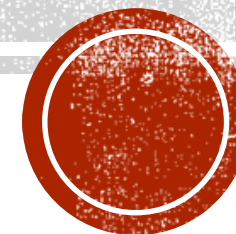


ENGLISH PHRASES, FRENCH VERBS:

Causes and consequences of accommodation biases

Marlieke Shaw

Supervised by Hendrik De Smet
18 February 2022



INTRODUCTION

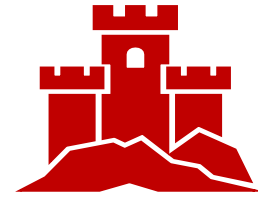
French-Middle English contact setting

English-Dutch contact setting



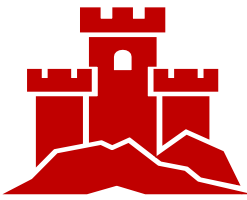
TWO CONTACT SETTINGS

- French-Middle English contact setting



- English-Dutch contact setting



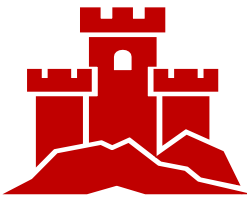


FRENCH-MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTACT

SETTING

- Medieval England
- Long-term contact; $\pm 1100-1500$ (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973; Thomason & Kaufman 1991)
- 1066: **Norman Conquest**
 - William the Conqueror
 - Battle of Hastings
 - Norman elite





FRENCH-MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTACT SETTING

- **‘Strong’ intensity** of contact
 - 28% French-origin lexicon (Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973)
- Two main **stages**

Early ME	Late ME
1150-1350	1350-1500

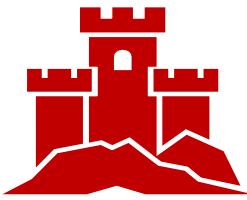


FRENCH-MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTACT SETTING

Status of French: two stages



- **'Anglo French'**: high-prestige written language
- Generally low rates of transfer
- English re-establishes itself as written language
- Borrowing **peak**: 1350-1420 (Jespersen 1905; Dekeyser 1986)



FRENCH-MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTACT SETTING

Influence

Lexical

Traditionally **accepted**

(e.g. Finkenstaedt & Wolff 1973;

Brinton & Arnovick 2011)

Syntactic

Traditionally **neglected**

(e.g. Burnley 1992; McWhorter 2002;

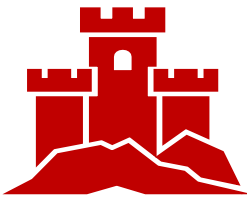
Brinton & Arnovick 2011)



More recently: **accepted**

(e.g. Rothwell 1976, 1980; Campbell 1998;

Ingham 2012, 2020; Trips & Stein 2019)



FRENCH-MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTACT

SETTING: EXAMPLE

(1) Letter from R. Kingeston to Henry IV (1403, French – English)

please a vostre tresgraciously Seignourie entendre que a jourduy, apres noo[ne]...q' ils furent venuz deinz nostre countie puis de CCCC des les rebelz de Owyne, Glyn, Talgard, et pluseours autres rebelz des voz Marches de Galys, et ount prisez et robbez deinz vostre countie de Hereford pluseours gentz, et bestaille a graunte nombre, ...

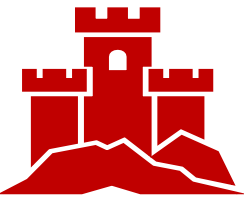
War fore, for Goddesake, thinketh on 3our beste Frende, God, and thanke Hym as He hath deserved to 3owe; and leveth nought that 3e ne come for no man that may counsaile 3owe the contrarie; for, by the trouthe that I schal be to 3owe 3et, this day the Walshmen supposen and trusten that 3e schulle nought come there, and there fore, for Goddeslove, make them fals men...

Tresexcellent, trespuissant, et tresredoute Seignour, autrement say a present nieez. Jeo prie a la Benoit Trinite que vous otroie bone vie ove tresentier sauntée a treslonge durre, **and sende 3owe sone to ows in help and prosperitee; for, in god fey, I hope to Al Mighty God that, 3ef 3e come 3oure owne persone, 3e schulle have the victorie of alle 3oure enemyes.**

And for salvation of 3oure Schire and Marches al aboute, treste 3e nought to no Leutenaunt.

Escrip a Hereford, en tresgraunte haste, a trois de la clocke apres noone, le tierce jour de Septembre.

Your humble creature and continual orator, Richard Kingeston, Dean of Windsor]



FRENCH-MIDDLE ENGLISH CONTACT

SETTING: EXAMPLE

(2) *Il jecte un graund brickbat **que** narrowly mist*

‘He threw a large piece of brick that narrowly missed’ (Chambers 1932: lxxxii, quoted from Schendl & Wright 2011: 16)



ENGLISH-DUTCH CONTACT SETTING

- English = “a potentially relevant contact language for all the world’s languages”
(Mair 2019: 15)
- Low Countries; 1950-present
 - English: unofficial *lingua franca*
- Peak after World War II
 - American idolatry: liberator (Zenner 2017)
 - IT revolution (Zenner & Geeraerts 2015)
 - **Americanisation**: pop culture and movie industry (Zenner & Geeraerts 2015)



ENGLISH-DUTCH CONTACT SETTING

Type of contact

- Asymmetrical/non-reciprocal (Doğruöz & Zenner 2013)
- Remote (\leftrightarrow close)
- **‘Weak’ intensity** of contact (Zenner 2013)
 - 4% English-origin lexicon (van der Sijs 2012)



ENGLISH-DUTCH CONTACT SETTING

SD4T When do you regularly use (FIRST OTHER LANGUAGE)/(SECOND OTHER LANGUAGE)? -TOTAL

		On holidays abroad	Watching films\ television\ listening to the radio	On the Internet	Communicating with friends	Conversations at work, either face-to-face or by telephone	Reading books\ newspapers\ magazines	Communicating with members of your family	Writing e-mails\ letters at work	Reading at work	While studying languages	Travelling abroad on business	While studying something else	Other (SPONTANEOUS)	None (SPONTANEOUS)	Don't know
	EU27	50%	37%	36%	35%	27%	27%	19%	18%	17%	14%	11%	10%	5%	9%	1%
	BE	59%	49%	38%	38%	38%	27%	25%	17%	20%	8%	9%	7%	3%	3%	0%
	BG	19%	46%	31%	33%	16%	17%	7%	8%	10%	9%	10%	7%	11%	9%	1%
	CZ	56%	37%	31%	35%	23%	22%	10%	14%	6%	21%	12%	7%	3%	9%	0%
	DK	84%	71%	69%	38%	36%	42%	22%	26%	32%	10%	15%	12%	2%	4%	0%
	DE	64%	30%	40%	35%	24%	30%	23%	23%	19%	15%	9%	15%	3%	11%	0%
	EE	29%	54%	38%	38%	55%	24%	9%	19%	20%	13%	11%	10%	3%	8%	0%
	IE	40%	26%	14%	28%	24%	16%	31%	8%	10%	13%	10%	6%	9%	5%	4%
	EL	35%	44%	52%	27%	23%	25%	6%	17%	11%	12%	9%	8%	3%	7%	0%
	ES	21%	39%	30%	55%	39%	40%	32%	14%	20%	15%	7%	10%	5%	6%	0%
	FR	55%	36%	35%	31%	28%	26%	24%	17%	19%	11%	9%	5%	8%	5%	0%
	IT	47%	15%	25%	24%	21%	13%	7%	14%	12%	18%	14%	5%	6%	11%	1%
	CY	49%	51%	44%	43%	43%	26%	16%	24%	15%	8%	9%	6%	4%	2%	0%
	LV	15%	65%	38%	54%	42%	30%	18%	17%	16%	17%	13%	11%	10%	4%	0%
	LT	18%	70%	27%	35%	26%	25%	10%	14%	14%	9%	15%	6%	8%	10%	1%
	LU	56%	73%	51%	66%	61%	69%	39%	40%	42%	9%	14%	10%	6%	2%	0%
	HU	37%	23%	27%	28%	16%	13%	18%	16%	12%	27%	10%	8%	3%	9%	1%
	MT	46%	82%	50%	34%	41%	57%	24%	38%	29%	11%	18%	16%	1%	2%	0%
	NL	74%	61%	53%	37%	33%	36%	22%	25%	25%	7%	11%	9%	3%	4%	0%
	AT	71%	22%	32%	28%	24%	23%	9%	22%	16%	5%	13%	6%	9%	3%	2%



ENGLISH-DUTCH CONTACT SETTING: EXAMPLE

(3) *Kunnen de "fact checkers" van @Knack deze facts over fact checkers eens fact checken?*

‘Can the “fact checkers” from @Knack fact check these facts on fact checkers?’
(Twitter, 27 December 2021)



ENGLISH-DUTCH CONTACT SETTING: EXAMPLE

(4) *when u ask [NAMES] if they wanna see ur kersttrui en ze **replyen** kapot excited*

‘When you ask [NAMES] if they want to see your Christmas sweater and they reply very excitedly’ (Twitter, 6 December 2020)

OUTCOME OF CONTACT SETTINGS

Influencing factors (Thomason & Kaufman 1991)

- **Intensity** of contact
- **Duration** of contact
- Proportion of SL and RL speakers
- Prestige
- Language-internal factors
- ...

OUTLINE

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES

Based on De Smet (2014); Shaw & De Smet (in press, submit.); De Smet & Shaw (submit.)



CAUSES OF BIASES

Based on De Smet & Shaw (submit.)



CONSEQUENCES OF BIASES

Based on De Smet & Shaw (in prep.)



CONCLUSIONS



AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH



LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES

Based on De Smet (2014); Shaw & De Smet (in press, subm.); De Smet & Shaw (subm.)



LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION

- “**all aspects** of language structure are **subject to transfer** from one language to another, given the right mix of social and linguistic circumstances”
(Thomason 2001: 11)
 - Words > syntax
- Loan words accommodate to **grammatical structures** of recipient language
(Poplack, Sankoff & Miller 1988; Muysken 2000)



LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION

- Loan verb accommodation **strategies** (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008; Wohlgemuth 2009)



Direct insertion

Indirect insertion

Light verb strategy

Paradigm insertion

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION

- Loan verb accommodation **strategies** (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008; Wohlgemuth 2009)



Direct insertion

Recipient-language inflections are added directly onto loan word stems

Indirect insertion

Light verb strategy

Paradigm insertion

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION

- **Loan words** can often be inflected like **native words**
~ loan words are treated like native words (cf. Wohlgemuth 2009; Poplack et al. 2020)



(5a) *refreshen* 'to refresh'

(5b) *fietsen* 'to cycle'

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION

- **Loan words** can often be inflected like **native words**
~ loan words are treated like native words (cf. Wohlgemuth 2009; Poplack et al. 2020)



(5a) *refresh* **en**
 English stem Dutch inf. marker

(5b) *fiets* **en**
 Dutch stem Dutch inf. marker

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES

Loan words can often be inflected like **native words**

(Wohlgemuth 2009; Poplack et al. 2020)



Loans are **disproportionally** more **frequent**
in **specific** grammatical **structures**

(De Smet 2014; Shaw & De Smet in press, subm.)

AIM: PHD PROJECT

1. Document loan word accommodation **biases**
2. Investigate **causes** of biases
3. Assess potential historical **consequences** of biases

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES: METHODS

- Corpus research
- Distributional behaviour of loans in **two contact settings**



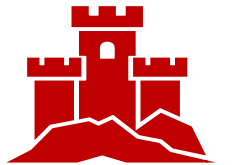
English loans in Dutch

CGN (Nederlandse Taalunie 2004)

French loans in ME

Helsinki Corpus (Rissanen et al. 1991)

PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000)



LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES: METHODS

- (Mainly) manual **annotations**
 - Etymology
 - Category (verbs)
 - Syntactic position (adjectives)
 - Inflection
- Lemma **frequency**: integrated in the analysis
- Mixed-effects logistic regression model and mosaic plot



LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES IN VERBS





BIASES IN VERBS: EXAMPLES

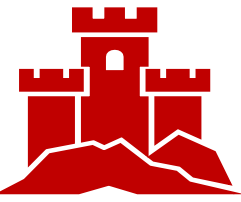
(6) *oké ik **ga** in mijnen auto **jumpen** en ik ga d'raan komen.*

'okay I'm going to jump in my car and I'm going to arrive.' (CGN)



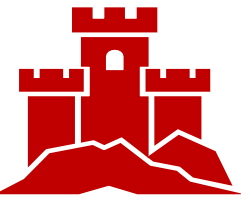
(7) *Koudwatervrees? Daar heeft deze man geen last van. Hij **sprong** van een klif op Antarctica.*

'Cold feet? Not something this man suffers from. He jumped from a cliff in Antarctica.'
(Twitter, 25 May 2018)

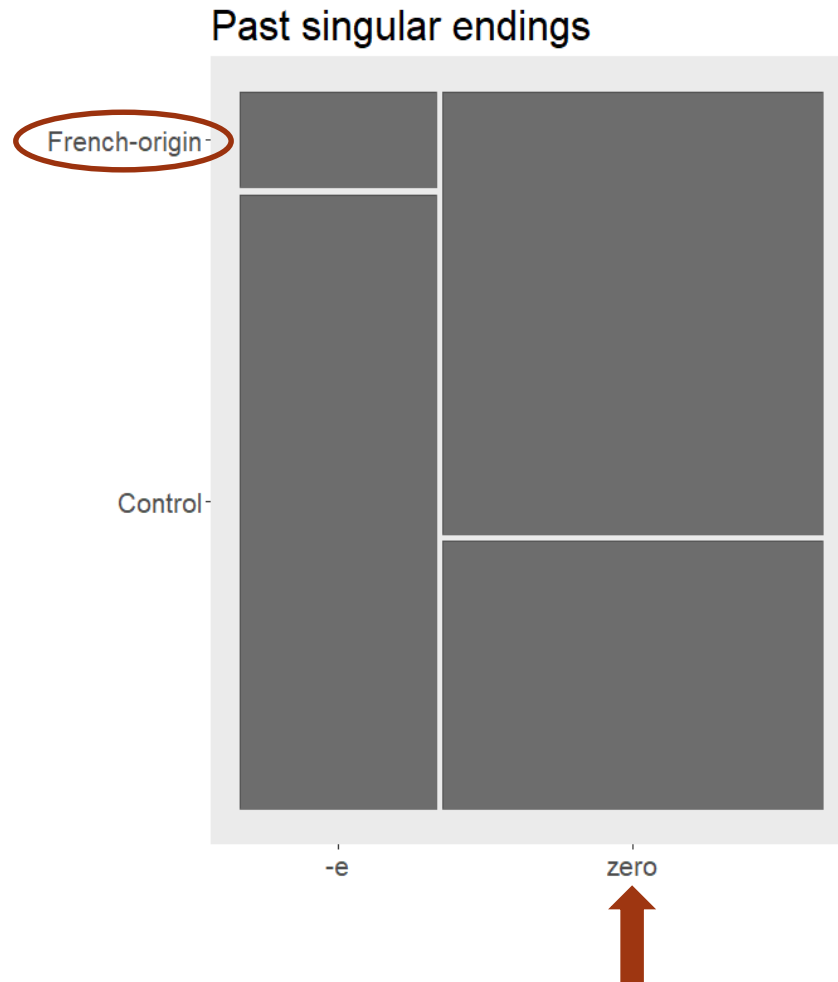


LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES IN VERBS

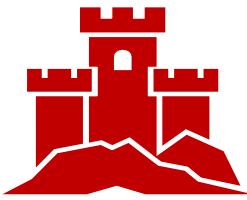




LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES IN VERBS



n = 197
n = 25



BIASES IN VERBS: EXAMPLES

- (8) *she saide, ‘more, and **passing** [FR: *passen*] al þe creatures leuyng of þe worlde.’*

“she saide, ‘more, and more than all the creatures of the world.’” (Helsinki Corpus)



- (9) *For olyue **betokeneth** pes , As the storye of Noe **witnesseth***
‘Because the olive means peace, as the story of Noe witnesses’ (PPCME2)

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES

Verbs

Non-finite categories

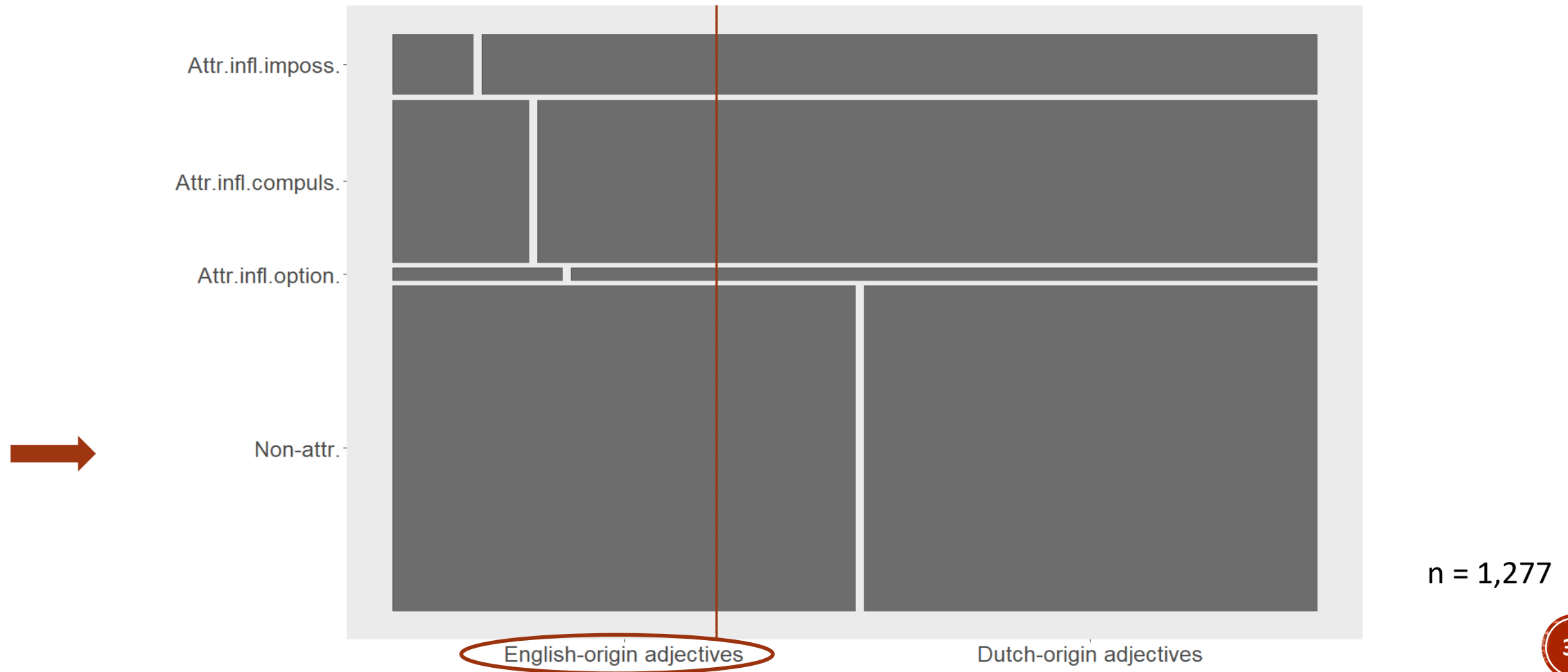


Without inflection





LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES IN ADJECTIVES





BIASES IN ADJECTIVES: EXAMPLES

- (10) *ja ik denk dat dat iets heel **basic** is hoor*
'yeah I think that's something very basic you know' (CGN)



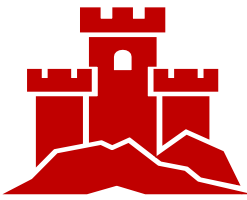
- (11) *ja hij heeft een hele **mooie** ontslagbrief geschreven*
'yes he wrote a very nice letter of resignation' (CGN)



LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES IN ADJECTIVES



n = 1,887



BIASES IN ADJECTIVES: EXAMPLES

(12) *And pei are not **obedyent** to the chirche of Rome ne to the pope*

‘And they do not obey to the Church of Rome, nor to the Pope’ (PPCME2)



(13) *And pere maken men **grete** festes*

‘And there men make great feasts’ (PPCME2)

LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES

Verbs

Non-finite categories



syntactic bias

Without inflection



morphological bias

Adjectives

Predicative position



syntactic bias

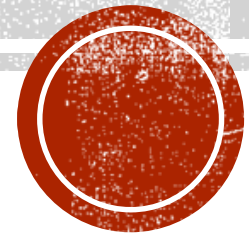
Without inflection



morphological bias

CAUSES OF BIASES

Based on De Smet & Shaw (subm.)

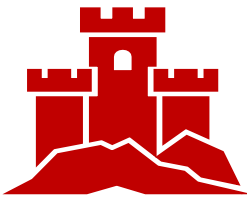


ACCOMMODATION BIASES: CAUSES?

- Loan items ~ increased **processing cost**
 - Accommodation bias ~ facilitative strategy to lower processing cost



- Bias
 - Preference for **periphrastic constructions**
 - Usage tendency linked to **processing limitations**
 - Cf. **code-switching** literature



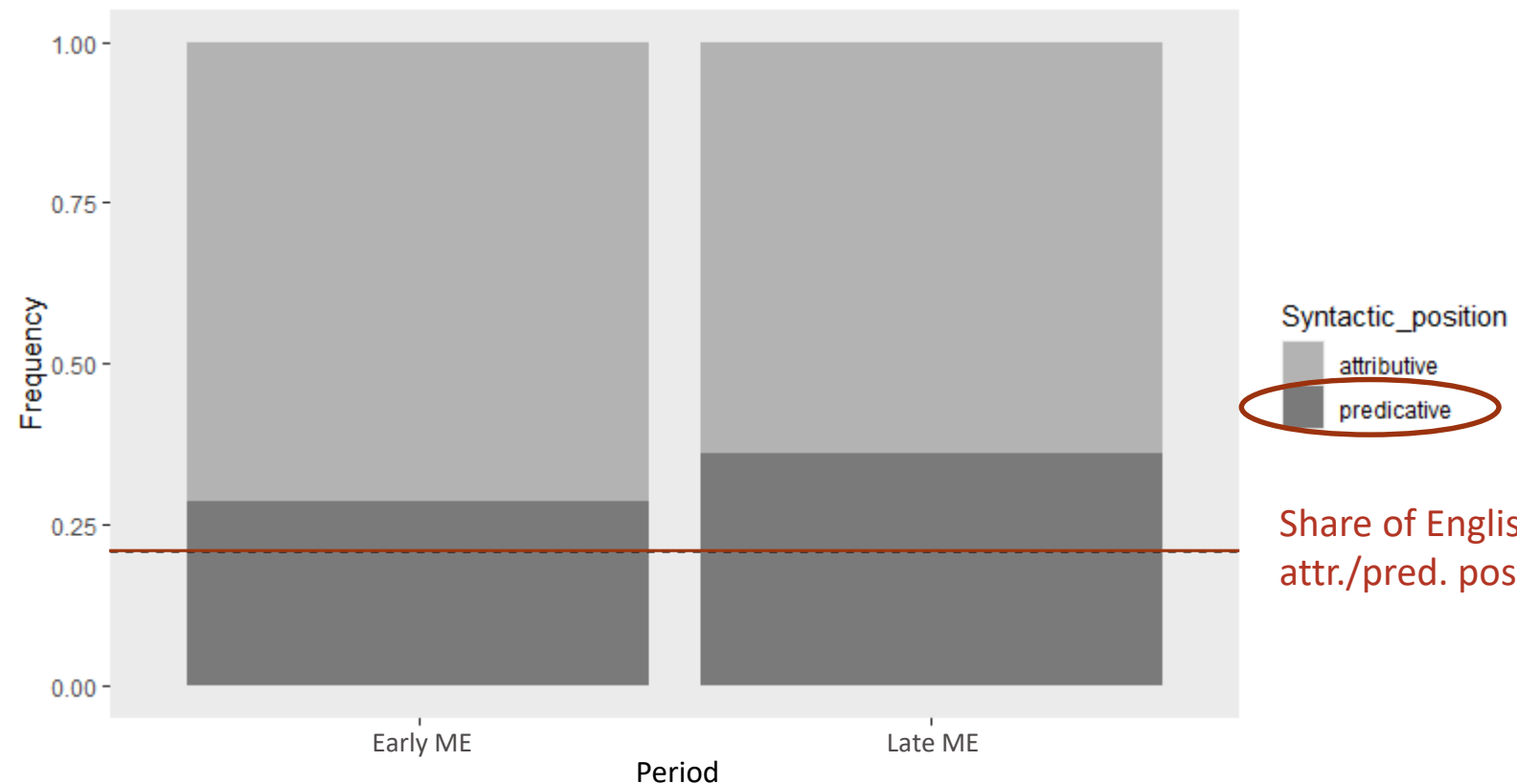
ACCOMMODATION BIASES: CAUSES?

- **Persistence** of accommodation biases in ME
- Comparing predicative bias
 - Early ME
 - Late ME




ACCOMMODATION BIASES: CAUSES?

Persistence of accommodation biases





ACCOMMODATION BIASES: CAUSES?

- (14) *he schewes wele þat he es **stabel** in godenes in hys hert*
'He shows that he is stable in the goodness of his heart' (PPCME2, Early ME)
- (15) *he clepeth it " lond " or erthe , for it is **stable** and nevere shal faille*
'He calls it "land" or "earth", for it is stable and it shall never fail' (PPCME2, Late ME)
- 
- (16) *And þere maken men **grete** festes*
'And there men make great feasts' (PPCME2, Late ME)

ACCOMMODATION BIASES: CAUSES?

- Loan items ~ increased **processing cost**

- WHY?



- Dual-language activation
 - Boosted by cognates (see de Groot & Starreveld 2015)
 - For bilingual speakers: loan items ≈ cognates
 - Loan items activate source language
 - Increased cognitive effort (Li & Gollan 2018)

ACCOMMODATION BIASES: CAUSES?

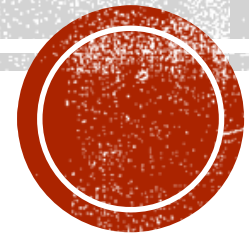
Cf. Torres Cacoullos & Aaron (2003)

- **Borrowings: recipient language** is more active
- **Code-switches: source language** is more active

→ Loan items: closer to code-switches than traditionally believed

CONSEQUENCES OF BIASES

Based on De Smet & Shaw (in prep.)

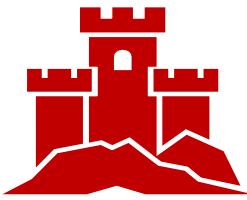




ACCOMMODATION BIASES: IMPACT?

Late Middle English: linguistic features

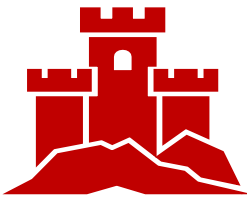
- General deflection
 - E.g. *walken* → *walk/walke*
- Rise in non-finite forms ~ rise in periphrastic constructions
 - Light verbs and modal verbs
 - Gerunds
 - *Do*-support
 - Progressive constructions



ACCOMMODATION BIASES: IMPACT?

Late Middle English: linguistic features

- General deflection
 - E.g. *walken* → *walk/walke*
- Rise in non-finite forms ~ rise in periphrastic constructions
 - Light verbs and modal verbs
 - Gerunds
 - **Do-support**
 - **Progressive constructions**



IMPACT ON *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)

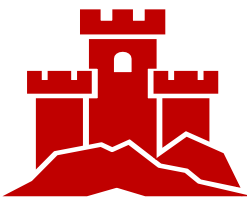


IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: PREMISE

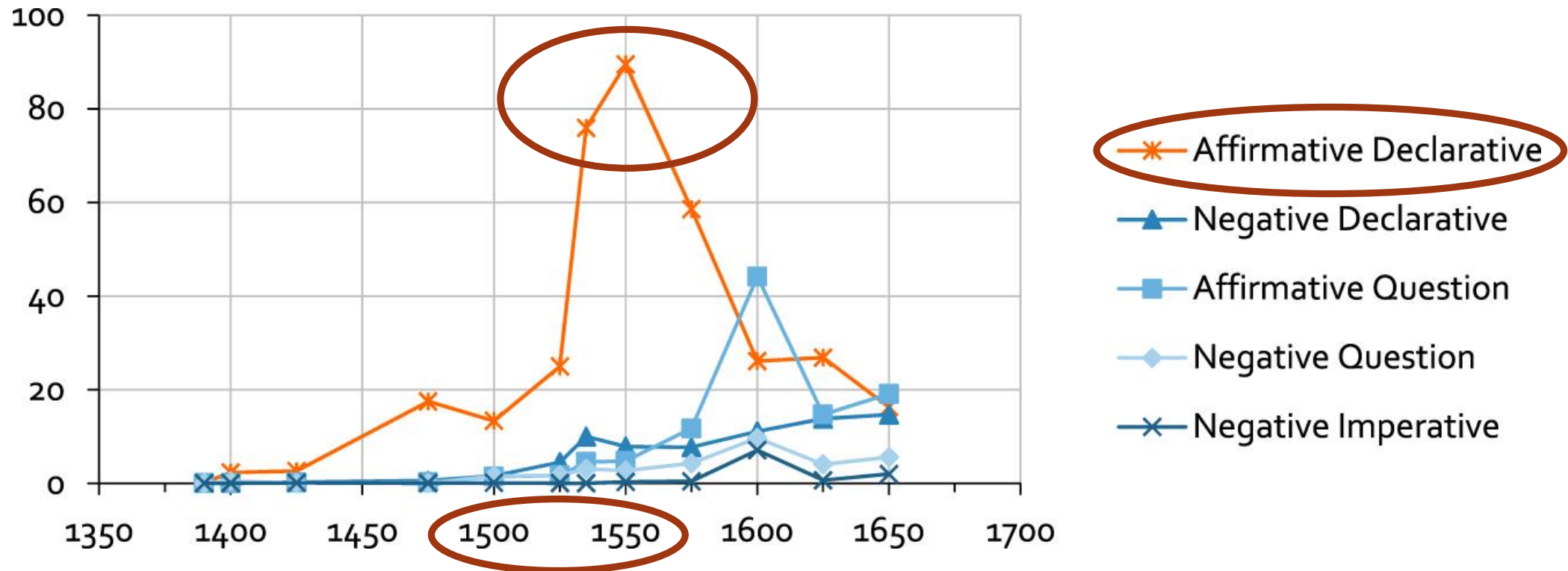
- PDE: syntactic environments

<u>N</u> egation	(17a) I <u>do</u> /will/shall/must not love you.
<u>I</u> nversion	(17b) <u>Do</u> /will/shall/must you love me?
<u>C</u> oding previously mentioned material	(17c) So you ate all the cookies, <u>did</u> you?
<u>E</u> mphasis	(17d) I <u>dó</u> /wíll/sháll/múst love you! (*I lóve you)

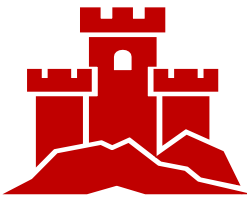
Huddleston (1976) in Budts (2020a: 3; 2020b: 1)



IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: PREMISE

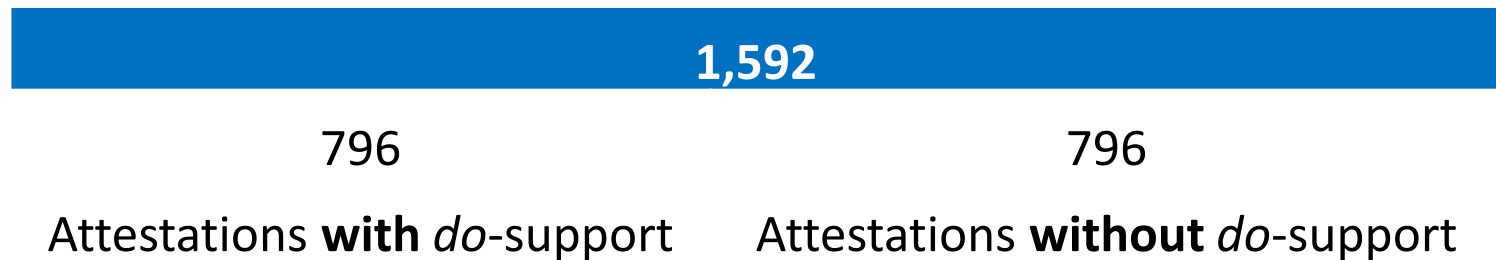


Normalised frequency of *do* per thousand finite clauses. Based on counts in Ellegård (1953: 161-162).
From Budts (2020a: 4; 2020b: 12).



IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: METHODS

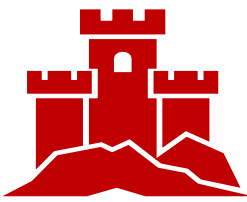
- Corpus research
- PPCEME (Kroch et al. 2004)
 - **Early Modern English**: peak of affirmative *do*
- Text-matched dataset
 - Max. 25 attestations of *do* per text file





IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: METHODS

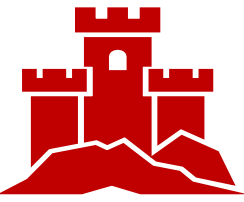
- Manual annotations
 - Etymology
 - Lemma frequency
 - Clause structure
 - Medial adverb
 - Inversion
- Mixed-effects logistic regression model and mosaic plot



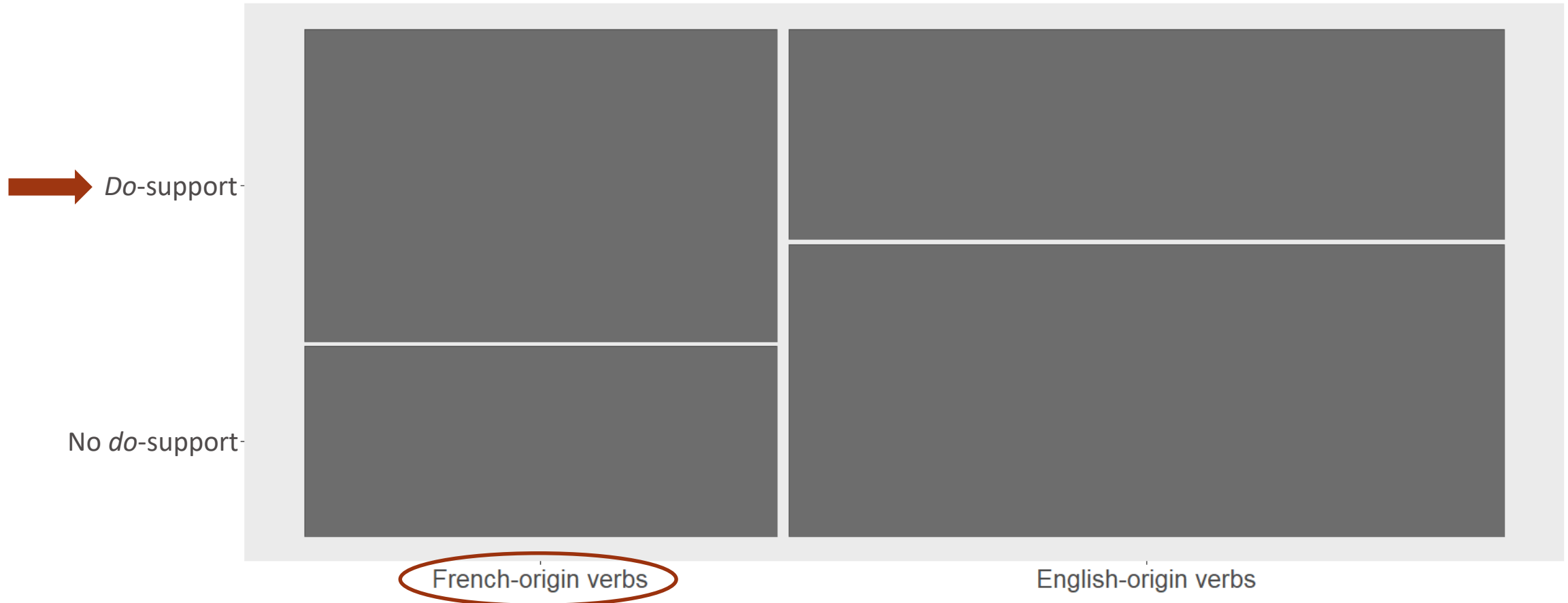
IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: FINDINGS



	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-2.173e-01	9.834e-02	-2.209	0.02716
SourceFrench	4.028e-01	1.226e-01	3.286	0.00102
Lemma_frequency	-7.654e-06	1.121e-06	-6.827	8.70e-12
ClauseInterrogative	2.628e+00	4.514e-01	5.821	5.85e-09
ClauseNegative-interrogative	1.707e+00	4.521e-01	3.775	0.00016
ClauseNegative	9.971e-01	2.292e-01	4.350	1.36e-05
Medial_adverbial	1.105e+00	1.669e-01	6.621	3.56e-11
Inversion	9.011e-01	2.149e-01	4.192	2.76e-05



IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: FINDINGS





IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: FINDINGS

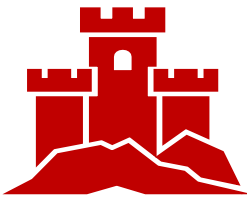
(18) *And this square doth **contain** the first quadrate A.B.C.D*

‘And this square contains the first quadrate A.B.C.D.’ (PPCEME)





(19) *he had ryden half a myle forther there **fel** a good showre of rayn*

‘he had ridden half a mile further (and) there fell a good shower of rain’ (PPCEME)



IMPACT ON *DO*-SUPPORT: CONCLUSIONS

- **French** loan verbs: more frequent with ***do*-support** than English native verbs
(cf. Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 155; Moretti 2021)
- Rise of *do*-support is due to French influx 
 - Other factors involved
- **Acceleration** of rise of *do*-support is due to French influx 
 - French influx promotes non-finite forms



IMPACT ON PROGRESSIVES: DEFINITION

- Construction
 - Inflected copula *be* + participle form of lexical verb

(20) *Euery day his Compenye **was** Encresing.*

‘Every day his company grew.’ (c1420, MED)

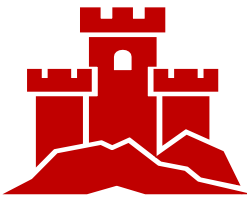


IMPACT ON PROGRESSIVES: PREMISE

- OE: progressive-like constructions (Smith 2007; Kranich 2010)
- Late ME: usage frequency starts rising
- The progressive “**has been so much more successful than semantically similar constructions in other Germanic languages**”
(Fischer, De Smet & van der Wurff 2017: 126)

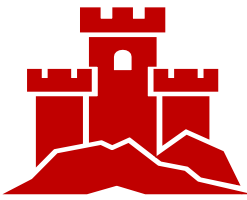


- **Acceleration** of rise of progressives is due to French influx?
- Case study in progress



IMPACT ON PROGRESSIVES: METHODS

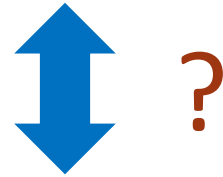
- Corpus research
- PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000) and PPCEME (Kroch, Santorini & Delfs 2004)
- Manual annotations
 - Etymology
 - Lemma frequency
 - Form (progressive vs. simple)
 - Person and number
 - Clause structure
- Mixed-effects logistic regression model and mosaic plot



IMPACT ON PROGRESSIVES: FINDINGS

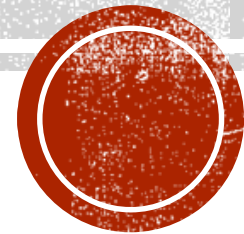
- (21) *These thingis weren don in Bethanye bizende Jordan, whare Joon was baptisyng.*

‘These things were done in Bethany beyond Jordan, where John baptised.’ (PPCME2)



- (22) *at the laste he **knouliched** his Falsnesse and profered hem amendes*
‘at last he became aware of his deceitfulness and sent them their amends’ (PPCME2)

CONCLUSIONS



AIM: PHD PROJECT

1. Document loan word accommodation **biases**
2. Investigate **causes** of biases
3. Assess potential historical **consequences** of biases

CONCLUSIONS

1. Document loan word accommodation **biases**

Evidence from two contact settings: English-Dutch and French-Middle English

2. Investigate **causes** of biases

Linked to processing cost coming with loan items

3. Assess potential historical **consequences** of biases

Acceleration of rise of some periphrastic constructions

CONCLUSIONS

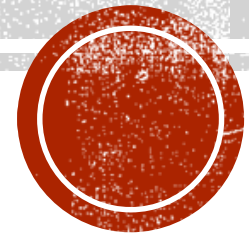
- Accommodation bias = result of **lexical** transfer
- Lexical transfer
 - Touches lexicon
 - Effects can extend to **syntax**

CONCLUSIONS: RELEVANCE

Gaining more **insight** into

- Contact-induced change
- Indirect effects of language contact
 - Lexical transfer impacting syntax
- Loan word accommodation
 - Features and constraints

AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH



AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

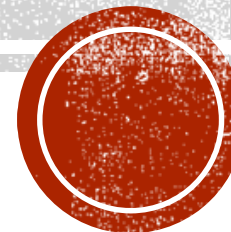
- Accommodation biases also in **other contact settings**?
 - E.g. English-Afrikaans
 - E.g. typologically distant languages
- **Further impact** of French influx on the history of the English language?
 - E.g. gerunds and light verbs
- ...

COMMENTS, QUESTIONS OR SUGGESTIONS?

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