Changing Usages of the Auxiliary DO as Revealed in the Letters of John Winthrop (1588-1649) and His Male Descendants in the 17th and 18th Centuries

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The auxiliary *do* in the Early Modern English period (1500-1700), the forms of "*do not* + verb" in negative sentences and "*do* + verb" in affirmative sentences were parallel in use with "verb + *not*" and "the present/past indicative" respectively. Nurmi (1999: 190) suggests, based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC), that the grammatical function of *do* might have caused the regulation of its use in negative statements after 1620 when sociolinguistic variations reappeared in 20 years after the frequency of *do* declined in both affirmative and negative statements in 1600. Rissanen (1991: 331) hypothesizes that affirmative *do* in written texts appeared more by syntactic or stylistic factors, but *do* in private letters "may indicate the development of a more oral style". Ellegård (1953: 209) concludes that the emphatic function of *do* "was the only one to survive in affirmative sentences [...] in the late 17th century".

This paper explores new evidence of the use of *do* in the process of evolution based on John Winthrop (1588-1649) and his male descendants' letters from 1620 to 1776. The "*do not* + verb" forms spread except "*know* group" verbs, but not dramatically like Ellegård's (1953) graph. John Winthrop's use of affirmative *do* indicates ambiguity. "Emphatic *do*" co-occurs with adverbs, repeated phrases or in inverted clauses in his letters. His health formulae (*do bless/rejoice*) become obsolete and *do pray* is used in more formal situations in his descendants' letters, while the use of *do* in the Winthrops' wills is retained in its writing style.

1. Introduction

The development of the auxiliary *do* is one of the important language changes in the Early Modern English period (1500-1700) (Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 2017: 68-71).[1] The present study aims to explore new evidence of the usages of periphrastic *do* during its transitional period to the

present-day auxiliary *do* based on the letters written from 1620 to 1776 by John Winthrop (JW; 1588–1649), first Governor of Massachusetts-Bay colony, and his eleven male descendants.

The auxiliary *do* in Early Modern English did not fully function as an obligatory element in a sentence where *do* is required in present-day standard English as in *I do not/did not hear from her* (in negative sentences by *not*); *Do/Did you hear from her?* (in interrogative sentences); *I DO/DID hear from her* (in emphatic constructions).[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*[2]) describes that *do* "as a Periphrastic Auxiliary of the present and past indicative...became especially frequent after 1500, first as a simple periphrastic form without perceptible difference of sense". Therefore, writers in the Early Modern English period had a choice of the two variations—the said *do*-forms or the following *do*-less forms in each sentence type—*I hear not/heard not from her*; *Hear/Heard you from her?*; *I hear/heard from her*.

How did the periphrastic *do* obtain the functions of the auxiliary *do* in the Early Modern English period? One theory behind its evolution is that "for the sake of emphasis or of word position, it is advantageous to have the verb in two words" like other auxiliaries existing in parallel as in "They will not speak", "Will you hear?" and "I WILL go" (*OED*[2] s.v. *do*, v.). The functional or semantical development of the affirmative *do* (*do* + verb), however, seems more complicated. Rissanen (1999: 241) explains based on earlier studies that triggering factors of affirmative *do* vary: e.g., "to avoid ambiguity with certain verb forms (*do set*, *did set* versus *set* [pres.], *set* [pret.]); phonotactics (*Thou didst imagine* versus *Thou imaginedst*); ordering and linking the elements of the sentence (placement of adverbials, linking subject and verb); pragmatic and stylistic considerations (emphasis, intensity of feelings, demands of balance and rhythm), etc.".

The emphatic use of *do* already existed in Early Modern English (*OED*[2] s.v. *do*, v. 25. c.)—e.g., 1601 *Twel. N.* III. i. 32 V. *Thou art a merry follow and car'st for nothing. C. Not so, sir, I **do care** for something, but..I do not care for you* [my emphasis]. This use, however, did not completely take over the unemphatic use by the end of the seventeenth century as Ellegård (1953:

209) presumed in his conclusion. The unemphatic use of *do* remained in the normal prose until the eighteenth century, and has been retained as an archaism in legal and liturgical use (*OED*² s.v. *do*, v. 25. a.). This means that the use of the unemphatic *do* might have been gradually restricted to such formal documents while the emphatic use has been gaining ground.

Nurmi (1999: 190) suggests based on the Corpus of Early English Correspondence (CEEC) that the grammatical function of *do* began causing the regulation of its use in negative statements only after 1620 although examples of "*do not* + verb" forms were found in earlier texts. She bases this turning point on her evidence that sociolinguistic variations by gender, age groups, and domicile reappeared 20 years after the frequency of *do* declined both in affirmative and negative statements in 1600 (Nurmi 1999: 189-191).

How did individual writers choose *do* or *do*-less forms during the transitional period? Can any different pattern of use and non-use of *do* be found in the usages? The present study will explore new evidence of these questions based on the Winthrop male writers' letters. I will show that they are more conservative in introducing *do* in negative statements, but more progressive in reducing the use of *do* in affirmative statements than the CEEC writers. Except *know not* and *doubt not* etc., their use of *do not* gradually spreads. Usages of affirmative *do* are changing in their family letters, but retained in a formal type of letters. In Sections 2 and 3, I will touch upon JW's profile and review some previous studies related to his use of *do*, followed by the outline of the material and method I have adopted. Then, I will discuss the Winthrop writers' usages of *do* in imperatives and interrogatives in Section 4, in negative declaratives in Section 5, and in affirmative declaratives in Section 6. Section 7 is my concluding remarks.

2. Profile of John Winthrop and Some Previous Studies on His Usages of ᴅᴏ

John Winthrop (JW for short) was born at Edwardston near Groton, in the county of Suffolk, England, on January 12, 1588 (Robert C. Winthrop 1864: 52). The Manor of Groton, which JW succeeded to, was originally

acquired at JW's grandfather's age (p. 22). JW was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge (pp. 54–56),[3] and was a lawyer before his departure for New England (pp. 76, 223). He emigrated to the Massachusetts-Bay colony as Governor with his community members in 1630 when he was 43 years old (Robert C. Winthrop 1895: 1).[4] In his time period, the Governor held a concurrent position as the judge in the court. According to his own writings, he almost always served as Governor or a magistrate member until he died in 1649.

JW's writings between 1630 and 1649 provide evidence that his usages of the periphrastic *do* are different depending on text types as in Figure 1 below.[5] He used it most frequently in the speech-based text in a formal situation in the court (*Examination*) and least in his private letters addressed to his family members. JW seems to have differentiated the use of the affirmative "*do* + verb" form in the formal situations from the informal ones (Fukunaga 2018a: 25–29, 2018b: Slide 21).
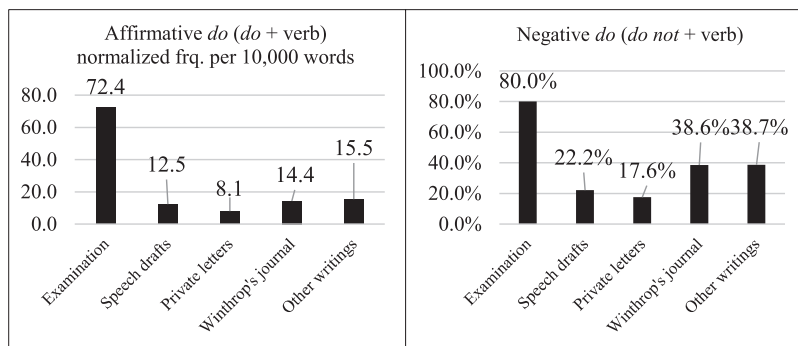

Figure 1. JW's Use of DO in Affirmative and Negative Statements (1630–1649)

In the *Examination* (speech-based text), JW, acting as the judge, repeatedly uses *do* after long turns with an examinee—*We **do not mean** to discourse with those of your sex but only this; you **do adhere** unto them and **do endeavor** to set forward this faction and so you **do dishonour** us* (Fukunaga 2018a: 29; my emphasis).

The usage of *do* above, including *do* negated by *not,* seems to strengthen his statement so that he could stop the longer turns with the examinee. This type of repeated use of *do* can be found in his journal,[6] which is described as "related to the abundant use of *do* in the spoken language" (Rissanen 1985: 172). Rissanen (1985: 171-172) explains that JW's favor of affirmative *do* attributes his styles of "emotive overtones, particularly moral disapproval or indignation", or "officialese". Rissanen (1985: 172) verifies JW's sensitivity to the level of text formality by comparison of the relative ratio of *do* between JW's private letters and more formal letters.

Rissanen (1991: 331) suggests that the affirmative *do* "is governed by different factors in spoken discourse and in written texts", and "in the trials, *do* is a discourse feature, while in written styles its use is more typically regulated by syntactic or stylistic factors", whose difference is particularly significant in 1640-1710. This suggestion is supported by the result from his survey on the presence or absence of factors favoring affirmative *do* in each subperiod of the Helsinki Corpus (HC)—1500-1570, 1570-1640 and 1640-1710.[7] Rissanen (1991: 331-332) states that the absence of syntactic or stylistic factors (="non-conditioned" use) of *do* increases in "Private Letters", which may indicate the development of a more oral style in letters addressed to intimate recipients in the Early Modern English period. However, in JW's private letters from 1630 to 1649, the "conditioned" use (=the presence of syntactic or stylistic factors) prevails over the "non-conditioned" use (Fukunaga 2018a: 31).[8] This result suggests that JW might have used *do* in affirmative statements in his private letters more for the stylistic or syntactic reasons than the HC writers.

Nurmi's (1999: 190) sociolinguistic analysis suggests that "it was only after 1620 that the grammatical function probably causing the regulation of *do* into negations took over". For example, her two graphs by domiciles (1999: 176, 178) show that the normalized frequency per 10,000 of affirmative *do* used in East Anglia rises in 1600-19 from the previous period (1580-99) and then again falls in 1620-39, while that of negative *do* increases all the time from 1580 to 1639. This tendency can be found in JW's use of *do* in his private

letters: the normalized frequency of affirmative *do* in 1620–30 decreases in 1630–49, while both the relative ratio and normalized frequency of negative *do* in 1620–30 slightly increase in 1630–49 (Fukunaga 2018b: Slide 11).

3. Material and Method

In the following subsections, I outline the material I have analyzed (3.1), and then exemplify target clauses for main discussions with the statistic method (3.2).

3.1 Material I Have Analyzed

I have extracted the letters from 1620 to 1776 written by JW and his male descendants from *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* edited by Robert C. Winthrop (RCW; 1864, 1895),[9] *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (MHS; 1878, 1882, 1889, 1892) and *Winthrop Papers* (MHS: 1943, 1947), and then compiled a Corpus of the Winthrop Family Correspondence (CWC for short). The CWC consists of a total of 788 letters with 324,310 words, including fragments and draft letters. I referred the Winthrop family background to the primary sources, Mayo (1948) and Bremer (2003).

The CWC writers are JW's seven sons (John known as John Winthrop Jr., Henry, Forth, Stephen, Adam, Deane, and Samuel Winthrop) in the second generation, JW's two grandsons (Fitz-John and Wait Still Winthrop) in the third generation, JW's great-grandson (John Winthrop, Fellow of the Royal Society=JW FRS) in the fourth generation, and JW's great-great-grandson (John Winthrop, the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy=Prof. JW) in the fifth generation. The breakdown of the CWC by writers in each generation (Gen.) is shown in Table 1 below.[10]

For analysis, the letters are divided into the following five types based on the relationship between the writers and their recipients: personal letters to their family members (PL-FA), personal letters to those other than the family members (PL-OT), official letters (including those undersigned by plural names) addressed to government offices, etc. (OL), petitions (PT), and wills and testaments (WL). Of the total number of words, PL-FA occupies 62%,

Table 1. Breakdown by Writers (Senders) in CWC

Gen.	Writers (Short Names)	Born - Died	Years written (ages)	No. of words	No. of letters
1st	JW	1588–1649	1620–1649 (32–61)	58,620	147
2nd	JW Jr.	1606–1676	1627–1676 (20–70)	58,510	113
	Henry	1608–1630	1623–1630 (15–22)	1,610	4
	Forth	1609–1630	1622–1630 (13–22)	3,200	10
	Stephen	1619–1668	1645–1657 (26–38)	5,350	11
	Adam	1620–1652	1642–1652 (22–32)	2,690	8
	Deane	1623–1704	1648–1662 (25–39)	680	4
	Samuel	1627–c.1674	1646–1673 (19–46)	10,080	24
3rd	Fitz	1638–1707	1660–1707 (22–69)	64,730	175
	Wait	1642–1717	1671–1717 (29–75)	101,270	267
4th	JW FRS	1681–1747	1706–1726 (25–45)	13,550	20
5th	Prof. JW	1714–1779	1775–1776 (61–62)	4,020	5
			Total	324,310	788

Table 2. Number of Words by 20-year Periods in CWC

Letter Types	1620–39	1640–59	1660–79	1680–99	1700–19	1720–	Total
PL-FA	58,360	22,100	32,730	49,950	43,660	500	200,300
PL-OT	8,540	4,350	23,680	13,080	32,410	4,180	86,240
OL	0	1,460	2,830	8,310	11,170	4,020	27,790
PT	820	820	0	3,500	180	0	5,320
WL	0	900	0	0	2,540	1,220	4,660
Total	67,720	29,630	59,240	67,840	89,960	9,920	324,310
No of Letters	172	73	126	192	211	14	788

followed by PL-OT (27%) and OL (9%). Table 2 above exhibits the number of words by 20-year time periods. Since the number of words is uneven, I will use normalized frequencies and relative ratios of *do* for comparison.

3.2 Target Clauses and Statistic Method

The CWC has yielded a total of 368 instances of the affirmative *do* as in (1), a total of 201 instances of the negative *do* as in (2), and a total of

499 instances of the simple verb negated by *not* as in (3).[11] [Emphasis in the examples below by the present author.]

(1)　Affirmative *do* + verb

MY GOOD BROTHER, ─I received your lovinge lettre, & **doe prayse** God for that beginninge of your recoverye, (JW to his brother Thomas Fones; 29 January 1621; RCW 1864)

(2)　Negative *do not* + verb

MY LOVE, MY JOY, MY FAITHFUL ONE, ─I suppose thou **didst not expect** to have any more letters from me till the return of our ships (JW to his wife Margaret; 3 April 1630; RCW 1864)

(3)　Simple verb + *not*

My respectful compliments to all friends, particularly to Colonel Hancock and Dr. Franklin. I wrote to the Doctor soon after I heard of his arrival; but **know not** whether he has received my letter. (Prof. JW to John Adams; 21 June 1775; MHS 1878)

All forms and variants of *do* followed by verb infinitive are included in the statistics of the present paper.[12] I will compare the use or non-use of *do* in declarative sentences as in Examples (1)-(3) with Nurmi's (1999) data in order to examine the Winthrop writers' conservativeness or progressiveness in using *do*. For the comparison, I will adopt the statistic method applied in Nurmi (1999: 139, 153): the normalized frequency per 10,000 words for affirmative *do* and the percentage of "*do not* + verb" instances to the total number of clauses negated by *not* ("*do not* + verb" plus "verb + *not*").

Nurmi's data is beneficial to the comparison in terms of the same genre and gender, but it excludes imperatives and interrogatives because of too few instances (see Nurmi 1999: 142, 164). The CWC also contains few instances of *do* in these sentence types, but it would be worth mentioning that usages of imperative *do* gradually change in CWC and interrogative *do* found in

JW functions as an emphasis. In the next section, I will discuss *do* in these sentence types before the discussions on *do* in declarative sentences.

4. DO in Imperatives and Interrogatives
4.1 Imperative DO

In affirmative imperatives, the *do* form was infrequent even when the "*do* + verb" forms were common in the Early Modern English period (Rissanen 1999: 247). The frequency of affirmative imperative *do* in CWC (=3 instances) might be too small to observe its development, but they are interesting examples indicating that the older usages remain only in the older generations—JW and JW Jr.: of the 3 instances, 2 appear in imperative inflectional forms (*OED*[2] s.v. *do*, v. A. 6.) for the single second person subject *thou* as follows:[13]

(4) a. **Do thou bless** these here, and pray, pray for us. (JW to JW's wife Margaret; March 14, 1629; RCW 1864)

   b. [...] and let him bring away the measure with him and **doe thou put** it vp safe in a letter and send it next Wednesday to my aunt Downing,... (JW Jr. to JW Jr.'s wife Martha; 8 April 1631; MHS 1943)

Do in the third example—*But such as will roll their ways upon the Lord,* ***do find*** *him always as good as his word* (JW to JW Jr; 18 March 1627; RCW 1864)—contextually seems to indicate emphasis as this sentence appears after a few lines of rhetorical questions by *should not...?* The function or meaning of *do* in these imperative sentences is "adding force to entreaty, exhortation, or command" (*OED*[2] s.v. *do,* v. 30.). The surface forms of the imperative (*do/doe* + Subject + verb) are different from the present-day persuasive imperative (*Do* + verb), but they are semantically similar.

The younger generations use simple verb imperative or *let* forms as in: *Send me word what turkes are aliue* (Wait to Fitz; 17 October 1684; MHS 1882); *Let your Secretary to send by...* (Fitz to John Chester; 12 August 1703;

MHS 1889). Imperative forms in "*pray* + verb" (e.g., *prethe send...*, *pray remember...*) are also used by the second and younger generations.

As for the development of *do* in negative imperatives, Ellegård's (1953: 161, 162) data and graph are useful but tricky as pointed out by Nurmi (1999: 144-145) because his figures in different time-span (25 years, 50 years, and Swift's work) are connected for a line graph.[14] For comparison, I have reproduced a bar graph from his data in Figure 2 below.[15] In CWC, the *do* form decreases after 1700 because of Wait's preference of "verb + *not*" forms.
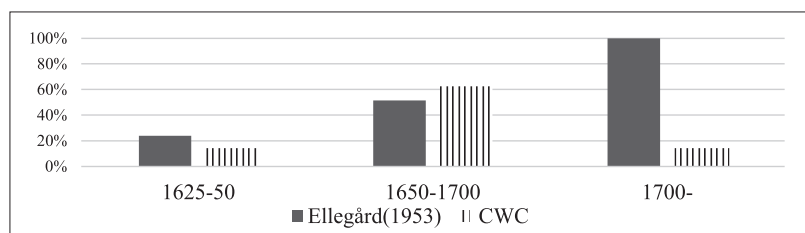

Figure 2. Negative Imperatives with DO (%): Ellegård (1953: 161) vs. CWC

This decrease after 1700, however, does not mean that the *do* form was not accepted by the Winthrop writers. In the last period, 6 out of the total 7 negative imperatives are collocations (*forget + not* and *let + not*) frequently used in CWC like formulae as they occur 6 and 9 times respectively without *do* in all. Moreover, *do not* imperatives seem to spread by changing its usage from generation to generation. JW uses only *do*-less forms as in (5a) below, while his son JW Jr. uses *do not* at 50% of his negative imperative instances as in (5b-c). Although JW Jr.'s son Wait uses *do*-forms only at 40% as a whole, his another son Fitz uses *do not* for both of his two negative imperatives. JW Jr.'s *do not* negative imperatives include the older form retaining the subject *thou* in (5b), while one of Fitz's *do not* imperatives appears in the contracted form in (5d).

(5)　　a.　Be not known to any body of any money you receive for Mr. Brande; but **fail not** to write me word this week of the receipt

of it. (JW to JW Jr.; 9 January 1626; RCW 1864)

b. ...therefore **prethee doe not thou faile** to see it done. (JW Jr. to Martha; *c.*8 April 1631; MHS 1943)

c. Informe my sister Winthrop thereof if she hath not heard; other p̄ticulars you will heare by every passenger: Mrs Eaton goeth now over in this ship, **doe not neglect** to se hir; and to visit Mr Hooke some tymes, who writes me word he hath not seene you since your arrivall, or at least not at his house; other friends **neglect not** to visit as you have tyme, as especially Mr Peter, Mr Maidstone, and others my friends, and present my service to them, though I cānot name all: but **omitt not** my speciall remembrance to my honored sister Winthrop, wth my thanks to hir for hir kindness to your selfe: and to hir brother if he yet be living. (JW Jr. to Fitz; 12 September 1658; MHS 1882)

d. **Pray don't forget** to send me back, as soon as you can, M^r. Bulkeleys letter and opinion. I hope for yor favourable construction of this matter, & am, your affectionate friend, J: W. (Fitz to Nathaniel Stanley and Others; 3 June 1707; MHS 1889, p. 387).

4.2 **Formally Interrogative DO**

A total of 11 affirmative subject-*do* inverted instances include 6 clauses ended with a question mark, which all occur in JW's letters as in (6a-b) below.[16] JW's repeated use of *do* in (6a) seems to function as strengthening his argument against what Roger Williams published.[17] The other instance (6b) occurs in JW's answer letter addressed to Ipswich members, where *do* is used for his argument. Robert C. Winthrop (1895: 316) confidently states that when JW wrote this answer letter as Governor of Massachusetts-Bay colony, he "ha[d] been ready to defend this opinion against all who questioned it".

(6)　a. For I would gladly knowe, to what good ende, and for what Vse of Edification, he [Roger Williams] should publish these things

in this lande (if they were as he supposethe them) **dothe he see** any pronenesse in this people, to ioyne with the beast or the whore? or **dothe he feare** least our Kinge beinge vpon such a designe, would sende for our Assistance? [...] But if our title be not good, neither by Patent, nor possession of these parts as vacuum domicilium, nor by good likinge of the natiues: I mervayle by what title mr. W[illia]ms him selfe holdes. and if God were not pleased with our inheriting these parts, why **did he drive out** the natiues before vs? and why **dothe he** still **make** roome for vs, by deminishinge them as we increace? why **dothe he declare** his favourable presence amonge vs by makinge his Ordinances effectuall to the savinge of many soules? (JW to John Endicott; 3 January 1633[–34]; MHS 1943)

b. Admit we should have stepped aside out of our way, **doth the favour and protection of our God** wholely depend upon our perfect walking? (JW to Ipswich (fragment): ? 1643; RCW 1895).

Although the surface form of the subject-*do* inverted clauses ended with a question mark is the same as the present-day *do*-question, JW's usage of *do* here seems to be for intensifying his statements or showing objection as Rissanen (1985: 171) pointed out.

5. Development and Regularization of the Auxiliary DO

The auxiliary *do* in Present-Day English serves as a dummy operator to make an interrogative sentence, a negative sentence by *not*, or an emphatic construction when the verb is the present or past indicative (see Note 2; Quirk et al. 1985: 133). The fixation of the sentence word order is considered as one of factors accelerating the development or regularization of *do* in the Early Modern English period.[18] I show that the word order in CWC is near that of Present-Day English (5.1), and excluding "*know* group" verbs (explained later), the use of *do* gradually spreads although slower than in the

CEEC (5.2).

5.1 Investigation of the Word Order

In Present-Day English, auxiliaries as operators admit inversion not only in interrogatives but also in sentences with introductory negatives (Quirk et al. 1985: 124). Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2017: 73) graphically show based on the CEEC that a ratio of the inverted clauses to the total instances with sentence initial negative adverbs and coordinators reaches nearly 100% in the end of the seventeenth century.

In CWC, out of a total of 75 clauses containing a set of subject and predicate verb (including auxiliaries) with the sentence initial adverbs (*neither*, *nor* and *never*), 95% of the total instances occur in subject-verb/subject-auxiliary inverted clauses as in *I am not discouraged; **nor do I see cause to repent or despair of those good days here*** (JW to his wife Margaret; 16 July 1630; RCW 1895).[19]

The 4 non-inverted clauses (5% of the total 75 instances) can be found only in PL-FA of the older generations. Out of the 4 instances, 2 examples occur in the clauses of JW and Wait who both quoted the same sentence "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard" from the Bible, where the auxiliary *hath* is omitted. The other 2 instances contain older usages: multiple negation in (7a) and "never man (=never one)" in (7b).[20]

(7)   a.   Since wch here hath been no conueyance, **nor I could not send** a letter **nor** any releif to my children (Samuel to JW Jr.; 8 November 1663; MHS 1882).

b.   **Never man saw** heaven, but would have passed through hell to come at it. (JW to Priscilla Fones; 25 March 1628; RCW 1864)

Based on the above investigation, the word order in CWC seems to have almost fixed after the third or the younger generations.

5.2 Do not + verb vs. Verb + not in Declarative Sentences

Nurmi's (1999: 153, Table 9.5) analysis by gender shows that the CEEC male writers are more conservative in introducing *do* in negative sentences than the female. The Winthrop male writers are more conservative than the CEEC counterparts in Figure 3 below. Their percentages never exceed the CEEC's peak ratio (47%) until the last period.
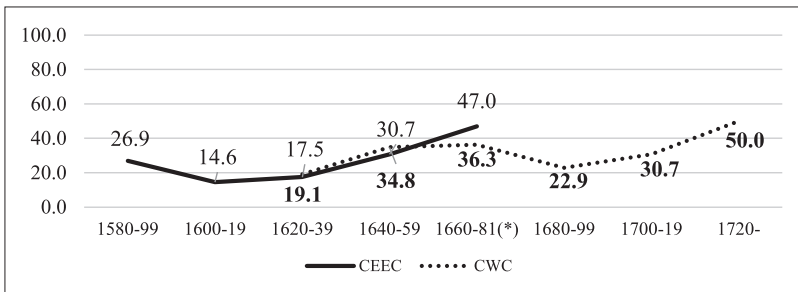

Figure 3. do not (%) of Male Writers' not Negative Instances in the CEEC vs. CWC (*) **The CWC's period is 1660–79 instead of 1660–81.**

Nurmi's (1999: 151) Table 9.4, which excludes "*know* group" verbs long resisting the introduction of *do* as Ellegård's (1953: 162) graph did, shows that the percentage of *do* in declarative sentences rises dramatically from 1620–39 (31.3%) to 1640–59 (67.9%).[21] The *know* group verbs certainly affect the relative ratio of *do* in declarative sentences negated by *not* in CWC. If the *know* group verbs (*know, doubt, care, fear,* and *mistake*) are excluded, the percentage of *do* in CWC rises from 27.8% to 51.2% in the same time periods as Nurmi's although it never exceeds even 60% until the last period (1720–).[22]

The *do not* forms, however, gradually spread in CWC. Figure 4 below shows the comparison with Ellegård's (1953: 161) data restricted to "main group" (=excluding the *know* group verbs). [For Ellegård's *know* group verbs, see Note 21. The instances of subjunctive clauses are excluded from the totals of the CWC statistics here.]
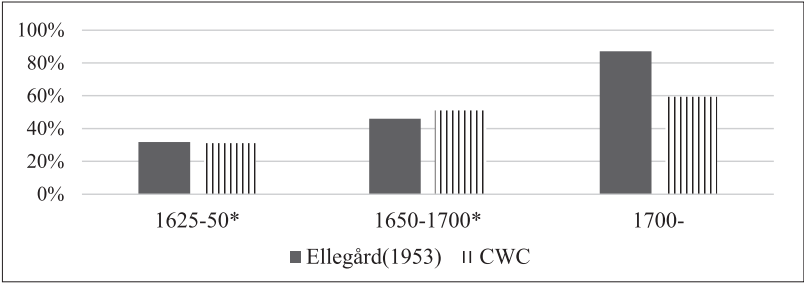
Figure 4. DO NOT (%) of NOT Negative Declaratives excl. KNOW G.; Reproduced from Ellegård (1953: 161, Table 7); (*) CWC's periods=1620-49 and 1650-1699 respectively.

Also in each writer's use of "*do not* + verb", if restricted to main group verbs (=Main G.), relative ratios of *do* predominate depending on writers or periods in the second and younger generations. See Table 3 below. JW Jr. uses *do* forms more after 1640. Wait in the third generation seems to prefer the older form (verb + *not*) as a whole, but he uses *do* more often in 1660-79 and 1700-19. Up to the third generation inclusive, the choice of the form seems to depend on the individuals' styles in CWC. In the fourth and fifth generations (JW FRS and Prof. JW), the innovative form (*do not* + verb) is preferred. In

Table 3. DO NOT (%) by Writers and by Time Periods: Main G. vs. KNOW G. in CWC

Writers	1620-39	1640-59	1660-79	1680-99	1700-19	1720-	*do not* (%) Main G	*do not* (%) *Know* G	*do not* (%)
JW	24%	0%					21%	5%	15%
JW Jr.	43%	81%	53%				57%	11%	42%
Henry	100%						100%	100%	100% *
Forth	0%						0%	0%	0% *
Stephen		46%					46%	0%	29%
Adam		100%					100%	25%	50%
Deane			100%				100%	0%	100% *
Samuel		20%	0%				13%	0%	7%
Fitz			100%	74%	70%		73%	11%	55%
Wait			58%	35%	52%		45%	1%	22%
JW FRS						67%	67%	13%	27%
Prof. JW						100%	100%	50%	71%
Total	28%	51%	54%	44%	57%	83%	47%	5%	28%

Remarks: (*)=the total number of *not* negative declarative instances is less than three.

the fifth generation, the older form in use is restricted to *know* and *doubt*.

Interestingly, contracted forms (e.g., *don't* and *dont*) occur only in the letters written by the third and younger generations after 1700 onwards. Although in Present-Day English the contracted forms are associated with "colloquial speech" (*OED*[2] s.v. *do*, v. 29.), in CWC they are used not only in the letters addressed to their intimate recipients (PL-FA) but also in those to more distant recipients (PL-OT and OL).

6. Affirmative DO

The decrease of the use of affirmative *do* is more salient in CWC than in the CEEC on a basis of normalized frequency per 10,000 words as follows: [The CWC figures include 3 imperative *do,* 11 subject-*do* inverted clauses, and 3 subjunctive *do*.]
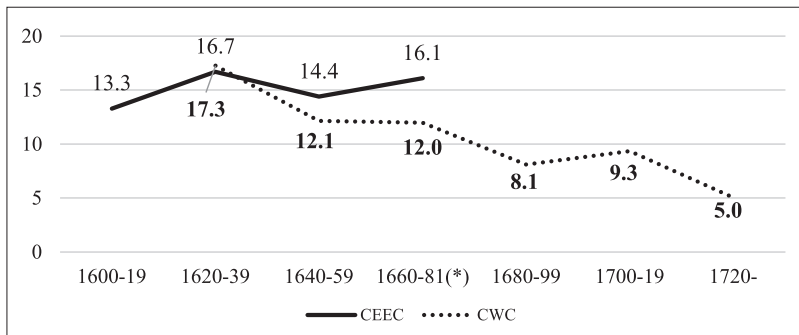

Figure 5. Normalized Frequencies per 10,000 Words in the CEEC (men) vs. CWC; CEEC=Reproduced from Nurmi (1999: 139, Table 8.8); (*) CWC=1660–79

The use of affirmative *do*, however, is not always less frequent in the younger generations in CWC. Table 4 below shows the breakdown of the total 368 affirmative *do* instances by writers by time-periods.

Table 4. Normalized Frq. (=Adj. frq.) per 10,000 by Time Periods of Affirmative DO

Gen.	Writers	1620-39	1640-59	1660-79	1680-99	1700-19	1720-	Adj. frq.	Raw frq.
1st	JW	14.9	12.9					14.7	86
2nd	JW Jr.	13.3	12.8	13.5				13.3	78
	Henry	99.4						99.4	16
	Forth	28.1						28.1	9
	Stephen		7.5					7.5	4
	Adam		22.3					22.3	6
	Deane		55.6	60.0				58.8	4
	Samuel		5.6	13.8				10.9	11
3rd	Fitz			14.5	14.6	19.7		17.5	113
	Wait			1.9	4.9	2.4		3.5	35
4th	JW FRS				1.3	8.5		4.4	6
5th	Prof. JW					0.0		0.0	0
	Total	17.3	12.1	12.0	8.1	9.3	5.0	11.3	368

JW Jr. uses affirmative *do* almost as often as his farther JW, but his brothers are divided into two groups: lower (Stephen and Samuel) and higher (Henry, Forth, Adam, and Deane). The latter group's corpus size is less than 3,500 words per writer, and if these are excluded, the most frequent user is Fitz in the third generation. No instance of affirmative *do* occurs in Prof. JW's letters.

In the following subsections, I discuss functions of *do* in JW's letters (6.1), and then I illustrate that "*do* + verb" forms are generally much less than the corresponding simple verbs and JW's health formulae with *do* become obsolete (6.2). I show that although the Winthrop writers' usages are changing, their style of writing wills is retained (6.3).

6.1 JW's Usages of Affirmative DO

Stein (1990: 135) mentions that JW's usage of *do* "belong[s] to another long-persisting type of 'authority' *do*, the reference to the Lord". The same instances he probably refers to are extracted from Robert C. Winthrop (1895) as follows.[23]

(8)   a. **I praise God**, we have many occasions of comfort here, and ***do hope***, that our days of affliction will soon have an end, [...] (JW

to Margaret; 9 September 1630; RCW 1895)

b. I received your letters by Mr. Huson's ship, and ***do*** much rejoice, and **bless the Lord** for the good news of all your welfares. (JW to JW Jr.; 14 August 1630; RCW 1895)

Predicate expressions referring to God or authority, however, frequently occur also in simple verb forms as in *MY DEARE WIFE—I blesse o^r good God for the continuance of thy wellfare & the rest of o^r familye* (JW to Margaret; 20 November 1629; RCW 1864). Such expressions as *I do bless* and *I bless* seem to be JW's "health formulae", which he normally uses in or after the salutation or acknowledgment for thanking God for the state as in (8b).[24]

JW also tends to use *do bless* and *do rejoice* when the preceding clause tense is the past indicative and the coordinated clause omits the subject as in (8b). This suggests that JW might have used the *do* (present tense) form in order to clarify the tense.

JW's use of affirmative *do* in his private letters from 1630 to 1649 is more syntactically or stylistically conditioned (Fukunaga 2018a: 31, Table 5; see Notes 7 and 8 of the present paper). The structural features of the "conditioned" use include "Subject + *do* + Adverb + Infinitive". Stein (1991: 359) exemplifies "the combination *do* plus adverb in the expression of emotionality" and explains that "the appearance of *do* is due to the intensity value of those passages". According to his theory, for the case of the clause containing "*do* + Adverb + Inf." as in Example (8b), JW is supposed to use *do* due to the intensity value of the passage by the adverb *much*. Approximately 30% of JW's affirmative *do* instances co-occur with adverbs semantically or functionally serving as intensity or emotionality such as *heartily, here, most, often, so, still,* etc.

These usages imply that JW's affirmative *do* has meanings or functions not only of the "authority *do*" as Stein pointed out, but also of health formulae, of tense, and of emphasis induced by the intensified passages.

6.2 JW's Formulae with DO

JW's "health formulae" (31 out of 78 instances of affirmative declarative *do*) can be found in or after the salutation or acknowledgment, and most of them appear in his family letters. These formulae co-occur with a verb of greeting, appreciating or wishing such as *bless, commend, hope, praise, rejoice, salute,* and *thank*.

In order to examine whether JW's "formulae with *do*" are handed down to the successive generations or replaced with simple verb forms, I have extracted a total of 2,177 examples of the present and past indicative for the following ten verbs which I randomly selected from those co-occurring with *do* six times or more in CWC: *bless, desire, expect, give, hope, pray, recommend, rejoice, send,* and *think*. I have defined "formulae with *do*" as *do* forms satisfying both conditions—two or more occurrences and 10% or more of the total number of instances (e.g., "*do bless* + simple *bless*").[25]

These ten verbs in *do* forms (82 instances) occupy only around 4% of the total number of instances (2,259), and the formulae with *do* appear only sporadically as highlighted in Table 5 below. One of JW's formulae, "*do bless*" (=18% of the total frequencies of "*do bless* + simple *bless*") is used only by his sons JW Jr. and Samuel, while the corresponding simple verb phrases (e.g., *I bless God*) are common in all generations.

The verb *rejoice* itself does not occur frequently (19 instances in all), but *do rejoice* is another health formula preferred by JW who uses it more often than its simple verb form. His son JW Jr. seems to use this phrase in expressing the joy of "all of us" emphatically—*in wch your friends **here doe all of vs reioyce*** (JW Jr. to Fitz; 28 September 1660; MHS 1882). JW Jr.'s use of *rejoice* appears more in simple verb forms as in ***I rejoice** and **bless** God* and ***I rejoice** much **to hear***. The latter example is composed of "*to* infinitive", whose construction with the verb *rejoice* is not found in JW's letters. JW's grandson Fitz emphasizes his feeling by the simple verb *rejoice* plus adverbs *very much* after explaining his health conditions—*Dear Brother, I am but little recovered since my last and am soe faint many times that I can hardly live. **I rejoice very much,** and noething could be more contentfull to me* (Fitz to

Wait; 4 September 1707; MHS 1889）.

Table 5. Raw Frequency with Percentage of DO-forms vs. Simple Verb forms[26]

Generation Verb types	1st JW	2nd JW Jr	Henry	Forth	Stephen	Adam	Deane	Samuel	3rd Fitz	Wait	4th JW FRS	do (%)	Raw Frq. do + verb	Simple Verb
bless	**11** **(18%)**	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)			1 (50%)		0 (0%)	0 (0%)	**16%**	13	66
desire	3 (4%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (25%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)		1 (8%)	6 (8%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4%	12	325
expect	0 (0%)	1 (6%)		1 (100)	1 (33%)	1 (100)		1 (20%)	1 (5%)	1 (3%)		7%	7	88
give	2 (6%)	**3** **(17%)**		0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)		0 (0%)	2 (9%)	1 (2%)	1 (9%)	6%	9	139
hope	4 (6%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (0%)	0 (0%)	1%	6	507
pray	1 (1%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)		0 (0%)	**4** **(20%)**	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3%	6	220
recommend	-	1 (100%)							**6** **(55%)**	0 (0%)		**50%**	7	7
rejoice	**7** **(54%)**	1 (20%)							0 (0%)			**42%**	8	11
send	1 (1%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (33%)	1 (100)	0 (0%)	2 (5%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	2%	7	350
think	2 (5%)	1 (1%)	**2** **(25%)**	0 (0%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1%	7	464
Totals	31 (7%)	11 (4%)	**3** **(14%)**	2 (7%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	1 (33%)	3 (4%)	22 (6%)	4 (1%)	1 (2%)	4%	82	2177

6.3 Obsolete or Retained Usages of DO in Letters

Fitz's use of *do* in his formulae（=*do recommend* and *do pray*）appears in his request letters addressed to more distant recipients except one sent to his younger brother Wait. Unlike JW who normally uses health formulae, Fitz tends to start a main topic immediately after his acknowledgment as follows. In this letter, Fitz consigns Captain Mason to take care of the matter.

（9） CAP^T MASON, — I haue yor letter, & when I hear from Govr Dudley the necessety of such a party of Indians for her Majestye's service as you mention, will doe what I can to supply him; but in the meane tyme the Moheags nor noe other Indians must march out of the Government without leaue. You are an officer in the Government and **I doe recomend to you to take care** in that matter. I am

> Yo^r loving freind, J: Winthrop.

NEW LONDON, June 11th 1706.

JW does not use *do recommend*, but JW Jr. uses it—*wch I **doe recomend** to your wise and carefull management...* (to Thomas Stanton; 12 February 1676; MHS 1882).

Fitz's second formula *do pray* is used for humble request. JW uses this phrase only once in a letter of 5 April 1630 addressed to his son JW Jr. in (10a). JW wrote it on board for New England. JW indirectly requests that his son JW Jr. should take care of JW's wife and other children left in England.[27] This phrase with *do* is followed by the semantically similar expression "*assuredly expect*", which brings an emphatic effect to JW's wishing. JW Jr. and Fitz also use *do pray* but in formal letters. JW Jr. as Governor of Connecticut humbly requests "the honorable houses of Parliament" to compensate him for "his great injury and loss" in (10b), where he calls himself "petitioner" or "he".

(10) a. My good Son, —I received two letters from you since I came to Hampton, and this is the second I have written back to you. I do much rejoice and bless God for that goodness I find in you towards me and mine. I **do pray**, <u>and assuredly expect</u>, that the Lord will reward it plentifully in your bosom; for it is his promise to prolong their days, (which includes all outward prosperity,) who give due honor to their parents. (JW to JW Jr.; 5 April 1630; RCW 1864)

b. [...] and thus by these vniust hinderance of your petitioner in his intended voyage at that tyme at Gravesend **your petitioner** is damnified in the proceed his intended workes above 1000 lb., and **doth** therfore **pray** for redress of this his great iniury and losse, & c. (JW Jr.'s Petition to Parliament; (no date) 1643-44; MHS 1882, pp. 36-37)

The type "I **do give** something to someone" occurs in wills of JW, Fitz and JW FRS. One of the examples is followed by an equivalent meaning *bequeath* as in (11a), in which *do* seems to function as an emphasis by the effect of the repetition. However, such a usage also appears in a simple verb

form (e.g., *I give, devise, and bequeath to my said son*). Other frequent phrases like "I ordain", "I declare" and "I commit", whose meanings are similar, co-occur with *do* "in the name of God" as testaments of JW, Fitz, Wait and JW FRS as in (11a)-(11c). Fitz and JW FRS repeat "**this** I *do* declare" and "I **now** ordain" respectively in the latter part of their wills, where *this* and *now* serve to emphasize the statements. Except JW, the three writers use *make* with *ordain* and *declare,* and only JW FRS uses "I *do commit*", which is emphasized by "myself".

(11) a. **In the name of God** Amen. **I,** Fitz John Winthrop, being sick & weak of body but of sound mind & understanding, **do** for the settlement of that estate which God hath bestowed upon me, **make and ordaine** this to be my Last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, hereby revoaking and makeing void and null all former wills by me made. [...] which said sum of five hundred pounds **I do** hereby **give and bequeath** to my said daughter and her heirs for ever [...] and **<u>this</u> I do declare** to be my Last Will and Testament, and in testimony thereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal in New London the Fourteenth day of March 1701/2. (Fitz's Will in 1702; MHS 1889, pp. 413–416)

b. **IN THE NAME OF GOD,** AMEN, the twenty-eighth day of September, Anno Dom. 1713, Annoq^e R^l R^æ Annæ Mag. Britannias, &^{ca}, Duodecimo. **I**, Wait Winthrop, Esqr, of Boston, within the County of Suffolk in New England, being under bodily sickness, but thrô mercy of sound disposeing mind, considering the uncertainty of this fraile life, **do make and declare** this my last Will and Testament in manner following. (Wait's Will in 1713; MHS 1892, pp. 367–368)[28]

c. **In nomine Dei**, Amen. Being at present (through the goodness of the Almighty) in good health of body, yet intending shortly (if God please) to make a voyage over the sea into Europe, —[...],

> 一**I doe committ <u>my selfe</u>,** soul & body, into the hands of the Almighty. [...] And **I <u>now</u> ordain & make this my last will & testament** in manner & forme as I have with my owne hand writt & compiled it, I being of sound & healthfall mind and well considering what I now in a solemne manner rattifye & confirme wth my seal. (JW FRS's Will in 1726; MHS 1892, pp. 430–434)

The pattern of writing wills is similar as shown in (11): declaring "in the name of God" at the beginning, listing what he "gives" to whom, predicate expressions being fixed, etc., although the usage of *do* depends on each writer. The use of *do* in such a formal type of letters may have been retained not by its emphatic function but by its writing style. Quirk et al. (1985: 134) state that "[i]n some legal documents in archaic style, the auxiliary DO construction is used merely as an alternative to the simple present or past tense: 'I, the undersigned, being of sound mind, ***do*** this day hereby ***bequeath***...'" (§ 3.37n [e]). On the other hand, JW's formulae with *do* in his family letters are used in different situations in his younger generations. In JW's letters, his contextually emphatic passages containing affirmative *do* appear with adverbs, repeated phrases, or in inverted clauses.

7. Conclusion

The overall trends of the rise and fall of *do* in declarative sentences shown by Ellegård (1953) and Nurmi (1999) can be found also in CWC: the use of *do not* forms increases towards the eighteenth century while the use of affirmative *do* decreases in frequency. The word order of the CWC texts is near that of the Present-Day English (Subsection 5.1). However, when compared with Nurmi's (1999) data for male writers by her time periods, the Winthrop male writers are more conservative in introducing *do not* forms (Figure 3), while they are more progressive in reducing the number of affirmative *do* occurrences (Figure 5).

During the seventeenth century, the older form (verb + *not*) is still

common in CWC, but *do not* forms gradually spread if the long-resisting verbs (e.g., *know* and *doubt*) of introducing *do* are excluded (Figure 4 and Table 3). I have also demonstrated that the use of the negative imperative "*Do not* + verb" begins from John Winthrop Jr.'s generation, and the contracted form *don't* is adopted by Fitz in the third generation.

I have also illustrated that John Winthrop's use of affirmative *do* indicates ambiguity and can be interpreted as not only "authority" *do* but also emphatic *do,* a tense carrier and health formulae. John Winthrop's emphatic contexts are, however, expressed not only by *do* but also by co-occurring adverbs, repeated phrases or subject-*do* inversion in his letters. The frequency of affirmative *do* is much less compared to that of the corresponding simple verb form (Table 5). John Winthrop's health formulae with *do* in his family letters are gradually less used or used in different situations, while the pattern of using *do* in wills is retained in its writing style with certain fixed phrases. Fitz uses his formulae with *do* more in his letters addressed to distant recipients.

The Winthrop male writers' usages of *do* during the transition period show another picture from what Ellegård (1953: 162, 209) indicated. Except the *know* group verbs, their use of *do not* forms spreads but not so dramatically as his graph, and their use of affirmative *do* is retained not only in emphatic contexts but also in a formal type of letters such as wills.

ABBREVIATIONS

CEEC	Corpus of Early English Correspondence
CWC	Corpus of the Winthrop Family Correspondence
Fitz	Fitz-John Winthrop
Gen.	generations
HC	Helsinki Corpus
JW	John Winthrop
JW FRS	John Winthrop, Fellow of the Royal Society
JW Jr.	John Winthrop Junior

know G.　　*know* group verbs

main G.　　main group verbs

MHS　　the Massachusetts Historical Society

OL　　official letters

RCW　　Robert Charles Winthrop

PL-FA　　personal letters to family members

PL-OT　　personal letters to other than family members

Prof. JW　John Winthrop, the Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy

PT　　petitions

NOTES

*　This is a revised and extended version of the paper presented at the 35th annual meeting of the Modern English Association at Kyoto University on 23 June 2018. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the audience, especially to Dr. Professor Fujio Nakamura, for his suggestions on the research method. I also appreciate two anonymous referees for their useful comments and suggestions.

1.　Out of a total of fourteen changes, two changes are periphrastic *do* in affirmative and negative sentences, whose data of *do* is extracted from Nurmi (1999).

2.　The auxiliary *do* having these functions, is called "*do*-support (or *do*-periphrasis)", and defined as "an ʻemptyʼ or ʻdummyʼ operator in conditions where the construction requires an operator" for simple present and simple past (Quirk et al. 1985: 133).

3.　Robert C. Winthrop (1864) presumed it from John Winthropʼs *Christian Experience* (1636–1637) and his fatherʼs diary recording his entrance in 1602. The texts are now available at http://www.masshist.org/publications/winthrop/index.php.

4.　John Winthrop was chosen as Governor in 1629 and sailed for New England by "no less than eleven ships" in the early spring of 1630 (Robert C. Winthrop 1895: 1, 4). The early settlers in New England colonies "from 1629 to 1640" were "Greater East Anglians", whose population was between

14,000 and 21,000 (Thompson 1994: 14).

5. I have reproduced the graph from Fukunaga (2018b: Slide 9). Interrogative *do* is excluded from the statistics. The frequency of *know/doubt/fear* is included in "*do + not*" and "verb + *not*". Subjunctive inflected forms are included in "*do (not)* + verb". For the primary sources of the texts, see Fukunaga (2018b Appendix1, References).

6. This source is in *Original Narratives of Early American History,* edited by James K. Hosmer (1959, New York: Barnes and Noble), quoted in Rissanen (1985: 183).

7. Of possible syntactic or stylistic factors favoring affirmative *do*, Rissanen (1991: 330–331) defined the following clause environments as "conditioned": the second person singular form of the verb ending as in *Thou dyddest promise*...; a pre-verbal adverbial "Subject + *do* + Adverb + Inf."; the separation of the verb from the subject; the end position of the short verb like *in the high-street the Marchants and Tradesmen **do dwell;*** inverted clauses; the phrase "*do but* + Inf.".

8. The "conditioned" use of *do* in JW's private letters from 1630 to 1649 accounts for 76% of the total raw frequency ("conditioned" use + "non-conditioned" use).

9. Some dates in John Winthrop's texts are shown in an older calendar system, whose new year starts after Easter. See Robert C. Winthrop (1864: 288n).

10. Margaret (JW's wife), JW Jr., Martha (JW Jr.'s wife), and Samuel departed for New England one year after John Winthrop arrived there with Henry, Adam and Stephan (Mayo 1948: 38, 63, 68, 75). Deane "was left behind at school until 1635" (p. 71). Henry died soon after his arrival at New England (p. 61), and two month later Forth died at Groton (p. 62). All the writers in the third and younger generations were born in Massachusetts of New England. Fitz and Wait are sons of JW Jr., JW FRS is son of Wait, and Prof. JW is great-grandson of Adam Winthrop.

11. Modal auxiliaries (*will, shall, can, may, would, should, could, might,* and *must*), marginal modals (*dare, durst, need,* and *ought to*), and primary verbs (*have* and *be*) were excluded from the statistics because none of them co-occur with periphrastic *do* in CWC. The total of 368 affirmative *do* instances include 3 subjunctives, 3 imperatives and 11 subject-*do* inverted clauses, the 201 negative *do* instances include 6 subjunctives, 13 imperatives and 2 *do not*-subject inverted clauses, and the 499 simple verb + *not*

       instances include 11 subjunctives, 24 imperatives. The subjunctive clauses are restricted only to formally distinguishable ones for the third single person subject.

12. Forms of *do* (*not*) in the present study include the following: *doe, does, doest, doth, doeth, dothe, dos, dose, dost, did, didst, didest, don't, dont,* and *donte.*

13. In CWC, imperative inflectional forms of verb are indistinguishable from verb base forms (=infinitive) except the case of the subject *thou.*

14. According to Ellegård (1953: 311), the figures of "Swift" after 1700 consist of "Only letters I-XVI" from *Journal to Stella* (1710).

15. Ellegård's (1953: 161) table shows 21 instances in 1620-50, 33 in 1650-1700, and 28 in 1700- (Swift). In CWC, the total 37 negative imperative instances are distributed as follows: 14 in 1620-49 as 1625-1650, 16 in 1650-1699 as 1650-1700, and 7 in 1700-19 as 1700-. No instance of negative *do* imperatives occurs after 1720.

16. A total of 2 subject-*do not* inverted clauses occur in CWC, whose meaning corresponds to "if the Subject do" used in East Anglia (*OED Online*, s.v. *do*, v, 30, c. (c)). These are excluded from the statistics of declaratives. Although the earliest entry in the *OED online* is 1879, the CWC's instances are in the seventeenth century: ... *from whom I rec^d ye tidings of ye decease of my dear sister thy wife, for whom* (**did not ye true religion teach otherwise**) *I could sufficiently lament* (Samuel to his elder brother JW Jr.; 3 January 1672[-3]; MHS 1882); *Sr, I am soe well acquainted with yr scarsity of mony (as to myself), yt I could be well satisfied without it,* **did not** *pressing necessityes many tymes require a supply.* (Fitz to his father JW Jr.; 19 December 1661; MHS 1882).

17. According to the MHS (1943), John Winthrop wrote this letter to his close friend, John Endicott, "to let him know what was done, and withal added divers arguments to confute the said errors..." (pp. 146-147n.). The word "errors" refers to Roger William's "treatise", by which "he attacked the validity of the royal patent for 'these parts'". As Endicott was not present at the meeting where the "errors" were discussed, John Winthrop seems to have strongly conveyed his opinion to him.

18. This is based on the *OED*[2] (s.v. *do*, v.): "in standard English it is now regularly used only where, for the sake of emphasis, or of word position, it is advantageous to have the verb in two words, so that the auxiliary may

receive the stress or be separated from the main verb, like the auxiliaries of the perfect and future tenses, to which the periphrastic present and past is exactly parallel in use".

19. The inverted clauses include 1 each of *neither doe I* and *neither know I how to...*, 3 main verb *have*-Subject and 1 main verb *do*-Subject. In case of *neither*, the inversion occurs at 100% in all letter types, but in case of *nor-* and *never,* the percentages in PL-FA become lower（82% and 67% respectively）than those in PL-OT and OL（both 100%）. No sentence initial negative adverbs occur in PT and WL.

20. The addressee Priscilla Fones in（7b）is John Winthrop's sister-in-law whose husband（Thomas Fones）had been married with the late Anne （JW's elder sister）. He had a good relationship with the Fones family even after his sister died. He sent this letter to Priscilla in order to express his condolences. The meaning of *never man* is contextually the same as *never one* "none" in *OED*[2]（s.v. *never*, adv. 2. b.）.

21. Nurmi（1999: 150）added *misdoubt* and *misknow* to Ellegård's（1953:199） "*know* group" list（*know, boot, trow, care, doubt, mistake, fear, skill,* and *list*）, and explained that some verbs（*boot, trow, list*）did not occur and some（*care, mistake, fear, skill*）rarely occurred in the CEEC. Nurmi's table "the development of auxiliary DO in negative declarative sentences 1500– 1681" includes female data. As she included subjunctive inflectional forms for the third person subject in her statistics（pp. 142–143）, I also included them in Figure 3 and Table 3 for the comparison.

22. According to Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg's（2017: 55）five stages for ongoing changes, the CEEC's stage in 1640–59（67.9%）corresponds to "Nearing completion"（between 66% and 85%）, while the CWC's stage corresponds to "Mid-range"（between 35% and 65%）.

23. Stein（1990）refers to "Governor John Winthrop（14 pages）with two occurrences of *do*"（p. 135）in private letters implied by "private matters" （p. 134）. I have found that his source（*Letters from New England: The Massachusetts Bay Colony 1629–1638*, edited by E. Emerson,（Amherst 1976））contains a total of 23 letters written by John Winthrop, which include 16 instances of "*do* + verb" forms. Of the 23 letters, 11 letters are addressed to his wife（Margaret）and son John Winthrop Jr., where the *do* forms occur twice in Example（8a）and（8b）.

24. I have referred these letter elements（health formulae etc.）to Nevalainen

（2001: 211）.

25. I have referred the "10%" standard to Rissanen's（1985: 168）statement—Ellegård's（1953: 162）"statistics, which do not show over 10% occurrence of *do* in affirmative statements at any period he discusses".

26. Prof. JW's 16 instances of simple verbs（*expect/hope/send/think*）are included.

27. John Winthrop Jr.'s biological mother is Mary Forth（1583-1615）. "JW's wife" here refers to John Winthrop's third wife Margaret Tyndal.

28. This will was not executed, supposedly due to the delay（see MHS 1892, p. 367）.

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