon_MAN^N +ta_D^A dolh_N^A swa_P +tu_PRO^N +tone_D^A d+al_N^A +te_C +tonne_ADV^T git_ADV^T hwilce_Q^A hwega_ADV ***gefelnesse***_N^A ***h+abbe***_HVPS *&_CONJ eallunga_ADV deade_ADJ^N ne_NEG synd_BEPI ._. colaece,Lch_II_[1]:35.2.7.1042_ID*

(46) *gefeoht habban* ,have a fight' cf. *feohtan* ,to have a fight'

&_CONJ hie_PRO^N micla_Q^A ***gefeoht***_N^A *ymb_P +t+at_D^A* ***h+afdon***_HVDI *,_, o+t_P hie_PRO^N ofslogan_RP+VBDI +tone_D^A +anne_NUM^A consul_N^A +te_C hie_PRO^N +ta_ADV^T niwan_ADV geset_VBN h+afdon_HVDI ,_, +teh_P +ta_D^N hlafordas_N^N on_P +t+am_D^D ende_N^D h+afden_HVDS heanlicne_ADJ^A sige_N^A ._. coorosiu,Or_2:6.49.27.953_ID*

(47) *geflit habban* 'have a conflict' cf. *geflitan* 'to fight'

Ne_NEG sind_BEPI we_PRO^N na_NEG+ADV +dearfan_ADJ^N ._, for_P +dan_D^I +de_C we_PRO^N habba+d_HVPI heofenlice_ADJ^A welan_N^A ;_. [cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_38:281.63.6343_ID] and_CONJ het_VBDI hi_PRO^A ***habban***_HV ***geflit***_N^A *wi+d_P +da_D^A drymen_N^A ;_. cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_38:282.75.6353_ID*

(48) *geleafe habban* ,have believe' cf. *gelifan* ,to believe'

Beo_P +tan_D^I Jacobus_NR^N se_D^N apostol_N^N cw+a+d_VBDI ,_, hw+at_WPRO^A help+d_VBPI ,_, bro+dre_N^N mine_PRO$^N ,_, +t+at_C hwa_Q^N secge_VBPS ,_, +t+at_C he_PRO^N ***geleafe***_N ***habbe***_HVPS *,_, +tonne_P he_PRO^N +ta_D^A gode_ADJ^A weorc_N^A n+afe+d_NEG+HVPI ?_. coalcuin,Alc_[Warn_35]:21.18_ID*

(49) *gemet habban* 'have a meeting' cf. *gemetan* 'to meet'

+Tone_D^A un+teaw_N^A oferswy+d_RP+VBPI seo_D^N gesceadwyse_ADJ^N gemetegung_N^N ,_, +t+at_C he_PRO^N ***h+abbe***_HVPS ***gemet***_N^A *on_P mettum_N^D and_CONJ on_P druncen_N ._. colwstan2,+ALet_3_[Wulfstan_2]:157.224_ID*

(50) *gemynde habban* 'have rememberance' cf. *gemynan* 'to remember'

Se_D^N fordemda_VBN^N +tonne_ADV^T +drowa+d_VBPI on_P +tam_D^D yttrum_ADJR^D +teostrum_N^D neadunge_ADV for_P +tan_D^I +de_C he_PRO^N nu_ADV^T sylfwilles_ADV his_PRO$ lif_N^A adrih+d_VBPI on_P blindnysse_N his_PRO$ heortan_N^G &_CONJ ***n+af+d***_NEG+HVPI *nan_NEG+Q^A* ***gemynd***_N^A *+t+as_D^G so+tan_ADJ^G leohtes_N^G +t+at_D^N is_BEPI Crist_NR^N +te_C be_P him_PRO^D sylfum_ADJ^D cw+a+d_VBDI ._,* [<T02440010100,482.187>_CODE] *Ic_PRO^N eom_BEPI middaneardes_N^G leoht_N^N :_. cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_35:482.184.7048_ID*

(51) *geornfulnysse habban* 'have zeal'

&_CONJ he_PRO^N ***h+afde***_HVD *+ta_D^A* ***geornfullnesse***_N^A *haligu_ADJ^A gewritu_N^A to_TO r+adanne_VB^D &_CONJ w+accean_N to_TO beganganne_VB^D ._. cobede,Bede_3:14.206.10.2095_ID*

(52) *gereorde habban* 'have a talk'

+Ta_ADV^T sealde_VBD he_PRO^N him_PRO^D mid_P his_PRO$ agenre_ADJ^D handa_N^D ane_NUM^A treowene_ADJ^A flaxan_N^A fulle_ADJ^A wines_N^G ,_, to_P +tam_D^D +t+at_C hi_PRO^N mihton_MDDI him_PRO^D +ta_D^A on_P hyra_PRO$ f+arelde_N^D to_P hyra_PRO$ ***gereorde***_N ***habban***_*HV ._. cogregdH,GD_1_[H]:9.66.7.642_ID*

(53) *gestreonum habban* 'have possess' cf. *gestrienan* 'to gain'

For+d+am_ADV hie_PRO^N do+d_VBPI swelce_P hie_PRO^N hit_PRO^A on_P +dyrelne_ADJ^A pohchan_N^A f+aten_VBPS ,_, for+d+am_P hie_PRO^N gemunan_VBPI +done_D^A tohopan_N^A +de_C hie_PRO^N to_P +d+am_D^D ***gestreonum***_*N^D* ***habba+d***_*HVPI ,_, &_CONJ forgieta+d_VBPI hira_PRO$ demm_N^A +de_C him_PRO^D of_P +d+am_D^D gestreonum_N^D cym+d_VBPI ,_, o+d+de_CONJ coom_VBDI ._. cocura,CP:45.343.24.2314_ID*

(54) *getacnunge habban* 'have signification' cf. *getacnian* 'to signify'

+Ta_D^N tungelwitegan_N^N +te_C w+aron_BEDI on_P h+a+denscipe_N wuniende_VAG ***h+afdon***_*HVDI* ***getacnunge***_*N ealles_Q^G h+a+denes_ADJ^G folces_N^G ._, +te_C wurdon_BEDI to_P Gode_NR^D gebigede_VBN^N +turh_P +t+ara_D^G apostola_N^G lare_N +te_C w+aron_BEDI iudeiscre_ADJ^G +teode_N^G ._. cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_7:233.57.1236_ID*

(55) *geÞeaht habban* ' take advice' cf. *geÞencan* 'to think'

Titus_NR^N and_CONJ Vespasianus_NR^N heora_PRO$ ***ge+teaht***_*N^A* ***h+afdon***_*HVDI swa_ADV +teah_ADV +t+at_C Vespasianus_NR^N w+as_BEDI +arost_ADVS^T gefullod_VBN ._. covinsal,VSal_1_[Cross]:12.1.90_ID*

(56) *gewinn habban* 'have a contest' cf. *winnan* 'to fight'

&_CONJ sona_ADV^T swa_P se_D^N eorl_N^N Rotbert_NR^N into_P Normandig_NR com_VBDI ._, he_PRO^N wear+d_BEDI fram_P eallan_Q^D +tam_D^D folce_N^D bli+telice_ADV underfangen_RP+VBN ._, butan_P +tam_D^D castelan_N^D +de_C w+aron_BEDI ges+atte_VBN^N mid_P +t+as_D^G cynges_N^G Heanriges_NR^G manna_N^D ._, togeanes_P +tan_D^I he_PRO^N manega_Q^A gewealc_N^A &_CONJ ***gewinn***_*N^A* ***h+afde***_*HVD ._. cochronE,ChronE_[Plummer]:1100.57.3349_ID*

(57) *gnorngunge habban* 'have sorrows' cf. *geondstyrian* 'to agitate'

For_P hwan_WPRO^I ***hafast***_*HVPI +tu_PRO^N maran_QR* ***gnornunge***_*N ,_, +tonne_P hit_PRO^N +ar_ADV^T gewuna_N^N w+as_BEDI ?_. cogregdC,GDPref_1_[C]:4.2.19_ID*

(58) *gyfe habban* 'have a gift' cg. *gifan* 'to give'

Be_P hwan_WPRO^I magon_MDPI we_PRO^N witan_VB +t+at_C we_PRO^N ***gyfe***_*N* ***habbon***_*HVPS beforan_P +te_PRO buton_P +tu_PRO^N fare_VBPS mid_P us_PRO ,_, +t+at_C us_PRO ealle_Q^N men_N^N wur+dion_VBPS +te_C ofer_P eor+dan_N eardia+t_VBPI ?_. cootest,Exod:33.16.3544_ID*

(59) *gymene habban* 'take care' cf. *gyman* 'to care for'

&_CONJ ***h+abbe***_*HVPS* ***gymene_N*** *seocra_ADJ^G manna_N^G &_CONJ mid_P ylde_N gehefogodra_VBN^G &_CONJ +tara_D^G m+ast_QS +te_C geornlice_ADV ymbe_P mynstres_N^G neode_N w+aron_BEDI +ta_D^A hwile_N^A +te_C hi_PRO^N for_P ylde_N o+d+de_CONJ for_P*
unh+ale_N mihton_MDDI ._. cochdrul,ChrodR_1:4.31.145_ID

(60) *hearm habban* 'have harm' cf. *hearmian* 'to harm'

and_CONJ he_PRO^N ***h+af+d***_*HVPI +tonne_ADV^T* ***hearm***_*N^A his_PRO$ weorces_N^G ._. cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_45:343.250.7684_ID*

(61) *herenesse habban* 'have praise' cf. *herian* 'to praise'

For+ton_P +te_C he_PRO^N gewilnode_VBD ,_, +t+at_C he_PRO^N ***h+afde***_*HVD lof_N^A &_CONJ* ***herenesse***_*N^A +t+as_D^G cl+anan_ADJ^G lifes_N^G ,_, [...] cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:8.117.30._ID*

(62) *hyht habban* 'have hope' cf. *hopian* 'to hope'

*and_CONJ **habba+d**_HVPI heora_PRO$ **hyht**_N^A to_P +tam_D^D heofonlicum_ADJ^D spedum_N^D ,_, to_P +tam_D^D ecum_ADJ^D +tingum_N^D on_P eornost_N^A swa+deah_ADV ._. coaelhom,+AHom_17:262.2493_ID*

(63) *leafe habban* 'have allowance' cf. *lifan* 'to allow'

Forl+at_VBI +tine_PRO$^A murcnunge_N^A coapollo,ApT:16.9.307_ID
*and_CONJ nu_P ic_PRO^N mines_PRO$^G f+ader_N^G **leafe**_N **habbe**_HVP ,_, ic_PRO^N gedo_VBP +de_PRO^A weligne_ADJ^A ._. coapollo,ApT:16.9.308_ID*

(64) *lean habban* 'have a reward' cf. *leanian* 'to reward'

*Hu_WADV se_D^N Wisdom_N^N s+ade_VBD +tam_D^D Mode_N^D +t+at_C him_PRO^D naht_NEG+Q^N swi+dor_ADVR n+are_NEG+BEDS +tonne_P hit_PRO^N forloren_VBN h+afde_HVD +ta_D^A worulds+al+da_N^A +te_C hit_PRO^N +ar_ADV^T to_P gewunod_VBN h+afde_HVD ._, &_CONJ s+ade_VBD him_PRO^D bispell_N^A hu_WADV he_PRO^N hit_PRO^A macian_VB sceolde_MDD gif_P he_PRO^N heora_PRO$ +tegen_N^N beon_BE sceolde_MDD ;_, &_CONJ be_P +t+as_D^G scipes_N^G segele_N^D ,_, &_CONJ hu_WADV his_PRO$ godena_ADJ^G weorca_N^G ealra_Q^G wolde_MDD her_ADV^L on_P worulde_N **habban**_HV **lean**_N^A ._. coboeth,BoHead:7.8_ID*

(65) *lif habban* 'have life'cf. *libban* 'to live'

*&_CONJ eft_ADV^T sume_Q^N +ta_D^N gode_ADJ^N **habbe+d**_HVPI lang_ADJ^A **lif**_N^A ,_, for_P +tan_D^I +te_C heora_PRO$ earninga_N^N eh+d_VBPI +alce_Q^I d+aige_N^D mid_P godnyssen_N ,_, &_CONJ for_P +tan_D^I +t+at_C +ta_D^N yfela_ADJ^N m+ann_N^N scolden_MDD nymen_VB forbisne_N +at_P heom_PRO^D of_P goden_ADJ^D +teawen_N^D ,_, &_CONJ gecerren_VB fram_P heora_PRO$ un+deawen_N^D ._. coeluc1,Eluc_1_[Warn_45]:81.62_ID*

(66) *lufe habban* 'have love' cf. *lufian* 'to love'

*+Deah_P se_D^N mann_N^N h+abbe_HVPS ._, fullne_ADJ^A geleafan_N^A ._, &_CONJ +almessan_N wyrce_VBPS ._, &_CONJ fela_Q to_P gode_N^D gedo_VBPS eal_Q him_PRO^D bi+d_BEPI ydel_ADJ^N swa_ADV hw+at_WPRO^A swa_C he_PRO^N de+d_VBPI buton_P he_PRO^N **h+abbe**_HVPS so+te_ADJ^A **lufe**_N^A to_P Gode_NR^D &_CONJ to_P eallum_Q^D cristenum_ADJ^D mannum_N^D ._. cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_35:481.158.7028_ID*

(67) *lustbærnesse* habban 'have (a) desire' cf. *lystan* 'to please a desire'

*Ac_CONJ hit_PRO^N is_BEPI swi+de_ADV earmlic_ADJ^N +ting_N^N +t+at_C +da_D^N dysegan_ADJ^N men_N^N sint_BEPI +alces_Q^G domes_N^G swa_ADV blinde_ADJ^N +t+at_C hi_PRO^N nyton_NEG+VBPI hw+ar_WADV^L +ta_D^N so+dan_ADJ^N ges+al+ta_N^N sint_BEPI gehydde_VBN^N ,_, ne_NEG+CONJ fur+dum_FP nane_NEG+Q^A **lustb+arnesse**_N^A **nabba+d**_NEG+HVPI hi_PRO^A to_TO secanne_VB^D ._. coboeth,Bo:32.74.5.1373_ID*

(68) *mede habban* 'have a reward'

*We_PRO^N bidda+d_VBPI eow_PRO^A preostas_N^A :_, beo+d_BEI +tyses_D^G gemyndig_ADJ^N ,_, +t+as_D^G +te_C ge_PRO^N nu_ADV^T gehyrdon_VBDI ._, <T03900022400,212>_CODE +T+at_C ge_PRO^N **habban**_HVPS +ta_D^A **mede**_N^A ,_, +te_C ure_PRO$^N h+alend_N^N behet_VBDI +tam_D^D ,_, +te_C him_PRO^D +tenia+d_VBPI ._. colwstan1,+ALet_2_[Wulfstan_1]:211.287_ID*

(69) *mettas habban* 'have (a) measure' cf. *metan* 'to measure'

*&_CONJ +tam_D^D gelice_ADV do_VBPS se_D^N +te_C **mettas**_N^A **h+af+t**_HVPI ._. cowsgosp,Lk_[WSCp]:3.11.3778_ID*

(70) *mihte habban* 'have might' cf. *magan* 'to be able'

*Ac_CONJ +tu_PRO^N nast_NEG+VBPI +t+at_C ic_PRO^N **h+abbe**_HVPS +ta_D^A **mihte**_N^A +t+at_C ic_PRO^N m+age_MDPS +te_PRO^A hatan_VB acwellan_VB swa_CONJ +te_PRO*

lif_N^A forgeofan_VB swa_ADV hw+a+der_WADJ^A swa_C ic_PRO^N wille_MDP ?_. coverhomE,HomS_24.1_[Scragg]:277.260_ID

(71) *myne habban* 'have a mind' cf. *gemunan* 'to remember'; compare also *gemynde*

*and_CONJ +tes_D^N an_NUM^N geleafa_N^N is_BEPI eallum_Q^D to_TO healdenne_VB^D ,_, +tam_D^D mannum_N^D +te_C habba+d_HVPI +anigne_Q^A **myne**_N^A to_P Gode_NR^D ._. coaelhom,+AHom_9:104.1348_ID*

(72) *myngunge habban* 'have an opinion' cf. *mænan* 'to mean'

*Ne_NEG magon_MDPI hi_PRO^N na_NEG+ADV ealle_Q^N gelice_ADJ^A **myngunge**_N^A **habban**_HV ,_, for_P +tam_D^D hi_PRO^N ne_NEG beo+d_BEPI ealle_Q^N gelice_ADV ge+teawode_VBN^N ._. cochdrul,ChrodR_1:81.29.1070_ID*

(73) *neode habban* 'have (a) need' cf. *nidan* 'to compel'

*So+dlice_ADV ne_NEG bi+d_BEPI us_PRO^D to_P +almessan_N geteald_VBN ._, gif_P we_PRO^N +dam_D^D mannum_N^D sylla+d_VBPI +te_C heora_PRO$ **neode**_N sylfe_ADJ^N **habba+d**_HVPI ._, for_P +dan_D^I +de_C God_NR^N ne_NEG het_VBDI us_PRO^A gewelgian_VB +da_D^A h+abbendan_HAG^A ._, ac_CONJ +t+at_C we_PRO^N +da_D^A w+adligendan_VAG^A gefultumedon_VBDI ;_. cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_7:64.125.1287_ID*

(74) *nytte habban* 'have use (of)' cf. *neotan* 'to use'

*+D+at_D^N is_BEPI +d+at_C he_PRO^N ealle_Q^A +da_D^A ge+dohtas_N^A of_P his_PRO$ mode_N^D ne_NEG aceorfe_VBPS +de_C he_PRO^N scyle_MDPS his_PRO$ hieremonnum_N^D to_P **nytte**_N **habban**_HV ,_. cocura,CP:18.139.26.955_ID*

(75) *regol habban* 'have a rule' cf. *ricsian* 'to rule'

*Ge_PRO^N **habba+d**_HVPI eac_ADV **regol**_N^A ,_, gyf_P ge_PRO^N hine_PRO^A r+adan_VB woldan_MDDI ,_, on_P +tam_D^D ge_PRO^N magon_MDPI geseon_VB ,_, hu_WADV hit_PRO^N geset_VBN is_BEPI be_P eow_PRO ._. colwsigeXa,+ALet_1_[Wulfsige_Xa]:102.136_ID*

(76) *reste habban* ,have a rest' cf. *restan* ,to rest

[…] *cw+a+d_VBDI +t+at_C Martinus_NR^N stode_VBDS +atforan_P his_PRO$ gatum_N^D ,_, and_CONJ for+dy_ADV ne_NEG moste_MDD nane_NEG+Q^A **reste**_N^A **habban**_HV ne_NEG+CONJ modes_N^G ne_NEG+CONJ lichaman_N^G ._. coaelive,+ALS_[Martin]:1161.6738_ID*

(77) *rihtwisnysse habban* 'have right' cf. rihtan 'to have right'

*ac_CONJ agyf_VBI hit_PRO^A him_PRO^D sona_ADV^T +ar_P sunnan_N^G setlgange_N^D ,_, +d+at_C he_PRO^N bletsie_VBPS +de_PRO ,_, +tonne_P he_PRO^N gerest_VBPI on_P his_PRO$ reafe_N^D ,_, &_CONJ +d+at_C +du_PRO^N **h+abbe**_HVPS **rihtwisnysse**_N ._. cootest,Deut:24.12.4802_ID*

(78) *sace habban* 'have a quarrel' cf. *sacan* 'to quarrel'

*Gif_P +du_PRO^N wi+d_P hwone_Q^A **sace**_N **h+abbe**_HVPS ,_, &_CONJ git_PRO^N +tonne_ADV^T gesemede_VBN^N weor+den_BEPS ,_, ne_NEG wrec_VBI +tu_PRO^N no_NEG+ADV +da_D^A +arran_ADJR^A yfelo_N^A ,_, buton_P hie_PRO^A mon_MAN^N eft_ADV^T niwige_VBPS ._. codicts,Prov_1_[Cox]:1.33.59_ID*

(79) *sar habban* 'have a pain' cf. *sorgian* 'suffer mental or physical distress'

*Tacn_N^N +t+at_C se_D^N swile_N^N +twinan_VB ne_NEG m+ag_MDPI ne_NEG+CONJ ut_RP yrnan_VB on_P +t+are_D^D lifre_N^D ,_, +t+at_C se_D^N **h+af+d**_HVPI hefig_ADJ^A **sar**_N^A on_P ni+teweardre_ADJ^G lifre_N^G d+alum_N^D emne_ADV swa_P he_PRO^N sie_BEPS mid_P hwilcre_Q^D hwega_ADV byr+tenne_N^D gehefegod_VBN on_P +t+are_D^D swi+tran_ADJR^D healfe_N^D &_CONJ n+af+d_NEG+HVPI he_PRO^N fefres_N^G h+ato_N^A on_P +tam_D^D d+alum_N^D ._. colaece,Lch_II_[2]:23.2.1.2494_ID*

(80) *sibbe habban* 'have peace' cf. *sibbian* 'to make peace'

*+Tonne_ADV^T h+af+d_HVPI ure_PRO$^N bro+dor_N^N sum_Q^A +ting_N^A ongean_P us_PRO ,_, gif_P we_PRO^N him_PRO^D deredon_VBDI o+d+de_CONJ gedydon_VBDI un+danc_N^A ;_. coaelhom,+AHom_16:203.2349_ID +tonne_ADV^T sceole_MDP we_PRO^N don_VB be_P ures_PRO$^G Drihtnes_NR^G lare_N ,_, gegladian_VB urne_PRO$^A bro+dor_N^A mid_P goodum_ADJ^D ingehyde_N^D ,_, +tone_D^A Cristenan_ADJ^A man_N^A ,_, butan_P +alcere_Q^D hiwunge_N^D ,_, +t+at_C God_NR^N sylf_ADJ^N underfo_RP+VBPS gl+adlice_ADV ure_PRO$^A lac_N^A ,_, se_D^N +de_C nele_NEG+MDP underfon_RP+VB nan_NEG+Q^A +ting_N^A +ar_ADV^T +at_P us_PRO ,_, +ar_P we_PRO^N **habban**_HVPS **sibbe**_N on_P so+df+astum_ADJ^D mode_N^D ._. coaelhom,+AHom_16:203.2350_ID*

(81) *sige habban* ,to have victory' cf. *sigorian*' to triumph over'

*For_P +t+am_D^D slege_N^D noldan_NEG+MDDI Romane_NR^N brengan_VB +t+am_D^D consule_N^D +tone_D^A triumphan_N^A ,_, +te_C heora_PRO$ gewuna_N^N w+as_BEDI ,_, +teh_P he_PRO^N **sige**_N **h+afde**_HVD ._. coorosiu,Or_3:6.60.6.1153_ID*

(82) *sorge habban* ,have sorrow' cf. *sorgian* ,to sorrow'

*Ac_CONJ +d+at_D^N mod_N^N +d+atte_D^N **n+af+d**_NEG+HVPI singale_ADJ^A **sorge**_N^A hit_PRO^A self_ADJ^A to_TO behealdanne_VB^D ,_, +donne_ADV^T bi+d_BEPI hit_PRO^N on_P sume_Q^A healfe_N^A open_ADJ^N to_TO wundianne_VB^D ;_. cocura,CP:56.431.7.3033_ID*

(83) *speda habban* 'have success' cf. *spowan* 'to succeed'

*Ac_CONJ se_D^N welega_N^N nat_NEG+VBPI +t+at_C he_PRO^N is_BEPI w+adla_ADJ^N ._, for_P +dan_D^I +de_C he_PRO^N **n+af+d**_NEG+HVPI rihtwisnysse_N^G **speda**_N^A ._, and_CONJ +t+as_D^G heofenlican_ADJ^G wisdomes_N^G goldhordas_N^A ._, +te_C sind_BEPI so+de_ADJ^N welan_N^N ._, and_CONJ heora_PRO$ lufigendne_VAG^A ._, gemacia+d_VBPI weligne_ADJ^A ecelice_ADV ;_. cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_6:53.45.1094_ID*

(84) *spræce habban* 'have a speak' cf. *sprecan* 'to speak'

*Witodlice_ADV +ta_ADV^T +ta_P se_D^N **h+afde**_HVD **spr+ace**_N wi+d_P +tone_D^A Godes_NR^G wer_N^A be_P inngange_N^D Totillan_NR^G +t+as_D^G cyninges_N^G &_CONJ be_P Romanaburge_NR^G forspillednysse_N ,_, +ta_ADV^T cw+a+d_VBDI he_PRO^N ,_, +turh_P +tysne_D^A cyning_N^A Totillan_NR^A +teos_D^N ceaster_N^N by+d_BEPI toworpen_RP+VBN ,_, +t+at_C heo_PRO^N leng_ADVR^T ofer_P +t+at_D^A ne_NEG bi+d_BEPI on_P geeardod_VBN ._. cogregdH,GD_2_[H]:15.133.19.1299_ID*

(85) *synne habban* ,have sinned' cf. *syngian* ,to sin'

*And_CONJ gif_P we_PRO^N +ta_D^A word_N^A forsuwia+d_VBPI +te_C we_PRO^N be_P +tam_D^D h+alende_N^D gesawon_VBDI and_CONJ gehyrdon_VBDI we_PRO^N wyton_VBPI +t+at_C we_PRO^N **synne**_N **habba+d**_HVPI ._. conicodA,Nic_[A]:14.2.1.271_ID*

(86) *Þanc habban* 'have thank' cf. *Þancian* 'to thank'

*+tu_PRO^N meaht_MDPI +t+as_D^G **habban**_HV **+tanc**_N^A +t+at_C +tu_PRO^N minra_PRO$^G gifa_N^G wel_ADV bruce_VBD ._. coboeth,Bo:7.17.14.269_ID*

(87) *truwan habban* 'have trust' cf. *truwan* 'to trust'

*&_CONJ cwe+da+d_VBPI :_, Hw+ar_WADV^L synd_BEPI hyra_PRO$ godas_N^N on_P +dam_D^D hi_PRO^N **truwan**_N **h+afdon**_HVDI ,_. cootest,Deut:32.37.5109_ID*

(88) *tweon habban* 'have doubt' cf. *tweogan* 'to doubt'

*Hwylc_WADJ^N for+ton_ADV geleaffullra_ADJ^G manna_N^G m+ag_MDPI **habban**_HV +anigne_Q^A **tweon**_N^A ,_, +t+at_C in_P +ta_D^A tid_N^A +t+are_D^G offrunge_N^G heofonas_N^N ne_NEG magon_MDPI beon_BE ontynde_RP+VBN^N for_P +t+as_D^G sacerdes_N^G stefne_N &_CONJ bene_N ,_. cogregdC,GDPref_and_4_[C]:60.348.29.5348_ID*

(89) *unrotnysse habban* 'have sadness'

*+D+anne_P wif_N^N cen+d_VBPI heo_PRO^N **h+af+d**_HVPI **unrotnysse**_N for+tam_P +te_C hyre_PRO$ tid_N^N com_VBDI ._. cowsgosp,Jn_[WSCp]:16.21.7095_ID*

(90) *weg habban* 'have a journey' cf. *wegan* 'to move'

*+Da_D^N +donne_ADV^T sint_BEPI to_TO manienne_VB^D +de_C simle_ADV^T habba+d_HVPI +disse_D^G worulde_N^G +d+at_D^A +d+at_D^A hie_PRO^N wilnia+d_VBPI +d+at_C hie_PRO^N ne_NEG agiemeleasien_VBPS ,_, +donne_P hi_PRO^N hit_PRO^A eall_Q h+abben_HVPS ,_, +d+at_C hie_PRO^N ne_NEG secen_VBPS +done_D^A +de_C him_PRO^D to_P eallum_Q^D gefultema+d_VBPI ,_, +dyl+as_P hie_PRO^N lufigen_VBPS +das_D^A el+diodignesse_N^A ofer_P hiora_PRO$ +agenne_ADJ^A e+del_N^A ,_, &_CONJ hiora_PRO$ mod_N^A eal_Q ahon_VBPS on_P +d+at_D^A +de_C him_PRO^D her_ADV^L gel+aned_VBN bi+d_BEPI ,_, &_CONJ +dyl+as_P hie_PRO^A gedwelle_VBPS sio_D^N gehydnes_N^N &_CONJ +da_D^N get+asu_N^N +de_C hie_PRO^N on_P +d+am_D^D **wege**_N^D **habba+d**_HVPI ,_, +d+at_C hie_PRO^N forgieten_VBPS hwider_WADV^D hie_PRO^N scylen_MDPS ,_, &_CONJ +dyl+as_P hie_PRO^N for_P +d+am_D^D f+ageran_ADJ^D monan_N^D +de_C hi_PRO^N on_P niht_N^A gesio+d_VBPI forhycgen_VBPS +d+as_D^G d+ages_N^G bierhto_N &_CONJ +d+are_D^G sunnan_N^G ._. cocura,CP:50.387.8.26*

(91) *weorđ habban* 'have (a) word'

*+Ta_ADV^T semninga_ADV gehwearf_VBDI him_PRO^D to_P gemynde_N ,_, +t+at_C se_D^N m+assepreost_N^N Constantius_NR^N his_PRO$ m+ag_N^N bebohte_VBD +t+at_D^A hors_N^A ,_, +t+at_D^A he_PRO^N sylf_ADJ^N +ar_ADV^T full_ADV oft_ADV^T on_P s+at_VBDI ,_, &_CONJ +t+at_D^A ilce_ADJ^A **weor+d**_N^A **h+afde**_HVD +ta_ADV^T gyt_ADV^T on_P his_PRO$ cyste_N gehealden_VBN ._. cogregdC,GD_1_[C]:9.64.5.716_ID*

(92) *weorÞscipe habban* ,have worship' cf. *weorÞian* 'to honour'

nu_ADV^T +tonne_ADV^T o+der_ADJ twega_NUM^G ,_, o+d+de_CONJ +tara_D^G nan_NEG+Q^N nis_NEG+BEPI ,_.[coboeth,Bo:27.64.15.1195_ID] *o+d+de_CONJ hi_PRO^N n+anne_NEG+Q^A **weor+tscipe**_N^A **nabba+d**_NEG+HVPI ,_, gif_P hiora_PRO^G +anig_Q^N is_BEPI ._. coboeth,Bo:27.64.15.1196_ID*

(93) *willan habban* ,have (a) will' cf. *willan* 'to want'

*+deah_P hi_PRO^N +d+at_D^A weorc_N^A ne_NEG m+agen_MDPS fullfremman_VB ,_, hi_PRO^N **habba+d**_HVPI +deah_ADV fullne_ADJ^A **willan**_N^A ,_. coboeth,Bo:36.111.1.2183_ID*

(94) *wynsumnysse habban* ,have delight'

*We_PRO^N moton_MDPI eow_PRO secgan_VB eowre_PRO$^G sawle_N^G +tearfe_N ._, licige_VBPS eow_PRO ne_NEG licige_VBPS eow_PRO ._, +t+at_C we_PRO^N ne_NEG beon_BEPS lease_ADJ^N hyrdas_N^N ._, for_P +dan_D^I +de_C us_PRO^D is_BEPI uncu+d_ADJ^N ure_PRO$^N geendung_N^N ._, and_CONJ +teos_D^N weoruld_N^N **n+af+d**_NEG+HVPI fornean_ADV nane_NEG+Q^A **wynsumnysse**_N^A nu_ADV^T ._, for_P +dan_D^I +de_C heo_PRO^N sceal_MDPI geendigan_VB mid_P manegum_Q^D earfo+dnyssum_N^D ._, and_CONJ hi_PRO^N swi+de_ADV geneal+aca+d_VBPI swa_ADV swa_P ge_PRO^N sylfe_ADJ^N geseo+d_VBPI ._. cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_17_[App]:539.123.3274_ID*

3. INTERCHANGEABILITY

In Old English, there is a great interchangeability of light verbs with the same deverbal noun. The fact that there is no change in meaning points to a lesser degree of idiomatization and specialization of meaning. (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 53)

(95)

gefeoht habban vs. *gefeoht don*	‚to battle'
friÞ habban vs. *friÞ gedon* vs. *friÞ niman*	'to make peace'
gemynd habban vs. *gemynd don*	‚care for'
andan habban vs. *andan niman*	‚to envy'
geflit habban vs. *geflit macian*	'to fight'
sige habban vs. *sige sellan* vs. *sige niman*	‚to triomphe over'

4. SIMPLEX VERB VS. LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION

Generally, there is no difference between simplex verb and light verb construction in Old English. In the majority of the rare cases where the light verb construction and the simplex verb differ in meaning, the composite predicate has an intransitivising effect. The same effect occurs in Modern English. (Briton & Akimoto 1999: 50)

(96)

angyte habban 'have understanding'	*ongitan* 'to perceive X'
cyđđe habban 'have knowledge'	*cyđan* 'to make X known'
geÞeaht habban 'have advice'	*geÞencan* 'to think X'
neode habban 'have a need'	*nidan* 'to compel X'

5. MODIFICATION

Already in Old English, adjectival modification of the deverbal noun might be one of the primary motivations for use of the composite predicate, just as it is in Modern English. (Brinton& Akimoto 1999: 51)

(97) ***HABBAN*** +

agene cyre
ænige gyfe
ænige mihte
ænige tweon
anfeald lean
anrædne geleafan
bylwitne geleafan
eac regol
ece lean
ece lif
ecean reste
ecne đeowt
eorđlican neode
fæstrædne geleafan
festne geleafan
fielle sige
fornean nane wynsumnysse
fullne geleafan
fullne hyht

gastlice geÞacnunge
gerade spræce
gelice myngunge
getreowne geleafan
godan ece lif
godcunde blisse
god angyt
goodne willan
halwende mihte
healfe friđ
hefig sar
heofonlice lif
heofonlice lufe
heofonum reste
heriendlic lif
hwilendlican awyrđnessa
hwilce hwega gefelnesse
hwone sace
ilce weorđ

innweorlice lufe
lang lif
læssan sige
lænendlican ende
longe spræce
longsum gemot
manega gewinn
mænigfealde getacnunga
mæstne will
mæstne worÞscipe
maran blisse
maran care
maran đearfe
maran ege
maran gnornunge
maran ge+tacnunge
maran lufe
maran rihtwisnesse
maran speda
myccle nedÞearfe

micele geþacnunge
micele myhte
micelne ege
micelne sige
micla gefeoht
mildne deman
oþrum cirre sige
recene spræce
rihte domas

rhythne andan
rihtne geleafan
rightwislicne andan
scearp angyt
siððan leafe
singale sorge
soðe lufe
sume getrywða
swelcne ende

swylcum gemynde
þaær þearfe
towearde geþacnunge
towearden ende
won willan
wundorlice mihte
ylce weorð
yvelne andan
yvel lif

6. CONJUNCTION OF VERBAL ACTION:

Another motivation for the use of light verb constructions might be the conjunction of verbal actions, which occurs already in Old English quite frequently:

(98) *Ac_CONJ hu_WADV m+ag_MDPI +tone_ADV^T +afre_ADV^T +anig_Q^N mann_N^N hine_PRO^A inweardlice_ADV to_P Gode_NR^D gebiddan_VB ,_, butan_P he_PRO^N* ***h+abbe***_HVPS ***inweardlice***_ADV ***so+de***_ADJ^A ***lufe***_N^A ***&***_CONJ ***rihtne***_ADJ^A ***geleafan***_N^A *to_P Gode_NR^D ?_. colaw1cn,LawICn:22.4.129_ID*

(99) *and_CONJ +da_D^N +de_C on_P God_NR^A gelyfa+d_VBPI and_CONJ mid_P geleafan_N beo+d_BEPI gefullode_VBN^N ,_, +ta_D^N* ***habba+d***_HVPI *+ta_D^A ecean_ADJ^A* ***reste***_N^A *and_CONJ unawendendlice_ADJ^A* ***welan***_N^A *._. coaelive,+ALS_[Apollinaris]:214.4695_ID*

7. IDIOMATIZATION

There is hardly any systematic idiomatization of *habban* + N-collocations observed in the Old English period. Its Modern English equivalent forms a telic *aktionsart*. But due to the low degree of development of the infinite article *a/an* at this early stage of the language it is practically impossible to determine to what extent the deverbal nouns – particularly in such collocations as *habban gefeoht* and *habban reste* where in the Modern English equivalents *have a fight* and *have a rest* the indefinite article occurs –-express a bounded as opposed to an unbounded event.

The following example might be safe to serve as evidence for rare idiomatic use in Old English:

(100) *&_CONJ si+t+tan_P +tu_PRO^N spr+ace_VBD to_P +tynum_PRO$^D +teowe_N^D ic_PRO^N* ***h+afde***_HVD *+te_PRO l+atran_ADJR* ***tungan***_N *._. cootest,Exod:4.10.2420_ID*

Summarizing, the main characteristics of light verb constructions exist already in Old English. Solely, they are not as bold as in later periods. Idiomatization, for example, is hardly found.

If you have a look at Table 1, for the Helsinki Corpus there might be a tendency towards the O2 and O3 time periods for most occurrences of light verb constructions.[36] However, this is not a safe conclusion for the highest productivity of light verb constructions as the texts of these particular periods in the Helsinki Corpus outnumber the other ones by far. One the one hand, it seems plausible that there are rare light verb occurrences in the very first period of Old English. On the other hand, an increase in the latter periods – O34 and O4 – is expected with regard to the development in Middle English, Early Modern English and Present-day English. Therefore, this particular corpus is not qualified for statements concerning these subdivided periods.

[36] The P1 and P2 parts of the corpus, unfortunately, are not subdivided into further periods than Old English.

Old English	Modern English	occurence in P1+P2	Helsinki OX1	O2	O23	O3	O34
andan	envy	x					
angyte	understanding	x					
anweald	authority	x		x	x	x	x
awyrđnesse	honour			x			
bletsunga	blessing	x					
blisse	bliss	x					
care	care					x	
cyđđe	knowledge	x					
cyre	choice					x	
đearfe	need	x					
delihte	delight					x	
dema	judgement	x		x		x	
drohtnaÞ	living	x					
ege	fear	x	x				
ende	end	x		x		x	
forgifnesse	forgiveness	x					
friđ	peace	x					
geđyld	patience			x			
gefean	joy	x			x	x	
gefelnesse	feeling	x					
gefeoht	battle	x					
geflit	conlict						x
geleofe	believe	x		x	x	x	
gemet	meeting	x		x		x	
gemynde	memory	x					
geornfulnysse	zeal	x					
gereorde	talk			x			
gestreonum	possession			x			
getacnunge	meaning	x					
geÞeaht	thought	x			x	x	x
gewinn	contest	x					
gife	gift	x					
gymene	care	x					
hearm	harm	x					
hereness	praise	x					
hythe	hope					x	
leafe	leave	x					
lean	reward	x					
lif	life	x		x	x	x	x
lufe	love	x		x		x	
lustbærnesse	desire						x
mede	reward	x					
mettas	measure	x					
mihte	might	x			x	x	x
myne	mind	x					
mynunge	opinion	x					
neode	need	x		x	x	x	
nytte	use			x		x	
regol	rule						x
reste	rest	x			x	x	
rightwisnysse	right	x					
sace	quarrel						x

Table 1
Old English Deverbal Nouns

Old English	Modern English	P1+P2	OX1	O2	O23	O3	O34
sar	'sharp pain'	**x**					
sibbe	peace	**x**					
sige	victory	**x**					
sorge	sorrow	**x**					
speda	success			**x**		**x**	
sprœce	speech	**x**		**x**	**x**		
synne	sin	**x**		**x**			
Þanc	thank	**x**					
truwan	trust	**x**				**x**	
tweon	doubt	**x**				**x**	
unrotnysse	sadness	**x**					
weg	journey	**x**					
weorđ	word	**x**					
weorÞscipe	worship	**x**					
willan	will	**x**		**x**	**x**	**x**	

Table 1
Old English Deverbal Nouns

VII. MIDDLE ENGLISH *HAVEN* AS A LIGHT VERB

The light verb constructions *have* + N increased significantly in the Middle English period. Matsumoto (1999: 61) assumes "that there are a wealth of CP [complex predicate] expressions against the background of the whole of ME [Middle English] idiomaticity". There are two possible patterns: *haven* + N and *haven* + N + P. As the examples are not as lucid as in Old English, they are listed in *Table 2* without any exemplifying sentences.

1. INTERCHANGEABILITY

In many cases, there appears to be synonymity among different verbs in light verb constructions. In particular, there is still a great interchangeability between the light verbs in Middle English.

(101) *haven meditacioun / maken meditacioun*
haven penance / don penance

However – as Matsumoto (1999: 72) points out – light verb constructions with *have* and *take* followed by the same agentive object sometimes show delicate shades of meaning in Modern English. The same is supposed to be true in Middle English:

(102) *haven cold* ('to suffer from cold') vs. *taken (a) cold* ('catch a chill');
haven breth ('to be alive') vs. *taken breth* ('catch one's breath');
haven love ('to be in love') vs. *taken love of* ('to fall in love').

In most cases, a light verb construction with *haven* refers to a state and one with *taken* refers to an event. *haven* + N most likely expresses a mental activity, while *taken* is often used as inchoative verb.

2. SIMPLEX VERB VS. LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION

Light verb + N constructions indicate usually that the action or process takes place in a limited time frame in Modern English. (Wierzbicka 1982: 757) This phenomenon appears already in Middle English:

(103) *haven knoweleche of* 'to receive information'
Ande_CONJ thenne_ADV the_D kyng_N send_VBD unto_P the_D captayne_N dyvers_ADJ lordys_NS bothe_CONJ spyrytualle_ADJ and_CONJ temporalle_ADJ ,_, to_TO wytte_VB and_CONJ to_TO ***have****_HV* ***knowleche****_N of_P that_D grette_ADJ assembelynge_N and_CONJ gaderyng_N of_P that_D grete_ADJ $and_CONJ mysavysyd_VAN feleschyppe_N ._. CMGREGOR,190.1445_ID*

(104) *knowen* 'to have knowledge of something based on the cognitive recognition'[37]
And_CONJ in_P this_D wise_N had_HVD I_PRO the_D experience_N for_P evermo_ADV in_P which_WD manere_N I_PRO shulde_MD ***knowe****_VB the_D tyde_N of_P the_D day_N and_CONJ eke_ALSO myn_PRO$ ascendent_N ._. CMASTRO,670.C2.237_ID*

3. MODIFICATION

As well as in Old English, Middle English allows adverbial modification in light verb constructions. Besides a general increase of light verb constructions, the rate of the adjectival modification increases, too. *Great* and *good* are the most frequent modifiers. According to Matsumoto (1999: 92) this is because "they act as emphasizers rather than as true modifiers". But there are also several other modifiers:[38]

(105) ***HAVEN*** +

good wil
goode dede
gret schame
gret delectscioun
gret hope
gret lykyngge
gretter knowing
bodily informaciouns
brod reule
eftsone distete
feole helpe
ful trest
ilke warshipe
o3gene wyt
sare stiche
spriritual enuye
studefast meditacioun
trusti bileaue
unwys indignacioun
uuele reste
worldliche possessioun
ydele blisse

[37] Tanabe 1999:108ff. In: Brinton & Akimoto 1999.
[38] The following examples are only a small selection of an enormous variety.

4. CONJUNCTION OF VERBAL ACTION

In Middle English, there is evidence for conjunction of verbal actions, too. Even a slight increase in frequency can be observed. Moreover, the type of conjunction becomes extended:

(106) *Vor_CONJ grat_ADJ ureme_N +ter_ADV com+t_VBP his_PRO uor_FOR to_TO* ***habbe****_HV ._, **blisse**_N ._, **wor+tssipe**_N /_, and_CONJ **lyf**_N eurelestinde_ADV+VAG ._. CMAYENBI,94.1830_ID*

(107) *&_CONJ when_P Arthure_NPR wist_VBD of_P +tis_D tydyngus_NS ,_, +tat_C he_PRO* ***hade****_HVD nou+gt_NEG **power**_N ne_CONJ **streng+t**_N ynow_ADJR to_TO fei+gt_VB a+geyne_P Sheldrik_NPR ,_, he_PRO lete_VBD bene_BE +te_D sege_N ,_. CMBRUT3,70.2102_ID*

(108) *yet_ADV sette_VBP I_PRO caas_N ,_, ye_PRO* ***have****_HVP bothe_Q **myght**_N and_CONJ **licence**_N for_FOR to_TO venge_VB yow_PRO ,_. CMCTMELI,231.C1.546_ID*

5. IDIOMATIZATION

Haven + N constructions can also occur in figurative meanings. Nevertheless, the light verb constructions with *haven* occur not too often as idioms in the Middle English period.

As a light verb construction becomes more highly idiomaticized, it does not take adjectival modification but rather adverbial modification. According to Matsumoto (1999: 92), the presence or absence of articles in these collocations might relate to aspect and idiomatization in Modern English, but in Middle English it is unrelated to questions of idiomatization or even of meaning.

Figurative meanings of *haven* + N constructions appear to be common with body parts. The more idiomaticized such a construction is, the more likely it is to have figurative meaning. Normally, light verbs in such environments preserve at least some of their original meaning; this explains the stative/ dynamic contrast between *haven* + N. As light verb constructions become more idiomaticized, these contrasts might be lost.

(109) *haven tongue* ('to be able to speak')
Vor_CONJ +ter_EX is_BEP a_D feloun_N +tet_C ***he+t****_HVP +te_D **tonge**_N more_QR keruinde_VAG :_, +tanne_P rasour_N ._, more_QR zuyfter_ADJR /_, +tanne_P arwe_N ulyinde_VAG ._, and_CONJ more_QR boryinde_VAG :_, +tanne_P zouteres_N$ eles_NS ._. CMAYENBI,66.1234_ID*

(110) *haven herte* ('to have a desire')
Huo_WPRO +tet_C ne_NEG he+t_HVP uirtue_N :_, he_PRO ne_NEG ***he+t****_HVP grat_ADJ **herte**_N /_, ase_C he+t_HVP +te_D ilke_ADJ +tet_C he+t_HVP drede_N of_P na+gt_Q ._. CMAYENBI,84.1625_ID*

(111) *Aftre_P +tis_D goote_N ,_, shal_MD come_VB out_RP of_P Wyndesore_NPR*
a_D Boor_N ,_, +tat_C shal_MD ***haue****_HV an_D heuede_N of_P witte_N ,_,*
a_D lyons_N$ ***hert****_N ,_, a_D pitouse_ADJ lokyng_N ;_. CMBRUT3,74.2238_ID*

(112) *haven e3ge* (probably 'to have power to see')
+Te_D holy_ADJ man_N yern+t_VBP ase_P grihond_ADJ+N ._, +tet_C
***habbe+t**_HVP alday_Q+N hare_PRO$ **e+ge**_N /_, to_P heuene_NPR :_,*
huer_WADV hi_PRO yzye+t_VBP +te_D praye_N :_, +tet_C hi_PRO driue+t_VBP
._. CMAYENBI,75.1449_ID

In sum, a significant increase from the occurrence of Old English light verb constructions to Middle English light verb constructions can be observed. Light verb constructions often even seem to be the preferred expression. (Matsumoto 1999: 61) The idiomatization grows somewhat which results in a slight decrease of interchangeability of light verbs. Small changes in meaning are noticeable. Besides, the modification rises with the general increase of light verb constructions.

According to Table 2, the highest productivity in Middle English appears to be from M3 to M4, that is from 1350 to 1500. Despite the fact that the word counts in the time intervals from MX1 to M24 are only about half the size of the word counts in the time intervals from M3 to M4[39] this result seems to be plausible with regard to the further development of light verb constructions.

[39] At the rate of 404,693 to 751,252 word counts.

Middle English	MX1	M1	M2	M23	M24	M3	M34	MX4	M4
abhominacioun				x		x			x
abowndance							x		
ado									x
adventure									x
adversitee						x			
affeccioun							x		x
age			x			x			
amendement							x		
angine	x	x							
angwissh						x			
ansuere						x			x
askyng							x		
assent						x			
auctoritee						x			
avantage						x			
bataile						x			x
bathe						x			
beginnyng	x	x				x	x		x
benefice						x			x
beoing						x	x		
bileoue	x	x	x			x			
bisnysse						x	x		
blessynge			x			x			
blisse	x	x	x			x	x		x
bountees						x			
byte						x			
care									x
charite		x	x		x	x	x		x
cher									x
choys						x			
commandement						x			x
commendacioun						x			
commissioun									x
comounde									x
company						x			x
compunccyon						x			x
comunycacyon									x
conclusion									x
condicion						x			
confidence									x
conflicte						x			
confort			x			x			x
confusion						x			
connyng			x		x				
conpassioun				x			x		x
consciens							x		x
conseil					x	x			x
consideracioun				x					
contricioun						x	x		x
copy									x
corage						x			
cost					x				
cours									x
cry						x			x

Table 2
Middle English Deverbal Nouns

Middle English	MX1	M1	M2	M23	M24	M3	M34	MX4	M4
cumandement						x			
cume		x							
cumfort					x				
cumpanies						x			
cure					x		x		x
custom						x			x
damage						x			
declarynge							x		
dede						x			
defaute						x			
delectacion				x					
deliberacion						x			
delyt		x		x	x	x			
descrecion					x	x			
desdayn						x			x
desire					x	x			x
desport						x			
despyte				x		x			x
devocioun			x	x	x	x	x		x
deynte									x
diligence						x			
disete			x						
disposicion									x
diversite						x			
dominacioun									x
dotacion									x
dout/dute						x			x
drede	x		x		x	x	x		x
drink									x
driwerie		x							
eleccion									x
ende	x	x				x	x		x
entente						x			x
entryng						x			
envye			x	x		x	x		x
eritage						x	x		
excusation						x			
experience				x		x			
fal									x
fauowr						x	x		x
feith						x	x		x
felyng					x	x	x		x
force					x				
forgyfnesse	x					x	x		
gest									x
gifte					x	x	x		
gladnesse		x		x		x			x
goodnesse						x			
gouernauns						x	x		x
grace		x	x		x	x	x		x
gredinesse	x								
gult	x	x	x						
hardynesse						x			x
harm		x				x	x		x

Table 2
Middle English Deverbal Nouns

Middle English	MX1	M1	M2	M23	M24	M3	M34	MX4	M4
harnes						x			x
haste				x					x
hate			x						
heale		x			x	x	x		
helpe		x				x	x	x	x
hete			x				x		x
hevynesse						x			
honour	x					x			
hope		x		x	x	x	x		
horrour				x					
humylitee						x			
ille						x			
in+geong		x							
indignacioun				x		x			x
informaciouns				x					
intent						x			
inuestigacion									x
ioy					x	x	x		x
ire						x			
jornaye						x			
juggment						x			x
jurisdiccioun						x			
kepyng									x
knoweleche						x	x		x
knowing					x	x	x		x
lac			x						
lean		x							
leaue		x	x						
leisere							x		x
leue						x			
licence						x			x
liknesse						x			
living						x			x
locunge			x						
longyng	x				x		x		x
loue/luue	x	x	x		x	x	x		x
lust		x				x	x		x
lyf	x	x	x			x	x		x
lykyngge		x		x		x	x		
machte/mi+gte	x	x	x			x	x		
maistrie			x			x	x		x
malice						x			
masse									x
meditacioun				x					
medlynge						x			
meetyng						x			
meknes					x		x		x
mende									x
mercy		x	x	x	x	x	x		x
mervaile						x			x
mesure			x				x		
misdede						x			
mister					x	x	x		x
modinesse	x								

Table 2
Middle English Deverbal Nouns

Middle English	MX1	M1	M2	M23	M24	M3	M34	MX4	M4
mynde			x	x	x	x	x		x
nouryce	x								x
nyede		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
obedyence		x							x
occasioun						x			x
offerynge						x			x
opinion				x			x		
oportunitee						x			x
pacyence						x	x		x
paine		x			x	x	x		x
pardoun						x	x		x
part			x			x	x		x
passyon							x		
penance						x	x		
perfeccioun						x			
persecucyon							x		
pes		x				x	x		x
pompe						x			
possessioun				x		x			x
pouste							x		x
poverte						x			
power						x	x	x	x
praising						x			
presence							x		
pris						x			
priuilege									x
prophecyus							x		
prude	x	x				x			x
purpos					x	x	x		x
purveance						x			
pyte/pite			x	x	x	x	x		x
qwiete									x
reason						x			
rechelesnes						x			
recours						x			x
regne			x						
reles						x			x
remedie						x			
rememberance						x			
remissioun				x		x	x		
repentaunce						x			
resceyt						x			
respect						x			
reste	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
reu+de	x	x				x	x		
reuelacion							x		x
reuerence				x		x			
reule						x			x
reunesse		x							
reward					x	x	x		x
richesse			x		x	x			
ry+gt	x	x				x	x		x
sapience						x			
schame	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x

Table 2
Middle English Deverbal Nouns

Middle English	MX1	M1	M2	M23	M24	M3	M34	MX4	M4
schirnesse		x							
science						x			
scorn				x		x			x
sentence							x		
servyse									x
shamefastness						x			
shylde									x
sighte					x	x			x
skele			x			x			
socour			x			x			
softnesse									x
solas									x
sorinesse	x								
sorwe				x	x	x	x		x
speces						x			x
spede						x			
spirit						x			x
streng+de		x	x			x	x		
stroke							x		
stryfe							x		
suffisaunce						x			
surquidrie						x			
suspecioun									x
suspect						x	x		x
swotnesse		x			x	x			
synne	x	x			x	x	x		
talent						x			
talkyng									x
tanc	x	x				x	x		
teare		x							x
tendyrnes									x
teone		x							
thoghte					x		x		
thriste		x					x		
tidynge						x			x
tocninge	x		x						
torment				x	x	x			
trauaile						x			
trest/trust				x		x	x		x
tribulacioun		x				x	x		x
trouthe					x	x	x		
understondyng					x	x	x		x
untrust		x							
use		x			x		x		x
variacions						x			
vengans							x		
victory						x	x		x
virtue			x			x	x		x
vysitacion							x		
warant						x			
warde		x		x					
warnyng							x		x
warschipe		x	x		x	x	x		x
wepynges						x			x

Table 2
Middle English Deverbal Nouns

Middle English	MX1	M1	M2	M23	M24	M3	M34	MX4	M4
werre						x			x
wetyng						x			
witnesse		x				x			x
witte/wyt		x	x			x	x		
wonder					x	x	x	x	x
word		x	x			x	x		x
wratthe						x			
wrong						x	x		
wyl/wille	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
wysdom			x				x		x
ymage									x

Table 2
Middle English Deverbal Nouns

VIII. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH *HAVE* AS A LIGHT VERB

In Early Modern English, *have* + N constructions seem to have established the same standard as in Modern English. In Modern English, however, there are significant interdialectal differences. As Kearns (2002: 2) claims, light verb constructions with *have* are frequent in Australian English, common in New Zealand and British English but rare in American English.

Since this study is based on a corpus of British English texts, there is various evidence for the occurrence of light verb constructions with *have* to be found. Therefore, it might be interesting to investigate Australian or American English texts of the early Modern English period in future work.

1. INTERCHANGEABILITY

There are still several deverbal nouns which are used with other light verbs than *have* as well. But there is hardly any interchangeability found; the meaning changes with the light verb. So, there might be a slight diachronic change concerning the semantics of light verbs: It is claimed that light verbs in Modern English are not semantically empty since the meaning is modified by replacing the light verb. The fact that – at least some – light verbs in Old and Middle English are interchangeable leads to the assumption that light verbs used to have less semantical content or at least a more general one. This is conform to the results of idiomatization.

2. SIMPLEX VERB VS. LIGHT VERB CONSTRUCTION

Note that it is not necessarily the case that simplex verbs and light verb constructions differ in meaning. For example, there is no difference in *have use* vs. *use*:

(113) *And_CONJ it_PRO is_BEP ,_, as_P you_PRO say_VBP ,_, a_D great_ADJ &_CONJ a_D foule_ADJ want_N ;_, because_P+N ,_, without_P the_D perfect_ADJ knowledge_N of_P these_D numbers_NS ,_, schollers_NS $can_MD $not_NEG {TEXT:cannot}_CODE helpe_VB themselves_PRO+N by_P the_D Indices_NS ,_, or_CONJ Tables_NS of_P such_SUCH books_NS ,_, as_P they_PRO should_MD* ***use****_VB ,_, for_P turning_VAG to_P anything_Q+N of_P a_D sodaine_N :_, although_P it_PRO be_BEP a_D matter_N whereof_WADV+P they_PRO should_MD* ***have****_HV* ***use****_N all_Q their_PRO$ life_N long_ADJ ._. BRINSLEY-E2-P2,25.11_ID*

have care 'to attend to/ to be careful' can be differentiated from *care* rather used to indicate 'that the issue referred to is not of great importance', however:[40]

[40] Kytö 1999: 197ff.

(114) *We_PRO have_HVP roast_ADJ meat_N ,_, dinner_N and_CONJ supper_N ,_, throughout_P the_D weeke_N ;_, and_CONJ such_SUCH meate_N as_P you_PRO know_VBP I_PRO not_NEG use_VBP to_TO* ***care****_VB for_P ;_. STRYPE-E3-P1,178.29_ID*

(115) *And_CONJ thus_ADV <paren>_CODE quoth_VBD shee_PRO </paren>_CODE a_D woman_N may_MD die_VB in_P the_D night_N before_P you_PRO will_MD* ***haue****_HV the_D* ***care****_N to_TO see_VB what_WPRO shee_PRO ailes_VBP ,_, or_CONJ aske_VB what_WPRO she_PRO lackes_VBP ._. DELONEY-E2-P1,13.161_ID*

3. MODIFICATION

Of course, there are also various adjectival modifications in Early Modern English. Note that the following examples are only a selection of a very wide field. *Good* and *great* are also in Early Modern English the most frequent modifiers.

(116) *HAVE* +

good correspondence	*fine meeting*
good shower	*full suffisance*
great loss	*little favour*
great love	*little need*
great mind	*most frequent and best advertisement*
great respect	*one purpose*
greater sin	*perfect resemblance*
careful regard	*small witte*
entire confidence	*special love*
equal entertainment	*very good answer*
eternal life	*very good will*

4. CONJUNCTION OF VERBAL ACTION:

Verbal actions are linked also in Early Modern English. A slight increase can be observed.

(117) *Studies_NS* ***haue****_HVP an_D* ***influence****_N and_CONJ* ***operation****_N ,_, vpon_P the_D manners_NS of_P those_D that_C are_BEP conuersant_ADJ in_P them_PRO ._. BACON-E2-P2,1,13V.16_ID*

(118) *This_D was_BED deliver'd_VAN to_P the_D still_ADV doubting_VAG captain_N ,_, who_WPRO could_MD not_NEG resolve_VB to_TO trust_VB a_D heathen_ADJ ,_, he_PRO said_VBD ,_, upon_P his_PRO$ parole_N ,_, a_D man_N that_C* ***had****_HVD no_Q* ***sense****_N or_CONJ* ***notion****_N of_P the_D God_NPR that_C he_PRO worshipp'd_VBD ._. BEHN-E3-P2,181.159_ID*

(119) *A_D certayne_ADJ skoller_N ther_EX was_BED intendynge_VAG to_TO be_BE made_VAN prest_N whiche_WPRO* ***had****_HVD nother_CONJ grete_ADJ* ***wytte****_N nor_CONJ* ***lernyng****_N came_VBD to_P the_D bysshop_N to_TO take_VB orders_NS |_LB whos_WPRO$ folyshnese_N y=e=_D byshop_N perceyuyng_VAG because_P+N he_PRO was_BED a_D ryche_ADJ ma~nes_N$ son_N wolde_MD not_NEG very_ADV strongly_ADV oppose_VB hym_PRO MERRYTAL-E1-P2,123.272_ID*

5. IDIOMATIZATION

Early Modern English is more idiomatic; the figurative meanings increase in this period.

(120) *they_PRO can_MD tell_VB where_WADV things_NS be_BEP that_C are_BEP hid_VAN ,_, hauing_HAG* ***had****_HVN a_D* ***finger****_N in_P the_D matter_N ._. GIFFORD-E2-P1,F1R.369_ID*

(121) *for_CONJ happily_ADV you_PRO* ***have****_HVP a_D lucky_ADJ* ***hand****_N in_P planting_VAG suche_SUCH seedes_NS MADOX-E2-P1,93.82_ID*

(122) *when_P he_PRO maketh_VBP a_D flight_N at_P the_D field_N he_PRO shall_MD observe_VB the_D springing_N of_P the_D Partridge_N ,_, be_BE readie_ADJ to_TO cast_VB off_RP his_PRO$ Hawke_N ,_,* ***haue****_HV a_D quicke_ADJ* ***eye****_N for_P the_D marke_N ,_, and_CONJ a_D readie_ADJ iudgement_N to_TO prevent_VB the_D stealing_N away_ADV of_P the_D prey_N ,_. MARKHAM-E2-P1,1,88.22_ID*

(123) *I_PRO* ***haue****_HVP such_SUCH a_D fatall_ADJ* ***Finger****_N in_P such_SUCH businesse_N I_PRO must_MD forth_ADV with't_P+PRO ,_, chiefely_ADV for_P Countrey_N Wenches_NS ,_. MIDDLET-E2-P1,14.195_ID*

(124) *And_CONJ they_PRO came_VBD vnto_P Noe_NPR in_RP to_P the_D arke_NPR by_P cooples_NS ,_, of_P all_Q flesh_N y=t=_C* ***had****_HVD* ***breth****_N of_P lyfe_N in_P it_PRO ._. TYNDOLD-E1-H,VII,1G.244_ID*

Summarizing, the disappearance of interchangeability goes hand in hand with the salient increase of idiomatization. Concerning simplex verb and light verb construction there are two possibilities: either they differ in meaning or they do not. Possibly, the two options might be divided into true light verbs and vague action verbs (Kearns 2002). The tendency in the development of modification and conjunction of verbal action from Middle English to Early Modern English remains consistent.

In Table 3, if one compares the single time intervals within the Early Modern English period – E1 (1500-1569), E2 (1570-1639) and E3 (1640-1710) – with each other there is no significant difference in the occurrence of light verb constructions to be found.[41] All three time intervals possess about the same amount of *have* + N constructions. From that observation, it can be concluded that the productivity remains relatively constant in Early Modern English.

[41] Although the single time intervals have similar word counts. E1: 578,195; E2: 652,799; E3: 565,016.

Early Modern English	**Occurence in**		
	E1	**E2**	**E3**
aboundance	x		x
acceptation		x	
access	x	x	x
accomodation			x
account			x
acquaintance			x
action			x
ado			x
advantage	x	x	x
adversity	x		
advertisement		x	
affection			x
age		x	
agony			x
alliance		x	
allowance		x	
amend		x	
answer	x	x	x
appeal			x
appearance			x
appetite	x		x
applause			x
apprehension			x
approbation		x	
aspect			x
assembly		x	
assistance	x	x	x
authority	x	x	x
bath		x	
battle		x	x
beginning	x	x	x
benefice	x	x	x
bite			x
blessing	x	x	
blisse	x		
boldness	x		x
breath	x		
bruise			x
business	x		x
call			x
care	x	x	x
cast	x		x
cause	x	x	x
charge	x	x	x
charity			x
charm		x	x
cheer	x	x	
choice	x	x	
claim			x
clearness			x
comfort	x	x	x

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

	E1	E2	E3
command		x	x
commandment	x	x	
commendation		x	
commission	x	x	x
communication	x		x
communion		x	
company	x	x	x
compassion	x		
conception			x
concernment			x
conclusion			x
concurrence		x	
conference	x	x	x
confidence		x	
confirmation			x
conflict	x	x	
conquest		x	
conscience	x	x	x
consideration	x	x	x
consolation		x	
consultation		x	
contempt			x
contenance		x	
content			x
contention			x
contentment		x	
controversy		x	
conveniency		x	x
conversation	x	x	
correspondence		x	
cost		x	
counsel		x	
cours		x	
credit		x	
cure	x		x
custody	x		x
custom	x	x	x
cut		x	
dealing		x	
debate	x		
delay			x
delectation	x		
deliberation			x
delight	x	x	x
dependence			x
desire	x	x	x
device		x	
devotion			x
dignity	x		
diligence		x	
dinner			x
direction	x		x
discomfort	x		
discourse	x	x	x

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

	E1	E2	E3
discretion	x	x	x
disdain	x		
disguise		x	
dispensation	x	x	x
disposition		x	
dispute		x	
doing	x		
dominion	x	x	x
doubt	x	x	
dream	x	x	
drink	x		x
dwelling	x	x	
ease		x	
education			x
effect	x		x
egresse	x		
encouragement			x
end	x	x	x
entertainment	x	x	x
entrance			x
evidence			x
example			x
excuse		x	x
exercise		x	x
existence			x
expectation			x
expedition	x		
experience	x	x	x
eye		x	
failing			x
faith	x	x	x
familiarity		x	
fancy		x	x
fault		x	
favour	x	x	x
fear	x	x	x
feast			x
feeling	x	x	
fire	x		
flourish		x	
force		x	x
gentleness	x		
gift	x	x	
glory	x	x	x
glut		x	
grace	x	x	
grant	x		
growing	x		
guard		x	
guess		x	
harm	x	x	
haste	x	x	
hate		x	
health	x	x	

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

	E1	E2	E3
heat	x	x	x
help	x	x	x
hertitage	x		
honour	x	x	x
hope	x	x	x
hurt	x	x	
imprisonment	x	x	x
inclination		x	x
indignation	x		
inflammation	x		
influence			x
information		x	
innocence			
inspection			x
instructions	x	x	
insurrection	x		
intelligence		x	x
intent	x	x	
intention		x	x
intercourse		x	x
introduction	x		
issue	x	x	
journey		x	
joy	x	x	x
judgement	x	x	x
jurisdiction	x		x
justice	x	x	x
keeping	x		x
kindness			x
knowledge	x	x	x
labour		x	
lack	x		
law		x	
learning		x	x
leave	x	x	
leisure	x	x	x
liberty	x	x	x
license	x		
lick			x
life	x	x	x
liking		x	
liknesse		x	
living	x	x	x
lodge	x		x
lodging	x	x	
longing		x	
look	x	x	x
loss	x	x	x
love	x	x	x
lust	x		
making	x		
managment			x
marriage	x		
marvel	x		

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

	E1	E2	E3
mass	x	x	
mastery	x		x
meaning		x	
measure		x	x
measuring		x	
meeting	x	x	x
mercy	x	x	x
message	x		
might	x		
mind	x	x	x
miss	x		
modesty			x
motion	x		x
name	x	x	x
nature		x	x
neatness			x
need	x	x	x
nobility			x
notice	x	x	
notion			x
nourishment			x
obedience		x	x
obligation			x
occassion	x	x	x
operation		x	x
opinion	x	x	x
opposition			x
oversight		x	
pain	x	x	x
pardon	x	x	
part	x	x	
passage	x	x	x
patience		x	x
peace	x	x	x
perfection	x		
permission			x
petition			x
pity	x	x	
plaudit	x		
play		x	x
pleasure	x	x	x
possession	x	x	
poverty	x		
practice		x	x
praise	x	x	x
prayer	x	x	x
prejudice			x
presence			x
pretence	x		x
privilege	x	x	x
proof	x	x	x
pull	x		
punishment			x
purpose	x	x	x

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

	E1	E2	E3
quarrel		x	
quest	x		
question			x
receit		x	
reading			x
reason		x	x
recourse	x	x	x
regard	x	x	x
reign	x		
relation		x	x
release	x	x	
remedy		x	x
rememberance	x	x	
remission	x		
remorse	x		
reparation	x		
resemblance		x	x
respect	x	x	x
rest	x		x
restraint			x
revelation		x	
reverence	x	x	x
reward	x	x	x
richness			
right		x	x
rise			x
rule	x	x	x
rumour			
salvation	x		x
satisfaction	x		x
saying		x	
science	x		
scope			x
scorn	x		
scruple	x		
security			x
sense		x	x
sentence		x	
service		x	
share			x
shower	x	x	
sight	x	x	x
sin	x	x	
skill		x	
sleep			x
sorrow	x	x	
speech	x	x	
speed	x	x	
spirit	x	x	
sport	x	x	
strength			x
strife		x	
stroke	x		
success		x	x

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

	E1	E2	E3
suffisance	x		x
supper			x
support			x
suspicion		x	
talent		x	x
talk	x	x	
testimony	x	x	x
thank	x		
thought			x
tiding	x		
torment		x	
trade		x	
tribulation	x	x	
trouble	x	x	
trust	x	x	
truth	x	x	x
tumbling	x		
turn	x		x
understanding	x	x	x
use	x	x	x
utterance	x		
value			x
vanity			x
variety			x
veneration			x
victory	x		x
virtue	x	x	
war			x
ward	x		
warning	x	x	
warrant		x	x
weight			x
will	x	x	x
wisdom	x		
wish			x
wits	x	x	
word	x	x	x
work		x	x
working	x		
worship		x	
wrong	x	x	
zeal	x		

TABLE 3
Early Modern English Deverbal Nouns

IX. CONCLUSION

During the Old English period, light verbs are highly interchangeable. In Middle English there is still some interchangeability without change in meaning to observe whereas by Early Modern English this phenomenon seems to have vanished.

Another development can be noted concerning simplex verbs and light verb constructions: In Old English, rarely, the difference between the two consists of an intransitivising effect in the latter. In Middle English, however, a slight change in meaning occurs: the light verb construction often sets a limited time frame. This is also true for Early Modern English; even so a change in meaning is not necessarily the case. It might be interesting to separate the different and the indifferent appearances into two groups and investigate if they are consistent with the classifications of true light verbs and vague action verbs according to Kearns (2002).

Adjectival modification is already fully established in Old English. If there is an increase in Middle and Early Modern English it is due to the general increase of *have* + N constructions. This leads to the assumption that adjectival modification was at least one of the motivations for the rise of light verb constructions. *Great* and *good* seem to be the most frequent modifiers throughout all periods.

A further motivation for the rise of light verb constructions might be the conjunction of verbal actions: This phenomenon is also already introduces in Old English. Nevertheless, the types of conjunctions become extended in the later periods.

The most salient difference between Old English and Early Modern English lies in the idiomatization of *have* constructions. In the former there is hardly any idiomatic *have* + N construction available while in Middle English a slight idiomatization process is noticeable. This incident increases significantly in the Early Modern English period. It might be possible that even in Present-day English the idiomatization process is not completed yet.

In Table 4, by comparing the occurrence of light verb constructions in Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English, one comes to several conclusions:

It becomes clear that there are considerably less *have* + N constructions in Old English than in the following periods. As the YCOE has about the same size as the PPCME2 and the PPCEME, it can be assumed that light verb constructions have been existent; nevertheless, they have not been as productive yet as in the following periods.

The productivity increases already in the Middle English. There is an enormous spread of *have* + N constructions during that period. The productivity continues to rise in the Early Modern English period, but not as significantly as before. Light verb constructions also come to serve grammatical functions in Modern English.

There are cases when *have* + a certain N occur in Old English and in Early Modern English but not in Middle English. This is the case for *meaning, fear* and *zeal* in these corpora. This shows that the corpora – despite their size – have some failures. However, it can be concluded that there probably exists a Middle English equivalent since it is less likely that Old English and Early Modern English occurrences skipped the period between them. But this also indicates that there might be other *have* + N constructions which may be existent even so they do not appear in the corpora.

The appearance of the same N throughout all three periods is quite common to observe. On the one hand, this refers to relatively complete corpora. On the other hand, it can be observed that many of those Ns can be subdivided into special topics, which remain constantly relevant throughout all periods, such as

(125) War: *victory, battle, authority*, etc.
Clerical topics: *sin, believe, faith, forgiveness*, etc.
Emotions: *hope, feeling, joy, love*, etc.

This is conform to Stevenson, Fazly & North's finding (2004) that the productivity is dependent of the semantic verb classes the light verb combines with.

Among other V+N constructions, *habban* + N constructions seem to have been used for the same purposes as in Modern English that is for sentence rhythm and stress, when adjectival modification of the deverbal noun is preferred to adverbial modification of the bare verb or for purposes of conjunction of verbal action. In addition, the Old English light verb constructions are usually semantically equivalent to the simple verb constructions, or differ predictably in respect to transitivity. (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 52f)

There are similar patterns between Old English *habban* +N and Modern English *have* +N. The collocation of light verb + deverbal noun would thus appear to be a native development in English, with a slight reinforcement from a parallel Latin construction. The Old English *habban* + N constructions show a salient resemblance to the *have* + N constructions in Modern English in respect to the motivation for its use and the relation between composite and simplex verb. However, the Old English form seems to lack the aspectual function of

its Modern English equivalent, while it is more transparent in meaning and less unified and fixed. In particular, the Old English *habban* + N construction is less fully grammaticalized, idiomaticized, and lexicalized than the Modern English *have* + N construction. (Brinton & Akimoto 1999: 54)

These findings correspond to Traugott's (1999) three stages in the development of light verb constructions:

(126)

Stage I	phrasal construction;
Stage II	phrasal lexicalization, which does not seem to occur until late Old English;
Stage III	idiom, which does not occur until Middle English.

Present-day English	**Old English**	**Middle English**	**Occurence in**		
			OE	**ME**	**Early Mod E**
abomination		*abhominacioun*		**x**	
aboundance		*abowndance*		**x**	**x**
acceptation					**x**
access					**x**
accomodation					**x**
account					**x**
acquaintance					**x**
action		*dede*		**x**	**x**
ado				**x**	**x**
→ beginning		*angine*		**x**	
advantage				**x**	**x**
adventure				**x**	
adversity		*adversitee*		**x**	**x**
advertisement				**x**	**x**
affection		*affeccioun*		**x**	**x**
age	*elderdom*		**x**	**x**	**x**
agony					**x**
alliance					**x**
allowance					**x**
amend		*amendement*		**x**	**x**
amendment		*amendement*		**x**	
anguish		*angwissh*		**x**	
answer				**x**	**x**
appeal					**x**
appearance					**x**
appetite				**x**	**x**
applause				**x**	**x**
apprehension					**x**
approbation					**x**
asking				**x**	
aspect					**x**
assembly					**x**
assent				**x**	
assistance					**x**
authority	*anweald*		**x**	**x**	**x**
bath		*bathe*		**x**	**x**
battle	*gefeoht*	*bataile*	**x**	**x**	**x**
beginning		*beginnyng*		**x**	**x**
being		*beoing*		**x**	
believe	*geleafe*	*bileoue*	**x**	**x**	
benefice				**x**	**x**
bite		*byte*		**x**	**x**
blessing	*bletsunga*	*blessynge*	**x**	**x**	**x**
blisse	*blisse*		**x**	**x**	**x**
boldness				**x**	**x**
bounty		*bountees*		**x**	
brains		*harnes*		**x**	
breath					**x**
bruise					**x**
business	*gesceafte*	*bisnysse*	**x**	**x**	**x**
call					**x**

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
care			x	x	x
cast					x
cause				x	x
charge				x	x
charity		*charite*		x	x
charm					x
cheer				x	x
choice	*cyre*		x	x	x
claim					x
clearness					x
come		*cume*		x	
comfort		*confort*		x	x
command				x	x
commandment				x	x
commendation				x	x
commission				x	x
communication				x	x
communion				x	x
company				x	x
compassion		*conpassioun*		x	x
compunction		*compunccyon*		x	
conception					x
concernment					x
conclusion				x	x
concurrence					x
condition		*condicion*		x	
conference					x
confidence				x	x
confirmation					x
conflict	*geflit*	*conflicte*	x	x	x
confusion				x	
conquest					x
conscience		*consciens*		x	x
consideration				x	x
consolation					x
consultation					x
contempt					x
contenance					x
content					x
contention					x
contentment					x
contest	*gewinn*		x		
contrition				x	
controversy					x
conveniency					x
conversation					x
copy				x	
correspondence					x
cost				x	x
counsel		*conseil*		x	x
courage		*corage*		x	
cours				x	x
credit					x
cry				x	

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
cure				x	x
custody					x
custom				x	x
cut					x
damage				x	
dealing					x
debate					x
declaring				x	
delay					x
delectation				x	x
deliberation				x	
delight			x	x	x
dependence					x
desire	*lustbærnesse*		x	x	x
despite		*despyte*		x	
device					x
devotion		*devocioun*		x	x
		deynte		x	
dignity					x
diligence				x	
dinner				x	x
direction					x
discomfort					x
discourse					x
discretion				x	x
disdain		*desdayn*		x	x
		disete		x	
disguise					x
dispensation					x
disposition		*disposicion*		x	x
dispute					x
diversity		*diversite*		x	
doing					x
dominion				x	x
donation		*dotacion*		x	
doubt	*tweon*	*dout*	x	x	x
dread		*drede*		x	
dream					x
drink				x	x
		driwerie		x	
dwelling				x	x
ease					x
education					x
effect					x
egresse					x
election		*eleccion*		x	
encouragement					x
end	*ende*	*ende*	x	x	x
entertainment		*solas*		x	x
entrance		*entryng*		x	x
envy	*andan*	*envye*	x	x	
evidence					x
evil		*ille*		x	
example				x	x

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
excusation				x	
excuse					x
exercise					x
existence					x
expectation					x
expedition					x
experience				x	x
eye		*e3ge*		x	x
failing					x
faith	*x*		x	x	x
fall		*fal*		x	
familiarity					x
fancy					x
fault		*defaute*		x	x
favour				x	x
fear	*ege*		x		x
feast				x	x
feeling	*gefelnesse*	*felyng*	x	x	x
fight			x		
fire					x
flourish					x
force				x	x
forgiveness	*forgifnesse*	*forgyfnesse*	x	x	
gentleness					x
gift	*gife*		x	x	x
gladnesse				x	
glory					x
glut					x
goodnesse				x	
governance		*gouernauns*		x	
grace				x	x
grant					x
greediness		*gredinesse*		x	
growing					x
guard				x	x
guess					x
guest		*gest*		x	
guilt		*gult*		x	
hardynesse				x	
harm	*hearm*		x	x	x
haste				x	x
hate				x	x
health		*heale*		x	x
heat				x	x
heaviness		*hevynesse*		x	
help		*helpe*		x	x
hertitage		*eritage*		x	x
honour	*awyrđnesse*		x	x	x
hope	*hyhte*		x	x	x
horror		*horrour*		x	
humility		*humylitee*		x	
hurt					x
image		*ymage*		x	
imprisonment					x

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
inclination					x
indignation				x	x
inflammation					x
influence					x
information				x	x
innocence				x	x
inspection					x
instructions					x
insurrection					x
intelligence					x
intent		*entente*		x	x
intention					x
intercourse					x
introduction					x
investigation				x	
ire				x	
issue				x	x
journey	*weg*	*jornaye*	x	x	x
joy	*gefean*	*ioy*	x	x	x
judgement	*dema*	*juggment*	x	x	x
jurisdiction		*jurisdiccioun*		x	x
justice					x
keeping				x	x
kindness					x
knowing				x	
knowledge	*cyđđe*	*knoweleche*	x	x	x
labour					
lack		*lac*		x	x
law				x	x
lean			x	x	
learning					x
leave	*leafe*	*leaue*	x	x	x
leisure				x	x
liberty					x
license				x	x
lick					x
life	*lif*	*lyf*	x	x	x
liking				x	x
likness				x	x
living	*drohtnaÞ*		x	x	x
lodge					x
lodging					x
longing				x	x
look		*locunge*		x	x
loss					x
love	*lufe*	*loue*	x	x	x
lust				x	x
making					x
malice				x	
managment		*?maner*		?x	x
marriage					x
marvel		*mervaile*		x	x
mass		*masse*		x	x
mastery		*maisitrie*		x	x

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
meaning	*getacnunge*		**x**		**x**
measure	*mettas*	*mesure*	**x**	**x**	**x**
measuring					**x**
meddling		*medlynge*		**x**	
meditation		*meditacioun*		**x**	
meekness		*meknes*		**x**	
meeting	*gemet*		**x**	**x**	**x**
mercy				**x**	**x**
message					**x**
might	*mihte*	*machte/mi+gte*	**x**	**x**	**x**
mind				**x**	**x**
misdeed		*misdede*		**x**	
miss					**x**
modesty				**x**	**x**
motion					**x**
name					**x**
nature			**x**	**x**	**x**
neatness					**x**
need	*ðearfe*	*nede*	**x**	**x**	**x**
nobility					**x**
notice					**x**
notion					**x**
nourishment		*nouryce*		**x**	**x**
obedience		*obedyence*		**x**	**x**
obligation					**x**
occassion		*occasioun*		**x**	**x**
offering		*offerynge*		**x**	
operation					**x**
opinion	*mynunge*		**x**	**x**	**x**
opportunity		*oportunitee*		**x**	
opposition					**x**
oversight					**x**
pain		*paine*		**x**	**x**
pardon		*pardoun*		**x**	**x**
part				**x**	**x**
passage					**x**
passion		*passyon*		**x**	
patience	*geðyld*	*pacyence*	**x**	**x**	**x**
peace	*friđ*	*pes*	**x**	**x**	**x**
penance				**x**	
perfection		*perfeccioun*		**x**	**x**
permission					**x**
persecution		*persecucyon*		**x**	
petition					**x**
pity		*pyte/pite*		**x**	**x**
plaudit					**x**
play					**x**
pleasure		*? desport*		**?x**	**x**
pomp		*pompe*		**x**	
possession	*gestreonum*	*possessioun*	**x**	**x**	**x**
poverty		*poverte*		**x**	**x**
power				**x**	
practice					**x**
praise	*hereness*	*pris*	**x**	**x**	**x**

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
prayer				x	x
prejudice					x
presence				x	
pretence					x
pride		*modinesse*		x	
pride		*prude*		x	
privilege				x	x
proof					x
prophecy		*prophecyus*		x	
pull					x
punishment					x
purpose				x	x
purveance				x	
quarrel	*sace*		x	x	x
quest					x
question					x
quietness		*qwiete*		x	
reach					
receit		*resceyt*		x	x
reading					x
reason				x	x
recklessness		*rechelesnes*		x	
recourse				x	x
regard					x
reign		*regne*		x	x
relation					x
release					x
		reles		x	
remedy		*remedie*		x	x
rememberance	*gemynde*		x	x	x
remission				x	x
remorse					x
reparation					x
repentance		*repentaunce*		x	
resemblance					x
respect				x	x
rest	*reste*	*reste*	x	x	x
restraint					x
revelation		*reuelacion*		x	x
reverence				x	x
reward	*mede*		x	x	x
		reu+de		x	
		reunesse		x	
richness		*richesse*		x	x
right	*rightwisnysse*	*ry+gt*	x	x	x
rise					x
rule	*regol*	*reule*	x	x	x
rumour					x
sadness	*unrotnyss*	*sorinesse*	x	x	
salvation					x
sapience				x	
satisfaction		*?mende*		?x	x
saying				x	x
science	*connyng*		x	x	x

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
scope					x
scorn				x	
scruple					x
security					x
sense					x
sentence				x	x
service		*servyse*		x	x
shame		*schame*		x	
share					x
shower					x
sight		*sighte*		x	x
sin	*synne*	*synne*	x	x	x
skill		*skele*		x	x
sleep					x
softness		*softnesse*		x	
sore	*sar*	*stiche*	x	x	
sorrow	*sorge*	*sorwe*	x	x	x
speech	*sprǽce*	*speces*	x	x	x
speed					x
spirit				x	x
sport					x
strength		*streng+de*		x	x
strife		*stryfe*		x	x
stroke				x	x
success	*speda*	*spede*	x	x	x
suffisance				x	x
supper					x
support					x
suspect				x	
suspicion				x	x
sweetness		*swotnesse*		x	
talent				x	x
talk	*gereorde*	*talkyng*	x	x	x
tears		*teare*		x	
tenderness		*tendyrnes*		x	
testimony		?witnesse		?x	x
thank	*Þanc*		x	x	x
thirst		*thriste*		x	
thought	*ge Þeaht*	*thoghte*	x	x	x
tiding		*tydynge*		x	x
torment				x	x
trade					x
travail		*trauaile*		x	
tribulation		*tribulacioun*		x	x
trouble					x
trust	*truwan*	*trest*	x	x	x
truth		*trouthe*		x	x
tumbling					x
turn					x
understanding	*angyte*		x	x	x
untrust				x	
use	*nytte*		x	x	x
utterance					x
value					x

TABLE 4

Summary

Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

			OE	ME	Early Mod E
vanity					**x**
variation		*variacions*		**x**	
variety					**x**
veneration					**x**
vengeance		*vengans*		**x**	
victory	*sige*		**x**	**x**	**x**
virtue				**x**	**x**
visit		*vysitacion*		**x**	
want		*mister*		**x**	
war		*werre*		**x**	**x**
ward		*warde*		**x**	**x**
warning		*warnyng*		**x**	**x**
warrant		*warant*		**x**	**x**
weeping		*wepynges*		**x**	
weight				**x**	**x**
wetting		*wetyng*		**x**	
will	*willan*	*wyl/wille*	**x**	**x**	**x**
wisdom		*wysdom*		**x**	**x**
wish					**x**
wits		*witte/wyt*		**x**	**x**
wonder				**x**	
word	*weorđ*		**x**	**x**	**x**
work				**x**	**x**
working					**x**
worship	*weorÞscipe*	*warschipe*	**x**	**x**	**x**
wrath		*wratthe*		**x**	
wrong				**x**	**x**
zeal	*geornfulnysse*		**x**		**x**

TABLE 4
Summary
Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English

APPENDIX

OLD ENGLISH POS TAGS

The verb BE

BE	infinitive
BEI	imperative
BEPH	ambiguous, subjunctive/imperative form
BEPI	present tense, unambiguous indicative
BEPS	present tense, unambiguous subjunctive
BEP	present tense, ambiguous form
BEDI	past tense, unambiguous indicative
BEDS	past tense, unambiguous subjunctive
BED	past tense, ambiguous form
BAG	present participle
BEN	past participle

The verb HAVE

HV	infinitive
HVI	imperative
HVPI	present tense, unambiguous indicative
HVPS	present tense, unambiguous subjunctive
HVP	present tense, ambiguous form
HVDI	past tense, unambiguous indicative
HVDS	past tense, unambiguous subjunctive
HVD	past tense, ambiguous form
HAG	present participle
HVN	past participle (verbal or adjectival)

Auxiliary verbs

AX	infinitive
AXI	imperative
AXPI	present tense, unambiguous indicative
AXPS	present tense, unambiguous subjunctive
AXP	present tense, ambiguous form
AXDI	past tense, unambiguous indicative
AXDS	past tense, unambiguous subjunctive
AXD	past tense, ambiguous form
AXG	present participle
AXN	past participle (verbal or adjectival)

All other verbs

VB	infinitive
VBI	imperative
VBPH	ambiguous, subjunctive/imperative form
VBPI	present tense, unambiguous indicative
VBPS	present tense, unambiguous subjunctive
VBP	present tense, ambiguous form
VBDI	past tense, unambiguous indicative
VBDS	past tense, unambiguous subjunctive
VBD	past tense, ambiguous form
VAG	present participle
VBN	past participle (verbal or adjectival)

Modal verbs

MD	infinitive
MDI	imperative
MDPI	present tense, unambiguous indicative
MDPS	present tense, unambiguous subjunctive
MDP	present tense, ambiguous form
MDDI	past tense, unambiguous indicative
MDDS	past tense, unambiguous subjunctive
MDD	past tense, ambiguous form
TO	infinitival TO

Nominals

N	Common noun, singular or plural
NPR	Proper noun, singular or plural
PRO	Personal pronoun
PRO$	Possessive pronoun

Adjectives and Adverbs

ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb

Quantifiers and numerals

Q	Quantifier
NUM	Numeral

Wh-words

WPRO	Wh-pronoun
WADJ	Wh-adjective
WADV	Wh-adverb
WQ	WHETHER

Miscellaneous

CONJ	Coordinating conjunction
C	Complementizer
D	Determiner
P	Preposition or subordinating conjunction
NEG	Negation
RP	Adverbial particle
FP	Focus particle
FW	Foreign word
INTJ	Interjection
XX	unknown or problematic word

APPENDIX

Extended tags

N	nominative case
A	accusative case
G	genitive case
D	dative case
I	instrumental case
T	temporal
L	locative
D	directional (contextual)
DX	directional (lexical)

Punctuation

.	Final punctuation (end of token) in POS files
,	Non-final punctuation
"	Double quotation marks
'	Single quotation marks

Non-linguistic tags

CODE	Indicates non-text material
ID	Token identifier

APPENDIX

MIDDLE ENGLISH & EARLY MODERN ENGLISH POS TAGS

E_S	sentence-final punctuation ("end of sentence")
,	sentence-internal punctuation
'	single quote
"	double quote
$	possessive marker
+	joins constituent morphemes in compounds Example: (N+N mankind)
A	
ADJ	adjective
ADJR	adjective, comparative
ADJS	adjective, superlative
ADV	adverb
ADVR	adverb, comparative
ADVS	adverb, superlative
ALSO	the words ALSO (except when = AS) and EKE (the latter only in Middle English)
B	
BAG	BE, present participle
BE	BE, infinitive
BED	BE, past (including past subjunctive)
BEI	BE, imperative
BEN	BE, perfect participle
BEP	BE, present (including present subjunctive)
C	
C	complementizer
CODE	non-text material
CONJ	coordinating conjunction
D	
D	determiner
DAG	DO, present participle
DAN	DO, passive participle (verbal or adjectival)
DO	DO, infinitive
DOD	DO, past (including past subjunctive)
DOI	DO, imperative
DON	DO, perfect participle
DOP	DO, present (including present subjunctive)
E	
ELSE	the word ELSE in the collocation OR ELSE
E_S	sentence-final punctuation ("end of sentence")
EX	existential THERE
F	
FOR	infinitival FOR
FOR+TO	cliticized FOR+TO
FP	focus particle
FW	foreign word
G	
H	
HAG	HAVE, present participle
HAN	HAVE, passive participle (verbal or adjectival)
HV	HAVE, infinitive
HVD	HAVE, past (including past subjunctive)
HVI	HAVE, imperative
HVN	HAVE, perfect participle
HVP	HAVE, present (including present subjunctive)
I	
ID	token identification number
INTJ	interjection
J	
K	
L	
LB	line break
M	
MAN	indefinite subject pronoun (ME, MAN) (only in Middle English)
MD	modal verb
MD0	modal verb, untensed
N	
N	common noun, singular
N$	common noun, singular, possessive
NEG	negation
NPR	proper noun, singular
NPR$	proper noun, singular, possessive
NPRS	proper noun, plural
NPRS$	proper noun, plural, possessive
NS	common noun, plural
NS$	common noun, plural, possessive
NUM	cardinal number
NUM$	cardinal number, possessive
O	
ONE	the word ONE (except as focus particle)
ONE$	ONE, possessive
OTHER	the word OTHER (except as conjunction)
OTHER$	OTHER, nominal use, possessive
OTHERS	OTHER, nominal use, plural
OTHERS$	OTHER, nominal use, plural possessive
P	
P	preposition or subordinating conjunction
PRO	personal pronoun
PRO$	possessive pronoun
Q	
Q	quantifier
Q$	quantifier, possessive
QR	quantifier, comparative (MORE, LESS)
QS	quantifier, superlative (MOST, LEAST)
R	
RP	adverbial particle
S	

APPENDIX

SUCH	the word SUCH
T	
TO	infinitival TO, TIL, and AT
U	
V	
VAG	present participle
VAN	passive participle (verbal or adjectival)
VB	infinitive, verbs other than BE, DO, HV
VBD	past (including past subjunctive)
VBI	imperative
VBN	perfect participle
VBP	present (including present subjunctive)
W	
WADV	wh-adverb
WARD	the morpheme WARD
WD	wh-determiner
WPRO	wh-pronoun
WPRO$	possessive wh-pronoun
WQ	WHETHER introducing indirect questions
X	
X	tag for unknown part of speech
Y	
Z	

Syntactic tags

A	
ADJP	adjective phrase
ADJP-LOC	locative adjective phrase
ADJP-SPR	adjective phrase, secondary predicate
ADJX	adjectival constituent, ambiguous projection (ADJ, ADJ', or ADJP)
ADVP	adverb phrase
ADVP-DIR	directional adverb phrase
ADVP-LOC	locative adverb phrase
ADVP-TMP	temporal adverb phrase
ADVX	adverbial constituent, ambiguous projection (ADV, ADV', or ADVP)
B	
C	
CONJP	conjunction phrase
CP-ADV	adverbial clause
CP-CAR	clause-adjoined relative
CP-CLF	IT cleft
CP-CMP	comparative clause
CP-DEG	degree complement
CP-EOP	empty operator clause
CP-EXL	exclamation (direct or indirect)
CP-FRL	free relative clause
CP-QUE	question (direct or indirect)
CP-QUE-	adverbial WHETHER clause
ADV	
CP-QUE-SBJ	indirect question subject
CP-REL	relative clause
CP-THT	THAT clause
CP-THT-SBJ	THAT clause subject
CP-TMC	TOUGH movement complement
D	
E	
F	
FRAG	sentence fragment
FRENCH	French text
G	
GREEK	Greek text
H	
HEBREW	Hebrew text
I	
INTJP	interjection phrase
IP-ABS	absolute clause
IP-IMP	imperative
IP-INF	infinitival complement
IP-INF-ABS	absolute infinitive
IP-INF-ADT	adjunct infinitive
IP-INF-DEG	degree infinitive
IP-INF-PRP	purpose infinitive
IP-INF-SBJ	infinitival subject
IP-MAT	matrix clause
IP-PPL	participial clause
IP-PPL-ABS	absolute participial clause
IP-PPL-OB1	participial clause object
IP-PPL-SBJ	participial clause subject
IP-SMC	small clause
IP-SUB	subordinate clause
J	
K	
L	
LATIN	Latin text
LS	list item
M	
N	
NODE	tag in output of CorpusSearch when nodes_only is true
NP	noun phrase
NP-ADT	adjunct noun phrase
NP-ADV	adverbial noun phrase
NP-COM	NP complement (corresponding to modern OF phrase)
NP-DIR	directional noun phrase
NP-DPS	dative of possession in PP
NP-LOC	locative noun phrase

APPENDIX

NP-LFD	left-dislocated noun phrase
NP-MSR	measure noun phrase
NP-OB1	first object
NP-OB2	second object
NP-PRN	parenthetical or appositive noun phrase
NP-RFL	reflexive noun phrase
NP-SBJ	noun phrase subject
NP-SPR	noun phrase, secondary predicate
NP-TMP	temporal noun phrase
NP-VOC	vocative noun phrase
NUMP	number phrase
NX	nominal constituent, ambiguous projection (N, N', or NP)
O	
P	
PP	prepositional phrase
Q	
QP	quantifier phrase
QTP	quotation phrase
QX	quantifier phrase, ambiguous projection (Q, Q', or QP)
R	
REF	reference
RRC	reduced relative clause
S	
SPANISH	Spanish text
T	
U	
V	
VP	verb phrase
W	
WCP	wh- CP (occurs very rarely in pied-piping contexts)
WADJP	wh- adjective phrase
WADVP	wh- adverb phrase
WIP	wh- IP (possible in pied-piping contexts)
WNP	wh- noun phrase
WPP	wh- prepositional phrase
WQP	wh- quantifier phrase
X	
XX	tag for unknown phrasal category
Y	
Z	

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