

Diachronic aspects of borrowing aspect: the role of Old French in the development of the *be going to infinitive* construction

Achim Stein (Stuttgart) and Carola Trips (Mannheim)

Congrès Mondial de Linguistique Française 2012
Université Lumière Lyon 2, 4-7 July 2012

July 6, 2012

1 Introduction

2 The language-contact hypothesis

- The Anglo-Norman influence

3 Diachronic evidence

- Methodology
- Middle English
- French 'aler+INF' constructions

4 Conclusions

- Structural borrowing
- Pros and cons revisited

Introduction

- Construction in Present-Day English (PDE)

- (1) She is going to ask him.

- Construction in Modern French

- (2) Elle va lui demander.

Introduction

- How to interpret language change?
 - ① instance of **system-internal** changes:
grammaticalization,
 - e.g. Haegeman (1983), Görlach (1986), Thomason & Kaufman (1988, 306-315), Pérez (1990)
 - ② instance of **contact-induced** change:
contact situation between English and French between 1066 and (at least) 1400
 - e.g. Mossé (1938a), Danchev & Kytö (1994), Nunez Pertejo (1999)
 - ③ a combination of both: **multiple causation**
 - e.g. (Heine & Kuteva, 2005, 2007)

Our position:

neither accept (1.) or (2.) as the default hypothesis

Introduction

- Recently, new insights into the language contact situation have led to reviving the investigation of structural borrowing (cf. e.g. Ingham 2006, 2009a,b, 2010; Haeberli 2010; Trotter 2000, 2010; Wright 1997, 1998, 2003, 2010).

W. Rothwell (1993:310)

The sheer size of the debt owed by English to Anglo-Norman French and – just as importantly – the period of time over which this debt was built up are still grossly under-estimated by specialists in the history of both the French and English languages.

Introduction

Ingham (2009a)

“... it is becoming clear that the relationship between French and English in the later medieval period was more a matter of complementarity. The two languages represented, not differing communities with opposed interests, but choices available to those who possessed bilingual competence.” [p.80]

“Thus, if English and French were both spoken languages in later medieval England, bilinguals having command of both might reasonably be supposed to have mixed the two, to some extent.” [p.86]

1 Introduction

2 The language-contact hypothesis

- The Anglo-Norman influence

3 Diachronic evidence

- Methodology
- Middle English
- French 'aler+INF' constructions

4 Conclusions

- Structural borrowing
- Pros and cons revisited

Evidence for language contact

- Ælfric's Latin Grammar:

(3) *uis amatum ire* wylt dû faran lufjan; *uenatum pergo ic fare* huntjan;
uis doctum ire wylt dû gân leornjan; *lectum pergit hê gæd rēdan*
(Zupitza, 1880, 134)

- Anglo-Norman glosses use *aler+INF* periphrases for the future of the infinitive:

(4) FVTVRO: *auditum ire* VEL *auditurum esse*
⇒ *aler oir u estre alét oir* (Hunt, 1991, 110)

Analogous forms are quoted for the other conjugations, e.g.
amare, docere, legere.

Evidence for language contact

- Numerous Anglo-Norman Texts have been translated to English
 - the *Roman de Brut* (by Wace, around 1150)
 - the *Roman de la Rose* (by Chaucer).
- French contexts translated by *go+INF* in Chaucer's *The Romaunt of the Rose*:

(5) A l'uis commençai à ferir
Upon this dore I **gan to smyte**

Evidence for language contact

- Code-switching: evidence for multilingualism

- (6) Ixxiii operibus ad fodum in **la Winyerd**. (1302-3)
pro **le wyndwou** eiusdem molendini. (1324-5)
ad ostium **del Poundfold**. (Cuxham, p. 396 (1329-30))
in emendacione **del bagsadle**. (Durham, II, 518 (1330))
(Ingham, 2009a, 87)

- (7) Itm̄ vij las?de **haryng**_e **blank**_e a vij l̄ ...
It' il doit pur ij last de **Blanke heryng** xij l̄ ...
'And 7 lasts of white herring at 7 pounds sterling...
And he owes for 2 lasts of white herring 13 pounds sterling' [emphasis added]
(London, Gilbert Maghfield's Account Book, 1392, in Wright 1998, 105)

Pros and cons in the literature

- Pérez (1990): No mention of foreign influence, just a normal process of grammaticalization.
- Mossé (1938b): French influence is weak but may have sustained the English progressive in the period 1200-1340. Latin also had influence through translations.
- Danchev & Kytö (1994): French influence is very likely.
 - ① a very similar andative periphrastic construction emerged somewhat earlier than in English and the development runs parallel to the English construction
 - ② the rise of the go-future in other French-Germanic contact areas (Southern Dutch, West-German dialects),
- Nunez Pertejo (1999): go-future may be due to French influence
 - ① calquing as a result of the loss of the OE prefixal system
 - ② this construction was earlier in use in French than in English
 - ③ some early examples are translations from French sources.

What are we looking for?

Components of the construction

be GO-ing to INF

- Diachronically, we are interested in GO+INF combinations
 - the use of the progressive (*be -ing*) to mark the imperfective aspect is a later development
 - *to* was the marker of the dative infinitive
- ⇒ we consider constructions with and without *to*

The corpora

- York-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, YCOE
(Taylor et. al., 2003)
- Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English 2, PPCME2
(Kroch & Taylor, 2000)
- Nouveau Corpus d'Amsterdam (Stein et. al., 2006)
- Anglo-Norman Hub (Rothwell & Trotter, 2005).

Abstract change of state meanings

- Inanimate subject in (8): abstract change of state
- Aspectual reading in (9): author of the chronicle was conscient of the change

- (8) Also þe see and þe lond **gan to wexe** more bareyne þan þey were to
forhonde. (PPCME2: polych)
- (9) ... but he [the king Conradus] regnede sevne gere. In þis yere þe empere
gan to passe from þe Frenscze men to þe Almayns,...
(PPCME2: polych)

- Mossé (1938b, §290): his example with the progressive form is a translation of a French text from 1513:

- (10) "'sir', quod Gerames, 'we be frenchmen, pylgrymes, & **are goyng to offre**
at ye holy sepulcre'"
(Huon of Burdeux 1534: 191)

Findings

- *go+to+INF*
 - 34 occurrences (including the *eode* forms)
- *go+INF*
 - 25 occurrences starting from period “m23” (composition date 1250-1350).

go+INF predominantly occurs in translations

- from French:
 - 9 occ. in *The Brut or the Chronicles of England. Part I*
 - 7 occ. in *Mandeville's travels*
- or from Latin:
 - 9 occ. in *The Book of Margery Kempe*

Old French (OF)

- Unlike other Romance languages, OF has not developed constructions based on Latin *stare* to express
 - the progressive aspect: sp. *estar cantando*, it. *stare cantando*)
 - the immediate future: sp. *estar para cantar*, it. *stare per cantare*).
- OF had constructions with *aller* 'go':
 - Gamillscheg (1957, 461) notes that *aller* occurs with infinitival complements (with and without the preposition *a* 'to'), as in:

(11) Jo **irai** lassus a Loëi **parler**. (Alisc. 2540)
 I will go there to Louis speak

(12) Il **vat** avant la maison **aprester** (Alexius 323)
 He goes before his house prepare

(13) Veit la Guillelme, **va li cheeir** al pié, (Cor. Looïs 1726)
 Sees there William, goes him fall to feet

Aspectual meaning

- Gougenheim (1929):
 - aspectual meaning ("sens inchoatif")
 - More precisely "il dit tout d'un coup": sudden beginning of the action

(14) Je le **vois querre** sans respit
I him go ask whithout delay

- Schøsler (2005):
 - the fact that the second verb often is a movement verb clearly proves the **aspectual function** of the construction
- Detges (2004):
 - these inchoative constructions also have a **discourse-structuring function** (foregrounding)
 - like Catalan *anar + INF* and OF *aller + INF*.

Future meaning

- The future periphrase with *aller+INF* developed after the OF period:
 - Ménard (1973, 131): only in the 15th c., to express an immediate future
 - Wilmet (1970, 191), quoting Gougenheim: the development accelerates in the 15th c.
 - Buridant (2000, §213): "l'ancien français ignore la périphrase *aller + infinitif* signifiant au départ le futur proche".
 - Werner (1980, 132) cites an example from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (ca. 1450) as unambiguously abstract

(15) Lors luy va compter de chef en bout le conseil et advertissement de sa bonne compaigne.

Cent nouvelles nouvelles 26, 106-08

Old French corpus data

Relative Frequencies of adjacent 'go'+INF constructions

Corpus	'go'+INF	'go'+‘to’+INF	'go'+GER
OF: NCA	0.000482	0.000003	0.000285
ME: PPCME2	0.000019	0.000042	0.000002

- Old French:
 - High frequencies for *aler+INF* and *aler+GERUND*
 - Low frequencies for *aler+a+INF*
 - Postponed direct objects *aler+INF+OBJ* are more frequent and semantically less restricted (compared to *aler+OBJ+INF*).
- Middle English:
 - Lower frequencies for all periphrastic constructions.
 - *go+to+INF* is more frequent than *go+INF*

1 Introduction

2 The language-contact hypothesis

- The Anglo-Norman influence

3 Diachronic evidence

- Methodology
- Middle English
- French 'aler+INF' constructions

4 Conclusions

- Structural borrowing
- Pros and cons revisited

Arguments in favour of structural borrowing

① Frequency:

- OF *aler INF* is rather frequent
- ME *go (to) INF* is infrequent
- subsequent periods:
 - *go to INF* becomes more frequent
 - *going to INF* appears for independent reasons

② Function:

- OF: inchoative aspect; 15th c.: future tense
- ME: aspectual and/or temporal (often ambiguous)

③ Contexts:

- Multilingual texts showing code switching
- Glosses and translations

Structural borrowing

- The relation between inchoative aspect, immediate (or prospective) future and the continuous form:
 - "Inchoative": the point of reference time (R) is situated at the beginning of the event time (E).
 - This temporal link is expressed by the combination of *go+INF*: the infinitive refers to the event and *go* functions as an auxiliary.
 - With agentive subjects, the construction can express intention (*He is going to kill him*)
 - With non-agentive subjects it can express certainty (*He is going to die*).

In favour of an unbiased approach

Lass (1997: 199, 209): the most "parsimonious" explanation

Endogenous changes occur in any case "whereas borrowing is never necessary"; Lass therefore postulates a "law" or principle of parsimony.

Filppula (2003: 170)

"Looking for the most parsimonious explanation in a given case may well be a virtue in itself, or produce the most satisfying solutions from an aesthetic perspective, but [...] the quest must always be for the best explanations whether more or less parsimonious."

Heine/Kuteva (2007)

More recent work on language contact suggests that this [Lass's] stance is in need of reconsideration, in that there is a third possibility, namely multiple causation, in that linguistic change can be simultaneously an internal and an external process

(see, e.g., Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Thomason 2001b:91; Heine & Kuteva 2003;2005; 2006; see also Filppula 2003:170).

Diagnostics for Structural Borrowing

Diagnostic	value
D1 Intertranslatability	+
D2 Genetic patterning (phenomenon does not occur in related languages)	-
D3 Rare grammatical category	-
D4 Paired structural similarity (other shared properties)	- ?
D5 More frequent with speakers of R in contact with M	+
D6 Some demographic categories are more affected	+
D7 Degree of grammaticalization higher in M than in R	+ ?
D8 Rare grammaticalization (of this phenomenon)	-
D9 Paired grammaticalization	-

See Heine & Kuteva (2007): M=model language, R=replicating language

- [Buridant 2000] Buridant, Claude: *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*. Paris : Sedes, 2000
- [Danchev & Kytö 1994] Danchev, Andrej ; Kytö, Merja: The construction 'be going to' + infinitive in Early Modern English. In: Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.): *Studies in Early Modern English*. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter, 1994, p. 59–77
- [Detges 2004] Detges, Ulrich: How cognitive is grammaticalization? The history of the Catalan 'perfect perifrastic'. In: Fischer, Olga (ed.) ; Norde, Muriel (ed.) ; Perridon, Harry (ed.): *Up and down the cline. The nature of grammaticalization*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia : Benjamins, 2004, p. 211–227. – ISBN 1588115054
- [Gamillscheg 1957] Gamillscheg, Ernst: *Historische französische Syntax*. Tübingen : Niemeyer, 1957
- [Görlach 1986] Görlach, Manfred: Middle English - a creole? In: Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.) ; Szwedek, Aleksander (ed.): *Linguistics across Historical and Geographical Boundaries. Volume 1: Linguistic Theory and Historical Linguistics*. Berlin etc. : Mouton de Gruyter, 1986, p. 329–344
- [Gougenheim 1929] Gougenheim, Georges: *Études sur les périphrases verbales de la langue française*. Paris : Les Belles Lettres, 1929
- [Haeblerli 2010] Haeblerli, Eric: Investigating Anglo-Norman Influence on Late Middle English Syntax. In: Ingham, Richard (ed.): *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*. Woodbridge : Boydell and Brewer, 2010, p. 143–163
- [Haegeman 1983] Haegeman, Liliane: Be going to, gaan and aller: some observations on the expression of future time. In: *IRAL* 21 (1983), No. 2, p. 155–157
- [Heine & Kuteva 2005] Heine, Bernd (ed.) ; Kuteva, Tania (ed.): *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005 (Cambridge approaches to language contact). – ISBN 0521608287
- [Heine & Kuteva 2007] Heine, Bernd ; Kuteva, Tania: *Identifying instances of contact-induced grammatical replication*. 2007
- [Hunt 1991] Hunt, Tony: *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England. Volume I: Texts*. Cambridge : Brewer, 1991
- [Ingham 2006] Ingham, Richard: Syntactic change in Anglo-Norman and continental French chronicles: was there a 'Middle' Anglo-Norman? In: *Journal of French Language Studies* 16 (2006), p. 25–49

- [Ingham 2009a] Ingham, Richard: Mixing Languages on the Manor. In: *Medium Aevum* 78 (2009), No. 1, p. 107–124
- [Ingham 2009b] Ingham, Richard: The Persistence of Anglo-Norman 1230–1362: A Linguistic Perspective. In: Wogan-Browne, Jocelyn (ed.) et. al.: *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500*. Woodbridge, England : York Medieval, 2009, p. 44–54
- [Ingham 2010] Ingham, Richard (ed.): *The Anglo-Norman Language and its Contexts*. Boydell and Brewer, 2010
- [Kroch & Taylor 2000] Kroch, Anthony (ed.) ; Taylor, Ann (ed.): *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Second Edition (PPCME2)*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania, 2000
- [Ménard 1973] Ménard, Philippe: *Manuel du français du moyen âge. 1. Syntaxe de l'ancien français*. Bordeaux : Sobodi, 1973
- [Mossé 1938a] Mossé, Fernand: *Histoire de la forme périphrastique 'être+participe présent' en germanique. Deuxième partie*. Vol. 2. Paris : Klincksieck, 1938
- [Mossé 1938b] Mossé, Fernand: *Histoire de la forme périphrastique 'être+participe présent' en germanique. Première partie*. Vol. 1. Paris : Klincksieck, 1938
- [Nunez Pertejo 1999] Nunez Pertejo, Paloma: 'Be Going To' + Infinitive: Origin and Development. Some Relevant Cases from the 'Helsinki Corpus'. In: *Studia Neophilologica* 71 (1999), p. 135–142
- [Pérez 1990] Pérez, Aveline: Time in motion. Grammaticalisation of the 'be going to' construction in English. In: *La Trobe University Working Papers in Linguistics* 3 (1990), p. 73–82
- [Rothwell & Trotter 2005] Rothwell, William (ed.) ; Trotter, David (ed.): *Anglo-Norman Dictionary 2. Online Version*. London : MHR, 2005
- [Schøsler 2005] Schøsler, Lene: 'Tut s'en vat declinant.' Un cas de grammaticalisation et de dégrammaticalisation dans le système verbal du français. In: Schrott, Angela (ed.) ; Völker, Harald (ed.): *Historische Pragmatik und historische Varietätenlinguistik in den romanischen Sprachen*. Göttingen : Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2005, p. 115–136
- [Stein et. al. 2006] Stein, Achim (ed.) et. al.: *Nouveau Corpus d'Amsterdam. Corpus informatique de textes littéraires d'ancien français (ca 1150-1350), établi par Anthonij Dees (Amsterdam 1987), remanié par Achim Stein, Pierre Kunstmann et Martin-D. Gleßgen*. Stuttgart : Institut für Linguistik/Romanistik, 2006. – URL <http://www.uni-stuttgart.de/lingrom/stein/corpus/>

- [Taylor et. al. 2003] Taylor, Ann et. al.: *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE)*. Heslington, York : University of York, 2003
- [Thomason & Kaufman 1988] Thomason, Sarah G. ; Kaufman, Terrence: *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1988
- [Trotter 2000] Trotter, David (ed.): *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*. Cambridge : D.S. Brewer, 2000
- [Trotter 2010] Trotter, David: Bridging the gap: the (socio)linguistic evidence of some medieval English bridge accounts. In: Ingham, Richard (ed.): *The Anglo-Norman language and its context*. York : York Medieval Press, 2010, p. 52–63
- [Werner 1980] Werner, Edeltraud: *Die Verbalperipherase im Mittelfranzösischen: eine semantisch-syntaktische Analyse*. Frankfurt am Main : Lang, 1980. – ISBN 3820460756
- [Wilmet 1970] Wilmet, Marc: *L'expression de l'indicatif en moyen français*. Genève : Droz, 1970
- [Wright 1997] Wright, Laura: Medieval Latin, Anglo-Norman and Middle English in a Civic London Text: An Inquisition of the River Thames, 1421. In: Gregory, S. (ed.) ; Trotter, D. (ed.): *De Mot en Mot Aspects of medieval linguistics: Essays in Honour of William Rothwell*. Cardiff : University of Wales Press and the Modern Humanities Research Association, 1997, p. 223–260
- [Wright 1998] Wright, Laura: Mixed-language Business Writing: Five Hundred Years of Codeswitching. In: Jahr, Ernst H. (ed.): *Language Change: Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter, 1998 (Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 114), p. 99–118
- [Wright 2003] Wright, Laura: Models of language mixing: Code-switching versus semicomunication in medieval Latin and Middle English accounts. In: Kastovsky, Dieter (ed.) ; Mettinger, Arthur (ed.): *Language contact in the history of English Vol. 1*. Frankfurt/Main : Peter Lang, 2003, p. 363–377
- [Wright 2010] Wright, Laura: A pilot study on the singular definite articles le and la in fifteenth-century London Mixed-language business writing. In: Ingham, Richard (ed.): *The Anglo-Norman language and its context*. York : York Medieval Press Publication, 2010, p. 130–143
- [Zupitza 1880] Zupitza, Julius (ed.): *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar. Erste Abteilung: Text und Varianten*. Berlin : Weidmann, 1880