The Auxiliary *Do* in Negative Declarative Sentences in Early Modern Women's Fictional Texts[1]

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初期近代英語期の女性文学における否定平叙文中の助動詞*Do*

川添　早久良

Abstract

This paper is a gendered analysis of the development of the auxiliary *do* in Early Modern English, focusing on the use of *do* in negative declarative sentences of three women's writings: *Urania*（1621）by Lady Mary Wroth, *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia*（1651）by Anna Weamys, and *The Blazing World*（1666）by Margaret Cavendish. According to the previous study on *The Corpus of Early English Correspondence*（Nurumi [1999]）, women showed higher percentages of the new form（the *do*+inf. form）in the 17th century, thus leading the development of *do*. Our new research on the women's fictional texts, however, demonstrates that two out of the three texts（i.e., except for *The Blazing World*）display lower percentages of the *do*+inf. form than those of men. We cannot, then, conclude that women of the period preferred the new form and took a leading role in its development. This finding suggests the importance of the integrated consideration of genre, style, and gender in discussing the auxiliary *do* in Early Modern English.

Keywords: The Auxiliary *Do*, Early Modern English, Gender

1．Introduction

　In Present-day English, the auxiliary *do* is grammatically required to form negative declarative sentences, interrogative sentences, negative imperative sentences, and inverted sentences, when no other auxiliary verbs are available. However, if we trace the history of the English language, we will find that all types of sentences were once built without this auxiliary verb. It was seldom observed before the 15th century but came into use in Early Modern English, when both the old and new forms were used frequently, as in two examples of *The Merchant of Venice*（1596-97）below:

　Antonio: In sooth, I know not why I am so sad.（1.1.1）

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Nerissa: When the moon shone we <u>did not see</u> the candle.（5.1.92）

1．1．Previous Studies

The development of the auxiliary *do* has been an object of study for generations of scholars, and earlier studies focus on word order. Sweet（1898）, for example, supposes that it was introduced to avoid verb-inversion in interrogative sentences（e.g. "Like you the song?"）. The auxiliary *do* enables us to compose interrogative sentences without this clumsy inversion. He puts great emphasis on word order, suggesting that this is the real reason for the general adoption of *do* in questions（p. 90）.

Ellegård（1953）, who is one of the greatest contributors to the study of *do*, provides a full picture of the development in each sentence type by examining 117 texts in his seminal paper（Diagram 1）.

From a historical-sociolinguistic viewpoint, Tieken（1987）and Nurmi（1999）have conducted some comprehensive studies. Tieken analyzes several texts of the 18th century, paying attention to extralinguistic factors such as gender or the educational levels of the authors. She investigates three different types of texts: informative prose（fictional and non-fictional）, epistolary prose, and direct speeches（"speech in writing" of informative prose）, and finds that most of the authors in her study made stylistic distinctions in their use of *do*, although any clear pattern cannot be found. As for sociolinguistic factors, her study suggests that gender did not play a great part and the usage of *do* was connected more with the educational levels of the authors（p. 142）.

On the contrary, Nurmi lays a special emphasis on gender. She focuses on the period before the 18th century, using *The Corpus of Early English Correspondence*（*CEEC*）as her main source. Although her study is concerned only with the use of *do* in negative declarative sentences,[2] it makes a great contribution in that she analyzes this auxiliary verb from
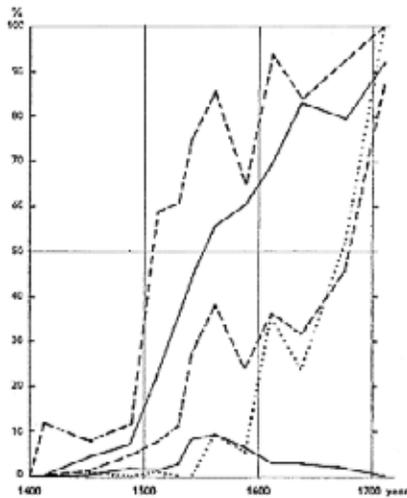
upper broken line : negative interrogative sentences
upper full line : affirmative interrogative sentences
lower broken line : negative declarative sentences
dotted line : negative imperative sentences
lower full line : affirmative declarative sentences

Diagram 1. Use of *Do* in Various Types of Sentences
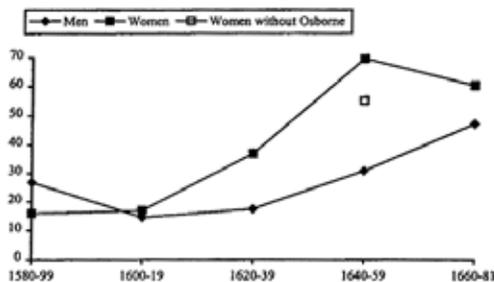Source: From Ellegård（1953. p. 162）

Diagram 2. Use of *Do* in the Letters of Men and Women in *CEEC*
Source: From Nurmi（1999. p.154）

several sociolinguistic factors. Nurmi points out the regional, class, and gender variations in the usage of *do* in the construction. She declares that women led the development of *do*, proposing that gender was the most important factor for the use of this auxiliary verb in negative declarative sentences. Her research shows that "women are in the forefront of this change throughout the 17th century"（p.159）, as in Diagram 2.

Several scholars have paid attention to the use of *do* in particular works or authors. Yadomi（2013）examines *do* in negative constructions of Shakespeare's plays to show a language preference shift of the playwright.

Kawasaki（1975）examines *do* in interrogative constructions of *The Authorized Version* from a syntactic perspective and suggests that the auxiliary *do* was used to keep the adjacency of a verb and an object.

Tieken（1990）explores Dr. Johnson's use of *do*, finding some correlation with styles. Her survey shows that Dr. Johnson chose the old form in negative declarative sentences in verse, tragedies, and journals possibly to make them sound "heavy".

２．Methodology and Texts

As discussed above, the study on *do* was first conducted from structural viewpoints, but sociolinguistic or stylistic factors are also seen as significant, especially from the 1990s onwards.

When we consider the problem from a sociolinguistic viewpoint, we will discern an obvious contradiction in the previous studies on gender, that is, the discrepancy between Tieken（1987）and Nurmi（1999）. Whereas the former cannot find a correlation between gender and the use of *do* in the 18th century, the latter emphasizes the importance of the gender factor in Early Modern English. This disagreement can be partly attributed to the difference in the target periods of the researchers or their choices of text types. Whatever the answers may be, it can be clearly stated that more research is needed in this area to examine the influence of women.

Therefore, this study aims to investigate several women's writings of Early Modern English to discuss the development of *do* from a historical-sociolinguistic viewpoint. For this purpose, we will examine the texts written during the period from the beginning to the middle of the 17th century, when the grammatical regulation on the use of *do* was not completed yet and the usage was determined mostly by sociolinguistic and stylistic factors. According to Ellegård（see Diagram 1, p. 2）, the use of *do* at the end of the 17th century was highly similar to the modern one, which means that the use of *do* was fairly regulated at that time. Some recent researchers suggest that the regulation was not complete yet in the 18th century（Nakamura 1995）, or even in the last century（Yadomi 2015）, but it is unarguable that the usage was already highly modernized at the end of the 17th century. Thus, we will limit texts to those written before this period. Texts before the 17th century are excluded since it was after the beginning of that century when women gained a good lead in the development of *do* according to Nurmi（see Diagram 2, p. 3）.

２.１.　Texts

This study investigates three fictional texts as samples of informative prose, to examine supposed stylistic difference, for the use of *do* varies according to text styles as previous studies suggest. Nurmi's study, which shows gender difference, explores the language of correspondence. Texts from other genres can show a different use of *do*.

The texts analyzed are *Urania*（1621），*A Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia*（1651）, and *The Blazing World*（1666）by three different authors.

We will first compare our data with Ellegård's（1953）. We should note that his data of negative declarative sentences（see Diagram 1, p. 2）excludes the instances of the *know*-group verbs（see below, p. 6）. We will follow his classification when we compare our data with his. The comparison with his data can be drawn from a gender viewpoint because his data from the 17th century are based only on male writings.

Additionally, we will refer to Nurmi's data（1999）, which suggests the gender difference of this period in *CEEC*. The comparison with her data requires careful attention because of the difference in the nature of her materials and ours. In her study based on the correspondence corpus, the data are classified according to the dates on the letters, directly reflecting the usage of *do* at that time. The data of Ellegård and this paper are, however, classified by the dates of publication. In the latter case, the texts may not necessarily be the products of the periods suggested. Therefore, the comparison with Nurmi's data might be less valid. We should also note that, unlike Ellegård's, her data of negative declarative sentences includes the *know*-group.

Then, we will present the instances dividing them into three categories: verbs used only in the *do*-less form（i.e. the simple form without the auxiliary *do*）, verbs used only in the *do*+inf. form（i.e. the periphrastic form with the auxiliary *do*）, and verbs used both in the *do*-less and the *do*+inf. form. This is because the development of *do* differs according to verb types: some verbs frequently appear with *do*, and others resist co-occurring with *do* until Late Modern English.

The subsequent section will give a brief introduction of each text and writer.[3]

２.１.１.　*Urania*（1621）[4]

Urania is a romance that traces the fortunes of the heroine Urania, a shepherdess of noble origins. The author, Lady Mary Wroth（1587-1653?）was a niece of Sir Phillip Sidney, who wrote the famous *Arcadia*（1590）, and of Lady Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, who was also a well-known woman writer. Taught by household tutors, she gained an informal education at her home. After the death of her husband, she started her writing career to make a living and support her son. The publication of her two books, *Urania* and *Loves Victory*（ca. 1620）, made her one of the first known English women writers. Her writing style in *Urania* is considered fantastical and flowery, showing the influence of her uncle.

２.１.２.　*A Continuation of Arcadia*（1651）

A Continuation of Sir Phillip Sydney's Arcadia was published anonymously, only with the

initial letters of the author's name, "Mrs. A. W." Now this book is attributed to Anna Weamys based on the information in the introductory verses. Little is known of her life and background. *A Continuation of Arcadia* is a pastoral romance that relates courtships between princes and princesses in Arcadia.

2. 1. 3. *The Blazing World* (1666)

Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1624-1674) , was a woman writer who published books of a variety of genres ranging from poetry, biography, and fiction, to works on science and philosophy. Margaret Cavendish (or "Mad Madge" as she was called due to her extraordinary writing career which was deemed unsuitable for women) , did not gain a formal education but was stimulated by the contacts with the intellectuals whom she got acquainted with while she and her husband were in Europe. *The Blazing World* is a forerunner of science fiction, describing the heroine's journey into an imaginary utopian world.

3. Analysis

According to Ellegård, the auxiliary *do* in negative declarative sentences started to develop from as early as the middle of the 15th century. *Do* in this construction spread rapidly throughout the 17th century and the frequencies of *do*+inf. form reached approximately 85% in 1700.

Table 1 provides the frequencies of both the *do*-less and the *do*+inf. forms in the three texts. *Have* is presented independently because it showed reluctance to adopt the *do*-less form in Early Modern English and it still occurs frequently without the auxiliary *do* in Present-day British English. The figures of some verbs known as the *know*-group (*know, boot, trow, care, doubt, mistake, fear, skill,* and *list*) are also shown separately from the other verbs to follow Ellegård's classification, since they resisted co-occurring with the auxiliary *do*, showing deviation from the general trend in Early Modern English. The rest are included in the category of "other full verbs."

Table 1. Use of *Do* in Negative Declarative Sentences

		have (full-verb)	*know* -group	other full verbs	total
Urania (1621)	*do*-less	5	13	22	40(93%)
	do+inf.	0	0	3	3(7%)
A Continuation of Arcadia (1651)	*do*-less	0	3	15	18(72%)
	do+inf.	0	1	6	7(28%)
The Blazing World (1666)	*do*-less	8	6	5	19(29%)
	do+inf.	0	9	37	46(71%)
Total	*do*-less	13	22	42	77(58%)
	do+inf.	0	10	46	56(42%)

This table displays a remarkable difference in the frequencies of the *do*+inf. form among the three texts. The ratio of the *do*+inf. form is the lowest in *Urania*（1621）and the highest in *The Blazing World*（1666）. This dissimilarity can be explained by the chronology of the texts: the lowest frequency in *Urania* published in 1621, and the highest in *The Blazing World*, which appeared last of the three（1666）.

Now let us compare the data from the three texts with that of Ellegård（1953）. The general ratios of the *do*+inf. form in his data excluding the *know*-group are around 37% in 1600-1625, and 46% in 1650-1700（calculated based on the table in p. 161）. In *Urania*, which was published during the former period, the percentage of *do*+inf. form excluding the instances of the *know*-group is as low as 10 %（3 out of 30 examples）. In the two texts in the latter period, *A Continuation of Arcadia and The Blazing World*, the ratio of the same form excluding the instances of the *know*-group is 29%（6 out of 21 examples）and 74%（37 out of 50 examples）respectively. Interestingly, whereas the percentage of *do*+inf. form accounts for more than one-third in 1600-1625 in Ellegård's data, that of *Urania*（1621）is still as low as 10%. On the contrary, the reverse can be pointed out in *The Blazing World*（1666）with the percentage of *do*+inf. form reaching 74%, when that of men accounts for 46%. From this data, we can summarize that the use of *do* in *Urania*（and possibly *A Continuation of Arcadia*, although the total number of the examples may be insignificant）fell behind the general trend, while it was highly modernized in *The Blazing World*. Considering the fact that the rate of the *do*+inf. form did not reach 70% until the end of the 17th century in Diagram 1, the use of *do* in *The Blazing World* can be regarded as the vanguard of the development of *do* in negative declarative sentences.

Here we will turn to Nurmi's data, which refer to gender differences in the frequencies of *do* in negative declarative sentences in *CEEC*（see Diagram 2, p. 3）. Her data include the *know*-group, and therefore we will present the figures including the *know*-group here. A notable discrepancy between her data and ours is found: she suggests that during 1620-39 the rate of *do*+inf. form in the letters of women（36.7%）is considerably higher compared to the letters of men（17.5%）. On the contrary, the *do*+inf. form in *Urania*（1621）accounts for as low as 7%, which is even lower than the ratio in men's letters in her data. During 1640-1659, the rate of this form represents 55% in women's letters（or 69.6%, with the data of Dorothy Osborne, which shows an extremely high percentage of the *do*+inf. form）, and 30.7% in those of men. In *A Continuation of Arcadia*（1651）, which was published in this period, the ratio of the *do*+inf. form（28%）is similar to that of men in *CEEC*. However, our data agrees with hers in that the percentage of the *do*+inf. form is higher in the women's writing during 1660-1681. The frequency of the *do*+inf. form reaches 60% in women's letters 47% in men's letters in Nurmi's data, and 71% in *The Blazing World*（1666）.

Admittedly, we cannot put too much emphasis on the comparison with her data as mentioned in the previous section, but we should still pay heed to the significant difference between her data and ours during 1620-1639 and 1640-1659.

To analyze and discuss the examples individually from a structural viewpoint, we should separate *The Blazing World* from *Urania* and *A Continuation of Arcadia*, considering that *The*

Blazing World shows an appreciably different tendency from the other two texts. All the verbs in the instances will be divided into three categories: verbs which adopt only the *do*-less form, those that appear only in the *do*+inf. form, and those which are found in both forms. Let us concentrate on them in turn.

3.1. The Use of *Do* in *Urania* (1621) and *A Continuation of Arcadia* (1651)

For convenience's sake, the instances will be sorted according to types and tokens. Types are abstract objects and refer to kinds of verbs in this paper. Tokens are concrete particulars, that is, the instances in which a type takes form. In the two texts, we find 45 verb types (69 tokens); 34 of 45 types appear only in the *do*-less form, 10 types only in the *do*+inf. form, and one type in both forms.

3.1.1. Verbs Found Only in the *Do*-less Form

34 of 45 types in *Urania* and *A Continuation of Arcadia* adopt only the *do*-less form. The types are enumerated below with the number of tokens of each type in parentheses:

know (10), *want* (6), *have* (5), *care* (3), *continue* (2), *doub*t (2), *fight* (2), *like* (2), *afford* (1), *agree* (1), *call* (1), *come* (1), *consent* (1), *desist* (1), *encounter* (1), *fail* (1), *feed* (1), *feel* (1), *flavour* (1), *forsake* (1), *hear* (1), *hold* (1), *intend* (1), *learn* (1), *listen* (1), *prevail* (1), *require* (1), *rid* (1), *salve* (1), *see* (1), *stay* (1), *suffer* (1), *tarry* (1), *wish* (1)

Not only *have* and the verbs in the *know*-group, but most of the common verbs also appear only in the *do*-less form. Here are some examples:

⟨*have*⟩
[1] I *have* not time to speake what I would… (*Urania*, p. 9)

⟨*know*⟩
[2a] I *know* not him (said Antissia), but if he *do* but second this, you may boldly say…(*Urania*, p. 52)
[2b] I *know* not whether this unwillingness to part with me proceeded from a jealous humour... (*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 179)
[2c] Fair Queen, what excuse I shall make for my long incivilitie to your singular self, I *know* not, nor can I imagine... (*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 72)

⟨other full verbs⟩
[3] ...if you had offended, which I *saw* not… (*Urania*, p. 17)
[4] Which happiness of mine, saith he, *continued* not long without interruption. (*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 169)

Here let us focus on the three tokens of *know*. They show three different kinds of objects: a nominal or pronominal object ([2a]), an object clause right after a predicate ([2b]), and

an object clause before a subject and a predicate in ［2c］.

　In ［2a］, the pronominal object is placed after the adverb *not*（"S+V+not+O"）. In these texts, we find some variation in word order. To examine this, we will discuss intransitive verbs first, and then transitive verbs.

　The instances with intransitive verbs regularly appear in "S+V+not" as follows:

〈intransitive verbs〉
　［5］ I *stayed* not but put it on…（*Urania*, p. 64）
　［6］ I am sure it *came* not unwished for…（*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 197）

　On the other hand, transitive verbs occur in two patterns, which are "S+V+not+O" and "S+V+O+not." We discover differences in the position of an object: the instances of a nominal object take only the pattern "S+V+not+O," whereas those of a pronominal object take both of the two patterns. The examples are shown below:

〈transitive verbs with a nominal object〉
"S+V+not+O"
　［7］ …but yet I heare not <u>the certaintie or manner of her death</u>...（*Urania*, p. 10）
　［8］ …yet Fortune, that *flavours* not <u>the purest souls</u>...（*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 162）

〈transitive verbs with a pronominal object〉
"S+V+not+O"
　［9］ …if I *wish* not <u>her</u> as well as it.（*Urania*, p. 70）

"S+V+O+not"
　［10］ …so sudden as I *felt* <u>it</u> not…（*Urania*, p. 12）
　［11］ …this *forsook* <u>them</u> not till the promised time was near at hand.（*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 103）

It is reasonable to find a simple or short pronoun inserted between a predicate and a negative in ［10］ and ［11］, as is usually observed in German:

　　e.g. Ich *sehe* <u>ihn</u> nicht.　"I *do* not see him."
　　　　（I see him not）

In ［9］ we can speculate the motivations for the pattern "S+V+not+O" considering that the object is attached with a long modifier "as well as it." The author might have wanted to avoid awkwardness with the help of the "S+V+not+O" pattern, which allows various and longer objects. However, the incentive for the same pattern in ［2a］ cannot be specified.

３．１．２．Verbs Found Only in the *Do*+inf. Form

10 of 45 types in these two texts occur only in the *do*+ inf. forms.

   content（1）, *court*（1）, *displease*（1）, *invite*（1）, *love*（1）, *manifest*（1）, *send*（1）, *think*（1）, *yield*（1）, *vouchsafe*（1）

One instance with an intransitive verb is discovered in the pattern "S+*do*+not+inf."

［12］ ...if he **did** not in some degree *yield* to that... （*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 89）

   Eight out of ten instances take a transitive verb after *do*, and in all of the eight instances, objects of the instances including pronominal ones are placed after an infinitive （"S+*do*+not+inf.+O"）. Below are examples:

［13］ This command of Evarchus, **did** not at all *displease* the four Bridegrooms. （*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 117）
［14］ ...these **did** not only *inuite*, but command me to be diligent,... （*Urania*, p. 34）

The example below cannot be included in either of the two groups since several words after the infinitive are illegible.

［15］ ...Parseilus, who **did** not content ***... （*Urania*, p. 67）[5]

3.1.3. Verbs Found in Both the *Do*-less and *Do*+inf. Forms

Only one verb, *fear*, occurs in both the *do*-less and the *do*+inf. forms, as below:

⟨*do*-less（1）⟩
［16］ ...if you （braue Prince） Perselius, and these with you will likewise afflict vs, I *feare* not, but assure my selfe of our hoped-for comfort. （*Urania*, p. 48）

⟨*do*+inf.（1）⟩
［17］ ....and they assured him they **did** not *fear* to enter within the compass of Plaxirtus… （*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 101）

A definitive account can hardly be provided for the difference in the use of *do* between these two instances. It can be attributed to the difference in time when both texts were written, or another plausible explanation can be suggested: the latter instance chooses the *do*+inf. form because *fear* takes the to-infinitive, which behaves like an "object." On the other hand, *fear* in the former instance has no kind of object. As Ellegård points out （1953, p. 195）, a verb with an object tends to adopt the *do*+inf. form, possibly because of a desire to place the object immediately after the verb. Although only nominal or pronominal objects are referred to in his survey, this tendency can be possibly observed in sentences with other words or phrases which behave like an object. Still, any conclusive reason for the difference cannot be adduced, because of the small number of instances, and the fact that

we can also find some examples in which a verb with a to-infinitive adopts the *do*-less form:

[18] ⋯such obsequies as are seeming for a Prince, he being of the race, although he *learned* not to follow their example⋯（*A Continuation of Arcadia*, p. 106）

3.2. The Use of *Do* in *The Blazing World*（1666）

As Table 1 suggests, the use of *do* completely changed in a few decades. In *The Blazing World*（1666）, the percentage of the *do*+inf. form rose abruptly. While *have* still resists appearing with *do*, most verbs including those of the *know*-group show preference for the *do*+inf. form. In Ellegård's data（p.161）, the general frequency of the *do*+inf. form represents 46%（excluding the *know*-group）in 1650-1700. Curiously enough, the percentage of the *do*+inf. form（excluding the *know*-group）in *The Blazing World* is much higher than that, accounting for 74%.

　Now let us move on to verb types. We can find 37 types（65 tokens）in total: five of them appear only in the *do*-less form, 31 only in the *do*+inf. form, and one in both of the two forms.

3.2.1. Verbs Found Only in the *Do*-less Form

5 out of 37 types adopt only the *do*-less form.
　　have（7）, *appear*（1）, *convert*（1）, *question*（1）, *require*（1）
Appear, the only intransitive verb in this category, is found in "S+V+not."

[19] …and although they *appear'd* not of an equal height, yet they seemed to be⋯（p. 7）

There is only one instance that has a pronominal object in this category and here again, it exhibits the pattern "S+V+O+not."

[20] …she *converted* them not onely soon, but gained an extraordinary love…（p. 33）

　All the other instances of a transitive verb appear in the form "S+V+not+O."

[21] …there they *had* not such sorts of Glasses…（p. 18）
[22] …the Golden ships… *required* not such thickness…（p. 6）

3.2.2. Verbs Found Only in the *Do*+inf. Form

31 out of 37 types adopt only *do*+inf. form, which shows that *do* has already begun to be associated with the greater part of full verbs:
　　understand（4）, *love*（2）, *agree*（2）, *afford*（1）, *belong*（1）, *cast*（1）, *contradict*（1）, *convert*（1）, *copy*（1）, *declare*（1）, *enrich*（1）, *exceed*（1）, *freeze*（1）, *give*（1）, *go*（1）, *grace*（1）, *mention*（1）, *move*（1）, *inform*（1）, *lift*（1）, *make*（1）, *perceive*（1）, *regard*（1）, *require*（1）, *save*（1）, *scruple*（1）, *serve*（1）, *side*（1）, *submit*（1）, *tell*（1）, *work*（1）
　Again, we will concentrate on intransitive verbs first. 14 instances take an intransitive verb, and all of them also show the same pattern as in *Urania* and *A Continuation of Arcadia*,

that is, "S+*do*+not+inf." Here are two examples:

［23］ …that it **did** not so much *freeze* in the Torrid Zone…（p. 14）
［24］ …which we **do** not *perceive* of the stars and Planets.（p. 40）

There is no conspicuous difference between the former two texts as for word order.
Then, let us move on to transitive verbs. Some examples are presented below:

〈pronominal object〉
［25］ If you **do** not *understand* <u>them</u>…（p. 41）
［26］ …perhaps their Microscopes **did** not truly *inform* them…（p. 17）

〈other objects〉
［27a］ …that they **did** not *understand* <u>these three distinctions</u>…（p. 41）
［27b］ They told her Majesty, that they **did** not *understand* <u>what she meant by this expression</u>…（p. 24）
［27c］ …<u>which</u> the Lady **did** not understand…（p. 5）

All the instances of transitive verbs including those with a pronominal object occur in the pattern "S+*do*+not+inf.+O."

3.2.3. Verbs Found in Both the *Do*-less and *Do*+inf. Forms

The only verb that occurs in both forms in *The Blazing World* is *know*（15 tokens）. Although *know* does not co-occur with *do* in the former two texts, nine out of 15 instances of the verb choose the *do*+inf. form in *The Blazing World*. No particular motivation for it can be specified as shown below:

〈*do*-less（9）〉
［28a］ …they *knew* not what to *do*…（p. 71）
［28b］ …the Emperess knew not what to make of them…（p. 30）
［28c］ …I know not how to shew my readiness …（p. 64）.

〈*do*+inf.（6）〉
［28d］ … But they smilingly answered her Majesty, That she **did** not *know* the virtue of…（p. 17）.
［28e］ …that you **do** not *know* well how to distinguish them, but confound them…（p. 37）
［28f］ …but what men call Prime, or All, we **do** not know…（p. 40）

4. Conclusion

Nurmi（1999）suggests that women showed higher percentages of the *do*+inf. form in the 17th century, concluding that they had already gained the lead in the development of *do*

in this period. However, our data from negative declarative sentences in women's fictional texts show that two out of the three texts present lower percentages of the *do*+inf. form than those of men which both Ellegård（1953）and Nurmi demonstrate. The only text that shows a much higher percentage of the *do*+inf. form is *The Blazing World*（1666）by Margaret Cavendish. From these observations, it cannot be concluded, at least from these three texts, that women preferred the new form and therefore played a leading role in its development in this century. This suggests the importance of the integrated consideration of genre, style, and gender in discussing the auxiliary *do* in Early Modern English.

Along with gender difference, we have examined the instances from a structural viewpoint, trying to find out what induced the *do*+inf. form in these texts. Ellegård points out that a verb with an object tends to adopt the *do*+inf. form. Although only nominal or pronominal objects are referred to in his research, we have suggested that a to-infinitive which behaves like an object might also have incited the form.

We have examined and discussed the data from only three texts of one genre in this paper. They are just a fraction of women's writings of Early Modern English and therefore more research is needed to reveal the general tendency of women's use of *do* in this period. This paper has, however, shown the use of *do* in some of the 17th-century women's fictional texts that had not been focused on by the previous studies. Women's writings in Early Modern English, which were thought to be extremely scarce, are being rediscovered and coming into the spotlight. This increasing recognition of women's texts will expand possibilities for the study of *do* in this period on a sociolinguistic basis. The present writer will conduct further research through the use of these newly discovered texts, focusing on women's use of *do*.

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抄　録

　本稿は、女性作家のフィクション作品における否定平叙文中の助動詞*do*に焦点を当て、初期近代英語期の助動詞*do*の発達をジェンダーの観点から考察するものである。調査対象はLady Mary Wrothの*Urania*（1621）、Anna Weamysの*A Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia*（1651）、Margaret Cavendishの*The Blazing World*（1666）である。初期近代英語期の書簡コーパスを調査した先行研究（Nurmi［1999］）によれば、17世紀には女性の方が新しい形式（助動詞*do*を用いた否定）を好み、この助動詞の発達をリードした。だが、女性のフィクションを対象とする今回の調査では、三作品中、*The Blazing World*を除く二作において、助動詞*do*の出現頻度が男性と比較して低いことが判明した。それゆえ、この時代に女性の方が新用法を好み、助動詞*do*の発達をリードしたとまでは言えない。以上の調査結果から示唆されるのは、初期近代英語期における助動詞*do*を議論する際には、ジャンルと文体とジェンダーを統合的に考察することが重要だという点である。

1　This paper is the revised version of a part of my master's thesis, "The Development of the Auxiliary *Do*: With Special Reference to Women's Language in Early Modern English," which was submitted to Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.
2　Nurmi also refers to the auxiliary *do* in affirmative declarative sentences（periphrastic *do*）, although we will not discuss this type of *do* in this paper for want of space.
3　The description in 2.1. is based on Spender（1986）and the introductory notes of the texts.
4　As for *Urania*, we will discuss only the first 100 pages of the whole text（291 pages）in accordance with the length of the other two texts.
5　Asterisks represent the missing words in the text.