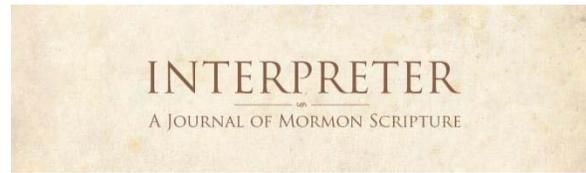




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## The Implications of Past-Tense Syntax in the Book of Mormon

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Source: *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture*, Volume 14 (2015), pp. 119-186

Published by: The Interpreter Foundation

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# INTERPRETER

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A JOURNAL OF MORMON SCRIPTURE

Volume 14 · 2015 · Pages 119-186

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Stanford Carmack

Offprint Series

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ISSN 2372-1227 (print)  
ISSN 2372-126X (online)

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# THE IMPLICATIONS OF PAST-TENSE SYNTAX IN THE BOOK OF MORMON

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Stanford Carmack

**Abstract:** *In the middle of the 16th century there was a short-lived surge in the use of the auxiliary did to express the affirmative past tense in English, as in Moroni «did arrive» with his army to the land of Bountiful (Alma 52:18). The 1829 Book of Mormon contains nearly 2,000 instances of this particular syntax, using it 27% of the time in past-tense contexts. The 1611 King James Bible — which borrowed heavily from Tyndale’s biblical translations of the 1520s and ’30s — employs this syntax less than 2% of the time. While the Book of Mormon’s rate is significantly higher than the Bible’s, it is close to what is found in other English-language texts written mainly in the mid- to late 1500s. And the usage died out in the 1700s. So the Book of Mormon is unique for its time — this is especially apparent when features of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use are considered. Textual evidence and syntactic analysis argue strongly against both 19th-century composition and an imitative effort based on King James English. Book of Mormon past-tense syntax could have been achieved only by following the use of largely inaccessible 16th-century writings. But mimicry of lost syntax is difficult if not impossible, and so later writers who consciously sought to imitate biblical style failed to match its did-usage at a deep, systematic level. This includes Ethan Smith who in 1823 wrote View of the Hebrews, a text very different from both the Bible and the Book of Mormon in this respect. The same may be said about Hunt’s The Late War and Snowden’s The American Revolution.*

## Preliminary Remarks

Generally speaking, we have been wrong to view Book of Mormon language as simply biblical in character. Many aspects of it are deeply nonbiblical. This study attempts to make that clear, by means of an examination of syntactic structure — the arrangement and relationship of words in a sentence or clause. This is something that is directly relevant

to the matter of Book of Mormon (BofM) authorship and origins. Why is that? Because syntax resists manipulation — conscious language use being primarily concerned with the content of expression, not the form. Since native-speaker linguistic knowledge is mostly tacit, the form of expression is largely the result of subconscious production. As a result, syntax is extremely difficult to fake and can provide strong evidence of authorial origins.

This paper discusses an example that is on point: writers who consciously sought to employ an archaistic, biblical style. An analysis of their past-tense usage, using parameters that were independently determined to be relevant, shows that they failed to match certain archaic features and obsolete patterns of use. These authors did reproduce some old syntax — at times mixing the archaic with the modern. But they frequently did not, because either the earlier language was at odds with their own subconscious grammatical preferences, or they did not have deep knowledge of the target syntax.

When their past-tense usage is considered as a whole, as a system, they did not match King James English, even though they were using it to a degree as a guiding template and were familiar with biblical language. And it is a virtual certainty that had Joseph Smith authored the BofM he would have done no better than they did. If that had been the case, then the form of the text would be substantially different — it would not be a book with a remarkable number of Early Modern English (EModE) attributes.

It may surprise some to learn that much can be gleaned from an examination of past-tense syntax in the BofM. But this is true, especially when we compare the text closely to patterns of use found in EModE. Among other things, this article points out the close syntactic match between the distinctive use of *did* in the BofM and that of a short, identifiable period of time in EModE. This means that the large doses of *did* found in the text apparently did not arise *ex nihilo*, that there was an historical, though obscure, basis for their systematic patterns of use. All the evidence presents a picture of the BofM as an EModE text that is difficult to refute.

The data indicate that the BofM is similar to texts from the middle of the 16th century (16c) that used *did* with infinitives 20% of the time or more to express the past tense. Moreover, important syntactic markers of adjacency, inversion, and adverbial use in the BofM correlate strongly with these texts and the period as a whole, against what is found with pseudo-biblical writings whose mimicry in this regard failed. The

Swedish linguist Ellegård (d. 2008) found the King James Bible (KJB) to be a text of the 1520s in terms of its periphrastic<sup>1</sup> *do* syntax, ascribing that aspect of the text to Tyndale’s influence.<sup>2</sup> In this respect the BofM appears to contain language that was prevalent one to six decades later.

## Introduction

Two-word past-tense syntax in the BofM like “Moroni «did arrive» with his army” may be precisely termed «affirmative declarative periphrastic *did*». For convenience, I will call it ADP *did*. Similarly, I will refer to present-tense usage as ADP *do*. Present-day English uses an auxiliary *do* verb — *do*, *does*, or *did* — in questions, exclamations, commands, negation, and for emphasis and contrast. But in affirmative declarative syntax, the verb is not obviously used emphatically or contrastively, it is not negated or used as an imperative, and it is not used in an exclamation or a question. Here are examples of these other uses of periphrastic *did*:

- Moroni did not arrive with his army. *negative declarative*
- Do arrive early with your army! *positive imperative*<sup>3</sup>
- Do not arrive late with your army! *negative imperative*
- Did Moroni arrive with his army? *positive interrogative*
- Did not Moroni arrive with his army? *negative interrogative*
- How quickly did Moroni arrive with his army! *exclamatory*
- Moroni **did** arrive with his army. *emphatic*
- Moroni did not arrive with his army,  
but Teancum *did* arrive with his army. *contrastive*

The above examples are *not* the focus of this study.

Next we see examples of different types of ADP *did* with the bare infinitive *go*. These **are** the focus of this study:<sup>4</sup>

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1. The entry for this word in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) — there defined as ‘roundabout’ or ‘circumlocutory’ — has this example from a famous linguist:

1884 HENRY SWEET *Addr. Philol. Soc.*

The **periphrastic** forms of the English verb.

2. Alvar Ellegård, *The Auxiliary Do: The Establishment and Regulation of Its Use in English* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1953), 169.

3. Insistent use, found in the BofM at Alma 42:30.

4. I quote exclusively from the Yale edition of the BofM: Royal Skousen, ed., *The Book of Mormon: The Earliest Text* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2009). I am indebted

**Adjacency** (the auxiliary *did* is adjacent to the infinitive — characteristic of the 16c high-rate period)

Mosiah 25:18

Alma **did** go forth into the water and **did** baptize them

Mormon 4:23

I **did** go to the hill Shim and **did** take up all the records

**Inversion** (*did* + SUBJECT + INFINITIVE — verb–second syntax with a preceding adverbial or object)

Mosiah 9:17

in the strength of the Lord **did** we go forth to battle against the Lamanites

Alma 16:15

thus **did** ALMA AND AMULEK go forth, and also many more which had been chosen

**Intervening Adverbial Use** (an adverb or an adverbial phrase is used between *did* and the infinitive)

1 Nephi 7:3

I Nephi **did** again with my brethren go forth into the wilderness

**Ellipsis** (*did* carries through to a second infinitive, akin to *I didn't see or hear anything, I will go and do*, etc.)

1 Nephi 16:14

we **did**<sub>i</sub> take our bows and our arrows and [*i*] go forth into the wilderness

Table 1 contains the ADP *did* profiles of the 1829 BofM and the 1611 KJB. Ellegård determined that this profile was worth examining and cataloguing. Besides ellipsis, I have not created the categories in this particular comparison.<sup>5</sup> Ellegård's approach clearly and specifically demonstrates how different the KJB and the BofM are in terms of ADP *did* usage. The closest match is in the rate of elliptical use (my category). Furthermore, comparing the ADP *did* percentages of 75 individual verbs

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to him for his scholarly work in producing a reliable early text for research. His work makes studies like this one possible.

5. Ellegård called adjacency “contact,” and inversion “a/o inversion.” By a/o he meant that either an adverbial element or an object phrase preceded the do-auxiliary under inversion. As for intervening adverbial use, he labeled it “sdav,” standing for subject + do/did + adverbial + (main) verb. See, for example, Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

used in each text gives only a weak correlation (30% — see appendix).<sup>6</sup> This broad test result points to independence as well.

**Table 1.** Profile of ADP *did* Rates.

	KJB	BofM
ADP <i>did</i>	1.7%	27.2%
<i>Breakdown of syntax</i>		
Adjacency	61.0%	91.3%
Non-adjacency		
Inversion	31.0%	5.0%
Intervening adverbial	8.0%	3.7%
Ellipsis	5.7%	3.7%

From the ADP *did* percentages found in Table 1, we obtain Table 2 and a chi-square test. The p-value is vanishingly small and therefore there is hardly any possibility that these two ADP *did* rates are accidentally different.

**Table 2.** Comparison of Past-Tense Syntax.

	KJB	BofM
ADP <i>did</i> counts	515	1,846
Simple past tense	29,780	4,951
ADP <i>did</i> rate	1.7%	27.2%

Chi-square test:  $\chi^2 \approx 6 \times 10^3$ ;  $p \approx 0$ .

Still, there is overlap in usage between the texts, and similar examples exist — some of these are presented in this article. But it would be wrong to seize on the occasional intersection and assert that BofM usage is based on the KJB. The above rates and patterns of use strongly indicate independence, and these systematic differences point to distinct stages of EModE. Yet it is interesting that these periods are close in time, only decades apart.

### Ellegård's Work

Ellegård investigated ADP *do/did* in his wide-ranging study of this phenomenon in Middle English and EModE. As mentioned, he singled out syntactic adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use for

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6. I required that the verbs chosen for the correlation had to be used at least 10 times in the past tense in each text.

particular study. When *did* and its associated infinitive are not adjacent, there is either SUBJECT-*did* inversion or there is an intervening adverbial element. Occasionally there is both:

Mosiah 11:14

and so **did** also HIS PRIESTS *spend* their time with harlots

For his study, Ellegård counted main verbs except for forms of the verb *be*. In other words, he did not count *was*, *are*, etc. as instances of simple present-tense and past-tense usage. That is because there are no examples in the EModE textual record of ADP *did be*.<sup>7</sup> Here are some BofM examples with *be* that clearly show a lack of periphrastic use:

### Main Verb

Mosiah 23:5

they WERE industrious and **did** *labor* exceedingly

Alma 55:14

they **did** *drink* and WERE merry, and by and by they WERE all drunken

### Auxiliary

Alma 62:1

his heart **did** *take* courage and WAS filled with exceeding great joy

3 Nephi 1:22

the more part of the people **did** *believe* and WERE converted unto the Lord

Ellegård did not count auxiliary verbs either (forms of *have* and *be*), or modal verbs (like *may* and *should*), because they also never use the do-auxiliary. Table 3 has his counts with all other verbs. The **do** column in the table contains Ellegård's counts of *do* and *did* used with infinitives. In the books that he selected, he counted every single instance he encountered that was not clearly emphatic. The **n** column in

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7. Late Middle English cases of *did be* and *did have* are causative constructions:

c1430 *Two Cookery-bks.* 26

Gelye de Fysshē . . . Do as þou **dedyst** *be* þat oþer Gelye.

1393 GOWER *Conf.* ed Pauli, II. 306

She **did** him *have* A clue of threde.

Such old syntax is not found in either the KJB or the BofM.

Table 3 contains his total estimate of present-tense and past-tense main verbs, with and without *do* and *did*.<sup>8</sup>

**Table 3.** Ellegård's Counts of ADP *do/did*.<sup>9</sup>

PERIOD		AFFIRMATIVE STATEMENTS		
		<b>do</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>% do</b>
1390	1400	6	45000	0.01
1400	1425	11	4600	0.2
1425	1475	121	45500	0.3
1475	1500	1059	59600	1.8
1500	1525	396	28600	1.4
1525	1535	494	18800	2.6
1535	1550	1564	19200	8.2
1550	1575	1360	14600	9.3
1575	1600	1142	18000	6.3
1600	1625	240	7900	3.0
1625	1650	212	7200	2.9
1650	1700	140	7900	1.8
1710–13 [Swift] <sup>10</sup>		5	2800	0.2

Figure 1 is a chart based on the % **do** column of Table 3. The 16c temporary spike in usage is clear. I am indebted to Ellegård for his painstaking research in this regard. His work led me to conduct this study and discover the close match between the BofM and certain 16c texts. He carefully examined nearly 400 texts spanning more than three centuries.

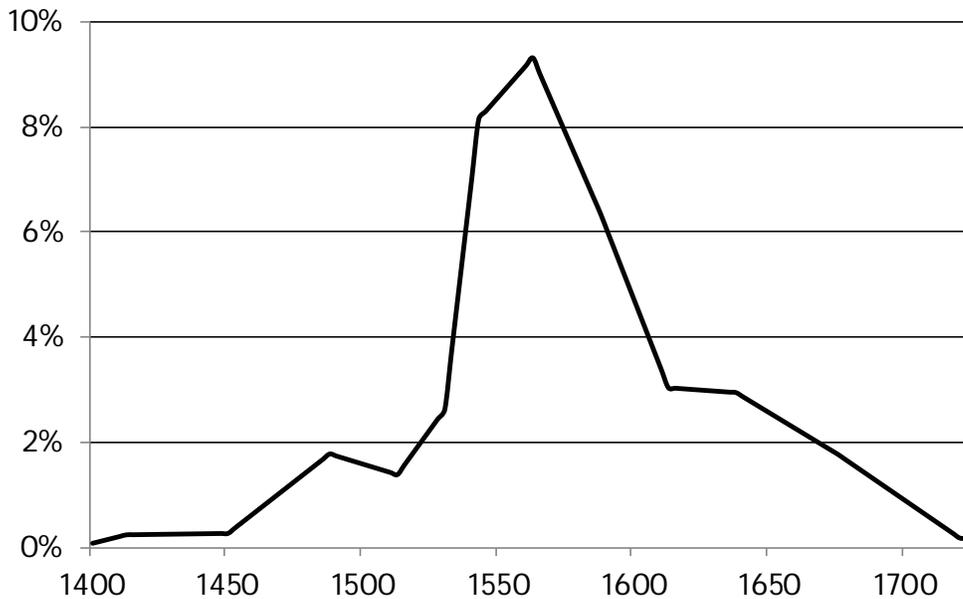
Furthermore, Ellegård made nearly 7,000 counts of ADP *do/did* and was careful and systematic in his sampling and counting. He documented and exemplified the ultimate demise of ADP *do/did* syntax with 65 letters that Jonathan Swift wrote between the years 1710 and 1713. This paper goes further in time, showing its absence with the help

8. Ellegård counted each finite main-verb instance in 10 predetermined pages from each book; from those counts he extrapolated. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157.

9. Ellegård made 6,750 counts in 379 texts. This table is found at page 161 of *Auxiliary Do*. I have added the percentage column, but all counts are Ellegård's.

10. Jonathan Swift, *Journal to Stella*, 1710–13 (65 letters); see Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 311–12.

of Google's *Ngram Viewer*,<sup>11</sup> and in the writings of Ethan Smith (*View of the Hebrews*), James Fenimore Cooper,<sup>12</sup> and others.



**Figure 1.** The rise and fall of ADP *do/did*, after Ellegård.

### Concentrated ADP *did* Usage

It is well known to serious readers of the BofM that it has concentrated *did* usage in many different passages, as well as sustained, frequent use throughout. Here are four passages exemplifying this:

1 Nephi 16:39–17:1

There are 9 instances of ADP *did* in this passage; only *did not perish* is expected in modern English; one instance has an intervening adverbial, one has ellipsis; plus *came* and *bare*,<sup>13</sup> and largely invariant *it came to pass* and invariant *was*.

11. Jean-Baptiste Michel *et al.*, “Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books,” *Science* (published online ahead of print on 16 December 2010).

12. This prolific American author began writing in the 1820s.

13. Royal Skousen points out, in *Analysis of Textual Variants of the Book of Mormon* (Provo, UT: FARMS and BYU, 2004), 1:348, that the 1830 typesetter inserted *did bear* in place of *bare*, the form found in both MSS. This is a good example of the value of Skousen’s work to the researcher. The counts and analysis of this study are much more reliable than they would be without the benefit of his

And it came to pass that the Lord was with us, yea, even the voice of the Lord *CAME* and **did** *spea*k many words unto them and **did** *chasten* them exceedingly. And after that they were chastened by the voice of the Lord, they **did** *turn* away their anger and **did** *repent* of their sins, insomuch that the Lord **did** *bles*s us again with food that we **did** *not* *perish*. And it came to pass that we **did** *again* *take* our journey in the wilderness. And we **did** *travel* nearly eastward from that time forth. And we **did** *travel* and *wade* through much affliction in the wilderness, and our women *BARE* children in the wilderness.

### 3 Nephi 10:9–10

There are 6 instances of ADP *did* (4 *did* *cease*), all adjacent, plus *dispersed* and *stood*.

And it was in the morning, and the darkness *DISPERSED* from off the face of the land and the earth **did** *cease* to tremble and the rocks **did** *cease* to rend and the dreadful groanings **did** *cease* and all the tumultuous noises **did** *pass* away. And the earth **did** *cleave* together again, that it *STOOD*. And the mourning and the weeping and the wailing of the people which were spared alive **did** *cease*.

### 3 Nephi 11:3

There are 4 instances of ADP *did*, plus 1 negative declarative.

it **did** *pierce* them that **did** *hear* to the center, insomuch that there were no part of their frame that it **did** *not* *cause* to quake. Yea, it **did** *pierce* them to the very soul and **did** *cause* their hearts to burn.

### Mormon 4:13–14

There are 6 instances of ADP *did* (1 adverbial with *also*).<sup>14</sup>

the Lamanites **did** *take* possession of the city Desolation— and this because their number **did** *exceed* the number of the Nephites. And they **did** *also* *march* forward against the city Teancum and **did** *drive* the inhabitants forth out of her and **did** *take* many prisoners of women and of children and **did** *offer* them up as sacrifices unto their idol gods.

Were there any texts in the history of English that had such heavy, sustained ADP *did* usage? Or is the BofM a thing apart in this regard? Yes, there are texts with such *did* usage. No, the BofM is not an isolated specimen in relation to this syntax.

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painstaking work. Now we know there was a switch from ADP *did* usage to simple past-tense *bare* in the dictation at this point. He also points to 1 Nephi 2:16 and 1 Nephi 18:11 where *did* was erroneously added.

14. These passages show how intervening adverbial syntax is analogous to the negative declarative.

Here are two illustrative excerpts from a 16c religious text whose overall ADP *did* rate is 51%:<sup>15</sup>

1576 John Daniel tr. *An excelent comfort to all Christians*

[Span. orig. by J. Pérez] (London: Wm. Norton), pages 11–12

There are 9 instances of ADP *did* (3 elliptical).

If we **dyd** *vnderstand* how the sinne which we **dyd** *commit* against God in the beginning **dyd** *leaue* vs, after it had once gotten power and emperye ouer vs, we should vnderstand aswel how great the loue and goodnesse of him was, that **dyd** *redeeme* and [**dyd**] *take* vs out of the same, and [**dyd**] *deliuer* vs from the condempnacion, so iustly due vnto vs for it. The diuell by sinne **dyd** *breake* in and [**dyd**] *destroy* all goodnesse that God had indued vs with, by the which we were cléerely knowen to be his owne workmanship, he **did** *blot* out the Image of god which was grauen in our soules so that the likenes of him by whom we were created, was taken quite from vs.

1576 John Daniel, page 141

There are 7 instances of ADP *do/did* (1 elliptical), plus *entered* and main verb *do* (instead of *do do* — see Helaman 13:24).

Euen so euer sithens the first hower that the worde of God, and the true light thereof, ENTRED into Iermany, England, France, and this our realm of Spaine, and **dyd** *begin* to shine as the Sunne, there were persecutours which **did** *abhorre* it, and so **doe** *continewe* vntill this daye, most mortally and cruelly: and **dyd**, and **dooe**, *kill* all Christians, which are quickned thereby with most extremitie. They **dyd** *alwayes will* and [ **dyd** *alwayes* ] *wish* that which now they DOO most wickedly.

The above text is one that Ellegård did not look at in his study. I examined the entire book. Its high rate of ADP *did* usage is reminiscent of what we find in many different narrative passages in the BofM. Both texts show sustained use of ADP *did*. Such use flourished in the 16c.

Here are some earlier examples:

1534 Wm. Marshall tr. *A playne and godly expositiion or declaration of the commune crede*

[Latin orig. by Erasmus] (London: R. Redman), page 108

There are 12 instances of ADP *did* (3 elliptical), plus *spake* and main verb *did* (instead of *did do*).

The disciples of Iohan **dyd** *fast*: but they **dyd** *backbyte* the disciples of Christ & SPAKE euyll of them: for that they **dyd** more seldome *fast*. The Manicheis **dyd** *abstayne* & *forbeare* from all maner beastes or sensible creatures: but they **dyd** *disprayse* & *condempne* the creature of god: & secretely & in cornes **dyd**

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15. These passages are taken from the Early English Books Online (EEBO) database <eebo.chadwyck.com>. I am indebted to EEBO and the Text Creation Partnership for the reliable digitization of many texts from the 16c and the 17c.

*fyl* themselues with delycyouse meattes bothe more daynty and also more costly. The Pharyseis **dyd** *praye*: but they **DYD** it in the hedes of many wayes where they myghte be moste sene in theyr chaumbres eyther they **dyd** *occupie* themselues about trifles orels **dyd** *counte* and *tell* monaye.

## RECAST

John's disciples **did** *fast*, but they **did** *backbite* Christ's disciples and **SPOKE** evilly of them, since they **did** *fast* less often. The Manichees **did** *abstain* and *refrain* from all manner of animals or creatures capable of feeling, and they **did** *speak against* and *condemn* eating meat, but secretly and in corners **did** *fill* themselves with delicious food, both tastier and more expensive. The Pharisees **did** *pray*, but they did it at many thoroughfares where they could be most seen in their chambers, or they **did** *occupy* themselves with matters of little importance, or **did** *count* and *calculate* money.

**1534** Wm. Marshall, page 50 (4 instances of ADP *did*)

The Iewes were puffed vp with pryde: thrughe a vayne persuasion of ryghtuosnes. Synne **did** *raygne* at large vnponyshed in ye world whils the moste parte of men **dyd** *folowe* the fyrste parentes of mankynde: but here the mercy of god **dyd** *shewe* forthe it selfe, whiche passeth & surmounteth all his workes. He **dyd** *vouchesafe* to waxe more nere and more familierly knowne vnto vs by the same sonne.

## RECAST

The Jews were puffed up with pride through an empty self-assurance of righteousness. Sin **did** *prevail* unpunished in the world till most men **did** *follow* mankind's first parents. But here God's mercy **did** *display* itself, which surpasses and exceeds all his works. He **did** *condescend* to grow closer and become better known to us by the same Son.

**1555** Edmund Bonner (Bishop of London) *A profitable and necessary doctrine with certayne homelyes adioyned therunto* (London: J. Cawoode)

There are 5 instances of ADP *did*.

the souldiers of the garyson **dyd** *take* Chryst, and **dyd** *nayle* hym throughe the handes and fete vnto the Crosse: And also **dyd** *hange* with hym vpon [two] other crosses, two theues, on a certayne hyll called Caluerye . . . And that Chryst **dyd** *dye* . . . it is euident . . . , for S Mathew in the xxvii of his Gospell, speaking of this matter sayth . . . : Jesus cryenge agayne with a greate voyce **dyd** *geue* vp the Ghost.

This last example of concentrated ADP *did* is from a text whose overall rate may exceed 50%; this estimate is based on more than 100 counts.

We also see a concentration of ADP *did* in the following 17c speech-based text:

1641 KEAYNE MS (24 January)<sup>16</sup>

There are 8 instances of ADP *did* (2 elliptical), plus *thought*.

It is trew yow **did** in privat *declare* yowr grevance to me abowt the greate Iniurie that was done to yow, and yow **did** *tell* me yow wear very Jeliows of such a combination. Therfor I **did** *exhort* and [**did**] *advice* yow to be very carefull how yow **did** *use* any such speeches or how yow **did** *entertayne* such Jelowsies of Brethren except yow be able suffitiently to prove it, and I THOUGHT yow would be advised by me, but yow wear not, but in an unsatisfied way **did** *goe* from one to another and [**did**] *inqwier* of this and that men.

Robert Keayne's 1641 record of First Church of Boston meetings actually represents early 17c London English. This Boston merchant was born in Windsor, England in 1595 and emigrated from London when he was 40 years old. Keayne recorded the speech of recent English immigrants as well, but a portion of the usage in his writings — exhibiting relatively high ADP *do/did* rates — may be attributed to an idiosyncratic style.<sup>17</sup> I have estimated his ADP *did* rate to be one-third that of the BofM.

There was some carry-through in New England beyond the initial decades. Here are two examples of heavy usage during the second half of the 17c:

1670s Suffolk County (Massachusetts) Court Records<sup>18</sup>

There are 5 instances of ADP *did* (1 elliptical).

I **did** *heare* mr Waldron Say, that he **did** *showe* mr Bennet the Cattle, & [**did**] *bid* him to take them, and **did** *bid* his man to helpe mr Bennet out of the Orchard with them . . . as mr Waldron **did** *tell* mee.

1692 Salem Witchcraft Trials<sup>19</sup>

There are 3 instances of ADP *did*, plus *testifieth*, *saith*, *said*, and *struck*.

The deposition of Johannah Childin TESTIFIETH and SAIETH that upon the :2<sup>d</sup> of June: 1692 that the aparition of goody nuss and goodman Harrwood **did** *apeare* to her and the said Harrwood **did** *look* goodey nuss in the face and SAID to her: that she **did** *murder* him by pushing him off the Cart and STROCK the breath out of his body.

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16. Matti Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do* in Affirmative Statements in Early American English," *Journal of English Linguistics* 18.2 (October 1985), 168–69.

17. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 167–68, 174.

18. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 176–77.

19. Merja Kytö, "The Emergence of American English: Evidence from Seventeenth-Century Records in New England" *Legacies of Colonial English*, ed. Raymond Hickey (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 137.

I agree with Rissanen that the heightened usage in these last two excerpts may have been influenced by the context of court proceedings and the “conventions of legal language.”<sup>20</sup> Still, these examples provide evidence of some ADP *did* usage persisting in 17c New England. However, the ADP *did* rate of this time can be no more than one-third of Keayne’s rate, 50 years earlier. (We revisit this matter in a later section.)

Sustained high-rate use of ADP *did* has been found so far only in 16c and 17c texts. A good measure of this use seems to be past-tense expression consisting of at least 20% adjacency usage. The BofM has these high levels of use.

### Historical Development of the Do-Auxiliary

Periphrastic *do* emerged in late Middle English, and developed during the EModE period. One part of this, ADP *do/did*, arose in the 14c and 15c, peaked in the 16c, continued at diminishing rates during the 17c, and then faded into obscurity — in both England and America, and in both writing and speech.<sup>21</sup>

Three or four early examples for each syntactic structure are given below (most of these are taken from the Oxford English Dictionary [OED]), many from the influential printer/publisher/translator Caxton.<sup>22</sup> Following those quotations is a BofM example of each construction.

#### Negative Questions

Ellegård’s figures suggest that periphrastic *do/did* arose in either affirmative statements or negative questions. While the periphrasis might have begun with affirmative declaratives, according to his data it first grew strong in negative questions. Ellegård found that *do/did* were used in negative interrogatives at a fairly steady 10% average rate early on and throughout the 15c:

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20. Rissanen, “Salem Witchcraft Papers as Evidence of Early American English,” *English Linguistics* 20.1 (2003), 109.

21. See Matti Rissanen, “Spoken language and the history of *do*-periphrasis,” *Historical English Syntax*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1991), 324, 328–29, 333; Rissanen, “Periphrastic *Do*,” 176.

22. It is interesting that command syntax in the BofM is similar to what is found in Caxton’s *Golden Legend* (1483) and *Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye* (1474). My purpose is not to delve deep and give late Middle English examples; I am content with showing the use in the EModE period. Most of the examples are taken from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. on CD-ROM, v4. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).

c1489 CAXTON *Sonnes of Aymon* xxiv. 511

Alas, **doo** they not remembre me, I byleve better ye[a] than nay.

1509 HAWES *Past. Pleas.* XLIII. (Percy Soc.) 210

**Dyd** not kyng Davyd a lyons jawe tere?

1526 TINDALE *Matt.* xxi. 25

He wyll saye vnto vs: why **dyd** ye not then beleve hym?

1548 UDALL etc. *Erasm. Paraphr.* Luke xxiv. 44

**Did** he not once for altogether . . . take awaie all autoritie from the priestes?

Moroni 10:27

**Did** I not declare my words unto you, which was written by this man . . . ?

### Affirmative Declaratives

At the same time, or perhaps earlier, *do* and *did* began to be used in affirmative statements at a very low rate:

1483 CAXTON *Cato* E iij

They **dyd** put all theyr estudye for to knowe the faytes or dedes of thauncientes.

1483 CAXTON *G. de la Tour* i ij

Another ensample I shalle telle yow of Mary Magdalene whyche **dyd** wasshe and spurge away her synnes and mysdedes by the water of her eyen.

c1489 CAXTON *Blanchardyn* xlvii. 180

She **ded** call after hym ryght pyteousli.

1537 ELYOT *Castel of Helth* H j

Dry figges and old, . . . as some **do** suppose, **do** ingender lyce, and also anoyeth the lyuer and the splene.

Mosiah 25:18

Yea, and as many as he **did** baptize **did** belong to the church of God<sup>23</sup>

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23. The first use — *did baptize* — appears to be perfective, the second use — *did belong* — can be viewed as imperfective. This argues for the past-tense use of *did* being compatible with either interpretation, and against a 16c grammarian's assertion that it was imperfective in sense. See the relevant discussion in Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 170, which dismisses that grammarian's view.

3 Nephi 19:14

And the multitude **did** *witness* it and **do** *bear* record.

And angels **did** *come* down out of heaven and **did** *minister* unto them.

Because affirmative statements are much more common than the other syntactic types, the do-auxiliary is found more often in this construction in the textual record, in spite of its much lower rate of use. It is worth noting that the 1537 quotation and Mosiah 25:18 both immediately repeat a do-auxiliary, one after another. We will see throughout this paper a large number of striking EModE correspondences like this one.

### Positive Questions and Negative Declaratives

According to Ellegård, periphrastic *do* took hold with positive questions and negative declaratives after the first quarter of the 15c. From then on the use in positive questions rose more quickly:

#### Positive Questions

1532 MORE *Confut. Tindale* Wks. 427/1

But I aske of Tyndall no such farre fet whyes, but a why of hys owne dede . . . I aske hym thys why: Why **dydde** he *translate* the same by thys englyshe woorde elder?

1548 HALL *Chron., Hen. V* (an. 8) 72 b

Why **did** thei *take* it?

1549–62 STERNHOLD & H. *Ps.* ii. 1

Why **did** the Jewish people  *muse*, Seeing all is but vaine?

Alma 30:51

In whom **did** ye *desire* that Alma should shew forth his sign?

#### Negative Declaratives

c1489 CAXTON *Sonnes of Aymon* vi. 139

I departed fro my londe poure & exyled but I **dyd** not *care* for it.

1489 CAXTON *Faytes of A.* i. i. 2

Wymen comynly **do** not *entremete* but to spynne on the distaf.

1509 FISHER *Fun. Serm. C'tess Richmond* Wks. (1876) 297

Albeit she **dyd** not *receyue* in to her house our sauour in his owne persone . . . she neuertheles receyued them that **dothe** *represent* his persone.

Ether 10:13

And it came to pass that Kim **did** not reign in righteousness

By the year 1500, periphrastic *do* rates with negative questions, positive questions, and negative declaratives may have stood at 35%, 15%, and 6%, respectively.<sup>24</sup>

As far as affirmative declarative syntax is concerned, during the first three quarters of the 15c the *do*-auxiliary was only used about 0.25% of the time. But by the year 1500 the auxiliary may have been employed about 1.5% of the time (on average). At this point ADP *do/did* had entered its development phase.

After the first quarter of the 16c, ADP *do/did* rates increased dramatically — but only temporarily. Relevant to BofM verbal usage, ADP *do/did* rates spiked towards the middle of the 16c, shortly after Tyndale had left England. This surge was brief, and a swift dropoff in use followed. The usage rates of the other types of periphrastic syntax were always higher, and they persisted and became established.<sup>25</sup>

**Table 4.** The Development of Periphrastic *do/did*.<sup>26</sup>

Periphrastic type	1500	1550–75	1600	1700
Negative questions	35%	85%	80%	96%
Positive questions	15%	56%	65%	87%
Negative declaratives	6%	38%	30%	67%
Affirmative declaratives	1.5%	9.3%	5%	1%

Table 4 and Figure 2 show the overall increase in use in the 16c (for all types of periphrastic *do*), as well as the divergence that ultimately played out. After the year 1400, affirmative declarative rates are dwarfed by the others. The affirmative declarative use was well on its way toward dying out by the year 1700. We saw three examples of 17c American usage, but there is no evidence of persistent American use in the 18c and beyond.<sup>27</sup>

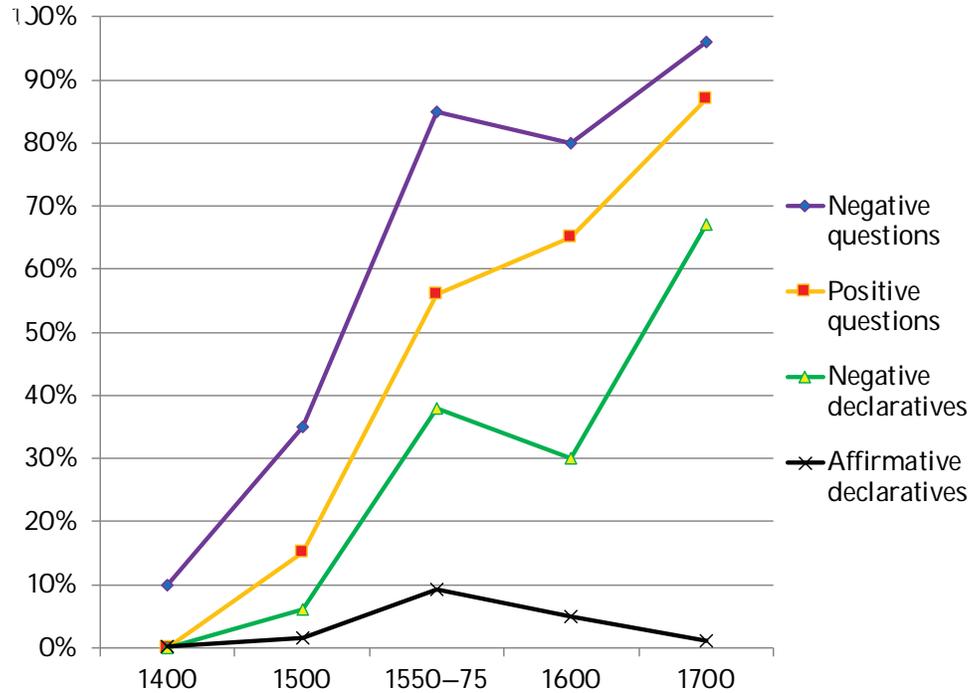
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24. The turn-of-the century figures are calculated from the adjacent values estimated by Ellegård — see *Auxiliary Do*, 161.

25. Ellegård asserted that “there is absolutely no justification for supposing that the frequency was at any time higher in affirmative sentences than in the others” (*Auxiliary Do*, 161).

26. I have estimated turn-of-the-century percentages by averaging the surrounding sampled values found in Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161.

27. ADP *did* would remain to a degree in several **British** dialects, “with a tendency (but by no means exclusively) to indicate not a single event, but a repeated, continued (i.e. habitual) action.” Susanne Wagner, “Unstressed periphrastic *do* — from Southwest England to Newfoundland?” *English World-Wide* 283 (2007), 262.



**Figure 2.** The Development of Periphrastic *do/did*.

The following biblical passage exemplifies the variation in usage that existed in English long ago. This verse has three different instances of *did* and several simple past-tense verb forms:

Isaiah 66:4

I also will choose their delusions, and will bring their fears upon them; because when I *called*, none **did** answer; when I *spake*, they **did not** hear: but they **DID** evil before mine eyes, and *chose* that in which I *delighted not*.

This verse has simple past-tense *called*, *spake*, *chose*, and *delighted*. We also see periphrastic *did answer* and *did not hear*, the latter contrasting with the older form of negation, *delighted not*. So there is syntactic variation between two negative declaratives in this verse, and between *did answer* and one-word past-tense verb forms. In addition, there is a main-verb use of **DID** before *evil*.<sup>28</sup>

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The use of ADP *did* became specialized and isolated geographically. There was no maintenance of use in Newfoundland (Vernacular) English (“one of the most conservative varieties of English”) (249).

28. The future tense is periphrastic — the auxiliary *will* is used before the infinitives *choose* and *bring*. There was no synthetic, one-word future tense in English, nor is there now. An example of a synthetic future is Spanish *irán* = ‘(they) will go’.

### *Did* as a Past-Tense Marker

The following passage has past-tense *didst forsake* and *did go*:<sup>29</sup>

Alma 39:3

for THOU **didst** *forsake* the ministry and **did** *go* over into the land of Siron

The BofM could have used *forsookest* and *wentest* but it did not.<sup>30</sup> However, whether the text employs *did* or *didst* with bare infinitives or one-word past-tense verb forms, it is likely that no extra emphasis is intended. This is unlike present-day English, where *did* conveys emphasis, contrast, and other nuance when used in this way.<sup>31</sup>

Ellegård stressed that the use was by and large nonemphatic in the EModE period,<sup>32</sup> following a 16c grammarian who asserted that “that «it is all one» to use the do-form or the simple present or past tense form. There was no difference in meaning between the two forms.”<sup>33</sup> Ellegård’s wide-ranging study of ADP *do/did* syntax in EModE, and the work of others before him, led him to definitively conclude that “[t]he do-form was functionally synonymous with the finite main verb form”<sup>34</sup> during

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29. For a discussion of the variation here, see Stanford Carmack, “A Look at Some ‘Nonstandard’ Book of Mormon Grammar,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 11 (2014), 251.

30. *Forsookest* occurs twice in the KJB, both times in Nehemiah; *wentest* occurs 14 times. The “nonbiblical” BofM does not have many instances of *didst* (15), while the KJB has 122, 83 occurring with following infinitives. This use may have been a strategy to avoid extra past-tense verb stems with difficult phonology. In the BofM most of the occurrences of *didst* are from the prophetic writings of Zenos or Isaiah. There are only seven instances in the rest of the book: Alma to his sons (5 times), Nephi to the Lord in Helaman (once), and Moroni to the Lord in Ether (once).

31. See Rissanen, “Spoken language,” 322, 333, 338; Rissanen, “Salem Witchcraft Papers,” 109.

32. See Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157, 179. Rissanen has taken a different stance, stressing that there was frequently emotive force behind the periphrasis. Rissanen, “Periphrastic *Do*,” 164, 177 (“emotion, emphasis, and euphony”); Rissanen, “Spoken language,” 326. We may take his judgments in this regard as speculative, since he is a native speaker of Finnish, a language that does not have the emphatic use, except by shifts in word order or by adding emphatic particles to the ends of words, but not by intonation or stress.

33. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 179.

34. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157.

this period, and especially in the 16c *when usage rates were high*, as they are in the BofM. Elsewhere it has been shown that the BofM can reasonably be viewed, based on many syntactic examples, as an EModE text.<sup>35</sup> So, nonemphatic ADP *did* follows from that observation directly.

In sustained high-rate ADP *did* texts, the auxiliary appears to function as it does in questions and negative statements — that is, without any emotive or emphatic force. But in lower-rate texts with sporadic heavy use, emotive force is a possibility. It should be noted that when the syntax is used nonemphatically, the main verb carries lexical stress: “Moroni dīd **ARRÍVE** with his army.” In the emphatic use, *did* carries the stress.

Ellegård does mention being able to identify approximately 1.5% of ADP *do/did* in the second quarter of the 16c as certainly emphatic,<sup>36</sup> and that some other instances were likely emphatic, though they resist definite identification contextually. In the last half of the 16c, however, he was able to identify less than 1% of ADP *do/did* syntax as emphatic. The BofM is a high-rate text with a high degree of adjacency, and consequently it is likely that total cases of emphatic use, both identifiable and opaque, would be less than 2% of the total, or fewer than 40 instances. The bottom line is, according to Ellegård and others, that most EModE instances of ADP *did* were nonemphatic, especially in texts with high rates of use.

Multiple *did* ellipsis is another strong indicator since it is a virtual certainty that third (and fourth) infinitives carry lexical stress (see examples below).

### ADP *do/did* in the BofM

I have estimated BofM ADP *did* rates at 27.16% (based on 6,797 past-tense counts).<sup>37</sup> According to my current counts and methodology, there

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35. Carmack, “Nonstandard,” 216ff.

36. See Table 8 on p. 172 of Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*.

37. There are undoubtedly errors in these counts, but I do not believe that the true rate is different from 27% by more than half a percent. Extracting biblical passages, however, would give us a different, higher rate. The 27% rate is calculated from my nearly exhaustive counts using Skousen’s Yale edition of the Book of Mormon. I have not included contexts where *did* might be used as a pro-verb — that is, a substitute for the main verb — as in this example: “he *did* baptize them after the manner he *did* (∅) his brethren in the waters of Mormon” (Mosiah 25:18). In this sentence, we cannot be sure whether the second *did* stands in for *baptized* or whether *baptize* has been ellipted after *did*. I have counted six of these in the text of the BofM: Mosiah 25:18; Alma 18:4; 19:33; 39:2; 56:47; 63:2.

are 1,846 instances of ADP *did* in the book, with 69 of these involving ellipsis. The much longer KJB has only about 500 instances of ADP *did* syntax, and 115 of those involve *did(st) eat*. The highest count with a single verb in the BofM is *did(st) go* (57 counts). So ADP *did* syntax is much more evenly distributed in the BofM.

I have made only a rough estimation of present-tense ADP *do* syntax in the BofM, finding that the rate of use is significantly lower in the text than it is with past-tense *did*: the ADP *do* rate may be no greater than 10%.<sup>38</sup> In addition, there are only about 210 instances of ADP *do*, so it is also much less frequent than ADP *did*. If these estimates are close, then overall ADP *do/did* rates in the BofM would still exceed 20%.

We have seen that Ellegård estimated peak use of ADP *do/did* syntax in the third quarter of the 16c at close to an average of 10% (see Table 1 above).<sup>39</sup> When we bear this in mind, as well as the high-rate texts that we have seen from the Early English Books Online database (EEBO), the heavy presence of ADP *did* in the text is not wholly unexpected. That is because a significant amount of biblical and nonbiblical BofM language is consonant with the syntax and meaning of this period.<sup>40</sup>

### Consecutive ADP *did*

We have seen ADP *did* syntax used consecutively, in concentrated doses, and also used elliptically. The following passages show ADP *did(st)* used consecutively in the KJB and the BofM without a repeat of the subject:

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Besides these six cases of infinitival ellipsis following *did*, or *did* used as a pro-verb, there appear to be 35 instances of main-verb *did* in the BofM; 8 interrogative passages with *did*; and 172 with negative declarative syntax of the form *did(st)...not*.

38. The estimate has been made by counting ADP *doth* (125 counts), occurrences of third-person singular verbs ending in *-eth* (1070), and half the instances of *saith* (93 — because of frequent historical present-tense use). In addition, a 20% sampling of *hath* pointed to a total of 75 counts of main-verb use in the text. This yields a rate of 10.1%. This is probably an upper-bound estimate of present-tense ADP *do* syntax in the BofM. Better counts will be made in the future.

39. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161–62.

40. For a discussion of some EModE usage in the BofM, see, for example, Royal Skousen, “The Original Text of the Book of Mormon and its Publication by Yale University Press,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013), 89–93 and his preface to the Yale edition of the BofM. For a discussion of some syntax, see Carmack, “Nonstandard.”

Isaiah 57:9

thou *wentest* to the king with ointment, and **didst** *increase* thy perfumes, and **didst** *send* thy messengers far off, and **didst** *debase* thyself even unto hell<sup>41</sup>

Amos 1:11

because he **did** *pursue* his brother with the sword, and **did** *cast* off all pity, and his anger **did** *tear* perpetually, and he *kept* his wrath for ever

Mosiah 6:6

king Mosiah **did** *walk* in the ways of the Lord and **did** *observe* his judgments and his statutes and **did** *keep* his commandments

Alma 35:9

And they **did** *nourish* them and **did** *clothe* them and **did** *give* unto them lands for their inheritance

The above passages show similar usage. The biblical examples, however, are few and far between. That is not the case in the BofM.

Similar consecutive *did* use is seen in the following 16c OED quotations:

1515 in St. Papers Hen. VIII, II. 11

He **dyd** *conquyre* all the lande, . . . and **dyd** *inhabyte* the same with Englyshe folke.

1523 LD. BERNERS *Froiss.* I. ccclxxiv. 621

The speare heed **dyd** *entre* into his throte, and **dyd** *cutte* asonder the orgonall vayne.

1558 PHAËR *Æneid* v. O j

The Troians them **did** *chere*, and **did** *receyue* with wondrous ioye.

1581 LAMBARDE *Eiren.* I. ix. (1602) 39

The names of such, as (being indited) **did** *flie*, and **did** *refuse* to be Iustised.

1596 SPENSER *Faerie Qveene* IV. ii. 17

They . . . shields **did** *share*, and mailes **did** *rash*, and helmes **did** *hew*.

*The Faerie Queene* is perhaps the best known text with heavy, sustained *did* use: more than 3,000 instances. It is a lengthy poem and so Ellegård did not study it because of the potential influence of rhyme and meter.

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41. The KJB has only this one clear example of three successive uses of *didst*. Note the use of *wentest* but then the switch to *didst increase*, thereby avoiding exceptional *\*increasèdst* and *\*debasèdst*, not found in the biblical text or in the OED (*sentest* occurs 4 times in the KJB).

### Elliptical ADP *did*

Elliptical ADP *did* is economical in terms of marking: the past tense is indicated only once, and two or more infinitival stems are used instead of two marked past-tense verb stems.<sup>42</sup> The following passages have conjoined verb phrases that employ *did* a single time with two following infinitives; *did* is understood as following through to the second infinitive:

Psalms 14:2

The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men,  
to see if there were any that **did**<sub>i</sub> *understand*, and [*i*] *seek* God.

Mormon 2:4

we **did**<sub>i</sub> *take* possession of the city and [*i*] *make* preparations to  
defend ourselves against the Lamanites

There appear to be 28 of these in the KJB, and it has about 790,000 words. So it occurs there once every 28,000 words. There appear to be 69 of these in the BofM, and it has about 270,000 words. So it occurs there once every 4,000 words.

Besides the KJB favorite of conjoined *did eat & drink* — occurring 20 times<sup>43</sup> — elliptical ADP *did* syntax like the example in Psalms 14:2 is uncommon in the biblical text, and it never involves a third infinitive. I have counted eight other instances of elliptical ADP *did(st)*, including these three with *didst*, two in one verse:

2 Samuel 12:21

thou **didst**<sub>i</sub> *fast* and [*i*] *weep* for the child, while it was alive; but  
when the child was dead, thou **didst**<sub>i</sub> *rise* and [*i*] *eat* bread

Ezekiel 29:7

When they took hold of thee by thy hand, thou **didst**<sub>i</sub> *break*,  
and [*i*] *rend* all their shoulder: and when they leaned upon thee,  
thou BRAKEST, and MADEST all their loins to be at a stand

In Ezekiel 29:7 we see free variation between synonymous *didst break* and *brakest*.

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42. Cf. analogous future-tense expression — “I **will**<sub>i</sub> *go* and [*i*] *see* him before I die” (Genesis 45:28) and “I **will**<sub>i</sub> *go* and [*i*] *do* the things which the Lord hath commanded” (1 Nephi 3:7).

43. Here is a similar quotation from the first half of the 16c:

**a1533** LD. BERNERS *Huon* lxvi. 226  
He **dyd** *ete & drynke* but lytell.

The biblical text usually employs the simple past tense after only one instance of ADP *did*:

Matthew 28:4

And for fear of him the keepers **did** *shake*, and BECAME as dead men.

John 20:4

So they RAN both together: and the other disciple **did** *outrun* Peter, and CAME first to the sepulchre.

This happens even in John 20:4 with two motion verbs, despite a natural semantic closeness. But as we have just seen, occasionally the periphrasis carries through with a second verb:

Luke 6:4

How he went into the house of God, and **did**, *take* and [*i*] *eat* the shewbread, and GAVE also to them that were with him

After the infinitive *eat*, however, neither elliptical *give* nor *did give* is used; instead simple-past *gave* is used. Notice how in these next examples the punctuation suggests to us that the second main verb (underlined) is a finite past-tense verb form, but because of Psalms 14:2 (see above) we cannot be sure:

Genesis 30:40

JACOB **did** *separate* the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked

Joshua 13:12

these **did** MOSES *smite*, and cast them out

The most frequent elliptical phrase in the BofM is *did see & hear* (three times), and *prosper* occurs six times with several different verbs. EEBO<sup>44</sup> indicates that *did eat & drink* was the most commonly used elliptical *did*-phrase in EModE, followed distantly by *did quake & tremble*. As we read the BofM, *did quake & tremble* is the first one we encounter (1 Nephi 1:6).

Here are five examples of multiple *did* ellipsis found in the BofM:

1 Nephi 9:1 (fronted object with inversion, plus *dwelt*)

all these things **did**, MY FATHER [*i*] *see* and [*i*] *hear* and [*i*] *speak*  
as he dwelt in a tent

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44. Mark Davies, *Early English Books Online, 400 million words, 1470s–1690s* (2013–). I am indebted to Mark Davies for allowing me to use his large corpus and excellent interface; it has made this study much better and more reliable.

Helaman 6:39 (4 infinitives)

insomuch that they **did**<sub>i</sub> *trample* under their feet and [*i*] *smite*  
and [*i*] *rend* and [*i*] *turn* their backs upon the poor and the meek

3 Nephi 17:25

the multitude **did**<sub>i</sub> *see* and [*i*] *hear* and [*i*] *bear* record

3 Nephi 26:13

after that, he **did** *shew* himself unto them oft  
and **did**<sub>i</sub> *break* bread oft and [*i*] *bless* it and [*i*] *give* it unto them

Ether 10:22

they were exceeding industrious, and they **did**<sub>i</sub> *buy* and [*i*] *sell*  
and [*i*] *traffic* one with another that they might get gain

These argue for *did* functioning as a past-tense marker in the text. While multiple *did* ellipsis does not occur in the KJB, we encounter it in the textual record:

1576 J. DANIEL tr. *An excelent comfort to all Christians* 96

How be it for all that, afterwarde they **did**<sub>i</sub> *all fall*, [*i*] *feare*,  
[*i*] *faint*, and **did** *haue* a doubt in him

1614 J. TAYLOR (Water P.) *Nipping Abuses* D 1

The seuenth was Sloth, . . . Who being cald, **did**<sub>i</sub> *gape*, and  
[*i*] *yawne*, and [*i*] *stretch*.

1621 1st Bk. Discipl. Ch. Scot. Pref. (1641) A 3

Some of the Disciples . . . at first **did**<sub>i</sub> *mince*, and [*i*] *sparingly*  
*speake*, but afterward [*i*] *practise* and [*i*] *loudly preach*.

1630 J. TAYLOR (Water P.) *Penniless Pilgr.* Wks. I. 123/2

And No-body **did**<sub>i</sub> *drinke*, and [*i*] *winke*, and [*i*] *scinke*.<sup>45</sup>

In this regard the BofM has greater affinity with some EMode usage than the KJB does.

### Using Ellipsis to Estimate EMode ADP *did* Rates

This subset of ADP *did* syntax is a manageable way to get a sense for ADP *did* rates in different centuries. A search in the OED for the elliptical construction yields the counts shown in the second column of Table 5. Because the dictionary contains fewer 16c quotations than 17c quotations (approximated by “and the” counts — the third column of the table), yet there are more examples of elliptical ADP *did* in the 16c, it is possible to conclude that ADP *did* was a strong 16c phenomenon.

45. **Skink**, *v.* = ‘serve liquor’.

**Table 5.** OED Counts of Elliptical ADP *did* by Century.<sup>46</sup>

CENTURY	<i>did</i> ... INF & INF	“and the”	WEIGHTED
15th	3	1,454	2.1
16th	143	3,207	44.6
17th	120	5,961	20.1
18th	9	4,558	2.0

The weighted values in the last column of Table 5 suggest that ADP *did* was a construction that arose in the 15c, became popular in the 16c, saw its use lessen in the 17c, and tapered off during the 18c so that it then became as uncommon as it was in the 15c.

According to Ellegård, the average use of ADP *did* in the 16c was 5.5%. From that value and Table 5 weighted values of 44.6, 20.1, and 2.0, we obtain average rates of 2.5% in the 17c and 0.25% in the 18c. Ellegård’s estimated averages are 2.6% and 0.18%. Those values are close and confirm that ADP *did* had all but vanished sometime in the 1700s. All this coincides with what Ellegård noted generally about

the development of the periphrastic *do*: it first occurred in prose ca. 1400, gained ground slowly in the 15th and rapidly in the 16th century. In the 17th century the tide fell fast in affirmative declarative sentences, whereas the use of *do* became regular in negative and interrogative ones. The modern state of things was practically achieved around 1700.<sup>47</sup>

Backed by the work of prior researchers, Ellegård here asserts that by the 18c there were only vestiges of ADP *did* left in English.

### A Review of Ellegård’s Counts of ADP *do/did*

Ellegård broke his counts into various time periods, usually 25-year blocks. Table 6 shows my simple percentage calculations and comments. Included is my estimate of biblical ADP *did* rates — a higher rate than Ellegård found for both tenses combined: 1.7% versus 1.3% (my sampled past-tense estimate versus Ellegård’s overall sampled estimate).

Ellegård broke down the range of time between 1525 and 1550 into two blocks, perhaps because that was when there was an explosion of ADP *do/did* use. Tyndale was living on the continent during this time and would have been partially shielded from this sudden shift in use,

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46. The weighted values were obtained by dividing *did* counts by *and the* counts, and then multiplying by 1,000. The 16c and 17c counts were based in part on sampling.

47. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 157.

despite living among many English speakers. They would not have been directly and immediately exposed to the linguistic currents of the day.

**Table 6.** Comments on Ellegård's Estimates.<sup>48\*</sup>

PERIOD		% <i>do</i>	COMMENTS	
1390	1400	0.01		
1400	1425	0.25	EMERGENCE	
1425	1475	0.25		
1475	1500	1.8	CAXTON	1.2% w/o <i>Polychr.</i> *
1500	1525	1.4	DEVELOPMENT	Tyndale leaves Engl. Hence KJB <i>did</i> = 1.7%
1525	1535	2.6	RISE	
1535	1550	8.2	SPIKE	B ofM <i>did</i> = 27% Some texts > 50%
1550	1575	9.3	PEAK	
1575	1600	6.3	DROPOFF	KJB, w/o Tyndale's infl., would be 5%
1600	1625	3.0		
1625	1650	2.9	TAPERING	
1650	1700	1.8		
Jonathan Swift		0.2	VANISHING	65 letters
King James Bible		1.3	← Ellegård's overall ADP <i>do/did</i> estimate	

We can see from Table 6 that the use of ADP *do/did* soared in the space of 25 years from about 2% to almost 10% in the textual record. Peak use may have occurred past the year 1550, but some were already using it heavily in the 1530s. The match between the BofM's past-tense syntax and that found in English texts is in the middle of the 16c.

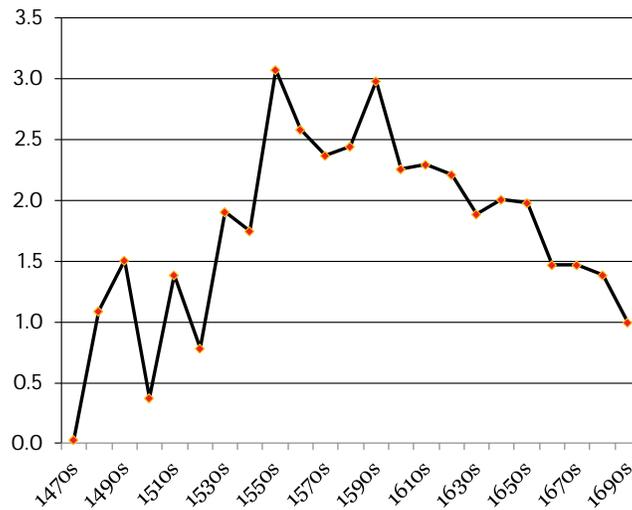
Yet some firmly believe that Joseph Smith's dialect was full of archaic, even obsolete features like ADP *did*. Hence we may ask whether the demise of ADP *did* in English was complete. We now address that issue while also cross-verifying the accuracy of Ellegård's work.

48. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161, 169. The BofM ADP *did* percentage is my estimate based on thousands of individual counts.

\* Ellegård states: "The high figure for 1475–1500 is due to one very large single text, *Polychronicon* [Caxton — 1482]. If that text is discounted — which is justifiable — the figure becomes instead 1.2% for the period" (p. 160). This statement applies to overall periphrastic *do*, but more than 95% of Ellegård's counts are of ADP syntax. On that basis I have calculated a 3.5% rate for Caxton's *Polychronicon*. This text is a prime example of the early emergence of ADP *do/did*. Hence Ellegård's conclusion that Caxton was an early driver of the usage (p. 209). Interestingly, his use of command syntax in the 1470s and '80s is a good match with the BofM's.

### Large Database Verification

We begin by taking a look at the extensive data sets of EEBO and Google books. Figure 3 shows the rate profile of ADP *did* adjacency made on the basis of more than 80,000 counts, taken from EEBO (the 1690s value has been set to 1). This profile of adjacency usage — the purest syntactic type of ADP *did* — is both similar to and different from the one Ellegård calculated for overall ADP *do/did*. We expect it to be different since this is a larger sample (with many misses and false counts as well), and a subset of the syntax that Ellegård considered. From this we can see the absence of use in the 1470s; early, strong development with William Caxton (see note 48\* above); a jagged rise and peak use in the 1550s; a secondary peak in the 1590s; and a scallop-shaped dropoff to lower levels by the 1690s.



**Figure 3.** Adjacency ADP *did* Rates in EMode

But what happened in the 18c and beyond? Figure 4, an *Ngram Viewer* chart, shows falling adjacency rates from already-low 1700 levels to 1800. Levels in the 1820s were less than half of 1700 levels and about the same as present-day levels of use. (Data from the early 18c in Google books is uneven and less reliable). The small early 19c rise in the chart might be attributable to the spread of emphatic *do*.<sup>49</sup> But the rate of use during that time was barely higher than it was in the late 20c when we have first-hand knowledge that there was effectively no ADP *did* usage. Taken together, Figures 3 and 4 indicate that rates in the 1550s were 8 times what they were in the late 1820s. Ellegård's value of 9.3% for the 1550s

49. See Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 171–72, 209.



**Figure 4.** Falling ADP *did* Adjacency Rates in Modern English.<sup>50</sup>

leads us to conclude that rates were near 1% in the late 1820s. His value of 1.77% for the 50 years between 1650 and 1700 leads us to conclude that rates were around 0.5% by the 1820s. Either view means that ADP *did* use was minimal, and of course nothing like it is in the BofM.

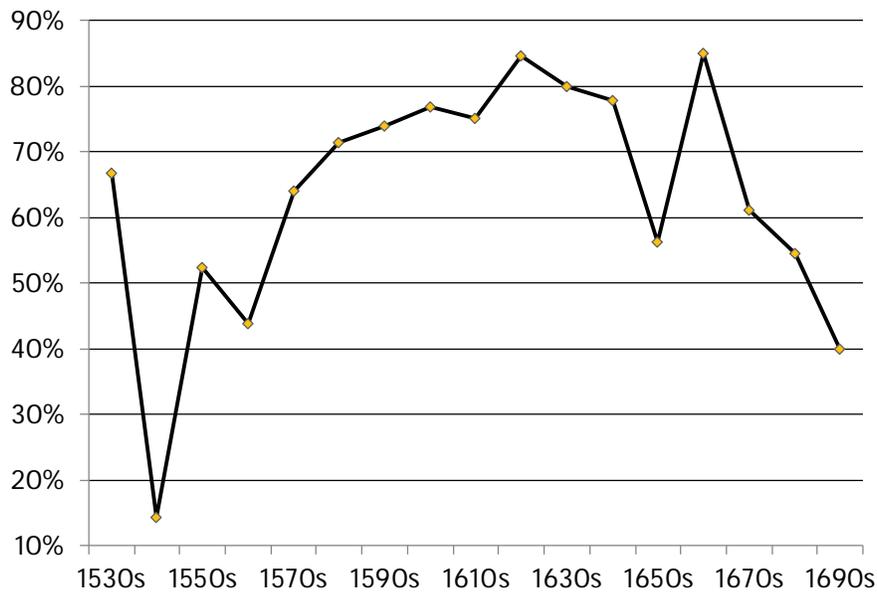


**Figure 5.** *Did minister* versus *Ministered* in Modern English.<sup>51</sup>

50. Here is the formula used to generate the chart: ((he did \_VERB\_+they did \_VERB\_+and did \_VERB\_+who did \_VERB\_+I did \_VERB\_+that did \_VERB\_+which did \_VERB\_+we did \_VERB\_+God did \_VERB\_) \* 22222); smoothing of 5 was used.

51. Here is the formula used to generate the chart: ((they did minister+he did minister+who did minister+and did minister)/(they did minister+he did

Figure 5 shows the rate of use of *did minister* versus past-tense *ministered*. While Google books data are not always trustworthy (because of OCR errors and dating issues; in the early 18c in particular), they are sufficiently reliable for this analysis. They clearly show a sharp decline in use of the periphrasis *did minister*, which was very heavily used coming out of the EModE era. The 18c witnessed a sharp drop to below 10% on this graph; by 1830 it had neared 5%. This is further evidence of the demise of the syntax since this robust ADP *did* verb goes to zero.



**Figure 6.** *Did minister* versus *Ministered* in EModE.

EEBO, a more reliable database, gives us a profile — Figure 6 — of extremely high ADP *did* rates for this verb in the EModE period (rising then dropping to 40% in the 1690s). Taken together, Figures 5 and 6 suggest an ADP *did minister* rate of 2.5% by 1830.

### Additional Evidence of Vanishing ADP *did*

Next we look at two single-author corpora. These provide further evidence that ADP *did* died off in English, and some evidence that it was weaker in America than in Great Britain. We will briefly consider ellipsis and adjacency, characteristic of the high-rate period of ADP *did*, as well as their use of *did go* versus *went*.

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minister+who did minister+and did minister+they ministered+he ministered+and ministered+who ministered)).

## Ellipsis

By the 1820s, Sir Walter Scott rarely used the elliptical periphrasis. I have found five examples in a five-million word corpus of his *Waverley* novels:

- did wash and eat bread
- **did** bubble and sparkle (contextually emphatic)
- did heave and heave again
- did hone and [moan] (*hone* = ‘delay, hesitate’ — Old Scots)
- did promise and vow (in quotes, indicating a fixed phrase)

I count these as 10 instances of ADP *did*; there are 132 such counts in the BofM, which has only 5% as many words. Those figures point to Scott’s ADP *did* usage rate being only 0.1%.<sup>52</sup> That figure is too low, but it suggests the lack of use in his writing.

The roughly contemporaneous American author Cooper has perhaps only one (inverted) example in a 4.5-million word corpus of his writings:

**1849** *The Sea Lions*

In this spirit **did** DAGGETT AND HIS CREW now *feel* and *act*<sup>53</sup>

That suggests an even lower rate for Cooper than for Scott, and may mean that American rates were lower.

## Adjacency

Scott used the phrase *did but* followed by an infinitive 70 times, and *did indeed* 20 times. (According to *Ngram Viewer*, *did but* was more prevalent than *did indeed* until the year 1900.) That shows idiomatic and emphatic use of the construction. He employed ADP *did* adjacency multiple times with a number of verbs, including these six: come (7), think (5), take (5), hear (5), love (4), make (4). I have estimated/calculated his ADP *did* adjacency rate with these verbs to be approximately 0.4%.

Cooper has multiple ADP *did* adjacency with the following verbs: intend (8), succeed (7), exist (5), and begin (4). I have estimated his adjacency rate with these verbs to be approximately 0.1%. Again his (American) rate is lower than Scott’s (British) rate.

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52. The calculation:  $27\% * 10 / (132 * 20)$ . If Scott had employed *did* ellipsis at the same rate that the BofM does, then he would have had 1,300 examples of it in his body of work.

53. Cooper used inversion with an intervening adverbial, as in Mosiah 11:14.

### *Did go versus Went*

These two authors never used *did go* for *went* except in set phrases, inverted SUBJECT–*did* constructions, and emphatic use. Scott used *went* more than 900 times, the fixed phrase *I did but go* five times, and this counterfactual construction: *I would choose, **did** I ever go a sea-voyage*. So his ADP *did go* rate was 0.65%. And his adjacency rate is zero. That tells us that robust ADP *did* usage was not a part of his language.

In the case of Cooper, if we generously count five instances of *did go*, we still only obtain a 0.33% rate of ADP *did go*.<sup>54</sup> That is half of Scott's British rate.<sup>55</sup>

### Could This Syntax Have Been Present in Nineteenth-Century Upstate New York?

In this section we first discuss Rissanen's analysis of 1640s and 1690s ADP *do/did* usage in Massachusetts. His counting methodology was different so I performed some sampled counting in order to achieve valid rate comparisons.

In addition to excluding *is/was* from counts, Rissanen did not count instances of *have/had* or *do/did* as cases of simple present-tense and past-tense usage. And he excluded inversion as well, so his approach was substantially different from Ellegård's.<sup>56</sup> Rissanen estimated that Keayne used ADP *do/did* in the 1640s at a 17.5% rate in his notes on sermons and church proceedings. And he calculated Keayne's adverbial usage at 25%.<sup>57</sup>

I counted ADP syntax in two different sections of Keayne's writings. One of the sections that I chose contained a passage that Rissanen

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54. Cooper used *went* more than 1,500 times but employed *did go* three times for emphasis and three times in inverted subject–verb structures: *twice did he go* and *no sooner did he go* and *I make no doubt I should have been blown out of the top, could I have reached it, **did** I let go my hold to do any work* (a stylish speculative construction without *if*). I have excluded only one italicized emphatic use as well as all interrogative, negative, poetic, and non-native contexts.

55. By way of contrast, the use of *did go* in the BofM is 22.7% (with an adjacency rate of 20.5%), slightly below the textual average. On the other hand, biblical usage is **zero**. That's just one more way in which BofM language differs significantly from King James English.

56. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 179 note 12.

57. Rissanen, "Periphrastic *Do*," 168, 173.

indicated had concentrated usage of ADP *do/did*.<sup>58</sup> After carrying out 465 counts, I found that present-tense and past-tense rates were very close in these sections. Table 7 shows the past-tense profile that I estimated for Keayne. It suggests that Rissanen's approach yielded higher ADP *do/did* rates than my counting methodology, adapted from Ellegård. My estimate of Keayne's rate is still fairly high, but it is markedly lower than Rissanen's figure, and well below both peak usage and what we encounter in the BofM. In addition, Keayne's adverbial rate is different and typical of the mid-17c.<sup>59</sup> I found no sustained usage of ADP *do/did* in these two sections.

**Table 7.** Keayne's 1640 ADP *did* Rate Profile.<sup>60</sup>

ADP <i>did</i> %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
8.9	72.2	5.6	22.2	0

In his paper on the language of Salem witchcraft trials, Rissanen unfortunately did not provide exact rates of use.<sup>61</sup> What we can gather from his article, however, is that at this time, the Massachusetts North Shore rate may have been 60% higher than contemporary British rates. That would mean that some New Englanders may have had ADP *did* rates as high as 3% in the 1690s.<sup>62</sup>

As a result, this is evidence that 50 years after Keayne, ADP *did* rates were lower in New England, as they were in England, in spoken language as well as in written. And this is especially probable since the observed Salem ADP *do/did* rates were positively influenced by legal and emotive factors. While ADP *do/did* may have persisted in this region more strongly than in neighboring areas, and perhaps more strongly than it did in much of England, it was still on the way out. In comparison with Keayne, by the 1690s there had been further loss of this marked

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58. Rissanen, *Periphrastic Do*, 180 note 14. Counts taken from Helle M. Alpert, *Robert Keayne: Notes of Sermons by John Cotton and Proceedings of the First Church of Boston from 23 November 1639 to 1 June 1640* (Diss. Tufts University, 1974), 103–30, 270–85.

59. See Ellegård's diagram based on his Table 9 at page 182 of *Auxiliary Do*.

60. The correlation of this profile with that of the BofM is 85% (p<10%).

61. Rissanen justifies giving the percentage as 51 counts per 10,000 words at *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 109 note 15.

62. Rissanen, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 108. The 3% figure derives from Ellegård's upper bound 1.8% rate for the last half of the 17c, multiplied by 1.6 = 2.88%.

linguistic feature. So there was no linguistic maintenance; that in turn points to revival as a virtual impossibility.

One particular North American dialect that is known to have been highly conservative — that is, prone to resist language change — was unable to maintain the use of ADP *do/did*, let alone revive it. Wagner has studied a Newfoundland dialect formed over time by colonists who began immigrating in the 17c.<sup>63</sup> They came from areas in the British Isles that maintained aspects of ADP *do/did* syntax in their dialects. But despite the conservative nature of the Newfoundland speech community, these immigrants soon abandoned the use.

Wagner views that as having been generally applicable. In other words, similar loss of use resulted in other dialects that might have initially employed some ADP syntax in colonial America. According to her analysis, eradication of ADP *do/did* resulted by contact with the many neighboring dialects that employed a typical, simple past-tense system.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, the strong influence of King James English (1.7% ADP *did*) would have applied constant levelling pressure in all dialects against heavy use throughout the 18c.<sup>65</sup>

The revival of ADP *do/did* is highly doubtful (in part because of the influence of the KJB). The construction arose in the 14c and 15c, at the same time that interrogative and negative periphrastic *do/did* emerged. The latter syntax grew rapidly and strongly in the 16c and that is when ADP *do/did* surged in popularity — but only for a time. The growth appears to be related (see Figure 2). However, by the 18c there was no such concomitant **increase** in usage occurring that could have revived the use of ADP *do/did*. By then periphrastic *do/did* with negation and questions was established and grammaticalized, and ADP *do/did* had become moribund. From then on only the emphatic use of ADP *do/did*

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63. Susanne Wagner, “Unstressed periphrastic *do* — from Southwest England to Newfoundland?” *English World-Wide* 283 (2007), 249–78.

64. Wagner, *Newfoundland*, 249, 271–72.

65. The periphrasis *did eat* shows the influence of King James English, while being an anomalous case itself. That is, we see clear biblical influence when we compare the falling usage rates of *did minister* and *did eat* during the 18c. *Did minister* was used at a higher rate than *did eat* in the EModE period, although *did eat* was used at a very high rate too. (These two verbs were exceptional in this regard.) But Google books shows that *did eat* rates in the 18c did not drop as sharply as *did minister* rates did. That fact can be reasonably ascribed to the almost 100% usage levels of *did eat* in the KJB, as opposed to *ate*.

spread (exemplified by the rise of *did in fact* + INFINITIVE around the year 1800).

We do note that English vacillated in the late 1500s and early 1600s as to whether ADP *do/did* would follow negative and interrogative syntax; it ultimately returned to very low rates by the early 1700s.

As a specimen of 1820s New England ADP *did* use, we have the Vermonter Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews*. The connection of this text with the BofM is well-known in certain circles, since *View of the Hebrews* has been claimed by various people to have served as a model for the composition of the BofM.<sup>66</sup> It is apparent that some of the book's language reflects Ethan Smith's own usage, and the Joseph Smith family would have shared some of the same linguistic features given their proximity. (Poultney is on the New York state line and 50 miles from Sharon.) This article speaks to that issue in some depth. I will note at this point that there is no superficial similarity in terms of ADP *did* rates between the BofM and *View of the Hebrews* — Ethan Smith's book does not have much ADP *did* usage at all — and the texts are negatively correlated in overall and deep patterns of use (see Tables 12 and 16).

### High Rates of ADP *did* in the Sixteenth-Century

While Ellegård did not differentiate periphrastic *do/did* syntax by tense, most of his counts necessarily involved ADP syntax. In the course of his research he found several texts that used ADP *do/did* at high rates, mentioning three authors who used it 20% of the time or more: Thomas Elyot, Andrew Boorde, and Henry Machyn.<sup>67</sup> As shown previously, I have found several more. Thus the texts that Ellegård found with robust ADP *do/did* syntax are not isolated anomalies.

#### Thomas Elyot

Thomas Elyot employed fairly high levels of ADP *do/did* in the 1530s. I have estimated his ADP *did* rate at 22% in his early dietary book.<sup>68</sup> There

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66. I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902), 124–26; Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet*, 2nd ed. (New York: Knopf, 1971), 46–47; David Persuitte, *Joseph Smith and the Origins of the Book of Mormon* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1985).

67. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 160, 166–67.

68. Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1541) [New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, n.d.] <archive.org/details/castelofhelthcor00

are many more present-tense counts in this text than past-tense counts. Elyot's ADP *do* rate is 25% (173 counts), confirming the estimated 22% ADP *did* rate as reasonably accurate, calculated on the basis of only 18 counts (all this based on only 13% text sampling).

ADP <i>did</i> %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial
22	94	2	4

### Andrew Boorde

Oxford-educated Boorde employed ADP *did* approximately 50% of the time in the 1540s; here are some representative examples from his early travel book.<sup>69</sup>

1542 BOORDE *Introduction of Knowledge*, 203

whan they **dyd** come to the place, The yonge man **did** speke, & SAYD "I am not ded . . ."

1542 BOORDE *Introduction of Knowledge*, 145

Pascall the playn **dyd**, wryte and [*i*] preach manifest thinges that WERE open in the face of the world to rebuke sin; wyth the which matter I HAUE nothyng to do, for I **doo** speke of many cuntries & regions, . . .

The second passage has an elliptical case of ADP *did* and an instance of ADP *do*. There are also two finite verbs used simply: *were* and *have*. The verbs *be* and *have* are never used periphrastically in this text, and *be* is not used that way in other texts of this period. ADP *did have* is rare in the OED; I have found this one:

1609 SKENE tr. *Quon. Attach.* xxiii. §11

Provyding that the husband man **did** haue of him the aucht parte of ane dawache of land.

The EEBO database has at least six examples. The scarcity of *did have* in the textual record tells us that it was rare in the 16c; one-word *had* was strongly preferred (and so were other high-frequency past-tense verb forms like *said*). The KJB does not use *did(st) have*. In contrast, the BofM uses *did have* 19 times (an estimated ADP rate of 11%):

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elyoiala>. Accessed July 2014. The initial publication date is given variously as 1533 or 1537, but this is conjectural.

69. Andrew Boorde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* [1542], ed. F. J. Furnivall (London: Trübner, 1870) [Early English Text Society. Extra Series. No. X].

Alma 46:38

for the space of four years **did** THEY *have* much peace and rejoicing in the church

Helaman 6:9

THEY **did** *have* an exceeding plenty of gold and of silver

Ellegård appears to have counted *have* when it functioned as a main verb, despite its extensive invariance. I have also counted main-verb *have* but not auxiliary *have*. The one exclusion besides *be* that I have made in the case of the BofM is in the fixed phrase *it came to pass*.<sup>70</sup>

I have calculated Boorde's ADP *do/did* rate at 50% (472 counts): present tense = 49%, past tense = 52%.<sup>71</sup> These numbers are not based on sampling, but on full counts (with the exclusions noted). The BofM's ADP *did* rate is roughly half of Boorde's.

ADP <i>did</i> %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial
52	93	2	5

## Henry Machyn

Another author mentioned by Ellegård with respect to high rates of ADP *did* use was Henry Machyn. He wrote frequent diary entries for almost 14 years while living in London before his death in late 1563, probably from the plague. His ADP *did* usage rate was 20% (403 of 2,017 counts), and he used *did preach* at a very high rate (93%);<sup>72</sup> the BofM also uses *did preach* at a high rate (78%). Machyn's extensive use of *did preach* suggests that it was a strong tendency for some speakers during his time; the BofM matches that high usage rate. And EEBO provides cross-verification. Here are some relevant examples:

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70. If that phrase were counted as a case of the simple past, then the ADP *did come* rate would be 2.4%, not 12.9%, and overall ADP *did* would be 22.5%.

71. I also excluded from counts invariant *treateth* (used in chapter headings), as well as Boorde's curious poetic passages. They have been excluded because poetic rhyme and meter and fixed phraseology akin to *it came to pass* could have strongly, and artificially, influenced the choice of forms. If main verb *have* is excluded from counts, the rates of use of ADP *do* and *did* in Boorde are 66% and 56%, respectively.

72. These are my counts based on an online modernized transcription (Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore, eds., *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563, by Henry Machyn: Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*, <quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn> [n.d.], accessed June 2014).

1483 CAXTON *G. de la Tour* d vj b  
 How syth late a hooly man **dyd** *preche* therof.

1529 S. FISH *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars* 22  
 seing there were suche profounde clerkes, & auncyent fathers,  
 bysshops, and studentes in the same, which **dyd** *teache* &  
*preache* vnto the people contynually?

1560–1 MACHYN *Diary* (Camden) 249  
 Parson Veron the Frenche man **dyd** *pryche* ther, for he was  
 parson ther, and ys menyster.

Mosiah 18:7  
 And [Alma] **did** *teach* them and **did** *preach* unto them

Ellegård observed the following:

Of Machyn’s 370 do-instances, 216 involve the verb *preach*: the simple verb *preach* occurs only half a dozen times. If *preach* is disregarded, Machyn’s frequency figure becomes 8%, which is not abnormally high for his period.<sup>73</sup>

With the benefit of recent scholarship, I have counted 239 instances of *did preach* and 17 of *preached*, 34 more than Ellegård found. Excluding those 256 counts from the total ADP *did* counts that I made from Machyn’s *Diary*, we obtain a 10% overall rate, slightly above Ellegård’s estimate.

His point about one verb unduly influencing Machyn’s ADP *did* rate is reasonable, since 56% of the ADP *did* counts come from the verb *preach*. The KJB has the same issue with the verb *eat*, but not to the same extent (22% of its ADP *did* counts). On the other hand, no verb in the BofM makes up more than 3% of ADP *did* usage.

In determining Machyn’s ADP *did* profile, I have excluded 54 counts of *did preach* so that this verb does not make up more than 50% of ADP *did* counts:

ADP <i>did</i> %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
18	96.2	3.3	0.5	1.4

Machyn never used *did die*, always *died* (130 times). The BofM does likewise: 36 times it has simple-past *died*, but it never has *did die*. In addition, *died* occurs 13 times within eight words of *it came to pass*. This is perhaps significant since ADP *did* is used 300 times within eight words of *it came to pass*. Hence, we might expect at least one occurrence of *did die* in that context. That being the case, the exclusive use of simple

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73. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 166.

past-tense *died* appears to qualify as another match of the BofM with identifiable mid-16c usage.<sup>74</sup>

Next we consider two texts not mentioned in Ellegård's work; we have seen examples from these books.

### John Daniel

John Daniel's translation from Spanish, *An excelent comfort to all Christians*, has a rate of use that is similar to Boorde's, and his writing is relatively late in time as far as peak use of ADP *did* is concerned. Here is the usage profile, based on full counts (672 total):

ADP <i>did</i> %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
51	86.9	6	8.1	21.2

Two excerpts from this book with concentrated *did* usage have been given above. Here are three more passages with a considerable amount of ellipsis:

PAGE 87 (4 examples of ellipsis)

But yet [the children and disciples of God,] armed with confidence and affiance in God, and pacience by the onely wordes of the Gospell, **did** *convince* and *ouerthrow* to the grounde, all the power and potencie of them all: aswell the principalles as the reste. And by beleeuynge truely in y<sup>e</sup> the Gospell, they **did** *fyght* with (and *ouerthrowe*) all the sublymate and supreme highnesse, that **dyd** *rise* and *repugne* against them: and Christ their heade in them. They **did** *ouercome* captiuitie, and *bring* a great number to be ruled.

PAGE 109 (2 examples, 1 with distant ellipsis)

But yet his crucifiers in moste dispiteous or spightfull maner and signe of mockery **dyd** *make* him naked, dispoiling him of his apparreile, and [**dyd**] *cloath* him at theyr pleasures with purple, and [**dyd**] *put* a reede in his hande and a crowne of sharpe thornes vppon his bare tender head, they **dyd** *wounde* and *boffet* his tender body with most cruell blowes and strypes of fistes and whips.

PAGE 120 (a mixture of use)

The holy ghost SAITH by the apostle S. Paule, that all those which God **dyd** *knowe* and *acknowledge*, he **did** *predestinate*, bycause they shoulde be conformable and lyke in shape vnto the image of his sonne. And those which were predestinate he **did** *call*, those which hee CALLED, he also IUSTIFIED, and those which he IUSTIFIED, he **did** *glorifie*. So that of necessitie those which he

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74. However, the BofM is not a close match with Machyn's *Diary* in relation to *go*, *come*, and *take*; yet neither is it discordant. The BofM's ADP *did* rate is **relatively** low with these three verbs. But still, their rate of use is 10% or higher, while it is 0% or nearly so in Machyn's text.

**did** *predestinate*, he **did** also *glorifie*, and the way and meanes to come to be glorified, is to be called and iustified, by passions and crosses, to be conforme and lyke vnto his sonne.

I have estimated the present-tense ADP *do* rate of this book to be 42%, 9% less than the past-tense rate. So this text has a higher past-tense rate, something we also see in the BofM. I have also found a similar tense distinction in *A profitable and necessary doctrine* (1555), a book by another author with very high rates of ADP *did*.

### William Marshall

In 1534, a Latin work by Erasmus was translated by William Marshall. His English translation is an example of high ADP *did* usage before Tyndale's death and around the same time as Elyot. Here is the overall breakdown of use that I estimated following Ellegård's sampling method (full *did* counts [216 total], sampled past-tense counts):

ADP <i>did</i> %	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial	Ellipsis %
38	75.3	7.7	19.5	18.6

### Summary

The presence of high-rate ADP *did* syntax found in these texts tells us that the corresponding rate in the BofM was close to the syntactic preferences of some English speakers and writers during the mid-16c. The BofM is within the attested range of use: higher than some texts and lower than some texts that have been considered here. Therefore it is a fitting match with English language of this time period.

Table 8 presents the exceptional use of ADP *did* that we have just noted. It indicates the rate of ADP *did* **adjacency** in each text. This is a rigorous measure of the syntax. Only texts employing high rates of both ADP *did* and adjacency can exceed the 20% level. The BofM is a member of this group.

**Table 8.** High-Rate ADP *did* Texts.

Author / Text	Year	% <i>did</i> +INF
William Marshall	1534	28.6
Thomas Elyot	1537	20.7
Andrew Boorde	1542	48.4
Henry Machyn	1550–63	17.3
John Daniel	1576	44.4
Book of Mormon	1829	24.7

### ADP *did* Rates with Individual Verbs

Ellegård found that ADP *do/did* rates with individual verbs could be idiosyncratic across texts. He mentions *did preach/slay/understand/succeed/appear/think/eat* as favorites for different authors.<sup>75</sup> The latter, *did eat*, is the favored form in the KJB (97.5%).<sup>76</sup>

Clear favorites in the BofM include *did cease/preach/minister/prosper*. These four verbs are all used at rates above 70% in the text, and they all show above average usage rates during the EModE era. We have seen that *did minister* was particularly robust and we have noted the correspondence of *did preach* and *died* between Machyn's *Diary* and the BofM.<sup>77</sup>

High-frequency disfavored verbs in the BofM include *did see/begin/say/ behold/become*. These five verbs are all used at rates below 5%. Three of these verbs (in boldface) are not used periphrastically very often in EModE as well. But *did see* shows medium usage and *did behold* was used quite heavily. So of the nine BofM verbs just mentioned, seven of them correlate well with EModE usage rates.

ADP *did* syntax with two high-frequency motion verbs — *go* and *come* — was disfavored in EModE and it is also below average in the BofM. But the text still employs *did go* and *did come* at a fairly high rate (excluding *it came to pass*), especially *did go*. That periphrasis was never very common in the EModE era. According to EEBO, adjacency use peaked for *did go* below 2% in the 1650s; *went* was always strongly preferred. Figure 7 shows that the rate in the 1690s was 0.6%. By way of comparison, another high-frequency verb, *take*, had a peak ADP *did* rate of 7% in the 1550s. Still, by the 1690s ADP *did take* was only used 1% of the time. Thus individual verbs followed their own path and their usage profile can depart significantly from the overall EModE profile.

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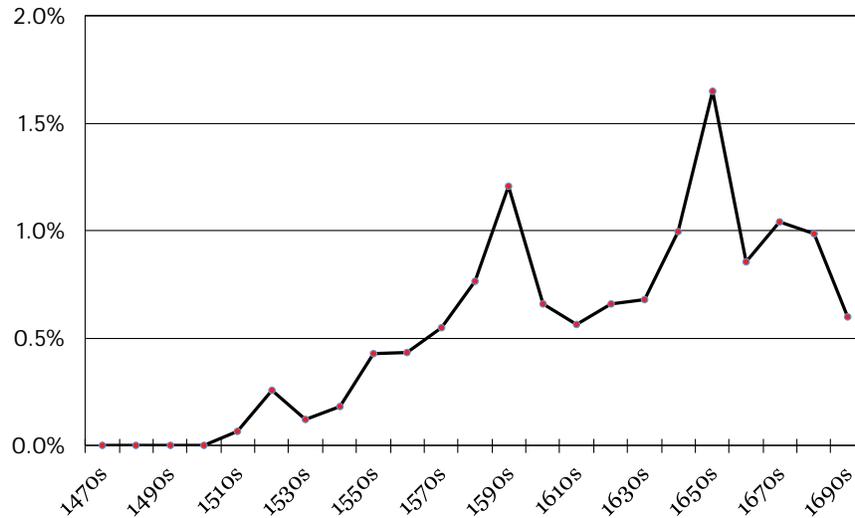
75. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 167.

76. ADP *did eat* was strong throughout the EModE period, strengthened in the 17c by the biblical text's high usage. Here is an early example showing simple past *left* followed immediately by the periphrasis with *eat*:

1493 *Festivall* (W. de W. 1515) 153 b

He CAME in company of recheles people, & by comforte  
of them he LEFTE his faste and **dyde** etc.

77. According to EEBO, *did cease* rates may have peaked during the decade of the 1600s, *did preach* during the 1550s, *did minister* in the 1620s, and *did prosper* in the 1660s.



**Figure 7.** *Did* go versus *Went* in EModE.

Table 9 contains a summary of the correspondences between EModE and the BofM in relation to the verbs mentioned in this and preceding sections. The best correspondences are at the top; 10 of 13 verbs align well with the EModE period. More trustworthy figures for all verbs will be available in coming years with better databases. At that point in time we will be able to carry out reliable correlations more fully between BofM usage and EModE usage for individual verbs.

**Table 9.** Correspondences among Individual ADP *did* Verbs.

Verb	Relative ADP <i>did</i> Rates	
	EModE	BofM
become	low	low
begin	low	low
minister	high	high
prosper	high	high
say	low	low
take	medium	medium
cease	med high	high
come	low	med low
die	low	zero
preach	med high	high
go	low	medium
see	medium	low
behold	<b>high</b>	<b>low</b>

### Ellegård's Observations

During Tyndale's formative years, ADP *do/did* was emerging but still little used (under 1.5%). Nielson and Skousen studied the relationship between Tyndale's translations and King James English. They put forward the notion that the 1611 biblical text may follow Tyndale's language as much as 84% of the time in the New Testament, and 76% of the time in relevant Old Testament portions.<sup>78</sup> The fact that much of the KJB borrows from Tyndale's syntax makes the low rate of ADP *did* in the biblical text understandable. Had the King James translators followed the syntax of the year 1600, they would have used ADP *did* more often, probably at a 5% rate (close to the average rate Ellegård calculated for 1575 to 1625).

In discussing the KJB and his sampling of it, Ellegård wrote:

In the affirmative declarative group we find 79 instances of *do* (1.3%), which is somewhat less than the average for the early 17c. It would however be rash to conclude from this that the Authorized Version represents an advanced stage with regard to the use of *do*, for in the negative group the figure is 19 (10%), in affirmative questions 36 (24%), and in negative questions 20 (58%). This means that *do* is used in the same way [in the KJB] as in the early 16c . . . . The influence (partly intermediate) of Tindale's translation . . . is thus clearly discernible in the use of *do*; there are also many exact correspondences in the two versions [Tyndale's and the King James].<sup>79</sup>

Therefore, largely because of its heavy reliance on Tyndale's translations, the early 17c biblical text reflects the early 16c in its usage. On the other hand, the ADP *did* rate of the BofM exceeds the average use of any time period estimated by Ellegård and matches texts that exhibit peak use from the middle of the 16c, mainly after Tyndale's death. Thus the exceptional, short-lived peak use of ADP *did* in the middle of the 16c means that only that stage of the English language matches a significant portion of BofM syntax.

Figure 8 shows a brief, dramatic rise in ADP *do/did* usage followed by a swift dropoff and then tapering of use.<sup>80</sup> Reflecting usage before the rise, the KJB used the syntax at less than a 2% rate. Reflecting usage after the dropoff, Jonathan Swift in the first half of the 18c employed the syntax

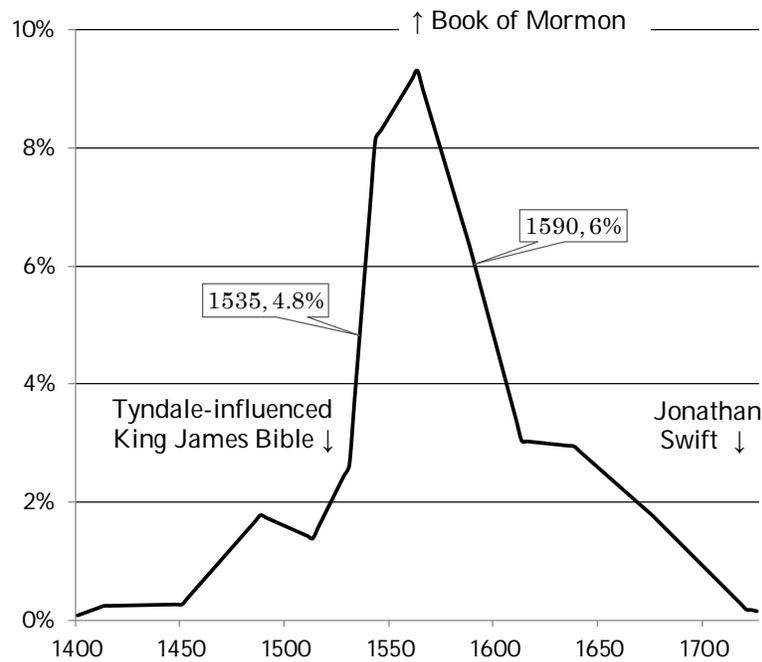
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78. Jon Nielson and Royal Skousen, "How Much of the King James Bible Is William Tyndale's? An Estimation Based on Sampling," *Reformation* 3 (1998), 49.

79. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 169.

80. Of course the other kinds of periphrastic *do* flourished and persisted — that is, *did they not hear?*, *did they depart?*, *they did not leave*, *do not cry*, etc.

less than 0.25% of the time (Ellegård’s estimate). And we have seen that Scott and Cooper barely used the syntax in the early 19c. Consequently, no one in the 1820s — except for an EModE linguistics scholar with information akin to Ellegård’s 20c in-depth knowledge — would have been aware of the peak usage rates of ADP *did* that prevailed during a small window of time roughly between the years 1535 and 1590.



**Figure 8.** ADP *did* Rates and Correspondences.<sup>81</sup>

Ellegård stated the following:

It is not until the end of the 15th century that the do-form becomes widely used in prose texts. From then on it spreads fast for about two generations. It becomes the highest fashion among the educated sections of the community. The old Caxton, as well as prelates and preachers, help to popularize it. The construction was in line with what seems to be a general tendency towards analytic expressions in the language.<sup>82</sup>

What is meant by “analytic” in this context is that in the EModE period the language used two-word periphrases like *did give* instead of one-word *gave* to a greater degree than it had in Middle English. Past-tense *gave* is known as a “synthetic” verb form, expressing the notions of ‘give’ and past tense with only one word. For example, “Book of

81. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 161–62.

82. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 209.

Mormon” is analytic, “Mormon’s Book” synthetic. There is clearly an analytic tendency found in the book generally — for instance, “rod of iron” occurs eight times, never “iron rod” — and ADP *did* fits perfectly within that style.<sup>83</sup>

It also makes sense that ADP *did* would be used in a religious text, since according to Ellegård “prelates and preachers” favored its use during its rise. “In the early 16c the use of *do* probably continued to be more frequent with learned writers and people of high social rank than with others.”<sup>84</sup> So the usage cannot be reasonably viewed as low, but neither is it to be viewed as something that only the upper segment of English society used throughout its short run:

It is doubtful whether the frequent use of *do* should still be looked upon as chiefly literary in the middle of the 16th century, at which time the literary fashion, now half a century old or more, should have had time to work itself out, to be picked up by other sections of the community. We note for example that Machyn . . . uses *do* remarkably often in his *Diary*, which certainly has no literary pretensions.<sup>85</sup>

Ellegård’s observations inform us about those involved in the development of ADP *did* long ago, and this hints at why this particular syntax might be used so heavily in the BofM. It may have been chosen to adopt a plain syntax that is more than appropriate for a formal religious text in light of its historical development.<sup>86</sup> (The plainness of the syntax follows from its use of unmarked infinitival stems along with high-frequency *did* and *didst*, as well as usage such as *they did beat* which is unambiguously past tense, as opposed to opaque *they beat*.)

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83. See John A. Tvedtnes, “Hebraisms in the Book of Mormon: A Preliminary Survey” *BYU Studies* 11.1 (1970), 55, for some discussion about the construct state.

84. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 166.

85. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 166.

86. We note that Rissanen asserted that the use of ADP *did* could function as a “discursive device underlining the importance of the narrative” in “Salem Witchcraft Papers,” 109. And he wrote that “[c]lusters of *do* also occur in solemn declarations” in “Periphrastic *Do*,” 169. But he also pointed out more recently that “this use [was] of course related to the emphatic use of *do* in Present-Day English.” Rissanen, “Morphology and Syntax,” *Records of the Salem Witch-Hunt*, ed. Bernard Rosenthal (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009), 80.

## Later Scriptural-Style Authors and ADP *did* Syntax

What about pseudo-biblical writings of the late 18th and early 19th centuries? Some of these have been claimed to have served as a model for the BofM’s composition.<sup>87</sup> What sort of ADP *did* usage do they contain?

### Richard Snowden

Snowden wrote *The American Revolution*<sup>88</sup> in the late 18c. We find that he hardly used ADP *did* (estimated at close to 1% [1300+ past-tense verbs]). And when he did use the periphrasis it was in a constrained modern way, with one exception. Here are 11 examples of ADP *did* in his book (the subjects are in SMALL CAPS), taken from about 350 short pages:

and many other such things **did** THEY *do* (49) | The captives THOU **didst** *take* with thy sword (59) | Thus **did** MANY OF THE PEOPLE *forsake* the chief captain (120) | they spared not, neither **did** THEY *pity!* (174) | neither **did** HIS COUNTEenance *change* (210) | neither **did** THEY *deride* the servants (244) | Thus **did** THE MEN OF BRITAIN *stir* up the sect of the tories (269–70) | Thus **did** THE PEOPLE *encourage* each other (279) | in the second month . . . **did** THE MEN OF BRITAIN *land* (287) | On the same night **did** HORATIO *go* forth (298) | On the same day **did** NATHANIEL *take* upon him the office of chief captain (315).

Snowden almost always used *did* with inversion: *did* + SUBJECT + INFINITIVE word order. This is syntax that can still be encountered today, but it is restricted in use. We employ it with phrases such as “not only did you . . .” and often with ellipsis of the infinitive after certain adverbials — as in “... neither did I,” or “... so did you.” The only time Snowden used the periphrasis in typical 16c style was when he wrote *thou didst take*, thereby avoiding *tookest*. The KJB frequently did this, and the BofM did so as well, but less often.<sup>89</sup>

The canonical word order — SUBJECT + *did* + INFINITIVE — was much more common in the 16c than the inverted order; it was found, on

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87. See, for example, I. Woodbridge Riley, *The Founder of Mormonism* (New York, 1902), 124–26; Benjamin L. McGuire, “The Late War Against the Book of Mormon,” *Interpreter: A Journal of Mormon Scripture* 7 (2013), 323 notes 2 and 3.

88. Richard Snowden, *The American Revolution: written in scriptural, or, ancient historical style* (Baltimore: W. Pechin, n.d.). Apparently published in parts and serially in the 1790s. <www.worldcat.org> gives a date of [1796], <archive.org> has [1802].

89. The periphrasis *didst comfort* would be a good solution in later editions of the BofM for phonologically awkward *comfortedst* at 2 Nephi 22:11 (Isaiah passage).

average, more than 90% of the time through much of the century.<sup>90</sup> For example, Boorde used inversion only twice (2%); Nicholas Harpsfield in his *Life of Sir Thomas More* (1557) used it more often but only about 20% of the time (Ellegård's counts).<sup>91</sup> However, John Studley in *The pageant of popes* (1574), translating John Bale, used inversion only 2% of the time, despite ADP *did* rates below 10% (based on 50% sampling).

The bottom line is that besides *thou didst take*, Snowden always used *did* + SUBJECT + INFINITIVE; he thus marked his own text, perhaps unwittingly, as a late-18c effort. In contrast, the BofM employed such inversion less than 5% of the time. So the texts are patently different in this regard, as well as in percentage use of ADP *did*.

### Gilbert Hunt

Next we consider Hunt's *The Late War*, written in "ancient historical style."<sup>92</sup> We find that he used ADP *did* more often than Snowden. I have estimated Hunt's usage at approximately 2% (1100+ past-tense verbs). Again, when he did use the periphrasis it was with inversion, with only one exception. Here are the 23 examples of ADP *did* in the book, taken from about 290 short pages (two elliptical cases; four counts):

Neither **did** THE PEOPLE . . . *cast* him into the den of lions (31) | so **did** THE EVILS *increase* which surrounded them (53) | Neither **did** THE SICK AND WOUNDED *escape* (77) | and in the sight of their own havens, **did** THEY *do* these things (88) | So **did** HE *return* to his wickedness (116) | with the points of their swords **did** THEY *torment* him (120) | neither **did** THEIR FOOTSTEPS *follow* after warfare (122) | Day after day and night after night **did** THEY *annoy* them (141) | Then . . . **did** THE GALLANT PERRY *leap* into his *cock-boat* (163) | Then **did** THE ENEMIES OF COLUMBIA *weep* (165) | even at the age of three-score **did** HE *go* out against the enemies of Columbia (170) | Thus **did**, THE MEN OF COLUMBIA *triumph* over them, and [*i*] *conquer* them (187) | For although THE KING . . . **did** *put* the instruments of death into our hands (189) | neither **did** HE *expect* mercy (203) | Quickly **did**, THE WEAPONS OF MURDER *disturb* and [*i*] *trouble* the general silence (218) | Neither **did** THE MEN OF WAR THEY COUNTED UPON *arrive* in time (230) | Thus **did** HE . . . *stamp* his own name with infamy (233) | Thus **did** HE *encourage* the people (276) | Thus for an hundred days **did** THE PEOPLE OF NEW-YORK *prepare* themselves (278) | Twice **did** THE HOST OF BRITAIN . . . *come* against the entrenchments (296) | Thus **did** THE CHILDREN OF COLUMBIA *praise* the Lord (305).

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90. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182. See his Table 9 and the accompanying diagram.

91. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 287.

92. Gilbert J. Hunt, *The Late War, between the United States and Great Britain, from June 1812, to February 1815* (New York: David Longworth, 1816).

Notice the frequent use of *neither*, *so*, and *thus* before *did*. The sole use of SUBJECT + *did* word order is *the king did put*. Twice Hunt used two infinitives after the auxiliary: *did...triumph & conquer* and *did...disturb & trouble*. In these two cases he imitated 16c ADP *did* syntax well:

Acts 2:40

And with many other words **did**<sub>i</sub> HE *testify* and [*i*] *exhort*

### Ethan Smith

Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* has a similar example; he combined inversion with two intervening adverbials:<sup>93</sup>

1823 E. SMITH *View of the Hebrews*, 6

Long **did**<sub>i</sub> THE CHURCH, while they walked, there *see* and [*i*] *enjoy* peace.

We have seen that the BofM combines inversion with an adverbial once, in Mosiah 11:14, and that the American author Cooper also employed the construction. It is not too hard to find EModE examples of this: *Neither **dyd** HE so much as hyde this from them*.

Table 10 contains Ethan Smith's uses of ADP *did*, taken from about 160 pages. Nearly half of these are certainly emphatic, and one is exclamatory; that construction is syntactically similar to an interrogative (cf. Psalms 78:40). *Indeed* and *in fact* are often used in *View of the Hebrews* with *did* — never in the BofM. *In fact* is not found in the text, and *indeed* only twice — in a biblical passage in 2 Nephi 16:9 (see Isaiah 6:9). Those are emphatic uses; and *did cease* is certainly emphatic when the larger context is considered. The one I count as a canonical case of ADP *did* is *did cut*; and even that one may be emphatic since it closely follows *did indeed come*.

**Table 10.** ADP *did* Counts in *View of the Hebrews*.

Passage	Page	Comments	Count
Long <b>did</b> <sub>i</sub> THE CHURCH, <u>while they walked</u> , <u>there</u> <i>see</i> and [ <i>i</i> ] <i>enjoy</i> peace.	6	inverted, adverbial, elliptical	TWO

93. Ethan Smith, *View of the Hebrews; Exhibiting the Destruction of Jerusalem; the Certain Restoration of Judah and Israel; and an Address of the Prophet Isaiah Relative to their Restoration* (Poultney, VT: Smith & Shute, 1823): 5–167. <archive.org/details/viewhebrewsexhi00smitgoog>. Accessed July 2014.

Passage	Page	Comments	Count
but little it seems <b>did</b> THEY <i>understand</i> the sense of the tremendous passage	37	inverted	ONE
A CAPTAIN of the army of Titus, <b>did in fact</b> <i>plough</i> where some part of the foundation of the temple had stood	40	emphatic ( <i>in fact</i> )	—
Surely this man must mean a longer time than THEY <b>did in ages past</b> <i>possess</i> it	52	adverbial, possibly emphatic ( <i>surely</i> )	ONE
This HOUSE <b>did</b> <i>cease</i>	64	emphatic (context)	—
Remarkable indeed it is, that THEY <b>did</b> , <i>so diligently propagate</i> and [ <i>i</i> ] <i>transmit</i> them	100	adverbial, elliptical, possibly emphatic ( <i>indeed</i> )	TWO
The NATIVES of this land, be they who they may, <b>did in fact</b> <i>arrive</i> in this continent; and they probably must have come over those straits	106	emphatic ( <i>in fact</i> )	—
There can be no doubt but GOD <b>did</b> , <i>by his special providence</i> , <i>direct</i> them to some sequestered region of the world	107	adverbial, possibly emphatic	ONE
This PROPHECY <b>did</b> <i>relate</i> to the ten tribes	*107	emphatic; in footnote, not part of narrative	—
Some PEOPLE <b>did</b> <i>find</i> their way hither	118	emphatic (context)	—
How early <b>did</b> THE WORLD (in several centuries after the flood) <i>go off</i> to gross idolatry . . . !	126	exclamatory, inverted	—
The LORD of that vineyard <b>did</b> <i>indeed</i> <i>come</i> in a day when they looked not for him, and in an hour when they were not aware; and <b>did</b> <i>cut</i> them asunder.	154	emphatic; adjacent	ONE

The overall use of nonemphatic ADP *did* in *View of the Hebrews* is thus low — only 0.6% (8 out of an estimated 1400+ past-tense verbs). There seem to be three countable instances with inverted SUBJECT–*did* word order. Beyond those, I have also included six counts with intervening adverbials.

Here is Ethan Smith's profile of use compared with 16c averages:<sup>94</sup>

	ADP <i>did</i>	Adjacency	Inversion	Adverbial
<i>View of the Hebrews</i>	0.6	12.5	37.5	75
16c averages	5.5	81	5.5	13.5

ADP *did* syntax in *View of the Hebrews* is nothing like what we find in the 16c, the BofM, or even the KJB. Over 90% of the time *did* and its infinitive occur together in the BofM. That is not the case in *View of the Hebrews* or in any of the scriptural-style texts just analyzed; the opposite is true. They are very different from the BofM in overall percentage use of ADP *did* and in their patterns of use.

Besides his use of *in fact*, Ethan Smith also marks his text as a 19c product by using *exceedingly fond* (p. 13). The short form *exceeding* was almost always used in EMode before adjectives (the *-ly* form could be used with verbal past participles). For example, *exceeding great* is found 99.8% of the time through the 1690s. That is what the (Earliest Text of the) BofM always has unless there is a clausal complement: *exceedingly anxious that...*, *exceedingly desirous to overtake us*. There are only instances of *exceeding fond* found in EEBO (one with a clausal complement: *I am exceeding fond to humour him*). Ngram Viewer shows that the long form *exceedingly* overtook *exceeding* as the favored form to qualify adjectives in the 1770s. It also shows that *did in fact* + INFINITIVE emerged around the year 1800, and that *did indeed* + INFINITIVE is an exceptional case, since its rate of use did not diminish over time in the modern period. Both of these phrases are of course emphatic expressions and good indicators of the spread of that use.

### Tabular Comparisons

Table 11 contains the overall percentage use of ADP *did* in relation to total past-tense counts as well as the breakdown of use of the syntax. The table shows that those who consciously wrote in scriptural style close to the year 1800 came (fairly) close to the ADP *did* syntax rate of the KJB. But these pseudo-biblical authors did not do well in matching biblical parameters of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use. So if they superficially approached the biblical rate, at a deeper level in their syntax they did not approach its profile of use. For the most part,

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94. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

Snowden, Hunt, and Ethan Smith only employed syntax whose vestiges remain in present-day English.

**Table 11.** Pseudo-Biblical ADP *did* Rates Compared with the KJB and the BofM.

	Year	ADP <i>did</i>	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
Snowden	1796	1	9	91	0
Hunt	1816	2	5	95	0
E. Smith	1823	0.6	12.5	37.5	75
KJB	1611	1.7	61	31	8
BofM	1829	27.2	91.3	5	3.7

Table 12 contains the correlations of these figures.<sup>95</sup> The BofM is negatively correlated with each of these pseudo-biblical texts, but the worst match is with *View of the Hebrews*. Statistically speaking, there is no significant relationship between any of these texts. At the very least, we can conclude from this that many other texts are more likely to have served as a model for the BofM.

**Table 12.** ADP *did* Correlations (%) with Scriptural-Style Texts.

	KJB	BofM
The American Revolution	23	-35
The Late War	18	-39
View of the Hebrews	-25	-58
King James Bible	—	(p < 20%) 77

These findings are meaningful because the past tense makes up a significant component of these books' syntax, being used hundreds, even thousands of times. In certain sections the past tense could be said to comprise the fabric of these texts. And because it's pervasive, ADP *did* patterns constitute a good marker of authorial origins.

These pseudo-biblical texts are very weakly correlated with the KJB. The BofM and the KJB correlate more strongly. So the unlettered laborer, Joseph Smith, matched biblical usage in this regard much more closely than better educated writers did.

Table 13 shows the ADP *did* profiles of seven high-rate 16c texts along with 16c averages.

95. The array that I have compared in order to calculate correlation is the overall ADP *did* rate along with the three breakdown percentages. So the correlation measures the internal syntactic structure of ADP *did* as well as its overall rate.

**Table 13.** ADP *did* Profiles of High-Rate Texts.

Author	Year	ADP <i>did</i>	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
Marshall	1534	38	76.5	7.4	18.9
Elyot	1537	22	94	2	4
Boorde	1542	52	93	2	5
Harpsfield	1557	8.5	33.5	18.5	48
Machyn	1563	18	96.2	3.3	0.5
Studley	1574	6.7	59.4	1.9	38.7
Daniel	1576	51	86.9	6	8.1
<i>Sixteenth-century averages</i>		5.5	81	5.5	13.5

Table 14 contains the correlations. On average, the BofM matches high-rate texts (and 16c averages) better than the KJB. Statistically speaking, the match is significant with five of the texts. And the matching is at a deep level; the BofM is aligned with these 16c texts in terms of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use.

**Table 14.** ADP *did* Correlations (%) with High-Rate Texts.

Year	King James Bible	Book of Mormon
1534	63	(p < 5%) 98
1537	79	(p < 1%) 100
1542	57	(p < 5%) 96
1557	18	5
1563	(p < 10%) 83	(p < 1%) 100
1574	59	70
1576	51	(p < 5%) 95
16c averages	(p < 10%) 86	(p < 5%) 95

Included are two texts whose ADP *did* rate is closer to the biblical text. Again, the correlation that I have performed weights the breakdown in use more heavily than the overall ADP *did* rate, so the KJB could have been closer in correlation to these texts if their rates of adjacency, inversion, and adverbial use had been a better match. Despite this, the 1574 text is more closely correlated with the BofM than it is with the KJB. However, neither scriptural text shows a significant relationship with the lower-rate 1574 text.

Of course the 1611 KJB is undoubtedly a close match with other texts from the early 16c. However, the point being made here is that the BofM is a close match with the usage patterns of certain high-rate texts from this time period: a significant relationship exists between them in terms of ADP *did*.

Tables 15 and 16 list ADP *did* rates and correlations for three parts of the Pearl of Great Price. Their ADP *did* rates are all low, nothing like what is seen in the BofM, but Moses correlates well with it because they both have high rates of adjacency. Joseph Smith—History has only inversion. Abraham has very little data (only two counts of ADP *did*).

**Table 15.** ADP *did* Rates in the Pearl of Great Price.

Book	Year	ADP <i>did</i>	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
Moses	1830	1.5	78	11	11
Abraham	1833	1.0	50	50	0
J. Smith—History	1838	1.2	0	100	0

**Table 16.** Correlations (%) with the Pearl of Great Price.

Book	King James Bible	Book of Mormon
Moses	(p < 5%) 92	(p < 5%) 92
Abraham	88	46
J. Smith—History	13	-44

As far as ADP *did* is concerned, Moses seems biblical, Abraham does not have enough data, and Joseph Smith—History is modern in character. It correlates significantly with Snowden and Hunt (100%; p<1%). On the other hand, it does not correlate with *View of the Hebrews*: 12%. So the theory of Joseph Smith as author relying substantially on Ethan Smith fails, in terms of ubiquitous past-tense syntax, on two counts. And the negative correlation of Joseph Smith—History with the BofM also indicates that Joseph Smith did not have ADP *did* as part of his idiolect.

### Inversion and Intervening Adverbials

Table 11 shows that more than 90% of Snowden's and Hunt's examples involve inversion. But Ellegård observed that this construction was, on average, less common in EModE than the one with intervening adverbs.<sup>96</sup> We can look at 16c quotations in the OED for confirmation. It has five with *did*+SUBJECT inversion with two following infinitives. But there are fifteen with adverbs intervening between *did* and two following infinitives. So the dictionary's database confirms Ellegård's observations.

He estimated inversion at less than 5% for the first 75 years of the 16c. But he found that the inversion rate jumped during the last quarter of the

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96. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

century to 12%, continuing to rise thereafter.<sup>97</sup> Consequently, the BofM, with its low rate of inversion, followed mid-16c usage in this regard. On the other hand, Hunt and Snowden followed the usage of the turn of the 19c with nearly complete inversion. But *View of the Hebrews* does have more adverbial use than inversion. However, Ethan Smith employed too much of both types — and therefore had very little adjacency — so his text is not a good match with earlier usage. Such arcane patterns of use are exceedingly difficult to mimic centuries after the fact when one's native-speaker intuitions are at odds with prior syntactic usage patterns.

The BofM has 69 examples of ADP *did* with two or more following infinitives. Sixty-three of these involve adjacency; three times it has inversion, and three times it has an intervening adverbial:

### Inversion

1 Nephi 9:1

all these things **did** MY FATHER *see* and *hear* and *speak* as he dwelt in a tent

1 Nephi 10:15

after this manner of language **did** MY FATHER *prophesy* and *speak* unto my brethren, and also many more things

1 Nephi 17:22

after this manner of language **did** MY BRETHREN *murmur* and *complain* against us.

### Intervening Adverbials

Alma 55:27

And it came to pass that they **did**, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Lamanites, *keep* and *protect* all the prisoners

Helaman 11:32

And THE ROBBERS **did** still *increase* and *wax* strong, insomuch that THEY **did** *defy* the whole armies of the Nephites and also of the Lamanites

Ether 2:2

And THEY **did** also *lay* snares and *catch* fowls of the air

Hence there is no discernible pattern of use in the BofM in this respect. The text breaks slightly from the 16c in that it has a little more inversion than intervening adverbial use, similar to the London diarist, Henry Machyn (the KJB breaks decisively [see above tables]).

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97. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 182.

Ellegård estimated SUBJECT-*do/did* inversion at 4.6% for the third quarter of the 16c, when ADP *did* usage peaked in English.<sup>98</sup> I have carefully counted *did*+SUBJECT inversion in the BofM (89 counts); this represents a 4.8% rate, a very close match with Ellegård's estimate. This constitutes additional supporting evidence that ADP *did* in the BofM is a match with usage from this time period. From this we may conclude that the poor mimicry that the BofM has been thought to demonstrate (by some), is in all likelihood not mimicry; it is much more likely that the text is the result of independent, expert EModE authorship.

It should be noted that when we examine intervening adverbial usage for the third quarter of the 16c, there is a difference between Ellegård's estimates for this same period and the BofM rate: 13.3% versus 3.6% (EModE versus the BofM).<sup>99</sup> But four of the high-rate ADP *did* texts use intervening adverbial elements at a rate that is very close to what is found in the BofM (see the last column in Table 13 above). So several high-rate texts are aligned in their use of intervening adverbials. Generally speaking, when ADP *did* usage rates were very high, elements did not frequently intervene between *did* and its infinitive. As a result, because the KJB's overall rate was low, it was more apt to employ syntax with intervening subjects and adverbials than any of the high-rate ADP *did* texts.

### Did the King James Bible Serve as a Model?

Could the KJB have been a model for ADP *did* syntax in the BofM? No. The correlation of ADP *did* rates for 75 individual verbs in the KJB and in the BofM is weak — 30% ( $p < 1\%$ ). Performing a similar correlation between Machyn's *Diary* (from the 1550s and '60s) and the BofM yields a relatively strong correlation of 79% (12 verbs;  $p < \frac{1}{2}\%$ ).<sup>100</sup> Table 17 outlines some of the conspicuous differences between the KJB and the BofM.

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98. Ellegård, *Auxiliary Do*, 162, 182.

99. According to Ellegård, an intervening adverbial rate similar to what is found in the BofM obtained during the first quarter of the 16c.

100. A correlation has been made with verbs used at least 10 times in each text. We are 99% confident that only a weak relationship exists between the BofM and KJB, and we are 99.5% confident that a fairly strong relationship exists between the BofM and Machyn's writing.

**Table 17.** Some Notable ADP *did* Differences.

Differences	KJB	BofM
Overall rate	1.7%	27.2%
ADP <i>didst</i> rate	23%	71%
Adjacency rate	61%	92%
Inversion rate	31%	5%
Instances of <i>did eat</i>	115	1
Instances of <i>did eat &amp; drink</i>	20	0
Instances of <i>did go</i>	0	57
Instances of <i>did cause</i>	2	50
Instances of <i>did come</i>	1	41
Instances of <i>did cry</i>	1	31
Instances of <i>did have</i>	0	19
Instances of multiple ellipsis	0	6
Rate of <i>did preach</i>	0%	78%
Rate of <i>did minister</i>	6%	74%
Rate of <i>did pursue</i>	3%	59%
Rate of <i>did pitch</i>	1%	54%
Rate of <i>did build</i>	4%	56%

### On Nineteenth-Century Composition

I find it hard to support the notion that Joseph Smith could have produced the BofM's affirmative past-tense syntax with *did*. Simply put, he did not have the grammatical knowledge to be able to compose the narrative using high-rate 16c ADP *did* syntax. Adjacency usage is frequent in the text and much less frequent in the KJB;<sup>101</sup> the specific syntax was a rare phenomenon in English that flourished briefly and died off; and the construction is remote in time — its early distinctive patterns confined to the EModE period. Moreover, over the centuries there was a dramatic shift in rates of adjacency, inversion, and intervening adverbial use with *did*. That has made it extremely difficult for modern English writers to successfully imitate those aspects of the syntax. Finally, Ellegård did not find a text outside of the 16c (not having examined the BofM) with 20+% ADP *did* adjacency. There are outliers in the 1600s, but it is highly likely that there is no text from the modern era besides the BofM that contains this particular high-rate ADP *did* syntax. All this means that its

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101. The BofM has more than 1,600 instances, and the KJB has only about 350, and more than 100 of those are *did(st) eat*.

production by Smith or any of his (proposed) associates in the 1820s was virtually impossible.

Another implication of ADP *did* in the BofM is that it argues directly against LOOSE CONTROL of the translation.<sup>102</sup> Under that theory, would there have been 27% ADP *did* rates with high levels of adjacency and low amounts of SUBJECT-*did* inversion? No. Would there have been 10% usage or even 5% usage? No. Would there have been 2% usage of ADP *did*? Maybe. Under loose control we would expect either biblical patterns (about 2%), or 1820s syntax (about 1%) — that is, *did* used for emphasis and contrast, and with heavy doses of SUBJECT-*did* inversion. This array of use is of course lacking in the BofM.

Loose control theorists must view Smith as so imbued with King James English and its modes of expression that he was able to produce many of its structures in his dictation.<sup>103</sup> But had Smith been using the biblical text as a model for past-tense narration — either consciously or subconsciously — then the most likely conclusion is that he would have used the periphrasis no more than 2% of the time, since that is the observed biblical rate. Furthermore, he would have used much more inversion and much less adjacency, since that is what is found in the KJB and that is what his own dialect of English would have demanded. And if Smith had followed his own language for past-tense verbal expression, then he would have used the periphrasis at an even lower rate.

### Conceivable Biblical Explanations

Let us suppose that Joseph Smith — in dictating the BofM text in the late 1820s — used King James ADP *didst* usage as a model for the text.<sup>104</sup> The figures in Table 18 suggest this to be a conceivable explanation for

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102. “Ideas were revealed to Joseph Smith, and he put those ideas into his own language (a theory advocated by many Book of Mormon scholars over the years).” Royal Skousen, “How Joseph Smith Translated the Book of Mormon: Evidence from the Original Manuscript,” *Journal of Book of Mormon Studies* 7.1 (1998), 24.

103. See Brant A. Gardner, *The Gift and Power: Translating the Book of Mormon* (Salt Lake City: Kofford, 2011), 302.

104. There is no historical evidence for such an endeavor. According to multiple eyewitnesses, neither the KJB nor any related books were consulted during the dictation process. And to my knowledge, Joseph Smith was never accused of poring over a large biblical concordance.

ADP *did* syntax in the BofM, since biblical ADP *didst* rates are close to BofM ADP *did* rates.<sup>105</sup>

**Table 18.** ADP *didst*.

	Overall rates	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
BofM <i>didst</i>	71	100	0	0
KJB <i>didst</i>	23	90.5	9.5	0
BofM <i>did</i>	27.2	91.3	5	3.7

Presumably Smith would have had to consult the large, two-part *Cruden's Concordance* extensively,<sup>106</sup> isolating second-person singular (2sg) *didst* when used in ADP syntax and counting the number of times 2sg past-tense main verbs were used.<sup>107</sup> This of course would have been extremely difficult to do 200 years ago. In contrast, today it is a fairly straightforward matter to make these counts as long as one has sufficient grammatical expertise. A degree of interpretation is required but for the most part we can use a computer to quickly isolate and count qualifying words that end in *-e(d)st*.<sup>108</sup> However, it would have been very difficult using an alphabetically arranged concordance to find at least ninety (90) 2sg past-tense verb forms and to accurately make 360 or so counts.<sup>109</sup>

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105. One thing in Table 18, however, immediately casts doubt on this approach: the BofM ADP *didst* rate is much higher than the corresponding biblical rate.

106. For example: Alexander Cruden, *A Complete Concordance to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: or, a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible: very useful to all Christians who seriously read and study the inspired writings*, 10th ed. (London: Thos. Tegg and Wm. Baynes & Son, 1824). 856 pages. <archive.org/details/complet0crud>. Accessed July 2014.

107. I have counted 83 instances of ADP *didst*. Three of these are used with two infinitives, but under this hypothetical assumption I will assume that these instances would have been counted only once. Beyond these fairly easy counts, one must make counts of irregular and regular 2sg past-tense verb forms. There are perhaps 278 of these: 194 irregular + 84 regular.

108. This involves discarding words that are not past-tense main verbs. For example, *diddest* in Acts 7:28 is a pro-verb. And *layest*, *rentest*, *cuttest*, *lettest*, *settest*, and *puttest* are opaquely present tense.

109. There may be 30 **irregular** 2sg past-tense verb forms: *abodest*, *badest*, *barest*, *becamest*, *brakest*, *broughtest*, *camest*, *drewest*, *fellest*, *fleddest*, *forgavest*, *forsookest*, *foundest*, *gavest*, *heardest*, *knewest*, *ledest*, *madest*, *sawest*, *slewest*, *smotest*, *spakest*, *stoodest*, *swarest*, *thoughtest*, *threwest*, *tookest*, *wentest*, *withheldest*, *wroughtest*.

There may be 59 **regular** 2sg past-tense verb forms: *anointedst*, *answeredst*, *buildest*, *calledst*, *castedst*, *chargedst*, *comfortedst*, *commandedst*, *consentedst*,

That is because *Cruden's Concordance* did not have a reversed word alphabetical listing. Furthermore, not only would it have been hard to make a complete and accurate count, but their implementation would have been a monumental task that would have necessarily stretched over years. Joseph Smith did not have a monk-like assistant tallying usage and keeping track of esoteric patterns of use; he only had scribes with at best second-rate spelling. We have seen that well-educated contemporaries failed to match King James English in this regard. That evidence alone is sufficient to put to rest the notion that this would have been an easily achievable task.

In addition, we note the following items:

- The BofM has a 71.5% ADP *didst* rate.<sup>110</sup> Why does it have triple the KJB's ADP *didst* rate if the biblical rate of 23% had been painstakingly calculated and consciously used as a model?
- Verb forms lack 2sg past-tense inflection five times in the BofM, against obvious King James usage. The BofM apparently followed an independent EModE option and used four nonbiblical verb forms *thou received / had / beheld / did* (the auxiliary adopts an unmarked shape twice in the text).<sup>111</sup> Why don't we find *receivèdst, hadst, beheldest, and didst* in 2sg contexts if the KJB's ADP *didst* rate had been consciously and carefully used as a template?<sup>112</sup>
- The KJB employs inversion 10% of the time with ADP *didst* but

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coveredst, crownedst, cursedst, deckedst, defiledst, deliveredst, desiredst, diggedst, driedst, executedst, filledst, followedst, fouledst, hearkenedst, humbledst, killedst, longedst, layedst, longedst, lovedst, marchedst, movedst, multipliedst, obeyedst, paintedst, passedst, plantedst, playedst, pouredst, preparedst, promisedst, provokedst, receivedst, redeemedst, refusedst, sacrificedst, servedst, shewedst, skippedst, sowedst, strengthenedst, stretchedst, subduedst, testifiedst, troubledst, trustedst, vowedst, walkedst, wateredst, woundedst.

Many of these verb forms are found two or more times in the KJB.

110. The only nonbiblical main-verb occurrences of the 2sg affirmative declarative past-tense in the BofM are *madest, saidst, saidest, beheld, received, and had*.

111. See Carmack, "Nonstandard," 228–30.

112. *Receivèdst* (Luke 16:25); *hadst* (cf. main-verb usage in Genesis 30:30, Psalms 44:3, Jeremiah 3:3, and Hebrews 10:8); *beheldest* (on the analogy of *withheldest* in Nehemiah 9:20).

the BofM has half the inversion rate in ADP *did* syntax.<sup>113</sup> Had the KJB been used as a model, we would expect higher rates of inversion in the BofM, especially since the KJB has 30% inversion with ADP *did*.

In short, had the KJB been followed in this regard, why are there so many clear differences in specifics and in patterns of use?

When dozens of verbs are considered, it is plain that the BofM is independent from King James English in its ADP *did* use (see Table 20 in the appendix). Furthermore, the BofM is consistent with the patterns of use found in texts that employ ADP *did* at high rates from the middle of the 16c. It has much less SUBJECT-*did* inversion and significantly higher rates of use of ADP *did(st)* than the biblical text. A comparison of ADP *did* rates and ADP *didst* rates in the BofM and the KJB exhibit independence but a positive correlation. In other words, ADP *did* is lower than ADP *didst* in each text, and BofM rates are higher than each corresponding rate in the KJB. This relationship points to a match in both texts with external EModE syntactic tendencies, but from different time periods.

Another biblical explanation involves considering that Joseph Smith might have used ADP *did* heavily on the analogy of *did eat* in the KJB. This periphrasis occurs 19 times in Genesis and 32 times in the New Testament. And *did eat and drink* is found 3 times in Genesis. Table 19 has the profile of use of *did eat* in the KJB if we consider a surrounding context of 11 words, compared with John Daniel’s translation of 1576, *An excelent comfort to all Christians*. These figures correlate at nearly 100%. Of course this is an artificial profile that I have created for the KJB, easily done in today’s digital age, but difficult to do 200 years ago.

**Table 19.** A Concocted ADP *did eat* Profile from the KJB.

	ADP <i>did</i>	Adj.	Inv.	Adv.
KJB <i>did eat</i> ± 11 words	55.5	89.2	4.2	6.7
John Daniel	51.0	86.9	6.0	8.1

We note that *did(st)...eat* is found 115 times in the KJB, but simple past *ate* only three times.<sup>114</sup> As a result, the periphrasis overwhelms the use of the simple past tense. There is not much data in the BofM, but we can say that the text does not favor the use of *did eat*. And it uses

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113. I exclude four cases of *didst not* and count one case of elliptical (*thou*) *did go* (Alma 39:3).

114. Psalms 106:28; Daniel 10:3; Revelation 10:10.

the verb *eat* in an independent fashion in other ways.<sup>115</sup> This also argues against the existence of any biblical ADP *did eat* influence as far as this prominent verb is concerned.

Moreover, Smith would have been unlikely to achieve a good match with the attested 16c preferential usage patterns of ADP *did* with many verbs such as *preach*, *die*, and *say* (discussed previously), since he would have used ADP *did* mechanically and at higher rates with all verbs. Under this scenario we would expect a BofM ADP *did* rate of 50% or more, not 27%. Furthermore, pseudo-biblical authors, knowledgeable themselves in King James English and familiar with *did eat*, failed to come close to the typical mid-16c distribution of adjacency, inversion, and adverb placement in relation to ADP *did*. Smith would have been hard pressed to do any better than they did, since coming close to the archaic distribution would have involved expressing himself against his own language and according to arcane patterns of use.

As we have seen, the BofM is very closely correlated with the average values of the high-rate ADP *did* texts that have been considered individually in this paper. The KJB is only moderately correlated with these texts, and the distributional averages of scriptural-style authors is negatively correlated with them. These observations argue against the notion that ADP *did* in the BofM could have been a possible outcome of such an endeavor on the part of Joseph Smith.

In summary, had Smith used biblical *did eat* as a template because of its salience, then the BofM's ADP *did* rate would be much higher and less principled. Had Smith followed biblical ADP *did* due to extensive familiarity with the text, then the BofM's ADP *did* rate would be much lower and exhibit a different usage profile. And had Smith followed biblical ADP *didst*, then (1) intensive research and laborious counting would have been required, (2) the process of dictation / composition

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115. Excluding Isaiah passages, the BofM has one instance of *did eat* (Enos 1:20), two of *ate* (Alma 8:22; Ether 15:26), four of *had eat* (Alma 8:23; 3 Nephi 18:4; 20:4; 20:9), and two of *had (not) eaten* (3 Nephi 6:2; 18:5). There is little data, but the BofM's ADP *did* rate with *eat* is only one-third. In addition, it uses *eat* four times as a past participle (two-thirds of the time) (pronounced /et/); the KJB uses only *eaten* (105 times):

1519 W. HORMAN *Vulg.* 164 b

He hath **eate** all the braune of the lopster.

1594 DANIEL *Cleopatra* IV. Wks. (1717) 286

To have **eat** the sweet-sower Bread of Poverty.

would have been very different from what is known of it based on largely consistent eyewitness observations, and (3) many allied linguistic features of the BofM would be biblical in nature, not independent of the KJB.

### Implications

Ellegård pored over English texts spanning centuries and found a concentration of them that had high rates of ADP *did* syntax; these center around the middle of the 16c. As far as their syntactic patterns are concerned, there is an excellent match between certain texts from this time and the BofM. What does this mean? This constitutes concrete evidence that the language of the BofM, at least in this regard, is based on EModE from this specific period of time. How can that be? God prepared the words of the book, using this variety of English for the narrative framework, and miraculously delivered the words to Joseph Smith. What other evidence is there for language coming from this time period? According to EEBO, peak use of finite-clause syntax with the verbs *cause*, *command*, and *suffer* also occurs before the 1580s. That archaic and obsolete usage occurs hundreds of times in the BofM; and it is in many ways deeply different from King James English. The same can be said for nonbiblical *if it so be that*, occurring 39 times in the Earliest Text. The usage disappears after those decades.<sup>116</sup>

Some may be concerned that the BofM would have been translated with archaic and obsolete forms that are not found in the KJB. Others wonder why this could be so. The why is fraught with speculation. But we may ask whether nonbiblical parts of the BofM are less understandable than the KJB is. My experience tells me that no, those sections are more comprehensible.

By and large, obsolete meaning and syntax — for example, “**it supposeth me** that thou art a child of hell,” “**if it so be** that they exercise faith in him,” “the waters of the Red Sea . . . **departed** hither and thither,”<sup>117</sup>

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116. EEBO shows hardly any use in the 17c. Biblical “if so be that” was dominant throughout the period except in the middle of the 16c (but still more common than “if it so be that”). There is some British revival in the latter half of the 18c, continuing on into the 19c. Google books has many false positives from reprinted older language. No American usage found, yet.

117. Helaman 8:11. This is an **intransitive** use of *depart* = ‘divide’; the last example given in the OED is dated 1577: “[The sinews] **depart** agayne into two, and eche goeth into one eye.” Recast, the BofM phrase might read “the waters of the Red Sea **divided** to the left and right.”

and “the Lord did *cause* THE SERPENTS that THEY should pursue them no more”<sup>118</sup> — do not interfere with one’s general understanding of the text. In fact, sometimes the old language actually promotes clarity. And of course the syntax discussed here does not impede understanding. But aren’t we missing nuance in meaning occasionally? Yes, just as we often do reading King James English. Will we have a fuller understanding of this old usage in the BofM in the near future? Yes. Does the existence of nonbiblical 16c words and syntax in the BofM increase our confidence that the words are Christ’s? Yes. And can all this strengthen our belief in the Bible (one of the stated purposes of the book)? I believe so.

### Scriptural Foundation

I will now attempt to motivate this particular approach from a BofM passage — an important reference whose connection with this view was first brought forth by Royal Skousen. Consider the following extracts from 2 Nephi 27, in particular the use of the substantives *words*, *deliver*, and *command*, highlighted below:

v.6 . . . the Lord God shall bring forth unto you the **words** of a book. And they shall be the **words** of them which have slumbered.

9 But the book shall be *delivered* unto a man, and he shall *deliver* the **words** of the book . . . .

19 . . . the Lord God will deliver AGAIN the book and the **words** thereof to him that is not learned. . . .

20 Then shall the Lord God say unto him: . . . thou shalt read the **words** which I shall give unto thee.

22 Wherefore when thou hast read the **words** which I have COMMANDED thee . . .

24 And again . . . the Lord shall say unto him that shall read the **words** that shall be *delivered* him:

Verses 20 and 24 in particular indicate that words were to be given to Joseph Smith by the Lord, and that Smith would be commanded to read the words as they were given to him. Verse 22 contains a figurative use of *command* that is frequently found in the KJB. The meaning of the verb in 2 Nephi 27:22 is ‘cause to come’ or ‘send with authority’:

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118. In this obsolete causative construction *the serpents* is the indirect object of *caused*, and it is repeated pronominally in the embedded object clause. This nonbiblical syntax is attested in the EModE textual record but it is relatively infrequent. The BofM has 12 examples of this structure.

OED **command**, *v.* 6b *fig.* To cause to come; to send with authority.

1611 BIBLE [ *Leviticus* 25:21 ]

I will **command** [Vulgate *dabo*, WYCLIFFE *give*, COVERDALE *send*] my blessing vpon you.

1781 COWPER Hope 669

See me sworn to serve thee [Truth], and **command**  
A painter's skill into a poet's hand.

Recast, this excerpt from 2 Nephi 27:22 could therefore read: “That being the case, when you have read the words . . . that I have caused to come to you -or- that I have sent to you with authority.” This recasting is based on the analogous syntax found in the two verses and the specific dictionary definition, given immediately above.

From this biblical usage we have a direct interpretation that *words* were (miraculously) sent to Joseph Smith by the Lord, that he was not given the responsibility of using his own language to express *thoughts* that were given to him.

This scriptural passage — in its repetitive use of the collective plural *words* — seeks to convey that Smith was given a concrete “form of expression or language” [OED **word**, *n.* 1 (*collect. pl.*)]. And because the dictionary makes clear elsewhere that *words* does not refer to thoughts but concrete verbal expression [word, *n.* 4], interpreting *words* as ‘thoughts’ is strained and unlikely. In fine, God conveyed words, not thoughts.

The other distinction to be made has to do with the interpretation of the verb *read* in these 2 Nephi 27 verses. The relevant OED definition is [11a], under the heading: *To peruse and utter in speech*. The question is: Did Smith “utter aloud (the words or sentences indicated by the writing, etc., under inspection),” or did he “render in speech (anything written, a book, etc.) according as the written or printed signs are apprehended by the mind” and put them into his own words? The former definition is indicated because of the existence in the book of dozens of instances of obscure meaning and syntax that were inaccessible to Smith in 1829.<sup>119</sup> Some of this syntax has been discussed in this paper. In short, Smith dictated God’s words, not his own words.

In verse 19 the meaning of *again* may be biblical/EModE ‘back’: the Lord will give back the book — and its words — to the uneducated person (see, for example, *turn again* [Alma 8:25]). In verse 9 the verb

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119. See Skousen’s various publications on point, referenced above; see also Carmack, “Nonstandard.”

*deliver* is used twice, with different meanings. First the Lord declares that the book is to be committed into a man’s (safe) keeping [**deliver**, v. 8a]; then the man, Joseph Smith, is to utter or dictate the book’s words [10a].<sup>120</sup> This is nuanced usage.

Finally, in verse 6 the Lord tells us that “the words of a book” will be brought to light for our benefit [**bring**, v. †16d; **unto**, *prep.* 27].<sup>121</sup> Consequently, I take 2 Nephi 27 as directly telling us that God prepared the words we find in the BofM. That is an immensely powerful concept.

Consider next this supporting passage:

3 Nephi 21:11

whosoever will not believe in **my words** — which am Jesus Christ — WHICH the Father shall cause *him* to bring forth unto the Gentiles and shall give unto him power that he shall bring them forth unto the Gentiles, it shall be done, even as Moses said: They shall be cut off from among my people which are of the covenant.

Recast, the relevant portion might read: “God the Father will cause Joseph Smith to bring to light Christ’s words for the benefit of the Gentiles.” Although I can see how this verse might be read with the interpretation that Joseph was to *transform* Christ’s words into his own, once again the least strained, most direct, and most powerful interpretation is that Smith was to relay Christ’s words, not utter his own. And this is because of:

- the language of 2 Nephi 27
- the book’s 16c past-tense syntax
- principled use of COMMAND syntax

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120. OED def. 10a has ‘give forth in words, utter, enunciate, pronounce openly or formally’; Webster’s 1828 def. 6 has ‘utter; pronounce; speak; send forth in words; as, to deliver a sermon, an address, or an oration’. Using *words* as the object of *deliver* has been less common through the centuries than delivering a speech of some kind, but the use is possible even today.

121. Most present-day English speakers use *bring forth* to mean other things. It was a common verbal phrase in the EModE period; Shakespeare employed it nearly 30 times. Two examples with the meaning of ‘bring to light, or public view’ are:

1601 SHAKES. *All’s Well* v. iii. 151

To **bring forth** this discou’rie.

1605 SHAKES. *Macb.* III. iv. 125

Augures and vnderstood Relations haue . . . **brought forth**  
The secret’st man of Blood.

- refined use of SUFFER syntax
- infrequent, obsolete layered CAUSATIVE constructions (e.g. 2 Nephi 5:17; Mosiah 6:7; Alma 21:3; Mormon 3:5)
- inaccessible, obsolete meaning like:
  - **depart**, *v.* (*intr.*) = ‘divide’ (Helaman 8:11)
  - **counsel**, *v.* = ‘ask counsel of, consult’ (Alma 37:37; 39:10)
  - **scatter**, *v.* = ‘separate without dispersal’ (TITLE PAGE)
- inaccessible, obsolete usage like:
  - *but if* = ‘unless’ (Mosiah 3:19)
  - *to that* = ‘until’ (1 Nephi 18:9)
  - *hearts delighteth, flames ascendeth*, etc. (Alma 26:24; Mosiah 2:38; Alma 12:17)
  - *it supposeth me* (e.g. Jacob 2:8; Word of Mormon 1:2)<sup>122</sup>

### Important Findings Regarding Past-Tense Syntax

- Sustained high-rate ADP *did* adjacency rates (20+%) are found in 16c and 17c writings.
- In the 1820s...
  - even experts in EModE syntax would have struggled to know peak-usage characteristics because of language change.
  - relevant prose texts were obscure and found only in remote research libraries.
  - the syntactic **knowledge** was inaccessible to Smith and scribe.
- Yet the 1829 BofM...
  - matches 16c high-rate profiles with statistical significance.
  - differs materially from the 1611 KJB.
- Still, the past-tense profile of the BofM correlates more closely with the KJB’s profile than do scriptural-style writings of the early 19c, and the BofM is completely unlike those texts.

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122. Items like *depart, but if, to that, it supposeth me* — all found in the OED — show that Webster’s 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* is insufficient to cover the range of usage found in the BofM.

## Conclusion

As a general rule, obsolete syntax is completely inaccessible to an author or speaker because of a lack of knowledge. This observation also applies to lost meaning. (Here I refer to language that has never been encountered, with which one is wholly unacquainted. So some obsolete usage that one knows from prominent sources such as the KJB or Shakespeare is properly excluded from this statement.) Intelligence, savant-like capabilities, automatic writing cannot overcome an absence of syntactic knowledge. Writers cannot manufacture out of thin air vanished forms and lexical meaning when language shift has taken place, thereby obscuring prior usage. That of course is precisely the case of the BofM's past-tense syntax. High-rate nonemphatic ADP *did* adjacency disappeared before the 18c and was not generally known. So Joseph Smith had no knowledge that it was used at high rates during the 16c and the 17c. (The anomalous use of biblical *did eat* would not have told him that, just as it does not tell us that today.)

In terms of ADP *did*, we note a systematic match between the BofM and the syntactic usage of the EModE period, exclusively. On the basis of this evidence we conclude that God, consistent with his divine purposes, chose this specific language variety and syntax as a framework for much of the past-tense narrative of the BofM. Wherefore, in this and other respects the language of the book is EModE. Moreover, the pervasive use of this construction in the text and its close match with certain 16c texts (as well as other syntactic evidence alluded to above), point directly to the idea that the book is full of EModE syntax.

On the basis of the foregoing evidence and discussion, I would assert that the frequent occurrence of ADP *did* syntax in the BofM, as well as its deeper patterns of use, cannot reasonably be ascribed to the mind of Joseph Smith or anyone else associated with, or proposed to be associated with, the composition of the text in the late 1820s. And the odds that anyone else would have or even could have written a text in this fashion 200 years ago are vanishingly small. It seems that no one has done it since the EModE period. The data discussed here are compelling, and it is hoped that the related conclusions are as well.

We have seen that some who intentionally tried to follow King James English in their writings did not match 16c ADP *did* usage. Their efforts do not positively correlate with that stage of English: Snowden's *The American Revolution*, Hunt's *The Late War*, and Ethan Smith's *View of the Hebrews* ended up well off the mark. Sixteenth-century texts were

not readily available in the 1820s as they became later in the 19c.<sup>123</sup> As a result, the access to the relevant texts was extremely limited in the 1820s, especially to someone living away from populated eastern cities with research libraries. And the 16c printed books containing the heavy use of this syntax were still largely to be found only in British libraries. So a compelling position — on account of the lack of any specific, credible evidence to the contrary — is that the words of the BofM were revealed to Joseph Smith through the instrument, that they came from a divine source.

### Appendix

**Table 20.** Tabular Comparison of ADP *did* Rates [29.5% correlation].

VERB	King James Bible		Book of Mormon		RATE DIFF
	n	rate	n	rate	
die	186	0.0	36	0.0	0.0%
see	555	1.6	258	1.9	0.3%
behold	54	3.7	114	4.4	0.7%
begin	621	0.0	430	2.8	2.8%
say	3795	0.1	262	4.2	4.1%
become	69	0.0	103	4.9	4.9%
know	180	0.6	99	6.1	5.5%
send	519	2.1	99	9.1	7.0%
have	560	0.0	169	11.2	11.2%
speak	600	0.3	189	12.7	12.4%
give	470	1.5	113	14.2	12.7%
come	1744	0.1	319	12.9	12.8%
fight	56	1.8	29	17.2	15.5%
lead	47	2.1	28	17.9	15.7%
find	158	0.0	33	18.2	18.2%
bring	570	1.8	60	21.7	19.9%
take	758	0.8	169	21.3	20.5%
inquire	24	0.0	14	21.4	21.4%
return	158	0.0	70	21.4	21.4%
look	129	1.6	30	23.3	21.8%
drive	21	38.1	15	60.0	21.9%
believe	90	0.0	50	22.0	22.0%
fall	243	0.0	58	22.4	22.4%
go	1414	0.0	251	22.7	22.7%
cast	152	6.6	47	29.8	23.2%
call	362	0.6	42	23.8	23.3%
flee	123	1.6	71	25.4	23.7%
make	808	1.9	88	26.1	24.3%
cause	54	3.7	162	30.9	27.2%
bear	164	1.8	20	30.0	28.2%
pray	58	0.0	34	29.4	29.4%
repent	30	3.3	29	34.5	31.1%
belong	13	7.7	18	38.9	31.2%
smite	229	0.4	34	32.4	31.9%

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123. For instance, the Early English Text Society began its effort of making old texts accessible to researchers and the general public 20 years after Joseph Smith's death.

VERB	King James Bible		Book of Mormon		RATE DIFF
	n	rate	n	rate	
hear	376	0.3	66	33.3	33.1%
appoint	76	0.0	21	33.3	33.3%
turn	156	2.6	22	36.4	33.8%
shew	72	1.4	28	35.7	34.3%
receive	78	1.3	39	35.9	34.6%
gather	134	0.0	44	36.4	36.4%
prophecy	44	4.5	22	40.9	36.4%
keep	71	2.8	29	41.4	38.6%
do	410	0.0	54	38.9	38.9%
deliver	132	3.0	33	42.4	39.4%
lay	169	0.0	24	41.7	41.7%
slay	197	0.5	45	42.2	41.7%
enter	84	1.2	23	43.5	42.3%
cry	186	0.5	72	43.1	42.5%
meet	41	0.0	23	43.5	43.5%
teach	51	0.0	40	45.0	45.0%
pass	128	0.0	35	45.7	45.7%
harden	21	0.0	17	47.1	47.1%
carry	84	1.2	18	50.0	48.8%
fill	43	0.0	10	50.0	50.0%
raise	40	0.0	26	50.0	50.0%
build	113	4.4	25	56.0	51.6%
pitch	76	1.3	28	53.6	52.3%
remain	51	5.9	12	58.3	52.5%
baptize	14	7.1	10	60.0	52.9%
beat	25	20.0	19	73.7	53.7%
obtain	13	0.0	27	55.6	55.6%
pursue	37	2.7	22	59.1	56.4%
pour	41	0.0	10	60.0	60.0%
prosper	11	9.1	21	71.4	62.3%
minister	32	6.3	23	73.9	67.7%
follow	97	0.0	13	69.2	69.2%
wax	30	0.0	17	70.6	70.6%
declare	12	8.3	10	80.0	71.7%
rejoice	47	6.4	18	83.3	77.0%
preach	32	0.0	27	77.8	77.8%
continue	25	0.0	10	80.0	80.0%
humble	12	8.3	14	92.9	84.5%
stir	16	0.0	15	86.7	86.7%
cease	24	0.0	19	94.7	94.7%
walk	88	3.4	12	100.0	96.6%

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