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The Use of the Auxiliary *Do* in Negation in *Tom Jones* and Some Other Literary Works of the Contemporary Period

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1. Introduction

Studies on the development of the auxiliary *do* in English tend to terminate their investigation around 1700, which applies not only to earlier studies like Engblom (1938) and Ellegård (1953) but also to more recent ones like Stein (1990)¹ and Nurmi (1999). This is partly because the establishment of the use of the auxiliary *do* is considered to be more or less complete around 1700. The famous graph given by Ellegård (1953: 162) indeed shows that the occurrence of the auxiliary *do* nearly reaches 100% by 1700, but it also shows that there are still some remaining examples of older constructions without *do* (i.e. the “verb + *not*” form), especially in negative declarative and negative imperative sentences, around the time.² As Rydén (1979: 31) points out, and also as Tieken (1985, 1987, 1989) and Nakamura (1993a, 1993b, 1994) demonstrate, the use of the auxiliary *do* still fluctuates in the eighteenth century. In fact, Curry’s (1992) investigation reveals that its establishment is not yet complete even in Jane Austen’s *Complete Letters* and *Mansfield Park*.

Whereas both Tieken and Nakamura make an extensive analysis of non-literary texts of the period, the present study focuses upon some literary ones, paying a special

¹ Stein knows that there are some remaining examples of *do*-less forms in the eighteenth century, though. See also Stein (1991: 355-56) for details.

² As Nurmi (1999: 145) points out, the famous graph by Ellegård (1953: 162) is slightly tricky, since some categories of the graph contain the data of the use of *do* of what he calls “main verbs” only, i.e. verbs excluding conservative ones like *know*. For details, see Ellegård (1953: 162).

attention to *Tom Jones* by Henry Fielding (1750, fourth edition).³ This is mainly because my research framework requires a large number of examples, say 500, from a single text. It is also relevant to mention here that the present study forms a part of our larger project, where we investigate the literary language of the eighteenth century.⁴ So far, *Tom Jones* provides the largest number of relevant examples (790 examples), which is why I have decided to use it as the core text. The other works I have studied, mainly for the purpose of comparing and contrasting them with *Tom Jones*, are: *The Way of the World* (1700) by William Congreve, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) by Daniel Defoe, *Evelina* (1778) by Fanny Burney, and *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) by Jane Austen.⁵ The language of these literary works displays the finalizing stage of the establishment of the auxiliary *do*, yet yielding some noticeable number of examples of the older “verb + *not*” type. As my principal interest lies in the mechanism of the development of English negative constructions, I will concentrate upon the uses of the auxiliary *do* in negation in this paper, leaving the analysis of *do* in affirmative declarative sentences and affirmative questions to other occasions.

2. The overall tendency of the use of *do* in negation in *Tom Jones* and the other selected works

As the following examples illustrate, it is standard in *Tom Jones* to employ the auxiliary *do* in negation:

He *did not come* there a-courting to her; he came there a-hunting with me.
(*Tom Jones*, 266)

³ Although *Tom Jones* is included in Tieken’s (1987) selection of texts, she decides to investigate only the language of speech included in the first volume. This is perfectly justifiable for her purpose, while I have explored the entire text to obtain a large number of relevant examples, which is necessary for the framework of my research.

⁴ The project leader is Professor Matsuji Tajima at Kyushu University, Japan.

⁵ The texts used in the present study are: *The Way of the World*, ed. Kathleen M. Lynch (University of Nebraska Press, 1965); *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner*, ed. J. Donald Crowley (Oxford University Press, 1998); *Tom Jones*, ed. John Bender and Simon Stern (Oxford University Press, 1998); *Evelina*, ed. Edward A. Bloom (Oxford University Press, 2002); and *Sense and Sensibility*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford University Press, 1998). The text of *Tom Jones* I have used is based upon the fourth edition, which is considered to be the only text revised by Henry Fielding himself, as the editors’ note in the Introduction shows (p. xxxv). It is also relevant to mention here that I have heavily utilized the electronic text provided by Project Gutenberg (<http://www.promo.net/pg/>), although I always went back to the printed edition. All quotations from *Tom Jones* in the present paper are from the Oxford printed edition. Furthermore, all italics in the quotations are mine.

The reason why I *did not acquaint* you last night that I professed this art, was that I then concluded you was under the hands of another gentleman, and I never love to interfere with my brethren in their business. (*Tom Jones*, 366)

At the same time, however, older negative constructions without *do* are also encountered in *Tom Jones*. As mentioned in the Introduction, I have come across 790 relevant examples in it,⁶ of which as many as 236 (29.9%) illustrate the case of *do*-less negative constructions:

MR JONES *closed not* his eyes during all the former part of the night ...
(*Tom Jones*, 666)

Oh, Mr Jones, you *know not*, you *know not* what hath passed this cruel afternoon. (*Tom Jones*, 259)

The occurrence of constructions without *do* at the rate of around 30% is not at all ignorable. The comment by Engblom (1938: 163-64) that the use of *do* reaches the state of Present-day English roughly towards the end of the seventeenth century, together with Ellegård (1953: 157, 162), has led scholars to stop the exploration around 1700, but in fact, the eighteenth century is worth further investigation. As a matter of fact, examples without *do* at this declining stage may reveal the very nature of negation without *do*, since minor examples are often restricted to particular linguistic contexts which favour them.⁷ This issue will be discussed later in the following sections.

As for the overall frequencies of negative constructions with and without *do* mainly in non-literary works, Tieken (1987: 128) shows that there is still a remarkable level of fluctuation in the eighteenth century. Her table demonstrating the data of informative prose, for example, gives the proportion of 75% for the use of *do*-less negative constructions in the language of Fanny Burney as against 1.85% for the use of *do*-less negative constructions in the case of Lady Mary. This suggests that the use of

⁶ The figure here excludes the examples of the marginal auxiliaries found in the text, i.e. *ought*, *need*, and *dare*, although they can occasionally yield the third person verbal ending, as in: ...*yet he dares not say his soul is his own to his face* (*Tom Jones*, 710). Needless to say, *do not be* and *don't be* (in the imperative) are also excluded from the overall data, although they are considered under the section of imperatives.

⁷ I use the same philosophy and methodology in Iyeiri (2001), where I analyze various different patterns of negation in Middle English. See especially, Iyeiri (2001: 69-125).

the auxiliary *do* in negative sentences is highly conditioned by idiosyncratic inclinations (perhaps conditioned by social factors) in the eighteenth century. Her argument is successful for her purposes and indeed Fanny Burney is fairly conservative in my literary data, too, but I have the slight feeling that the overview given here may be exaggerated by the scarcity of her data. Her discussion here is based upon only sixteen relevant examples of Fanny Burney's informative prose.

So far as the literary texts I have investigated are concerned, *Tom Jones* does not seem to be much deviated from the general outline of the development of negative constructions in the eighteenth century. See Figure 1 below, which displays the proportions of older negative constructions without *do* in the five texts I have investigated:

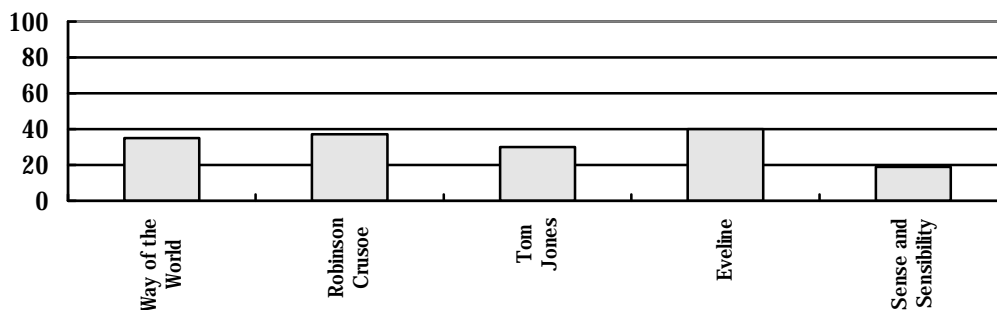


Figure 1. The proportions of the older negative constructions without *do* (%)

As the above graph reveals, the eighteenth century has not yet discarded the older “verb + *not*” type of negative sentences, although the latter half of the century shows slight decline in its use. Negation in Fanny Burney's *Evelina* may be conservative for its date, at least when contrasted with the linguistic situations of *Tom Jones* and *Sense and Sensibility*, but not as much deviated as the same author's informative prose analyzed by Tieken (1987) is. All in all, it is quite normal for eighteenth-century literary works to preserve negative sentences without *do* at the rate of 30% to 40%. *Sense and Sensibility* goes back to the beginning of the nineteenth century, which still preserves older negative constructions at around 20%.⁸

⁸ Curry (1992: 710) investigates the negative declaratives in Austen's *Complete Letters* and *Mansfield Park*, both of which include about ten percent of the older type without *do*.

3. The use of the auxiliary *do* and different verbs

As discussed in the previous section, negative constructions without *do* are fairly minor, in that they are restricted to around 30% of the entire relevant examples in *Tom Jones*. Presumably, their occurrence is conditioned by the circumstances where they occur. The most dominant condition is, as pointed out by various previous studies on the auxiliary *do*, the type of the verbs involved. Apparently, some verbs show a more persistent use of *do*-less constructions than others in the history of English. Ellegård (1953: 199), for example, treats *know, boot, trwo, care, doubt, mistake, fear, skill, and list* separately as a special group of verbs favouring the use of the “verb + *not*” type. Similarly, Visser (1969: 1534) gives the list of *wot, know, throw, care, doubt, and mistake* as conservative verbs. He then refers to Söderlind’s (1951) list of *believe, care, change, deny, derive, desire, die, do, fear, give, go, insist, leave, perform, plead, pretend, proceed, prove, stand, stay, suffer, and value*. Strang (1970:151) gives the fairly selective list of *know, mistake, and matter*. Studies discussing the issue under consideration are numerous, e.g. Engblom (1938), Jespersen (1909-49, V), Barber (1976), and Tieken (1987). The list may be expandable by further investigation, but in my view, it is impossible to make it complete, since things are gradable in the end. Some verbs are simply more conservative than others. I have, therefore, decided to be so practical as to select only those verbs which are frequent enough to affect the picture of the entire data.

In *Tom Jones* and the other literary works I have analyzed, the verbs which merit our particular attention are: *know, doubt, and have* (as a full verb).⁹ They are clearly more conservative than other verbs, providing older *do*-less negative constructions much more frequently. In fact, *have* still occurs in the *have not* form in present-day British English, although *don’t have* is on the increase nowadays. Swan (1995: §241) states: “Traditionally, *do*-forms of *have* have been used in British English mostly to express habit or repetition”. He then points to the general increase of *do*-forms of *have* (not necessarily in the sense of repetition) in recent British English, referring to the influence of American English. The following are some illustrative examples of the three verbs I mention:¹⁰

While Sophia, tormented with anxiety, *knew not* what to believe, nor what

⁹ *Have* in the auxiliary use are excluded from our analysis in any case.

¹⁰ In relation to *doubt*, it is perhaps relevant to mention that *question* also gives negative constructions without *do* relatively frequently. I have not listed it here, however, since *Tom Jones* gives only twelve examples of the verb, of which eight are found in constructions without *do*. For instance: *question not but thou hast been told, among other stories of me, that thou wast to travel with a very scurrilous fellow* (*Tom Jones*, 809).

resolution to take, Susan arrived with the sackwhey. (*Tom Jones*, 471)

It is you that taught him this lesson, for which you have been well re-/warded in this world, as I *doubt not* your disciple will soon be in the other.

(*Tom Jones*, 214-15)

... and as to that passion which we have treated of in the first chapter of this book, he *had not* the least tincture of it in his whole composition.

(*Tom Jones*, 245)

As far as *Tom Jones* is concerned, 236 cases of *do*-less negative constructions include 45 examples of *know not*, 35 examples of *doubt not*, and as many as 75 instances of *have not*. The total of these verbs reaches 155, which accounts for as much as 65.7% of the entire sample of older constructions without *do*. The same applies to the other four texts I have studied, although the ratios of these verbs to the entire sample of *do*-less forms vary between 44% and 82%. Thus, this is a most dominating condition affecting the choice between constructions with and without *do*. I have, therefore, excluded the data of these three verbs to see if the older type of negation without *do* is still preserved well in the texts under investigation. Figure 2 shows the proportions of *do*-less negative sentences excluding the data of the three verbs (i.e. *know*, *doubt*, and *have*):

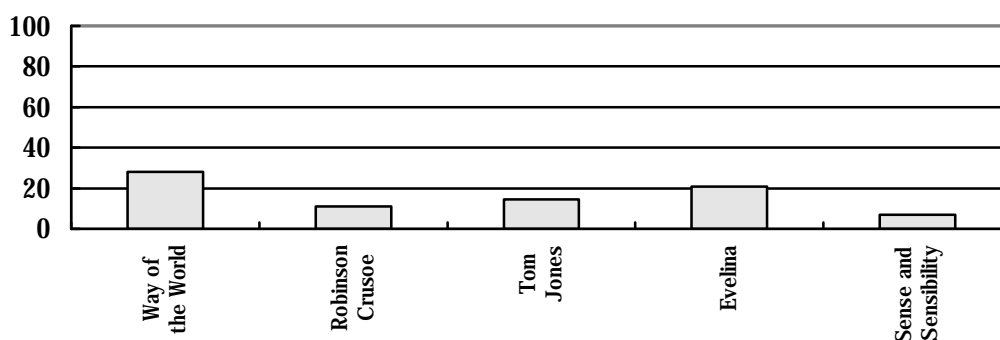


Figure 2. The proportions of older constructions without *do*, excluding the data of *know*, *doubt*, and *have* (%)

In contrast to Figure 1 above, the proportions of the *do*-less type of negation in Figure 2 are much smaller. Even the latest text *Sense and Sensibility*, however, yields around

seven percent of negative constructions without *do*, indicating that they are not confined to the three verbs under discussion. The situation of *Evelina* is slightly exceptional, in that it provides negative constructions without *do* more extensively than expected from its date, while *Tom Jones* seems to be largely in accordance with the general development of negative constructions in the eighteenth century. It still preserves 14.5% of the older type. In the following section, I would like to discuss some other linguistic factors affecting the choice between the two forms.

4. Syntactic conditions related to the use of the auxiliary *do* in *Tom Jones*

Apart from the issue of verbs as discussed in the previous section, syntactic conditions are also related to the choice between negative constructions with and without *do*, which will be the main concern of the present section. Since the analysis of syntactic conditions requires the analysis of substantial material, I will here concentrate upon *Tom Jones*, which yields the sum of 790 examples of negative sentences with lexical verbs, although I also refer, when necessary, to other works as well. In the following, I would like to begin with conditions which favour the use of negative constructions with the auxiliary *do*.

It is a well-known fact that negative interrogative clauses tend to include the auxiliary *do* more frequently than other types of sentences. Although there are some tricks involved in Ellegård's (1953: 162) famous graph as mentioned above (see Note 2 above), it shows that negative interrogation always leads the other circumstances in respect of the rise of *do*.¹¹ *Tom Jones* is not an exception in this respect. I have come across 56 relevant examples, of which as many as 53 (94.6%) employ the auxiliary *do*, as the following illustrations show:

Confess honestly; *don't you consider* this contrived interview as little better than a downright assignation? (*Tom Jones*, 626)

Did she not faint away on seeing him lie breathless on the ground?
(*Tom Jones*, 239)

Apparently, the use of the *do* form in negative interrogative clauses is more or less

¹¹ Söderlind's (1951: 234) comment that "the periphrasis is obligatory" in negative interrogative clauses already in the sixteenth century is a slight exaggeration. He himself gives an exception to this comment from Dryden's use.

established in *Tom Jones*. This applies even to the verb *know*, which is strongly inclined to stick to the older *know not* form. Six examples of the verb in negative interrogation all take place along with the auxiliary *do*, as in:¹²

'O Lord,' cries the fellow, 'why, *don't you know* Measter Jin Bearnese? Whence then did you come?' (*Tom Jones*, 316)

Doubt does not provide any relevant examples, while the sole example of the full verb *have* occurs without *do*. In fact, it is one of the three exceptional examples without *do* in *Tom Jones*, all of which are listed below:

Ha! *have I not* reason to think there is another? (*Tom Jones*, 287)

'So, tonsor,' says Jones, 'I find you have more trades than one; how *came you not* to inform me of this last night?' (*Tom Jones*, 366)

'how *came I not* to think of it? I will engage he shall do it upon the very first mentioning.' (*Tom Jones*, 731)

As mentioned above, *have* is preserved in this construction even today in British English, and therefore it is not surprising that it is one of the last verbs to adopt the use of the auxiliary *do*. In the case of the remaining two examples, the verb involved is *come*. It may be one of the conservative verbs (although I have not so far treated it in the way), but I surmise that the more likely explanation is the following. It takes place in this old construction since it is used almost like an auxiliary (to the main verb in the infinitival form) in both cases. In other words, no "physical movement of bodies" (i.e. the original sense of *come*) is involved. Some scholars point out that *do*-less constructions are preserved better in so-called *wh*-questions than in *yes-no* questions,¹³ which may be one of the factors related to the two examples at issue, but all the other *wh*-questions are found with the auxiliary *do*. Incidentally, it is interesting to quote the sole example of *do*-less interrogation in *Jane Austen* below:

¹² In the case of the following example, the parallelism with the next clause may also be a factor to instigate the use of *do*: 'What wife?' cries Maclachlan, 'do not I know Mrs Fitzpatrick very well, and don't I see that the lady, whom the gentleman who stands here in his shirt is lying in bed with, is none of her?' (*Tom Jones*, 458).

¹³ See Stein (1991: 356-57) and Nakamura (1993b: 73), for instance.

And how *came he not* to have settled that matter before this person's death?
(*Sense and Sensibility*, 295)

This is the only example of *do*-less interrogation in *Sense and Sensibility*, which yields the total of 28 interrogative cases. Here again, *come* is used almost like an auxiliary verb, as in the case of *Tom Jones*.

Secondly, conditional clauses introduced by *if* also display a more or less established use of negative constructions with the auxiliary *do*. Although this condition is not really commented upon in previous studies, it is a fairly strong one, as far as the data of the texts I have investigated are concerned. 45 relevant examples are attested in *Tom Jones*, of which as many as 41 show the use of negative constructions with the auxiliary *do*, as in:

If this reason *doth not satisfy* the reader, I know no other means of accounting for the little respect which I have commonly seen paid to a character which really *doth* great honour to human nature, and is productive of the highest good to society. (*Tom Jones*, 143)

If the reader's imagination *doth not assist* me, I shall never be able to describe the situation of these two persons when Western came into the room.
(*Tom Jones*, 700)

The exceptional four examples all include the lexical verb *have*, which, as we have discussed in relation to negative interrogative sentences, is inclined to stick to the form without *do* even today in British English:

If you *have not* sense sufficient to restrain such monstrous inclinations, I thought the pride of our family would have prevented you from giving the least encouragement to so base an affection; much less did I imagine you would ever have had the assurance to own it to my face. (*Tom Jones*, 250)

If she *had not* fifty farthings your son is married. (*Tom Jones*, 679)

But, in reality, if we *have not* all the virtues, I will boldly say, neither have we all the vices of a prudent character ... (*Tom Jones*, 545)

It will not be therefore greatly wondered at, if she *had not* the most violent regard to the offspring she had by him. (*Tom Jones*, 120)

Since there is no other case of lexical verbs in negative conditional clauses without the auxiliary *do*, it is safe to conclude that the use of *do* is virtually established in negative conditional clauses introduced by *if* in *Tom Jones*. Incidentally, even the verb *have* occurs together with *do* in the following two examples in *Tom Jones*:

'D—n me, if I will; if he does thee the least mischief, d—n me if I *don't ha'* the heart's blood o'un out.' (*Tom Jones*, 176)

The rascal hath not hurt me much, but rat me if I *don't ha* the laa o'un.
(*Tom Jones*, 738)

From these examples, one could surmise that the use of *do* along with *have* was presumably regarded as vulgar in style, at least in contrast to the same verb in *do*-less negative conditional clauses in *Tom Jones*. To turn to the other conservative verbs, *doubt* does not provide any relevant examples, while *know* gives one, which occurs with the auxiliary *do*:

Show me my own daughter, and if I *don't know* how to come at her, I'll suffer you to call me fool as long as I live. (*Tom Jones*, 706)

The preferred use of the auxiliary *do* in negative conditional clauses introduced by *if* is supported by the data of *Evelina* and *Sense and Sensibility* as well. The former gives 21 relevant examples, of which as many as 20 show the form with *do*, again the only exception being the case of *have*.¹⁴ Similarly, *Sense and Sensibility* presents thirteen relevant examples, of which twelve are found to include the auxiliary *do*. Here again, the remaining example illustrates the case of *have*.

I find it interesting that two typically non-assertive contexts, i.e. interrogative and conditional clauses, are in favour of the use of the auxiliary *do*,¹⁵ since this leads us

¹⁴ *Evelina* gives one negative conditional clause introduced by *provided*, which shows the form with the auxiliary *do*. This example is not included in the 21 instances of negative conditional clauses discussed here.

¹⁵ As for conditional clauses, I have so far investigated only those introduced by *if*. This is because inverted ones without *if* are limited in number. About Dryden's prose, Söderlind (1951: 218) remarks: "In the protasis of conditional sentences the periphrasis is obligatory when there is no

to the conjecture that the negative sentences with *do* are less assertive in nature than negative sentences of the *I know not* type. As for the use of *do* in affirmative sentences, Traugott (1972: 139) gives the interesting statement that “the function of the indicative as assertion of truth was in part taken over by *do + Tense + Verb*, while the expression of uncertainty or noncommitment was left to the simple *Verb + Tense*”. Whether or not this statement of hers about affirmative *do* is correct,¹⁶ what I propose here about the use of *do* in negation is the other way around. As far as the data I have collected from *Tom Jones* are concerned, it appears to be the *do* form that conveys the less assertive feature of negation. Even at the stage of near disappearance, the alternative older form of negation without *do* retains its assertive feature when it occurs. This is supported by my further investigation of linguistic conditions where negative sentences are encountered.

First of all, the older form of negation without *do* tends to be better preserved, though not at all frequent at the stage of *Tom Jones*, in clauses whose finite verb is in the preterite tense. This is perhaps related to the factuality conveyed by the tense. Since it is a very delicate level of difference, I have excluded from the data those examples whose choice of negative forms may be affected by other conditions. The excluded examples are:

- (1) those examples in which the finite verb is *doubt*, *know*, or *have* (since they are strongly in favour of the forms *doubt not*, *know not*, and *have not*);¹⁷
- (2) interrogative clauses (since they are in favour of the use of the auxiliary *do* as discussed above);
- (3) all types of conditional clauses (since they are in favour of the use of the auxiliary *do* as discussed above);¹⁸
- (4) imperative clauses (since they cannot appear in the preterite tense and they

conjunction and the word-order is inverted”. This is an interesting comment as it suggests that all types of conditional clauses favour the use of *do*. His statement is based upon only two examples, though.

¹⁶ This contention itself is disputed. Nevalainen (1991: 306) and Koma (1994: 130), for example, express their feelings of doubt, although neither of them really refutes it. On the other hand, Stein (1991) refers to a possible connection between the *do*-form and intensity contexts. Although his approach is different in nature from the approach of Traugott, the contentions of these two researchers are in the same direction, at least in my view. A clearer picture may be obtained if the boundary between *do* forms in negation and *do* forms in affirmative sentences is drawn.

¹⁷ Needless to say, those verbs which have been excluded from the entire analysis of this study (e.g. *dare*) are excluded here as well, although I do not repeat them here.

¹⁸ Here I exclude not only conditional clauses introduced by *if* but also the other types of conditional clauses, since the preterite tense in conditionals is not necessarily factual.

are another conditioning factor as I discuss later).

After the exclusion of these examples, I obtain 188 instances in the preterite tense, of which 36 (19.1%) present the older type without *do*. The number of the remaining examples, that is, those examples not in the preterite tense, is 157. They include only seventeen (10.8%) instances of the older type without *do*. Thus, there is a fairly clear inclination for preterite tense contexts to preserve the older type without *do* more extensively than otherwise.

Finally, I would like to discuss another syntactic condition, referring back to Ellegård's (1953: 162) graph. It shows that imperative clauses are slower than other types of sentences in establishing the use of the auxiliary *do*. Supposing that the *do*-form is less assertive in nature, the persistence of older *do*-less negative constructions in imperative clauses is perhaps related to the relatively strong vehemence of negation conveyed by the imperative. The imperative in negation is almost equal to prohibition. In fact, the slower establishment of *do* in negative imperatives is proved by the data of *Tom Jones* as well. Here I decide to deal with the data of *be* separately, since it is different in nature from the other verbs. It occurs with the auxiliary *do* only in the imperative and therefore one cannot make a comparison or contrast of the use of *be* in the imperative with the same verb in the other contexts. With the exclusion of imperative clauses of *be*, *Tom Jones* provides 72 relevant examples, of which thirteen (18.1%) are still in the form of negation without *do*. This is a large proportion when contrasted with the overall tendency of negative constructions in *Tom Jones*. (Compare also with the cases of interrogatives, conditionals, and non-preterite tenses, etc.) Some illustrative examples are:

'*Name not his detested name,*' cries Sophia. (*Tom Jones*, 277)

'Sorrow not, sir,' says he, 'like those without hope. (*Tom Jones*, 542)

Indeed, the frequency of relevant examples is not very high in *Tom Jones*.¹⁹ Still, I

¹⁹ As far as imperatives (jussive ones also included) are concerned, *Tom Jones* does not provide sufficient material. It is essential, therefore, to rely upon the results of Ellegård (1953) and also upon the data of *Evelina*. In fact, the thirteen examples of the older type without *do* in *Tom Jones* include four examples of the verb *let*, which in the jussive sense occurs without *do* even today. I have included this verb because examples of *don't let's* are available in the history of English. I have found some instances in eighteenth-century English texts, and also Visser (1969: 1542-43) gives a fairly lengthy list of examples of *don't let us* and *don't let's* side by side with *let us not*.

discuss this syntactic context as one which influences the choice of negative constructions, partly because it is relatively established in previous studies that negative imperative clauses are more conservative than other types of sentences. Furthermore, I would also like to mention that *Evelina*, which gives a relatively large number of relevant examples, is in accordance with my argument. The text provides 60 examples of negative imperative clauses, of which 26 (43.4%) are found in constructions without *do*. (Cf. Figure 2 above, which shows that the overall proportion of “verb + *not*” is around 20%.²⁰) Incidentally, Nakamura (1994) investigates negative imperatives in various letters from 1700 to 1900 and reaches the conclusion that the use of *do* became common between 1650 and 1700, and that after 1700 the use of *do* amounts to 90%. The difference of figures between my data and Nakamura’s data is most likely ascribable to the difference of genres. It is not at all surprising that English of literary works is more conservative. What I am interested in, however, is the fact that there are different syntactic circumstances favouring either the *do*-less form or the *do* form, identifiable within the same style of text(s).

As for the imperative clauses of *be*, we have slight shortage of examples. Even *Tom Jones*, which provides a large number of negative sentences in all, gives only sixteen examples of negative imperative clauses with *be*, of which six show the *do*-less negation and ten show the use of *do*. Thus the proportion of the older type is 37.5%, much larger than in the case of the other verbs in negative imperative clauses. Although this is well in accordance with the fact that *be* is more conservative than other verbs (since *be* still occurs in the “verb + *not*” form [e.g. *is not*, *was not*] in the other contexts), I would still like to wait before making any decisive conclusion. The data I have collected from *Tom Jones* are too limited. Also, imperative clauses with *be* in *Evelina* shows the opposite inclination. It presents nineteen examples of negative imperative clauses with *be*, of which fourteen employ the auxiliary *do*. The use of the auxiliary *do* is much in progress in this text. The older constructions account for only 26.3%, which is smaller than the proportion of the *do*-less form in negative imperative clauses of the other verbs in the same text. The situation of imperative clauses may be better described once we have a larger number of examples of this period.²¹ At this stage, one could

²⁰ I refer to Figure 2 here, since imperatives include only one instance of *doubt* and no instances of *know* or *have*. It would be unfair to compare the data of imperatives with Figure 1, which is unnecessarily skewed in the direction of “verb + *not*” due to the existence of the multitude of examples of the three verbs.

²¹ Nakamura (1994: 195) summarizes the historical development of *do* in negative imperatives and states that the adoption of *do* was slower with *be* than with the other verbs. Hence, his statement is in accordance with my data of *Tom Jones* (but not the data of *Evelina*).

only conclude that Visser's (1969: 1542) comment that imperatives of the *be not* type "drops into disuse after the end of the seventeenth century" is an exaggeration, as Denison (1998: 252) points out. Older constructions without *do* are still remnant in the eighteenth century.

5. Conclusion

As thus far discussed, the use of negative constructions without *do* are still existent in the eighteenth century, despite the generally accepted view that its use was very much limited after 1700. There are several conditions related to either constructions with or without the auxiliary *do*. The most dominant factor affecting the choice between *do*-less forms and forms with *do* is the type of verbs involved, as pointed out in many previous studies. In the case of *Tom Jones*, I have decided to treat *know*, *doubt*, and *have* separately, since they are heavily in favour of *do*-less negative constructions and they are so frequent as to deform the general picture of the language of the text. As for syntactic conditions, interrogative sentences are very much in favour of *do*, and similarly, conditional clauses introduced by *if* are usually found with the auxiliary *do*. In fact, the use of *do* in these circumstances seems to be more or less established by the time of *Tom Jones*. This is interesting in relation to the issue of assertiveness and factuality. In view of the fact that both interrogative and conditional circumstances are non-assertive in nature, I would take the view that the use of the *do* form is associated with some sort of non-assertiveness, or at least a higher level of non-assertiveness when compared with the *do*-less form. In fact, the older *do*-less form tends to be favoured along with the preterite tense, and this may be related to the higher level of factuality conveyed by the tense. Also, the *do*-less negative form seems to be favoured in imperative sentences, which may be related to the strong vehemence of negation expressed by them. Imperative clauses can be equivalent to prohibition in some cases. Even at the stage of near disappearance, the *do*-less form of negation seems to carry a more assertive feature than the newly-developing and widely-expanding negative sentences with the auxiliary *do*.

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