

THE IMPACT OF FRENCH LOAN WORDS ON ENGLISH GRAMMAR The rise of *do*-support

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OUTLINE



1. BACKGROUND



1. 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)

(1a) refreshen 'to refresh'

(1b) *fietsen* 'to cycle'

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refresh (1a) en

English stem Dutch inf. marker

(1b) fiets

Dutch stem Dutch inf. Marker

en

1. LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES

Loan words can often be inflected like native words

(Wohlgemuth 2009; Poplack et al. 2020)



Loans are disproportionately more frequent in specific grammatical structures

(De Smet 2014; Shaw & De Smet 2022, subm.)

1. LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES: METHODS

- Corpus research
- Verbs and adjectives
- Loan words vs. native words: distributional behaviour in two contact settings



English loans in Dutch

French loans in ME

CGN (Nederlandse Taalunie 2004)

Helsinki Corpus (Rissanen et al. 1991) PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000)

1. LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES: FINDINGS

Verbs		
Non-finite categories		non-finite bias
Without inflection		markedness bias



1. BIASES IN VERBS: EXAMPLES

(2) oké ik <u>ga</u> in mijnen auto **jumpen** [E: jump] en ik ga d'raan komen. 'okay I'm going to jump in my car and I'm going to arrive.' (CGN)



(3) 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 off a cliff in Antarctica.' (Twitter, 25 May 2018)



1. BIASES IN VERBS: EXAMPLES

(4) she saide, 'more, and passing [OF: passen] al pe creatures leuyng of pe worlde.' "she saide, 'more, and more than all the creatures of the world.'" (Helsinki Corpus)



(5) For olyue betokeneth pes, As the storye of Noe witnesseth

'Because the olive means peace, as the story of Noe witnesses.' (PPCME2)

1. LOAN WORD ACCOMMODATION BIASES: FINDINGS

	Verbs			
Non-finite categories		non-finite bias		
Without inflection		markedness bias		
Adjectives				
Predicative position		predicative bias		
Without inflection		markedness bias		



1. BIASES IN ADJECTIVES: EXAMPLES

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



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



1. BIASES IN ADJECTIVES: EXAMPLES

(8) And pei <u>are</u> 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)



(9) And pere maken men grete festes
'And there men make great feasts' (PPCME2)

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS



- Accommodation biases: long-term impact on recipient-language grammar?
 - Stronger reliance on periphrastic structures
- Case of French and Middle English?

Late Middle English (1350-1420)

- General deflection
 - E.g. walk-en \rightarrow walk-e/walk- ϕ
- Greater reliance on non-finite forms ~ periphrastic structures
 - Modal verbs
 - Gerunds
 - Infinitives
 - Light verbs
 - Do-support

• ...

Coincides with peak of French influx

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2. Do-Support: Definition

- Synonyms
 - Auxiliary do, periphrastic do, do-periphrasis
- Construction
 - Do as pro-verbal/auxiliary/modal (Warner 1993)
 - Do as empty 'operator' (Denison 1993; De Keyser 2014; Fischer et al. 2017)
 - Non-finite use of lexical verb (Ellegård 1953)

Do: inflected, finite

(10) worshypfully he dud governe hem.

'He governed them with dignity.' (a1470, MED)

2. Do-SUPPORT: ORIGIN

Causative use

(11) The Kyng..<u>ded</u> his officers **arestin**..his uncil, the duke of Gloucetir.

'The king had his officers arrest the duke of Gloucester.' (John Capgrave's Abbreviacion of Cronicles, MEC)

Semantically **near-empty** modal **auxiliary**

(12) And so bileeue I lelly. Pat pardoun and penaunce and preyers don sauen Soules pat han sunget.

'And so I sincerely believe that pardon and penance and prayer save souls that have sinned.' (Piers Plowman, MEC)

Operator to form certain clauses

(13) <u>Do</u> ye no **drede** God þat is a-bove?

'Don't you dread God that is above?' (The Tale of Beryn, MEC)

2. Do-Support: Semantics

Do in Early Modern English (cf. Budts 2020a, 2020b)

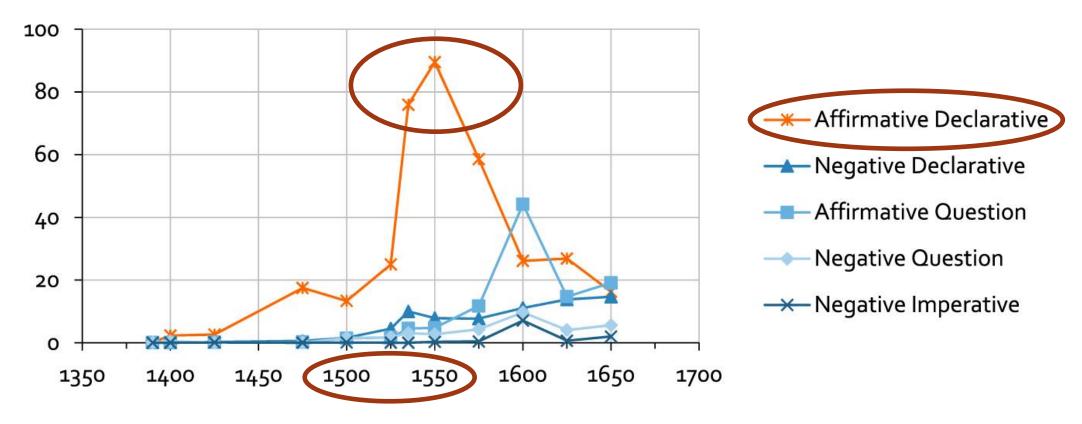
- Epistemic modal marker
- In affirmative declarative contexts: emphatic marker of truthfulness
 - Imposes a sense of truthfulness onto the proposition

2. Do-SUPPORT: EVOLUTION

PDE: syntactic environments

<u>N</u> egation	(14a) I <u>do</u> /will/shall/must not love you.
Inversion	(14b) <u>Do</u> /will/shall/must you love me?
<u>Coding previously</u> mentioned material	(14c) So you ate all the cookies, <u>did</u> you?
<u>E</u> mphasis	(14d) I <u>dó</u> /wíll/sháll/múst love you! *I lóve you

2. Do-SUPPORT: EVOLUTION



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

2. Do-SUPPORT: EVOLUTION

- Changes of do starting in ME ~ triggered by changes in ME word order (for evidence, see Fischer et al. 2017: 130-131)
 - Distinguishing negatives and interrogatives from declaratives
 - A more uniform account for negatives and interrogatives

2. Do-Support: Role of French

- Speakers of Middle English may have used French loan verbs mainly with do-support (Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 155)
 - Lexical verb = used non-finitely
 - Avoiding recipient-language inflections
- "the possibility to use a semantically neutral device like auxiliary do served to facilitate the adoption of new vocabulary items" (Moretti 2021, subm.: 25)
 - E.g. French-origin items?

- Accommodation biases: long-term impact on recipient-language grammar?
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- Case of French and Middle English?
 - Rise of do-support in Early Modern English: linked to avoidance of finite forms for French-origin verbs?

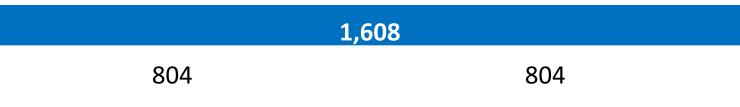
3. DATA AND METHODS

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- Corpus research: variation between verbs with and without do
- PPCEME (Kroch et al. 2004)
 - Early Modern English: peak of affirmative do
 - Focus on first period: 1500-1570

3. Data and methods: Data extraction

- Text-matched sample
 - With *do*-support vs. without *do*-support
 - Control for genre, register and dialect differences
 - Max. 25 attestations of do per text file
 - Randomly matched



Attestations with do-support Attestations without do-support

- Manual annotations
 - Source language
 - French-origin
 - English-origin
 - Lemma frequency
 - Clause structure

- Manual annotations
 - Source language
 - Lemma frequency
 - Cf. frequency of lexical verb lemma in 1500-1570 period EEBO (Text Creation Partnership 2014-2016)
 - Clause structure

Manual annotations

- Source language
- Lemma frequency
- Clause structure

Interrogation	(15a) polar: <u>Doe</u> ye (not) lacke money ? (15b) wh-: Howe long (<u>did</u> not) they stande prating ?
Negation	(15c) he <u>do</u> not endent the grasse
Adverbial between S and V ('medial adverbial')	(15d) I <u>humbly</u> beseeche you to giue me such Benefite
Inversion of S and V	(15e) Then <u>do</u> I deuide that corde in the middle

Source: PPECME



- Manual annotations
 - Source language
 - Lemma frequency
 - Clause structure
 - → Multiplicity of factors potentially involved in variation

- Manually excluded
 - Proform do

(16a) and so he <u>dede</u> all the tyme that we war ther (PPCEME)

- Lexical do
 - Including causative do
- Verbs resisting do-support

- Manually excluded
 - Proform do
 - Lexical do

(16b) a thinge which I neuer <u>did</u> (PPCEME)

Verbs resisting do-support

- Manually excluded
 - Proform do
 - Lexical do
 - Including causative do

(16c) they <u>did</u> hys master **to understand** whate hys man had sayed unto them (PPCEME)

Verbs resisting do-support

- Manually excluded
 - Proform do
 - Lexical do
 - Including causative do
 - Verbs resisting do-support

(16d) will, would (meaning 'wish'), quoth and impersonals (e.g. me liketh) (PPCEME)

3. DATA AND METHODS: ANALYSIS

- Binary logistic regression model
- Mosaic plot

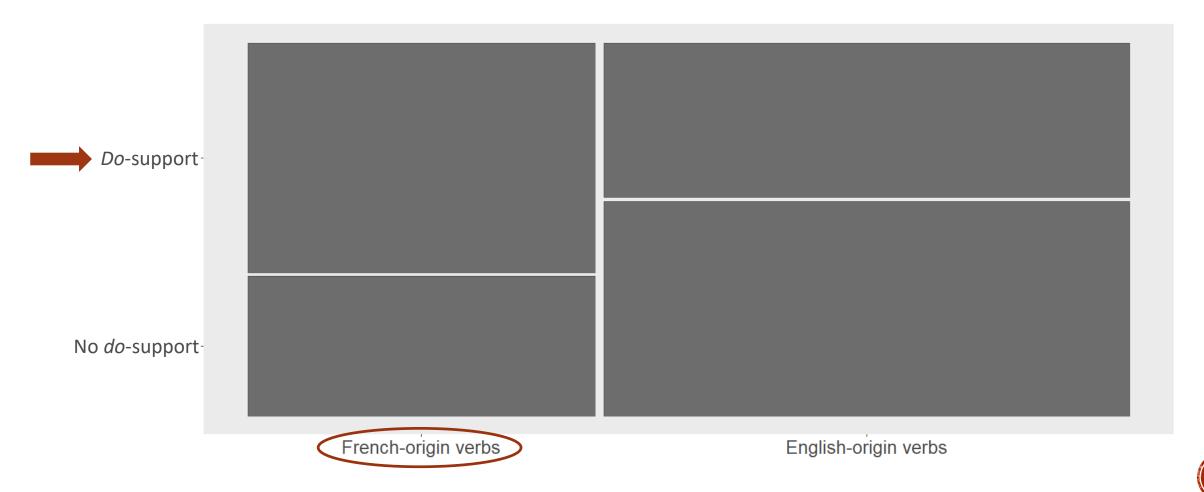
4. FINDINGS



4. FINDINGS: REGRESSION MODEL

	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

4. FINDINGS: MOSAIC PLOT



4. FINDINGS: EXAMPLES

French origin: **more** *do*-support

(17) a. The xxiiij day of September <u>dyd</u> **pryche** master doctur Fecknam at Powlles crosse

'The 24th day of September master doctor Feckenham preached at Paul's Cross.'

b. And this square <u>doth</u> contain the first quadrate A.B.C.D

'And this square contains the first quadrate A.B.C.D.'

c. How now? doth this superscription agree?

'How now? Does this inscription agree?'

Source: PPECME

4. FINDINGS: EXAMPLES

English origin: less do-support

(18) a. The ix day of August **cam** the bysshope of Wyncheaster owt of the Towre

'The 9th of August the bishop of Winchester came out of the tower.'

b. Our Lord **knowith** my wyll and mynde.

'Our Lord knows my will and mind.'

c. Yea **sayst** thou me that dame?

'Do you say that to me, lady?'

Source: PPECME

4. FINDINGS

- Do-support is favoured in contexts with
 - French-origin verbs
 - Low-frequency verbs
 - Marked clause structures (e.g. inversion, interrogatives, negation, medial adverbials)
 - → Multiplicity of factors involved in variation

4. FINDINGS: UNEXPECTED USE OF DO

- Do-support is attested in contexts combining
 - English-origin verbs
 - High-frequency verbs
 - Unmarked clause structures (e.g. declaratives)
- (19) I <u>do</u> well **know** that thys thyng wvll be comfortabyll to yow to understand : therfor I wrytt itt unto yow at thys tyme .

'I know well that this thing will be comfortable to you to understand. Therefore, I write it to you at this moment.' (Original Letters, Illustrative of English History, PPCEME)

→ Role of semantics?

4. FINDINGS: SEMANTICS

- Findings
 - Do = modal of truth (cf. Budts 2020a, 2020b)
 - Do conveys contrastive emphasis
- (20) euen as it is that we **do** digest meates , that we haue eten without thynkyng thereon howe it is digested and as we **do** take wynde and breathe in slepe , not knowing thereof .

'Even as it is that we digest meat, that we have eaten without thinking how it is digested and as we breathe in our sleep, not knowing it.' (PPCEME)



• French-origin verbs: more frequent with do-support than English-origin verbs (cf. Fischer & van der Wurff 2006: 155; Moretti 2021, subm.)

- Rise of do-support is due to French influx
 - Multiplicity of factors involved
- Acceleration of rise of do-support is due to French influx
 - French influx promotes rise of non-finite forms





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6. AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

6. Avenues for future research

- Further impact of French influx on the history of the English language?
 - E.g. rise of gerunds
 - E.g. rise of light verbs

- ...

COMMENTS, QUESTIONS OR SUGGESTIONS?

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