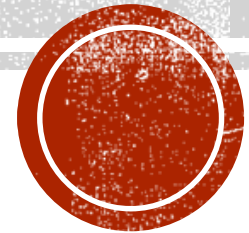


DO-SUPPORT IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH: DID FRENCH INFLUENCE ENGLISH?

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4 November 2021



DO-SUPPORT: DEFINITION

- Synonyms
 - Auxiliary *do*, periphrastic *do*, *do*-periphrasis
- Construction
 - Pro-verbal *do* + lexical verb (Warner 1993)
 - *do*: empty ‘operator’ (Denison 1993; De Keyser 2014; Fischer et al. 2017)
 - Finite + non-finite (Ellegård 1953)

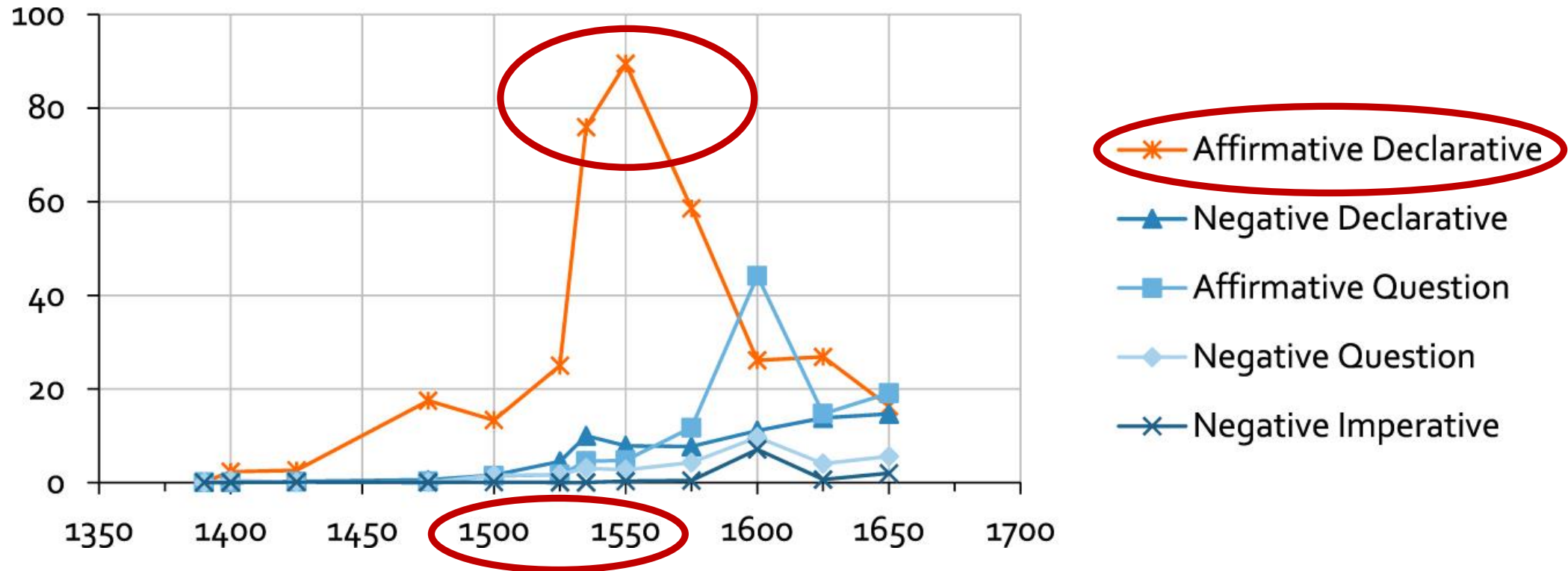
DO-SUPPORT: PDE

Syntactic environments: **NICE**

<u>N</u> egation	(1a) I <u>do</u> /will/shall/must not love you.
<u>I</u> nversion	(1b) <u>Do</u> /will/shall/must you love me?
<u>C</u> oding previously mentioned material	(1c) So you ate all the cookies, <u>did</u> you?
<u>E</u> mphasis	(1d) I <u>dó</u> /wíll/sháll/múst love you! (*I lóve you)

Huddleston (1976) in Budts (2020a: 3; 2020b: 1)

DO-SUPPORT: EMODE



Normalised frequency of *do* per thousand finite clauses. Based on counts in Ellegård (1953: 161-162).
From Budts (2020a: 4; 2020b: 12).

DO-SUPPORT: EMODE

- (2a) *And this square doth **contain** the first quadrate A.B.C.D , and also a squire G.H.K (PPCEME)*
- (2b) *As thou dyddest **send** me into the worlde , even so have I sent them into the worlde (PPCEME)*

DO-SUPPORT: ORIGIN

- First encountered in late 13th-century rhyme from Southwest England
- Possible **origin**
 - Most commonly accepted: causative *do* (Ellegård 1953)
 - Old French *faire* (Denison 1985)
 - Celtic influence (Old Welsh) (Preusler 1956; van der Auwera & Genée 2002)
 - ...
 - **Anglo-French influx?**

DO-SUPPORT: RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- **Anglo-French** verbs: more common with **non-finite forms** (cf. De Smet 2014; Shaw 2020; Shaw & De Smet subm.)
- **Do-support**: lexical verb is used **non-finitely** (Ellegård 1953)



Was *do*-support more common in **Romance loan verbs** than in English native verbs?

~ Has the rise of *do*-support in affirmative declaratives been **promoted** by **French influx** in English?

OUTLINE

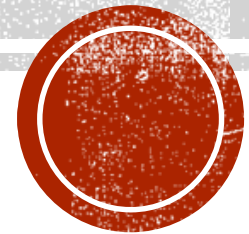
1. DATA AND METHODS

2. FINDINGS

3. DISCUSSION

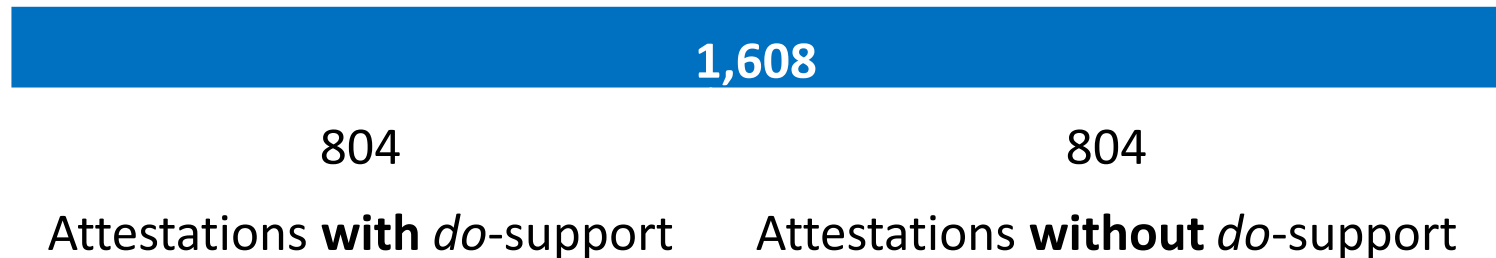
4. CONCLUSION

1. DATA AND METHODS



1. DATA

- PPCEME (Kroch et al. 2004)
 - Period 1500-1569: peak of affirmative *do*
 - Max. 25 attestations of *do* per text file
- Frequency-matched dataset



1. DATA

- Excluded
 - Proform *do*
 - Lexical *do*
 - Including causative *do*
 - Verbs resisting *do*-support

1. DATA

- Excluded
 - Proform *do*
 - (3a) *and so he dede all the tyme that we war ther* (PPCEME)
 - Lexical *do*
 - Including causative *do*
 - Verbs resisting *do*-support

1. DATA

- Excluded
 - Proform *do*
 - Lexical *do*
 - (3b) *a thinge which I neuer did* (PPCEME)
 - Verbs resisting *do*-support

1. DATA

- Excluded

- Proform *do*

- Lexical *do*

- Including causative *do*

- (3c) *they did hys master to understand whate hys man had sayed unto them* (PPCEME)

- Verbs resisting *do*-support

1. DATA

- Excluded
 - Proform *do*
 - Lexical *do*
 - Including causative *do*
 - Verbs resisting *do*-support
 - (3d) *will*, *would* (meaning 'wish'), *quoth* and impersonals (e.g. *me liketh*) (PPCEME)

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations
 - Lemma
 - Source language
 - Inflection
 - Subject-verb structures
 - Semantics

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1. METHODS

- Manual annotations
 - Lemma
 - Source language
 - Germanic
 - Romance
 - Inflection
 - Subject-verb structures
 - Semantics

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations
 - Lemma
 - Source language
 - Inflection
 - Unmarked: (4a) *they (do) bring*
 - Marked
 - Subject-verb structures
 - Semantics

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations

- Lemma

- Source language

- Inflection

- Unmarked

- Marked

- 2nd and 3rd person present: (4b) *thou writest/doest write; he writeth/he does write*

- Past: (4c) *they wrote/they did write*

- Subject-verb structures

- Semantics

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations
 - Lemma
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 - Negation
 - Interrogative
 - Medial adverb
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1. METHODS

- Manual annotations

- Lemma

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- Negation: (5a) *he **do** not endent the grasse* (PPCEME)

- Interrogative

- Medial adverb

- Inversion

- Semantics

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations

- Lemma

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- Subject-verb structures

- Negation

- Interrogative: (5b) polar: **Doe** ye (not) lacke money ? (PPCEME)

- (5c) wh-: **Howe long** (did not) they stande prating ? (PPCEME)

- Medial adverb

- Inversion

- Semantics

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations
 - Lemma
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 - Negation
 - Interrogative
 - Medial adverb: (5d) *I humbly beseeche you to giue me such Benefite* (PPCEME)
 - Inversion
 - Semantics

1. METHODS

- Manual annotations

- Lemma

- Source language

- Inflection

- Subject-verb structures

- Negation

- Interrogative

- Medial adverb

- Inversion: (5e) *Then **do** I deuide that corde in the middle* (PPCEME)

- Semantics

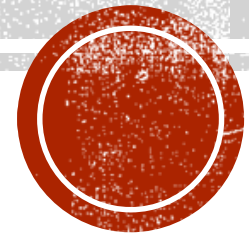
1. METHODS

- Manual annotations
 - Lemma
 - Source language
 - Inflection
 - Subject-verb structures
 - Semantics
 - In progress!

1. METHODS


- Subject elided?
 - Assumption: word order is default
- Lemma frequencies
 - Source: EEBO (Text Creation Partnership 2014-2016)
 - Checking for **frequency effects**
- Quantitative analysis
 - **Regression analysis** in R
 - Mosaic plots in R

2. FINDINGS



2. FINDINGS

Regression analysis: variables

Dependent variable	Independent variables
<i>Do</i> -support: use (1) or non-use (0)	Lemma frequency
	Source language
	Inflection
	Clause type
	Medial adverb
	Inversion
	 Subject-verb structures

2. FINDINGS

Regression analysis: output

Coefficients:

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-0.52825	0.09624	-5.489	4.05e-08 ***
Lemma_frequencyLF	-19.54391	350.70901	-0.056	0.955559
SourceRomance	1.50317	0.14924	10.072	< 2e-16 ***
InflectionUnmarked	0.39394	0.13239	2.976	0.002924 **
ClausePolar interrogative	2.51210	0.74714	3.362	0.000773 ***
ClauseWH-interrogative	1.78291	0.50542	3.528	0.000419 ***
ClauseNegative-interrogative	1.29175	0.45643	2.830	0.004653 **
ClauseNegative	0.92752	0.27558	3.366	0.000763 ***
Medial_adverbialMedial adverbial	1.49294	0.22988	6.494	8.33e-11 ***
InversionInversion	0.32456	0.26022	1.247	0.212307
SourceRomance:InversionInversion	0.65108	0.60265	1.080	0.279979

significant
variables

p-values of variables

2. FINDINGS

Lemma frequency

High-frequency verbs are more frequent with *do*-support than low-frequency verbs

- NO significant effect

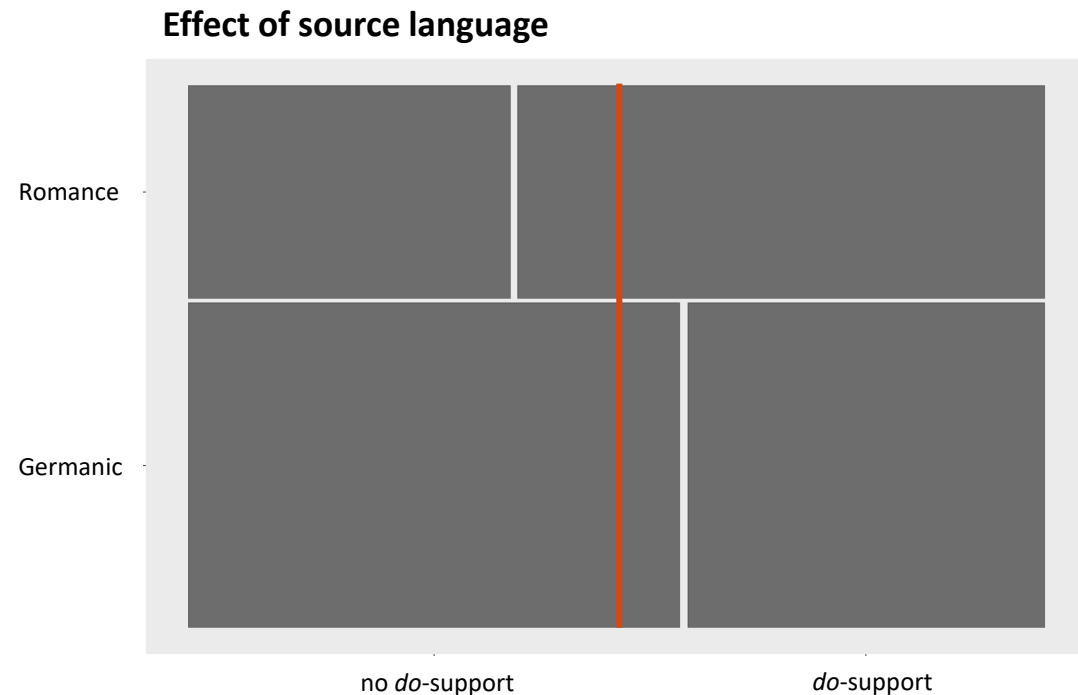
→ NO frequency effect

2. FINDINGS

Source language

Romance-origin verbs are more frequent with *do*-support than Germanic-origin verbs

- Significant effect



2. FINDINGS

(6a) *such wines as these do **trouble** the head least . (PPCEME)*



(6b) *Fyrst they **saye** that Martyn luther is a man depely lerned in scryptures .
(PPCEME)*

2. FINDINGS

Inflection

Unmarked forms are more frequent with *do*-support than marked forms

- Significant effect

2. FINDINGS

(7a) *But I do **confesse** that God is ryght worthylye mooste soueraygne and excellent of all thynges (PPCEME)*



(7b) *but god **disposeth** and **ordreth** all thynges . (PPCEME)*


2. FINDINGS

Subject-verb structures

- Polar interrogatives, *wh*-interrogatives, negative interrogatives and negative-oriented clauses are more frequent with *do*-support than declaratives
 - Significant effect
- Phrases with medial adverbs are more frequent with *do*-support than phrases without medial adverbs
 - Significant effect
- Phrases with inversion are more frequent with *do*-support than phrases without inversion
 - NO significant effect

clause type

2. FINDINGS

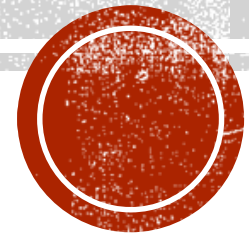
- (8a) *Doist thou **thynke** it otherwyse ? (PPCEME)*
- (8b) *Whan dye yow ever **see** anye man put to deathe , before he was condemnyd to dye ? (PPCEME)*
- (8c) *Did not you **make** me a letter brother ? (PPCEME)*
- (8d) *He did not **determin** to kill the duke of Northumberland , the marquis , etc. (PPCEME)*
- (8e) *I do most humblie and hertelie **thanke** you (PPCEME)*
- 
- (8f) *she **sayd** openly that yt was on John Drakes ser Antony Knevett servand and she **whept** petefully , and she **knelyd** and **askyd** God mercy (PPCEME)*

2. FINDINGS

Interactions between independent variables?

No significant **interaction** between source language and inversion

3. DISCUSSION



3. DISCUSSION

Which variables influence the (non-)use of *do*-support?

Dependent variable	Independent variables
<i>Do</i> -support: use (1) or non-use (0)	Lemma frequency
	Source language
	Inflection
	Clause type
	Medial adverb
	Inversion

3. DISCUSSION

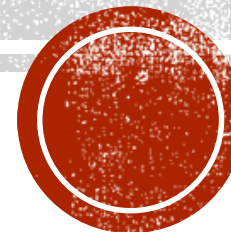
Do-support was more common in **Romance loan verbs** than in English native verbs

- Rise of *do*-support in affirmative declaratives: **promoted by French influx** in English

Possible explanations?

- *Do*-support to compensate for **cognitive complexity** (Rohdenburg 1996)
- ‘Delayed’ **effect of French influx** in English
 - Borrowing peak: 1350-1420 (Jespersen 1905; Dekeyser 1986)

4. CONCLUSION



4. CONCLUSION

- **Direct insertion is avoided** in Romance verbs in EModE
 - Consequence/evidence/example of accommodation **biases** (cf. De Smet 2014; Shaw 2020; Shaw & De Smet subm.)
 - Using *do*-support = avoiding finite forms
 - Cf. Wohlgemuth's (2009) **light verb strategy**
- Other **consequences of French influx** on the history of the English language?
 - More research to be done
 - E.g. progressives, verbal gerunds, light verbs, etc.

COMMENTS, QUESTIONS OR SUGGESTIONS?

Vielen dank!

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