

Variable Negation in Late 19th-Century Irish-English

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ABSTRACT

In present-day Englishes world-wide, *do*-periphrasis (*I do not have it*) in negative declaratives is categorical with most lexical verbs, having taken over the job bare negation (*I have it not*) once did. As for Irish English, while *do*-support was already by far the dominant negation strategy in the late 19th century, bare negation was still used to some degree. This was the case for a few verbs, in particular, with which it was categorically used. The historical development of negation in IrE is one we see unfolding more or less similarly in other colonial Englishes. There *are* differences, however, and there is also the question of whether similarities can be traced to influence from emigrant speakers of IrE.

Through quantitative analyses, this paper aims to contribute (1) new insights into various forms of negation in Irish English of the late 19th century, more specifically *do*-support and bare negation, (2) an account of the diachronic development of the various forms of negation in Irish English, and (3) a perspective that compares Irish English to contemporary Australian and New Zealand Englishes.

I ulike variantar av moderne engelsk over heile verda er bruk av perifrastisk *do* (*I do not have it*) i negative deklaratve setningar kategorisk med dei fleste hovudverb, etter å ha tatt over jobben som ein gong blei gjort av *bare negation* (*I have it not*). Når det gjeld irsk-engelsk, sjølv om bruk av *do* allereie var den dominante varianten for å forme negative setningar på andre halvdel av 1800-talet, så blei *bare negation* framleis brukt til ei viss grad. Spesielt var dette tilfelle for nokre få verb som kategorisk tok *bare negation*. Den historiske utviklinga av negasjon i irsk engelsk er synleg i meir eller mindre same form i andre kolonivariantar av engelsk. Men der er óg forskjellar, samt spørsmålet om likskapane kan sporast tilbake til irsk-engelsktalande emigrantar.

Gjennom kvantitative analysar forsøker denne oppgåva å bidra med (1) nye data på ymse former for negasjon i irsk-engelsk på andre halvdel av 1800-talet, meir spesifikt bruk av *do* og *bare negation*, (2) ei oversikt over den diakroniske utviklinga av dei ulike formene for negasjon i

irsk-engelsk, samt (3) eit perspektiv som samanliknar irsk-engelsk med samtidig australsk- og new zealandsk-engelsk.

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ABBREVIATIONS

IrE = Irish English

BrE = British English

AmE = American English

AusE = Australian English

NZE = New Zealand English

Sc = Scots

HKE = Hong Kong English

CORIECOR = Corpus of Irish English Correspondence

COOEE = Corpus of Oz Early English

ARCHER = A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers

LLC = London-Lund Corpus

LOB = Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of Written English

CEEC = Corpus of Early English Correspondence

ICE = International Corpus of English

IED = Irish Emigration Database

pttw = per ten thousand words

wt. = weight

1: INTRODUCTION

While phonological peculiarities and the most salient grammatical constructions, such as the habitual aspects - which involve periphrastic *do* - are features that stand out in Irish English and have been the focus of much scholarly work, *do*-support in negation has been left relatively undisturbed by researchers. Nonetheless, there exists work done on the subject, some of which I will bring into the discussion that follows. According to Ellegård (1953), *do*-support in interrogative contexts (*Do you have it?*) had become categorical by the turn of the 18th century, and for most lexical verbs it was becoming the dominant form of negation in negative declaratives (*I do not have it*), too. Still, some verbs put up more of a fight against this change and their usage with bare negation (*I have it not*) persisted to varying extent, in different varieties. Irish English may have been paramount among these, at least concerning lexical *have*, the verb that maintains bare negation the longest, traditionally. It should be noted that some of the studies dealt with here (Ellegård 1953 and Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987) do not include lexical *have* in their studies, while others do (McCafferty 2016, Collins 2015, and Hundt 2015). In addition to lexical *have*, semi-modals and verbs in the ‘*know*-group’ are relevant across varieties (McCafferty, 2016). While these verbs were more hesitant than other lexical verbs in taking on *do*-support, they mostly follow suit eventually, their use with bare negation diminishing towards extinction. Building on that, the subject for this thesis will be these different forms of negation in Irish English of the late 19th century, and their variation. How do the results vary between different verbs, and how do the findings compare to those of other contemporary varieties? In addition, how does the relative distribution of *do*-support and bare negation in the late 19th century fit in these constructions’ overall evolution in Irish English?

The studies on *do*-support in early New Zealand and Australian Englishes by Hundt (2015) and Collins (2015), and the possibility for cross-variety comparisons were contributing factors when deciding to write this thesis. As mentioned above, for most lexical verbs, *do*-support is required when forming interrogatives and when negating a sentence. This has not always been so, bare negation being the standard in older Englishes that was gradually overtaken

by constructions using periphrastic *do*. Curiously, though, new varieties of English which cropped up with the spread of the language to various colonies, all developed in more or less unique ways. With that in mind, how does this manifest itself with regards to *do*-support? Why were – and are – some varieties more resistant to *do*-support than are others? Why are some verbs more resistant than others? Why do the percentages vary over time for the different constructions? What role does grammatical context play in the distribution of various forms of negation? And where does Irish English fall into place in all of this? Can lines be drawn between Irish English and other colonial varieties, due to the heavy exodus of Irish people in past centuries? These are all interesting questions which I hope to be able to answer in some fashion.

Collins (2015) and Hundt (2015) are the primary sources of inspiration and material for comparison. Their work on *do*-support in Australian and New Zealand Englishes will serve as direct comparisons to the work I've carried out on Irish English. In addition to the aforementioned, I also compare my results with McCafferty's (2016) on IrE of the 18th–early 19th century. McCafferty is responsible for a larger diachronic study on variable negation in Irish English, of which the following study is a free-standing part. I am heavily indebted to McCafferty – my supervisor and professor – for his lectures which piqued my interest for Irish English in general, but also for discussions on negation in IrE, as well as his paper '*I am sure you know not what I mean*' *Variable negation in late eighteenth-century Irish English* (2016), through which I arrived at the topic for my thesis.

Work by McCafferty on *do*-support vs. bare negation in Irish English is still ongoing, but what has already been done (2016) is based on data from late 18th- and early 19th centuries. Collins' (2015) and Hundt's (2015) research uses data from the late 19th century. Like McCafferty, I will be harvesting data from the *Corpus of Irish English Correspondence*, CORIECOR, but I will focus on the late 19th century. This enables direct synchronic comparisons to the findings of Collins (2015) and Hundt (2015). One point of difference between the studies, are the corpora. While CORIECOR consists of personal correspondence, Collins employs COOEE, the Corpus of Oz Early English, AusCorp, and ARCHER, A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers. While the contents of Collins' corpora are manifold, he has extracted from them data from only two genres - news and fiction (Collins 2015: 18). While this data covers a great variety of styles of writing, it nevertheless stands in contrast to the data from CORIECOR which is composed by non-professionals, mostly. Will this

difference in sources of data make its presence felt? As negation with *do* grew more common, bare negation came to be seen as a somewhat archaic, literary, and stylistic feature - as it is in most varieties today - and one would assume that professional writers, like those composing the texts of Collins' corpora, would be more prone to employ such when composing a text than would a person writing a letter to their family overseas, like those in CORIECOR.

If this winds up yielding different results remain to be seen. But the main appeal of CORIECOR, to me, is namely that it contains personal letters from a variety of 'ordinary' people. McCafferty states that 'The letters were written by people from a range of social and educational backgrounds, displaying a spectrum of literacy skills' (McCafferty, 2016: 2). By and large the world is mainly populated by ordinary people – far more than professional writers, at least – and studying the writing of these people could paint a fairly accurate picture of how well established different constructions, say *do*-support and bare negation, are in a language. McCafferty continues, saying that both conservatism and innovation may be expected in the Irish English speakers use of *do*-support, citing evidence from studies on other grammatical constructions, also based on data from CORIECOR. Using *GoldVarb X* (Sankoff et al. 2005), data from the corpus will be tested in multivariate analyses to determine the significance of various linguistic and non-linguistic factors, such as what verb is used, grammatical tense, gender of writer, and time. By doing this, I hope to be able to determine how strongly these factors encourage use of *do*-periphrasis. With all of that in mind, the hypothesis at the outset of this study was that *do*-support in late 19th-century IrE follows the evolution seen in McCafferty (2016), in which it becomes more and more common, bare negation yielding ground, and that lexical *have*, while still frequently found with bare negation, will also be found more with *do*-support than in McCafferty.

2: BACKGROUND

2.1 Origin & early development

The periphrastic *do* that is the subject of the current study, first started appearing commonly in the Middle English period, originating in late 13th century south/south-western England, from where it spread east- and northwards. Ellegård cites its absence or rarity in textual sources from the north and the east, from the 15th century onwards, a time when *do*-constructions were not uncommonly found in central and western parts of the south (Ellegård 1953: 155, 164, 209). Its linguistic roots are less definite than its geographic ones, but Ellegård proposes a scenario in which it developed mainly from causative uses of *do*, a theory others, such as Abbott (1966: 214–215) and Royster (1915: 194–195), view as likely. Ellegård presents an example which neatly explains the meaning of *do* as a causative auxiliary; ‘*he did build a church*, meaning “he caused a church to be built”’ (1953: 23, 209). The church was built by his decree, but by someone else’s hands. He himself did not partake in the construction. At first, causative *do* and periphrastic *do* coexisted, though the presence of periphrastic *do* was to the detriment of causative *do*. As *make* and *cause* in the 14th and 15th centuries came to take over meanings previously carried by causative *do*, periphrastic uses of *do* became more and more common (1953: 209–210). Nurmi agrees that the spread of periphrastic *do* and gradual disappearance of causative *do* are connected, but she does not concur with Ellegård’s theory that this is evidence for causative *origin* of periphrastic *do* (1999: 22–23). She proposes an origin in oral West Germanic languages, instead (1999: 15–19), citing the construction’s existence in other such languages as well as its more stylistic, non-grammatical functions in its early days as evidence. Regardless of its origins, periphrastic *do* could originally be used relatively freely in whatever sentence-types one wished (no specific grammatical functions). But its use became restricted over time and developed gradually towards the current distribution in which it is more or less confined to questions and negated sentences, where it is obligatory (fulfilling grammatical functions).

For consistency, the description of current use of auxiliary *do* I follow, is taken from Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987) who references Quirk et al. (1972). The following is a list of constructions in which *do* is required in standard English (examples from Quirk et al. (1972: 78, Table 3:2)):

1. In sentences negated by *not* where the verb is imperative (*don't wait!*) (1a), simple present, or simple past (*he doesn't wait / he didn't wait*) (1b)
2. In questions involving inversion where the verb is in the simple present or past tense (*does he wait? / did he wait?*); exceptions: positive *wh*-questions beginning with the subject, and *yes-no* questions without inversion
3. In tag questions (e.g. *he waits, doesn't he? / he waited, didn't he?*) (3a) and substitute clauses (3b) where the verb is simple present or past tense
4. In emphatic (4a) or persuasive constructions where the verb is simple present (*he does wait!*), simple past (*he did wait!*), or imperative (*do wait!*) (4b)
5. In sentences with inversion caused by certain introductory words such as the negative adverbs *never*, *hardly*, etc. (*never did he think that the book would be finished*) (5a) when the verb is in the simple present or past tense.

In addition, Tieken-Boon van Ostade lists ‘sentences opening with a *so* or *such* adverbial (5b), and such formal expressions as *Well do I remember the day ...*’. As the author notes, this represents only one pattern of usage, and a great deal of variation occurs not only in regional dialects but also in other more standard Englishes, such as the *do be* habitual of Irish English (1987: 32–33).

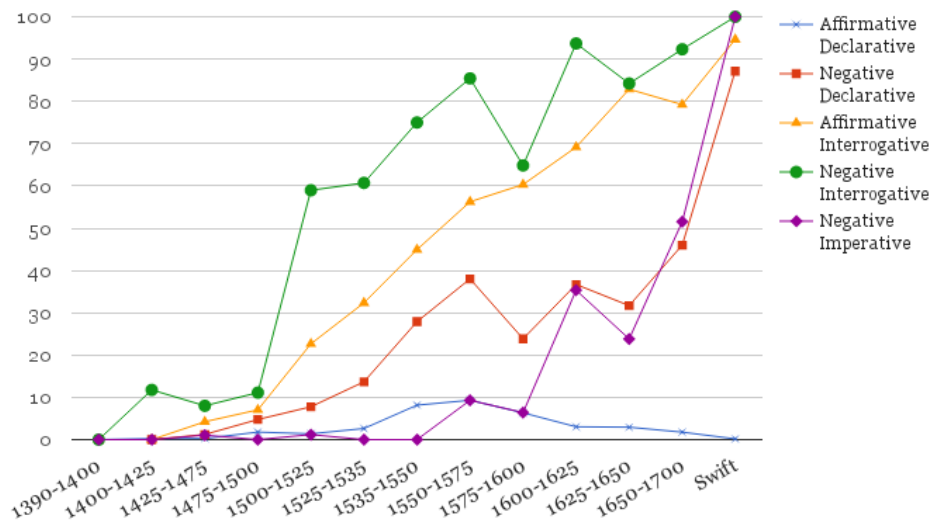


Figure 2.1. *Do*-support in various English sentence types, 1390–1700 (after Ellegård 1953: 161–162, Table 7 and Diagram to table 7, McCafferty 2016: 4, Figure 1)

With regard to the different social classes' use of *do*-periphrasis, or the contexts in which it was used, Ellegård references previous scholarly work done on its relative colloquialism, and finds that they disagree, at least when it comes to *do* in the affirmative (1953: 155–156). With regard to periphrastic *do* in negative declaratives, Ellegård disputes the notion posited by previous writers that such constructions entered the language very slowly, at least before 1500. His data proves that *do* in negative declaratives was firmly in place also before 1500 – to an even greater extent than in affirmative declaratives – and from that point their use kept increasing steadily (Figure 2.1, above). He notes that this increase came from *colloquial* speech, more than anything else (1953: 161–163).

2.2 Formal or informal?

In what may be seen as a direct contradiction of the previous statement, however, Ellegård says that he 'cannot agree with those who hold that it was above all a feature of "popular" or "vulgar" speech', and that moderate use of *do*-forms likely could not serve as a social marker (1953: 164). It is hard to know for certain what Ellegård means when he uses words such as 'formal', 'colloquial', 'popular' and 'vulgar'. My impression, after reading his book, is that 'formal' and 'colloquial' are diametrically opposed to each other, and 'popular' and 'vulgar' are here used to describe colloquial, normal, *informal* language. Equally possible is an interpretation where colloquial language can still be formal, 'colloquial' being used to describe the situation in which the language is spoken, more so than the language itself. For the sake of argument, I am choosing to view 'colloquial' and 'formal' in Ellegård as antonyms, and 'colloquial' and 'informal' as synonyms.

McCafferty mentions this apparent contradiction when discussing Tieken-Boon van Ostade's (1987) study of auxiliary *do* in the 18th century. Her results find that *do*-support is used more in informal genres, and McCafferty suggests that the constructions' level of formality may have been on the low end in the 18th century, opposed to what Ellegård claimed (McCafferty 2016: 5–6).

But this discrepancy between Ellegård's and Tieken-Boon van Ostade's hypotheses on the matter, already exists in Ellegård alone. A possible explanation for his varying stance may be a reality in which *do*-constructions were originally a sign of formal speech, which – as it became

more frequently used – would gradually, increasingly, enter more colloquial speech. This happened in a span of 200 years, and from there its use increased even further. You do not, as McCafferty says on the basis of Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s study, have to look all the way to the 18th century to spot the development of *do*-support into an informal variant. According to Ellegård, the rise of *do*-support in the 17th century – after a period of regression – (Figure 2.1) happened mainly due to the constructions’ increased popularity in colloquial speech (1953: 163). From its inception and up to this point, however, he sees it as ‘not unlikely that lettered people acted as popularisers of the usage’, pointing to Oxford and its location near the birthplace of *do*-periphrasis, as well as the religious works that may have been written there, in which many of the earliest tokens of *do*-support can be found (1953: 164). Undermining this theory, however, is the fact that sociolinguistics has shown – since Ellegård published his work – that language change very rarely happens as was described above, from formal literary language to the informal. Rather, new features usually originate near ground level, in dialectal, vernacular or colloquial language, and are eventually adopted in the standard language of a society. This can be seen in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg’s study, wherein they research, among other things, the replacement of the suffix *-th* by *-s* in third-person singular present indicatives (2003: 67–68, 177–180). They find that suffixal *-s* was the majority form in the North in the late 15th century and probably spread to London with northern immigrants to the capital. In this earliest period, the *-s* suffix did not occur in the data from East Anglia or the Court, but here, too, the new feature was eventually adopted and became more popular through the 16th and 17th centuries. This was not only a regional feature coming from the North, but also one that spread from below and upwards, socially. As Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg note: ‘The fact that the Royal Court was slow in adopting the incoming form strongly supports the argument in favour of a change from below socially’ (2003: 179).

Nevertheless, Ellegård says that high usage of *do*-support in this earliest period of the constructions is also linked to a ‘highflown’ and ‘turgid’ style, not one you would encounter in spoken English, citing examples from Caxton, for example, whose ‘whole age was affected by this fashion of intolerable verbosity’, and that ‘it is certainly justifiable to connect the old Caxton’s preference for the *do*-form with his obvious desire to give a “literary” turn to his translation’ (1953: 165–166).

There seems to be disagreement surrounding the topic, however. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987: 14) quotes Bridget Cusack (1970) who details Shakespeare, born some 70 years after Caxton, and his varying use of *do* and bare negation in declaratives. Noting complexities that may have influenced the Bard when choosing between the two constructions, such as verse vs. prose, what verb is at hand and whether it is used transitively, Cusack, in opposition to Ellegård's claim,¹ arrives at the conclusion that – in prose – *do* is a sign of colloquialism, while bare negation is an indication of formality and conservative English, and that *do* is 'in the process of ousting its predecessor'. The same holds true for interrogatives and negative imperatives, says Cusack, whereas the reverse is the case for affirmative declaratives, in which *do* is a feature of formality, except when used emphatically (1970: 2–3). In the more formal verse, there is a greater frequency of bare negation, such as in an example from *Henry V*, where it occurs four times compared to just the one for *do* (1970: 3). Cusack further argues for the formality of bare negation by citing numerous prose examples of characters who normally use *do*, mocking formal situations and people, using bare negation as a means of doing so. This serves as an apt example for Tieken-Boon van Ostade's discussion on style and genre, to which we shall return below. Although Cusack says that Shakespeare in verse employed different constructions rather interchangeably to serve technical and stylistic purposes, it is also noted that his writing 'made use of shifting linguistic conditions of his time' (1970: 1), indicating that the language we see in his plays is a reflection of contemporary English. Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade agrees with this position (1987: 18–20, 182), saying that 'an analysis of the use and non-use of the auxiliary *do* in eighteenth-century direct speech – fictional or otherwise – may be looked upon as an abstraction of the pattern of usage that must have been characteristic of the spoken language of the time' (1987: 182). On the topic of the theater, Ellegård, when speaking of dialectal differences in *do*-support, mentions briefly an Irish character in a play by Thomas Otway, (1953: 164). This character uses *do*-forms with almost every verb. The historical validity of this one example is not great – Otway may very well be presenting a caricature of the Irish which may have exaggerated dialectal features such as use of *do* – but Ellegård concludes the passage by noting that *do*-forms are more pervasive in contemporary Irish English than they are in Standard English. He says nothing about the contexts in which *do* is used, however, and it is

¹ Ellegård (1953: 163) himself opposes this claim, noting that the low numbers of *do* in negative declaratives in the period 1625–1650 'is probably due to the non-colloquial nature of some of the texts in that sample', i.e. more formal texts equals less *do* and more bare negation.

probable that he is referring to its use in habituais, which is a quite prevalent feature of Irish English.

In summarising his discussion on the relative formality of *do*, Ellegård splits the topic into halves, pointing to differences between declarative and interrogative uses of *do*. He argues that colloquial language quickly picked up periphrasis in questions and used it similarly to what would have been seen in literary language. In declaratives, however, colloquial language lagged behind the literary use well into the 16th century (1953: 168–169). Again, this is opposed to what sociolinguistics has shown to be the normal pattern of language change. It might be tempting to ascribe Ellegård’s reasoning to the data with which he worked, presumably of a largely formal nature, written in formal language. But there is clearly material to describe colloquial language as well, evidenced by his certainty in describing the differences between interrogatives and declaratives (1953: 169). A possible explanation for Ellegård’s claims – albeit an obvious one that he presumably would account for – may be the grouping of negative and affirmative interrogatives vs. negative and affirmative declaratives. If he did this, and both types of declaratives are seen as one entity, the affirmative will drag down the overall number heavily (Figure 2.1). A better description would perhaps be one of individual constructions, viz. negative declaratives vs. negative interrogatives vs. affirmative interrogatives, like Figure 2.1 shows.

2.3 *Do* in negative declaratives

As mentioned previously, Ellegård provided data that disproved earlier claims that *do*-periphrasis entered the English language slower in interrogatives and negative declaratives than it did in affirmative declaratives, his study showing greater numbers for these constructions consistently (1953: 161–163, 192). Ellegård moves on to the question of why *do* came to hold – and retain – such a strong position in negative sentences. The likely explanation, he says, in agreement with ‘many writers’, lies in ‘a desire to place the adverb *not* immediately in front of the verb’ (1953: 193).² The inherent problem, as noted, is that the negative particle was traditionally not able to occupy the place preceding a lexical verb. Ellegård offers no reason as to *why* this may have been the case, but (sort of) cites data to confirm that it really was so. *Not* would instead almost

² Ellegård refers to the negative particle *not* as an adverb, and groups it as such. In this study, *not* is treated separately from adverbs.

always find its place in relation to the object. For nominal objects (*I know not that man*), *not* would be in the position preceding the object, for pronominal ones (*I know him not*), it would follow (Ellegård 1953: 193–194). Wanting *not* in front of the verb seems to have taken precedence, and this problem came to be solved by employing *do*-constructions instead of bare negation, in which case *not* all of a sudden was able to take the preferred place of such adverbs. This appears as a recounting, more so than an explanation, but Ellegård points to the correlation between the use of *do* with adverbs that usually would not take anteposition (e.g. *not*) and situations where such an anteposition would be required (not wanting to separate verb–object), although he goes on to trivialise the importance of the latter compared to the former, referencing instances where *not* does not intrude between the verb and the object (1953: 195, 197). In summary, we have a situation in which speakers of English want the verb and object to remain adjacent, but an adverb (typically) occupies the place between them, and does not wish be moved to the position preceding the verb. The solution to such problematic adverbs appears to have been a reconstruction of the sentences using periphrastic *do*. There seems to have been a connection between such negative *do*-constructions picking up pace over the affirmative ones, and adverbs such as *not*³ being moved to the position preceding the verb, both happening in the late 15th century–early 16th century (1953: 194; also Figure 2.1).

Ellegård writes on several occasions of *do* as a means of conforming to overall trends in the language, such as in the following quote, where *do* serves to reduce the ‘awkwardness’ of inversion in affirmative declaratives:

We may therefore conclude as follows: when the verb was intransitive, inversion was quite a normal construction. There was thus generally no reason to use *do* in the function we are studying (...) But when the verb was transitive, inversion was uncommon and getting more so. It was more acceptable when the verb was an auxiliary. Hence the *do*-construction could fulfil a definite function: when inversion was for some reason resorted to, it was more and more often achieved by means of the *do*-form’. (Ellegård 1953: 190–191)

This desire for conformity crops up again when Ellegård explains the rise of *do*-periphrasis in negative sentences. As previously mentioned, such constructions allowed the movement of

³ *Not* is probably not the adverb that best describes this category, as it is a special case, but it is the adverb in question. Rather, lightly stressed adverbs saw movement to anteposition in this period, and while *not* was originally a strongly stressed adverb – which normally took endposition – it gradually lost its stress and was therefore wanted in anteposition (Ellegård 1953: 194).

adverbs to the preferred anteposition, which would not be possible otherwise, and thus came to be the preferred mode of forming questions. Ellegård's numbers also show a greater frequency of *do* in sentences where *not* is accompanied with another adverb – 33% compared to 19% for negated sentences overall (1953: 197–199).

In interrogatives as well, *do*-constructions permitted subject–auxiliary inversion with all the benefits of semantic meaning retained, and the normally obtrusive nature of inversion avoided. Inversion was seen as more ‘inconvenient’ in sentences with transitive verbs, says Ellegård, as the verb here precedes not only the subject but an object as well. He therefore proposes a hierarchy in which *do* should be most frequently found in transitive questions (*did she write a letter?* vs. *wrote she a letter?*) and less so in indirect questions (*what wrote she?* vs. *what did she write?*) and questions with intransitive verbs (*sneezed he?* vs. *did he sneeze?*) (1953: 202). When reading the numbers it seems evident that his hypothesis is correct; *do* appears more often in transitive questions than it does in intransitive ones, illustrated by Figure 2.2.

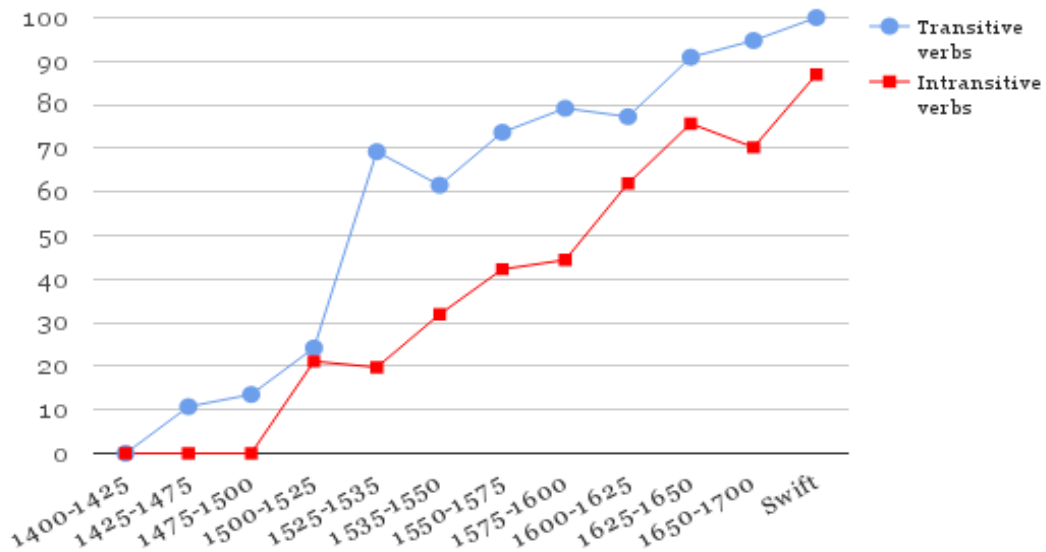


Figure 2.2. *Do*-support in transitive and intransitive affirmative adverb- and verb-questions in English, 1400–1700 (after Ellegård 1953: 203, Table 19 and Diagram to table 19)

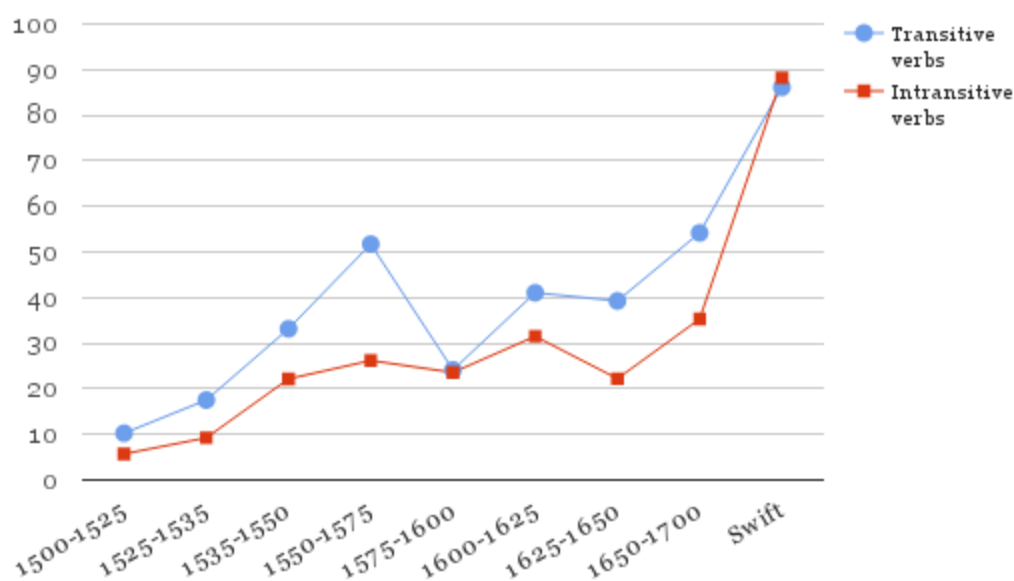


Figure 2.3. *Do*-support in transitive and intransitive negative declarative sentences in English, 1500–1700 (after Ellegård 1953: 196, Table 16 and Diagram to table 16)

Here, affirmative adverb- (*when came he?*) and verb-questions (*went he?*) (Ellegård’s examples) show a clear discrepancy between transitive and intransitive verbs. Not only is this discrepancy notable throughout the period of recorded data (1400–1700), there is also a timeframe of 75 years in the beginning of the period where there are no recorded instances of *do* in intransitive questions but it is already becoming firmly established in transitive ones (10–13% for the period 1425–1500) (1953: 202–205). This tendency is also supported by the numbers for negative declarative sentences (Figure 2.3) which, although at lower percentages, show the same discrepancy between transitive and intransitive verbs, Swift aside (Ellegård 1953: 196).

Alvar Ellegård’s *The auxiliary ‘do’*. *The establishment and regulation of its use in English* (1953) is perhaps *the* seminal publication on *do*-periphrasis, and deserves a certain amount of attention. He points to structural changes in the language, like inverted word order losing ground, and different syntactical and grammatical factors that may have played a part in a verb’s relative adoption of *do*-forms, such as transitive verbs generally being more receptive of *do* in questions than were intransitive ones. Perhaps the greatest contribution, however, is the data on *do*-support in the different types of sentences from the earliest period, constituting a starting point for tracing the development of *do* in Englishes. While this data is a valuable

resource for the historical development of *do*-support, it nevertheless presents a few problems, which McCafferty and Tieken-Boon Van Ostade bring to the fore.

Ellegård concludes that the current state of *do*-support was ‘practically achieved around 1700’ (1953: 157, 210). Hedging this statement is the word *practically*, and how he chooses to define it. It is no stretch of the imagination to interpret this line as Ellegård saying that *do*-support had reached its current state around 1700. If so, there is room for debate.

2.4 Do in the 18th century

In the very beginning of *The auxiliary Do in Eighteenth century English. A Sociohistorical-linguistic Approach* (1987), Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade voices her opposition to the opinion held not only by Ellegård (1953), but others before him, that the modern state of affairs concerning auxiliary *do* had been virtually reached by the end of the 17th century. With this in mind, earlier studies did not concern themselves with data from the 18th century onwards. Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s disagreement is the starting point for her book, which sets out to prove that (among other things) modern use of auxiliary *do* was in fact not reached by the early decades of the 18th century, there being ‘large numbers of instances in which the use and non-use of the auxiliary differs from the present-day standard English pattern of usage’ (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 1). As such, *do* in the 18th century was a step in the development towards modern use, and this development differs from what Ellegård described (1987: 1, 5, 227).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s study is based on a corpus of approximately one million words, comprised of the various writings of 16 18th-century writers. Excluded are works of poetry, for reasons I shall discuss below. Study of the corpus yielded 640 tokens of irregular use, that is instances of constructions which are different from those found in current standard English (1987: 25). Her search yielded ten unique constructions which do not fall in line with current use of *do*, a description of which was given above. These ten constructions can be separated into two main categories: sentences without *do*, and sentences with *do*. While their presence in the language opposes the view held by Ellegård and others, Tieken-Boon van Ostade observes that not all are very commonly used and some of them are found so sparsely that they must be said to be ‘in the process of disappearing or being replaced by their periphrastic or non-periphrastic counterparts’ (1987: 34, 123). The point still stands however; the present day

distribution had *not* been reached by 1700, especially not for the four most frequently found constructions: *do*-less negative sentences (*I question not [...]*), *do*-less questions (*How like you [...]*), *do*+adverbial+infinitive (*I do firmly believe [...]*), and exclamatory *how/what* sentences (*What dreadful days do we live in [...]*) (Tieken-Boon van Ostade's examples, 1987: 64–66), which are found so often that they must be regarded as acceptable constructions in the 18th century (1987: 123). The sparse use of some of the constructions mentioned above, seems to account for them disappearing altogether. The two most robust ones, *do*-less negative sentences and *do*-less questions, however, are recorded in 19.8% and 11.2% of possible instances and cannot realistically be said to have fallen out of use. Instead, Tieken-Boon van Ostade suggests contemporary grammars and their influence as a possible explanation (1987: 124–125).

Tieken-Boon van Ostade devotes a chapter to investigating a number of 18th century grammars, and find that many of them are based on earlier influential and successful grammars, as well as literary sources from before the 18th century. As such, they do not necessarily provide an accurate representation of use/non-use of *do* in the period, but rather describe an older pattern (1987: 218–219). However, there are some grammars – particularly in the latter half of the century – that ‘fairly accurately observe and describe contemporary usage’ (1987: 217, 230).

While these grammars of the late 18th century are more descriptive than prescriptive, Tieken-Boon van Ostade still argues that they must have had a prescriptive effect on those who read and consulted them. Whereas the grammars may not have explicitly said what forms one should and should not use, they said which were most and least commonly used, providing readers with a description of the most acceptable, standard forms. This, together with the fact that most grammars' intended audience were people in school and other learners, points to a high probability of them being prescriptive to their readers, even if they were not written as commandments (1987: 221–223, 231–232). These grammars are founded on the written language of ‘gentlemen’ and it was these people's language, then, that dictated the development of *do*-support. Also, by basing themselves exclusively on written language, some constructions with *do* which are typically only found in oral language – such as question tags – are omitted in the grammars (1987: 220–221).

2.5 The ‘*know*-group’, fixed phrases and frequency effects

The special status of *know* as regards resisting *do*-periphrasis is noted by many authors, among them Traugott (1972), who claims, like Ellegård, that ‘by 1700 the modern English system [of periphrastic *do*] was very largely established’ but despite that,

the older system, where *do* was optional, continued in use especially in negative constructions, through the nineteenth century (...) Perhaps the commonest construction in which the conservative use of a negative without *do* occurs is *X know(s) not (...)* Absence of *do* with *know* had been typical from earliest times and continued well into the late nineteenth century and even the twentieth. (Traugott 1972: 176)

While she discusses *know* in particular, Traugott makes no mention of other verbs that – while not as resistant to *do* as is *know* – still show a greater frequency of bare negation than the norm. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade voices this caveat, saying that while *know* is indeed the most commonly found verb in *do*-less negative sentences and thus the most salient example of such constructions, other verbs were also found – at varying frequencies – in her study of the 18th century and bear mentioning, chief among them *doubt* (1987: 36–37, 129). Having not included *have* in her study, *know* and *doubt* are the only verbs found frequently enough in her data that Tiekens-Boon van Ostade is able to make claims regarding their resistance to *do*-periphrasis. For the other verbs noted, while they may show tendencies, the low number of recorded instances makes it impossible to know for sure. The presence of *do*-less forms with these verbs could just as well be due to idiosyncrasies on the author’s end as signs of language development.

As the most common verb in these constructions, *know* gives its name to a group of verbs that traditionally show more than usual resistance to *do*-periphrasis in negative structures. The constituents of this group vary to some degree, with subsequent authors often adding a few verbs to the list that came before them. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade offers a neat summary of various *know*-groups in her book (1987: 36). As for why verbs of the *know*-group are more reluctant to adopt *do*, no definite answer seems to exist, but Ellegård, quoting Rohde, posits a ‘fixed phrase explanation’, in which the verbs’ frequent use in negative expressions led to the constructions becoming fixed phrases (Rohde 1872: 47). Rohde claims this is the case for the verbs *care*, *doubt*, *mistake* and *wot/know*, while Ellegård, following Engblom, extends the explanation to the less common verbs *boot* and *trow*, as well as *fear*, *skill*, and *list* (1953: 199–200). As parts of

fixed expressions, such as *I know not* and *I doubt not*, these verbs are found long after *do*-constructions had become the foremost pattern of negation (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 129–130).

The term ‘fixed phrases’ is used by Ellegård and later authors to explain why some verbs, such as *know* and *have* held their ground more firmly against the new form of negation with periphrastic *do*, retaining bare negation longer than most lexical verbs. But perhaps ‘fixed phrases’ is not the best term, or specific enough to explain why these verbs kept the old pattern. While these verbs often appeared in conjunction with the negative particle *not*, other than in the simplest forms, such as *I know not*, or *I doubt not*, they can not really be said to form fixed phrases. In instances where additional elements followed, these varied greatly. Rather than speaking of ‘fixed phrases’ – however short they may be – the verb on its own, and its frequency of use might be more appropriate to explain what happened to preserve a conservative form of negation. Following Joan Bybee, ‘High-frequency words and phrases grow strong with repetition and loom large’, and ‘general patterns dominate networks where more specific patterns can be overpowered unless represented by high-frequency items’ (2007: 9). She discusses the conserving effect of token frequency, stating that ‘repetition strengthens memory representations for linguistic forms and makes them more accessible’ (2007: 10, 271) and ‘the strengthening of memories makes complex units resist change’ (2007: 13, 271). This is exemplified by frequently used irregular verbs which resisted the trend of regularisation in past tense forms, to which other, less frequently used verbs succumbed. *Keep*, *sleep*, *weep*, *leap* and *creep* all took irregular past tense forms which they kept, but the less frequently used of them – *weep*, *leap* and *creep* – have since formed regular past-tense forms which are used interchangeably with the irregular ones (Bybee 2007: 10, 271). Bybee makes the point that ‘morphological irregularity is always centered in the high-frequency items of a language’ (2007: 271), an argument that could perhaps be extended to encompass more than just morphology.

Importantly, frequency effects are not limited to phonetic and morphological change such as those mentioned above, but can also be observed impacting change in morphosyntactic constructions (2007: 10, 272). Citing Givón (1979) on the conservative behaviour of pronouns when compared to noun phrases, Bybee points to pronouns being much more frequently used to explain them retaining distinct case forms, whereas nouns have lost these (Bybee 2007: 272). Another example is modal auxiliaries inverting with the subject in some constructions

(predominantly questions). In Middle English, this was a possibility for all verbs, not just auxiliaries, but lexical verbs eventually stopped appearing in inverted constructions. Instead, the new pro-verb *do* took their position preceding the subject in such contexts, while the lexical verbs found their new and, eventually, obligatory place following the subject. The conservative inverted word order is retained by the modal auxiliaries even today, and ‘it is their high frequency that accounts for their conservative behavior. The constructions with inverted auxiliaries were highly entrenched and thus not prone to revision despite the other syntactic changes occurring in English’ (2007: 353).

The inverted word order is not the only conservative feature of auxiliaries ascribable to frequency of use – the position of the negative particle (adverb in discussion of Ellegård) *not* can be explained similarly. We have already detailed how bare negation with *not* following the verb used to be the standard form of negation, and that *do* eventually took over. This is not the case for the auxiliaries, however, which ‘have simply continued to participate in the highly entrenched construction that was established in the fourteenth century [...]. The position of the negative [*not*] after [...] auxiliaries is the preservation for this high-frequency group of the order that once applied to all verbs’ (2007: 353). In summary, then, we see that several conservative features of the auxiliaries can be explained by their frequent use, and no change is on the horizon:

It can be said that the special properties of the auxiliaries in English are the retention of older morphosyntactic properties that were once general to English verbs. These modal auxiliaries and the other auxiliaries, *be*, *have*, and *do*, have retained these properties because of their high frequency: due to repetition their participation in certain constructions is highly entrenched and not likely to change. (Bybee 2007: 353)

Expanding on this, certain irregular features of other, non-auxiliary verbs might be similarly explained by them also being frequently used. Highly relevant for the discussion at hand, Bybee refers to a study by Tottie (1991a) on frequency as a determinant of linguistic conservatism in the development of negation in English. She, too, links the frequency of a word or a construction to linguistic conservatism, and mentions that both Rohde (1872) and Ellegård (1953) mention this in passing (Tottie 1991a: 440). Again, the matter of how one defines words and concepts is at the root of the discussion. Both Ellegård and Rohde speak of ‘fixed phrases’, not ‘frequency of use’. It seems to me, that the two often describe the same thing. After all, a single word can

constitute a linguistic phrase, but the image that most often comes to mind when speaking of ‘fixed phrases’, is one of longer, more complex phrases. The important part seems to be that some verbs – on their own – were more prone to retaining bare negation simply by being frequently used.

Tottie discusses frequency effects in the specific context in which we are currently interested – variable negation. Her study does not examine the relationship between periphrastic *do* and bare negation, however, but rather *do* and so called *no*-negation (e.g. *He did not see any books* vs. *He saw no books*) (1991a: 440–441). *No*-negation⁴ will be returned to later. Suffice to say here, it remains a robust option in both present day BrE and (particularly) IrE (Kirk and Kallen 2009). Tottie studies negation in present-day English, based on the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC) and the Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus of Written English (LOB) (1991a: 441–442), and she finds that the overall distribution of negation with *do* and *no*-negation is 66% vs. 34% in spoken samples, and 37% vs. 63% in written samples (1991a: 443–444, Table 1).⁵ Interestingly, Tottie says that ‘It was clear that different verbs tended to collocate with different types of negation, in similar patterns (although to different degrees) in speech and writing’ (1991a: 446), sentences with existential *be* and stative (possessive) *have* showing a clear preference for *no*-negation. After closer inspection, certain verbs stood out more frequently with *no*-negation, chief among them the usual suspect *know*, as well as main verb *do*, *give* and *make* (1991a: 448–449). It would seem that high-frequency verbs are more resistant to the newer form of negation with *do*, preferring the more conservative *no*-negation. Tottie cites Francis and Kučera (1982: 465) who rank *make*, *know* and *give* as 40th, 63rd and 72nd of the ca. 6000 most frequently used words in the English language (1991a: 450).⁶

Listing historical examples as evidence, Tottie suggests that the distribution of negation with *do* and *no*-negation ‘is a step in an ongoing process of change from *no*-negation to [negation with *do*], where constructions with more frequent verbs (...) resist the trend longer than less frequent ones’ (1991a: 452–458). As for why more frequently used verbs resist new

⁴ *No*-negation in Tottie (1991a) has a wider meaning than in Kirk and Kallen (2009), including NEG-incorporation.

⁵ What is here called negation with *do*, is termed *not*-negation in Tottie.

⁶ I have omitted *do* (27th), *have* (9th) and *be* (2nd) in the main text as auxiliary and main verb uses are not separated in Francis and Kučera, but Tottie deems their high rankings as justified based on the frequency with which they appear in the samples of her own study (Tottie 1991a: 450). Francis and Kučera is based on the Brown Corpus of written, present-day (1963–64) American English (1982: 1), but Tottie states that ‘There is no reason to believe that frequencies differ much in British and American English’ citing a comparison between Johansson and Hofland (1989) and Kučera and Francis (1967) which showed great similarity (1991a: 463, Note 5).

constructions, Tottie finds a likely explanation in the strength of collocations, giving such frequently used collocations idiomatic status (1991a: 458). While Tottie’s study diverges from the dichotomy we are most interested in, her conclusion that ‘the more frequent a verb is, the more likely it is to occur with [the older] *no*-negation’ (1991a: 451) is seemingly also applicable to our discussion on *do* vs. the similarly older bare negation.

Using data from Ellegård, Nurmi shows that the verbs in the *know*-group actually followed the development of the main group of verbs (Figure 2.4) – albeit at considerably lower frequencies – and confirms this with her own findings from the Helsinki Corpus (Nurmi 2000: 343–345). Interestingly, however, this mirroring happens only after 1600. Up until this point, the *know*-group hovers around 5%, regardless of the rise and fall of the main group. Nurmi’s figure (2000: 345, Figure 2) shows a more steady rise of *do* in both the main group and the *know*-group, without the regressions seen in Ellegård. This is mostly due to the longer subperiods, but the same tendency of the *know*-group following the main group at lower frequencies, is apparent (2000: 344).

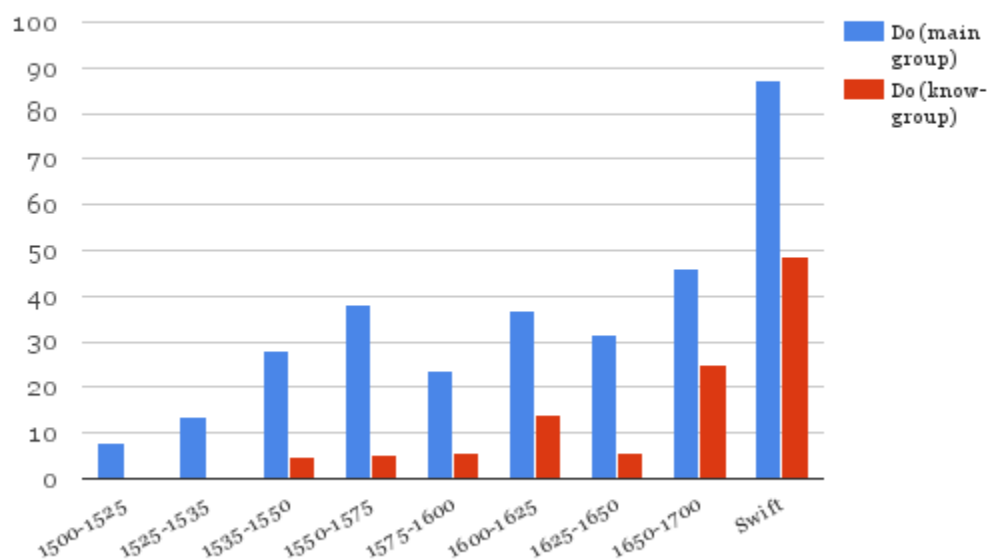


Figure 2.4. *Do* in negative declarative sentences, main group vs. ‘*know*-group’, 1500–1700 (after Ellegård 1953: 161, Table 7, 199, Table 17, Nurmi 2000: 343, Figure 1⁷)

⁷ Figure 2.4 differs slightly from Nurmi (2000: 343, Figure 1) as she joined the periods 1525–1535 and 1535–1550, and excludes Swift.

2.6 Bare negation in decline: Genre and sociolinguistic factors in the 18th century

While bare negation is still firmly attested in the 1700s, Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes a decline from the first half of the century to the second. Separating the authors in the study into two groups based on the publication dates of their works (early vs. late 18th century), we observe a slight decline in bare negation for both declaratives and interrogatives, 26.35% to 23.06% and 5.14% to 1.39%, respectively (1987: 136, Table 10), though these results are skewed by outliers, without which the decline would be sharper. For declaratives, which are best supported by data, she further traces the development of bare negation by calculating how big a part of the whole the *know*-instances constitute. The claim made earlier was that after *do*-periphrasis had taken over the main load of negating declaratives, fixed phrases, with *know* in particular, were by far the most common examples of bare negation. From this, then, one can hypothesise that if these *know*-phrases are more or less constant, an increase in their proportion out of the whole would indicate a decline of bare negation overall (1987: 136–137). As Table 2.1 below indicates, this was in fact the case. The proportion of *know*-phrases increased markedly from early to late 18th century, rising from 40% to 60%. But there are outliers here, too, that cloud the numbers somewhat. For the first half of the 18th century, there are two authors with no *know*-phrases recorded. Excluding those, three of six authors are recorded with a *know*-proportion in excess of 60%, the remaining three from 20% to 33%.

Table 2.1. Proportion of *do*-less negative sentences with *know*
(after Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 137, Table 11)

1st half of 18th c.		2nd half of 18th c.	
Swift	81.82%	Smollett	100.00%
Addison	20.00%	Goldsmith	80.00%
Steele	33.33%	Walpole	25.00%
Defoe	26.32%	Gibbon	80.00%
Lady Mary	0.00%	Burke	100.00%
Richardson	66.69%	Boswell	60.00%
Fielding	0.00%	Paine	14.29%
Johnson	85.71%	Burney	25.00%
Average	39.23%	Average	60.54%

For the second half of the 18th century, all eight authors use *know*-phrases to some extent, five of them in excess of 60%, two of those a complete 100%. The remaining three show numbers

between 14% and 25%. Nevertheless, even if one disregards the two authors in the early period with no *know*-phrases, there is still a considerable increase between the periods: 52% to 60%.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade alludes to some of the objections made above, stating that although *know* is the most frequently used verb with bare negation, some authors nevertheless seem to be disinclined to use it in *do*-less constructions (1987: 137, 130, Table 3). Four such authors are found in the early-group compared to only one in the late-group.⁸ As an explanation, Tieken-Boon van Ostade points to differences in ‘styles of writing, the style of a certain text belonging to a certain genre [and] a number of sociolinguistic variables: age, sex, regionality, and socio-economic class’ (1987: 138). To exemplify the importance of genre when it comes to the use or non-use of *do*, she points to two different texts by Samuel Johnson. In one of these, Johnson uses bare negation in 64.29% of possible instances. In the other, the proportion is a mere 14.29%. The latter is the text that Tieken-Boon van Ostade used in her study, and is categorised as a literary biography. The former, not used as it did not meet her requirements for inclusion in the study (14 instances of negative sentences with or without *do*, 15 being the required number), is categorised as a literary essay. While individual authors showing such differences between genres may have had consequences for her study, as many of the texts included are namely essays, the numbers show considerable variation not only between, but also within each genre (1987: 139–140, Table 12).

Regarding the age of the writers and how it may have affected her study, Tieken-Boon van Ostade references Wolfram and Fasold:

The variable of age must be viewed in terms of two different parameters. First, there are age differences that relate to generation differences—older generations have often not undergone linguistic changes that have affected the younger generations. But there are also differences that relate to *age-grading*; there are characteristic linguistic behaviors appropriate for different stages in the life history of an individual. (Wolfram and Fasold 1974: 89)

That people of different generations talk differently is obvious, and becomes very clear when, say, an older person all of the sudden takes on the linguistic persona of a teenager. This may serve to explain the difference between Samuel Richardson’s and Henry Fielding’s use of *do*

⁸ Disregarding *know*-phrases for a moment to look at the larger picture, this would indicate that these early-group authors used less bare negation than the late-group ones, in contradiction with what we should expect, according to the general development of negation. Needless to say, idiosyncrasies play a large role in language, and this becomes apparent in a context such as this where the data comes from but 16 individual authors.

(ages 45 and 32–35, 53% and 22% bare negation in negative declaratives, respectively), says Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (1987: 141, 136, Table 10). When it comes to age-grading, mentioned above, she uses letters written at different points in their lives to illustrate that both James Boswell (born in 1740) and Edmund Burke (born in 1729) preferred to use periphrastic *do* in negative sentences with *know* in their early letters (66% and 86% *do*). In their later letters, however, they have both pivoted and use bare negation predominantly in the same contexts (38% *do* for both authors), at odds with the general development of the age. It would appear that when in their life an author wrote a text is as important as when they were born. Unfortunately, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade concludes that she does not have sufficient material for every author at different points in their lives to factor this into the equation, and must make do with generation differences between the authors (1987: 141–142).

Seeing as two of the authors in the study are female, sex becomes a variable. More so than because of biological differences between the sexes, this is due to societal restrictions placed on women of the age. As Tiekens-Boon van Ostade mentions, women could not formally acquire an education equal to that which was available for men, and even those wealthy and lucky enough to be able to pursue self-education or private tutoring would most often have to struggle immensely to do so. In addition to being excluded from higher education, women were also not allowed to have professions. Important as it may be, occupation is also discarded as a factor in her study since the numbers showed that authors with the same or similar occupations had little in common linguistically. Education is seen as important not because the highly educated studied the English language in detail, but because she believes they might be expected to have been more cognizant of the various syntactic patterns at their disposal and the connotations they carried (1987: 142–143). Finally, regionality is also disregarded in her work (with informative prose), as she found no distinct patterns in use of *do* which were characteristic for one region compared to others.

Analysing the figures with regard to the authors' ages, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade finds that in the early 18th century, 'the older the author, the higher the relative frequency of the *do*-less construction', with a few exceptions. This is not so for the late 18th century. Overall, the figures for *do*-less constructions are lower, but the age of the authors seems to have little to do with it (1987: 146–147, Table 15). When it comes to the education of the authors, however, there seems to be a correlation between high education and little use of bare negation, says Tiekens-Boon van

Ostade. The highly educated who show high frequencies of bare negation are explained mostly by the genre of the text in question, as discussed above (1987: 147–149, Table 16). Of these outliers, Fanny Burney is perhaps foremost, using bare negation in 75% of possible instances. Tiekens-Boon van Ostade offers various explanations for this, settling on style and genre. She discards the possibility that Fanny Burney used an abundance of bare negation due to being influenced by poetry, on the grounds that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Dr Johnson wrote poetry as well, and do not show a similar preference for bare negation (1987: 149). This appears fallacious to me. The assumption is that every person is influenced in the exact same way by the same things, when this is unlikely to be the case. While it is probable that genre and style are the cause of the diverging figures for Burney, and it is certainly difficult to quantify something like ‘influence from experimenting with blank verse’, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade rejects it perhaps too easily.

In discussing the probable audience for these texts, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade offers a claim that appears at odds with an earlier argument. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s non-use of bare negation is explained not only by her high (non-formal) education, but by her writing for an audience consisting of ‘people belonging to the very upper layers of society’ and that this non-use of bare negation ‘must have been a very prestigious one’. This may well be the case, but contradicts an earlier passage where Boswell and Burke, both having university degrees, were shown to use bare negation more as they grew older, and this, too, was connected to the prestige of the construction (1987:141, 150). Even in the conclusion to the chapter, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade explains the high frequency of bare negation in Fanny Burney’s writing as due to ‘the influence of a prestigious pattern of usage’. It would seem that what passes as a sign of prestige differs from author to author, and changes over time (1987: 153).

Tiekens-Boon van Ostade similarly examines the epistolary prose of the authors in the study. First, she compares the numbers of *do* and bare negation in negative sentences and questions, then she looks at the development through the period, and finally how genre and sociolinguistic factors may have influenced the results. For bare negation in negative declarative sentences, the average is 20.73% in epistolary prose, compared to 24.71% in informative prose (1987: 128, Table 1, 158, Table 1). As for bare negation in questions, the figures are 13.84% in epistolary prose and 5.22% in informative prose (1987: 132 Table 5, 161, Table 5).

When the authors are divided into groups based on their letters dating from the early or late 18th century, there seems to be a decline in bare negation overall. For negative declarative sentences, the average for the early group is 21.94% and 18.87% for the late group (Richardson is omitted, his writing more or less evenly split between the periods) (1987: 165–166, Table 11). Excluding a few anomalies, the authors in the later group all show lower percentages than those of the early group. But it is for interrogatives that the decline is most obvious. Here we can observe bare negation tapering off until the latest authors have no recorded instances. All of this points to the coming extinction of bare negation in such constructions, says Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987: 165-166, Table 11, 171).

The verbs *know* and *doubt* prove most resistant to *do*-periphrasis in epistolary prose as well. More interesting, perhaps, is that the percentages for *doubt* exceed those for *know*, the reverse of what is common and was observed in informative prose (1987: 130, Tables 3 and 4, 169–160, Tables 3 and 4). *Doubt* appears with bare negation in 42.86% of possible instances in informative prose, compared to 60.26% for *know*, but in epistolary prose the percentages are 80.96% and 59.30%, respectively. Even though there are relatively few tokens recorded for *doubt* compared to *know* (78 *know* vs. 21 *doubt* in informative prose, 172 *know* vs. 21 *doubt* in epistolary prose), the stark change is still curious, and an observation Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes has not been made before (1987: 159). When the total number of tokens is this low, there is always a possibility that changes are due to outliers, idiosyncrasies in one or more of the authors. A closer look at the figures tells us that Lady Mary, perhaps the most stalwart of the authors in her use of *do*, is recorded with only one token of *do* in epistolary prose, while she provided seven for the same side in informative prose. On the other hand, Defoe is similarly recorded with one token of bare negation in epistolary prose, but six in informative prose. These two even each other out, and the change in frequency for *doubt* with bare negation seems to be real, but further study would be necessary to verify this. Other than for *know* and *doubt*, there is little grounds for making sweeping conclusions. The presence of any given verb with bare negation is seemingly ‘characteristic of an author’s personal preference’, says Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987: 160, 171–172). She illustrates this by pointing to Joseph Addison, who in both his epistolary and informative prose shows a preference for using bare negation with the verb *question* (1987: 129, Table 2, 159, Table 2).

Sociolinguistic factors such as age, education and regionality are used to explain the anomalies among the authors, but these do not differ from what was discussed above in the section on informative prose. Walpole, the clearest outlier in the group, using bare negation in only 1.04% of possible negative declarative instances, is explained by his higher education and him writing for people of the upper echelons of society – the same explanation that was ascribed to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s writing earlier (1987: 165, Table 11, 169–170).

Direct speech from novels, plays and biographies is the last type of language Tiekens-Boon van Ostade investigates and her method is the same as for the previous ones (1987: 18, Table 2, 173). As the data recorded is direct speech, genre and sociolinguistic factors are not treated in detail. For the authors in the study, the average frequency of bare negation in negative declaratives is 18.84% in this type of language, compared to 22.34% in epistolary prose, and 24.71% in informative prose. (1987: 173, Table 1, 158, Table 1,⁹ 128, Table 1). Notably, all authors besides Richardson, Smollett and Steele record numbers well below the average, ranging from about 2% – 15%. Though *know* is recorded with more tokens, *doubt* again occurs with bare negation at a higher frequency, relative to the total number of instances recorded (1987: 174–175, Tables 3 & 4). The most striking bit of information is perhaps that all but three authors show a preference for using *do*-periphrasis with *know* in direct speech. In the more formal epistolary and informative prose the reverse is true (1987: 175, Table 3, 159, Table 3, 130, Table 3). I would take this as evidence for the relative informality of periphrastic *do* when compared to bare negation, as was the case in Cusack’s research on Shakespeare. Despite these figures, Tiekens-Boon van Ostade herself does not see *do* as a sign of informality. She has argued the opposite, seeing the frequent use of *do* by highly educated authors writing for a likewise audience, as a sign of formality and prestige. Likewise, the frequent use of bare negation by those authors that are of the lower rungs in society is seen as evidence for either the informal nature of bare negation, or these authors misinterpreting it as prestigious and overusing it. But if bare negation is a sign of informality, why is it used the least in direct speech – a representation of the most informal type of language?

⁹ The average in Table 1 on page 158 seems to be mis-calculated, showing 20.73 instead of 22.34. The same figures are found again in Table 1 on page 187, but the average for bare negation in epistolary prose is now correctly given as 22.36. The .02% discrepancy between the two stems from Swift’s figures, which are 22.36% in Table 1, page 158, and 22.64% in Table 1, page 187.

Where Ellegård claimed that ‘lettered people’ acted as popularisers of *do*-periphrasis in its earliest days, Tieken-Boon van Ostade says that the eventual disappearance of bare negation was also a change motivated by the upper classes of society:

The disappearance of the *do*-less construction from the language of informative prose appears to be a change motivated from above, manifesting itself first in the upper layers of society before spreading downwards along the social scale. This is in keeping with findings in modern sociolinguistic research. See Milroy and Milroy (1985): ‘Generally speaking, higher social groups approximate increasingly more closely to high prestige norms’ (p. 96). (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 151)

There is always the possibility that things changed from Shakespeare’s days to the period Tieken-Boon van Ostade investigates, and that the informal nature of *do* that Cusack reported may have changed to become formal, but it is curious, then, that the highest frequency of *do* is recorded in the most informal language of the three types Tieken-Boon Van Ostade studied. It is here that distinguishing between different types of characters in plays and novels would be useful, similar to the analysis Cusack provided. If Tieken-Boon van Ostade had described what types of characters used which constructions in their direct speech, it could provide further insight on the relationship between *do* and bare negation of the period. Ignoring the different natures of speakers seems to me a direct breach with the overall goal of describing language of different styles and situations, but due to limited available material and the nature of her study Tieken-Boon van Ostade found it necessary to do so (1987: 25). Even though more data would be needed to make decisive conclusions, it would be an interesting avenue to pursue, and one that could possibly clarify some confusion. Like that found in Cusack, such a description of the way different people talked would make how we choose to define terms such as formal, informal, and prestige less vital for understanding the argument.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade does this in an earlier paper on *do*-support in the writings of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Here, she takes a similar approach to investigating use and non-use of *do* in Lady Mary’s diverse writing as the one found in her 1987 book, where Lady Mary is one of several authors studied (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1985: 131). In discussing the language of Lady Mary’s play, it is noted that while periphrastic constructions are used by all characters, every instance of bare negation in negative sentences and questions were spoken by characters of the upper class (1985: 142–143, 145). While the examples from Lady Mary’s play are not as

obvious as the mocking of upper-class language by lower classes that we saw in Shakespeare above, it would seem that she, too, clearly distinguished between the spoken language of upper and lower class characters in her play. And while lines in a play are of a more literary nature than real speech, says Tieken-Boon van Ostade, she acknowledges that '[they] may give evidence for the use of *do*-support in the spoken language of the eighteenth century' (1985: 148), and 'if she [Lady Mary] may be assumed to have given a realistic account of the spoken language of her time, the use of *do*-support can only have been influenced by the way in which people actually spoke' (1985: 150). Tieken-Boon van Ostade references this section of her earlier work, furthermore citing examples from other authors who also differentiate between the speech of upper and lower class characters, but she hesitates to emphasise this point as too little is known about these characters and their backgrounds (1987: 184–185). This assumes an expansive world-building in these plays, where, hypothetically, a servant with a common name can be highly educated and of considerable pedigree and would therefore invalidate any theorising on the language of the different classes. We cannot know for sure, hence we should not use this evidence, according to Tieken-Boon van Ostade. There are certainly limitations to literary sources, such as a tendency to reduce variability, overuse stereotypical features and a general uncertainty regarding their authenticity. A written document, be it a play or otherwise, can never be taken as the equivalent of a transcript of actual speech (Schneider 2013: 68, 77). Nevertheless, discarding such data en masse seems overly careful. Since the language of plays was written to be spoken out loud – and would have to have some authenticity to be accepted by the audience, one would assume – it must at the very least have resembled contemporary real speech. It is certainly the closest we have, so not making use of this data seems a waste. Says Schneider: 'Despite these reservations, literary dialect can be and has been used successfully for linguistic purposes' (2013: 68).

All of this makes Tieken-Boon van Ostade's earlier claim that frequent use of *do* was a sign of formality and the upper classes – and bare negation the other end of the spectrum – seem poorly founded. There are also passages from grammars of the 18th century which would indicate that bare negation was seen as 'less colloquial, or less characteristic of oral modes of expression' (1987: 206), such as Fogg who in his grammar of 1792 states that bare negation (in negative declaratives) is used in 'the solemn style only', and that *do* (in interrogatives) is used 'when a question is asked in familiar language' (Fogg 1970: 154). Tieken-Boon van Ostade

acknowledges that the evidence from spoken language contradicts her earlier conclusions (1987: 151, 170) regarding the various social classes and their relative use of *do* (1987: 198), but proposes an explanation by differentiating between the development of *do*-support in written vs. spoken language, saying that: ‘Whereas in the written language *do*-support is more regularised [closer to modern use] in the most literate styles, in the spoken language it is the speech of the lower classes which is characterised by a greater degree of regularisation’ (Tieken-Boon Van Ostade 1985: 148, 150).

2.7 Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*

Of all the works in her study, James Boswell’s *Life of Johnson* (1791) is the only one which is non-fiction and can claim to reproduce speech *actually* spoken and Tieken-Boon van Ostade takes it as evidence for the actual state of affairs in the 18th century (1987: 182–183, 185). Boswell shows less use of bare negation in negative declaratives (6.12%) than all but two other authors (1987: 182, Table 13), and similarly low numbers for interrogatives (5%). While other authors of fiction produce similar figures to those of Boswell, the validity of their data cannot be taken at face value. Though the data is limited, if Boswell’s description of Johnson’s direct speech really is an accurate reflection of the language of the day, it would seem that bare negation was mostly relegated to the written medium, excepting fixed phrases that were deeply entrenched and slower to exit the language.

There has been much and varied criticism of *Life of Johnson*, but seeing as Boswell’s rendition of Johnson’s speech is the subject here, everything else shall be laid aside. Tieken-Boon van Ostade says that only 15% of the direct speech studied in *Life of Johnson* predates the two of them having met (1987: 182). Donald Greene (1979: 129) writes that ‘at the very most (...) the *Life* gives us an account of (portions of) 250 days in the last twenty-two years of Johnson’s life’. This highlights the fact that Boswell spent a very short period of time together with Johnson; the rest of his biography is based on sources that are not first hand. Nevertheless, the remaining 85% of the direct speech in the book took place in the 250 days where Boswell and Johnson spent time together, presumably. Although the conversations may have taken place in these days, Boswell’s recording of them may not have. Tieken-Boon van Ostade notes that his

method of recording this direct speech is indeed uncertain (1987: 186). Pat Rogers writes in the introduction to the 1980 edition of Boswell's method for recording his time with Johnson:

He jotted down first short notes of the day's events, whenever possible late the same evening or first thing the next day. These were usually nothing more than a rapid series of headings, to be discarded when the journal proper was written up, at intervals of time that varied between a few days after the event to several weeks. (Boswell 1980: xv)

There are two lapses between the actual events and Boswell recording them; the first relatively short, the second more substantial – both possible sources of inaccuracies. On the same note, Baldwin recounts many examples of Boswell's failing memory, such as 'I forget', 'I do not recollect', 'has escaped my memory', and 'I have preserved nothing' (Baldwin 1952: 493). While these quotes may not pertain to Johnson's direct speech, all of this points to inherent problems with memory and recollection – there is a great deal of uncertainty as to how accurate later representations of earlier events can be. On this topic, Schneider distinguishes between five different categories of texts; Recorded, recalled, imagined, observed, and invented (Schneider 2013: 60–61). Boswell's journal, in which he recorded his conversations with Johnson, can be put in three out of these five categories. Recorded, recalled, or observed – we have no way of knowing for certain how accurate Johnson's direct speech in Boswell is.

While we are presently interested in a few grammatical constructions of Johnson's English, there are indications that Boswell was more attentive to other parts of his language:

Let me here apologize for the imperfect manner in which I am obliged to exhibit Johnson's conversation at this period. In the early part of my acquaintance with him, I was so wrapt in admiration of his extraordinary colloquial talents, and so little accustomed to his peculiar mode of expression, that I found it extremely difficult to recollect and record his conversation with its genuine vigour and vivacity. In progress of time, when my mind was, as it were, *strongly impregnated with the Johnsonian æther*, I could, with much more facility and exactness, carry in my memory and commit to paper the exuberant variety of his wisdom and wit. (Boswell 1970: 297)

This passage highlights some interesting points regarding the author and his subject. For one, there is the matter of Boswell's rendition of Johnson's speech. Baldwin (1952: 494) takes this as evidence of it being – in general – not accurately represented by Boswell. This is probably the case, but more than anything else, I see it also as proof of Boswell being first and foremost concerned with representing the style and feeling of Johnson's speech, and not so much giving a

precise word for word transcription of what he may have said. Tinker, in his introduction to the 1970 edition, says that when finalising his work, Boswell ‘permitted himself the privilege [...] of occasionally touching up a Johnsonian phrase, submitting it to that Johnsonian “ether”’ (Boswell 1970: xvii). In addition, the image of Johnson with which we are presented, is one of a man who spoke not at all like most other people did and is as such probably not representative of standard, contemporary speech. This is all to say that there is a great deal of uncertainty surrounding Johnson’s speech, and the validity of Boswell’s rendition of it, and Tieken-Boon van Ostade accepting it for actual contemporary spoken English is perhaps a too eager conclusion.

In addition to tracing the development of variable negation (steady decline of bare negation) from where Ellegård left off by providing and analysing figures for 18th century English, Tieken-Boon van Ostade also highlights the importance of taking into consideration the different genres and styles of the source material when studying earlier language – a distinction far too many disregard, she says (1987: 2). She refers to an earlier pilot-study which shows that auxiliary *do* developed at a significantly different pace in prose than it did in poetry, as did different *types* of prose. Numbers from this earlier study show that, in negated sentences, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu used *do* in 35% of possible instances in her poetry, 78% in epistolary prose and 98% when writing informative prose. These are radical differences, and Tieken-Boon van Ostade has chosen to focus in her study (1987), on what she has called the ‘written medium’, which she subdivides into informal prose, epistolary prose (letters) and direct speech. She ignores tokens from poetry, seeing the genre and style as a preservation of ‘an older pattern of usage [used] for the sake of metre and rhyme’, and would thus not only contribute little to the understanding of how periphrastic *do* developed in this period, but effectively muddle the results, a claim I find mostly persuasive. As well as painting a more accurate picture of the distribution of *do* and bare negation, Tieken-Boon van Ostade claims the stylistic differences in *do*-support can help explain the constructions’ development or disappearance in the 18th century and why they differ from what can be observed today (1987: 2, 16). While discussing different developments in declaratives and interrogatives across the various genres, she notes that: ‘One of the major points that has emerged from the above contrastive analysis is that most of the authors whose language I have investigated make stylistic distinctions in their usage of *do*. However, the distinctions made are highly dissimilar’ (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 197, 228–229).

2.8 Ellegård's and Tieken-Boon van Ostade's approaches

While Ellegård and Tieken-Boon van Ostade have given us the two most important works within the field of variable negation, tracing its development through the 18th century, there are perhaps a few objections that could be made as regards their methodology and the data they used in their studies. Ellegård chose his texts by chance, 'decided by availability rather than by any other considerations', and, 'for each text, ten pages to be studied were chosen in advance, without first looking into the book to ascertain whether they appeared "typical" or not, though care was taken to spread out the pages fairly uniformly over the whole book' (1953: 157–158, Footnote 1, 158–159). Tieken-Boon van Ostade has opted for a study based on specific authors, selected due to the diversity of their texts, the date of their publication, as well as the authors' sex, to explore the possibility of gender influencing their pattern of negation (1987: 20). When choosing the specific texts for her study, Tieken-Boon van Ostade set a 25,000 word benchmark and based her selection on that (1987: 21). In addition to this, for a text to be included, there had to be at least fifteen negative sentences with or without *do* (1987: 23). Her data for epistolary prose is for the most part gathered from letters to one single person with whom the author shared an intimate, candid, trusting relationship (1987: 23–24). The language used in such letters is assumed to be close to actual, spontaneous speech. The main issue with using only letters addressed to one person, is that two people who are familiar with one another very often develop a specific way of communicating – more or less unique for these two people – which they pick up when they interact with each other. The author may have communicated differently with other people, hypothetically using a different pattern of negating sentences, but the numbers will not show this as they are based on letters to a single recipient.

The problem with Ellegård's and Tieken-Boon van Ostade's approaches is perhaps best described by an example. Both studies use material by Jonathan Swift, Ellegård gathering his data from letters I–XVI (out of 65 letters in total) in *A Journal to Stella* (1953: 311), Tieken-Boon van Ostade uses his *The Examiner and Other Pieces Written in 1710–11* (pp. 3–73) and from *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, his letters to one person, Pope (1987: 238). As I see it, there are a few major problems with this. Firstly, these texts are but a fraction of Swift's total output. If one is to use texts written by specific authors, a wider range of works would better describe their pattern of negating. Derived from this first objection, is the problem of small

sample sizes. Both Ellegård's and Tieken-Boon van Ostade's selection of texts are based on more or less arbitrary criteria. The results they were able to get from their chosen texts vary in no small degree. For negative declaratives, Swift is recorded with 87% use of *do* in Ellegård's study (1953: 161, Table 7), while Tieken-Boon van Ostade – also in negative declaratives – has him at 48% and 77% in informative (*The Examiner ...*) and epistolary (*The Correspondence ...*) prose, respectively (1987: 128, Table 1, 158, Table 1). While you could argue that the author is not really what one is interested in, but rather the time at which their work was written, both *A Journal to Stella* and *The Examiner and Other Pieces Written in 1710–1711* are written between 1710–1713, and one would hardly expect Swift's use of *do* to change this much in such a narrow timeframe. This highlights the major problem of small samples, selected by chance or availability – the possibility of great variation.

Tieken-Boon van Ostade alludes to this in her discussion on Fanny Burney whose frequent use of bare negation makes her an outlier in her study (1987: 149). *Camilla*, which is the text selected for her study, is recorded with bare negation in 75% of all negative declaratives, while her earliest novel, *Evelina*, shows a more normal 29% (1987: 149).¹⁰ This is explained by their date of publication – *Camilla* in 1796, *Evelina* in 1778 – as well as the different styles of the novels, and Burney being 'greatly influenced' by Dr. Johnson. Regardless of why different texts display such different figures, by choosing one text and excluding others Tieken-Boon van Ostade more or less controls the result of her study. 75% and 29% are vastly different scores, and only one is chosen to represent the author's works in the study. One could make the argument that *Evelina* is an epistolary novel, and should therefore not be considered with other authors' informative prose, but rather their epistolary prose. While not as big a discrepancy as the one seen above, using *Evelina* instead of Burney's letters to her father to represent the author's epistolary prose, would still give significantly different results – 29% vs. 41% (1987: 158, Table 1).

The main gripes with Ellegård and Tieken-Boon van Ostade, then, are their small sample sizes, the random selections,¹¹ and them not accounting for it to any extent. Nurmi (1999: 13), for example, praises Tieken-Boon van Ostade for her systematic approach to the social factors

¹⁰ The average for bare negation in negative declaratives is 24.71% in informative prose (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 128, Table 1). *Evelina* is an epistolary novel, but the tokens were gathered from narrative parts in the letters (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 149).

¹¹ Random in the sense that one is chosen over other possible candidates, not that there are no criteria for their selection process.

surrounding the development of *do*, but expresses the same reservations regarding the size of her corpus. A few texts and an arbitrary word limit, or random page numbers in random texts do not seem to me the ideal basis for a linguistic study, but this is done, I suppose, to make the workload manageable in a time before technology and electronic corpora made life easier for linguists.

2.9 Nurmi and sociolinguistic factors in early use of *do*

Following Tieken-Boon van Ostade's argument that '[in the 18th century] there is a clear correlation between the amount of variation found [in use/non-use of *do*] and the social class the author belongs to' (1987: 228), Nurmi – in an attempt to explain the dips in Ellegård's graph for negative declaratives in the periods 1575–1600 and 1625–1650 (Figure 2.1) – researches similar possibilities in the 16th and 17th centuries (1999: 152–153). Using data from CEEC (Corpus of Early English Correspondence), she finds that gender was the most significant variable in the spread of *do* in negative declaratives, education and social ambition to a lesser extent (1999: 152–153). Little data is available for women in the 16th century, but 17th-century data makes it obvious that men and women differed quite substantially in their use of *do*.¹² Again, these differences are not an indication of differing biologies, but the different roles and opportunities men and women had, and how these may have influenced their language (Nurmi 1999: 35). Women leading in the use of *do* in the 17th century is explained by them seemingly being able to predict what is to become standard (1999: 155). Rather than merely predicting it, one can argue that women create the standard, seen for example in the shift of suffix from *-th* to *-s* in third-person singular indicative, mentioned above, which was a change led by women in the 16th century (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 122–124, Figure 6.7). Labov postulates two general principles concerning the role of females in linguistic change: 'In change from above, women favor the incoming prestige form more than men', and 'in change from below, women are most often the innovators' (Labov 1990: 213–215). Indeed, it is well established through sociolinguistic research on the differences in language between men and women, that women use fewer 'stigmatized and non-standard variants than do men of the same social group in the same

¹² Two values are given for 1640–1659, one with and one without Dorothy Osborne, who Nurmi (1999: 149–150) explains as an anomaly. Without Osborne's considerable contribution to the corpus, the development of *do* follows a much more regular curve, similar to that of men, albeit at a higher frequency – which is the interesting part.

circumstances’ (Chambers 2002: 116), and that ‘in formal contexts, women use more standard or prestige forms than men’ (Holmes 1997: 132). If we take this as an argument for women using *do* more frequently than men, we assume that *do* was in fact a prestige form. Nurmi argues for this by pointing to educated men who, in the period 1620–1639, used *do* more than those men without education (1999: 156–157, Figure 9.6). This coincides with women’s use of *do* diverging from men’s (Figure 2.5). Nurmi suggests that this is due to hypercorrection: a form used by educated men was prestigious and something women aspired to, and therefore started using *do* more than men, overall (1999: 157). While education and social ambition seem to be

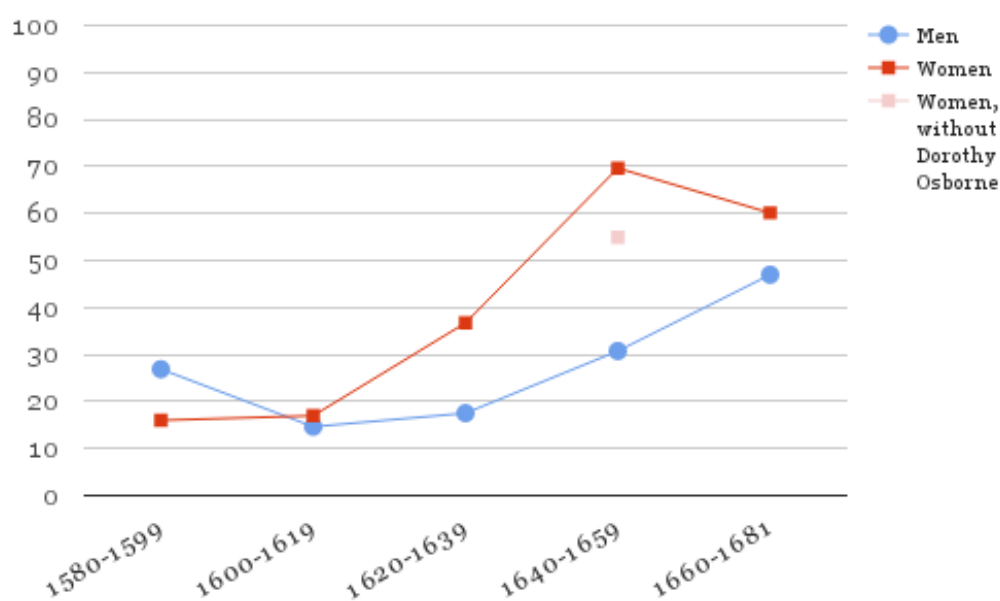


Figure 2.5. Gender and the use of *do* in negative declaratives in CEEC, 1580–1681 (after Nurmi 1999: 153–154, Table 9.5 and Figure 9.5)

determining factors in people’s use of *do* in the 17th century, the major distinction is that between men and women (1999: 159).

While affirmative declaratives never really recovered properly from their recession in the early 17th century,¹³ negative declaratives were soon on the upswing again. In contrast to *do* in

¹³ Following Ellegård, the first decline of *do* in declaratives happened in the period 1575–1600 (Figure 2.1). Nurmi (1999: 145, 147, 163–164) times the decline to the slightly later period, 1600–1619 (1999: 167, Figure 10.3). The mixed nature of Ellegård’s corpus led to this inaccuracy, she says, and her use of letters provides a more precise point in time for the decline. Though no single factor was responsible on its own for this sudden reduced frequency

(non-emphatic) affirmative declaratives, which was used interchangeably with *do*-less constructions as a mere stylistic variant, *do* in negative declaratives probably had grammatical function from the beginning, says Nurmi (1999: 182). She interprets the lack of social variation in people's use of *do* in negative declaratives as probable evidence of this (1999: 170). As the use of *do* in general fell in the early 17th century, it would seem that these functional uses of *do* made the negative construction more robust, and it became more and more common, while the stylistic *do* in affirmative declaratives was allowed to die out, the form of speech with which it was associated an overly turgid and grandiose one (Stein 1990: 46). Unemphatic affirmative *do* is mostly gone from present day English, but is preserved in some registers, e.g. legalese.

Ellegård's graph (1953: 162, Diagram to table 7) shows that by 1700, *do* was used in approximately 80% of possible instances of negative declaratives. This number is skewed by the inclusion of Swift in his data, without which the frequency for 1650–1700 is almost halved at 46%. This is more in line with Tiekens-Boon van Ostade's claim that the modern pattern of use had *not* been reached by 1700. Why did Ellegård include Swift when the work he chose so clearly altered the actual state of *do*? McCafferty suggests that Swift is given a special place in Ellegård's work because *Journal to Stella*, his lone text that appears in the study, is the latest text Ellegård dealt with, and the only one which is written in the 18th century: 'Placing Swift's *Journal to Stella* at the right edge of the chart neatly marks the year 1710 as the precise date when the modern pattern of auxiliary *do* use was set, and coincides neatly with the start of the Late Modern English period' (McCafferty 2016: 5). Conveniently enough, *Journal to Stella* shows 87% use of *do* in negative declaratives and is thus taken as evidence for the modern state of *do*-support being more or less reached by the early 18th century. 1710 would certainly seem a more neat time to tie things up than 1693, when the second to last of Ellegård's texts, William Congreve's *The Old Bachelor*, was written.¹⁴ Had he included more, or chosen another, of

of *do*-support, with this delay of c. 20 years, she is able to correlate the decline of *do* with the arrival in London of the Jacobean court in 1603, and their preference for not using *do* (1999: 179–181, 190). Referencing a study by Meurman-Solin (1993) – based on the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots – Nurmi compares her own figures to those of Older Scots, and finds that in both affirmative (6 instances per 10,000 words in Sc compared to 29/10,000 in BrE) and negative declaratives (0.6/10,000 in Sc, 3.5/10,000 in BrE), Scots of the period (1570–1640) used *do* at considerably lower frequencies (1999: 179–180). Jennifer Smith studies the dialect of Buckie, north-east Scotland, and finds that *do* is not obligatory in negative declaratives in the present tense, and that 'variable use of *do* in this linguistic context in present-day English is unique to dialects of north-east Scotland' (Smith 2000: 232–233).

¹⁴ *The Old Bachelor* was first produced in March, 1693. More uncertain is exactly when Congreve wrote the play, but some time between 1689 and close to the production date is often suggested. Hodges argues convincingly for an earlier date with later revisions (1943: 971–976).

Swift's texts, the number might have been a completely different one. As mentioned above, we do not have to look further than to Tieken-Boon van Ostade's study, where Swift's *The Examiner and Other Pieces Written in 1710–11*, shows only 48% use of *do*, much closer to the average of the day (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 128, Table 1). The problems with taking a single text of a single author as representative of state of affairs were discussed above, and in doing so Ellegård paints a false picture.

2.10 Do-support in colonial Englishes, and the unique case of *have*

Up to this point, we have dealt with *do*-support in British English, but when we reach the 18th and 19th centuries, other varieties also become interesting. Irish English is the topic in question, but American, Australian, and New Zealand Englishes have also been studied to varying degrees, and provide compelling information on how the constructions evolved differently in other varieties than British English. On the development of Australian English, Peter Collins writes that: 'While Australian usage is found to have diverged from that of its British colonial parent, reflecting increasing independence from British linguistic norms, it has shifted towards that of American English – the new centre of gravity of grammatical change in English world-wide [...]' (Collins 2015: 15), and that 'a consequence of this change is that a number of general tendencies that have been observed to be particularly associated with American usage have variably penetrated BrE, AusE, and other varieties' (2015: 18). Rohdenburg and Schlüter, in their work on differences between British and American English, confirm that this is indeed the case, but the takeover is not absolute – British English still exerts some influence (2009: 5).

Collins points to earlier studies on features of Australian English (Collins: 2014; Collins and Yao: 2014) that have shown a tendency to evolve in much the same way BrE and AmE did, but at a delayed pace (Collins 2015: 17). This phenomenon is often called 'colonial lag', or 'extraterritorial conservatism', and is used to explain colonial varieties of English developing in the same way the main varieties do, though later. Rohdenburg and Schlüter, however, find that the concept of colonial lag is often inadequate to explain the complex diachronic evolutions of the varieties, and – when studied over time – differences that have been attributed to colonial lag may rather be post-colonial revivals (2009: 5). Nevertheless, one of Collins' goals with his study on a wide range of features, is to see if such colonial lag can be observed (2015: 17). One of the

features studied is *do*-support with negation. Collins uses three corpora, COOEE, AusCorp (for AusE data) and ARCHER (for AmE and BrE data), and compares *do*-support versus bare negation in AusE, BrE and AmE, from early 19th century through the late 20th. He finds that use of *do* increases steadily throughout the period, but the biggest jump is made between early and late 19th century in AusE and AmE, 48% to 78% and 61% to 86%, respectively. In BrE, this leap happens half a century later, use of *do* rising from 63% to 90% between late 19th and early 20th century (Collins 2015: 35, Figure 9. See also Figure 4.9, below

). Overall, Collins says, AmE is slightly more innovative in its use of *do* than AusE is, showing higher frequencies up to the final half century, and he suggests that the Australian growth may at least be partly due to American influence (2015: 35). Not only is BrE more conservative in that its use of *do* increased at a slower pace than the other varieties, but the frequency has stabilised at 90% through the 20th century, whereas AusE and AmE display frequencies of 95% (2015: 35–36, Figure 9). In his concluding remarks, Collins notes that ‘the pattern is (...) for AmE to be more advanced than BrE and AusE, and AusE more advanced than BrE’ (2015: 39), which was reflected in the isolated study on *do*, and that the spread of *do*-support in BrE and AusE is most likely driven by American influence as the decline of bare negation was notably stronger in AmE from the early 19th century (2015: 39).

Omitted in Tieken-Boon van Ostade due to its singular status, Collins (2015), Hundt (2015) and McCafferty (2016) all deal with lexical *have* in their work. Marianne Hundt in particular makes it the cornerstone of her study on *do*-support in early New Zealand and Australian English, and whether they followed or diverged from British English. Noting that the spread of *do*-support as regards lexical *have* is markedly different when comparing BrE and AmE, Hundt focuses on the variable negation of the verb for the same reasons that Tieken-Boon van Ostade avoided it (Hundt 2015: 65).¹⁵ When dealing with *have*, one must make a distinction between different uses of the verb. Dynamic use of *have* conveys ‘receiving’, ‘taking’ or ‘experiencing’, stative use the sense of ‘possessing’ (2015: 68). Quirk et al. (1985) observe that in the stative use of *have*, bare negation is the traditionally used construction in BrE, but now somewhat uncommon. If pure bare negation is becoming more uncommon in BrE, *do*-support is not the construction filling the void, but rather the more informal *have got*, which cannot take *do*

¹⁵ In addition to *have*, Tieken-Boon van Ostade avoids using tokens of *need*, *ought*, *dare*, and *used*, as these were found invariably – except for one token – with bare negation in the works studied (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 63).

periphrasis, according to Quirk et al.. In dynamic uses of *have*, *do*-support is normally used in both AmE and BrE (Quirk et al. 1985: 131–132). Trudgill et al. (2002), cite two example sentences to demonstrate the difference between BrE and AmE use of *have*: While a speaker of AmE would typically say ‘do you have any coffee?’, the BrE speaker would say ‘have you any coffee?’. Similarly, the AmE speaker would say ‘I took a shower’, and the BrE speaker ‘I had a shower’ (2002: 1). The first is an example of stative, or possessive use of *have*, while the second is what Quirk et al. call an idiom with an eventive object, a dynamic use (Quirk et al. 1985: 132). Allowing for degrees of variability within varieties, AmE is the odd one out here, say Trudgill et al., as AusE and NZE (and South African English) usage in contexts such as those above, resembles that of BrE (2002: 1–2). The examples given in Trudgill et al., are of course an interrogative and an affirmative declarative, not the negative declarative with which Hundt and I are primarily occupied, but Hundt expects AusE and NZE to follow the more conservative BrE rather than AmE in such uses as well (2015: 70–71).

For NZE and AusE Hundt uses data from CENZE (*Corpus of Early New Zealand English*) and COOEE (*Corpus of Oz Early English*), whereas data for BrE and AmE comes from ARCHER (*A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers*). While the data from CENZE is too scarce to make sweeping conclusions on early NZE, for the five different verbs which are found with bare negation in negative declaratives, it is used in 32% of instances (20 tokens), *do* in 68% (42 tokens) (2015: 75, Table 4). Of particular interest is *have* which is recorded with bare negation in ten instances, compared to no instances of *do*, and *know* which shows just one token of bare negation, and 35 of *do*. *Know*, then, provides 83% of the total 42 tokens of *do*. The data on early AusE from COOEE is more substantial and presents an image of bare negation in considerable decline from 1840 to 1900, yet stabilising between the later periods of the corpus (2015: 76–77, Figure 1, Figure 2). Bare negation is attested in 53% of instances in the period 1840–50, 37% in 1851–75, and 34% in 1876–1900. Over the entire period, bare negation is recorded in 215 instances (39%) and *do* in 341 (61%). As with NZE, two familiar verbs dominate the data: there are 125 tokens of *have* with bare negation, and just one with *do*, while *know* is recorded with 30 tokens of bare negation (14%) and 178 with *do* (86%). The state of *have* remains stable throughout the period – the lone token of *do* is recorded in the period 1840–50, but *know* with bare negation declines from 28% to 20% to 4% through the sub-periods (2015: 85–86, Table 1a). When compared to data from ARCHER, the evolution of variable

negation in early AusE and NZE is overall close to that of BrE (32% bare negation), but clearly more conservative than AmE (20% bare negation), in its use of *do* (2015: 77–78).

2.11 Grammatical simplification

Another possibility, is that of simplification. It has long been established that the grammar of different languages are equally complex. In later years, however, this notion has been challenged, and Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi provide evidence for some languages, and even varieties of a single language, having considerably less complex grammars than do other languages (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2009: 266). They cite McWhorter who agrees that ‘there is no equi-complexity among the grammars of the world’s languages’ (2009: 266). McWhorter also says that: ‘My claim is that all of the world’s least complex languages will be creoles, not that all creoles are simpler than older languages’ (McWhorter 2001: 392). Trudgill, in the same issue of *Linguistic Typology*, equates linguistic complexity to difficulty of learning for adults, which in turn leads to simplification. While this certainly happens in creoles, ‘it is not confined to these types of language’ (Trudgill 2001: 371–373). Simplification, that is ‘loss of redundancy and irregularity and increase in transparency’ (2001: 371–373) can be seen in other, more established languages and, perhaps most interestingly, in different varieties of a language.

Exemplified by the system of reflexive pronouns, Trudgill says that: ‘Standard English is somewhat more irregular than the nonstandard dialects simply as a consequence of the fact that this particular very usual type of linguistic change has not taken place in the standard in certain cases because of its conservatism’ (Trudgill 2009: 310). Standard English forms reflexive pronouns based on a mix of possessive (*myself*, *yourself*, *ourselves* and *yourselves*) and objective pronouns (*himself* and *themselves*), whereas almost every nonstandard dialect has a more regular system (2009: 310). Another example would be nonstandard dialects regularising the paradigm of *be*, using one form for all persons, whether it be *be*, *is*, or *am* etc. (2009: 311). Trudgill states that regularisation, which happens in nearly all nonstandard varieties, is a diachronic universal, particularly associated with dialect and language contact (Trudgill 2009: 310, 312; 1986: 161). Such regularisation is one form of simplification, which is well known to result from language contact (Mühlhäusler 1977; cited in Trudgill 2009: 312). He cites studies on the dialect of Høyanger, western Norway (Trudgill 1986: 95–99, 102–106), which shows a simplified system

of – among other things – plural endings. Instead of adopting the system of either of the standard dialects Nynorsk and Bokmål, the local Høyanger dialect has done away with irregular instances found in these, thereby increasing the regularity of their plural endings (1986: 103). As Trudgill says on the process of levelling and simplification:

In dialect contact and dialect mixture situations there may be an enormous amount of linguistic variability in the early stages. However, as time passes, focusing takes place by means of a *reduction* of the forms available. This reduction takes place through the process of koinéization, which consists of the *levelling* out of minority and otherwise marked speech forms, and of *simplification*, which involves, crucially, a reduction in irregularities. (The degree of simplification, and possibly its nature, may be influenced by lingua franca usage (pidginization) and by language death in situations which involve language contact as well as dialect contact). (Trudgill 1986: 107; original emphasis and brackets)

According to Trudgill, the main dichotomy – as regards the relative simplicity of varieties of a language – is one between low- and high-contact varieties (2009: 320): linguistic simplification is more frequent in high-contact dialects and languages, as a result at least in part of adults' imperfect ability to acquire language (2009: 320). He states that 'my thinking was, and is, that "linguistic complexity", although this, as McWhorter says, is very hard to define or quantify, equates with "difficulty of learning for adults"' (Trudgill 2001: 371), and that '[...] complexity disappears as a result of the lousy language-learning abilities of the human adult. Adult language contact means adult language learning; and adult language learning means simplification, most obviously manifested in a loss of redundancy and irregularity and an increase in transparency' (2001: 372). Studying the relative complexity of a range of Englishes – from traditional L1s to high-contact L1s, L2s, and English-based pidgins and creoles – Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi similarly conclude that 'language contact appears to result very systematically in a lower degree of complexity due to the strategies preferred by adults in second language acquisition', and that 'extensive language or dialect contact does indeed seem to foster the growth of morphosyntactic simplicity' (2009: 281, 282). It is no great leap of the imagination to view negation by *do* as a form of regularisation and simplification; one can negate all verbs by simply slotting in either *do* or *did*, making the system both more transparent and simpler than the old one. As high-contact varieties, IrE, AmE and AusE are highly suitable varieties in which such processes of simplification could have occurred, and this could serve as an alternative hypothesis for why *do*-

support was, and is, more prevalent in these varieties than it is in BrE. In this sense, the spread of *do* is not primarily driven by influence from AmE, as suggested above and by Collins, but rather by a common high degree of language contact.

While there is simplification and levelling in all contact situations – explaining why *do*-support, as a means to simplifying negation, became predominant in colonial Englishes – there are, importantly, features which are not affected, through lack of accommodation. Notably, ‘forms that are not accommodated to are either of low salience or of very high salience: that is, *extra-strong salience* may inhibit accommodation’ (Trudgill 1986: 125; original emphasis). In this way we can explain also why some verbs did not accommodate negation by *do* – frequency of use is very much a salient feature, and would have hindered koinéization in the period of shift.

As regards *have* in AmE, Hundt observes that even in this progressive variety it is found with bare negation in more than half of the recorded instances (five out of nine) in the second half of the 19th century. She suggests that contractions of the verb may be a reason for this, as three out of five tokens are contracted negations, e.g. ‘... *haven’t* you a word of welcome for a traveller?’ (2015: 79, Example 31; original emphasis). This is rather substantial and confirms the unique position of *have*, though the number of tokens is small. It does not undermine AmE’s position as leader of the charge towards *do*-support, however. Equally telling are AmE’s four tokens of *do* with *have*, which – when compared to the single token out of 150 or so recorded across BrE, NZE and AusE – represent significant use (2015: 80). Hundt concludes that these two southern hemisphere varieties are relatively similar in their negation patterns, and do not differ much from British English in this. The difference is negligible, but NZE and AusE are – if anything – slightly more conservative in their negation than BrE is.

2.12 Variable negation in Irish English

Irish English is similar to NZE and AusE in that it is a colonial variety, but there are also several differences between them. Perhaps most importantly, English has a significantly longer history in Ireland than it does in New Zealand and Australia. Still, they constitute probably the best and most interesting varieties for comparison. McCafferty (2016) is a study on variable negation in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Irish English, what verbs were involved (special attention to *have*), how it compares to IrE of today as well as contemporary varieties of English (McCafferty 2016: 1), i.e. NZE and AusE in Hundt (2015) and Collins (2015). McCafferty uses

data from CORIECOR (*Corpus of Irish English Correspondence*), which is a collection of personal letters, written by people of diverse backgrounds, representing a ‘fairly colloquial, speech-like text type’ (2016: 2). Previous studies which have drawn from the CORIECOR have shown that IrE can be both conservative and progressive, depending on the constructions, and McCafferty shows that this holds true also for variable negation: while IrE was conservative with regard to *have* and some other verbs, preferring bare negation with these for longer than other varieties, it was at the same time progressive in adopting *do*-support, in general (2016: 2). In fact, says McCafferty, apart from *have*, *do*-support was already firmly established in IrE in the 18th and early 19th centuries, being used at higher frequencies than in AmE, AusE and BrE, as reported by Collins (2015). With this in mind, and knowing that large numbers of Irish emigrated to America, Australia and New Zealand in this period, perhaps IrE and Irish people were the driving force behind the rise of *do*-support worldwide (2016: 3). Kirk and Kallen say that ‘the long establishment of English in Ireland gives rise to the possibility that this particular extraterritorial variety of English would itself become extraterritorial’ (2009: 276), citing IrE influence on – and connection to – regional varieties all over the world, such as English in Newfoundland, the Appalachians, the Caribbean, Australia and Cameroon, for example (2009: 276). Hickey summarises IrE influence overseas further, also detailing features transported to geographically closer varieties such as regional British and Scottish Englishes (2007: 390–418).

As mentioned above – and seen with other varieties of English – *have* remains the foremost outlier in Irish English. It did not follow the general innovative trend of lexical verbs in IrE, remaining categorical with bare negation up until the early 19th century (2016: 3). But like McCafferty says, referring to studies by Kallen (2013) and Kirk & Kallen (2009), this has changed since. While bare negation remains a robust option with *have* even today, *do*-support has become the most common option. Exactly when this shift happened remains to be seen – perhaps it can be spotted in the period with which this study deals. *Do* was eventually added, then, and represents one of five possible ways of negating lexical *have* in present day IrE. These are *do*-support (*I don't have any money*), bare negation (*I haven't any money*), *have not got* (*I haven't got any money*), *have no* (*I have no money*), and *have got no* (*I've got no money*) (Nelson 2004: 300). Comparing negation of *have* in IrE to BrE and other varieties in the ICE corpora, Kirk and Kallen find that IrE uses *do* the most, at 38%, then follows *have no* at 28%, and bare negation at 27%, and the whole is rounded out by the more marginal options *have not got* at 6%,

and *have got no* at 1% (Kirk and Kallen 2009: 291, Table 7). Anderwald, using the spontaneous speech subsample of the British National Corpus, finds that Ireland, along with Lancashire, the northeast and the central north form an area where *have* takes bare negation significantly more than the rest of the isles – 27.3% compared to 8.5% – but even here, Ireland sets itself apart with 37.5% bare negation (Anderwald 2002: 94–95, Table 4.9).

A couple of things in Kirk and Kallen’s table deserve mentioning. At 38%, IrE uses *do* the least of any variety in the study, the closest being BrE at 41%. Though they are separated by a single percentage point in IrE, *have no* is the second most frequent negation strategy with *have*, not bare negation. IrE’s use of *have no* is also the highest in the study, at 28%, Hong Kong English following at 24%. As regards bare negation, IrE is in a singular position at 27%. None of the other varieties exceed 6% (BrE). Like McCafferty notes, this is ‘a good measure of just how distinctive in global terms the retention of bare negation with *have* is in IrE’ (2016: 25, Figure 13) Also noticeable is IrE’s relatively infrequent use of *have not got*. At 6% it is comparable to HKE and Singaporean English (both 5%), but far below BrE and NZE (36% and 23%, respectively) – varieties which in many ways are similar to IrE (2009: 291, Table 7).

The results of McCafferty’s study show a downward trend for bare negation through the period studied, albeit with a slight uptick and signs of stabilising in the later decades (Figure 2.6). From 38% in the 18th century, bare negation drops to between 23% and 26% in the 1810s–1840s (McCafferty 2016: 9, Table *). As with the other varieties studied, this belies the fact that a handful of frequent verbs tend to take bare negation: 89% of all tokens of bare negation are of the verbs *dare*, *doubt*, *have*, *know*, *need* and *ought*, and besides *doubt* (73% bare negation) and *know* (19% bare negation) – which are variably used with *do* and bare negation – McCafferty finds that these verbs are categorically used with bare negation (2016: 10, Table *). Apart from these verbs, there are a mere 65 tokens of bare negation for all other items (5%), out of 1326 possible instances (2016: 10, Table *2). McCafferty sees this as proof of *do*-support having reached its limit; other than the verbs using highly robust bare negation, mentioned above, there is practically no more room for *do* to expand.

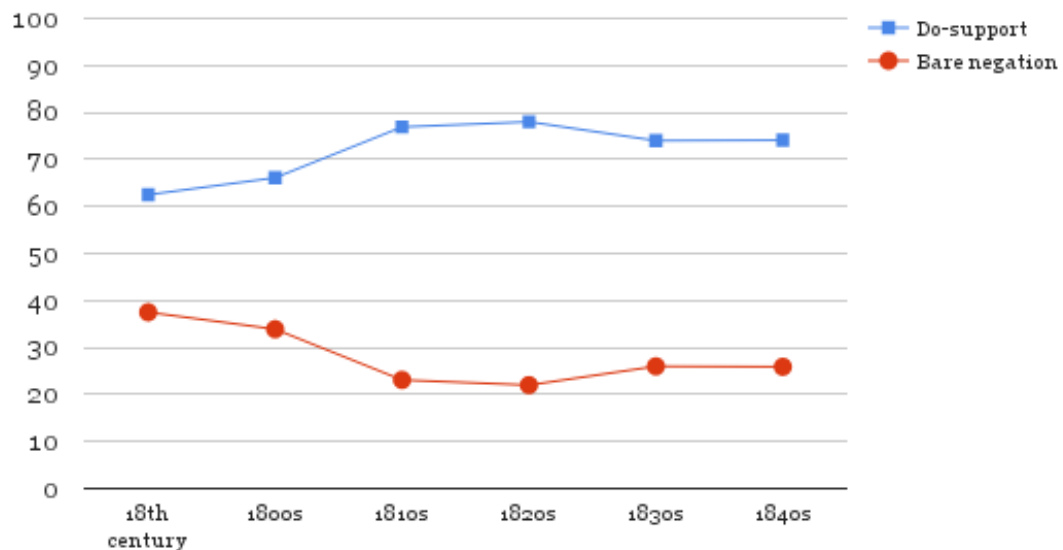


Figure 2.6. *Do*-support vs. bare negation in IrE, 1700–1840s
(after McCafferty 2016: 10, Figure *)

While the resistant verbs mentioned above are ones that have proved likewise hesitant to adopt *do* in other varieties also, when looking at all the verbs in the *know*-group, the results of IrE are less uniform (2016: 15, Table *). *Think* is categorically found with *do*-support, *hear* likewise, and verbs such as *care* and *find*, while certainly found with bare negation (29% and 22%, respectively), tend much more towards *do*. More than anything else, this highlights the fluidity of the so-called *know*-group; there is a very select group of verbs which really are resistant to *do*-support across varieties, and then there are other verbs which vary in their negation across varieties, but when found in the data of a given study have been added to the list, resulting in several iterations of the group. As such, the shorthand ‘*know*-group’ and the verbs most often claimed as its members probably deserves closer inspection and revision. A neat example would be the very verb which gives the group its name being found with only 19% bare negation in McCafferty’s study (2016: 10, Table *2).

With regard to *have*, the results from McCafferty show that it is found categorically with bare negation throughout the period of the study. There are no registered instances in the 18th century, but when we reach the 1840s, however, the first few tokens of *have* with *do*-support

appear (2016: 10, Table *1). Further, McCafferty discusses other forms of negation with *have* in 18th-century IrE. This was touched upon earlier, referencing Kirk and Kallen (2009) who detailed five different patterns of negation in present day IrE. McCafferty finds that alongside bare negation (44 instances), *no*-negation (*I have no money*) is also a robust option in the 18th century, with 41 instances in the data (2016: 18). There were no tokens of *have* with *do*-support, but the final two negation strategies – *have not got* and *have got no* – deserve some discussion. These were listed with rather marginal shares of the whole in Kirk and Kallen, 6% and 1% respectively (2009: 291, Table 7), and as they are fairly recent innovations, one would not expect them to show up with any frequency in McCafferty’s data. They do appear, however – 15 tokens of *have not got* and 3 tokens of *have got no* – but of the 18 recorded tokens of these two constructions, only one of them carries the relevant meaning of ownership or possession:

(1) [I] shall have a look out for it, but at present *has got no* money. (2016: 19, Example 35; original emphasis).

Other than this example from the 1790s, in the rest of the tokens *got* carries a meaning of either ‘arrive’, ‘reach’ or ‘obtain’, ‘receive’, both in examples of *have not got* and *have got no*:

(2) Tell him Capten Sims is home he was enquiring very kindly for him She *has not got* to bed yet (2016: 19, Example 39; original emphasis).

(3) *I have got No* letters from any of you this two years (2016: 19, Example 47; original emphasis).

If one excludes the 17 tokens with divergent meanings from the total, the remaining 86 tokens of negated *have* give a distribution in which bare negation is the most frequent (51%), followed closely by *no*-negation (48%), with *have got no* at a distant third (1%) (2016: 19). By the early 19th century, use of *have no* has risen to 71%, seemingly taking over much of the work done by bare negation, which has now regressed to 24%. *Have got no* remains marginal at 4%, but we are introduced to the two remaining patterns which were previously missing: *do not have* and *have not got* are both represented in 0.5% of the tokens (2016: 26, Figure 14). McCafferty briefly points to the semantic change that has taken place for the constructions *have not got* and *have got no*, stating that sometime between 1800 and 2000 there has been a process where these

transitioned from meaning ‘arrive’, ‘reach’, or ‘obtain’, ‘receive’, to include the meaning of ‘own’, ‘possess’, as well. As noted, all but one token from the 18th century data had the former meaning, leading McCafferty to expect the change to be observable in the 19th century data from CORIECOR, to be dealt with in this paper.

McCafferty compares his findings to those made by Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987), Collins (2015), and Hundt (2015), discussed above. As regards Tieken-Boon van Ostade’s study, McCafferty extracts the data of her selected Irish authors’ personal correspondence, and finds that his own data largely corresponds to the general pattern observed (2016: 20). Moving on to Collins, who perhaps presents a more complete picture by including several key verbs which Tieken-Boon van Ostade excluded, we see that IrE is quite clearly the leading variety when it comes to adopting *do*-support with lexical verbs (2016: 21–22). Collins does not present 18th-century data for the other varieties, but use of *do* in IrE of that period is largely the same as AmE – the presumed trendsetter – of the early 19th century (62% *do* in 18th c. IrE, 61% in early 19th c. AmE). When juxtaposing the early 19th-century AmE with contemporary IrE, there is a marked difference: 75% *do* in IrE compared to 61% in AmE (2016: 21, Figure 8). In light of this, McCafferty brings up the prevalent assumption that AmE served as the innovator which other colonial varieties followed with regard to the spread of *do*-support, and how it does not match what we observe for IrE. As mentioned above, McCafferty suggests that the shift from bare negation to *do* was quicker in IrE than in other varieties, and that IrE as such might have had an influence on other colonial varieties also picking up the pace, compared to BrE (2016: 21–22). It is hard to say exactly why the shift might have been quicker in IrE, and what effect IrE may have had on other varieties, but the influence of large numbers of Irish immigrants to the rest of the world, along with simplification in morphosyntax in colonial varieties, is perhaps a plausible theory worthy of further investigation.

Collins’ study stretches across the 19th and 20th centuries, and McCafferty observes that both AmE and AusE of the late 19th centuries have overtaken the rates of *do*-support in early 19th-century IrE, while BrE lags behind the general trend (2016: 24). As noted earlier, the major leap in use of *do* happened half a century later in BrE than it did in the other varieties. Results for late 19th-century IrE, to follow (Figures 4.8 and 4.9), show that IrE leads all varieties in use of *do*, save for AmE, which saw *do*-support increase dramatically from early to late 19th century – 61% to 86% (Collins 2015: 35, Figure 9).

McCafferty contrasts Collins' figures for late 19th century with those of Hundt, who studies a more select group of verbs; her data for NZE is restricted to tokens of *care*, *doubt*, *fear*, *have*, and *know*, while AusE has these (except *fear*) and a group of others. McCafferty, in his comparisons with Hundt's study, uses the five verbs from the NZE section – as well as *think* – as a benchmark since they are present in almost all varieties dealt with. While the negation patterns of the individual verbs' might vary, here, too, the overall trend is one of *do*-support on the rise in IrE from 34% in the 18th to 55% in the early 19th century. This puts early 19th-century IrE use of *do* with these verbs on par with late 19th-century AusE, but behind NZE (70%), BrE (69%), and especially AmE (80%) (2016: 23, Figure 10). At this point it should be noted, as McCafferty does, that the amount of data in Hundt's study is highly variable. AusE is covered by 367 tokens, but data for BrE (80 tokens), AmE (70 tokens), and NZE (62 tokens) is relatively scarce, and the situation is even worse when looking at the individual verbs: no tokens exist for *care* in AmE, for example (Hundt 2015: 78, Table 6). Again, there is a gap of half a century between the data for IrE and the other varieties, it remains to be seen if the trend of *do*-support in IrE continues for this group of verbs into the late 19th century and beyond, or if the robust state of *have* in IrE means that it will settle behind the other varieties.

Moving forwards, the main goal will be to trace the rise of *do*-support and concurrent decline of bare negation in IrE – in general – but also to detail the various negation strategies for *have*. We know that until the 1840s *have* did not occur with *do*-support in IrE, but Kirk and Kallen (2009) have shown that this has become the most frequent form of negation. Still, bare negation is robust, and *have* in IrE occupies a unique position which will be interesting to trace further. On a larger scale, we have seen that IrE appears to be the leading variety of English when it comes to adopting *do*-support with lexical verbs, even ahead of AmE. Will this continue beyond the period McCafferty studied, or did *do* reach its peak in the 1840s? These and other questions will hopefully be answered by further study based on CORIECOR.

3: DATA AND METHOD

3.1 Method, inclusions and exclusions

The data being extracted from the same corpus as well as a similar approach, means that this study largely mirrors that of McCafferty (2016), which in turn is related to Collins (2015) and Hundt (2015). The method used to retrieve the relevant tokens also follows McCafferty (2016). Using WordSmith Tools (Scott 2016), several different searches were made to best possibly account for various spellings the writers of the letters may have used – to be discussed below. Having said that, the vast majority of tokens were found searching for full form *not*, as well as the contracted **n't*.

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent	Para	Para	Para	Head	Head	Sect	Sect	File	Date
55	-have the 5 pounds as the other was not much good we have lots on hands-			900	28	85'	0	38'			0	38'	107.doc	2016.aug.17
56	[Page 2] A Duncan is home again but not very well yet. If you ask them they			299	9	97'	0	13'			0	13'	107.doc	2016.aug.17
57	on Friday last him and Andy could not agree they were always quarrelling			573	49	52'	0	24'			0	24'	107.doc	2016.aug.17
58	along in [every?] way I hope you are not Getting tired of learning now when			837	24	34'	0	33'			0	33'	108.doc	2016.aug.17
59	its comming [coming?] up to July... Do Not loose courage you know to loose			854	24	58'	0	34'			0	34'	108.doc	2016.aug.17
60	twelfth July now the band hasned [has not?] started practicing yet I was out			464	14	29'	0	18'			0	18'	108.doc	2016.aug.17
61	John commenced this note but did not Finish it and now it will be finished			541	14	82'	0	22'			0	22'	108.doc	2016.aug.17
62	has no happiness So watch you and not set your heart on money like these			925	27	73'	0	36'			0	36'	109.doc	2016.aug.17
63	money I think if he has enough he is not uneasy I believe he was round a			962	28	63'	0	38'			0	38'	109.doc	2016.aug.17
64	unmanagable [unmanageable?] He was not able to turn him no way so he went			364	42	6%	0	14'			0	14'	109.doc	2016.aug.17
66	in this country at middling pay: & not be so greedy & kill yourself for big			852	25	85'	0	33'			0	33'	109.doc	2016.aug.17
66	; but don't feel much like it, as I have not yet been out of doors. It was an			257	22	79'	0	14'			0	14'	11.doc	2016.aug.17
67	at a picnic at Gortin last week - I need not mind sending you any papers till			769	8	75'	0	35'			0	35'	110.doc	2016.aug.17
68	has not come out yet nor perhaps will not for Sometime a great many people			640	8	59'	0	29'			0	29'	110.doc	2016.aug.17
69	and another telling that so the truth has not come out yet nor perhaps will not			633	8	58'	0	28'			0	28'	110.doc	2016.aug.17
70	road breaking stone [sic] today we did not get the turf gathered yet The wee			480	13	50'	0	22'			0	22'	111.doc	2016.aug.17
71	out well at your e.x.a [exam?] do not loose courage and he of good			825	22	44'	0	38'			0	38'	111.doc	2016.aug.17
72	at 3.30 to start at first [Page 2] I have not been in Gortin this week and I told			285	14	23'	0	13'			0	13'	111.doc	2016.aug.17
73	If its been I dot know whether it is or not Matthew Smith is home out of the			428	13	0%	0	20'			0	20'	111.doc	2016.aug.17

Figure 3.1. Entries for *not* in CORIECOR IED PLUS, Letters 1899

CORIECOR is made up of letters written by people of various backgrounds – some of whom are educated, some not – and their writing often reflects this. That is not to say that educated writers do not display spelling errors and omissions of punctuation – they certainly do. Some of these

misspellings and omissions reflect conventions that were either not in place, or differ from those we follow today. This will be discussed briefly below, focusing on the apostrophe. Misspellings, then – real, or merely by today’s standards – are frequent in many of the letters studied, and this extends also to the periphrastic *do* in which we are interested. Further complicating the process of gathering all relevant tokens is the fact that CORIECOR is not tagged. Partly, misspellings by the original authors of the letters have the corrected (modern) form in brackets next to the misspelled word, but this has not yet been done for the entire corpus, and probably will not be, either.¹⁶ To cover all bases, then, in addition to the normal search-strings, individual searches were made to find tokens which have not yet been tagged with the corrected form. This was done by searching for the most common misspellings, i.e. *dont* for *don’t*, *doesnt*, *doesent*, *dosnt*, and *dosent* for *doesn’t*, *didnt* and *dident* for *didn’t*, *havent* for *haven’t*, *neednt* and *needent* for *needn’t*. The most prominent “misspelling” is the omission of the apostrophe in contracted negations. Besides *dont*, which proved a very common spelling, yielding 212 tokens across the half-century, most of these did not give more than a handful of hits.

In addition to the various forms of *do*, searches were made for the two verbs most commonly found with bare negation, *have* and *need*. While *neednt* and *needent* yielded no results, *havent* was recorded in ten instances. Of these ten, all but one were examples of auxiliary *have*, the lone token of lexical *have* coming from a letter from 1889:

(1) I am in Spleanded health and like the counetry very much and *havent* the shaddow of a doubt but I will ultamately succeed, but its very hard work. (Lytle Black, 10.10.1889)¹⁷

A few other things that became apparent during the gathering of data deserve mention. First of all, a note on the habitual *do be*. Though not as common as the affirmative habitual, the negative *do not be* habitual crops up now and then in the data, such as in this letter from 1891:

(2) I have to be in the office two and a half to three hours each morning and afternoon, but *do not be* busy all the time. (Cassie [Smyth?], 02.11.1891)

¹⁶ Proper tagging of the letters would effectively entail rewriting them so they could be handled by the tagger. This means adding punctuation and corrected spelling, as interpreted by the reader. Imposing one or more readers’ interpretation to every clause of letters written by someone else, for the sake of ease, seems neither worthwhile or wise.

¹⁷ Unless otherwise is explicitly stated, emphasis in the examples is added by me.

Another example, this one with an adverb of frequency, comes from a letter from 1899:

(3) We had a great night in Mr. Gilkinson's before Joe left for Scotland. All this town and some from Eden, Bradkeel and Plumbridge. So you see we *don't always be* scolding and boxing. (Liza C. Smyth, 26.01.1899)

Tokens such as these have been excluded, as there is no alternative structure with bare negation that could replace them.

Some tokens of bare negation come from letters in which the author either quotes biblical passages, or their language is influenced by that of the Bible. Following are two examples from letters of 1875 and 1891:

(4) Our Lord said to the sister, "*Said I not* unto thee, if thou wouldest believe, thou should see the glory of God". (Ellen Dunlop, 01.01.1875)

(5) (...) the text was 28 chapter revelations 4 verse: come out of her, my people, that ye *be not* partakers of her sins, and that ye *receive not* of her plagues. (John James Smyth, 12.07.1891)

The influence of biblical language is perhaps best seen in a letter written by a woman named Edith in 1891, in which it is juxtaposed with more everyday language. In her relatively short letter, written to a friend, there are four tokens of negated *know*. Three of these are examples of contracted *do*-periphrasis, such as (6):

(6) [...] I *don't know* just how many, but there are some twenty five or thirty attend and they all seem to take an interest. (Edith [?], 01.11.1891)

The last token, however, in a section talking about the many recent deaths around her, alludes to being called to the afterlife by God:

(7) It stands us all in hand to be ready. For we *know not* the day nor the hour when we shall be called. (Edith [?], 01.11.1891)

Tieken-Boon van Ostade mentions the influence of biblical language in her discussion on Swift's language in his essays. Sourcing Strang, she says that 'Swift turned to the language of the Bible

and the Book of Common Prayer as a linguistic model for his literary writings' (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987: 152), but Strang notes that 'in accident and syntax, to some extent in vocabulary, this English was at a considerable remove from his own' (Strang 1967: 1948). Tieken-Boon van Ostade concludes that this applied to Swift's use/non-use of *do*, also (1987: 152, 155, Note 9). Examples such (7) – either influenced by, or direct quotes from, the Bible, Hymns and the like – have been included in the study, but are not very frequent (eight tokens throughout the half-century).

Other types of tokens have been omitted, such as those of certain elliptical constructions. From a letter of 1875 comes this sentence:

(8) I may have some legal rights there. If I have I wish to know it, and if I *have not* I also wish to know it. (Andrew Greenlees, 28.08.1875)

Here, the verb phrase is repeated, but the object *some legal rights* and the adverbial *there* have been omitted, quite naturally. Examples such as this one have not been counted in the study. While *have not* in this context could certainly be replaced by *do not*, this is also the main reason for not including such tokens, as elliptical structures which omit the main verb, replacing it with periphrastic *do*, constitute a category of their own, different from what we are studying here. For this particular example, besides *have not* and *do not*, a third option – *do not have* – could also perhaps be slotted in here, though this seems contrived and the least common of the three options. While this example from 1875 is not unique, and more of a borderline case than ellipsis with periphrastic *do*, its kind is not numerous.

The reason for not including elliptical constructions with omitted main verb can be exemplified by a sentence from another letter from 1875:

(9) We heard since that you had written a long letter but did not send it, we did not learn the reason why you *did not*. (John [& Ann Jane] Nightingale, 08.02.1875)

Send is here too far removed from the negated construction for us to count this as a token. Reflecting the overall trend of increasing use of *do*-support and declining use of bare negation, elliptical constructions with periphrastic *do* and omitted main verb are more common than those

with bare negation. Secondly, there is the replicability reason for not including this kind of construction as it is not included in other, related studies (Hundt 2015: 74; McCafferty 2016: 9).

Finally, *have* is, by far, the verb most frequently found with bare negation in the late 19th century. A common topic, found in quite a few letters, is letters. People discuss having received letters, not having received letters, how long it has been since the last letter they received, how pleasant it is to receive letters, that they will not write another letter before they receive one, and so on. *Have* features in most of these letter-centric discussions, and provides a fair share of tokens for bare negation. The tokens are, however, clearly split into two categories – some people prefer to use lexical *have* with bare negation, others using it as an auxiliary – as seen in these two letters from 1879:

(10) I think it very strange I *had not* a letter from home before this. (Ellen Breeze, 17.03.1879)

(11) I *have not had* a letter from home now – from any of our family for more than a year. (W.L. Kennedy, 03.02.1879)

There seems to be a pretty even split between *have not had* and *have not*, but the auxiliary use is, unsurprisingly, far more common when including its use with other verbs. Auxiliary uses of *have* are not included in the study, as they constitute a different construction from those in which we are interested.

3.2 Misspellings?

As far as tokens of unconventional spellings go, far less common than *dont*, *didnt* was recorded in four instances. One in 1871 (Letters 1871, 19.doc), two in 1889 (Letters 1889, 59.doc), and one in 1899 (Letters 1899, 93.doc). Other than being misspellings of a sort, there is not very much of interest with these tokens. The writer of the letter from 1871, James Gamble, writing from Auburn, Oregon, does not use the misspelled form (12) consistently, however, but mixes it with uncontracted *did* (13).

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent	Para	Para	Hear	Hear	Sect	Sect	File	Date
1	it ill of me for not going to see her I passed there as I was coming away but it was rainy and I was in a hurry so I didnt stop I will write to Mrs Jackson's as soon as I get my picture I got them taken Friday and I will get them Dec 27			370	15	34'	0	20'		0	20'	59.doc	2016.aug.17
2	then what has become of her. You know when I was down there at Mrs Bells - it was such rainy weather that I didnt go to see Mrs Jackson I hope Mrs Jackson wont think it ill of me for not going to see her I passed there as I			328	15	11'	0	18'		0	18'	59.doc	2016.aug.17

Figure 3.2. Tokens of *didnt* in M. E. [Ling?], 05.12.1889

(12) I was working by the month at the rate of fifty dollars a month and board, but I *didnt* get paid to next spring or summer. (James Gamble, 28.12.1871)

(13) He *did not* mention when, nor where, but he was in the hospital six months and in the end of that time he died. (James Gamble, 28.12.1871)

There does not seem to be any good indicator for why this writer would chose a contracted form in one instance and a full form in another. Sometimes we contract, sometimes we do not, the only oddity of this writer is that he does not use the apostrophe when contracting, which stands out by today's standards of writing.

Dident was also recorded in four instances – one in 1875 (Letters 1875, 32.doc) and three in 1889 (Letters 1889, 18.doc, 41.doc, 47.doc). The writer of the letter from 1875, John Moon, writing from Ottawa, is interesting in that he consistently uses *-ent* for *n't* in contracted negations. This resulted in a token for *dident*, but there are also examples such as *shoulident*, *wouldent*, *wasent*, *hasent*, and *werent*, the last a misspelling only in that it is missing an apostrophe. In fact, the only apostrophe found in the letter is one to mark the genitive case of a street name. Other than consistently omitting the apostrophe in contractions, this particular writer

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent	Para	Para	Hear	Hear	Sect	Sect	File	Date
1	i went up to see you but could not see you so you must forgive me for not goin [going?] up to the asylum so when i didnt [didn't?] see you i came down on the Half past four but i sepose [suppose?] it was that old [maid?] that			210	0	23'	0	12'		0	12'	18.doc	2016.aug.17
2	[character?] and said I was good man another Gentleman offered to Bale [bail?] me 500 hundred Dollars if I want it but didnt [didn't?] require any for the preasent [present?] and hope I will not in future. Maggie is making a			715	29	90'	0	30'		0	30'	41.doc	2016.aug.17
3	St Toledo Sept 22nd 89 My Dear Miss Wier [Weir?] I have been trying to write to you for a long time but some way I didnt [didn't?] get to it. I met my brother Paul at Detroit. he wanted me to come to Trenton, but I wanted to			189	10	82'	0	9%		0	9%	47.doc	2016.aug.17

Figure 3.3. Tokens of *dident* in William [?] Bell, 26.05.1889; Lytle Black, 12.09.1889; Lizzie [?], 22.09.1889

seems to have a propensity for the vowel ‘e’ and epenthesis; there are misspellings such as *finneshed* for *finished*, *obleged* for *obliged*, *Greffins* for *Griffins*, *newes* for *news*, *setteled* for *settled*, and *onely* for *only* (Letters 1875, 32.doc). As seen with this writer, what we see as misspelled forms and omission of apostrophes are most often not occasional hiccups that occur once, then give way to the conventional forms. Rather, they are rule-governed idiosyncrasies, meaning that writers with such tendencies who penned long letters, provided many tokens. William Porter, writing a four-page letter to his brother, used *dont* nine times, of which only one had to be excluded due to being in the imperative (William Porter, 26.10.1869). Having said all of that, there are examples of writers who mix both conventional and unconventional forms, use and non-use of apostrophes, such as the author of a letter from 1895, one James A. Smyth of Ontario. On the first page, he uses the contracted *dont*:

(14) I *dont* know who sent it as there is no name on it. (James A. Smyth, 31.12.1895)

The three subsequent contractions with *do* are spelled with apostrophes, however:

(15) I suppose you have a good time at that singing Class but I *don't* think They all go to [learn?]. (James A. Smyth, 31.12.1895)

(16) You *don't* believe all that that United States paper says about the War. (James A. Smyth, 31.12.1895)

(17) I *don't* think the Yankees will make so much of it if the war starts. (James A. Smyth, 31.12.1895)

Doesnt was recorded in five different instances – one in 1885, one in 1889, two in 1891, and one in 1899 (Letters 1885, 28.doc; Letters 1889, 24.doc; Letters 1891, 93.doc; 106.doc; Letters 1899, 112.doc).

The screenshot shows a concordance window titled "Letters 1891_files_doesnt.cnc". The window has a menu bar with "File", "Edit", "View", "Compute", "Settings", "Windows", and "Help". Below the menu bar is a table with the following columns: "N", "Concordance", "Set", "Tag", "Word #", "Sent", "Para", "Para", "Hea", "Hea", "Sect", "Sect", "File", and "Date".

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sent	Para	Para	Hea	Hea	Sect	Sect	File	Date	
1	as Mother could not get on very well for a while Robert is growing up a fine tall boy but a little weak character but he doesnt know how hard it is to [live?] Maggie and Johnny are only children of course I should like to			284	7	95'	0	14'		0	14'	106.doc	2016.aug.17	1
2	I havent done much of any thing but eat and sleep. We get up so late mornings and have three meals a day that it doesnt leave much time for any thing else. However I have been to see all the new babies in town except one that			198	10	90'	0	10'		0	10'	93.doc	2016.aug.17	1

At the bottom of the window, there is a status bar with the following information: "2 entries", "Row 1", "0%", "English", "T", "S", "ne tall boy but a little weak character but he doesnt know how hard", "it is t".

Figure 3.4. Tokens of *doesnt* in [Lina?], 17.12.1891; Unknown, 20.08.1891

Doesent occurred just one time, but this example was not included in the study as it was part of a tag-question:

(18) I wish I could step in about midnight to night and see what you and Osburn has for supper for I suppose she eats with you, *doesent* she. (Lina [?], 17.12.1891)

Alluded to earlier in the chapter, the use of apostrophes in contracted negations is mandatory in standard English today but this has not always been the case. As seen in the data, tokens of contracted periphrastic *do* without the apostrophe were plentiful. This would jump off the page

for modern readers, but Crystal notes in *Making a Point*, that ‘The point to note is that, even as late as 150 years ago, experts were still not in agreement over all uses of the apostrophe’ (Crystal 2015: 282). Some were vehemently opposed to its use, such as George Bernard Shaw, a man of many opinions, also on spelling conventions. Crystal cites Shaw’s *Notes on Clarendon Press Rules for Compositors and Readers* (1902), in which he states, in rather brusque terms, that

The apostrophes in ain’t, don’t, haven’t etc. look so ugly that the most careful printing cannot make a page of colloquial dialogue as handsome as a page of classical dialogue. Besides, shan’t should be sha’n’t, if the wretched pedantry of indicating the elision is to be carried out. I have written aint, dont, havnt [sic], shant, shouldnt and wont for twenty years with perfect impunity, using the apostrophe only where its omission would suggest another word: for example, hell for he’ll. There is not the faintest reason for persisting in the ugly and silly trick of peppering pages with these uncouth bacilli. I also write thats, whats, lets, for the colloquial forms of that is, what is, let us; and I have not yet been prosecuted. (Cited in Crystal 2015)

As Crystal notes, it is impossible to say how widespread Shaw’s views on the matter were, but it highlights the fact that the apostrophe was – and still is to many people – a somewhat contentious subject, also as regards contractions (2015: 281–282). If one were to look to the grammarians for guidance, one would find no singular answer, says Crystal. Their grammars often disagreed, later publications often straying from earlier ones, reflecting what was fashionable at the time. And rather than explaining rules in a manner which made them learnable, they would posit ‘a general statement followed by examples, from which the reader was supposed to be able to generalize’ (2015: 80–81). In conclusion, there does not appear to have been consensus on how to mark contraction, or if contraction should be marked at all, so we should not be surprised to find an abundance of tokens without apostrophes.

3.3 Data

McCafferty’s preliminary study records variable negation in Irish English through the 1840s, where this study picks up the baton and runs it through the 1890s. The amount of data available in CORIECOR becomes substantial as we approach the 20th century. In light of this, to make the workload manageable, a decision was made to not gather data from every year in the late 19th century, but rather the first, fifth, and ninth year of every decade, i.e. 1851, 1855, 1859, 1861,

etc. In total, the material searched amounted to a sample from CORIECOR totalling close to 481,000 words. McCafferty’s study on the 18th and early 19th century, for comparison, draws on 1,001,000 words (2016: 9). Of this total, only 180,000 words date to the 18th century, the remaining 821,000 from the early 19th century. The discrepancy in number of words between early and late 19th-century letters is explained by McCafferty (2016) using data from every year, while this study draws from three every decade.¹⁸ Collins’ (2015) corpora provide some 845,000 words – 338,600 for AusE, 243,300 for BrE, and 263,200 for AmE. It should be noted that Collins’ study stretches all the way through the 20th century. The late 19th century, isolated, yields 198,600 words in Collins’ study (Collins 2015: 20, Table 1). Hundt, using CENZE for NZE (282,200), COOEE for AusE (928,500) and ARCHER for BrE and AmE (336,300), works with some 1,547,000 words. For the early 19th century, CENZE comprises 102,800 words, COOEE 750,200 words, and ARCHER 336,300 words, 1,189,300 in total (Hundt 2015: 71, Table 1; 72, Tables 2 and 3).

In CORIECOR, 1885 provided the fewest words with 13,259 (Figure 3.6), the 1880s a total of 68,000 (Figure 3.5).

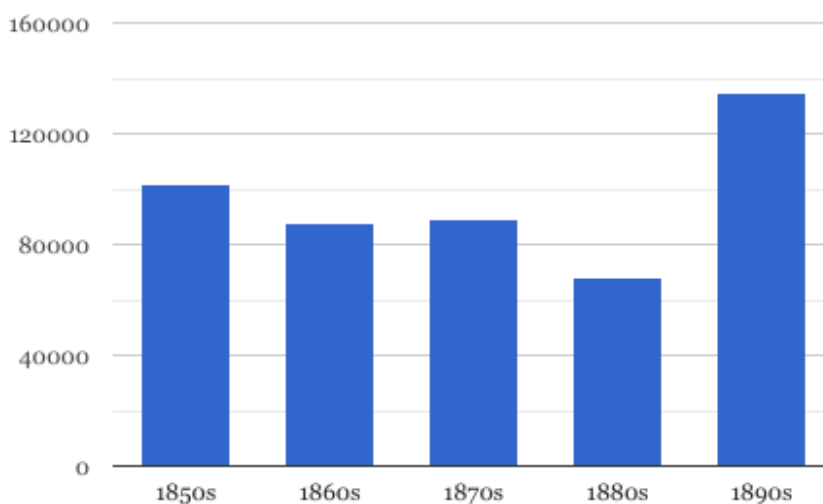


Figure 3.5. CORIECOR sample data distribution, 1850s–1890s (words per decade)¹⁹

¹⁸ Letters in CORIECOR were grouped by decade until the 1840s, when the amount of data necessitated an organisation by single years.

¹⁹ ‘Decade’ is used for simplicity. Each decade here comprises 3 years – the first, fifth and ninth.

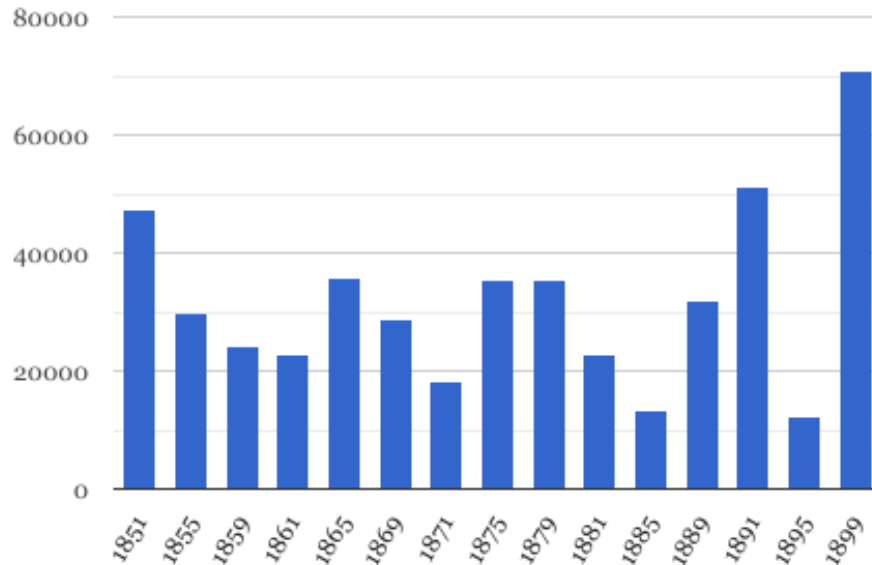


Figure 3.6. CORIECOR sample data distribution, 1851–1899 (words per year)

The low figure for the 1880s might have given cause for concern, especially if the results from this decade proved anomalous. This is not the case, however; the findings from the 1880s are part of a smooth curve, giving us no reason to doubt their accuracy. The largest number of words were from the 1899 letters, with 70,995 (Figure 3.6).

The 1890s was similarly the most fruitful decade with 135,000 words (Figure 3.5). Making a selection of specific years like this might lead to outliers being meaningful, but results prove that the amount of data available from the years on the lower end of the scale is still sufficient for the study.

In total, 1288 tokens were found across the late 19th century, distributed as shown in Table 3.1. The number of tokens hovers around 200 for each decade until it jumps dramatically in the 1890s. This comes as no surprise, given that the number of words recorded for the 1890s is similarly higher than for the other decades (Figure 3.5). Still, per 10,000 words, the 1890s yielded the highest number of tokens with 37.4 (Table 3.2). On the other end of the scale, the 1860s and the 1850s both showed 20.6 tokens pttw. The 1870s were not far ahead, though, with 21.4 tokens pttw, but then major leaps happen from the 1870s to 1880s, and the 1880s to the

Table 3.1. Tokens of negated lexical verbs per decade, late 19th century

Decade	<i>Do</i>	Bare negation	Total
1850s	161 (77%)	48 (23%)	209
1860s	138 (77%)	42 (23%)	180
1870s	162 (85%)	28 (15%)	190
1880s	176 (85%)	30 (15%)	206
1890s	445 (88%)	58 (12%)	503
Total	1082 (84%)	206 (16%)	1288

the 1890s, the number of tokens going from 21.4 to 30.2 and 30.2 to 37.4, respectively. This increase in tokens is somewhat peculiar. Are writers using more negative constructions – in general – than they did earlier? Tottie, in a study on negation in contemporary English, finds that ‘the frequency of negative expressions was more than twice as high in the spoken texts as in the written texts’ (1991b: 16–17). Assuming that spoken language is more colloquial than written, we might draw the conclusion that more colloquial language leads to more negation, and the increase in negation seen in CORIECOR thus points to language becoming more colloquial. This dovetails with the very subject of this study – increasing use of *do*-periphrasis, another form of colloquialisation in that it simplifies the grammar of verb negation through greater regularisation of the verb phrase. Closer examination reveals that the increase in negated clauses in the later decades of CORIECOR is due to increasing use of *do*-negation – the number of tokens of bare negation being relatively static throughout the study. This is interesting, and warrants further study, perhaps, but will not be dealt with here.

Table 3.2. Tokens of negation per 10,000 words in CORIECOR sample

Decade	Tokens	Words	Tokens per 10,000 words	Tokens of bare negation per 10,000 words	Tokens of <i>do</i> per 10,000 words
1850s	209	101,449	20.6	4.7	15.9
1860s	180	87,571	20.6	4.8	15.8
1870s	190	88,977	21.3	3.1	18.2
1880s	206	68,248	30.2	4.4	25.8
1890s	503	134,523	37.4	4.3	33.1

4: RESULTS

4.1 Bare negation in continued decline

As for the distribution of bare negation and periphrastic *do* in the study, there is a steady, albeit halted decline through the late 19th century (Figure 4.1). In the 1850s and 1860s, 23% of all lexical verbs are negated using bare negation. This proportion drops to 15% in the 1870s, but the decline stops here, the 1880s also showing 15% bare negation. From the 1880s to the 1890s, however, it continues its decline – though at a slower rate than earlier – lexical verbs showing 12% bare negation in the 1890s. With the growth tapering off, we have reached a point, it seems, where *do*-support cannot increase much more, and the flattening of the S-curve is thus not unexpected. Overall, the second half of the 19th century shows 16% bare negation (Table 3.1, above).

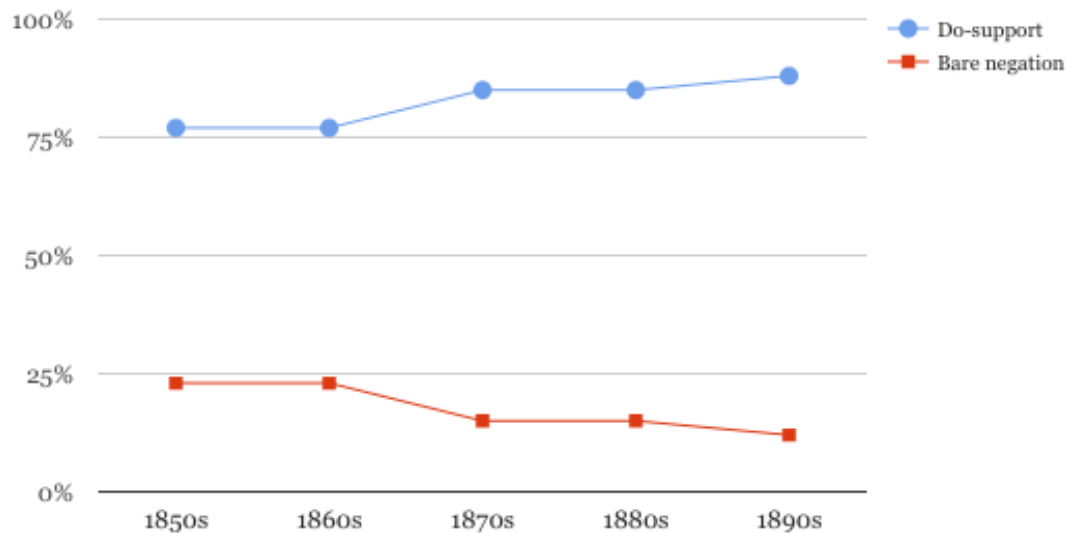


Figure 4.1. *Do*-support vs. bare negation in late 19th-c. Irish English by decade

These findings fall in line with what one would expect, following the results of McCafferty (2016). In his study, bare negation trended downwards from 38% in the 18th century to 26% in the 1840s, the final decade of the study (McCafferty 2016: 9–10, Table *, Figure *).

In total, 23 different verbs are recorded with bare negation throughout the period (Table 4.1). Of these, eight produced fewer than five tokens: *Be* (3), *belong* (2), *depend* (1), *find* (4), *guess* (1), *hope* (2), *suffer* (4), and *spare* (1). Four different verbs were found exclusively with bare negation: *Depend* (1), *doubt* (5), *guess* (1), and *spare* (1).

Table 4.1. Verbs found with bare negation in late 19th-c. IrE

Verb	Do-support	Bare negation	% bare negation
<i>Be</i>	2	1	33%
<i>Belong</i>	1	1	50%
<i>Care</i>	23	1	4%
<i>Dare</i>	1	4	80%
<i>Depend</i>	0	1	100%
<i>Doubt</i>	0	5	100%
<i>Feel</i>	13	2	13%
<i>Find</i>	3	1	25%
<i>Give</i>	8	1	11%
<i>Guess</i>	0	1	100%
<i>Have</i>	20	99	83%
<i>Hope</i>	1	1	50%
<i>Know</i>	215	14	6%
<i>Leave</i>	4	2	33%
<i>Let</i>	6	2	25%
<i>Like</i>	39	1	3%
<i>Need</i>	4	63	94%
<i>Receive</i>	7	1	13%
<i>Say</i>	7	1	13%
<i>See</i>	30	1	3%
<i>Seem</i>	10	1	9%
<i>Spare</i>	0	1	100%
<i>Suffer</i>	3	1	25%
Totals	397	206	34%

Overall, these verbs are found with 34% bare negation, and 66% *do*-support. McCafferty notes *dare*, *doubt*, *have*, *know*, *need* and *ought* as verbs which are likely to take bare negation in his data (2016: 10).²⁰ For five of these six verbs, this holds true for the late 19th century as well,

²⁰ The inclusion of the semi-modals *dare*, *need*, and *ought* is perhaps debatable. They are included here to be able to more accurately compare results to other studies in which they have been included. Collins (2015: 35) specifically mentions his inclusion of *dare* and *need* as contentious, ‘in view of their continuing use in bare negation, as auxiliaries in Present-Day English’. McCafferty argues that while *dare*, *need*, *ought*, as well as *have* being found close to exclusively with bare negation through his study would justify their exclusion, we know that the distribution of *do* vs. bare negation as regards *have*, for example, has changed at some point, and is dominated by *do* in present

though no tokens of *ought* were found in the data. However, there is a trend towards more *do*-support with these verbs as well. Only *doubt* was found exclusively with bare negation, though only five tokens were recorded. *Dare* also produced five tokens, four with bare negation and one with *do*. *Have*, *know*, and *need* are better supported with 119, 229, and 67 tokens, respectively. While bare negation was categorical with *have* up to 1850, *do*-support is clearly encroaching here as well. McCafferty did not find any tokens of *have* with *do* before the 1840s, when three of 98 tokens had *do*-support (3%) (2016: 10, Table *). This number rises through the late 19th century: for the entire period, 20 of 119 tokens of *have* were with *do*-support (17%). In the final decade of the study, ten of 40 tokens were with *do*-support (25%) (Table 4.2, below). *Know* is the most frequently found verb in the study, producing 14 tokens of bare negation, and 215 of *do*, giving us 6% bare negation for the half-century (Table 4.2), and a mere two out of 103 tokens in the 1890s, for 2%. This is a marked, yet not unexpected decline from the figures McCafferty reports for the verb in the 18th and early 19th centuries. At 33% (11 of 33 tokens) bare negation in the 18th century, the percentage dropped to 17 in the early 19th century (44 of 254 tokens) (2016: 10, Table *) Finally – though McCafferty found three tokens of *do*-support in the early 19th century (2016: 10, Table *) – in the late 19th century, *need* is found exclusively with bare negation up to the last decade of the study, when four of 24 tokens were with *do*-support.

Table 4.2. Negation of *have*, *know*, *need* in late 19th-c. IrE
(numbers preceding and following the / are tokens of *do*-support and bare negation, respectively)

Decade	<i>Have</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Need</i>
1850s	2/21 (91%)	27/7 (21%)	0/13
1860s	4/20 (83%)	27/3 (10%)	0/11
1870s	1/14 (93%)	28/1 (3%)	0/8
1880s	3/14 (82%)	32/1 (3%)	0/11
1890s	10/30 (75%)	101/2 (2%)	4/20 (83%)
Totals	20/99 (83%)	215/14 (6%)	4/63 (94%)

4.2 *Do* approaching its limit

McCafferty argues that *do*-support was close to its limit by 1850 by placing *dare*, *have*, *need* and *ought* – verbs which are anomalies in their insistence on taking bare negation – in a group of their own. When these are excluded from all other verbs, *do*-support is used in 93% of instances

day IrE. In light of this, and with the overall goal of contributing to a diachronic study, covering the 18th through the 20th century, these verbs are included (2016: 11). If the occasion calls for it, they can readily be excluded.

in the early 19th century (2016: 11). I have included *know* and *doubt* in this group, without which the figure for bare negation would be even lower (2016: 11, Figure *). *Ought* was not found in the late 19th-century data, but adding in its place *doubt* – which was found exclusively with bare negation (five tokens) – to the group of special verbs used by McCafferty, gives 97% *do*-support for all other verbs.²¹ Though these special verbs were found in the range of 96–100% in the duration of McCafferty’s study, they were still included as we know their distribution has changed between then and today (2016: 11). This process can be seen in the present study, particularly with *have* which has gone from categorical with bare negation up to the 1840s, to 25% *do*-support in the 1890s (Table 4.2, above).

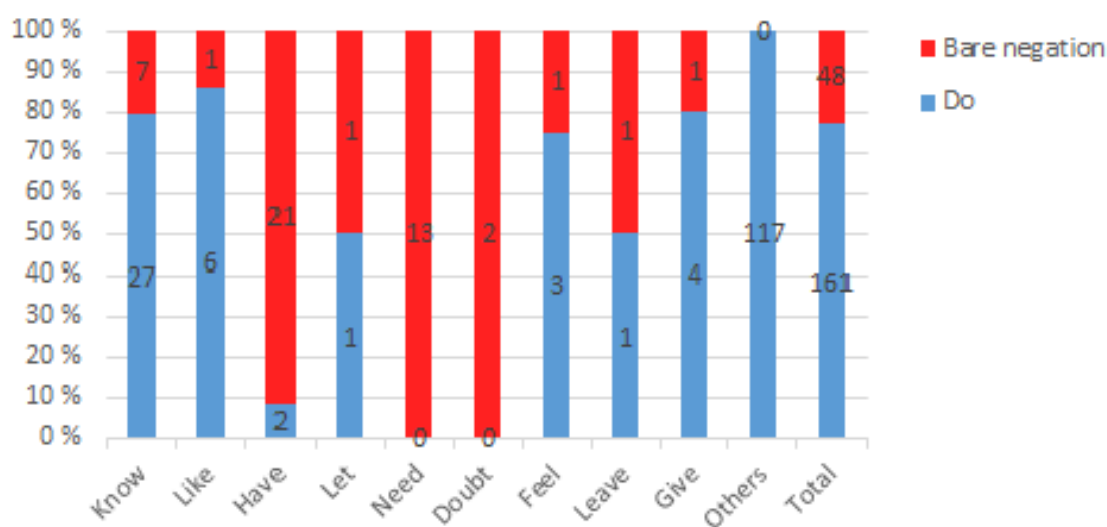


Figure 4.2. Verbs occurring with bare negation in 1850s IrE

All verbs included, McCafferty reports 26% bare negation in the 1840s, the final decade of his study, with *need*, *ought*, *dare*, *believeth*, *cause*, *deserve*, *fear*, *reach*, and *upbraideth* found exclusively with bare negation.²² In addition, *have* is found with bare negation in 95 of 98

²¹ *Dare*, *have*, *need* and *ought* constitute 360 tokens in the early 19th century, 7 of *do*-support, 353 of bare negation. Subtracting these from the total gives us 1425 tokens for the early 19th century, 1323 of *do*-support, 102 of bare negation. $1323/1425=0.93$ (McCafferty 2016: 9, Table *; 10, table *). For the late 19th century, *dare*, *have*, *need* and *doubt* constitute 196 tokens, 25 of *do*-support, 171 of bare negation. Subtracting these from the late 19th century total gives us a total of 1092 tokens, 1057 of *do*-support, 35 of bare negation. $1057/1092=0.97$ (Tables 4.1 and 4.2, above).

²² Of these, only *need* (55), *ought* (8), and *dare* (5) occur more than once.

instances. Eight different verbs are found with variable negation, chief among them; *doubt* (8/2) and *know* (27/123)²³ (2016: 14–15, Figure *).

Picking up again in the 1850s (Figure 4.2), we see that overall bare negation has dropped slightly, to 23%. Seven of 34 tokens of *know* are recorded with bare negation (21%). Two tokens are found of *have* with *do*-support (9%). All 13 tokens of *need* are with bare negation. For verbs recorded with bare negation (that is, excluding all verbs which did *not* record tokens of bare negation) in the 1850s, the percentage of bare negation is 52.

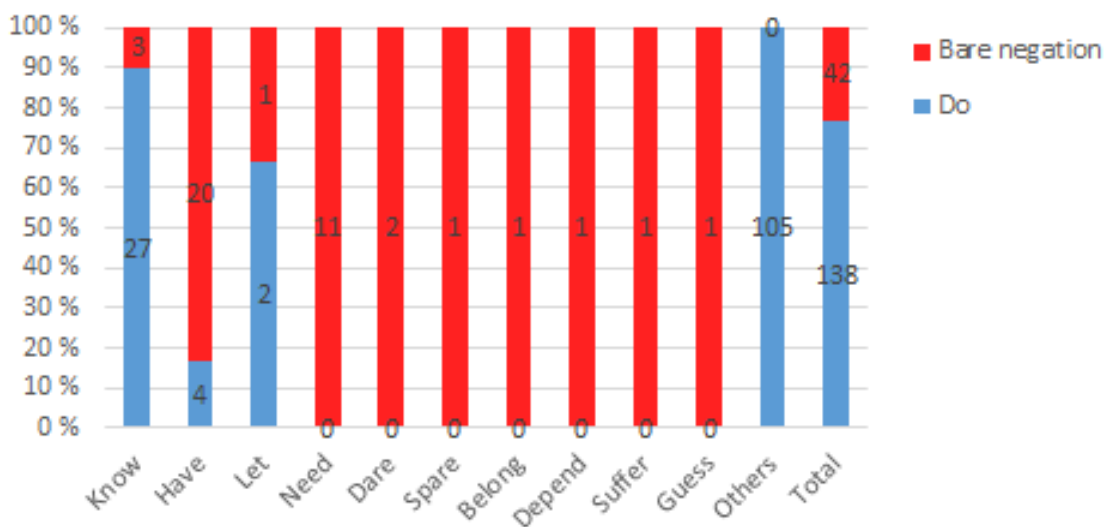


Figure 4.3. Verbs occurring with bare negation in 1860s IrE

As in the 1850s, overall bare negation for the 1860s is 23% (Figure 4.3). *Know* is found with bare negation in three instances (10%). Four of 24 tokens of *have* are with *do*-support (17%), while *need* is exclusively found with bare negation. The overall percentage of bare negation for verbs with which it is recorded in the 1860s, is 56.

²³ The complete list of variably negated verbs in McCafferty’s 1840s data is *doubt* (8/2), *find* (2/2), *suppose* (1/2), *care* (1/3), *know* (27/123), *say* (1/11), *see* (1/15), and *think* (1/55). Numbers preceding and following the / are tokens of bare negation and *do*-support, respectively.

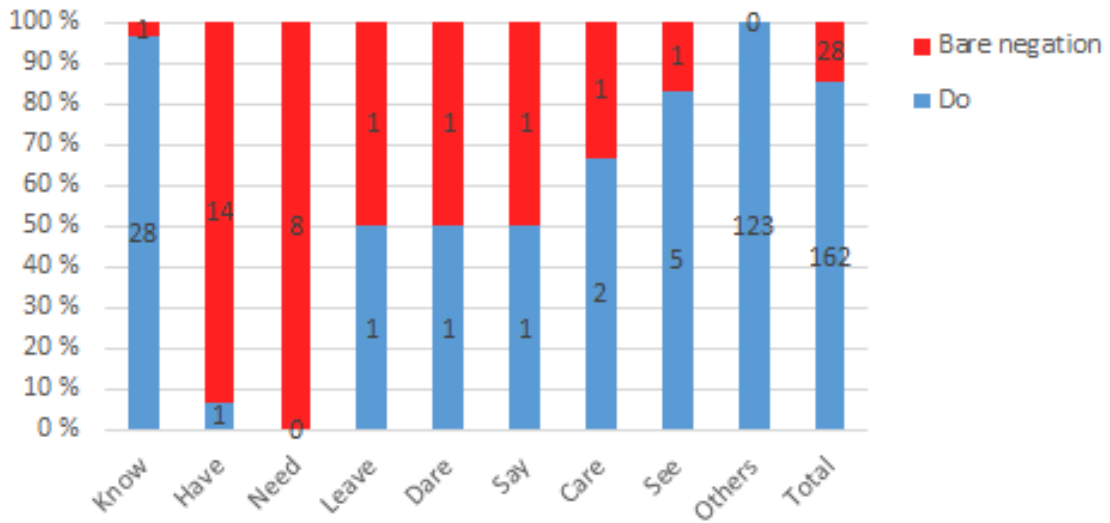


Figure 4.4. Verbs occurring with bare negation in 1870s IrE

In the 1870s, overall bare negation drops eight percentage points to 15% (Figure 4.4). One token of *know* is found with bare negation (3%). Similarly, one token of *have* with *do*-support is recorded in the decade (7%). Again, *need* is found exclusively with bare negation. For verbs recorded with bare negation, the overall percentage is 42.

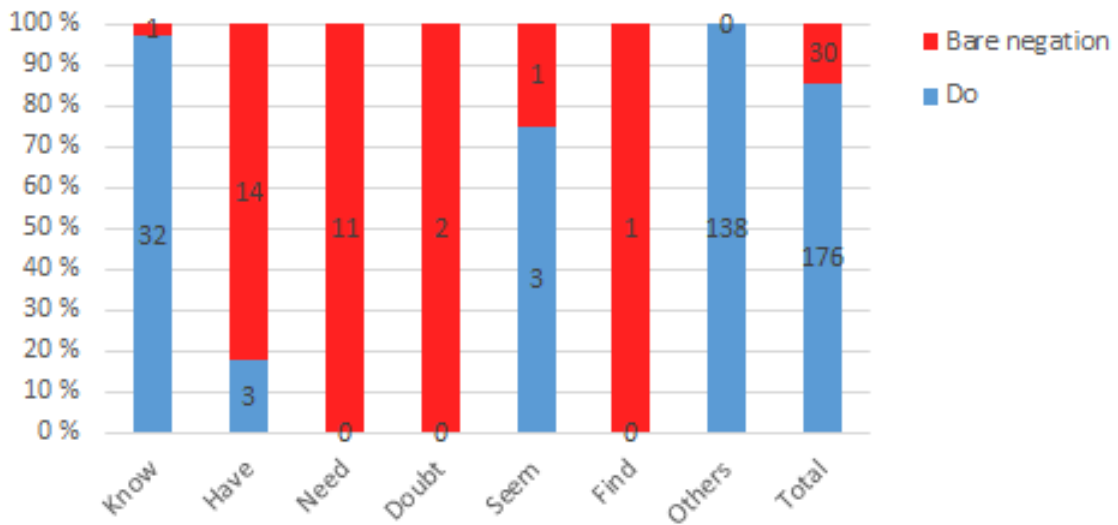


Figure 4.5. Verbs occurring with bare negation in 1880s IrE

Overall bare negation for the 1880s is 15% (Figure 4.5), like in the preceding decade. A single token of *know* with bare negation is recorded in the 1880s (3%). Three of 17 tokens for *have* are with *do*-support (18%), while *need* is still exclusively found with bare negation. For verbs recorded with bare negation, its percentage is 44.

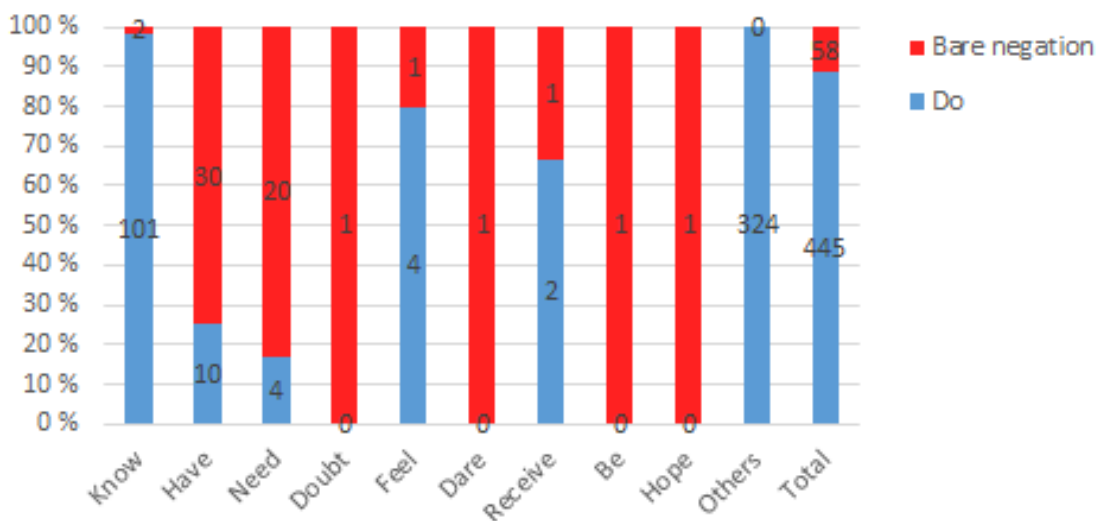


Figure 4.6. Verbs occurring with bare negation in 1890s IrE

In the final decade of the study (Figure 4.6), overall bare negation has dropped three percentage points from the 1880s, to 12%. *Know* occurs a mere two times with bare negation (2%). *Have* has become even more robust with *do*-support, recorded in ten of 40 tokens (25%). *Need* records its first tokens of *do*-support in the study – four of 24 (17%) – but is still overwhelmingly found with bare negation compared to other verbs. The overall proportion of bare negation for verbs with which it is found, is 32%.

When looking at the distribution of only the verbs found with bare negation in the study (Figure 4.7), *do*-periphrasis is rising similarly to what we see in the overall results (Table 3.1; Figure 4.1). While overall bare negation declines from 23% in the 1850s to 12% in the 1890s (Table 3.1), bare negation with only these verbs goes from 52% in the 1850s to 32% in the 1890s (Table 4.3). There are slight upticks in bare negation from the 1850s to 1860s, and the 1870s to 1880s, before a 12% decline between the final two decades.

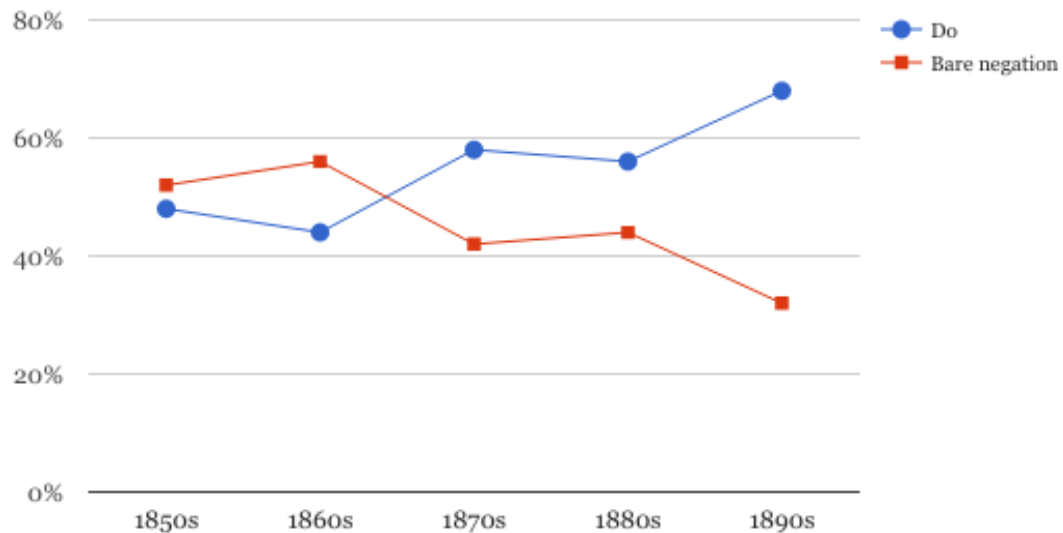


Figure 4.7. Distribution of verbs found with bare negation in late 19th-c. IrE

Table 4.3. Distribution of verbs found with bare negation in late 19th-c. IrE

Decade	Do	Bare negation
1850s	44 (48%)	48 (52%)
1860s	33 (44%)	42 (56%)
1870s	39 (58%)	28 (42%)
1880s	38 (56%)	30 (44%)
1890s	121 (68%)	58 (32%)
Totals	275 (57%)	206 (43%)

4.3 The ‘*know*-group’, revisited

Other than *know*, *have*, and *need* various verbs are registered with bare negation through the decades, but these are more often than not isolated to a single token in one or two different decades. Thirty-one tokens of *see* were found through the half-century, for example. Of those, 30 were of *do*-support – the lone token of bare negation found in the 1870s (Figure 4.4). *Care* (1870s), *say* (1870s), and *seem* (1880s) are similar examples, all registering one token of bare negation (Figures 10 and 11). In total, 24 tokens of *care*, eight tokens of *say*, and 11 tokens of *seem* were found. Looking for verbs that were steadily found with bare negation through the decades, besides *know*, *have*, and *need*, leaves us with *doubt* and *dare*. Albeit a small sample, the

five tokens of *doubt* are all with bare negation – two in the 1850s, two in the 1880s, and one in the 1890s (Figures 8, 11, and 12). *Dare* was also registered in three different decades for a total of five tokens. There are two tokens of bare negation in the 1860s, one of bare negation and one of *do*-support in the 1870s, and one token of bare negation in the 1890s (Figures 9, 10, and 12). It is an undeniable fact that apart from *have* and *need*, most of the verbs found strongly with bare negation in the study are each represented by a small number of tokens, and any conclusions drawn on individual verbs should therefore be made carefully.

The ‘*know*-group’, discussed earlier, has traditionally been labelled as a group of verbs that were particularly resistant to adopting *do*-support. McCafferty, however, finds that in his data for the early 19th century, the ‘*know* verbs’ do not display this commonality (2016: 15, Table *). This holds true for the late 19th century data as well (Table 4.4). When compared to McCafferty’s findings, what stands out is the decline in bare negation for *care* and *know*. *Care* goes from 29% to 4% bare negation, while *know* drops from 17% to 6%. Other than these, *doubt* (100%) and *find* (25%) are the only verbs that are registered with bare negation, though data is scarce or non-existent for some of the verbs.

Table 4.4. Late 19th-c. IrE data for verbs in McCafferty’s ‘*know*-group’

Verb	Do-support	Bare negation	% bare negation
<i>Care</i>	23	1	4%
<i>Doubt</i>	0	5	100%
<i>Fear</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a
<i>Find</i>	3	1	25%
<i>Hear</i>	14	0	0%
<i>Know</i>	215	14	6%
<i>Matter</i>	1	0	0%
<i>Think</i>	99	0	0%
Totals	355	21	6%

The overall bare negation for the group is 6%, down from 16% in the early 19th century (McCafferty 2016: 15, Table *).²⁴

Again, it seems that ‘*know*-group’ is a moniker used by various authors to label verbs that *for the period of their study* were more frequently found with bare negation than most other verbs. However, trends change, anomalies occur, and different varieties can diverge, more or

²⁴ The percentage for the early 19th century is calculated by subtracting the tokens for *dare*, *have*, *need*, and *ought*, in the upper part of the table. That leaves us with 425 tokens in total, 67 of bare negation and 358 of *do*-support, resulting in 16% bare negation (McCafferty 2016: 15, Table *).

less, in their negation of a certain verb. In conclusion, once we reach the 20th century, ‘*know*-group’ is probably not a particularly useful term to describe these verbs any more, as many of the verbs traditionally included in the group have adopted *do*-support at levels close, or equal to that of most other verbs. The best example to illustrate this is perhaps the verb *know*, which uses bare negation in a mere 2% of instances in the 1890s (Table 4.2).

23 different verbs were found with bare negation in the study (Table 4.1, above). Of these, four different verbs, all producing five or fewer tokens, were found exclusively with bare negation – *depend* (1), *doubt* (5), *guess* (1), and *spare* (1). While *doubt* was variably negated in McCafferty’s data for the 18th- and the early 19th century (73% bare negation, 27% *do* (McCafferty 2016: 22, figure 9; 23, figure *)), no examples with *do*-periphrasis were found in the late 19th century data, only bare negation, as exemplified in (19)–(20).

(19) They are decent steady young men that may be depended on – and I *doubt not* you will find pleasure in seeing an honest countryman of your own. (John Capper, 15.09.1851)

(20) She, I *doubt not*, will be able to assure you of our dear father’s very affectionate sentiments towards yourself & Mrs. Kirkpatrick [...]. (William [?] Harke, 11.06.1855)

Of the 19 verbs showing variable negation, *know* is the most frequent, with 215 tokens of *do*, and 14 of bare negation, shown in examples (21)–(26):

(21) P.S. My mother says she *does not know* any particular way of making her cheese sharp [...]. (Mary Hunter, 30.03.1851)

(22) I *do not know* a single Irishman resident in this part of the country, but was strong for the cause of the South. (William Hill, 02.09.1865)

(23) Oh, Nick. Sarrah is gone but I *don’t know* where, but her clothes is still in the house. (William Shanks, 30.06.1891)

(24) But my dear I *know not* why sisters have not sisterly love for one another in this country as they do home or what it is that changes you all. (Catherine Fitzgerald, 12.10.1851)

(25) & (26) Whether he received the letters or not I *know not*, but this I do know; if he received one or both of them he behaved unworthy of his Father's son, and what his wife thinks of the silence which exists between us I *know not*. (Martha J. Wilson, 01.04.1865)

The second most frequently found verb in the data is *have*. Found sporadically with *do*-support throughout the study, in the last decade of the century a quarter of all tokens are with *do*. In total, however, 99 of 119 tokens are with bare negation (Table 4.1).

(27) I know that I have one to love me for myself, that *has not* one thought but to make me happy. (C.A. Hutchinson, 25.06.1855)

(28) I have not been in since I last wrote to you, it is now twelve months, consequently *had not* the pleasure to seeing cousin Sally. (Kate A. Murphy, 17.12.1869)

(29) I am not getting along as well with my studies this year as the other. Whether it's because I *have not* as much concentration on my work, or that I am too lazy, or that the subjects are too difficult for me, I hardly know. (James A. Smyth, 31.01.1899)

(30) That being so, criticisms and condemnations from "friends" and acquaintances *did'nt* [sic] *have* much effect on me, nor did they keep me from enjoying myself when there. (R.J. Waddell, 28.04.1899)

(31) I received your letter some time ago and should have answered it sooner, but really I *did not have* the heart to write. (Alex Wilson, 18.06.1899)

Need is exclusively found with bare negation in the late 19th century (32), save for four tokens with *do* in the 1890s, such as (33):

(32) Father, I am sure, would feel much better for the trip and I *need not* mention what sights you would see, and the passages are very cheap now. (James A. Smyth, 29.05.1899)

(33) On wet days I *do not need* to come at all and I get a holiday whenever I like to ask for it. (Cassie [Smyth?], 02.11.1891)

After *know* and *have*, *think* is the most frequent verb. McCafferty found only two tokens of *think* with bare negation (2%) in his 18th and early 19th-century IrE data (McCafferty 2016: 22, figure 9; 23, figure *). All 99 tokens of *think* in the late 19th century data were with *do*-support:

(34) I never saw genuine Irish until I came to this country and I assure you I *don't think* it strange that they are everywhere spoken against and looked upon with disdain. (Andrew Greenlees, 30.05.1859)

(35) Martha, I tell you the truth, I *did not think* I had such a nice young sister as Louisa is. (James P. Breeze, 12.12.1889)

Dare, found exclusively with bare negation in McCafferty's data (2016: 18), is recorded with a single token of *do*-support in the late 19th century data, compared to four tokens of bare negation:

(36) Last year I had to ride my horse and make him swim across it and I *do not dare* about taking such risks oftener than is necessary. (Alexander Robb, 23.05.1871)

(37) My great trouble now is that I am obliged to keep a fire in my room with the thermometer at 70 to 75 to dry my flannel which is wet twice a day, and I *dare not* trust anyone to dry it for me. (Roland Redmond, 12.04.1875)

4.4 Cross-variety comparisons

In Collins' cross-variety study, Australian English, British English, and American English, respectively, display 22%, 37%, and 14% bare negation in the second half of the 19th century (see Figure 4.8, after Collins 2015: 35, Figure 9). Compare these percentages to late 19th-c. IrE's 16%, and only AmE shows (slightly) less bare negation for this period. Nevertheless, this means that during the 19th century AmE has overtaken IrE as the leading variety as regards use of *do* over bare negation, with 26% bare negation, 74% *do*, most closely followed by AmE's 39% bare negation, 61% *do*, then BrE with 46% bare negation, 54% *do*, and lastly AusE with 52% bare negation, 48% *do* (Figure 4.9, below; McCafferty 2016: 21, Figure 8).

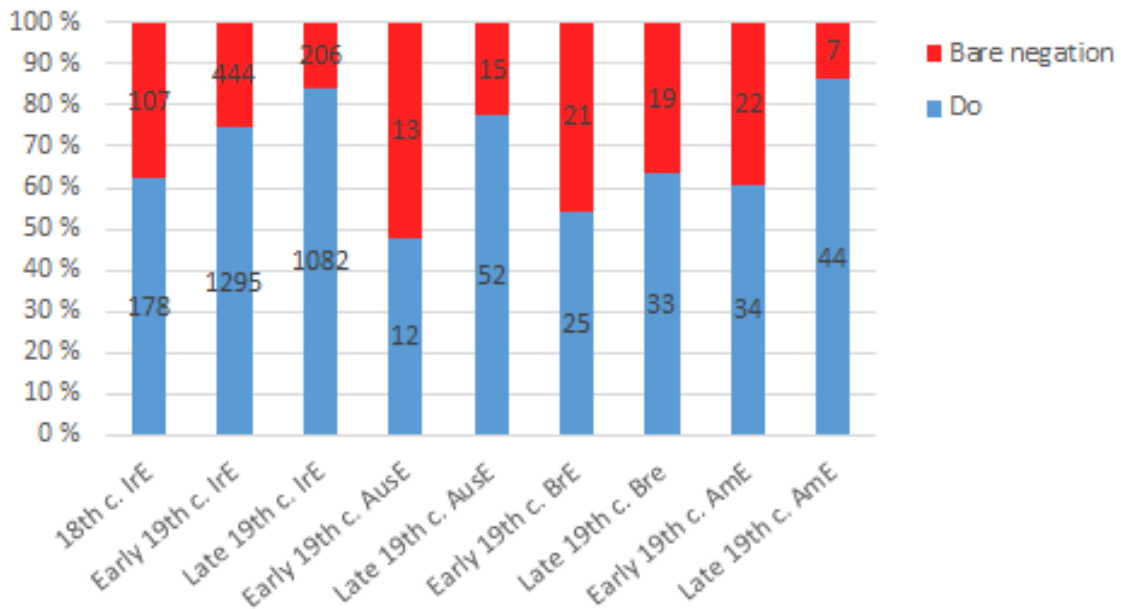


Figure 4.8. *Do*-support vs. bare negation in 18th–19th-c. IrE, 19th-c. AusE, BrE, and AmE (after McCafferty 2016: 21, Figure 8; Collins 2015: 35, Figure 9)

Save for BrE (whose major leap happened half a century later), the other varieties have made larger jumps in their use of *do* from early to late 19th century than IrE.

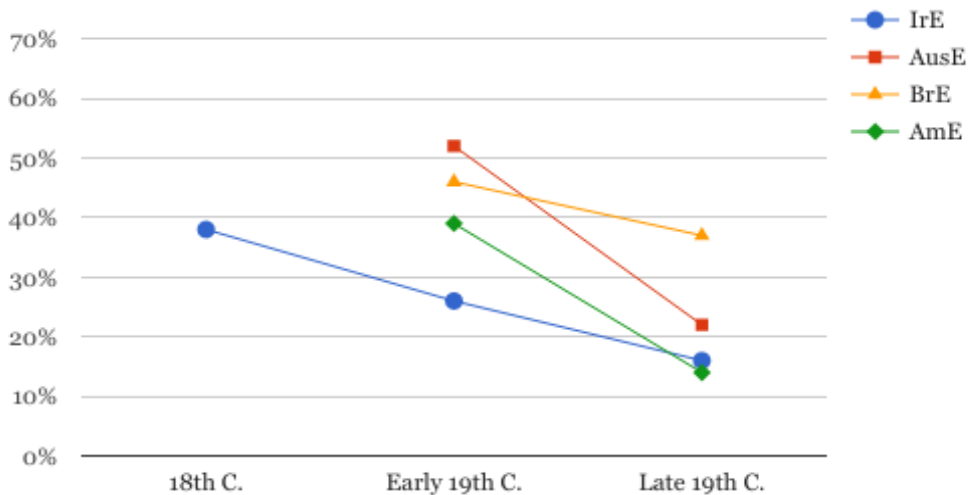


Figure 4.9. Decline of bare negation in 18th–19th-c. IrE, 19th-c. AusE, BrE, and AmE (after McCafferty 2016: 21, Figure 8; Collins 2015: 35, Figure 9)

It could be, as mentioned earlier and proposed by McCafferty, that ‘the influx of Irish emigrants into North America, Australia and Great Britain in the nineteenth century might have played a role in diffusing *do*-support in these varieties, too’ (2016: 22). This is further discussed below.

Hundt finds that through the late 19th century AusE uses 36% bare negation,²⁵ AmE 20%, and BrE 32% (Hundt 2015: 78, Table 6; 85–86, Table 1a). In NZE, too, bare negation is used in 32% of the relevant instances (2015: 75, Table 4). Making direct comparisons more uncertain, only five different verbs are available for NZE and they are gathered from CENZE, which spans beyond the 19th century, no distinction being made between tokens from different periods. Hundt’s data for AmE and BrE is similarly scarce: nine different verbs – five of which are not registered with any tokens in AmE – yielding 70 and 88 tokens, respectively.

The relative lack of data means it is difficult to make sweeping conclusions on the overall trend of all verbs. As mentioned above, while AusE is well supported, Hundt’s data for NZE, AmE and BrE only includes a handful of verbs. Of these, all but *know* and *care* are ones which traditionally were more resistant to *do*-periphrasis than most lexical verbs (2015: 75, Table 4). As such, though *know* and *care* balance the equation somewhat, the results are skewed towards bare negation, and likely not indicative of the overall distribution at the time. Having said that, there is value in comparing how these particular verbs developed across different varieties.²⁶ McCafferty has already done this, using his data from the 18th century through the 1840s (McCafferty 2016: 22, Figure 9; 23, Figure *). The figures for the different verbs vary, but in total they show 66% bare negation in 18th-century IrE and 45% in the early 19th century. When we reach the late 19th century, this percentage has dropped to 25 (Figure 4.10, Table 4.5). *Fear* is not registered in the data, and only five tokens of *doubt* were found, all with bare negation. *Care* produced 24 tokens, all but one with *do*-periphrasis. All 99 tokens of *think* were also with *do*. In all, 229 tokens of *know* were found, 14 with bare negation, 215 with *do*. Finally, *have* remains the verb most frequently used with bare negation, 99 tokens. However, while *have* has

²⁵ To best correspond with the present study, percentages for AusE were calculated using Table 1a in the appendix to Hundt’s study, omitting the tokens from 1840–50. Here, all verbs are included, regardless of how many times they are recorded in the corpus. Combining the totals for 1851–75 and 1876–1900 (82+137+83+160=462) results in the following distribution: 165:297, 36% bare negation, 64% *do*.

²⁶ The verbs (‘Hundt’s verbs’ from here) included in this and McCafferty’s cross-variety study are *care*, *doubt*, *fear*, *have*, *know*, and *think*. Of these, *think* is not represented in Hundt’s NZE data, and there are no tokens of *care* and *fear* in the AmE data (Hundt 2015: 75, table 4; 78, table 6).

been exclusive with bare negation until three tokens of *do* were recorded in the 1840s, 20 tokens of *have* with *do*-support were found throughout the late 19th century.

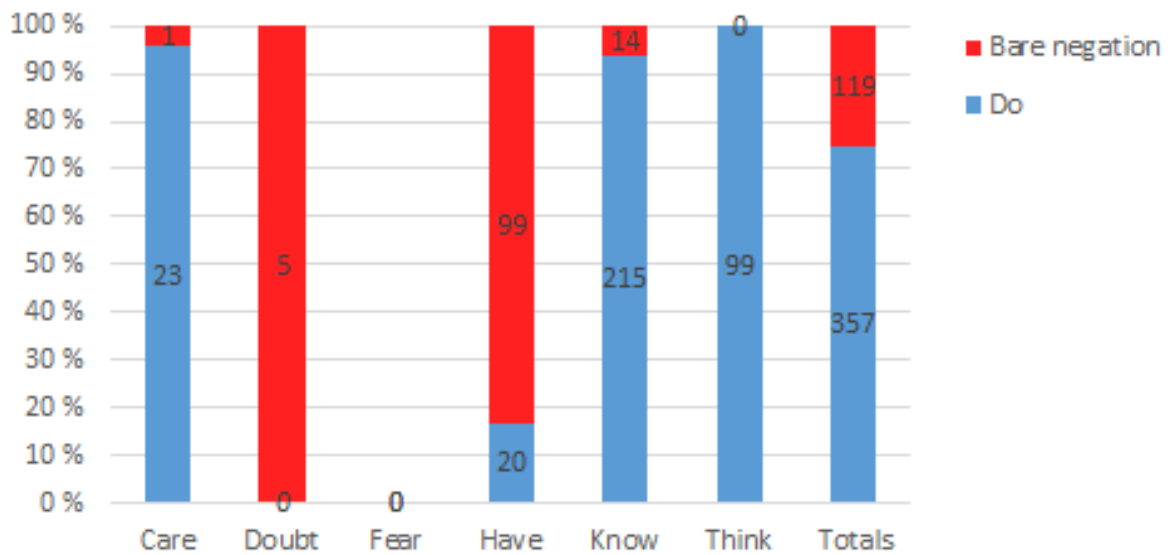


Figure 4.10. Negation of Hundt's verbs in late 19th-c. Irish English

Table 4.5. Recorded tokens of Hundt's verbs in late 19th-c. Irish English

	<i>Care</i>	<i>Doubt</i>	<i>Fear</i>	<i>Have</i>	<i>Know</i>	<i>Think</i>	Totals
<i>Do</i>	23 (96%)	0	0	20 (17%)	215 (94%)	99 (100%)	357 (75%)
Bare negation	1 (4%)	5 (100%)	0	99 (83%)	14 (6%)	0	119 (25%)
Totals	24	5	0	119	229	99	476

The 25% bare negation seen with these verbs in IrE is lower than all varieties in the late 19th century, save AmE (Figure 4.11). The other late 19th century varieties are discussed in McCafferty (2016: 23). Suffice to say here, IrE is no longer the most conservative variety as regards bare negation with these select verbs.²⁷ Early 19th c. IrE used bare negation in 45% of instances with these verbs, then followed late 19th c. AusE (39%), NZE (32%), BrE (31%), and finally AmE (20%) (Table 4.6). Now that we have contemporary figures for IrE, we see that its use of *do* has surpassed every variety but AmE by some margin, again lending credence to the theory that IrE was a progressive variety with regard to adopting *do*-support for most verbs.

²⁷ Maybe it never was. Hundt's study does not provide 18th- or early 19th-century figures for the other varieties, only late 19th century.

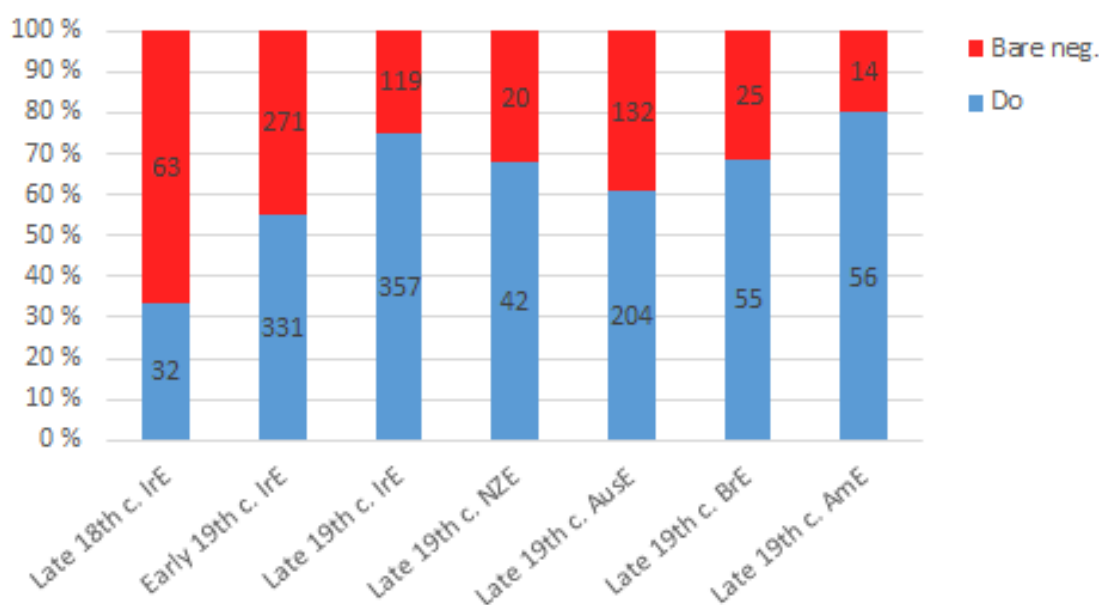


Figure 4.11. Hundt's verbs in late 18th–late 19th-c. IrE, late 19th-c. NZE, AusE, BrE, and AmE (after McCafferty 2016: 23, Figure 10)

What seems likely is colonial varieties of English are speeding up a process of simplification that was already taking place, at a slower pace, in BrE. The speech communities of these colonial varieties (Figure 4.8) would see mixing of the different dialects and subsequent leveling, supporting conditions for increasing use of *do*-periphrasis – a process of grammatical simplification. Trudgill quotes Algeo (2001: 19–20) who writes that British observers in the Colonial period saw American English of the day as very ‘uniform’, and ‘better’ than English in England.²⁸ According to Trudgill, this observation stems from the fact that: ‘Common dialect mixtures and levelling processes would have led to a reduction of regional variation’, and that ‘one of the consequences of dialect mixing is *levelling*, in which minority forms, socially marked forms and linguistically marked forms are lost’ (Trudgill 2004: 22–23).

Table 4.6. Distribution of Hundt's verbs in late 18th–late 19th-c. IrE, late 19th-c. NZE, AusE, BrE, and AmE (McCafferty 2016: 23, Figure 10; Hundt 2015: 75, Table 4; 78, Table 6; 85–86, Table 1a)

	Late 18th c. IrE	Early 19th c. IrE	Late 19th c. IrE	Late 19th c. NZE	Late 19th c. AusE	Late 19th c. BrE	Late 19th c. AmE
<i>Do</i>	32 (34%)	331 (55%)	357 (75%)	42 (68%)	204 (61%)	55 (69%)	56 (80%)
Bare negation	63 (66%)	271 (45%)	119 (25%)	20 (32%)	132 (39%)	25 (31%)	14 (20%)
Totals	95	602	476	62	336	80	70

²⁸ The apparent lack of regional dialects – and the ‘proper’, ‘grammatical’ way in which the colonists spoke – described in Algeo (2001), is cited from Boorstin (1958), who quotes several 18th century sources (1958: 274–275).

4.5 Multivariate analyses

Various linguistic and non-linguistic factors of the tokens and the authors of the letters in which they appear, were tested using *GoldVarb X* (Sankoff et al. 2005) to determine how strongly they encourage use of *do*-periphrasis. Eight different factor groups were tested: verb, tense, adverb position, number of adverbs, time, gender of writer, recipient relationship, and social class of writer. Results for the individual decades of the study as well as for the entire half-century as one, are presented below in tables 9–14. Results (weights) over .50 favour *do*, while results below .50 disfavour it. The closer to .50 the result is, the more neutral is the effect of the factor in question. Groups marked with superscript proved not significant at the 0.05 level.

4.5.1 Verb

For every decade, individually and combined, what verb is used in the token proved the most significant group. It is also the only group to be significant for all decades. When creating the factor groups, common *know*-group verbs, Hundt's verbs, as well as those used by Collins were added to the group to test whether they favour use of *do*.²⁹ As the results show, most verbs were not significant. *Have*, *know*, and *other verbs* (all other lexical verbs than those listed individually), however were significant across all decades, *have* strongly disfavouring *do*-periphrasis (.002–.015), *other verbs* strongly favouring it (.697–.807), while *know*, interestingly, varies between disfavouring and favouring (.335–.662) (Tables 4.7–4.12). Other than a dip in the 1880s, *know* steadily moves from disfavouring to favouring *do* as time progresses. Besides *know* and the group *other verbs*, *care* was found to strongly favour use of *do* (.662) when looking at the half-century as one (Table 4.12). *Care* also crops up as significant in the 1870s results (Table 4.9), but here it strongly disfavors *do* (.142). Two other verbs disfavouring *do* proved significant in just one decade: *Dare* (.041, 1870s) and *need* (.011, 1890s). These are both significant in the half-century as one, too, as is *find*, which appears only here, strongly disfavouring *do* (.143).

²⁹ The full list of verbs in the factor group is as follows: *Have*, *ought*, *need*, *dare*, *know*, *care*, *doubt*, *fear*, *think*, *find*, *hear*, *matter*, *mistake*, and *other verbs*.

Table 4.7. GoldVarb analysis of *do*/bare negation in 1850s IrE

Corrected mean/input .917				Log likelihood -54.721				Total N 204			
<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>	<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>		
Verb					Gender of writer^a						
Other verbs	.807	95	106	111	Female	[.555]	79	44	56		
Know	.335	79	27	34	Male	[.494]	76	110	145		
Have	.003	9	2	23	Unknown	[.054]	67	2	3		
Range	804				Range	501					
Tense					Recipient relationship^a						
Past tense	.754	87	61	70	Close nuclear family	[.639]	76	98	129		
Present tense	.357	71	95	134	Unknown	[.471]	80	8	10		
Range	397				More distant family	[.343]	82	23	28		
Adverb position^a					Social class^a						
Following verb	[.506]	79	30	38	Close friend	[.240]	80	12	15		
No adverb	[.499]	75	123	163	Other distant	[.239]	73	11	15		
Range	7				Social superior	[.055]	57	4	7		
Number of adverbs^a					Range						
One adverb	[.866]	82	28	34	Unknown	[.838]	90	47	52		
No adverbs	[.409]	75	123	163	Upper class	[.513]	70	16	23		
Two adverbs	[.385]	71	5	7	Middle class	[.396]	70	19	27		
Range	481				Working class	[.323]	73	74	102		
					Range	515					

(a)Not significant at 0.05 level)

4.5.2 Recipient relationship

Recipient relationship, that is the relationship between writer and the person to whom they are writing, proved significant only in the 1860s (Table 4.8). Information found in the letters or added by the compilers of the corpus was used to deduce the relationships as best possible. In some instances, however, the relationships are still unclear and the category *unknown* was therefore added to the factor group for these cases. The other categories are *close nuclear family*, *more distant family*, *other distant* (non-family), *close friend*, and *social superior* (not significant in the 1860s). As seen in table 4.8, *other distant* (.951), *close friend* (.817), and the *unknown* category (.757) all strongly favour *do*. This is perhaps a bit surprising as one would assume the tone and formality of letters written to a close friend vs. that written to someone distant would be quite different.

Table 4.8. GoldVarb analysis of *do*/bare negation in 1860s IrE

Corrected mean/input .902			Log likelihood -49.961		Total N 179				
<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>	<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>
Verb					Number of adverbs^a				
Other verbs	.728	94	99	105	One adverb	[.503]	96	27	28
Know	.472	90	26	29	No adverbs	[.499]	73	109	150
Have	.015	17	4	24	Range	4			
Range	713								
					Gender of writer^a				
Recipient relationship					Female				
Other distant	.951	90	9	10	Male	[.480]	77	112	145
Close friend	.817	86	6	7	Range	106			
Unknown	.757	81	13	16					
More distant family	.416	76	13	17	Social class^a				
Close nuclear family	.392	72	87	120	Upper class	[.818]	89	8	9
Range	559				Unknown	[.524]	87	20	23
					Working class				
Adverb position^a					Middle class				
Following verb	[.749]	96	27	28	Range	354			
No adverb	[.449]	73	109	150					
Range	300				Tense^a				
					Past tense				
					Present tense				
					Range				
					210				

(^aNot significant at 0.05 level)

It should be mentioned that all three categories are supported by relatively few tokens ($n = 10, 7, 16$, respectively), and the results might have been different given more data. Looking at the figures for the entire half-century would point to this being the case (Table 4.12). Though the category was not significant here, the weightings of the different factors still paints a picture, different than the one for the 1860s. While the *close friend* group still strongly favours *do* (.814), the figures for *other distant* (.523) and *unknown* (.338) have decreased considerably.

On the other side of neutral, *more distant family* (.416) and *close nuclear family* (.392) both disfavour *do*, to relatively strong degrees. Tokens for *more distant family* are also quite scarce ($n = 17$), but *close nuclear family* is well supported ($n = 120$). It is all the more surprising that this group so strongly disfavours *do*. We might assume that the close relationship between members of a nuclear family would lead to a certain degree of informality, reflected in the use of *do* over bare negation, but this does not seem to be the case. The reason may be that relationships

between parents and children have changed between the late 18th century and present day, and there was a greater degree of formality and respect used when communicating towards parents then. Also, the medium might be considered. Although personal correspondence is rather informal in its nature, there is a shift in mode between face to face interactions and letters. Again, looking at the figures for the entire half-century, we see that – while not as stark a difference as for the groups mentioned above – there is a rise to .453 for the *close nuclear family* group, moving it closer to neutral as well as the results for the other factors in the group (Table 4.12).

4.5.3 Tense

Grammatical tense was a significant category in the 1850s, 1870s, the 1890s, as well as the entire half-century as one (Tables 4.7, 4.9, 4.11, 4.12). For all these periods, past tense strongly favours

Table 4.9. GoldVarb analysis of *do*/bare negation in 1870s IrE

Corrected mean/input .964				Log likelihood -36.362				Total N 190	
<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>	<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>
Verb					Number of adverbs^a				
Other verbs	.697	97	113	116	No adverb	[.550]	84	133	159
Know	.542	97	28	29	One adverb	[.200]	91	21	23
Care	.142	67	2	3	Range	350			
Dare	.041	50	1	2					
Have	.002	7	1	15	Gender of writer				
Range	695				Male	[.514]	87	142	164
					Female	[.414]	77	20	26
Tense					Range	100			
Past tense	.702	92	67	73					
Present tense	.370	81	95	117	Recipient relationship^a				
Range	332				Unknown	[.570]	87	13	15
					More distant family	[.562]	85	46	54
Adverb position^a					Close nuclear family	[.469]	85	93	109
Following verb	[.834]	93	27	29	Other distant	[.309]	60	3	5
No adverb	[.427]	84	133	159	Range	261			
Range	407								
					Social class^a				
					Unknown	[.599]	84	53	63
					Middle class	[.509]	91	49	54
					Working class	[.448]	84	58	69
					Upper class	[.039]	50	2	4
					Range	560			

(^aNot significant at 0.05 level)

do (.674–.775), while present tense strongly disfavours it (.340–.406). Knowing that *do*-periphrasis is almost universal today, an increase towards neutral or favouring *do* for present tense, also, might have been expected as time progresses, but no such pattern is seen. When also including the decades in which tense was found not significant, there is rather a tendency to take one step forward, then one backwards, the weight beginning at .357 in the 1850s and ending at .340 in the 1890s (Tables 4.7, 4.11).

4.5.4 Gender of writer

The gender of the writer was a significant factor group in just one decade, the 1880s. Female writers were found to slightly favour *do* (.526), while male writers slightly disfavour it (.485) (Table 4.10). Though hardly an innovation at this point, it is perhaps not surprising to see women leading in use of *do*. Usually, the gender of the writer is easily determined. In a small handful of

Table 4.10. GoldVarb analysis of *do*/bare negation in 1880s IrE

Corrected mean/input .982		Log likelihood -41.556			Total N 206				
<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>	<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>
Verb					Recipient relationship^a				
Other verbs	.721	99	108	109	Close friend	[.728]	88	38	43
Know	.447	97	32	33	Social superior	[.560]	80	8	10
Have	.003	18	3	17	More distant family	[.484]	83	48	58
Range	718				Close nuclear family	[.387]	85	76	89
					Range	341			
Gender of writer					Social class^a				
Female	.526	88	66	75	Middle class	[.614]	83	15	18
Male	.485	83	106	127	Unknown	[.527]	89	67	75
Range	41				Working class	[.487]	84	88	105
					Upper class	[.201]	75	6	8
Adverb position^a					Range				
Following verb	[.843]	93	28	30	413				
No adverb	[.428]	84	146	174					
Range	415				Tense^a				
					Past tense	[.660]	94	67	71
Number of adverbs^a					Range				
No adverb	[.590]	84	146	174	Present tense	[.413]	81	109	135
One adverb	[.093]	93	26	28	247				
Range	497								

(^aNot significant at 0.05 level)

tokens (n = 9) across the half-century, however, it could not be ascertained (Table 4.12). As gender of the writers was thought to be significant more often than it turned out to be, additional analyses were done, removing the *unknown* factor from the gender group. The differences in results were small (.536–.527 for male, .427–.430 for females), and – most importantly – the factor group was still not significant.

4.5.5 Time

Time was not significant in the results for any of the individual decades as the group contained only one factor, making them singletons. For the half-century as one, however, time was the third most significant factor group (Table 4.12). In general, the GoldVarb results mirror those of the larger study: as the decades progress, *do* becomes more favoured. Save for a drop from the 1870s to the 1880s (.498 to .466), *do* becomes more favoured every decade. This belies the fact

Table 4.11. GoldVarb analysis of *do*/bare negation in 1890s IrE

Corrected mean/input .974				Log likelihood -68.119				Total N 502			
<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>	<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>		
Verb					Gender of writer^a						
Other verbs	.710	99	270	274	Male	[.536]	88	296	336		
Know	.662	97	100	103	Female	[.427]	89	147	165		
Need	.011	17	4	24	Range	109					
Have	.006	25	10	40							
Range	704				Recipient relationship^a						
					Close friend	[.779]	97	94	97		
Tense					More distant family	[.557]	87	52	60		
Past tense	.775	93	163	175	Close nuclear family	[.401]	85	263	309		
Present tense	.340	86	280	327	Unknown	[.272]	85	11	13		
Range	435				Range	507					
Adverb position^a					Social class^a						
No adverb	[.538]	86	340	394	Working class	[.522]	86	338	391		
Following verb	[.358]	95	97	102	Unknown	[.409]	94	88	94		
Range	180				Range	113					
Number of adverbs^a											
Two adverbs	[.711]	94	17	18							
One adverb	[.649]	96	85	89							
No adverbs	[.455]	86	340	394							
Range	256										

(^aNot significant at 0.05 level)

that for every decade but the 1890s – when it is heavily favoured (.646) – *do* is disfavoured, starting at heavily disfavoured in the 1850s (.279) and 1860s (.393) to more slightly disfavoured in the 1880s (.466) and all but neutral in the 1870s (.498).

4.5.6 Social class

Three different factor groups were not significant at any point. As with *recipient relationship*,

Table 4.12. GoldVarb analysis of *do*/bare negation in 1850s–1890s IrE

Corrected mean/input .945				Log likelihood -216.375				Total N 1281			
<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>	<i>Factor groups/factors</i>	<i>wt.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Total N</i>		
Verbs					Number of adverbs^a						
Other verbs	.764	97	696	715	One adverb	[.709]	93	187	202		
Care	.662	96	24	25	Two adverbs	[.642]	92	35	38		
Know	.562	93	213	228	No adverbs	[.451]	82	851	1040		
Find	.143	75	3	4	Range	258					
Dare	.017	20	1	5							
Have	.011	17	20	119							
Need	.005	6	4	67	Gender of writer^a						
Range	759				Unknown	[.912]	89	8	9		
					Male	[.522]	83	765	917		
					Female	[.428]	85	301	355		
Tense					Range						
Past tense	.674	91	402	441	484						
Present tense	.406	80	672	840							
Range	268				Recipient relationship^a						
					Close friend	[.814]	93	156	168		
					Other distant	[.523]	83	34	41		
Time					Social class^a						
1890s	.646	88	443	502	Social superior	[.469]	88	37	42		
1870s	.498	85	162	190	Close nuclear family	[.453]	82	617	756		
1880s	.466	85	176	206	More distant family	[.427]	84	182	217		
1860s	.393	77	137	179	Unknown	[.338]	84	48	57		
1850s	.279	76	156	204	Range	476					
Range	367										
					Adverb position^a						
					Unknown	[.561]	90	275	307		
No adverb	[.524]	82	851	1040	Working class	[.492]	82	613	744		
Following verb	[.391]	92	209	227	Upper class	[.452]	74	35	47		
Range	133				Middle class	[.442]	83	151	183		
					Range	119					

(^aNot significant at 0.05 level)

information gleaned from the letters or added by the compilers of the corpus was used to decide to what social class the writers of the letters belonged. More so than for other groups, this was not always possible, resulting in the *unknown* factor being the second most populous of the group, behind *working class* (Table 4.12). Together with these two factors, *middle class* and *upper class* complete the group. For the entire half-century, *middle class*, *upper class*, and *working class* all disfavour *do* (.442, .452, and .492, respectively), while in letters by writers in the *unknown* group favour it (.561).

4.5.7 & 4.5.8 Adverb position & number of adverbs

Besides *social class*, both *adverb position* and *number of adverbs* were never found significant. These two factor groups were created to test Ellegård's hypothesis, discussed earlier, that the rise of negative *do*-declaratives over affirmative ones in the late 15th–early 16th century was connected to adverbs such as *not* becoming preferred in a position preceding the verb where it used to follow it. *Do*-periphrasis allows this anteposition of *not* and adverbs like it, then, and Ellegård presents data that supports the claim that the presence of a second adverb in addition to *not* in a sentence, makes use of *do* even more likely (Ellegård 1953: 193–197).

The tokens were studied to see if one or more adverbs (besides *not*) either preceded or followed the lexical verb. In tokens with more than one adverb, the possibility for adverbs to both precede and follow the lexical verb was accounted for. Invariably, the *preceding* (n = 10, all decades combined) and *preceding and following* (n = 4, all decades combined) factors were knockouts, meaning only one of the variables – in this case, *do* – was represented. Though the results were not significant, adverb(s) following the lexical verb favours *do* in the four first decades of the study (.506, .749, .834, .843), before the weight plummets in the 1890s to a point where it strongly disfavors it (.358), as it does for the entire half-century seen as one (.391) (Tables 4.7–4.12). The figures for *no adverb* were more neutral, though disfavouring *do* up to the 1890s where it favours it slightly (.499, .449, .427, .428, .538, respectively). This is also the case for the decades aggregated (.524).

As for the number of adverbs, only the *no adverbs* and *one adverb* factors were never knockouts. *Three adverbs* was represented by a single token (of *do*) throughout the study, and thus always a knockout, while *two adverbs* was a knockout (also of *do*) in the 1860s (n = 1),

1870s (n = 8), and 1880s (n = 4) (Tables 4.8–4.10). When looking at the half-century as one, though not significant, the results seem to confirm Ellegård's claim that additional adverbs favour *do* (Table 4.12). While no adverbs besides *not* slightly disfavour *do* (.451, n = 851/1040), both two (.642, n = 35/38) and one (.709, n = 187/202) extra adverbs heavily favour it. It is worth noting that *one adverb* favours *do* more than *two adverbs*, the important thing being the presence of an extra adverb, not how many extra ones, seemingly. When looking at the individual decades, however, the results are more erratic. Two adverbs strongly disfavour *do* (.385, n = 5/7) in the 1850s (Table 4.7), but strongly favour it (.711, n = 17/18) in the 1890s (Table 4.11). Similarly, one adverb goes from strongly favouring *do* (.866, n = 28/34) in the 1850s to strongly disfavouring it (.093, n = 26/28) in the 1880s, for example. The *no adverbs* factor is more stable, but still goes from favouring to disfavouring, then back to disfavouring *do* (.409, .499, .550, .590, .455 through the decades, all supported by 100+ tokens), and – as mentioned above – is found to disfavour it when the decades are aggregated (Tables 4.7–4.12). The lack of a pattern might perhaps be explained by the complexity of adverbs. There are many types of adverbs, and they do not all act the same way. While some are important, some adverbs may be irrelevant. The model used in these analyses is very rudimentary and does not catch such complexities. A study focussing on adverbs and their role in negation, employing a more refined model that accounts for the diversity within the class, would perhaps yield better results, but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

In summary, the foremost factor in deciding between *do* and bare negation, is what verb is used. Besides the verbs discussed earlier, which are anomalies in their resistance towards *do*-periphrasis, lexical verbs in general heavily favour *do* throughout the study. In addition, there is a clear split between present and past tense in all results, present tense strongly disfavouring *do* while past tense strongly favours it. Also, time is a significant factor, generally reflecting the overall development of bare negation (Table 3.1, Figure 4.1). As we approach the 20th century, use of bare negation continues to decline, and we see this mirrored in the GoldVarb results, *do* becoming more favoured until it is heavily favoured in the 1890s. Besides time, none of the external sociolinguistic categories were significant when aggregating the decades, though gender of writer (1880s), and recipient relationship (1860s) each turned out significant in a single decade. Finally, though the results were not significant, Ellegård's claim that additional adverbs

leads to increased use of *do* appears correct. The findings are interesting, but further study is needed.

5: CONCLUSIONS

While Ellegård – by using Swift as yardstick – claimed that *do*-support was approaching its limit in negative declaratives by 1700, this proclamation of the demise of bare negation has proved premature. Though bare negation with most lexical verbs was in continuous decline, some use persisted through the 1700s (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1987). For Irish English, this continued up to the mid 19th century. Once there, however, ‘*do*-support could hardly diffuse much more’ (McCafferty 2016: 11). What remained of bare negation was use with select verbs, most of all *have*. As with most every other variety of English, *do*-support has become the most common negation strategy for *have* in present-day IrE, too. That said, bare negation still remains a robust option. The findings in this study confirm the pattern seen in McCafferty (2016): bare negation is, for most lexical verbs, not used when we reach the late 19th century. All verbs included, IrE showed 88% *do*-support in the 1890s. When excluding the handful of verbs which deviate from the norm in their persistence on taking bare negation, this proportion rises all the way to 97%. As for *have*, we can see the beginning of its transition to *do*-support. While it was almost exclusively used with bare negation up to the mid-1800s, more and more tokens of *have* with *do* are registered in the late 19th century, ending at 25% *do*-support in the 1890s. This proportion will probably continue to rise in the 20th century, but for most verbs, overall bare negation seems to have reached its limit, effectively.

When compared to other colonial varieties of English, IrE is more progressive than Australian and New Zealand Englishes as regards use of *do* in the late 19th century. Only American English displays (slightly) more frequent use of *do*. The question arises whether emigrant speakers of IrE could have influenced the language in these other colonies. While this may have played a role (but is hard to determine), the more likely explanation for the accelerated rise of *do*-support in the English-speaking colonies is grammatical simplification in places where speakers of different varieties mix. Grammatical simplification will often win out, regardless, and we have seen that the spread of *do* followed the same pattern in British English, too, though at a slower rate.

The multivariate analyses proved that the most important factor with regard to choice between bare negation and *do*-support is the verb. Besides *have* and a few other notorious exceptions, lexical verbs, in general, favour *do*-support. In addition, a look at time proved that the closer we approach the 20th century, the more favoured is use of *do*. Grammatical tense, interestingly, was often a significant factor – past tense strongly favouring *do*, present tense strongly disfavouring it. This is intriguing and perhaps an avenue for further research. So, too, is the role of adverbs, as hypothesised by Ellegård. Though not significant, the results were promising and a more sophisticated model than the one employed here could perhaps lead to interesting findings.

The most obvious avenue for research on the topic, however, is perhaps further detailing the development of the verbs that maintain bare negation, particularly *have*. We know it is still robust with bare negation in IrE – is the decline ongoing, or has it fully stopped? If so, when did this happen? Additionally, detailing negation of *need* and *doubt*, taking into account their semi-modal nature and what this has meant for their development would be an interesting project.

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