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When change comes from within: The origin and diachronic
development of ‘positive’ *anymore* from pre-Modern Scots to
Modern North American English

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A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2019

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Linguistics

University of Washington

Abstract

When change comes from within: The origin and diachronic development of ‘positive’
anymore from pre-Modern Scots to Modern North American English

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The goal of this thesis is to provide a syntactic account of the diachronic development of the adverb *anymore* from a polarity sensitive aspectual adverb in Late Middle Scots (approximately 1550 to 1700), shown in (1); to a non-polarity-sensitive aspectual adverb (2); to a deictic temporal adverb in North America which I argue developed there in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (3).

- (1) I assuir zou I will not **anie moir** intertein it
‘I assure you I will not any more entertain it.’ (ScotsCorr, William Douglas[1627],
Lothian[Southeast]/London, text ID 1378)
- (2) I’ll be getting six or seven days’ holiday **anymore**. (West Donegal, Ulster, Northern
Ireland: 1981, Milroy 1981: 4)
- (3) **Anymore** I just say ‘no’. (Washington, USA: 2018)

I follow Montgomery (2006b) and others who argue, based on migration patterns (Scotland > Ireland > North America) and the geographical distribution of PosA (precisely where these immigrants settled), that PosA was most likely innovated in Scotland and taken to Ulster (Ireland), then North America.

Using evidence from a historical corpus study that I carried out, I propose that polarity sensitive *anymore* in Middle Scots is a ‘continuative’ aspectual adverb adjoined to AspP. These features provide an interpretation of the continuation of an imperfective event. It has uninterpretable polarity features [uVer: nonver] that Agree with a nonveridical licenser. I propose that post-change, PosA is an aspectual ‘inceptive’ adverb with a [boundary] feature. It also adjoins to AspP. It requires non-episodic, non-past events, which in my analysis is due to a [non-specific/indefinite] feature. I show that the reanalysis likely happened in a future irrealis context that also contained negation. This was a transitional context where a language acquirer could interpret *anymore* as polarity sensitive or as requiring non-episodic contexts. I argue that there was one additional condition in the reanalysis: it happened in contexts where *anymore* was fronted and took scope over negation, in order to produce the ‘inceptive’ meaning of PosA. Previous accounts have proposed that PosA is the result of language contact with Irish or Scottish Gaelic. I propose instead that any influence from language contact was in addition to language-internal factors, which were the main stimulus of the change.

The second change considered in this thesis is the change from this non-polarity-sensitive, or ‘positive’ *anymore* (PosA) in the British Isles to North American PosA. I build on previous research and use evidence from a synchronic grammaticality judgment study and a diachronic corpus study of North American PosA to provide a thorough analysis of North American PosA. It is restricted to present tense, imperfective (but not in-progress progressive) contexts. I propose that North American PosA is a present tense deictic temporal adverb adjoined to TP. It has [T_{present}] features that constrain it to present tense contexts. Like British Isles PosA, it has [boundary] features that account for its meaning of contrasting of a state of affairs at speech time with the absence of this state of affairs during a period prior to speech time. Also like British Isles PosA, it has [indefinite/non-specific] features that render it compatible with states or habitual or generic events only. I demonstrate that the

surface realization of a present tense clause with British Isles aspectual PosA in AspP is also compatible with a structure in which PosA is a TP-adjoined temporal adverb with slightly different features and a slightly different interpretation. I propose that since British Isles-type PosA did not appear in past contexts, language acquirers likely encountered PosA often in present contexts and came to see present tense as part of the adverb's featural makeup. Furthermore, I propose that Late Merge (van Gelderen 2004, 2011) acts as a catalyst for *anymore* to wait to Merge in a higher position, adjoined to TP instead of AspP.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to everyone with whom I have worked on or discussed this and related projects. I am especially indebted to the members of my dissertation committee, who have been generous with their time and knowledge. I enjoyed having long, interesting chats about syntax with Karen Zagona. My advisors, Edith Aldridge and Alicia Wassink, have spent countless hours reading drafts, providing encouragement, and helping me improve my work. I have been lucky to have advisors who have supported and believed in me throughout my graduate student career. They have managed to hold me to high standards and prepare me for research in their respective fields while allowing me the freedom to explore what is most fascinating to me. They deserve most of the credit for helping me become the linguist I am. Edith's enthusiasm for syntax and especially syntactic change has been inspiring. She has made a point to always be available when I needed her. Alicia Wassink has been an excellent mentor and a calming presence in my sometimes frantic grad student life. She gave me a solid grounding in sociolinguistic theory and made me like learning about sociophonetics despite myself.

I enjoyed taking syntax classes with Barbara Citko. Her feedback on my work in her classes was invaluable. The historical sociolinguistics class I took with Betsy Evans was very helpful for this project, as were the chats we had about positive *anymore*. I am grateful to my fellow graduate students and members of Syntax Roundtable and Socio Brownbag for discussing aspects of this project with me and providing feedback on dry runs and abstracts.

Many people have been helpful at certain stages of this project. Elly van Gelderen was the person who first introduced me to diachronic syntax and the history of English. I am sure that she is the reason I pursued a graduate degree in linguistics. She has been a

valuable source of information and a good sounding board for ideas related to this project over the past several years. I would also like to thank others who have been helpful with aspects of this project: Michael Montgomery, Alex D'Arcy, Collette Moore, David Willis, David Adger, Christina Tortora (thanks especially for searching the AppCAppE corpus for me), and Marina Dossena (many thanks for searching the 19CSC corpus for me).

The Linguistics Department office staff, Mike Furr and Joyce Parvi, have made my life as a graduate student much easier. In addition to all the administrative tasks they have helped me with, I have enjoyed talking about cats and other things to take my mind off school from time to time.

I would never have survived this adventure without support from my friends and family. Thanks to my mom and dad for always listening and encouraging me.

Last but not least, thanks to my roommates. Thank you Matt for so much. For technical support, emotional support, and taking care of more than your fair share of the household stuff. Thank you Suze for teaching me relaxation techniques and providing comic relief.

Chapter 1

GOALS OF STUDY, THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS AND
BACKGROUND ON POLARITY SENSITIVITY*1.1 Goals of the study*

The goal of this thesis is to provide a syntactic account of the diachronic development of the adverb *anymore*¹ from a polarity sensitive aspectual adverb in Late Middle Scots (approximately 1550 to 1700), shown in (4); to a non-polarity-sensitive aspectual adverb (5); to a non-polarity-sensitive deictic temporal adverb in North America which I argue developed there in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (6).

- (4) I assuir \zou I will not **anie moir** inter\tein it
 ‘I assure you I will not any more entertain it.’ (ScotsCorr, William Douglas[1627], Lothian[Southeast]/London, text ID 1378)
- (5) I’ll be getting six or seven days’ holiday **anymore**. (West Donegal, Ulster, Northern Ireland: 1981, Milroy 1981: 4)
- (6) **Anymore** I just say ‘no’. (Washington, USA: 2018)

In most present-day and historical dialects of English and Scots, the adverb *anymore* (and orthographic variants) is an affective polarity item (API): it is restricted to contexts that are nonveridical (Giannakidou 1998). In nonveridical contexts the truth of the proposition is not entailed. Such contexts include the scope of negation, as in (4), polar questions (7), and in clauses embedded under adversative predicates (8).

- (7) Does Suze eat raw chicken **anymore**, or has she started eating cooked meat?

¹The aspectual adverb *anymore* is spelled without a space between *any* and *more* in North America, but with a space in many other parts of the English speaking world. I spell it without a space in this thesis for the sake of consistency.

(8) I doubt that she eats raw chicken **anymore**.

A version of *anymore* that is not restricted to API contexts has been attested in some areas in twentieth century and present-day North America, Northern Ireland, and Scotland. It is referred to in the literature as ‘positive’ or ‘affirmative’ *anymore*. I will use the term ‘positive’ *anymore*, abbreviated as PosA. There are differences between the PosAs in North America and the British Isles. The North American PosA is usually translated as ‘nowadays’ and is generally restricted to present tense, imperfective (but not in-progress progressive) contexts, as can be seen in (6). The Scottish and Irish PosA has a freer distribution. It occurs most often in future contexts, with the modal auxiliary verb *will* or *’ll* with a meaning like ‘from now on’, as seen in (5). It is also common in other modal contexts and in present tense, imperfective contexts (9), but never past tense or in-progress present.

(9) He fights a lot **any more** (Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)

This dissertation sets out to answer the following research questions. First, are the British Isles and North American versions of non-polarity sensitive *anymore* related historically? If so, what was the development from one to the other? Second, when and where did the loss of polarity sensitivity of the British Isles and North American *anymore*(s) take place? Third, why and how did the change occur? In response to the first question, I will follow Montgomery (2006b) and others who argue, based on migration patterns (Scotland > Ireland > North America) and the geographical distribution of PosA (precisely where these immigrants settled), that PosA was most likely innovated in Scotland and taken to Ulster, then North America. I provide evidence that the changes undergone from the British Isles to North American PosA are expected according to theories of language change. I argue that British Isles PosA is an ‘inceptive’ (‘now and not previously; from now on’) aspectual adverb with [boundary] features that is adjoined to AspP. I propose that it has [indefinite/nonspecific] features that require that it be in contexts with non-episodic, non-past events, i.e., present and future tense, imperfective contexts but not in-progress present. I propose that North American PosA on the other hand is a present tense deictic temporal

adverb adjoined to TP. It has [$T_{present}$] features that constrain it to present tense contexts. Like British Isles PosA, it has [boundary] features that account for its meaning of a contrast of a state of affairs at speech time with the absence of this state of affairs during a period prior to speech time. Also like British Isles PosA, it has [indefinite/non-specific] features that make it only compatible with states or habitual or generic events. I will demonstrate that the surface realization of a present tense sentence with British Isles aspectual PosA in AspP is also compatible with a structure in which PosA is a TP-adjoined temporal adverb with slightly different features and a slightly different interpretation. I propose that since British Isles-type PosA did not appear in past contexts, language acquirers likely encountered PosA often in present contexts and came to see present tense as part of the adverb's featural makeup. Furthermore, I propose that Late Merge (van Gelderen 2004, 2011) acts as a catalyst for *anymore* to wait to Merge in a higher position, adjoined to TP instead of AspP.

Regarding the second research question, I argue that the British Isles PosA emerged in Late Middle Scots (between 1550 and 1700), before large-scale migrations to Ulster, Ireland in the early seventeenth century. The North American change occurred, I propose, in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, after migrations from Ulster, Ireland that began in the early eighteenth century.

My response to the third research question about how *anymore* lost polarity sensitivity is the following. Polarity sensitive *anymore* in Middle Scots is a 'continuative' aspectual adverb adjoined to AspP. These features provide an interpretation of the continuation of an imperfective event. It has uninterpretable polarity features [uVer: nonver] that Agree with a nonveridical licenser. I propose that post-change, British Isles PosA (as described above) is an aspectual 'inceptive' adverb with a [boundary] feature. It also adjoins to AspP. It requires non-episodic, non-past events, which in my analysis is due to a [non-specific/indefinite] feature. The reanalysis likely happened in a future irrealis context that also contained negation. This was a transitional context where a language acquirer could interpret *anymore* as polarity sensitive or as requiring non-episodic contexts. I will argue that there was one additional

condition in the reanalysis: it happened in contexts where *anymore* was fronted and took scope over negation, in order to produce the ‘inceptive’ (‘now and not previously; from now on’) meaning of PosA. Previous accounts have proposed that PosA is the result of language contact with Irish or Scottish Gaelic. I propose instead that any influence from language contact was in addition to language-internal factors, which were the main stimulus of the change.

A hope of the current study is to combine the strengths of diachronic generative syntax with those of variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1963, 1966, 1972a, 1994, 2001, Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968). Much work in variationist sociolinguistics relies on quantitative analysis to uncover the underlying grammar of the speaker and his or her speech community. I have used variationist methods in data collection and quantitative analysis of the data. Variationists assume that informal speech best reflects a speaker’s native dialect. While recordings of speech are not available for historical language varieties, work in the growing field of historical sociolinguistics has shown that some genres of written text such as personal correspondence may be closer to language users’ most natural speech than others (Nevalainen 1999). I have made an effort to use corpora of ‘speech-like’ texts when possible, for example the Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (1540-1750, Meurman-Solin 2017).

I adopt a version of the Minimalist Program (MP; Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2004, 2008) as a framework in my syntactic analysis. For the diachronic syntactic development I adopt the theories in Roberts (1997), Roberts & Roussou (2003), Roberts (2007), van Gelderen (2004, 2011).

I provide below a summary of the chapters in this dissertation. In the remainder of this chapter I will lay out the theoretical assumptions that I adopt in the following chapters.

In Chapter 2, I introduce the reader to the previous literature on *any* and the more descriptive work about (or that can be applied to) Scottish/Irish PosA. After arguing that PosA was most likely innovated between the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in Scotland and providing the historical social context for the original change, I describe polarity sensitive aspectual adverb *anymore* and related words and phrases in Scots and Scottish English

during this time period using results from a historical corpus study that I conducted.

In Chapter 3, I will propose that the present-day PosA in Scots/Scottish English and Irish English comes from a reanalysis of aspectual API *anymore* that occurred in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland. I provide a formal description of the pre- and post-change version of *anymore* before providing an analysis of the change.

Chapter 4 provides a description of PosA in North America, including both linguistic and social factors. I review previous literature on PosA, as well as a synchronic grammaticality judgment study and a diachronic corpus study of North American PosA that I carried out. I will also argue in this chapter that the migration patterns from Ulster, Ireland to parts of North America match the distribution of PosA.

In Chapter 5 I will present a formal analysis of the syntactic changes that I propose that North American PosA has undergone since its arrival from Ireland. I provide a formal description of the post-change version of *anymore*, and offer an analysis of the change that resulted in a present tense temporal adverb.

1.2 Theoretical frameworks, Part I: Generative syntax

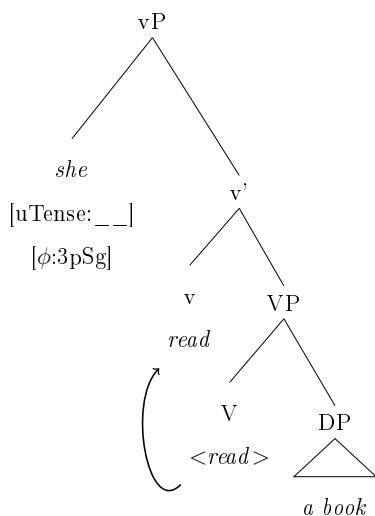
1.2.1 The Minimalist Program

I adopt a version of the Minimalist Program (MP; Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001, 2005, 2004, 2008) as a framework in my formal analysis. In this framework, Narrow Syntax links sound (or the sensory-motor [SM] component) to meaning (the cognitive-intentional [C-I] component) (Chomsky 2008). A syntactic derivation begins with a Lexical Array, which is a set of feature bundles. According to theories of Distributed Morphology, only morphosyntactic features on functional heads participate in operations in the Narrow Syntax; phonological features are inserted later, during the mapping to Phonological Form (Distributed Morphology will be discussed in more detail in the next subsection). I nevertheless represent heads and lexical items as words in the example of a syntactic derivation below for ease of exposition. Successive operations of Merge join items in the derivation, two at a time, extending

the structure from the bottom up. The steps in (10) show a standard Minimalist syntactic derivation.

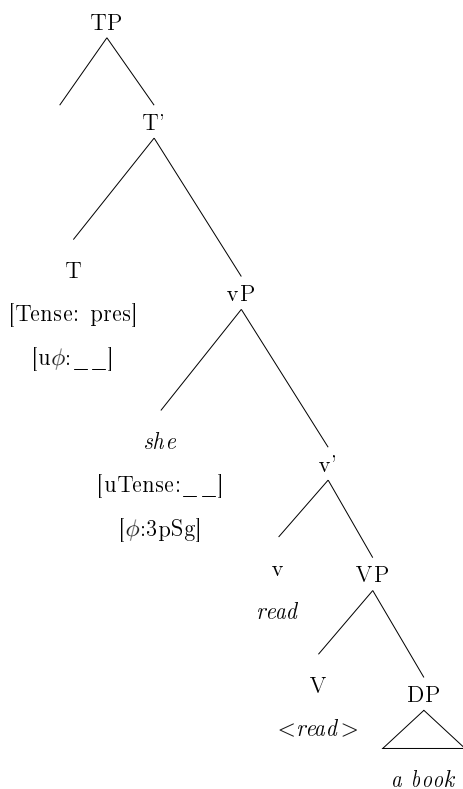
(10) Syntactic derivation of *she reads a book*

- a. **Step 1:** First, *a book* Merges with the V(erb) *read*, forming a VP. This VP in turn Merges with little *v*. This head has been argued to verbalize the head of its complement (Marantz 1997), in this case V, which in Distributed Morphology approaches is in fact a root without a category. The lexical verb *read* moves from V to *v* (see Larson 1988 for the motivation behind little *v*). Little *v* is a light verb, with a meaning such as ‘do’ or ‘cause’, depending on the construction; the verb must move to this head position to form a complex head with the light verb. Little *v* introduces the external argument, the agent *she*, which is Merged in the Spec(ifier) of vP. Agents are always externally Merged here crosslinguistically, although they may later undergo further movement operations (Baker 1988).

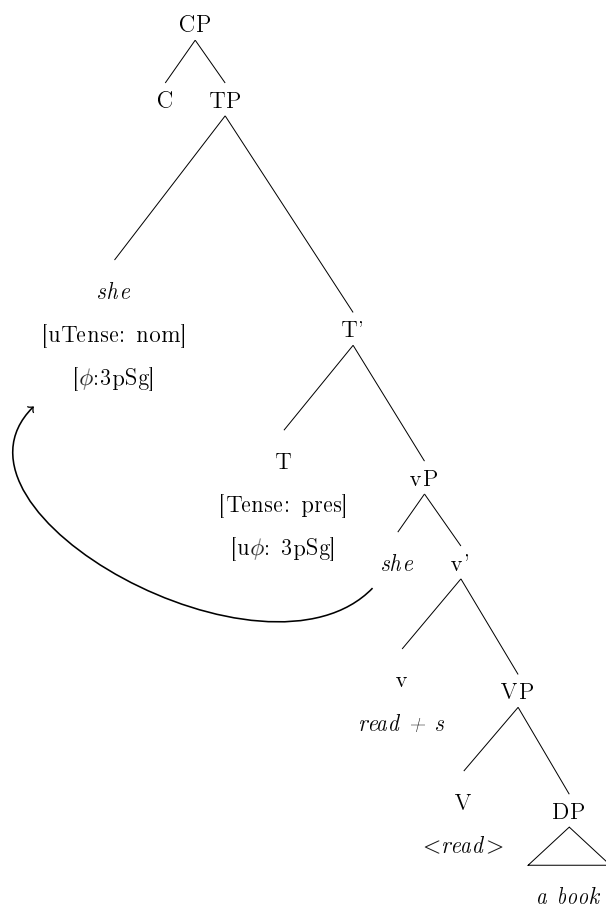


- b. **Step 2:** Next, the functional head T(ense) is Merged. In English, I assume that T has interpretable, valued Tense features (here, present), but uninterpretable, unvalued ϕ features (English ϕ features include person and number). Nouns and pronouns have interpretable, valued ϕ features (*she* has the features third person, singular) but uninterpretable, unvalued structural case. Pesetsky & Torrego

(2007) argue that structural case is actually uninterpretable Tense (represented here as [uTense]).



- c. **Step 3:** The last element to (externally) Merge is a phonologically null C(omplementizer) head . Every clause is assumed to have a C, whether null or overt (e.g., *that*): it determines the clause type (declarative, question, subjunctive, for example). It also plays a role in questions and information structure, such as focus and topic (Rizzi 1997 gives a proposal for the detailed structure of the CP layer).



In the course of a derivation, unvalued features on a Probe search for a Goal with matching valued features. The T probes into its c-command domain and Agrees with the closest item with ϕ features, *she* (or rather, the bundle of ϕ features valued ‘third person, singular’), valuing its unvalued ϕ features and simultaneously valuing the argument’s unvalued, uninterpretable Tense feature. According to Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), uninterpretable Tense on a DP is nominative case. *She* moves to the specifier of T due to a property of T’s [u ϕ] feature in English called the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) property. Movement, or Internal Merge, is thus a reflex of Agree triggered by unvalued features searching for a valued counterpart. I assume that the tense and number of T is spelled out as an agreement suffix (in the derivation of *she reads a book* above, *-s*) on the verb post-syntactically.

Following Pesetsky & Torrego (2007), features are interpreted on the element with the

interpretable feature. An example from my version of a syntactic derivation (different in some ways from Pesetsky and Torrego's) is the following: *she* has the semantically transparent interpretable ϕ features of third person, singular, but T does not. All uninterpretable features delete after being valued and before reaching the SM and C-I interfaces.

Transfer to the interfaces does not happen all at once; it happens in stages, which Chomsky (2001, 2004, 2008) calls 'phases'. This lightens the computational load by reducing derivations to smaller segments. Once a phase is built up and the phase head is Merged (phase heads are generally agreed to include at least little *v* and C), any relevant Agree and Move operations occur. This includes adjunction to the edge of a phase for further (successive cyclic) movement, as in the case of *wh*-words that originate in the complement of *v*P or a subordinate clause (e.g., 'Where do you think that he lives [where]?'); they would be unable to move further if they were shipped to the interfaces. The Narrow Syntax then transfers the derivation of the complement of the head to the SM and C-I interfaces (the interfaces are also called PHON and SEM, respectively, to distinguish them from the actual external SM and C-I systems); there must be no remaining unvalued features at this point. After Transfer happens, only the phase head and its specifier(s), including adjuncts, are available for further syntactic operations. This is the Phase Impenetrability Condition, or PIC (Chomsky 2000, 2001, 2004). Finally, mapping of the syntactic derivation to the SM and C-I systems is called Spell-out (Chomsky 2008). Pronunciation happens in the external SM system.

1.2.2 *Distributed Morphology*

Distributed Morphology (DM) is a theory within generative linguistics that was first introduced in Halle & Marantz (1993) and developed in much later work (including Halle & Marantz 1994, Halle 1997, Marantz 1997, Harley & Noyer 1998). It is a response to the Lexicalist Hypothesis (beginning in Chomsky 1970) that words enter the derivation fully inflected from the Lexicon and proceed to check features and move if applicable. DM rejects the traditional division between the generation of sentences and the generation of complex words; instead, the syntax generates sound-meaning correspondences for both. In this approach,

the generation of morphology is distributed throughout components of the grammar.

One of the basic properties of DM is Late Insertion, which is the hypothesis that syntactic objects do not have phonological content. Interpretable and uninterpretable features such as [singular], [feminine], [past] enter the derivation in Narrow Syntax where they are manipulated by operations such as Agree, Merge, and Move. Phonological realization is inserted post-syntactically (i.e., after the syntactic structure has been formed) during the mapping to Phonological Form. Vocabulary Items can be thought of as instructions for the contexts in which phonological strings can be inserted. For example, a Vocabulary item relates the Russian affix /i/ to the context [____, +plural], shown in the following example.

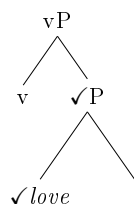
(11) /i/ → [_____, +plural] (Halle 1997) **Russian affix**

The syntax sends the features [_____, +plural] to be mapped to PF (‘_____’ indicates that a word precedes the features, i.e., /y/ is a suffix). They are mapped to /i/ according to the Vocabulary Item in (11).

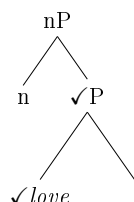
DM distinguishes between two types of morpheme, f-morphemes and l-morphemes, which correspond roughly to functional and lexical categories (Harley & Noyer 1998: 4). F-morphemes are inserted for a grammatical purpose, e.g., gender or case. There is normally no choice involved in Vocabulary insertion; the feature bundles are said to determine the phonological realization (Harley & Noyer 1998). L-morphemes on the other hand involve choice at spell-out. For example, any noun can be inserted into terminal nodes that require a noun.

According to a hypothesis related to DM (Marantz 1997, Harley & Noyer 1998, Embick 1997, 1998, a.o.), lexical categories such as verb, noun, and adjective are determined by a categorizing head such as v or n which selects an l-node. L-nodes are category-neutral Roots (the term Root in this sense is attributed to Pesetsky 1995) which lack syntactico-semantic features. Roots cannot be bare; they must be selected by a categorizing head. An example is the following. The Root \surd love is a verb when selected by the categorizer v (12), and a noun when selected by n (13).

(12) I love popcorn.



(13) Love is blind.



1.3 Theoretical frameworks, Part II: Syntactic change

1.3.1 Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is the reanalysis of lexical material (e.g., verbs or nouns) to more functional material (e.g., tense or mood markers) (cf Lehman 1985). The term *grammaticalization* was first used by **Meillet 1912** although the phenomenon was noticed much earlier. It has received much attention by linguists, especially in functional frameworks (**lehman 1985**, Hopper & Traugott 2003, among many others). Recent theories of grammaticalization in generative syntax include Roberts (1997), Roberts & Roussou (2003), Roberts (2007), van Gelderen (2004, 2011). I give overviews of these approaches in the following subsections in order to introduce the framework I will use in my analyses in later chapters. I then provide an overview of the smaller field of degrammaticalization, which is relevant to the loss of polarity sensitivity of *anymore*.

1.3.1.1 Grammaticalization as parameter resetting and upward reanalysis

The framework of diachronic syntax proposed in Roberts (1997), Roberts & Roussou (2003), Roberts (2007) is based on the position that syntactic change, and in particular grammaticalization, is due to parameter resetting (Lightfoot 1991, 1999) in the process of language acquisition by children. Grammaticalization is therefore epiphenomenal, due to other princi-

ples of language change. They adopt the Chomsky-Borer Conjecture, attributed to Chomsky (2001) and Borer (1984), that is generally formulated in a manner similar to the following:

- (14) Chomsky-Borer Conjecture: All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in features of particular items (e.g. the functional heads) in the lexicon. (Baker 2008)

Earlier work on parameters did not have an explanation for the apparently unidirectional (or at least largely so) direction of grammaticalization, from less to more functional material. Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue that grammaticalization tends to involve reanalysis of lexical items as merging higher in the syntactic tree. They argue that this upward reanalysis involves loss of movement. They assume that there is a universal order of functional heads (following Cinque 1999, a.o.) and that these heads are present in every language but are not overtly realized morphophonologically in all of them. If functional heads are overtly realized in a language, this may be done in one of two ways: by (base) merging an item in the projection of the functional head, or by movement to the projection from a location lower in the tree. This parameter setting, realization of a functional head by Move vs. Merge, is subject to variation and change. Change happens when the cues (often morphophonological) for a parameter are obscured. In this case, a string is ambiguous, or P-ambiguous (Roberts 2007).

- (15) P-ambiguity: A substring of the input text S is strongly P-ambiguous with respect to a parameter p_i just in case a grammar can have p_i set to either value and assign a well-formed representation to S .
- (16) A strongly P-ambiguous string may express either value of p_i and therefore trigger either value of p_i .
- (17) A weakly P-ambiguous string expresses neither value of p_i and therefore triggers neither value of p_i . (originally Clark and Roberts 1993, reformulated in Roberts 2007: 133)

Given an ambiguous input string, a child acquiring a language chooses the less marked syntactic structure unless there is evidence in the child's input for the marked version. Less

marked means less complex, which generally means less movement: movement means that features of more than one head are associated with a single lexical item. They argue that grammaticalization therefore does not involve structural change. Instead, it involves reanalysis of the overt realization of features related to functional heads.

To see how this proposal operates, I will summarize Roberts & Roussou's (2003) analysis of the development of English modal auxiliaries. The authors discuss the well-known case of grammaticalization of English modals such as the future tense modal *will* that developed from the cognate lexical verb meaning 'to want' (a form of which is still in use today as well, not uncommon in syntactic change). Before the sixteenth century, English modals as we know them did not exist. The cognates of Present Day English modals in older English ('premodals') behave like lexical verbs do at that time. For example, the premodals have finite and non-finite forms, unlike Present Day English modals ("*To can swim is useful", Roberts & Roussou 2003: 36); and they can take complements including clausal complements, as shown in (18) and its corresponding structure according to Roberts and Roussou in (19).

- (18) Sone hit mæi ilimpen
soon it may happen

(a1225 (?a1200): Lay. *Brut* 2250; Denison 1993:299 cited in Roberts & Roussou 2003: 40)

- (19) [_{TP} Sone [_{TP} hit mæi [_{VP} t_{mi} [_{TP} T [_{VP} ilimipen]]]]] (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 40)

- (20) [_{TP} Soon [_{TP} it may [_{VP} happen]]] (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 41)

Older English had V-to-T raising, as is well known. This is shown in (19), where the premodal *mæi* Merges in V and moves to T. Roberts & Roussou propose that this structure was reanalyzed as the one in (20) in the early sixteenth century. The second structure is simpler: a biclausal structure is reduced to a single one. They argue that it is also simpler according to the following "simplicity metric":

- (21) A structural representation R for a substring of input text S is simpler than an

alternative representation R' iff R contains fewer formal feature syncretisms than R'.
 (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 201)

Roberts & Roussou argue that feature syncretisms occur when the features of multiple heads are morphophonologically realized in a single structural position, i.e., when a single lexical item realizes the features of more than one functional head, as when premodal *mæi* in T instantiates both V and T. Feature syncretism, they say, is often due to head movement or Agree of formal features. Simplicity in their framework has to do with the phonological realization of features of functional heads. Ideally, each functional head has its own phonological realization, and each phonological realization that represents a single functional head only represents a single one. Roberts & Roussou adopt the view that there is a universal hierarchy of functional heads, so the features of these heads are always present whether or not they are pronounced. The universal features cannot be lost, but their morphophonological realization is subject to change. In the case of the English premodals, they are reanalyzed as only instantiating [T] instead of [T+V]. Feature syncretism is thus reduced because only T is pronounced on T. Instead of moving to T from V, the premodals are merged directly in T. This is a parametric change for Roberts & Roussou because T is now realized via Merge instead of Move.

According to Roberts & Roussou, this change was set in motion when infinitival morpheme *-(e)n* was lost from English. This also occurred around the beginning of the sixteenth century. This ending was evidence for T in a lower clause. Once *-(e)n* was lost (likely due to phonological erosion), the evidence for movement of the modal in the higher clause was lost. Erosion of morphology that signals movement gives language acquirers no reason to choose the marked (moved) structure, so they choose the unmarked structure where modals merge directly in T. Later in the sixteenth century, main verbs lose V-to-T movement, and only modals and auxiliaries are possible in T.

Roberts & Roussou consider a different simplicity metric than the one in (21), based on number of features or copies. In the case of the development of English modals such as *may*,

they say, this would yield the correct result: the premodal *mæi* leaves a copy in its base position in V, while modal *may* does not. Premodal *mæi* (in their analysis, where they are only concerned with interpretable features on functional heads) instantiates both [V] and [T], while modal *may* only realizes [T]. They reject these measures of simplicity however because they argue that they do not explain other cases of grammaticalization that they consider, which for the sake of space I will not review here.

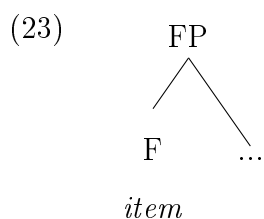
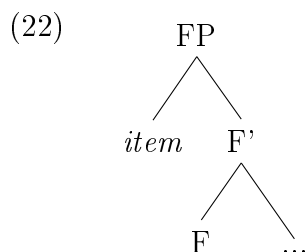
1.3.1.2 Grammaticalization and economy principles

van Gelderen (2004, 2011) is another approach to generative diachronic syntax. She focuses on principles of economy in the spirit of Minimalism to motivate changes that occur during grammaticalization. These principles are not unique to language; they exist in some form in other biological systems. van Gelderen (2011) looks in detail at the cyclical nature of grammaticalization, using a large and varied set of cross-linguistic examples. She concentrates in turn on grammaticalization in different parts of the clause and types of grammatical relations.

One of the economy principles responsible for grammaticalization according to van Gelderen is the Late Merge Principle (LMP): “Merge as late as possible” (van Gelderen 2004: 12). She moves away from this principle in later work (van Gelderen 2008), since Move comes to be understood in Minimalism as simply a different type of Merge (Internal Merge, as opposed to External Merge, i.e., Merge). Move (Internal Merge) is therefore no longer necessarily more costly than Merge (External Merge). Late Merge is still present in van Gelderen (2011) however as it is necessary to explain some phenomena, for example the reanalysis of adverbs from being merged in the lower layers of the clause to being merged higher. According to van Gelderen (2004: 130), adverbs merge late in the derivation and so they can merge in the VP, TP, or CP layer. She explains that some items are more likely to be reanalyzed with the LMP, such as non-theta-marked items that do not have to merge (externally) in the VP, but can wait until later (she cites Chomsky 1995: 314-315).

She also appeals to the Head Preference Principle (HPP), which states, “Be a head,

rather than a phrase” (van Gelderen 2004: 11). In other words, a minimal projection is preferable to a maximal one. If a learner has evidence for a structure that could be either (22) or (23), they will choose the simpler one in (23) where the lexical item is a head (trees from van Gelderen 2011: 13).



Feature Economy, in (24), also drives the process of grammaticalization and language cycles (van Gelderen 2011: 20).

(24) Feature Economy

Minimize the semantic and interpretable features in the derivation, for example:

Adjunct	Specifier	Head	o
semantic >	[iF] >	[uF] >	-

According to van Gelderen, during grammaticalization, a lexical item will have semantic features that are reanalyzed as interpretable syntactic features, then later uninterpretable features, until eventually it becomes too ‘weak’ (phonologically or semantically) and needs reinforcement from a new lexical item with semantic features, beginning the cycle anew. Uninterpretable features are preferable to interpretable ones because they keep “the derivation going” (van Gelderen 2011: 20). This is a difference from Roberts & Roussou (2003), discussed above, who argue that movement is not economical because it results in feature syncretism. As van Gelderen points out, their definition of simplicity essentially means that

uninterpretable features should be avoided, since uninterpretable features link two structural positions via Agree (which may or may not result in movement).

Phonological weakening is common in grammaticalization, and can render paradigms opaque, leading to loss of morphemes altogether. Van Gelderen says that this reanalysis of morphemes as ‘zero’ (as in (24) is due most often to “feature syncretism (where one word has two functions)” (van Gelderen 2011: 19). For example, the heads *will* and *not* undergo phonological change and form a single word *won’t*, which can be eventually reanalyzed as only having one feature. A final stage in the linguistic cycle is one of renewal: the head with uninterpretable features searches for a probe, and finds one in adverbs, emphatic pronouns, etc., thus starting the cycle over again.

In this thesis I adopt elements from the frameworks in Roberts (1997) Roberts & Roussou 2003, Roberts (2007) and van Gelderen (2004, 2008, 2011) to explain the changes that *anymore* has undergone, from polarity sensitive aspectual adverb to non-polarity-sensitive aspectual adverb to non-polarity-sensitive temporal adverb. In particular, I will adapt the idea of simplification in featural makeup, drawing on Roberts and Roussou’s (2003) proposal that more features realized in a single structural position is dispreferred. I will suggest that uninterpretable features can be lost if it simplifies the overall featural makeup of a lexical item. This is somewhat in opposition with van Gelderen’s work in which uninterpretable features are preferred because they keep ‘the derivation going’. I do however adopt van Gelderen’s Late Merge Principle (LMP), “Merge as late as possible”, to explain the upward reanalysis of *anymore*, as I argue that it changed from an adverb in Asp to one in T. It is not obvious how Roberts and Roussou’s framework can account for this.

1.3.2 Degrammaticalization

While language change tends to involve the reanalysis of less to more functional and abstract, the opposite direction of change is also attested in limited instances and under certain circumstances. Willis (2016) discusses indefinite pronouns in South Slavic and Goidelic Celtic. He argues that many instances of degrammaticalization involve “obsolescent morphological

categories or other items that are isolated from their paradigms” (p. 201). This makes them morphologically opaque because they do not resemble other members of the paradigm. They are therefore difficult for children to acquire.

Willis cites Norde (2009: 133), who identifies three types of degrammaticalization. Willis illustrates each type with examples from the syntactic literature.

- (25) Norde’s (2009: 133) three types of grammaticalization, with examples (in Willis 2016: 200-201)
- a. Content-level degrammaticalizations involve a shift from grammatical to lexical content, ‘degrammation’, e.g. reanalyses P > V Welsh *nôl* ‘after’ > ‘fetch’ (Willis 2007), D > N Bulgarian *nešto* ‘something’ > ‘thing’ (Willis 2007), Aux > V Pennsylvania German *wotte* ‘want (to)’ > ‘wish’ (Burridge 1998);
 - b. content-syntactic degrammaticalizations involve a shift from ‘more grammatical’ to ‘less grammatical’ or movement out of a paradigm, ‘deinflectionalization’ e.g. English/Swedish possessive *-s* (Allen 2003, 2008, Börjars 2003, Delsing 1999, 2001, Norde 1998, 2001b, 2006);
 - c. morphosyntactic degrammaticalizations involve a shift from bound to free morpheme, ‘debonding’ e.g. English *to*-infinitive, Irish *muid* ‘we’ (Doyle 2002).

The first two types will be relevant to the changes that *anymore* has undergone that I will discuss in this thesis.

Jäger (2010), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, addresses the ‘Negative Cycle’, one of the most well-studied types of grammaticalization in which lexical items tend to become more negative and/or confined to contexts that are more negative. This is a robust cross-linguistic trend. Jäger shows however that this trend is not unidirectional, and proposes that changes in both directions (to more or less negative) occur due to the loss or introduction of a plus-valued negative and/or affective feature in the lexical entry of the item.

1.3.3 *Variationist sociolinguistics*

A hope of the current study is to combine the strengths of generative syntax with those of variationist sociolinguistics. One goal of variationist sociolinguistics is to understand how language changes over time. Many (though certainly not all) studies in this tradition investigate synchronic linguistic variation across social groups, ages, and geographical space in order to illuminate how language varies diachronically. William Labov, considered the father of variationist sociolinguistics, states that “the sporadic character of language change can only be explained by correlations with the social structure of the speech community in which it takes place” (Labov 1994, following Meillet 1926, p. 17). Variationists assume that informal speech best reflects a speaker’s native dialect, and rely when possible on spoken (production) data collected in a naturalistic setting. There is an emphasis on scientific experimental methods: formulating hypotheses, collecting linguistic data to test them, and statistical analysis of results. Tagliamonte (2007 and other work) is one proponent of the quantitative paradigm. She says that quantitative analysis helps to look at “the recurrent choices an individual makes in the course of linguistic performance” (Tagliamonte 2007: 190) which are manifestations of the underlying grammar of the speaker and his or her speech community.

“Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change” (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968; from here on WLH) is one of the foundational texts in variationist sociolinguistics. WLH set forth a set of problems that they argue should be addressed in a theory of language change. This was in response to several issues they saw with the state of research on language change at the time. The Neogrammarian Hermann Paul (1880) was the first to study language change in individuals, and to separate it from the speech community. Despite great advances, WLH argue, Paul and those who followed him in the Neogrammarian, structuralist, and generative traditions constrained the study of language change and separated the study of language structure from language history. One way in which they did this was to see languages as internally homogenous, to assume that an unnecessarily idealized language

state existed in the minds of speakers. Because heterogeneity was seen as unstructured and chaotic, it was not possible to study it in a systematic way; structure equaled homogeneity, and heterogeneity was absence of structure.

Structuralists, in the tradition of Saussure, followed Paul in assuming that an individual's idiolect (their competence) was homogenous, and this was the only valid object of linguistic study. Heterogeneity belonged to performance only, and was not worthy of scientific study, being unpredictable. Generative linguists likewise assumed that languages were internally homogenous and permitted no real variation. Language change was (and for many still is) seen as the change from one self-contained state in the mind of a speaker to a different state, and this was passed on from parent to child. Thus, an older generation might have Form A, while the next generation has Form B. One problem with this view that WLH demonstrate is that for many changes, Generation B might have both Form A and Form B in different registers; thus the two systems are not as separate within and across generations and idiolects as had previously been suggested, but coexist in communities and in the individual's idiolect synchronically, until at some point one form may disappear entirely (but crucially, not immediately). Generativists explained this fact by saying that a speaker may speak more than one dialect, but the grammars are still separate. WLH say, however, that "nativelike command of heterogeneous structures is not a matter of multidialectalism or 'mere' performance, but is part of unilingual linguistic competence" (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 101), and that this is the norm, not anomalous; as such, a theory of language change must make this a central part of the theory. One of WLH's goals is therefore "to reconcile the observed facts of linguistic heterogeneity with the theoretical desiderata of finding order and structure" (p. 99). In this work they introduce the idea of "orderly heterogeneity", and demonstrate that order does not have to be homogenous as most linguists assumed at the time. WLH also introduce the idea of the linguistic variable for the first time: a variable may have several variants, with constraints that favor the choice of one variant over another. These constraints on a variable can help explain how a change happened. WLH argue that any theory of language change must have empirical foundations, and must be able to relate

empirical evidence to the theory. This was not the practice at the time, and is not the practice in all of generative linguistics now, although this is changing.

WLH identify five problems that must be addressed if we are to understand language change. The *constraints problem* refers to the possible and impossible changes that languages may undergo. Advances in linguistic theory (for example, in syntactic theory) help to illuminate the answer to this problem. Knowing what are possible linguistic structures allows one to determine what are possible changes. For example, a basic assumption in Minimalist theory is that there is a universal hierarchy of functional heads, shown in the example below.

(26) [CP [TP [VP]]]

Any change that would result in a different ordering of these functional heads is not possible. The constraints problem also refers to possible directions for change. For example, Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue that only changes that result in simplification in the structure in question are possible, and that change tends to be upward in the syntactic tree.

The *transition problem* concerns “the route by which a linguistic change is proceeding to completion” (p. 100). It is the problem of the stages between Form A and Form B. One question to be answered in solving the transition problem is the following: what intermediate forms arise in the transition between Form A and Form B, if any? For example, does a new use or sense of *anymore* occur in more of a certain semantic context or syntactic environment as it takes hold in a community? This problem also has a social aspect, concerning how an innovation spreads through a speech community. WLH remark that “A close study of the transition problem inevitably leads us to consider the transference of a linguistic form or rule from one person to another — more specifically, from one linguistic system to another” (p. 155), and that “All of the changes submitted to careful empirical scrutiny so far have shown continuous distribution through successive age levels of the population” (p. 184). Evidence also shows, they argue, that children do not simply learn the language of their parents, but rather that of their peers during adolescence. Thus, we should expect to see different patterns or rates of use depending on the age of speakers in a speech community

when studying a change.

This assumes the apparent time hypothesis, a hypothesis that many variationists rely on to make inferences about whether linguistic variation represents a change in progress. The apparent-time hypothesis rests on the assumption that a person's vernacular (most natural and fluent register of speech) changes minimally after they become an adult, and so their speech reflects the linguistic norms in place during their 'formative years', roughly between the ages of eight and eighteen (Chambers 2002). If a large, representative sample of a population is studied, variation in language across generations can be evidence for a change in progress (Bailey 2004). Labov's (1963) study of Martha's Vineyard was one of the first to employ apparent-time evidence, arguing that the progressively higher use of more centralized onsets of (ay) and (aw) diphthongs with each younger cohort (except the youngest cohort, whom he argues were not yet affected by the change) reflected a gradual community-wide increase over time in the use of these more centralized onsets.

An apparent-time approach infers language change by studying variation synchronically, which has a number of advantages. It allows the observation of a change as it is happening (hence the expression 'change in progress'), which means that a researcher can design an experiment to access information or data to help explain the change, rather than relying only on texts or recordings of changes that are already complete. For example, the makeup of a person's social network, education level, gender, or region of origin may correlate with the use of a variant, but these things may not be available in pre-existing corpora. However, there are limitations to apparent-time evidence. It is not always the case that adults' language is stable. For example, age grading is variation over the lifespan of individuals, and at first blush it can resemble a change in progress because different age cohorts use variants at different rates. It is not evidence that the language of a community may be changing however. Age grading is often associated with the pressures of employment, and adults of working age may adopt linguistic norms of the wider society (Sankoff & Laberge 1978). Once adults reach older age, they may return to more local vernacular (often implying non-standard) speech.

WLH's third problem is the *embedding problem*: "How are the observed changes *em-*

bedded in the matrix of linguistic and extralinguistic concomitants of the forms in question? (That is, what other changes are associated with the given changes in a manner that cannot be attributed to chance?)” (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 101; emphasis original). This has to do with the interaction of the change in question and the linguistic and social structure in which it is embedded. A linguistic change is not an isolated occurrence; to understand the change, one must study the linguistic system that surrounds it and influences it. WLH note that “Linguists are naturally suspicious of any account of change which fails to show the influence of the structural environment upon the feature in question: it is reasonable to assume that the feature is embedded in a linguistic matrix which changes with it” (p. 101). Work in generative diachronic syntax has been especially focused on investigating the embedding problem, for example by observing the correlations of a given change with other linguistic changes occurring in the same time period. It can also be useful to observe correlations between the form or structure under investigation with other linguistic phenomena to understand their influence on each other. As for embedding in the social structure, not all variables are used by the same segments of the speech community as others: “In the development of language change, we find linguistic structures embedded unevenly in the social structure” (WLH, p. 185). There may be regional, sex, age, ethnic, or other social correlates of a variant, and these should be identified.

Another of WLH’s problems is the *evaluation problem*. I will not investigate this problem in this thesis, but I make use of previous work on PosA in North America that has done so. The evaluation problem has to do in part with the “subjective correlates” (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 186) of variables. What do members of the speech community think of the different variants? Is there social stigma or prestige attached to one or more of the variants, or is it below the level of conscious awareness? Style-shifting, matched guise tests, and meta-linguistic commentary help answer these questions. Labov in later work states that the definition of a speech community is the shared evaluation of linguistic forms. Labov (1972a) identifies three types of linguistic variable according to the amount of social awareness that is attached to the variable. ‘Stereotypes’ are those that carry a high degree

of awareness. They are often commented upon or imitated. An example of a stereotype would be the expression *fixin' to* meaning to have the intention to do something, which is a stereotype of Southern US (especially Texas) speech. A ‘social marker’ is below the level of conscious awareness but is not used by all social groups and is subject to style shifting (use of a different set of linguistic variants in more versus less formal settings or situations). The use of /in/ versus /ing/ for the suffix *-ing* in English is a marker. Finally, a ‘social indicator’ is also below the level of awareness and is subject to variation across social groups but is not differentiated stylistically. The vowel merger of *cot* and *caught* word classes is an example.

The notion of *style* is a central one to sociolinguistics, especially in the earlier years of modern sociolinguistics. In Labov’s (1966) study of /r/-lessness in New York City, he found that speakers were more likely to ‘drop’ /r/ post-vocally in casual speech, and less likely to do so in careful speech, when they were asked to repeat themselves. Labov explained this with ‘attention paid to speech’: the more a speaker reflects on their speech, the more formal or standard it will be. This has since been shown to be too simplistic to explain style shifting (by e.g., Penelope Eckert’s work) but it nonetheless has been and continues to be influential in variationist sociolinguistics. I will discuss studies of North American PosA in Chapter 4 that found that it is most likely a social indicator since it is not stigmatized or indeed very salient within or between communities and it is not subject to style shifting (Hindle 1974, Wolfram & Christian 1976, Cassidy 1985, Eitner 1991, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). It is likely therefore that it would appear in both spontaneous speech (little attention paid to speech) and in written, published documents where more attention is paid to language use. In Chapter 4 I describe a diachronic corpus study of PosA in North America that I carried out using the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). The COHA is a large corpus of published written documents including fiction, non-fiction books, magazines, and newspapers. On the other hand, because of the relationship of Scots to English around the time that British Isles PosA was likely innovated in Scots (between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries), if there were any early examples to be found, they were less likely to be found in formal texts. I therefore looked in corpora of personal letters such as the

Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (ScotsCorr, 1540-1750) to study *anymore* and related expressions. This is discussed in Chapter 2

To return to WLH's final problem to be solved in the study of language change, they propose what they call the most basic and important yet most difficult question to be answered, the *actuation problem*. This deals with the question of why a particular change takes place at a particular time, in a particular speech community (but not at other times or in other speech communities). WLH feel that it is "unlikely that the actuation problem will readily yield to purely structural investigations, and we expect that their contribution will be confined to the task of stating limitations and elucidating — in part — the mechanism of language change. Solutions to the actuation problem must be expected from other directions" (p. 137).

Henry (2002) advises socio-syntacticians to look at syntactic theory in addition to sociolinguistic literature in order to make informed decisions about the structures to analyze and the potentially favoring or disfavoring syntactic and semantic factors to consider. Adger & Smith (2005) argue that the Minimalist Program provides a good framework for studying syntactic variation and change. They analyze Scottish English data and propose that two variants of a given variable (for example, *was* versus *were*) have the same interpretable features but different uninterpretable ones. Thus variation lies in the choice of different lexical items; two derivations can have the same semantic output.

While I do not use Adger and Smith's approach in this thesis, I include it as an example of proposals that use both Minimalist theory and variationist methods. I agree that variationist sociolinguistics and Minimalism can complement each other. This dissertation draws on many insightful sociolinguistic studies on positive *anymore* and uses variationist approaches to collecting linguistic data, as well as quantitative analysis procedures such as those advocated by Tagliamonte (2007) and others to better inform the subsequent formal analysis and support the claims made. The Minimalist Program provides a framework within which to formally analyze the changes from polarity item to non-polarity-item and provide detailed language-internal explanations for the changes. Dialect variation is often the domain

of sociolinguistics, while work in generative syntax must often ignore variation in order to make generalizations about language(s). This dissertation focuses on micro-syntactic variation (Zanuttini & Horn 2014) between dialects of English in a single lexical item in order to better understand syntactic change.

1.4 Polarity sensitivity and polarity items

In this section I review the major theories of so-called ‘negative’ polarity items in the synchronic and diachronic domain. This will provide the necessary background for my theoretical assumptions relevant to Chapter 3 where I show that polarity sensitive adverb *anymore* lost polarity sensitivity in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots/Scottish English. The section discussing previous literature on negation and polarity sensitivity in the diachronic domain demonstrates that changes in negation and polarity sensitivity tend to follow the pathway non-polarity sensitive indefinite > polarity sensitive indefinite > negative indefinite or clausal negation. Loss of polarity sensitivity is somewhat unusual cross-linguistically, although there are some examples in the literature. Little theoretical work has addressed such ‘backward’ changes however; in Chapter 3 I hope to make a contribution in this area by offering a proposal of *anymore*’s loss of polarity sensitivity.

1.4.1 Theories of synchronic polarity sensitivity and polarity items

Klima (1964) is considered the first linguist to analyze polarity sensitivity in the generative tradition. He pointed out the polarity-sensitive items *any* and *ever* in English, and observed that so-called negative polarity items (NPIs) are licensed in ‘negative’ environments but also in environments that are not actually negative. Examples from present-day standard English (PDSE) include the following:

- (27) Present-day Standard English NPIs
- a. I don’t want **any** candy **yet**.
 - b. I doubt she lives with **anyone**.

- c. He's too smart to **ever** eat **any** junk food.
- d. *I want candy **yet**.

In (27a), *any* and *yet* are c-commanded by and in the semantic scope of clause-mate negation, the typical NPI trigger (the term ‘trigger’ for NPIs comes from Ladusaw (1980)). In (27b), *anyone* is licensed in a subordinate clause that is complement to the implicitly negative, adversative predicate *doubt*, though there is no overt negative element such as *no* or *not*. In example (27c) *any* and *ever* are licensed after the expression *too smart*. Again, there is no overt negation, although if ‘he’ is too smart to eat junk food, one assumes ‘he’ does not eat it. In (27d), however, *yet* is ungrammatical in a declarative affirmative sentence. Because these items are not all licensed by negation, many prefer the term (Affective) Polarity Item (e.g., Klima 1964, Ladusaw 1980, Giannakidou 1998 and subsequent, a.o.), reserving the term ‘negative polarity item’ for those items that are licensed only by negation or negative-like items like *without*. I will use ‘negative polarity item’ (NPI) only when referring to PIs licensed by negation or negative-like items, and ‘affective polarity item’ (API) when referring to the class of polarity-sensitive items licensed by these and other elements.

Progovac (1993: 149) lists the following additional API environments: “questions, antecedents of conditionals, complements of adversative predicates, comparatives, too-constructions, relative clauses headed by universal quantifiers, etc.” Haspelmath (1997: 36) identifies the core API contexts cross-linguistically: “questions, conditionals, the standard of comparison, indirect negation, and direct negation”. Generally only polar questions license APIs, or rhetorical questions with a sort of implied negation (e.g., ‘Who listens to Ace of Base anymore?’, implying that nobody listens to them). Penka & Zeijlstra (2010: 772) add to this list the scope of “semi-negative expressions like *hardly*” and *at most* DPs. Negative quantifiers such as *few* or *only*, as well as negative prepositions like *without* or negative conjunctions like *before* also license APIs in many languages.

Not all languages have APIs, but they are very common cross-linguistically. Giannakidou & Zeijlstra (2017: 3) say that “NPIs seem to exist in virtually every language we

consider”. Haspelmath (1997), a typological study of indefinites, gives PI data from forty languages from a variety of language families. Studies of PIs in specific languages are numerous; a sample includes Hindi (Lahiri 1998), Greek (Giannakidou 1998 and subsequent), Spanish and Basque (Laka 1990), and Serbo-Croatian (Progovac 1988, 1993). APIs can belong to different syntactic categories, including determiners, nouns, adverbs (English *yet*, *anymore*), or verbs (van der Wouden 1997 identifies Dutch *hoeven* and German *brauchen*). They can also have different sets of licensors, that is, different distributional restrictions, a point that I return to below.

Ladusaw (1996) identifies four main questions regarding APIs (he calls them NPIs):

(28) Ladusaw’s API questions

- a. The licensor question: How and by what are NPIs licensed?
- b. The licensee marking question: How are NPIs distinguished from their non-NPI counterparts? Is it something about their respective meanings, or are their semantics the same?
- c. The licensing relation question: What kind of relationship must there be between the licensor and the licensee? Is it a semantic one, a syntactic one, or both?
- d. The status question: What status does a sentence with an unlicensed NPI have? Is it ungrammatical, semantically infelicitous, or pragmatically wrong?

This section will give an overview of research that has attempted to answer these questions.

Let us start with part of the licensor question. There appears to be a dependency: APIs cannot appear freely without restriction, but are dependent on a property of their context or a licensor in their syntactic environment that is ‘negative’ in some sense. The question of what over-arching property of these environments licenses APIs, that is, “what the formal property is that all affective environments share” (Giannakidou 1998: 3), has been approached from pragmatic, semantic, and syntactic angles. A major force in the pragmatic approach is Linebarger (1980, 1987, a.o.), who argues that negation, or a negative implicature in the absence of overt negation, is the sole licensor. Another line of inquiry into the licensor

question was pioneered by Ladusaw (1980). Building on Fauconnier (1975), Ladusaw points out that API ‘triggers’ create downward-entailing (DE), or scale-reversing, contexts, and that APIs must be in the semantic scope of such DE triggers. A DE proposition entails a subset of that proposition. To see more concretely how this works, consider the following examples from Ladusaw (1980: 157):

- (29) Mary believes that John ate brussels [sic] sprouts for dinner entails Mary believes that John ate a green vegetable for dinner. *Upward-entailing (UE)*
- (30) Mary doubts that John ate a green vegetable for dinner entails Mary doubts that John ate brussels [sic] sprouts for dinner. *Downward-entailing (DE)*

The verb *believe* in (29) creates an upward-entailing (UE) context: ‘Mary believes that John ate Brussels sprouts for dinner’ (subset) entails ‘Mary believes that John ate a green vegetable for dinner’ (superset). On the other hand, (30) shows that *doubt* creates a DE context, because ‘Mary doubts that John ate a green vegetable for dinner’ entails the subset ‘Mary doubts that John ate Brussels sprouts for dinner’. In the scope of DE expressions like *doubt* is exactly where APIs are licensed:

- (31) a. I doubt she lives with **anyone**.
- b. *I believe she lives with **anyone**.

For Ladusaw, then, it is the downward-entailing semantic context that licenses APIs.

Later research pointed out that some expressions license APIs but are neither upward-entailing nor downward-entailing (Giannakidou 1998, Progovac 1993, Zwarts 1995, a.o.). Examples in English include *few* and *only* (‘only birds fly’ does not entail ‘only birds fly to Canada’); polar questions; rhetorical wh-questions (‘Who buys those anymore?’, implying that nobody buys those anymore); and hypotheticals (‘I wonder if they sell any flowers here’). Greek provides examples as well. Giannakidou (1998) shows that a class of indefinites in Greek including *kanenas* ‘any(one/body)’, *pote* ‘ever’, *tipota* ‘any(thing)’ and *puthena* ‘anywhere’ are generally licensed in similar contexts to English API *any*. These expressions are possible in the scope of negation (32) and negative-like expressions such as in the scope of operators *xoris* ‘without’ and *prin* ‘before’ (34), which are DE contexts. They are also licensed in many other DE contexts such as in relative clauses headed by universal quantifiers (33) as well as some non-DE ones: some subjunctive clauses (35) in the scope of some modals (36), polar questions (37), antecedents of conditionals (38), imperatives (39), and future (40).

- (32) Dhen idha **kanenan** fititi.
not saw.1sg any student
‘I didn’t see any student.’ (p. 15)
- (33) Oli osi gnorizun **tipota** sxetika me tin ipothesi, as milisun tora.
all who know.3pl anything about with the case, subj talk. 3pl now
‘Everyone who knows anything about Electra should speak now.’ (p. 119)
- (34) Elenkse tis plirofories prin na agorası **tipota**.
checked.3sg the information before subj bought.3sg everything
‘S/He checked the information before he bought anything.’ (p. 143)
- (35) Elpizo na emine **kanena** komati. Greek | Subjunctive clause
hope.1sg subj left.3sg any piece
‘I hope there is a piece left’ (p. 59)
- (36) Prepi na episkeftis **kanenan** jatro. Deontic modal
must.3sg subj visit.2sg any doctor
‘You should visit a doctor.’ (p. 128)
- (37) Pijes **pote** sto Parisi?
went.2sg ever in-the Paris
‘Have you ever been to Paris?’ (p. 58)

- (38) An dhis tin Ilektra **puthena**, na tis milisis. ‘If you see Electra anywhere, if see.2sg the Electra anywhere, subj her talk.2sg talk to her.’ (p. 58)
- (39) Pijene se **kanenan** jatro. Imperative
go.imp.2sg to any doctor
‘Go to a doctor!’ (p. 59)
- (40) Thav ro **kanena** filo na me voithisi. Future
fut find.1sg any friend subj me help.3sg
‘I will find a friend to help me.’ (p. 59)

Giannakidou (1998) shows that these types of non-declarative contexts are difficult to account for in a theory of DE/UE since entailment does not seem to apply to them: how does one decide what the entailment of a non-declarative clause is, since it is not asserting anything?

Giannakidou argues that what all these contexts have in common in nonveridicality: in veridical contexts, the truth of a proposition is entailed; in nonveridical contexts, the truth of a proposition is not entailed. Giannakidou (1998) is one of the foundational texts on (non)veridicality, although Zwarts (1995) had introduced the terms ‘veridical’ and ‘non-veridical’. In (35), for example, “I hope there is a piece left” does not entail that “there is a piece left” is true; the verb *hope* creates a nonveridical context for the proposition “there is a piece left”. Her definition of (non)veridical operators is given in example (41) for reference.

- (41) (Non)veridicality for propositional operators
- a. A propositional operator *F* is veridical iff Fp entails or presupposes that *p* is true.
 - b. If (a) is not the case, *F* is nonveridical.
 - c. A nonveridical operator *F* is antiveridical iff Fp entails not *p*. (based on Giannakidou 2011: 1676-1667)

Downward entailing contexts are a subset of nonveridical ones, so this analysis is compatible with Ladusaw’s analysis. Giannakidou (1999: 1) defines a polarity item as follows:

- (42) A polarity item α is an expression whose distribution is limited by sensitivity to some semantic property β .

(43) β is at least non-veridical.

Some proposals argue that APIs and negative quantifiers and indefinites in negative concord (NC) languages² are quite similar, and that n-indefinites are a particular kind of polarity item (Laka 1990; Ladusaw 1992; Acquaviva 1993; Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000). N-indefinites in NC languages can appear with negation or other negative elements and contribute a single semantic negation. Examples from Italian (44), Russian (45), and Greek (46), (47) are given below.³

(44) **Non** ha telefonato a **nessuno** **Italian**
 Not has called to n-body
 ‘He hasn’t called anybody’ (Zeijlstra 2004: 3)

(45) **Nichego ne** rabotaet **Russian**
 N-thing neg works
 ‘Nothing works’ (Zeijlstra 2004: 3)

(46) O papus **dhen** idhe **KANENA** apo ta egonia tu. **Greek**
 the grandpa not saw.3sg any from the grandchildren his
 ‘Grandpa didn’t see any of his grandchildren.’ (Giannakidou 1998: 57)

(47) O papus pethane **xoris** na dhi **KANENA** apo ta egonia tu. **Greek**
 the grandpa died.3sg without subj see.3sg any from the grandch. his
 ‘Grandpa died without seeing any of his grandchildren.’ (Giannakidou 1998: 57)

Giannakidou (2000, 1998) argues that n-indefinites in some negative concord languages such as Greek are in fact strong PIs (true ‘negative’ polarity items) because although they have negative interpretation, they do not contribute negation themselves but must be licensed by a negative operator in her analysis. Greek n-indefinites for example are only possible in the scope of negation and negative-like operators *xoris* ‘without’ (47) and *prin* ‘before’. Example (48) shows that Greek n-indefinite POTE does not contribute negation on its own and is not

²I will abbreviate negative indefinites/quantifiers as n-indefinites; they are also referred to in the literature as ‘n-words’.

³Giannakidou (1998) shows that Greek ‘emphatics’ (pronounced with emphasis) in examples (46) and (47), and ‘nonemphatics’ (the same pronunciation except for lack of emphasis) in examples (32) through (32) are licensed in a different set of contexts. Emphatics are NCIs, while nonemphatics are, as discussed above, more similar in distribution to English API *any*.

possible in other nonveridical contexts where ‘weak’ APIs in Greek are possible (cf example (37)).

- (48) *Pijes **POTE** sto Parisi? Greek
 went.2sg ever in-the Paris
 ‘Have you ever been to Paris?’ (Giannakidou 1998: 58)

Greek n-indefinites are licensed only in what Giannakidou (1998) calls “antiveridical contexts”: negative and “negative-like” contexts. A definition of antiveridicality is provided in (41) above. Antiveridicality is a type of nonveridicality, so n-indefinites that participate in negative concord are a type of polarity item licensed by a subset of nonveridical operators according to Giannakidou.

I now turn to Ladusaw (1996)’s licensing relation question: What kind of relationship must there be between the licenser and the licensee? Is it a semantic one, a syntactic one, or both? Approaches that argue that there is a syntactic relationship between APIs and/or NC items and their licenser include Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991, 1996), Zanuttini (1991), (Postal 2000), Den Dikken (2002), Szabolcsi (2004), Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), Merchant (2013), Roberts & Roussou (2003), Haegeman & Lohndal (2010), Progovac (1993), Laka (1990). I will discuss some of these proposals in more detail to give the necessary background for my analysis of API *anymore*’s loss of polarity sensitivity in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland.

Progovac (1993), building on work from Progovac (1988) focuses on the role of syntactic locality in API licensing using data from English and Serbo-Croatian. While Ladusaw (1980) only took a single clause into account as the API licensing domain, she investigated polarity licensing that appeared to happen across clause boundaries. She noticed that while clause-mate negation can license an API directly as in (49c), APIs are also licensed when they have no clause-mate trigger (or element that introduces the non-upward entailing context). An example is the following (Progovac 1993: 157):

- (49) a. John forgot [_{CP} Op [_{C'} that [_{TP} **anyone** insulted Mary]]]
 b. * John forgot **anything**.

c. John didn't remember **anything**.

In (49b), the API *anything* is closer to its trigger *forgot* than in (49a), yet it is ungrammatical. This, she argues, is because certain constructions, including *yes/no* questions, conditionals, adversative predicates, comparatives, relative clauses with universal quantifiers as heads, and *too*-constructions license APIs indirectly by selecting a polarity operator in spec CP.

Progovac argues that APIs are like anaphors that cannot refer to anything on their own, but must be c-commanded and bound in their local clause by an element that introduces a non-upward-entailing context. So, either overt negation or a covert polarity operator generated in the CP layer can license an API in the same clause in her analysis. A covert non-upward-entailing operator licenses a polarity operator, which itself licenses APIs. The polarity operator “represents a switch with a +/- choice, the minus value being responsible for NPI licensing... [it is] a reflection of an indeterminate truth value status of the clause it heads” (p. 163). In other words, it is a nonveridical operator.

Progovac's analysis also explains why only clausal complements to these types of constructions (*yes/no* questions, relative clauses with universal quantifiers as heads, etc.) license APIs:

- (50) a. Every man [_{CP} who owns **a single gun**] must report to the police station.
 b. % Every man [_{PP} with **a single gun**] must report to the police station.

In (50b), there is no CP layer thus no place for a polarity operator which would license the API *a single gun*.

A similar syntactic proposal in some ways to Progovac's is Laka (1990). For Laka, negation is not its own syntactic category, but part of the abstract functional projection Σ which also encompasses emphatic affirmation ('I *did* clean my room!'), *so* when denying a negation ('I did *so* clean my room!'), and the particle *ba* in Basque that is roughly analogous to *so*. These are, under Laka's analysis, heads of ΣP , a category that relates to the truth value of the clause.

Laka also discusses biclausal cases similar to those in (49) above, where a 'negative' verb

like *doubt* licenses an API only in a clausal complement, not in the same clause:

- (51) a. The witnesses denied [that **anybody** left the room before dinner].
 b. *The witnesses denied **anything**.

(pp. 172-173)

Laka, and also Uribe-Echevarria (1994), noticed that some languages have distinct complementizers for embedded clauses whose truth is not entailed, and that polarity items are licensed only under these ‘negative’ complementizers. Laka proposes that adversative predicates like *deny* can select a negative complementizer which licenses APIs in subordinate clauses. The negative complementizer is such that the clause it heads must be interpreted in the scope of the negative element in the matrix clause. If these predicates are present but they do not have a clausal complement with this negative C, APIs are not licensed, as in (51b).

Additional evidence for her negative C comes from the Basque complementizer *enik*, which appears in direct object complement clauses. *Enik* licenses APIs, while the declarative complementizer *ela* does not. Either *ela* or *enik* can be selected by the adversative predicate *ez du sinisten* ‘has not believed’, although there is a difference in truth conditions of the embedded clause. Under *ela*, the truth of the embedded clause is entailed, while the truth is not entailed under *enik*). Example (52a) shows that the API *ezerk* is not licensed under declarative *ela* in the embedded clause, but in (52b) *ezerk* is licensed under the negative complementizer *enik*.

- (52) a. * Iñigok ez du sinisten [**ezerk** eztanda egingo du-ela] **Basque**
 Iñigo no has believed anything explode do will-COMP.DECL
 ‘Iñigo does not believe that anything will explode’
 b. Iñigok ez du sinisten [**ezerk** eztanda egingo du-enik]
 Iñigo no has believed anything explode do will-COMP.NEG
 ‘Iñigo does not believe that anything will explode’ (p. 217, ex. 53, bolding mine)

Laka also points out that subject APIs in English are licensed in complements to adversative predicates, while they are not licensed in sentences with clause-mate negation:

- (53) a. * $[_{TP}$ **Anybody** $[_T$ didn't leave]]
 b. I doubt $[_{CP}$ that $_{NEG}$ $[_{TP}$ **anybody** left]] (p. 193)

In fact, even when the clausal complement to the adversative predicate is moved so that it no longer c-commands the API, the subject API is licit:

- (54) $[_{CP}$ that $_{NEG}$ $[_{TP}$ **anybody** left the room before dinner]] $_g$ was denied t_g by the witnesses

This is additional evidence that a negative C is responsible for licensing APIs in complements to adversative predicates. The adversative predicate itself is not the licenser; if it were, example (54) should be ungrammatical because *anybody* is no longer c-commanded by the adversative predicate *deny*. If, however, it is an element in the CP layer of the clause embedded under the adversative predicate that licenses the API, the grammaticality of (54) is explained. Laka argues based on this evidence that it is surface-structure c-command by a licenser (the licenser c-commands the overt/PF-realized member of a chain) such as clause-mate negation or a negative C, and not semantic scope of a licenser, that explains the distribution of APIs. Sentential negation takes scope over the whole TP, so if it were purely semantic scope that licensed APIs, (53a) should be licit, as also pointed out by Ladusaw (1980). Furthermore, APIs cannot reconstruct to their pre-movement location; if they could, we would also expect subject APIs to be licit in sentences like (53a), since subjects originate in vP, in the c-command domain of negation in NegP in English.

I will follow Progovac (1993, 1988), and the spirit of Laka (1990): I assume that the syntactic licenser of an API in *yes/no* questions, conditionals, clauses embedded under adversative predicates, comparatives, relative clauses headed by universal quantifiers, and *too*-constructions is a nonveridical polarity operator in the CP layer. Clause-mate negation and other items such as the negative preposition *without* can license APIs directly in their local c-command domain.

Other syntactic proposals have followed the tradition of Progovac (1993, 1988), and Laka (1990) in arguing that negation or CP-layer elements license polarity items. An Agree-based

account of polarity item licensing is Biberauer & Roberts (2011). They build on Roberts & Roussou (2003) to give a proposal for licensing of API and positive polarity item (PPI), and negative indefinites that also addresses Ladusaw's licensee-marking question (what exactly it is about APIs that differs from their non-API brethren). They take insights from semantic proposals of polarity sensitivity such as Kadmon & Landman (1993), Giannakidou (1998, 2001), Horn (2005) that link polarity items' limited distribution to their lexical semantics. I will explain the proposal of Giannakidou (1998, 2011) that argues that APIs have a restricted distribution because are referentially deficient indefinites before providing an overview of Biberauer and Roberts' (2011) proposal for the syntactic licensing of APIs.

Giannakidou (1998, 2011) argues that (at least some) APIs, like *any*, are referentially deficient indefinites that can only take narrow scope with regard to quantifiers or negation, and can thus never be specific, or pick out actual referents, like wide-scope indefinites can. She gives the following as an example, using the Greek API *kanenan* 'anybody'. The referentially deficient indefinite is represented as x_d .

(55) $\llbracket \text{kanenas} \rrbracket = \text{person}(x_d)$

(56) a. *Idha **kanenan**.
saw.1sg anybody
'I saw anybody'

Greek

b. Dhen idha **kanenan**.
not saw.1sg anybody
'I didn't see anybody'

(57) a. $\llbracket \exists x_d \text{ person}(x_d) \wedge \text{saw}(I, x_d) \rrbracket g = \text{undefined}$

b. $\llbracket \neg \exists_d [\text{person}(x_d) \wedge \text{saw}(I, x_d)] \rrbracket g = 1$ iff no value a assigned to x_d by g is such that a is a person in c and I saw a . (Giannakidou 2011: 31; translations mine)

Example (56a) shows that *kanenan* is not possible in a veridical past tense clause. The truth value of (56a) given in (57a) is undefined because x_d has wide scope with respect to negation. A discourse referent would need to be introduced in such a context, but x_d cannot do so.

APIs like this one cannot be closed under existential closure (following Heim, 1982); that is, they cannot receive a value from the context they are in. They are therefore dependent on being in the scope of a nonveridical operator such as negation, where they are not required to introduce an actual referent. If the API *kanenan* is in the scope of negation as in (56a), this requirement is met.

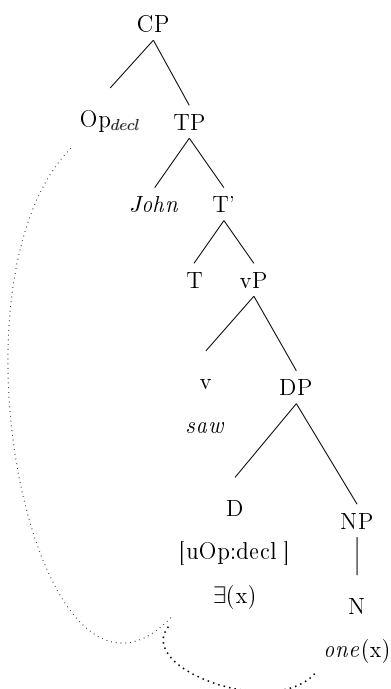
Biberauer & Roberts (2011), like Giannakidou (1998, 2011), follow the tradition of Kamp (1981) and Heim (1982), and assume that ‘weak’ quantifiers such as API *any* in (59) and positive polarity item *some* in (58) are referentially deficient indefinite Ds.

(58) John saw **someone**.

(59) Did John see **anyone**? (Biberauer & Roberts 2011: 32)

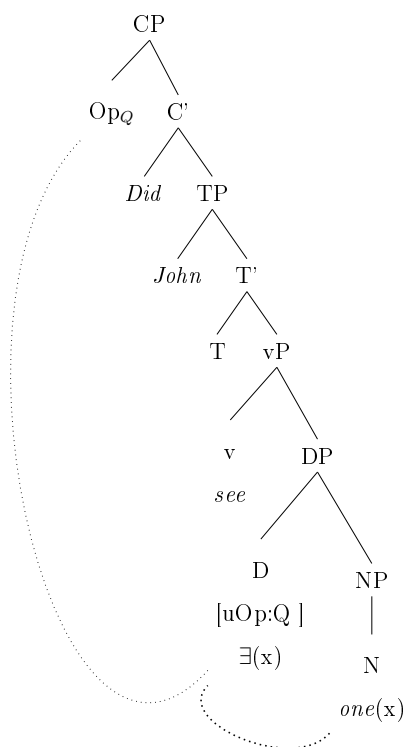
They do not have quantificational force of their own but must receive it by Agree with an operator in the C/T phase in order for the DP to be interpreted. In their analysis, these Ds are goals with interpretable features, and the “inherently active” (p. 33) operator is the probe (unlike Zeijlstra-like analyses of NC and API licensing, where the indefinite is the probe and the operator is the goal). The derivation for (58) proceeds as follows. A veridical operator with [declarative] Agrees with the D *some* and values its interpretable, unvalued operator features as declarative. This is shown in (60).

(60) John saw someone



This gives *some* existential quantificational force (D has the interpretation of an existential quantifier), and allows it to bind its complement N *one*. The existence of *one* is entailed. *Some* requires a veridical operator, but APIs and NPIs differ from other indefinites in that they can only be bound by nonveridical operators. Example (59) has a derivation as in (61). A Q-operator in C probes and Agrees with *any*, valuing its unvalued operator feature. Other nonveridical operators can also be probes for *any* of course, including negation, comparative operators. D is also interpreted as an existential quantifier, but because it is in the scope of a nonveridical operator, the existence of the individuals in N is not entailed.

(61) Did John see anyone?



In an extensive typological study and analysis of variation in the expression of negative concord (NC) and negation, Zeijlstra (2004) examines the puzzle of how to account for sentences where multiple negative elements contribute a single semantic negation such as in the example below, repeated from (44).

(62) **Non** ha telefonato a **nessuno**

Not has called to n-body

'He hasn't called anybody' (Zeijlstra 2004: 3)

Italian

Both *non* and *nessuno* are negative elements but there is only a single semantic negation. In other languages like Dutch and many varieties of English, each negative item contributes a separate semantic negation. Two negative items in a clause result in double negation and an affirmative meaning, as demonstrated in the example below.

(63) Jan heeft **niet niemand** gebeld

Jan has neg n-body called

Dutch

‘Jan didn’t call nobody’ = ‘Jan called somebody’ (Zeijlstra 2004: 3)

Zeijlstra demonstrates that there are many types of NC and provides analyses for them; I will not list them all here but will give his analysis of (62). He argues that the negative marker *non* has an [iNEG] feature and is the overt realization of a negative operator, while n-indefinites like *nessuno* always have [uNEG] which they must value by agree with a negative operator such as *non*. This is shown in the following example.

(64) [_{NegP} [_{Neg} **non**_[iNEG]] [_{vP} ha telefonato a **nessuno**_[uNEG]]] (p. 258)

For Zeijlstra, unlike Roberts & Roussou (2003) and (Biberauer & Roberts 2011), it is the n-indefinite that is the Probe, and a negative operator is the Goal. He equates negative concord to any other kind of syntactic agreement where a single feature is spelled out in multiple places, like subject/verb agreement or adjective/noun gender agreement. He argues that languages without NC, like Dutch and many varieties of English, have ‘semantic negation’, where “every negative element corresponds 1:1 to a negative operator”, while NC languages have ‘syntactic negation’, where “negative elements mark the presence of a (c)overt negative operator” (Zeijlstra 2004: 244).

For Zeijlstra APIs like *any* do not require agreement with a licenser; instead unlicensed APIs are simply semantically infelicitous, not ungrammatical. This is to explain why APIs always require a nonveridical trigger, but cannot contribute semantic negation. Zeijlstra himself (2007: 514) admits that treating n-indefinites and APIs differently is not unproblematic however: “parallels between n-words and NPIs are again in need of explanation . . . In these cases [examples (65) and (66)], Zeijlstra is forced to assume that words like *dudo* (doubt) and *sin* (without) also carry a feature [iNEG] although they are no [*sic*] real negations.”

(65) Dudo que vayan a encontrar **nada** **Spanish**
 Doubt that go to find n-thing
 ‘I doubt that they will find anything’

(66) Sin **nadie**
 Without n-body
 ‘Without anybody’ (p. 514, ex. 32)

In fact, as Laka (1990) shows, Spanish n-indefinites appear in several other nonveridical, API-licensing contexts that are even less ‘negative’, for example in the restriction of universal quantifiers:

- (67) En esta reuniòn, todo aquel que tenga **nada** que decir tendrà ocasiòn de hablar.
 ‘In this meeting, everyone who has anything to say will have a chance to talk.’ (p. 113)

The distribution of n-indefinites follow similar patterns in Italian (polar questions and comparatives) and Catalan (hypotheticals and restriction of universal quantifiers) (Giannakidou & Zeijlstra 2017, citing Quer 1993 and Vallduvì for Catalan, Zanuttini 1991 for Italian). N-indefinites in these ‘weak API’ contexts—the same contexts that Progovac (1993, 1988) argued host a polarity operator that licenses APIs—are in need of an explanation in Zeijlstra’s approach.

Merchant (2013), like Biberauer & Roberts (2011) but unlike Zeijlstra (2004), argues that at least some APIs do undergo syntactic agreement with a licenser. His analysis is similar in some ways to that of Biberauer & Roberts (2011), discussed above. He also argues that the non-API *some* and API *any* are identical indefinites before feature valuation. Both analyses argue that they have unvalued polarity features of some kind that are valued as positive/veridical or negative/nonveridical through Agree with an operator. For Biberauer and Roberts, the indefinite has interpretable, unvalued features and is therefore a goal and not a probe; Merchant argues instead that polarity items are probes with uninterpretable features. Biberauer and Roberts focus more on deriving the interpretation of *some* and *any*, which they argue are weak quantifiers, while Merchant’s analysis focuses on evidence from ellipsis of constituents containing *some* and *any*.

Merchant considers the following data (from Sag 1976: 157f., and Bresnan 1971):

- (68) a. John didn't see **anyone**, but Mary did [see someone].
 b. ... *but Mary did see **anyone**.
 c. $\exists x.$ see(Mary, x)
- (69) a. John saw someone, but Mary didn't [see **anyone**].
 b. \neq ... but Mary didn't see someone.
 c. $\neg \exists x.$ see(Mary, x) (Merchant 2013: 8, bolding mine)

In (68a), the indefinite in the elided VP is not equivalent (on the surface) to the antecedent API *anyone*, which would in fact be ungrammatical, as (68b) shows, but must be *someone*. In (69a) the opposite pattern occurs: the indefinite in the elided VP which is c-commanded by negation must surface as the API *anyone* (while (69b) is possible, the semantics would be different; the scope of negation would be narrow wrt the existential quantifier).

Merchant shows that because of the syntactic identity condition on ellipsis, which states that elided material must be syntactically and semantically identical to its antecedent, these NPIs or APIs must be syntactically and semantically identical to their non-polarity sensitive indefinite counterparts. That is, “polarity items in some instances should be analyzed as particular structure-dependent realizations of their non-polarity sensitive brethren” (p. 441). He builds on Klima (1964: 280), who also provides spell-out rules for the quantifiers *any*, *some*, and *no* that focus on their similarities. Merchant proposes that *anyone* and *someone* here are identical before feature valuation. He uses a Distributed Morphology approach, in which (at least some parts) of morphology are determined by the syntactic environment in which the lexical item in question is found, and by what kind of item it Agrees with (what value its uninterpretable features receive). Polarity items and their non-polarity item counterparts are therefore similar to verbal inflection, for example, which in some languages varies according to the clausal subject's person features ($T_{[present]}; [U\text{person}:1\text{sg}] \rightarrow \emptyset$; $T_{[present]}; [U\text{person}:3\text{sg}] \rightarrow /s/$). *Any* and *some* are indefinites, and are D heads with an unvalued polarity feature [Pol]. Morphological spellout rules which map the feature bundles from the

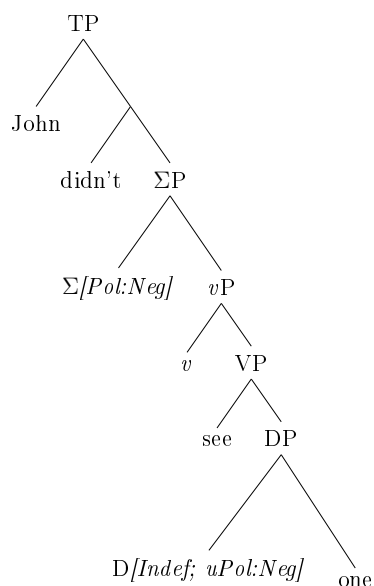
syntax (on the left of the arrow) to the morphological realizations (on the right of the arrow) are the following:

(70) a. [Cat[D, Indef]; Infl[Pol:Neg]] → *any*

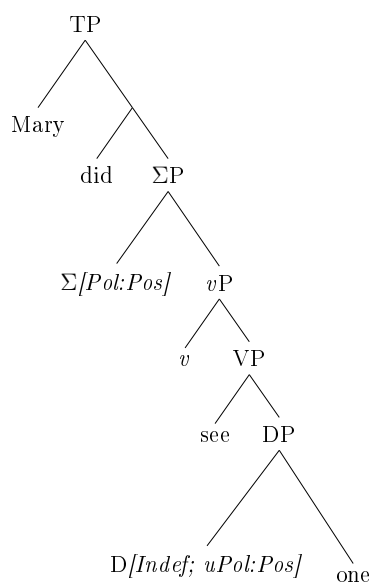
b. [Cat[D, Indef]; Infl[Pol:Pos]] → *some* (Merchant 2013: 442)

When [uPol] is valued as negative from a c-commanding nonveridical licenser such as negation (in the spirit, he says, of Giannakidou 2000, 2007), lexical insertion rules insert *any*; [uPol] valued as positive is realized as *some*. The result of this process combines with *one*, the complement of DP, to produce *anyone* or *someone*. The trees below illustrate:

(71) John didn't see anyone.



(72) Mary did see someone.



Merchant briefly mentions that the same analysis should be applied to other API/non-API twins like *ever*/*(at least) once* and *yet/already*. He does not discuss API-licensing contexts other than the scope of negation, but he points out that [Pol:Neg] is a misnomer, as *any* and other APIs occur in nonveridical contexts that are not negative but that must also contain a ‘negative’ Σ.

Collins & Postal (2014, 2017) is a different approach to the syntax of polarity items from the ones discussed so far. I will not adopt their approach as it does not represent the consensus view on how to account for the syntactic and semantic properties of APIs, but I include it for the sake of completeness and to highlight a type of proposal in which what appears to be a single polarity item is given two separate structures. Unlike the majority view on APIs in which they have the same structure in all environments and are not inherently negative, Collins & Postal (2014) propose that there are two different structures for APIs in English. In Collins & Postal (2017), they extend this analysis to Serbian/Croatian (SC) APIs.

Collins & Postal (2014) propose the following two structures of APIs: a unary NEG structure (strong, strict NPIs) and a binary NEG structure (weak, non-strict NPIs). English *any* and *ever* can have either structure, depending on the context. Unlike most analyses

of sentential negation, Collins and Postal assume that syntactic negation is represented by NEG, which can modify various categories, including AdjP, NP, or D. They do not adopt the standard analysis of sentential negation being represented by Neg, with its own NegP projection. They assume that NEG can raise from its original position, but that it is always interpreted in its base position. They propose that APIs begin in a construction with one or two syntactic negations, depending on the type of API, unary or binary. The two types are shown in the example below.

- (73) Two types of APIs
- a. [NEG X] unary NEG APIs
 - b. [NEG [NEG X]] binary NEG APIs (p. 341)

Examples of unary negation include the following.

- (74)
- a. I didn't advocate any proposal.
 - b. No linguist accepted any proposal.
 - c. Elissa doesn't do anything on Sunday.
 - d. Elissa doesn't go anywhere on Sunday.

Collins and Postal propose that the APIs in (74) have the structure and interpretation of negative existential quantifier DPs, as in (75).

- (75)
- a. I advocated no proposal. $\neg\exists x$ [proposal(x) \wedge advocate (I,x)]
 - b. I didn't advocate any proposal. $\neg\exists x$ [proposal(x) \wedge advocate (I,x)]

No proposal and *any proposal* therefore have the same structure, [[NEG SOME] proposal]. The difference between the two, according to Collins and Postal, is as follows. In (75a), SOME is phonologically null and NEG is realized as *no*. In (75b), NEG instead raises to a higher position, where it is pronounced as *not*, and SOME is realized as *any*. The derivation of (75b) is shown below.

- (76) I did NEG₁ advocate [[<NEG₁> SOME] proposal]

<NEG₁> originates as a sister of SOME, where it is interpreted, but it is pronounced in its higher, moved position. NEG and SOME have different phonological realizations depending on their context; <NEG> is never pronounced.

The second type of structure of APIs in Collins and Postal’s (2014) proposal is a binary negation structure. This type occurs in ‘weak’ API contexts, such as polar questions, hypotheticals with *if*, in the restriction of relative clauses headed by *every*, and phrases consisting of *only* + DP. These are all API contexts that are non-negative. An example is given below.

(77) If he accepted any proposal, he was mistaken.

Collins and Postal point out that no overt instantiation of NEG is present, and that the interpretation *any proposal* is not negative, but is akin to SOME proposal. They propose that there are two instances of NEG which cancel each other, as in (78).

(78) If you see [[<NEG₁> [<NEG₂> SOME]] proposal], tell me.

The authors propose that the two NEGs are not pronounced because they are deleted. NEG₁ deletes NEG₂, and a “NEG deleter” deletes NEG₁. The second deletion occurs between NEG and certain phrases such as the conditional complementizer in *if*-clauses and the universal quantifier *every*.

Collins & Postal (2017), using the framework established in Collins & Postal (2014), provide an explanation for the well-known asymmetry in subject licensing of *no*-DPs and *any*-DPs, demonstrated in (79).

- (79) a. Nobody showed up.
 b. *Anybody didn’t show up.

They postulate a Remnant Raising Condition, in which traces cannot c-command overt copies of NEG. The subject in (79b) includes an overt copy of NEG, [_{DP} [_D NEG SOME] [body]]. This NEG does not raise out of DP before DP moves to the specifier of TP. In (76), however, NEG raises out of DP to the position following the auxiliary *did*, where it is pronounced. It leaves an unpronounced trace, [_{DP} [_D <NEG> SOME] [body]], similarly to

the derivation in (76). When the remnant DP *anybody* containing the trace of NEG moves to the specifier of TP, the remnant DP and trace of NEG c-command *n't*, an overt copy of NEG. This violates the Remnant Raising Condition, rendering (79b) ungrammatical.

Collins & Postal (2014) give several arguments in favor of their framework for APIs. I will not review them all here in the interest of space, but I will summarize their argument that is based on Horn clauses. Horn clauses are similar to clauses with negative inversion where a constituent containing a negative element is fronted, shown in (80a). The fronted constituent in Horn clauses contains an API, not a negative element. An example of a Horn clause is (80b). Negative inversion appears to be possible therefore in contexts where Collins and Postal propose that there is unary negation.

- (80) a. Under no conditions would she move to Alaska.
 b. They didn't believe that under any conditions would she move to Alaska.

Horn clauses are not possible in NEG deleter environments, however, as shown in (81).

- (81) *If you believe that any application did she reject, you are mistaken.

Collins and Postal propose that only negative phrases are possible participants in negative inversion. The unary negation structure in (80b) contains has the structure [NEG SOME NP]. The NEG is covert because it has raised into the matrix clause, where it is pronounced as *n't*, but it is nonetheless syntactically present in the fronted structure. In the binary negation structure in (81), the NEGs are deleted and so cannot trigger negative inversion.

I adopt a more mainstream approach to polarity item licensing based on Merchant (2013) and Biberauer & Roberts (2011). I assume that polarity items and their non-polarity-item counterparts have uninterpretable, unvalued veridicality features, and that they must be licensed by Agree with an operator of some kind. Polarity items require a nonveridical operator, such as negation or other negative-like item (e.g., *without*, *hardly*, etc.) in the same clause, or a nonveridical operator in the CP layer. Based on the evidence from Progovac (1993, 1988), Laka (1990) discussed earlier in this section, in API-licensing environments such as polar questions, comparatives, clausal complements of adversative predicates, etc.

the licenser must be in the CP layer of the clause containing the API. The licenser, a nonveridical operator, has features ([ver:nonver]) that value the features of a polarity item as [uVer:nonver].

1.4.2 Diachronic changes in negation and polarity sensitivity

There is a vast body of work on diachronic changes in negation, and a bit less on changes in polarity sensitivity; I give a brief overview of both. Penka & Zeijlstra (2010: 772) remark that “for a full understanding of negation and polarity, diachronic development has to be taken into account.” The development of negative markers (elements that introduce sentential negation) and negative indefinites from non-negative lexical items or phrases has received quite a bit of attention since at least Jespersen (1917). An example of a negative indefinite that has been argued to originate from a non-specific noun is *rien* ‘nothing, (not) anything’ from French. It was a non-specific noun (82); later it was an affective polarity item restricted to nonveridical contexts (83); in present day French it is a negative indefinite with negative interpretation (84).

(82) *Rien* as a non-specific noun

[...] se prist a porpenser [...] Quele **rien** li fust miez a
 REFL-3PS took to think what thing him-DAT be-PST better to
 faire [...].

do-INF

‘Then he started to think what thing was better to do.’

(Dial. Greg., circa 1212, 14vb; *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*) (Larrivée 2011: 6)

(83) *Rien* as an affective polarity item

[...] **rien** n’estoit espergnè en tel cas [...].
 anything NEG.be.IMP spared in such case

‘Not anything was spared in this case.’

(C.N.N., circa 1456–1467, 198; DMF2009) (Larrivée 2011: 7)

(84) *Rien* as a negative indefinite

Rien arrive par hasard.

‘Nothing happens by chance.’

(<http://roxylive.skyrock.com/>, 2010) (Larrivée 2011: 7)

Negative markers developing from indefinite nouns has also been argued to be a trend, although there is less direct empirical evidence of the indefinite noun > polarity item > negative marker cycle so arguments have mainly relied on reconstruction (**larrivee**). An example, again from the history of French, is the following :

(85) Il ne marche pas
 he NEG walk.3pSg step
 ‘He doesn’t walk by so much as by one step’ **Present day French with reconstruction of Early French translation**
 (**larrivee**, citing Meillet 1912).

(86) he NEG walk.3pSg at all
 ‘He doesn’t walk at all’ **Reconstruction of Old French gloss and translation**
 (Larrivée 2011: 11)

(87) he NEG walk.3pSg NEG
 ‘He doesn’t walk’ **Present day French gloss and translation**
 (Larrivée 2011: 11)

If this direction of change is correct, the development of negative markers is a typical example of grammaticalization, with a lexical item becoming functional.

There is however robust cross-linguistic evidence for the Jespersen Cycle, in which negative markers weaken over time; are then strengthened by another element in the clause; and are replaced by the new element (Old French *Jeo ne di* ‘I not say’ > Modern Standard French *Je ne dis pas* ‘I not say not’ > Modern colloquial French *Je dis pas* ‘I say not’). It is generally accepted that changes in negative systems tend to move in the direction of less > more ‘negative’; changes in the opposite direction are less common. Changes in polarity sensitivity are, as mentioned, less well-studied, but it is generally accepted, or at least implied, that development of polarity sensitivity is more common than the loss thereof. There

is nevertheless a small debate surrounding just how common the change from more to less ‘negative’ is (for example, Jäger 2010, Biberauer & Roberts 2010, Willis 2011), and how to account for this theoretically. This will also be explored in this section.

Jespersen (1917) is often cited as being the first to notice what is now commonly called the ‘Negative Cycle’ or ‘Jespersen Cycle’: “The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word” (p. 4). He notes that the ‘negative adverb’ (negative marker) often loses stress, as another word comes to be stressed instead. Jespersen gives many examples of negative cycles, mainly from English, Latin, French, and Danish. In (88a), a preverbal negation *ne* becomes strengthened by *oenum* ‘one thing’ and eventually fuses and becomes the new negative marker *non*, as in (88b). This is one negative cycle. In Old French, the cycle begins again: Latin *non* weakens to *ne*, shown in (88c); the lexical item *pas* ‘step’ (or other minimizers like *mie* ‘crumb’, *point* ‘point’) is added to strengthen the usual negation, eventually grammaticalizing into negation proper (88d). In colloquial French (88e), the preverbal negation is often dropped, so there is once again a single negation, which may some day be strengthened by another word that becomes obligatory, starting the cycle anew.

- (88) a. **ne** dico **Latin**
 NEG say.1sg
 ‘I do not say’
- b. **non** dico **Latin | Cycle 1**
 NEG say.1sg
- c. Jeo **ne** di **Old French**
 I NEG say
- d. Je **ne** dis **pas** **Modern Standard French**
 I NEG say NEG
- e. Je dis **pas** **Modern Colloquial French | Cycle 2**
 I say NEG

(examples from Jespersen 1917: 7; glosses and translations mine)

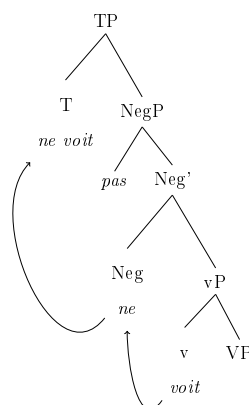
Jespersen points out that, before it became a negative marker, *pas* could only be used with verbs of motion, but that changed as it began to be associated with negation (i.e., as it grammaticalized). To summarize, there are three stages in the negative cycle:

- I. single preverbal negation >
- II. single preverbal negation + negative adverb to strengthen >
- III. preverbal element lost; negative adverb is the only negation

Linguists have since found numerous examples of the Jespersen Cycle in languages from widely different language families and have proposed analyses to account for the Cycle. van Gelderen (2011) for example argues that there are two sources for negative markers: indefinites (which Jespersen's Cycle describes) and verbal heads (citing Givón 1976: 89). She says that the negative cycle "may be one of the most pervasive of cyclical changes" (p. 292). She assumes that negative phrases (NegP) can house a phrasal negative marker in their specifiers; the head may be null or house another negative marker or negative verb that forms a single negation with the negative marker in the specifier of NegP. Grammaticalization of phrasal negative markers in Spec NegP can occur when the specifier is reanalyzed as the head of NegP. I focus on the indefinite negative cycle here.

Following Pollock (1989) and Ouhalla (1990), among others, van Gelderen assumes that Modern Standard French NegP has something like the following structure for the sentence in (88d) (tree my own):

(89) Il ne voit pas.



Ne is the head of NegP, which cliticizes to the main verb as it moves to T, while *pas* is an adverbial in the specifier of NegP that remains in place. To illustrate van Gelderen’s negative cycle analysis, I apply it to the Jespersen Cycle in French, using examples (88c) through (88e) above. In older French, *ne* was the main negator and had interpretable negative features, shown in (90). *Pas*, originally an adverbial minimizer meaning ‘step’, was merged in spec NegP to intensify the negation (‘not one step’). At that point it had semantic features, which later became reanalyzed as interpretable formal features with which the head of NegP *ne* (reanalyzed as having [uNeg] features, thus a probe) needed to Agree. This is shown in (91). In informal spoken French, *ne* has almost disappeared, and *pas* is now the head of NegP with interpretable features, as in (92). If another adverbial is reanalyzed as having interpretable features with which *pas* Agrees, and *pas* is therefore reanalyzed as having uninterpretable features, the cycle will continue.

(90) *Ne* is a head (NegP) with [iNeg]

Jeo **ne** di
 I NEG say
 ‘I do not say’

Old French

(91) [iNeg] of head (NegP) becomes [uNeg]; then head weakens, becomes affix with [uNeg]; argument *pas* ‘step’ with semantic features reinforces main negation; over time semantic features become interpretable, Agree with [uNeg] of *ne*; *pas* in Spec NegP

Je **ne** dis **pas**
 I NEG say NEG

Modern French

(92) *Ne* disappears; *pas* becomes main negation, head of NegP, with [iNeg]

Je dis pas
I say NEG

Colloquial French

To summarize:

(93) Steps in the negative cycle of French

a. *ne*

Step 1) head of NegP, [iNeg]

Step 2) head of NegP, [uNeg]

Step 3) \emptyset

b. *pas*

Step 1) adverbial, semantic features

Step 2) spec of NegP, [iNeg]

Step 3) head of NegP, [iNeg] (colloquial French)

Potential step 4) head of NegP, [uNeg]

Roberts & Roussou (2003) propose an analysis of the development of negative indefinites (n-indefinites) from API indefinites and non-polarity sensitive nouns using their theory of grammaticalization as involving loss of movement and features, triggered by loss of morphology. They discuss, among others, French and English indefinites (including *any*). Relying on elements of Déprez (1997, 1999, 2000), Roberts & Roussou argue that the Old French counterparts of Modern French n-indefinites or negative markers (NMs) are API indefinites or non-polarity sensitive nouns in Old French (OF), but always introduce negation or participate in negative concord in Modern French (MF), including *pas* OF ‘step’/MF ‘not’; *nul* OF ‘any’/MF ‘no’; *plus* OF ‘more’/MF ‘(no) more’; and *personne* OF ‘person’/MF ‘no one’ (*plus* and *nul* passing through a stage of negative polarity-hood). These indefinites have existential quantificational force (or are a scalar quantifier in the case of *plus*) in older French and are scopally ambiguous with respect to negation: they can be interpreted as scoping

over or under it.

The examples below show *personne* as an indefinite noun ‘person’ in Older French (94) and an n-indefinite ‘no-one, (not) anyone’ in Modern French (95) as an illustration of the changes they propose.

(94) *Personne* as noun ‘person’

Je ne connais personne si heureu-se qu’elle. **Older French**
 I NEG know person(sgf) so happy-sgf than.her
 ‘I don’t know a person as happy as her.’ (Vaugelas, Déprez, 1997, p. 54, in (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 147))

(95) *Personne* as n-indefinite

Il n’y avait personne d’heureux. **Modern French**
 There NEG-there was person *de*-happy
 ‘There wasn’t anyone happy there.’

(adapted from Roberts & Roussou 2003: 148)

Roberts and Roussou argue that *personne* had a positive reading in older French, although it seems that it may already have been restricted to negative contexts based on (94). In any case, *personne* in (94) is a noun and not yet a quantifier, they argue, because it could be modified by an adjective; it has phi-features, evidenced by the fact that the the adjective *heureuse* agrees in gender with it; and it has descriptive content, $\lambda x(\text{person}(x))$ (p. 150). The n-indefinite in (95) in Modern French, on the other hand, cannot be directly modified by an adjective, but requires *de* between the item and the adjective, like other quantificational items in French. Adjectives never agree in phi features with the Modern French n-indefinites, as shown: *heureux* has default masculine agreement in (?). Instead of having semantic content, *personne* is the restriction on a quantifier: $\text{person}(x)$ (p. 150).

Roberts & Roussou (2003) follow Déprez (1997, 1999, 2000), who proposes that indefinites became polarity items or n-indefinites when determiners became obligatory in French. They argue that the nouns were reanalyzed as quantificational items that were merged directly in Num instead of moving from N to Num. They assume that DPs are made up of D, Num, and N (in that order). As shown in (96), French (older varieties and Modern

French) nouns are merged in N and move to Num (following Longobardi 2001, and motivated by the fact that adjectives follow nouns in French). Example (97) shows that n-words Merge directly in Num and can take a *de* phrase containing an adjective as complement (Roberts & Roussou do not give an analysis of the *de* phrase as complement to quantifiers but refer the reader to Kayne 1994).

- (96) [_{DP} D *Une* [_{NumP} Num *personne*_[ϕ:fem,sing;uNum] [_{nP} n [_{AP} Adj *heureuse*_[uphi:fem,sing]]]]
 [_{NP} N *t**personne*]

Une personne heureuse

A person happy.fem.sg

‘A happy person’ (adapted from Roberts & Roussou 2003: 149)

- (97) [_{DP} D [_{NumP} Num *personne* [*d’heureux*]]]

Personne d’heureux

no-one *de*-happy

To explain how these nouns lost N-to-Num movement, Roberts & Roussou propose the following. They follow the analysis of Déprez (1999), who noted that in Modern French, DPs almost always require an overt article (98), while in older French many types of DP (singular mass nouns, plurals) occurred with a null D (99).

- (98) Jean a mangé *(des) pommes) **Modern French**
 Jean has eaten (some) apples
 ‘John has not eaten (any) apples.’ (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 149)

- (99) Si mengierent **pain** et burent **cervoise** **Old French** ‘So they ate bread and
 so they-ate bread and drank beer
 drank beer’ (*Gr.* 129, 1-3; Foulet 1990: 62, cited in Roberts & Roussou 2003: 150)

Roberts & Roussou argue that the change of certain items from nouns to n-indefinites is related to the loss of null indefinite Ds in French: overt indefinite articles *un*, *une*, *des*, *les* in D develop, as in (98). Ds in Modern French must always be overt if they are to select nouns that are referential (they cite Longobardi 1994b, 2001b, who argues that Ds give nouns referentiality). The only null Ds that survive when overt Ds in French become obligatory are

those that are not interpreted as referential, for example as a type of polarity item. Certain OF nouns like *personne*, etc. were therefore reanalyzed as being part of negative quantifiers, and as being merged directly in Num, losing N-to-Num movement. This change for these French indefinites is computationally simpler: no movement, N features, or phi features, as can be seen in comparing (96) to (97). Regarding the reanalysis of these indefinites as negative, they propose that n-indefinites are ‘weak’ quantifiers like Biberauer & Roberts (2011) propose for APIs (discussed above). They explain: “the DPs whose NP these words originally headed lost their independent quantificational force and so had to become part of an Agree relation involving the Negative feature [with a negative operator], leading to these elements taking on negative meaning” (p. 137).

Roberts & Roussou discuss French *plus* ‘(no) more’ as well, which came from an indefinite scalar quantifier meaning ‘more’, and (as mentioned earlier) was an API before becoming a negative indefinite in later French:

(100) je n’ai or **plus** d’argent **Older French**

‘I haven’t got any more money’ (vs. MF ‘I haven’t got any money’)

(Le jeu de la Feuillée 554, Foulet, p. 252, in Roberts & Roussou 2003: 147)

In Modern French, as noted in the example, Roberts & Roussou say that this *plus* has lost its ‘more’ meaning. They do not go into detail about the development of polarity sensitivity for n-indefinite adverbials like *plus* and *jamais* ‘(n)ever’, but as they were already quantificational, presumably they were already base merged in Num and so did not lose N to Num movement, unlike the nouns like *personne* ‘person’ discussed above.

One indefinite noun, *point*, which survives in Modern French with the meaning ‘point’, became a clausal negator in Roberts & Roussou’s analysis. While I will not review the details of their proposal regarding the reanalysis, I would like to highlight their suggestion that this was able to grammaticalize into a Neg head while other indefinite nouns like *personne* ‘person’ became n-indefinites (‘no-one’) instead because *point*’s semantics were different. Nouns such as *personne* ‘person’ > ‘no-one’ had descriptive content, $\lambda x(\text{thing/person}(x))$, that could be

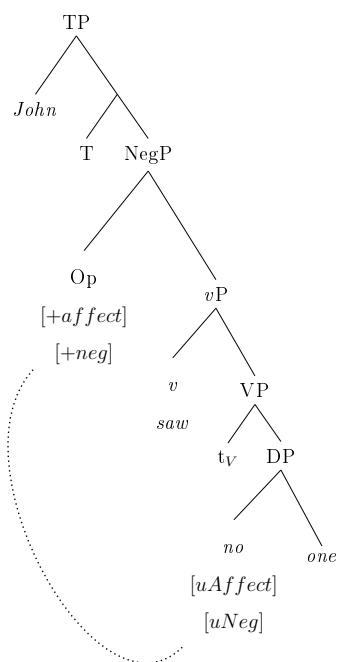
reanalyzed as the restriction of a negative quantifier, thing/person(x). *Point* however did not have such semantic content. A point, Roberts and Roussou note, is the smallest unit on a line in Euclidean geometry. It was a minimizer, meaning something like ‘a bit’, picking out the end of a scale, the smallest unit of measurement. This is a common source of negative markers cross-linguistically.

Jäger (2010), an Optimality Theory-like analysis, proposes that polarity items are indefinites whose polarity sensitivity can change diachronically toward ‘more positive’ or ‘more negative’; that is, change in polarity sensitivity is not unidirectional, unlike what many have argued, and what most studies of negative cycles focus on (change toward more negative). In Jäger’s system, change in polarity sensitivity is due to the loss or introduction of a plus-valued negative and/or affective feature in the lexical entry of the item. She recognizes three types of syntactic contexts, familiar from the literature on polarity sensitivity:

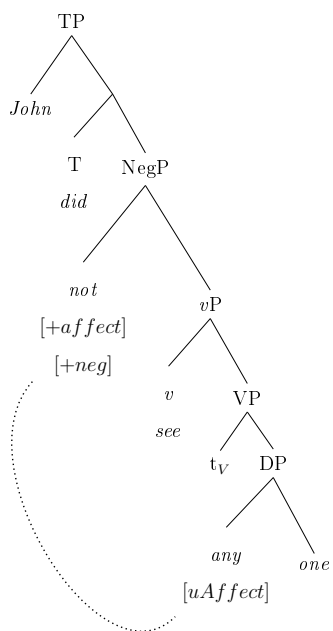
1. The scope of negation (‘strong API contexts’): [+affective, +negative]
2. Weak API contexts (questions, conditionals, etc.): [+ affective, -negative]
3. All other ‘positive’ or affirmative contexts (Positive polarity contexts: affirmative declaratives): [-affective, -negative]

She recognizes three types of indefinite pronoun and adverb, and two uninterpretable features that can be present or absent on them: n-indefinites such as *no*, *nothing* with the features [+affective, +negative], API indefinites such as *any* with [+affective], and ‘normal’ indefinites like *some* (possessing neither feature). Jäger, like others discussed above, argues that polarity/affective and negation features are interpretable on operators and uninterpretable on API indefinites and n-indefinites. This captures the fact that APIs are not semantically ‘affective’, but must be in affective (i.e., nonveridical) contexts. All the indefinites are semantically the same, simply different in formal features. This is illustrated in the trees below.

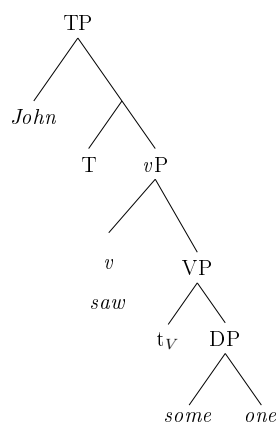
(101) John saw no-one.



(102) John did not see anyone.



(103) John saw someone.



Jäger explains the distribution of the three types of indefinites as follows. She applies the Elsewhere Condition (EC) (Kiparsky 1973): “The existence of a comparable lexical entry more specific to the respective type of context precludes the distributionally less restricted item from occurring.” Positive polarity items (PPIs) are restricted to affirmative contexts because the existence of NPI *any*, which is restricted to affective contexts, prevents *some* from occurring in these affective contexts. To derive the distribution of n-indefinites in negative concord (NC) and non-NC languages, she posits an economy constraint that is present in non-NC languages and excludes n-indefinites under overt negation. In NC languages there is no economy constraint, so the Elsewhere Condition requires n-indefinites in negative contexts.

Jäger focuses mainly on German, but has data from Romance, Slavic, and Celtic languages; Hebrew, Vedic Sanskrit, showing changes in both directions (toward more or less negative) as well as to/from NC, sometimes even within the history of one language. She shows that changes toward more ‘positive’ are less common, but occur nonetheless. Examples of API indefinites becoming ‘normal’ indefinites include the following:

(104) API indefinites > ‘normal’ indefinites

Old High German *ioman* ‘anybody’ > Modern German *jemand* ‘any-/somebody’Old High German *io mer* ‘any/ever more’ > Modern German *immer* ‘always’Dutch *ooit* ‘ever’ > ‘once/at some point’Midlands American English *anymore* ‘anymore’ > ‘nowadays’ (Jäger 2010: 812)

Note that ‘positive’ *anymore* is on this list. For example, Old High German *ioman* ‘anybody’ was an API (105), restricted to nonveridical contexts such as in the scope of negation. The Modern German cognate *jemand* ‘any-/somebody’ is possible as a non-polarity sensitive indefinite in affirmative contexts (106), or in nonveridical ones (107).

(105) (In qua sententia nemo dubitet secundam esse personam.)

In dhesemu quhide ni bluchisoe **eoman**, ni dhiz sii chiuuisso
 in this saying NEG doubt anyone NEG this be certainly. . .
 ‘Nobody shall doubt that in this saying, it is certainly. . .’ (Isidor III: 6; around
 800 AD, cited in Jäger 2010: 799)

(106) Sie hat **jemanden** gesehen.
 she has somebody/anybody seen
 ‘She has seen somebody.’ (Jäger 2010: 802)

(107) Ich glaube nicht, dass sie jemanden gesehen hat.
 I believe NEG that she somebody/anybody seen has
 ‘I don’t believe that she has seen anybody.’

Jäger points out moreover that “temporal NPIs [APIs] form interesting examples for the Janus-headed nature of NPIs [APIs], being able to develop into n-indefinites as in the case of Modern Romance *jamais/mai* from Latin (*iam*) *magis* ‘any/ever more’ . . . or indeed into ‘normal’ indefinites” (p. 812). Dutch *ooit* ‘ever’, for example, was first licensed only in downward-entailing contexts, then came to be licensed in a wider set of contexts that included nonveridical ones, then to veridical ones, meaning ‘once, at some point’ (Jäger cites Hoeksema 1998; Zwarts 1995). A third example that Jäger cites of temporal APIs losing polarity sensitivity is Old High German *io mer* ‘any/ever more’ which becomes Modern German *immer* ‘always’. Unfortunately she does not have examples of these.

The other possible change toward ‘less negative’ is that of negative indefinites (e.g., ‘nothing’) becoming simply APIs (e.g., ‘anything’). Jäger presents data from Slavic, Celtic, and Baltic languages that demonstrate changes from negative indefinites to APIs. For example, in Celtic and Baltic, several API indefinites are said to be from Proto-Indo-European (PIE) **nĕ -k^wo-*, which was a combination of a negative particle and wh-indefinite (she cites

Vendryès 1983) .

(108) PIE ***nĕ -k^wo-** (**neg-particle +wh-indefinite**) >

‘anyone’:

Old Irish *nech*

Cornish/Breton *nep*

Gaelic/Welsh *neb*

‘anything’:

Lithuanian *nekaš*

‘a certain, some’:

Lith. *nekuĩs* (p. 814)

For Jäger, changes toward more ‘negative’ involve the introduction of an uninterpretable [+affective] or [+negative] feature (discussed above); changes toward more ‘positive’ involve the loss thereof. She assumes that language learners cannot acquire these features unless there is robust evidence for their existence, as having a feature is marked (more so than the absence of one). For example, PosA developed when API *anymore*, which has [+affective], was lost because there was not enough evidence for it in the language learner’s input. Examples of negative indefinites becoming APIs, as in example (108) involves the loss of [+negative] features so that items with [+negative], [+affective] are reanalyzed as simply having [+affective]. Changes toward ‘more negative’ occur if a language acquirer’s input includes an item used frequently in the scope of negation or in affective contexts; they could take that as evidence for [+negative] or [+affective]. For example, French negative indefinite *aucun* ‘nothing’ has developed the features [+negative], [+affective] over time: in Classical Latin *aliquis unus* was not allowed in affective contexts (so it was a PPI). Jäger does not have an example from Latin, but example (109) from Roberts & Roussou (2003) shows an older stage of French when *aucun* was not restricted to nonveridical contexts. Late in French, it became an API, requiring affective contexts and possessing [+affective] (110); when it became restricted to negative contexts (including when it introduces the negation)

it acquired [+negative] as well (111).

- (109) **Aucuns** se sont aati ... [**Older French**]
 Some.pl self are boasted
 ‘Some people have boasted ...’ (le Bossu, *Le Jeu de la Feuillée* 438; Foulet: 246,
 cited in Roberts & Roussou 2003: 147)
- (110) k’il n’aient de vous **aucun** bien
 that.they NEG.have of you any good
 ‘That they won’t have any good(s) from you’ (*Le Jeu de la Feuillée* 671; Foulet: 247,
 cited in Roberts & Roussou 2003: 147)
- (111) Quels gâteaux as-tu achetés? **-Aucun**. [**Modern French**]
 which cakes have-you bought any/none
 ‘Which cakes did you buy?—None.’ (Jäger 2010: 810)

Biberauer & Roberts (2010) is a response to Jäger (2010). The authors agree that changes toward more positive are possible, and in fact are not unexpected in the system of Roberts & Roussou (2003). For Roberts & Roussou, indefinites becoming PIs or negative markers is a product of processes of grammaticalization: loss of features and movement. The fact that French n-indefinites became more negative is not the trend itself, but comes from the fact that language change (in their system) tends to simplify structures. Biberauer and Roberts argue that Jäger’s system cannot account for the differences in distribution between PPIs like *some*, which cannot appear in nonveridical contexts, and ‘normal’ indefinites like *a*, which can do so. They also point out that Jäger’s system cannot explain why there nevertheless appears to be a larger number of items becoming ‘more negative’ diachronically than those becoming ‘less negative’. In fact, the change to ‘more negative’ requires the addition of a feature ([+affective] or [+negative]), which would seem more computationally taxing (and is more marked) than the loss of a feature.

Willis (2011), also a response to Jäger (2010), argues that while the change from API to ‘normal’ indefinite is well-attested, there is not enough reliable evidence for the negative indefinite to API indefinites change (loss of the [+negative] feature, in Jäger’s terms). He reviews evidence from others’ studies of first language acquisition that find that children

acquire the distribution of APIs in negative contexts readily, and often posit a dependency of items with negative environments where they are not present in the language input.

For example, Van der Wal (1996) and Koster & Van der Wal (1995) are studies of children's acquisition of Dutch APIs *hoeven* 'need' and *meer* 'any more'. In adult language, these are licensed in the scope of negation (overt or implied) and a few other contexts, but with *hoeven* for example, children around age two or earlier were observed to use it invariably with *niet* 'not' as a single item (112), and later to infer a negative meaning to *hoeven* itself (and to use it as a verb with negative meaning even without negation) (113).

(112) 'K **hoef** nie(t) s(l)ape(n).
I need not sleep (2;0.14)
'I don't want to sleep.' (Van der Wal 1996: §2.7.1, cited in Willis 2011: 293)

(113) Ik **hoef** wijkboek.
I need honeycake (2;04.28)
'I don't want any honeycake.' (Van der Wal 1996: §3.3, cited in Willis 2011: 294)

Later, children learn that *hoeven* is restricted to special contexts, but overgeneralize and use them in other contexts known to license APIs in other languages, for example in modal contexts (114) or polar questions (115) before acquiring the 'correct' subset of API contexts for *hoeven*.

(114) nee, dat is 't hele harde. ik **hoef** van jou zachte 'n
no that is the very hard I need from you soft one (2;11.20)
'No, that's the hard one. I need the soft one from you.' (Van der Wal 1996: §4.4.1, cited in Willis 2011: 294)

(115) **hoef** jij ook?
need you also (2;11.20)
'Do you need to too?' (Van der Wal 1996: §4.4.3, cited in Willis 2011: 294)

Willis also cites other work (Klima & Bellugi 2004[1966]: 355-356; Musolino, Crain & Thornton 2000; a.o.) that shows that children acquire polarity sensitivity easily, and make mistakes in using non-polarity sensitive indefinites in API contexts, but do not make the opposite mistake of using APIs in non-API ('positive') contexts.

Willis argues that there are alternate explanations not involving development in the ‘positive’ direction for Jäger’s cases of negative indefinites seemingly becoming non-polarity sensitive indefinites. For example, recall that Jäger 2010 argued that some Celtic and Baltic non-negative indefinites (some are APIs, some are non-polarity sensitive) developed from PIE **nĕ -k^w o-*, a combination of a negative particle and wh-indefinite, making this an example of a change toward more ‘positive’. Willis cites Lewis & Pedersen (1937: 233) who argue that PIE **nĕ -k^w o-* was instead a shortened version of the following PIE free choice item (FCI) phrase:

- (116) **kwos nĕ- kwos*
 someone not someone
 ‘someone or other’

So the Celtic and Baltic non-negative indefinites were reanalyzed from what was an FCI (FCI > API or ‘plain’ indefinite) according to Lewis & Pedersen (1937) and not a negative indefinite, as Jäger argues (n-indefinite > API or ‘plain’ indefinite). FCIs developing into APIs or plain indefinites is, Willis shows, attested (convincingly) in other languages.

However, Willis does not refute Jäger’s evidence for the loss of polarity sensitivity in various languages. He instead agrees that it is attested cross-linguistically. Why this should be is not entirely clear. Willis hints that it may be due to the fact that polarity sensitivity (restriction to nonveridical, but not necessarily negative, contexts) is less salient cross-linguistically than antiveridicality (negation), citing Martins’ (2000) discussion of the Romance quantifier cycle: “If children rely on strong positive empirical evidence . . . in order to make decisions leading to a particular linguistic choice while building up their grammars, they may well not identify a less salient polar environment as a licensing context for a certain kind of polarity item” (Martins 2000: 206, cited in Willis 2011: 308). I will argue that this occurred when *anymore* lost polarity sensitivity in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots: as a polarity item, it occurred often in the scope of negation or negative-like licensors, but it also occurred in nonveridical contexts that were not negative. I will show that reanalysis likely happened in contexts where *anymore* was fronted out of the scope of negation. It is possible that because

anymore was also found in “less salient” non-negative API contexts, language acquirers were already less likely to recognize it as having a dependency with nonveridical contexts. That is, recognition of polarity items as such by language learners is already tenuous, so other factors that obscure the polarity sensitivity (such as fronting of an API outside the scope of negation) may more easily lead to reanalysis than it would for semantically negative lexical items.

To summarize, the Negative (Jespersen) Cycle in which negative markers weaken, are strengthened by another element (often an adverbial of some kind), and eventually disappear and are replaced by the new element as the main clausal negator is widely attested. The new negator develops from a non-negative element. Similarly, in the indefinite cycle, negative indefinites such as ‘nothing’ tend to derive historically from APIs (‘anything’), which in turn derive from non-polarity sensitive indefinites (‘one thing’). The direction of change therefore is primarily from less > more negative. The opposite has however been attested, and the change from API to non-API is not as uncommon as the change from negative marker or n-indefinite > API, although neither change has received much attention. This thesis contributes to the scholarship on this understudied phenomenon, showing that given the right set of circumstances, loss of polarity sensitivity can be a very natural occurrence.

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided the necessary background to begin to investigate the change from API *anymore* to ‘positive’ *anymore*, and further changes in adverb type that (I argue) positive *anymore* has undergone since its original reanalysis. In the following chapters, I adopt an approach to polarity sensitivity based on elements of Progovac (1993, 1988), Laka (1990), Giannakidou (1998), Biberauer & Roberts (2011), and Merchant (2013). I follow Biberauer & Roberts (2011) and especially Merchant (2013) who argue that polarity items and their non-polarity-item counterparts enter a derivation with an unvalued polarity feature, which I will call a veridicality feature [uVer]. I follow Giannakidou (1998) and assume that polarity items are sensitive to, and only found in, nonveridical contexts. Like

Merchant (2013), I assume that these items have uninterpretable features that probe for an operator with interpretable features. Agree with the operator licenses the (non-) polarity item. Agree with a nonveridical operator such as negation or other negative-like item (e.g., *without*, *hardly*, etc.) in the same clause, or a nonveridical operator in the CP layer in the case of polar questions, comparatives, and other such API-licensing environments identified by Progovac (1993, 1988), Laka (1990) values the [uVer] as nonveridical [uVer:nonver]. This is phonologically realized as the polarity-sensitive version (e.g., *any*) of the pair of items of question (*any* and *some*).

For diachronic change, I adopt elements from the frameworks in **roberts 1997**, **roberts 2007**, Roberts & Roussou (2003) and van Gelderen (2004, 2008, 2011) to explain the changes that *anymore* has undergone, from polarity sensitive aspectual adverb to non-polarity-sensitive aspectual adverb to non-polarity-sensitive temporal adverb. In particular, I will adapt the idea of simplification in featural makeup, drawing on Roberts and Roussou's (2003). I adopt van Gelderen's Late Merge Principle (LMP), "Merge as late as possible", to explain the upward reanalysis of *anymore*, as I argue that it changed from an adverb in AspP to one in TP in Chapter 5.

I reviewed studies showing that loss of polarity sensitivity, while apparently less common than development of polarity sensitivity, has indeed been attested. In particular, Jäger (2010) identified other examples of loss of polarity sensitivity in the history of German and Dutch. These are shown below, repeated from (104).

(117) API indefinites > 'normal' indefinites

Old High German *ioman* 'anybody' > Modern German *jemand* 'any-/somebody'

Old High German *io mer* 'any/ever more' > Modern German *immer* 'always'

Dutch *ooit* 'ever' > 'once/at some point' (Jäger 2010: 812)

Note that two of the three examples are time-related adverbs, like *anymore*. This is unlikely to be a coincidence. As I will argue in this thesis, aspectual and temporal adverbs specify a temporal relationship between events. They are sensitive to tense and aspect, and may

develop into different types of aspectual or temporal adverbs at the expense of polarity sensitivity. They are also different from DPs in not having variables that must be bound. APIs in English in the nominal domain can be interpreted as FCIs in certain non-negative contexts, but this is not available to adverbs. Certain conditions that would allow aspectual or temporal adverbial APIs to lose polarity sensitivity are therefore not available to APIs in the nominal domain, as I will show in Chapter 3. While Jäger provides a framework for explaining loss and gain of polarity sensitivity and focuses on breadth of coverage, she does not provide a reason why loss of polarity sensitivity is relatively uncommon. Polarity items must require somewhat special conditions in order to lose polarity sensitivity. In the next two chapters I will look in depth at one change in polarity sensitivity to show what exactly those conditions might be.

Chapter 2

**BACKGROUND, EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE: SCOTS POLARITY
SENSITIVE *ANYMORE* AND BRITISH ISLES POSITIVE
*ANYMORE***

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide the necessary background and description of language data from primary and secondary sources to investigate the original change from polarity-sensitive *anymore*¹ to ‘positive’ *anymore* (PosA). *Anymore* is an affective polarity item (API) in most varieties of English, including standard varieties.

(118) Weak API *anymore*

Suze is not sleeping **anymore**.

Standard English

A version of *anymore* that is not restricted to API contexts has been attested in some areas in North America, and in Northern Ireland and Scotland:

(119) Positive *anymore*

a. Movies are so violent **anymore**.

‘these days/nowadays’

Arizona, USA: 2016

b. There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**. (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

‘from now on’

Argyll, Scotland: 1928

c. I’ll be getting six or seven days’ holiday **anymore**. (Milroy 1981: 4)

‘from now on’

West Donegal, Ulster, Northern Ireland: 1981

¹As a reminder, the aspectual adverb *anymore* is spelled without a space between *any* and *more* in North America, but with a space in many other parts of the English speaking world. I will spell it without a space in this thesis for the sake of consistency.

The North American PosA, in (119a), is usually translated as ‘nowadays’ and is restricted to present tense, imperfective contexts (with some exceptions to be explained in Chapter 5). The British Isles PosA occurs most often in future contexts, with the modal auxiliary verb *will* or *’ll* with a meaning like ‘from now on’, as seen in (119b) and (119c). It is also common in other modal contexts and in present tense. It is not possible in past tense contexts. It requires imperfective (but not in-progress present) aspect. I will argue based on migration patterns and the distribution of PosA that it was most likely innovated between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries in Scotland.

In Chapter 3 I will give my proposal for how the change that resulted in PosA took place. In this chapter I describe the ‘before’ and ‘after’ states of *anymore*: polarity item and ‘positive’. I introduce the reader to the previous literature on *any* and descriptive work about (or that can be applied to) British Isles PosA. After arguing that PosA was most likely innovated between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries in Scotland and providing the historical social context for the original change, I describe polarity sensitive aspectual adverb *anymore* and related words and phrases in Scots and Scottish English during this time period using historical corpora.

In section 2.2 I provide an overview of previous descriptions and analyses of polarity item *any*. I also describe what is known about the history of *any*, showing that it has been polarity sensitive since Old English and that polarity-sensitive *anymore* is older than PosA. Section 2.3 establishes the semantics of *anymore* (API and PosA) based on previous analyses. I then give evidence in section 2.4 that the original reanalysis that resulted in PosA most likely took place in Scotland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Section 2.5 lays out the methods and results of my corpus study of older Scots and Scottish English (focusing on the sixteenth to early eighteenth century). This is followed by section 2.6, which describes examples of PosA, all from secondary sources. Section 5.4 concludes the chapter.

2.2 *Any: Formal analyses and history*

In this section I review syntactic and semantic analyses of DP and determiner *any*, which has been compatible with both an API and a free choice item (FCI) reading since at least the fourteenth century. I then look in more detail at adverb *any*, which is only an API in standard dialects, and is the element that combines with quantifier *more* in *any more* (both the adjectival and adverbial *any more*). I then provide a summary of the history of API and FCI *any* and API aspectual adverb *anymore*, showing that the latter was an API from the beginning of its use as a collocation of *any* and *more*.

2.2.1 *Syntactic/semantic analyses of D/pronoun/adverb any*

A fair amount of literature (mainly semantic) analyzing the formal properties of *any* has considered the question of whether English FCI and API *any* are two lexical items or one single item. An example of each is below:

(120) I'll eat **any** cookie I find. **FCI *any***

(121) I won't eat **any** cookies. **API *any***

API *any* is an indefinite and contributes existential quantification (Giannakidou 1998, 2001, Horn 1972, Ladusaw 1980); FCI *any* appears to contribute universal quantification. For this reason, many researchers argue that they are homophonous but distinct lexical items (Klima 1964, Horn 1972: Ch. 2, Ladusaw 1980, a.o). Others including Kadmon & Landman (1993) and Giannakidou (2001) argue instead that there is only one *any*, and that its different interpretations can be explained by the context in which it is found. I follow Giannakidou, etc. in assuming that determiner and pronoun *any* are and have always been a single lexical item, as this is the most conservative case and should be assumed in the absence of more convincing arguments to the contrary (as noted in Horn 2000).

Ladusaw (1980) discusses determiner/DP *some* and API *any*, which he says are existential quantifiers with the same truth conditions; the difference between the two is only that

some has wide scope when used under negation, while *any* has narrow scope. He gives the following examples to illustrate:

(122) John didn't talk to **some** students.

(123) John didn't talk to **any** students. (based on Ladusaw 1980: 91)

Ladusaw further argues that “if polarity sensitivity were simply a syntactic generalization about cooccurrence restrictions between certain words and negation-expressing items, there would be no reason to expect [*some* in a negative sentence] to be acceptable” (Ladusaw 1980: 93). Clearly, both *some* and *any* can be in a negative (or nonveridical) sentence, even c-commanded by negation, but it is ultimately the scope relations that differentiate the two according to Ladusaw.

API *any* is (or at least can be, contrary to some previous analyses) an existential determiner under Ladusaw's analysis; he gives ample evidence for this. Some (Quine, Reichenbach, Hintikka 1977; Lasnik 1972; Legrand 1975; Kroch 1975) have argued that both FCI and API *any* are a single lexical item whose meaning is a wide-scope universal quantifier because of examples like the following:

(124) John will dance with **anyone**

“Everyone is such that John will dance with him”

(125) John won't dance with **anyone**

a. “Everyone is such that John won't dance with him” or

b. “It is not the case that there is someone with whom John will dance” (Ladusaw 1980: 94-95)

Ladusaw agrees that FCI *any* is a wide-scope universal with the meaning in (124). API *any*, as (125) shows, can have two meanings: one as a universal quantifier with wide scope with respect to negation (125a), and one as an existential that takes narrow scope with respect to negation (125b). Those who assume that *any* on FCI and API readings are both universals argue for the logical structure in (125a) for API *any*, but Ladusaw argues that API *any* must

in fact be an existential indefinite as in (125b). The sentence in (125) is compatible with both an existential or universal account of API *any*, but other sentences, he shows, are not. He thus argues for two *anys*: an FCI *any* and a separate but homophonous API *any*. His evidence comes from such contexts as *yes/no* questions and VP ellipsis. For example, the *yes/no* question “Did John buy any books?” is clearly asking whether there exists a book or books that John bought (existential), and not whether he bought every book (universal) (Ladusaw 1980: 99). As for VP ellipsis (he calls it VP deletion), he draws on Sag’s (1977: 113-114) dissertation.

- (126) a. John ate some snails, but Mary didn’t eat any snails.
 b. John ate some snails, but Mary didn’t _____.
 c. $\lambda x [\exists x [\text{snail}'(y) \wedge \text{eat}'^*(x, y)]]$

Since the first conjunct of (126a) and (126b) has the meaning in (126c), the VP of the second conjunct must also have an existential meaning: “there do not exist snails such that Mary ate them”. The deleted VP in the second conjunct of (126b) must have the same logical form as that of the first conjunct. This is a precursor to Merchant’s (2013) analysis, discussed in the previous chapter, in which he argues that because elided material must be syntactically identical to its antecedent, APIs must be syntactically identical to their positive polarity item (PPI) counterparts.

Kadmon & Landman (1993) propose an analysis of FCI and API *any* as a single lexical item, building on Ladusaw (1980). They also build on Krifka (1990)’s theory of APIs: there is a scale of alternatives from strongest to weakest, and the API is the weakest on the scale. Based on pragmatic principles of informativeness, if something does not hold for the weakest item on a scale, it does not hold for any of the stronger items either. Kadmon and Landman show that both uses of *any* are unified in the fact that they “indicate reduced tolerance of exceptions” (Kadmon & Landman 1993: 356). They propose that an *any* NP has the same meaning as the indefinite *a(n)* NP plus what they refer to as “widening” and “strengthening”².

²I only discuss “widening” as it is most relevant to the present discussion

“Widening” “widens the interpretation of the common noun phrase (CN) along a contextual dimension” (Kadmon & Landman 1993: 361). For example:

- (127) a. I don’t have **a** potato.
 b. I don’t have **any** potatoes. (Kadmon & Landman 1993: 359)

In (127b), they argue, the statement is more absolute and all-inclusive: I don’t have a single potato, not even rotten/small/seedling potatoes, etc. Utterances occur in a context, they explain, and certain things may be understood or implied to be excluded or irrelevant from that context. So in (127a), rotten potatoes may be irrelevant (when asked if one has any potatoes when planning a meal), but (127b) widens the domain to include all potatoes, even rotten ones.

Horn (2005) also argues that DP/determiner API and FCI *any* are one item and addresses certain facts about FCI *any* that were not addressed in earlier research: the “not-mattering and the lack of existential commitment” (Horn 2005: 3). He points out that API and FCI *any*, unlike existential and universal operators, can be modified by *at all* or *whatsoever*. Horn proposes that this is due to the fact that *any* represents the extreme end of a scale, but existential and universal operators do not. According to Lee & Horn (1994), summarized in Horn (2005), FCI *any* and API *any* represent the ends of different types of scale. Lee & Horn provide the following example of API and FCI *any*:

- (128) Can anyone pass that test?
 a. (existential/API reading) = Is there anyone who can pass that test?
 b. (universal/FC reading) \approx Can everyone pass that test?

API *any* (in (128a) is part of the quantity scale in (129a) below:

- (129) a. <all n can pass, . . . , 3 of the n can pass, 2 of the n can pass, 1 n can pass>
 b. <a [the least likely to pass] can pass, b can pass, c can pass, . . . , z [the most likely to pass] can pass>

Because API *any* is found in scale-reversing (downward-entailing) contexts, as discussed in the previous chapter, the scale in (129a) is reversed, so that the lowest number on the scale is the salient one: can even one person pass that test? In more formal terms, “Does $[\exists x \text{ x can pass}]$ hold even for as few as 1 individual in the domain?” (Horn 2005: 5). FCI *any* in (128b) operates instead on a kind scale, as in (129b), where “the least likely NP to VP” end of the scale is the salient one (Horn 2005: 5). “Does $[\exists x \text{ x can pass}]$ hold even when x is the least likely candidate in the domain to pass?” (Horn 2005: 6).

Giannakidou (2001) is another supporter of the theory that DP/determiner *any* in both FCI and API incarnations are the same lexical item. She proposes that *any* is a Heimian indefinite (like others discussed above), and that it “contributes merely a predicate and a variable to be bound by an intensional Q(quantificational) operator, binding also a situation or a world variable, and which must be present in the structure higher up” (Giannakidou 2001: 665). She provides the following semantic representation of *any*:

(130) Q-OPERATOR[w, x] [...*any*-NP (x, w) ...] (Giannakidou 2001: 665)

The type of operator that binds *any* will determine its interpretation: “If the binding operator has existential force... *any* will be interpreted existentially; but if the operator is universal or other (e.g., generic, a Q-adverb like *always*, *rarely*, *usually*, etc., a universal modal verb, the maximality operator in comparatives) *any* will receive the corresponding Q- force” (Giannakidou 2001: 665). As discussed in Chapter 1, she shows further that the lexical semantics of FCIs in general are responsible for restrictions on their distribution. For her, “FCIs are intensional indefinites that can be interpreted in a sentence only if the sentence provides possible worlds which can serve as identity alternatives inducing variation. Nonveridical sentences (modal, generic, habitual, etc.) are such cases. Veridical and episodic sentences, on the other hand, do not provide the kind of alternatives needed for the interpretation of FCIs, hence FCIs are ruled out” (Giannakidou 2001: 666).

Giannakidou gives a brief analysis of the lexical semantics of *any*. She argues that *any* must not require intensionality and variation in the same way that ‘true’ FCIs (like in Greek)

do, since it can appear in contexts that are technically veridical such as in the complement of certain factives, shown in the following example.

(131) I'm surprised she has **any** friends. (Giannakidou 2001: 680)

. On the other hand, *any* cannot assert existence on its own since it cannot appear in extensional contexts except when existence is negated, and as such is a dependent indefinite. Further, since variation seems to be not a requirement but a tendency for *any*, she proposes that the variation is a conversational implicature instead of a presupposition (as it is for FCIs). A summary of her characterization of *any* (both API and FCI) is the following:

(132) *Any*

- a. *Any P* is an extensional indefinite of the form $P(x)$, where x is an individual variable.
- b. The x variable is dependent: it cannot be bound by a default existential, unless there is another nonveridical operator above the existential at the sentence level. If the nonveridical operator is a Q-operator, then the Q-operator binds the x variable, as is standardly the case with indefinites.
- c. It is conversationally implicated that there are i -alternatives such that: $\forall w_1, w_2$ $[[\alpha]]_{w_1} \neq [[\alpha]]_{w_2}$, where α is the *any P*. (Giannakidou 2001: 724-5)

As discussed in Chapter 1, Merchant (2013) argues that because of the syntactic identity condition on ellipsis, which states that elided material must be syntactically identical to its antecedent, NPIs or APIs must be syntactically identical to their PPI indefinite counterparts:

(133) a. John didn't see anyone, but Mary did [see someone].

b. $\exists x.\text{see}(\text{Mary}, x)$

c. $[\text{Cat}[\text{D}, \text{Indef}]; \text{Infl}[\text{Pol}:\text{Pos}]] \rightarrow \text{some}$

(134) a. John saw someone, but Mary didn't [see anyone].

b. $\neg \exists x.\text{see}(\text{Mary}, x)$

c. $[\text{Cat}[\text{D}, \text{Indef}]; \text{Infl}[\text{Pol}:\text{Neg}]] \rightarrow \text{any}$ (based on Merchant 2013: 442, 446)

Merchant proposes that *anyone* and *someone* here are the same before feature valuation. *Any* and *some* are indefinites, and are D heads with an unvalued polarity feature [Pol]. When [uPol] is valued as negative from a c-commanding Σ P (following Laka 1990), it is spelled out as *any*, positive [Pol] as *some*. The polarity item then combines with *one*, the complement of DP, to produce *anyone*.

2.2.1.1 Adverb any

None of the work described in the previous section deals specifically with adverb *any*. The *OED* notes that, in addition to various adjectival and (pro)nominal uses/versions of *any*, there is an adverb *any* “modifying comparative adjectives and adverbs”, with the definition “in any degree, to any extent, at all” (*OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.). The earliest attestation of this *any* is from circa 1300. With one possible exception, all examples of adverb *any* in the *OED* are in canonical API nonveridical contexts: in the scope of elements such as negation, the negative preposition *without*, or the nonveridical complementizer *before*. An example is the following:

- (135) Not mynding to differre the time **any** farther. (Hall’s Vnion: Henry VI f. clxxxiiij, 1548, in *OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.)

This comparative-modifying *any* is not licensed in FCI contexts in present-day Standard English, Scots, or Scottish English; it is therefore an API exclusively. In FCI contexts, adverb *any* modifying comparatives or verbs is not licit:

- (136) Take (***any**)/(**some**) more pie. (FCI reading impossible: ‘take any amount more, it doesn’t matter what amount more’; but *take any piece of pie* = ‘take any piece, it doesn’t matter which one’)
- (137) I can play (***any**)/(**some**) more piano.
- (138) I’ll smoke (***any**)/(**some**) more.

In FCI contexts, adverbial *some* must be used to modify *more*, as shown in the examples above.

This can be explained by appealing to Giannakidou's (2001) theory of FCIs, discussed above and summarized in example (132). She defines FCIs as indefinites with an individual variable and a world variable; these variables must be bound by an operator that provides different possible worlds so that the variable can vary in each possible world. The meaning of this determiner/pronoun *any* includes a variable which is implicated to vary in every relevant possible world; this explains the 'no matter which' reading. I propose that adverb *any* is different, however: it does not have an individual variable to be bound as part of its meaning. It is however a scalar item operating on a quantity (degree) scale, as Horn (2005) demonstrates for API determiner *any*. He shows that determiner *any* emphasizes or strengthens the proposition in which it is found. Although he does not discuss adverb *any* in particular, his analysis can be easily applied to the adverb *any*. To demonstrate, take the sentence in (139) where *any* modifies the comparative adjective *better*:

- (139) Knowing you coped with mother too doesn't make me feel **any** better. (1951 K. Ferrier Let. 30 Jan. (2003) v. 141, in *OED*, *any*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.)

The scale for this *any* would be as in (140):

- (140) <I feel completely better, . . . , I feel a little bit better, I feel a tiny bit better >

In the spirit of Horn (2005), the lowest (rightmost) end of the scale is the salient one: do I feel better, even a tiny bit? It is a scale of quantity like API *any* in (128a) and (129a), not of kinds like FCI *any* in (128b) and (129b). I will adopt Horn's analysis for adverb *any*, as the adverb clearly has no individual variable to be bound and is not measured on a kind scale, thus rendering an FCI reading impossible.

Aspectual adverbial *anymore*, and other 'continuation' adverbials like *any further/longer*, are likewise not grammatical in FCI contexts like generic or future contexts, as these examples show:

- (141) *Cats chase birds **any more/longer/further**. **generic**
- (142) *I'll hug my cat **any more/longer/further**. **future**

This is because these adverbials also do not include a variable. Their meaning, which I will discuss in section 2.3 and the next chapter, is a presupposition that a state held (or did not hold) during a period prior to reference time (Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014, Ernst 2001, Michaelis 1996).

2.2.2 *Any's history, grammaticalization, development of polarity sensitivity*

In this section, I provide evidence that PosA was an innovation, not a retention from an earlier period of the language when *any* or *anymore* were not polarity sensitive. The ancestor of *any* was already restricted to API contexts in Old English, so its gaining of polarity sensitivity happened before Old English and therefore before the time of written records. I also briefly discuss the history of the collocation of *any* and *more*. Because *any* was already polarity sensitive by Old English, before *anymore* was a collocation, and as noted by Willis (2017), *anymore* was apparently polarity sensitive from the beginning of its life as a fixed expression, so “The extension to affirmative contexts therefore represents the failure of the weak API-licensing requirement to be transmitted” (Willis 2017: 2).

Eitner (1991) shows, using *OED* entries, that *any* was used in typical weak API contexts such as questions, hypotheticals, and conditionals and to emphasize negation from the year 1000. The *OED* says that *any's* “use as an indefinite adjective in non-affirmative contexts is well-established already in Old English. Use in affirmative and emphatic contexts [as an FCI] is also found. . . but the word is less freely used in such contexts than in modern English” (*OED*, *any*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.). Haspelmath (1997) notes (citing Einkenkel 1903) that FCI *any* was a later development.

Any is a descendant of Old English *ænig*, composed of the morphemes *an* meaning ‘one’ and *-ig*, the ancestor of modern adjectival suffix *-y* according to Haspelmath (1997: 228, 248). The *OED* says that it is inherited from Germanic (*OED*, *any*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.). It had “apparently originally a specific use” in West Germanic (*OED*, *any*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.), which survived into Old English as *ānig*, *ānig*, meaning “sole, unique, solitary”. It has cognates in Old West Germanic languages with a similar ‘sole, unique,

solitary’ adjectival meaning (*OED*, *any*, adj., pron., and n., and adv., Cameron et al. 2018). Old English also had a homophonous *ænig* similar in use and distribution to present-day English API indefinite *any*. There are cognates with a similar use and meaning in many Old Germanic languages, so the emergence of the API version likely happened even before Old English, and in any case predates written records. According to Haspelmath (1997), the use of *ænig* has changed very little since Old English, so not much else is known about its historical development.

The fact that Old English *ænig* includes a morpheme meaning ‘one’ is not surprising, as minimal-unit expressions that represent the end of a scale (‘one’, ‘a bit’, ‘a whit’, etc.) are a common source of polarity sensitive and/or negative indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997, Jespersen 1917, van Gelderen 2011, among many others, and as discussed in Chapter 1). Hamilton (1858: 615), cited in Horn (2005: fn1), says that “Our English ‘any’ (*ænig*, *anig*, Ang.-Sax.) . . . means, primarily and literally (even) one, even the least or fewest. But now . . . it is of quodlibetic application, ranging from the least to greatest”. Hamilton appears to assume that the Old English *ænig* was not yet polarity sensitive, while I have shown that *ænig* was apparently polarity sensitive even before Old English. It seems likely however that Old English *ænig*’s ancestor, perhaps in proto-Germanic, was a minimizer, a common source of APIs: it is not true of even one single thing.

In Chapter 3, I will discuss a pattern that has been attested in several periods of Scots and/or Scottish English and Irish English, and may go back to Northern Old English. This pattern involves *any* in subject position preceding negation. An example is below.

- (143) **Ænig** mon **ne** mæg tuæm hlaferdum hera.
 any man neg may two lords.dat serve
 Latin: Nemo potest duobus dominis servire.

‘No one can serve two masters.’

(*Lindisfarne*, Matt. 6: 24, cited in Ingham 2013: 142)

This is unusual since in other dialects of English, both current and historical, API *any* must be c-commanded by negation or other licenser, as discussed in the previous chapter. It is

possible that an operator or negative feature of some kind in the CP layer licensed *any* in this context, and that this was due to contact with a Goidelic language. As I will show, however, *any* still appeared to be polarity sensitive as it appeared in negative and non-negative, nonveridical contexts such as polar questions. I will also demonstrate that it is unlikely that this pattern played a role in *anymore*'s loss of polarity sensitivity.

Ænig modifying comparative adjectives, like *ænig* in the nominal domain, appears by Old English. The *Dictionary of Old English* gives the following definition: “used adverbially to modify comparative adjective: *ænig ma* ‘any more’”, and provides examples like the following:

- (144) he ne uþe Ðæt **ænig ma** folca for his Þingum forwurde Þonne he self mid his
 he not grant that any more people for his matters perish than he self with his
 agenre Peode.
 own nation
 ‘He did not allow any more people to die for his matters than he for his own nation.’
 (Orosius, Book 2: Bately, 1980; Bately, J., *The Old English Orosius*, EETS, s.s. 6
 [London], chapter 5, page 47, line 3, cited in Cameron et al. 2018)

The first attestation of adverb *any* with comparative adjectives and adverbs in the *OED* dates to much later, in Middle English (c1300):

- (145) With oute **ani more** lette Ðat treo ful sone upright him sette. **c1300**
 with out any more delay that tree fully soon upright it set
 ‘Without any more delay, (he) very soon set the tree upright.’
 (*Childhood Jesus* (Laud) 137 in C. Horstmann *Altengl. Legenden* (1875) 1st Ser. 7,
 in *OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.)

I conclude therefore that aspectual adverb *anymore* was polarity sensitive since its first emergence.

2.3 Semantics of polarity-sensitive and positive anymore

In this section I discuss previous analyses of the semantics of API and ‘positive’ *anymore*. This will be useful in teasing apart API *anymore* and PosA in the corpus study in section

2.5 and in Chapter 3. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, a version of *anymore* that is not restricted to API contexts has been attested in some areas in North America, and in Northern Ireland and Scotland (examples in (119) repeated here as (146):

(146) Positive *anymore*

a. Movies are so violent **anymore**.

‘these days/nowadays’

Arizona, USA: 2016

b. There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**. (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

‘from now on’

Argyll, Scotland: 1928

c. I’ll be getting six or seven days’ holiday **anymore**. (Milroy 1981: 4)

‘from now on’

West Donegal, Ulster, Northern Ireland: 1981

The Scottish and Irish ‘non-negative *anymore*’, as Scots dialectologists call the British Isles construction, means something like ‘from now on’, as seen in (146b) and (146c). The North American phenomenon, shown in (146a), is usually translated as ‘nowadays’. The semantic analyses of *anymore* (API and PosA) that I discuss in this section are based on North American ones, but I will show that they also describe Modern British Isles PosA and API *anymore* in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots, the period when PosA most likely emerged (I will give evidence that this is when PosA likely emerged in section 2.4).

Ladusaw (1980) and Punske & Barss (2010) argue that the meaning of aspectual adverb *anymore* (both API and North American PosA) are implicational or presuppositional only, and the assertion is supplied by the rest of the sentence. Ladusaw shows that the meaning of *still*, the suppletive form of API *anymore*, is also presuppositional only. Another similarity is that all three lexical items are only compatible with imperfective events. Let us look at the meanings of API *anymore* and *still* more closely before moving on to PosA. Both API *anymore* and *still* presuppose that *x is the case* during a prior period, but the assertions of the sentences where they are found are different: API *anymore* often appears in clauses that assert that *x is not the case* during the time period in question (these adverbs' relationship to and compatibility with different times will be made more precise below) and continuing indefinitely (Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014), while *still* appears in clauses that assert that *x is the case* for a period including the time period in question and continuing indefinitely (based on Horn 1970, Ladusaw 1980). Horn (1970) for example gives the following formal representation of API *anymore* and its non-PI counterpart, *still*:

(147) *Still/anymore*

- a. P[re]supposition]: $(\exists i) (i < O \ \& \ t_i (S[tate]))$
- b. A[ssertion]: $t_o(S[tate]) / \neg t_o(S[tate])$ ($t_o =$ 'now')

(148) It is **still** raining./It isn't raining **anymore**.

- a. P: It was raining earlier.
- b. A: It is raining now./It's isn't raining now. (based on Horn 1970: 321)

In (148) for example, the presupposition of both *it is still raining* and *it isn't raining anymore* is that it was raining earlier, shown in (148a). The assertions of the sentences containing the two adverbs are different however, as seen in (148b): the sentence with *still* asserts that it is raining now, while the sentence with *anymore* asserts that it is not raining now. Labov (1972b) gives a similar analysis of API *anymore* and *still*.

API *anymore* and *still* therefore have similar semantics, just a different distribution

	Assertion	Presupposition
We eat fish anymore:	eat fish now	\neg assertion (time prior)
We don't eat fish anymore:	\neg eat fish now	\neg (sic) assertion (time prior)

Table 2.1: Semantics of clauses containing *anymore anymore* based on Hindle & Sag (1973)

(ignoring other factors like difference in expectation of a positive or negative answer). They overlap in certain contexts however, for example in polar questions; in such contexts the basic meaning of the clauses containing API *anymore* and *still* are identical. Both words can be used to ask if an imperfective event continues:

- (149) a. Do you own a car **anymore**?
 b. Do you **still** own a car?

Both of these sentences presuppose that the interlocuter owned a car before now and ask whether that state continues into the present.

Positive *anymore* on the other hand is different from API *anymore* in both its assertion and presupposition. While API *anymore* presupposes *x is the case* at a point before now, and the assertion of the clause in which it is found can be *x is not the case* at the present time, PosA presupposes that *x is not the case* before the present time, and asserts that *x is the case* at the present time (Labov 1972b, Horn 2014, Hindle & Sag 1973). Table 2.1 demonstrates this in table form. It shows Hindle and Sag's semantic analysis of a pair of sentences such as 'We don't eat fish anymore' and 'We eat fish anymore' (Hindle & Sag 1973: 92). The meaning of *we eat fish anymore* is the assertion *we eat fish now*, and the presupposition, which is *anymore*'s contribution, that *we do not eat fish at a prior time*. When the polarity is reversed, both the presupposition and assertion are also reversed. In describing North American PosA, Hindle (1974: 27) says that "There are two meaning components to positive *anymore*, a claim about the present and a claim about previous time. A polarity reversal

of both components of the meaning occurs depending on whether the sentence is positive or negative”.

Hindle & Sag (1973) as well as Punske & Barss (2010) and Ladusaw (1980) argue that PosA and API *anymore* are semantically identical, but their licensing requirements are different: they are able to appear in different environments and contexts. Punske & Barss (2010: 3) say that “The sole difference [between API *anymore* and PosA] is, apparently, the removal of the licensing restriction on *anymore* . . . , permitting it in non-negative contexts”. I disagree, however. Unlike PosA, API *anymore*’s presupposition remains constant, as shown above: API *anymore* always has a positive presupposition, whether it is in a negative sentence or a non-negative, nonveridical one such as a polar question in (149a).

The semantic analyses above all state that the assertion of the clause in which API *anymore* or PosA is found is in the present, and that the presupposition is in the past. However, API *anymore* is not confined to present tense.

(150) I don’t listen **anymore**.

(151) I won’t listen **anymore**.

(152) I didn’t listen **anymore**. (context: I used to listen to a podcast, but then I got too busy with other things so I didn’t listen [to it] anymore.)

Reichenbach’s (1947) theory of tense includes three elements, speech time (S), reference time (R), and event time (E). Different tenses order these elements differently: in present tense (‘I smell bacon’) the three elements are all simultaneous (S,R,E); in the simple past (‘I smelled bacon’), E and R occur at a time before S (R,E_S); in the simple future (‘I will smell bacon’), E and R occur at a time after S (S_R,E) (Reichenbach 1947). So, in future contexts R and E are at the same time; the event (or state) that *anymore* asserts to (not) hold is after speech time, and the presupposed event or state holds (does not hold) during a period before reference time. In present tense (150), E, R, and S all overlap: I do not listen at the moment of speech, which in this case is interpreted as ‘now’.³ In future tense (151), E and R occur

³Because this is an imperfective event, it is interpreted as beginning before and ending after R time, the

after S (now), in the future: not listening occurs after S time, in this case, after the present. In past tense (152), E and R occur before S time (now): not listening happened in the past, before now.

North American PosA is only possible with present-time reference, where the asserted event overlaps with speech time. This results in a ‘nowadays’ reading, as in (153), repeated from earlier.

(153) Movies are so violent **anymore**.

‘these days/nowadays’

The event *movies be violent* overlaps with speech time (now): movies are violent (at speech time). PosA’s contribution is the presupposition that movies were not violent before reference time (now). In addition to contexts such as that in (146a), British Isles PosA also appears with future tense, or other contexts where the event begins at or after speech time, as in (154), repeated from earlier.

(154) There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**. (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

‘from now on’

The event *be herring* does not overlap speech time (as the first clause indicates, *the day* meaning ‘today’ in Scots), but takes place after speech time, since this is future tense (S_R,E). Beginning at reference time, which can be interpreted as any time at or immediately following speech time (‘from now, continuing indefinitely on’), there will be herring. The presupposition is that there is no herring before reference time. I propose therefore that the different readings of British Isles PosA, ‘from now on’ or ‘nowadays’, are due to the temporal reference of the context.

Table 2.2 is my formalization of the semantics of API *anymore*, PosA (all versions: Scottish, Irish, and North American), and *still* based on the analyses discussed above and the analysis of *still* in Ernst (2001), Michaelis (1996).

present moment. This will be discussed in more detail in future chapters.

	Presupposition	Assertion
API <i>anymore</i>	$\alpha \phi$ for a period before Ref time	depends on context
still	$\alpha \phi$ for a period before Ref time	depends on context
PosA	$\neg\alpha\phi$ for a period before Ref time	$\alpha\phi$ after Ref time

Table 2.2: Presuppositional meaning of API *anymore*, British Isles PosA, and *no more* (based in part on Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014, Ernst 2001, Michaelis 1996)

I will return briefly to a point mentioned toward the beginning of this section: *still*, API *anymore*, and PosA are only compatible with imperfective events. Punske & Barss (2010) argue that aspectual API *anymore* and PosA are only possible with a durative reading, and not a ‘right now’ reading.

(155) John is (not) speaking French **anymore** <durative only> (Punske & Barss 2010: 3)

Both PosA and API *anymore*, they state, contrast stretches of time and not specific points in time. My own judgments are not consistent with this, however; API *anymore* for me is possible with a ‘right now’ (progressive) reading:

(156) A: Is Jayden still playing with his Legos right now?

B: No, he isn’t playing with them **anymore**. He just went to bed.

PosA however does not occur in a clause with a progressive reading in any of the corpora searched during the writing of this dissertation.

2.4 Anymore loses polarity sensitivity in sixteenth-eighteenth century Scotland

Before turning to the data from historical corpora and secondary sources, it is important to establish the time and place where *anymore* underwent the change from a polarity sensitive adverb that is possible with imperfective aspect and all tenses to polarity insensitive adverb that is not found in past tense or in-progress present contexts. Previous literature has not

pinpointed an exact date or place for these changes based on direct empirical evidence (i.e., attestation of PosA in historical corpora), but it has provided evidence to narrow down the possibilities. The most likely time and place for the change from API *anymore* to PosA to have taken place is sometime in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries in southwest Scotland. This is due to two reasons, as described in Willis (2017): the distribution of PosA in the British Isles; and the history of migrations among these same places. A large number of Scots speakers arrived in Ulster, Ireland in the early seventeenth century when the British crown organized a plantation, in which they took land from the Irish and colonized it with British settlers (Montgomery 2006c, a.o.). Although there has always been contact and migration (seasonal and permanent) between the north of Ireland and southwest Scotland, there has not been a single comparably large instance of migration from Ireland to Scotland (Corrigan 2010, a.o.). PosA is found in both the north of Ireland and in southwest Scotland. The most conservative hypothesis, then, is that Scottish immigrants brought PosA with them to Ireland in the early seventeenth century (Willis 2017); the change would therefore have had to take place in Scotland before or around the same time that these migrations were taking place. In the remainder of this section I will present the evidence from the distribution of PosA and migration patterns in more detail in order to show that *anymore* most likely lost polarity sensitivity between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Scotland.

2.4.1 *Distribution of PosA examples*

Examples of PosA in the British Isles in the literature are from (or reportedly from) speakers in or from Southwest Scotland and Ulster, in the north of Ireland, mainly. Kallen (2013, 1997) also found it in Dublin, Galway, and the Arran Islands, but it has never to my knowledge been attested in the southern part of Ireland (confirmed by Jeffrey Kallen, p.c.). It tends to be found especially in traditionally or contemporaneously Irish or Scots Gaelic-speaking areas: Milroy (1981) only found PosA in Irish-speaking areas of Donegal, Ireland, and in Scotland it is attested mainly in Argyll, where, as Willis (2017) points out, Gaelic was spoken longer than in more eastern parts of the country.

2.4.1.1 Scotland

Willis (2017) points out that most of the Scottish examples of PosA are from southern Argyll, in the Scottish Highlands, where Gaelic persisted longer than in the Lowlands to the east. They are very similar to the Northern Irish examples, so he assumes they have the same ultimate source. The *Dictionary of the Scots Language's* (*DOSL*) entry for *any more* (*Any more* adv. phr.) includes the following attestations:

- (157) There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)
- (158) It's waarm for the time o' year, an' it'll be waarmer **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

The *DOSL* defines this *any more* as follows: “In affirmative sentences, ‘from now onwards; henceforth’” (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.). There are other possible examples of PosA in Scotland from primary sources that will be discussed in section 2.5.

2.4.1.2 Ireland

There are several examples of PosA produced by speakers from or in Ireland, especially the northern part known as Ulster. Example (159) is cited in the 1898 *English Dialect Dictionary*, a dictionary of regional lexical items in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. This is the earliest unambiguous example of PosA. The PosA example and definition is labeled as from “North Ireland”.

- (159) A servant being instructed how to act, will answer ‘I will do it **any more**’. (Wright 1898, from an unprinted collection of dialectal words compiled by Rev. G. M. Hopkins of Ireland)

The definition given is “for the future ; used in positive, as well as negative phr.” (Wright 1898). The following from Ulster, reported in Montgomery (2006a), illustrates the use in present habitual contexts:

(160) The Orange marches have become increasingly working class. If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Montgomery 2006a: 9)

Kallen (2013, 1997) provides examples of PosA from outside of Ulster, mainly in Galway and Dublin. He argues that there are three different uses/senses of PosA in Ireland: ‘from now on’, ‘now(adays)’, and ‘still’.

(161) PosA: ‘from now on’

Maybe that’s where they’re going to be kept now **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; Dublin, from field notes)

(162) PosA: ‘nowadays’

Wool is so expensive **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153 and Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)

(163) PosA: ‘still’

I wish I could look at the world that way **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153 and Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)

2.4.1.3 *North America*

PosA is also attested in some regions of North America. I will not address this in detail here, but will do so in Chapters 4 and 5, where I will argue (like several other authors) that it was taken to North America by immigrants from Ulster.

2.4.2 *History of migration and language contact in Scotland and Ulster*

Several authors have attributed the original change that resulted in PosA to contact with Irish Gaelic, proposing or implying that the change happened in Ulster, Ireland. Willis (2017) argues that the change could have happened in Scotland Scots, due to contact with Scottish Gaelic, before the development of Ulster Scots in Ireland. He notes that the most conservative scenario would be that there was one development of non-polarity-sensitive *any more*, in southwest Scotland, that was taken to Ulster with Scottish immigrants in the

seventeenth century (and from there to North America, to be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). Another possibility is that the change happened in Ulster and spread to Argyll (in southwest Scotland). There has been frequent migration, both seasonal and long-term, between western Scotland and northeast Ireland throughout recorded history due to the close geographical proximity of the two (Corrigan 2010: 1), so varieties of Gaelic (and later, English) in these two areas have always been in contact with each other. I will nevertheless adopt the most conservative hypothesis (like Willis 2017), that PosA developed in the Scottish Lowlands, on the edge of the Gaelic/Scots-speaking border, from whence it was taken to Ulster in the seventeenth century. The time of the change therefore was most likely during or before the seventeenth century. A brief history of the languages in southwestern Scotland and the north of Ireland (Scottish Scots, Ulster Scots, and Gaelic varieties) is in order.

2.4.2.1 Early history: Scots and Goidelic

Scots is a Germanic language, closely related to English. The Scots language is thought to be descended from Old Northumbrian, in turn descended from Anglian, itself a descendant of Old English spoken by Angles in Lothian (southeastern Scotland), a region which came under rule of the Kingdom of Scotland in the tenth century. It is also possible however that it descended from Anglo-Danish, brought to Scotland by Anglo-Normans in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, or some combination of both. English, on the other hand, is likely a descendant of the Mercian branch of Anglian (Macafee & †Aitken 2002) with considerable influence from Scandinavian (North Germanic) languages as well.⁴ The family tree of Indo-European languages from Macafee & †Aitken (2002) illustrates:

Speakers of languages from the Brythonic (also called P-Celtic) branch of Celtic languages, which includes Modern Welsh and (extinct) Cumbric and Pictish (Forsyth 2001), inhabited present-day Scotland from before the earliest written records, in the first century AD. Little influence of Brythonic survived in Scots however (Macafee & †Aitken 2002). The

⁴Emonds & Faarlund (2014) argue in fact that English is a descendant of North Germanic with borrowings from Old English.

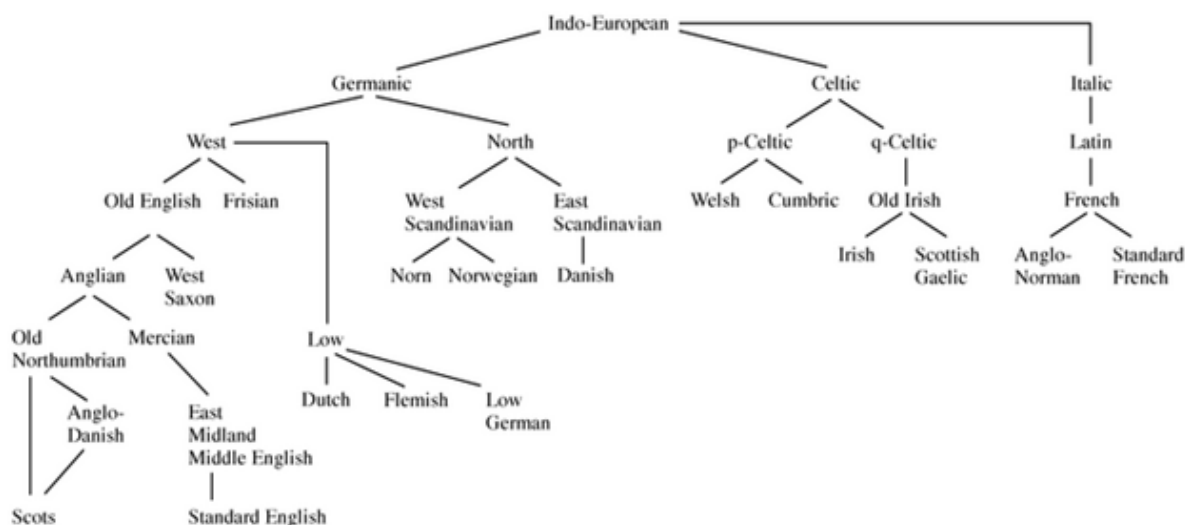


Figure 2.1: Genetic relationships among Indo-European languages relevant to the history of Scots (from Macafee & †Aitken 2002, Figure 1, Section 1.1.2)

other branch of Celtic languages is Goidelic (or Q-Celtic), which includes Scottish Gaelic and Irish (Macafee & †Aitken 2002, Forsyth 2001). It has had substratum influence on Scots in the form of phonological, syntactic and semantic influence (Macafee & †Aitken 2002), especially in areas where Gaelic persisted longer such as in the southwest of Scotland. However, in southwest Scotland it can be difficult to tell with certainty whether influence was from Irish (Gaelic) or (Scots) Gaelic since southwest Scotland has been in contact with Ireland throughout history (Macafee & †Aitken 2002).

The Anglo-Saxons were Germanic peoples who took over much of what was Roman Britain until the fifth century, and before them was inhabited by Celtic-speaking native tribes. The Anglo-Saxons eventually ruled most of present-day England. In 547 the Anglian kingdom Bernicia came into being. It was the farthest north of the Anglian kingdoms, in present-day southern Scotland. It expanded to the south not long after, becoming the kingdom called Northumbria. Around the same time, in the fifth century, Gaelic is believed to have been brought to western Scotland from Ireland (Forsyth 2001). In the late sixth/early seventh century, a united Gaelic kingdom called Dál Riata was formed which included parts of

western Scotland and northeastern Ulster, in present-day Northern Ireland (Corrigan 2017). By 1100, Gaelic was spoken in almost all of Scotland (Forsyth 2001), and for a time began to replace Anglian.

Around 1000, the region of Lothian passed from Angles to the Scots, and the Scots, Britons/Cumbrians, Angles, and Danes fought over various parts of Scotland for the next several centuries (Macafee & †Aitken 2002). Danes conquered much of present-day England, starting with invasions at the end of the eighth century. This left linguistic impressions, so much so that a mixed dialect of English, ‘Anglo-Danish’, was formed (Macafee & †Aitken 2002). During the Anglo-Norman period (from 1097 to 1296, according to Barrow 1980, cited in Macafee & †Aitken 2002), English and French settlers settled in Scotland, but Scotland retained its own rulers (unlike England) and had fewer connections with other kingdoms. Perhaps for these reasons, Norman French never took hold the way it did in England (Macafee & †Aitken 2002, citing Murison 1974: 77-8; Barrow 1999). Latin was the language of administration, French was used to communicate with England and France, and Old English (transitioning to Pre-Scots) was used among “feudal overlords... , their vassals, and the freemen of the burghs” (Macafee & †Aitken 2002, section 2.3.2). Many of the Anglo-Normans who settled in Scotland at this time were from Yorkshire, where the Anglo-Danish dialect of English was spoken. Anglo-Danish came to be the main language spoken in Scottish burghs in the fourteenth century, and likely had a lasting impact—perhaps even greater than the Anglian dialect of English that was already being spoken in south and southeast Scotland (Aitken 1985 introduction to *The Concise Scots Dictionary* cited in Macafee & †Aitken 2002). This would explain the large number of Old Norse (ON) features and the lack of Brythonic features in the late fourteenth century, the time from which the first Scottish texts survive. There are few surviving Scottish texts from the time of Old English to the fourteenth century, so little is known about the development of Scots from Old English.

In the twelfth century Scots began to expand. This was the beginning of transition from Gaelic to Scots in Lowland Scotland (Macafee & †Aitken 2002). Figure 2.2 is an estimation

of the Gaelic/Scots boundaries in 1400 and 1500 based on place names and charters (Gaelic spoken to the northwest of the line; Scots to the southeast of the line). Scots spread to

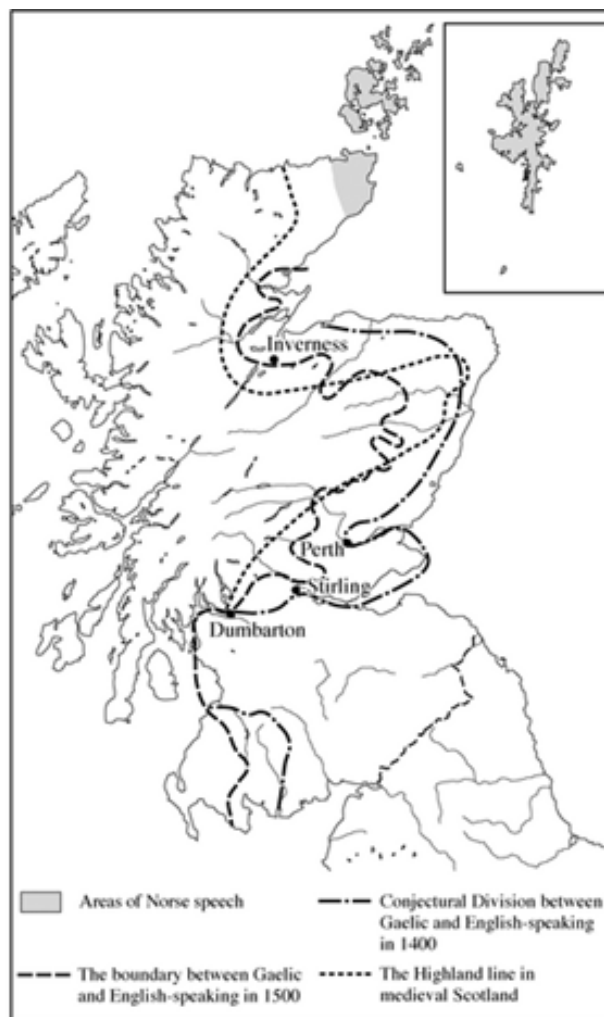


Figure 2.2: Gaelic/Scots language boundaries in 1400 and 1500 (from Macafee & †Aitken 2002, Map 11, Section 2.3.3, citing Withers' *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*: 427)

other areas, including these: in the sixteenth century, Speitel and Mather (1968: 522ff., cited in Macafee & †Aitken 2002) say, Gaelic was no longer spoken in the southwest (though other sources say Gaelic lasted longer according to Macafee & †Aitken 2002, fn 39); from 1650, Scots spread to Kintyre, Arran, and Bute (coastal areas and islands in southwestern

The main periods in the history of Scots	
Old English	to 1100
Older Scots	to 1700
	Pre to literary Scots to 1375
	Early Scots to 1450
	Middle Scots 1450 to 1700
	Early Middle Scots 1450 to 1550
	Late Middle Scots 1550 to 1700
Modern Scots	1700 onwards
A corresponding list of the periods for English	
Old English	to 1100
Middle English	1100 to 1475
Early Modern English	1475 to 1650
Modern English	1650 onwards

Table 2.3: Historical periods in Scots and English (from Macafee & †Aitken 2002, Figure 2, Section 1.1.3)

Scotland). In much of the Highlands, Scots never fully replaced Gaelic, but English later would (mostly, if not completely) replace Gaelic.

“Older Scots” covers the language varieties descended from Old English in Scotland from the middle of the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth. Table 2.3 shows the periods of Scots and of English (from Macafee & †Aitken 2002, Figure 2, Section 1.1.3). I focus on Late Middle Scots, 1550-1700, and early Modern Scots, 1700-1750, because Lowland Scots speakers emigrated to Ulster during the 1600s. Assuming they took PosA with them and introduced it to Ulster, the change would have happened before or around this time.

Lowland Scots was “the normal language of the population of Lowland Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, regardless of social class” (Macafee 1996: xxix).

2.4.2.2 Anglicization of Scots

Scots and English have always been in contact, forming a “geographical continuum of dialects within which linguistic changes diffused and spread” (Macafee & †Aitken 2002, section 2.5.2). Scots had a written standard established by 1600 (Montgomery & Gregg 1997) which emigrants to Ulster took with them. In the mid-fifteenth century, Standard English began to expand from south-east England, but at first this did not affect Scots, which continued to develop separately in some ways (although Scots and English did undergo some changes in tandem at the time, like the Great Vowel Shift) (Macafee & †Aitken 2002)). Written Scots, however, began to be replaced by English in the sixteenth century (Devitt 1989, cited in Montgomery & Gregg 1997), and most innovations in Scots from this time can be traced to innovations that started in Standard English (Macafee & †Aitken 2002). At this time, Scots and English were considered one language, and so any kind of mixing or borrowing was not “incongruous” (Aitken 1979: 89, cited in Macafee & †Aitken 2002, section 2.5.2). Thus there was a gradual shift toward anglicization of Scots during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century; while Scots was not seen as incorrect speech, English was seen as more “modern” and “fashionable” than Scots (Macafee & †Aitken 2002, section 2.5.2). Less gradual language shift happened from the late sixteenth century, when English replaced Scots completely in certain domains, especially in printed texts (Macafee & †Aitken 2002). In the seventeenth century, Scottish nobles began speaking English, especially after the Restoration of 1660, and there is evidence of mixing of Standard (southern) English forms in their private letters (Aitken 1979: 91, cited in Macafee & †Aitken 2002). “By about 1760, it was distinctly quaint for a gentleman or lady to speak Scots in polite company”, although Scottish people did not necessarily have a native command of Standard English (Macafee & †Aitken 2002, section 2.5.2). Following this time, speakers of Scots from lower social classes began to shift to Standard English, and the shift continues now (Macafee & †Aitken 2002).

2.4.2.3 *Later history of languages in Ulster: Ulster Scots, English, Gaelic*

Montgomery (2006c: 296) calls Ulster “the most dynamic language contact zone in the British Isles over the past four hundred years, a broad context that involved two closely related Germanic languages and a Celtic one”. The Germanic languages are English and Scots; the Celtic language is in fact two Celtic languages with many similarities: both Scottish and Irish Gaelic (Scots Gaelic from before the journey to Ireland).

How did it come to be such a “dynamic language contact zone”? Between 1610 and 1625, a large wave of Scots and English-speaking settlers arrived. This was during the Jacobite era, when King James I organized a Plantation in which he confiscated land from Irish landholders and gave it to English and Scots landholders, or Irish chieftains who were loyal to the Crown. Tenants from the West Midlands of England and from the Lowlands of Scotland, especially Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, home of the West-Mid Scots dialect (Grant and Murison 1931: xli, cited in Montgomery 2006c and Corrigan 2010); and Galloway and Kirkcudbrightshire, home of South Mid Scots (Adams 1964a: 1, cited in Montgomery 2006c and Corrigan 2010) were enticed to these newly appropriated lands in Ulster. Ayrshire and Renfrewshire were located on the Gaelic/Scots border and can be expected to show signs of language contact. At this time (in the early 1600’s), Scots was more different from English than it had been or would later be (Macafee 1996). As for English, “The vast majority of those who settled in Ulster from England in the seventeenth century would have been speakers of a local English dialect, including landowners and other people of substance. Standard English speakers would have been few and far between, originating from the upper classes in the Home Counties” (Macafee 1996: xxxi). Eventually tens of thousands of Scots settled in Ulster. Scots were larger in number than the English, possibly at a ratio as high as six to one (Macafee 1996). The Lowland Scots spoken by the Scottish immigrants would become Ulster Scots, or Ullans. There were many Gaelic-speaking communities in southwest Scotland at the time of emigration to Ulster (Macafee 1996), so some Scots Gaelic likely also made its way to Ulster with them.

Native Irish communities seem to have retained Irish around the time of the Jacobite Plantation, but Irish rural areas near British towns would have been locations of stable Irish-English bilingualism, larger towns and villages would have seen shift from Irish to English, and British communities would have had a fair amount of dialect contact (Corrigan 2010). Irish and Scots/English “would have coexisted and mingled in the minds of bilinguals, without much regulation from standard forms of either language. The influences of Irish on Ulster English/Scots are therefore extensive, and can, moreover, be very subtle” (Macafee 1996: xxxiii). Furthermore, forms from English or Scots may have been reinforced by Irish, since Irish is in the same language family as both Scots and English (namely, Indo-European) and there has been a fair amount of contact and borrowing among the languages (Macafee 1996: xxxiii). In Ulster today, there are only a small number of Irish (Gaelic)-speaking communities in County Donegal. They are part of the Gaeltacht which includes areas where Irish has only recently stopped being spoken and areas where it is still spoken. This Gaelic is in fact very similar to Scots Gaelic (Macafee 1996). English in these areas has many Irish Gaelic lexical items, as well as grammatical and phonological features likely from Irish Gaelic.

2.4.3 *Summary/conclusions: PosA in sixteenth-eighteenth century Scottish Lowlands*

We cannot completely rule out the possibility of PosA originating in Ulster, then being taken from Ulster to southwest Scotland. Macafee (1996: xxx), in the introduction to *The Concise Ulster Dictionary*, notes: “When a word or form is found both in Ulster and in Scotland, and is not widespread or well documented in Scots, we must consider the possibility that it has travelled from Ulster to Scotland. This should be borne in mind, especially for words of unknown origin which turn up within Scotland only in Ayrshire, Glasgow or the South-West.” Further, the oldest attested example of PosA is from Ireland, in 1898, as noted above. *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST) which covers Old Scots to the end of Middle Scots has no entries for PosA. The *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND), which covers the period of Modern Scots, from 1700 to 2005, has several entries for PosA between 1928 and 1993, as noted in the previous sections.

The relative lack of PosA in Scotland before the twentieth century is perplexing; however, the majority of the PosA examples discussed earlier are from dictionaries. Depending on the type of dictionary, they may be conservative or prescriptive (not cataloguing innovations or non-standard variants); they may be based on sources that are reflective of formal speech styles, such as literary works (e.g., *OED, Dictionary of the Scots Language*) or examples collected from the public (e.g., *OED, A Concise Ulster Dictionary*). In short, they may not be as reflective of an individual's vernacular (most native, unreflected-upon language) as, for example, casual speech, so it is entirely possible that PosA was used in Scottish communities before the twentieth century but its use was not recorded in dictionaries. Personal letters (discussed in the next section) can come closer to the vernacular. Further, evidence from the distribution of PosA examples and from migration patterns points to an origin of PosA in sixteenth to eighteenth-century Scotland. PosA in the British Isles has been attested in Argyll, Scotland, and in various places in Ireland, mainly Ulster. The largest single migration between Scotland and Northern Ireland was during the plantation of Scots speakers in the north of Ireland in the early seventeenth century. It is therefore most likely that PosA emerged in Scotland before or during the seventeenth century.

2.5 Corpus study: anymore and related words near the time and place of change

I have reviewed the previous analyses of API and free choice item (FCI) *any*, provided the different meanings of API and 'positive' *anymore* to help tease apart possible instances of each, and established that the most likely time and place of *anymore*'s loss of polarity sensitivity was sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland. I will now provide a description of the state of *anymore* and related lexical items around this time and place using results from a corpus study I conducted. The *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (ScotsCorr, 1540-1750) (Meurman-Solin 2017) is my main source of primary data. This section begins with the research question that directed the study. I then describe my methods, including the corpora and texts used. I conclude with the results of the primary data.

2.5.1 *Research question*

In order to understand how the changes in *anymore* came about, I wanted to know the state of *anymore* and related lexical items at the likeliest time of the change. I therefore asked the following research question:

- In what syntactic environments and semantic contexts are aspectual adverbial *anymore* and similar words and phrases found in sixteenth to eighteenth century Scots and/or Scottish English?

Two things could have changed when API *anymore* was reanalyzed as PosA: 1) the meaning of *anymore*, 2) the licensors of *anymore*, or both. Hindle & Sag (1973) and Punske & Barss (2010), as discussed above, argue that it was only the possible licensing contexts that changed. However, since the meaning of API *anymore*'s presupposition ($\alpha\phi$) remains constant regardless of the context in which it is found, but PosA's presupposition ($\neg\alpha\phi$) can change according to the polarity of the context in which it is found, as established in section 2.3, their meanings are clearly different. I use the meanings of API *anymore* and PosA to determine whether a given instance of *anymore* in a corpus is PosA or not.

2.5.2 *Methods*

Since previous literature on PosA has suggested Scots/Scottish English in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries as the most likely dialect and time period of reanalysis of API *anymore* to PosA, I searched corpora of Scottish texts during that period. I chose to use corpora of written correspondence as my main sources because these have several advantages that I detail below. I then describe the corpora consulted.

2.5.2.1 *Advantages of letters as data source*

One challenge to studying a form that was not a feature of standard English and likely began as a change from below the level of consciousness⁵ is that it would be most likely to surface in vernacular Scottish speech. Obviously, I do not have access to spoken Scots or Scottish English from sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Certain kinds of writing are nonetheless more ‘vernacular’ than others, and can help to uncover changes that began in spoken, spontaneous speech. Personal letters have been argued to be one of the less planned, less formal genres of writing (Nevalainen 1999, a.o.). Meurman-Solin (2016: 17) says regarding letters as a data source that they represent “on-line language use in an explicitly interactive communicative situation. This means that there is relatively little or no editing,” and that the language is often “virtually unaffected by standardizing trends”. She warns that it is nevertheless necessary to take into account the fact that there might be formulaic language in letters, and that social conventions of letter writing might influence that language in letters.

As Montgomery & Gregg (1997: 585) note, “From written documents, it is not always possible to achieve a very full, clear or direct view of speech, and this is especially true when one variety of language (in this case Scots) comes to be dominated by another (English) that becomes superordinate by developing a standard written form of great functional diversity and by acquiring social prestige”. Some genres of writing maintained Scots features longer or began to show them again sooner, however. Letters between (Scotland) Scottish family members show Scots features into the seventeenth century (MacQueen 1957, cited in Montgomery & Gregg 1997).

Further, personal letters tend to be more socially representative than other kinds of text that have traditionally been used in historical linguistics (e.g., literature). There are often more women and a wider variety of social classes and education levels represented in corpora of personal letters; literature tends to only feature educated male authors from middle and upper classes (Nevalainen 1999). Meurman-Solin (2004: 28) notes that, “the best informants

⁵As discussed in Chapter 1.

	1540-1599	1600-1649	1650-1699	1700-1749	Total	%	N Informants	N Letters
Male	45,514	159,759	79,429	41,474	326,176	78.1	340	1,000
Female	2,468	32,113	37,041	14,699	86,321	20.7	118	335
Court	3,669	1,543	-	-	5,212	1.2	8	27
Total	51,651	193,415	116,470	56,173	417,709		466	1,362
%	12.4	46.3	27.9	13.4		100		

Table 2.4: Informants in the *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (ScotsCorr; based on Meurman-Solin 2016: 24)

for reconstructing practices of a speech community can be found in texts written in private settings by non-professional, preferably less trained and relatively inexperienced writers.” Meurman-Solin (2016: 5) says that correspondence “offers both linguists and historians a wide range of informants representing different degrees of linguistic, stylistic, and socio-cultural literacy”. I have therefore chosen as my main source of data the *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (ScotsCorr) (Meurman-Solin 2017).

2.5.2.2 Corpora, texts used

I used several corpora for data, which I describe in this section. The *Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence* (ScotsCorr) (Meurman-Solin 2017) contains approximately 417,000 words of Scottish correspondence, comprised of 1,362 letters written by 466 informants, both male and female (21%) authors, between 1540 and 1750. It is coded for many variables including date, region where letter was written, region of origin of author, gender of author, and addressee. It was designed to be “diachronically representative” (Meurman-Solin 2016: 19). Table 2.4 gives an overview of authors of letters in the ScotsCorr. The seventeenth century is the most well-covered period in the corpus; before 1560, the corpus is less representative of different social classes and regions of Scotland.

The ScotsCorr was compiled specifically with historical dialectology and historical sociolinguistics in mind. It is meant to be comparable to other corpora of personal letters such as the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler* (CEECS). It “aims to permit the user to detect a wide range of variation and variability in Older Scots by including idiolects of professional writers and other writers with university education, as well as less-trained and inexperienced writers, and by rejecting all practices of normalization and standardization in transcribing and digitizing the manuscript texts” (Meurman-Solin 2017: 14). Letters in the ScotsCorr come from original manuscripts (not copies), and attempts were made to include mostly letters with a single author who wrote the letter themselves, and did not dictate to a secretary. Meurman-Solin (2016) stresses that visual prosody is important for letters from this time period: since punctuation was not regularized, things such as the size and shape of letters and spacing on the page help to demarcate clause and phrase boundaries. These are represented in the corpus using symbols, which I have left in the examples used in this thesis. See Meurman-Solin (2016) for a key to the transcribers’ symbols.

I also consulted the following corpora in order to find examples of PosA: the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (HCOS) (Compiled by Meurman-Solin 1995), *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing* (CMSW) (Corbett et al. 2007), the *Irish Emigration Database* (IED) (The Mellon Centre for Migration Studies 2017), and *A Corpus of Irish English* (CIE) (Hickey 2003). I found no clear examples of PosA in them other than the ambiguous examples reported later in this chapter, and will not report any further findings from these corpora in this thesis.

The *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (HCOS) (Compiled by Meurman-Solin 1995) covers the period from 1450 to 1700. It is a supplement to the diachronic part of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (Kytö 1993), and uses the same compilation principles and coding system to allow for easy comparison between the two and other similar corpora. Both corpora were compiled for the study of sociohistorical variation. The HCOS “provides material for studying the last stages of the differentiation of the northern English dialect, the rise of a distinctive Scottish variety of English and the anglicization process of Scots” (Meurman-Solin 1995: 50). It includes a variety of less formal, more “speech-like” text types, including “acts

Period	Word count
1450–1500	85,100
1500–1570	201,800
1570–1640	305,900
1640–1700	241,400
Total	834,200

Table 2.5: Periods and word counts in the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (Meurman-Solin 1995: 50)

of Parliament, burgh records, trial proceedings, histories, biographies, travelogues, diaries, pamphlets, educational treatises, scientific treatises, handbooks, private letters, official letters, sermons and the Bible” (Meurman-Solin 1995: 50-51). The basic structure of periods and word counts is shown in Table 2.5. The texts have been coded for a number of language-external variables, including age, social rank and sex of the author where available (about 20,000 words in the corpus are written by women), date of text, and many others.

The *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing (CMSW)* (Corbett et al. 2007) is a corpus of texts written between 1700 and 1945. It is designed to fill the gap in dates between the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (1450-1700) and the *Scottish Corpus of Texts & Speech* (1945-present). The *CMSW* contains more than 350 documents with approximately 5.5 million words. Its document types include novels, letters, newspapers, magazine articles, and wills.

The *Irish Emigration Database (IED)* (The Mellon Centre for Migration Studies 2017) is a collection of letters written to or from emigrants from Ireland, mainly to or from their friends and families. The majority are from Ulster, and they cover the period from 1700 to the mid-1900s. These emigrant letters provide an excellent source for historical (socio)linguists, since as Montgomery (1995: 27-28) points out, they are “first-person accounts from the hands of individuals across much of the social spectrum”, written by both men and women (though

mainly by men, as they tended to emigrate more in the early days of emigration to North America) of various ages in “an intimate, informal style”.

A Corpus of Irish English (CIE) (Hickey 2003) is a collection of seventy texts from between the thirteenth and twentieth centuries. It “gathers together the main documents for the English language in Ireland throughout its history” (*A Corpus of Irish English* 2017). It is made up of mostly novels and plays, and includes Irish authors and non-Irish authors depicting the speech of Irish characters.

2.5.3 Results

I provide the results of my corpus searches in this section. I found no clear instances of PosA, but I did find several possible examples that I discuss below. Because *anymore* is a low frequency variable and there were no unambiguous PosA examples, I widened the focus of the search to all examples of *any*. I will present results of *any* (including in compounds with *more* and other ‘addition’ words) from the ScotsCorr. The main findings are the following: aspectual adverbial *anymore* and synonymous adverbials *any further/longer* always have a ‘positive’ presupposition, like API *any more* and unlike PosA; *any* (all parts of speech) is found only in API or FCI contexts; two instances of aspectual adverbial *any longer* are found in non-canonical-API contexts; aspectual adverbials *any further, longer* in the ScotsCorr are found mainly in contexts with future orientation, but past reference is possible; aspectual *anymore* and synonymous *any further/onger* in the ScotsCorr are only found in imperfective contexts (states, habitual events, or in-progress events).

2.5.3.1 Possible PosA examples from corpora: discussion

No clear, unambiguous instances of ‘positive’ *anymore* with the meaning ‘nowadays’ or ‘from now on’ were found in any of the corpora searched. However, there are two possible instances of PosA with such a meaning which I discuss below. To review the discussion of polarity sensitivity in Chapter 1, APIs are subject to different licensing conditions cross-linguistically, but the following are generally agreed upon in the literature on APIs to represent the core

cases of API licensing contexts, and cover the main contexts for *any* (not including on the free choice reading) and aspectual adverbs *anymore*, *any longer*, *any further* in Modern Scots and English.

APIs in some languages including Modern Scots and English require that their overt copy be c-commanded and in the semantic scope of a nonveridical trigger, such as but not limited to the following:

- (164) a. elements that create downward-entailing (DE) contexts, such as
- negation,
 - negative-like expressions including *hardly*, *rarely*, etc.
 - negative prepositions like *without*
 - embedded nonveridical clauses under adversative or negative predicates (*doubt*, *unlikely*, etc.)
 - *too*- constructions
 - relative clauses whose heads are universal quantifiers
- b. other nonveridical contexts including
- antecedents of conditionals,
 - polar questions,
 - rhetorical questions implying that something is not true (“Who uses Myspace anymore?”, implying that nobody does),
 - comparatives

The earliest possible attestation of PosA in corpora that I searched is from 1784, written by William Hinshaw originally from Killeynell, Ireland but writing from North Carolina, to a friend in Dungannon, Ireland. This comes from the *Irish Emigrant Database* (*IED*; notations in brackets are from the transcribers):

- (165) Heaving No More At presen [present?] to Add I remain thy Affectionet [affectionate?] friend And Brother in the truth and **Any More thou May Be informed by my**

Well asteemed [esteemed?] Friend Zechoria [Zacharia?] Dix

(IED, William Hinshaw [1784], Killyneill [Ulster]/North Carolina, document ID 9501017)

As in other historical letters, punctuation and capitalization provide few cues to the constituency and sentence structure. Michael Montgomery (p.c.), a widely respected Ulster Scots specialist who is familiar with the letter collection to which this one belongs, parses this *anymore* as a fronted FCI (not API) DP that is one of the objects of *inform*. *Inform* was a double object verb in older varieties of English. The *OED* gives the following definition of one use of *inform*: “With the information given as object and the party informed as indirect object: to tell a person (something); to report, relate (a piece of information, account, etc.) to another party” (*OED*, *inform*, v.), noting that it is rare in present-day English. An example of this double-object *inform* is the following:

(166) My mother will inform you my town direction as soon as I have one. (Robert Southey, 1803, in *OED*, *inform*, v.)

So (165) without passivization and fronting would be “My Well asteemed Friend Zechoria Dix may inform you Any More [news, etc.]” As further evidence that this is not a PosA, Montgomery noted that William Hinshaw was from a Quaker family, who had emigrated to north Ireland a century earlier from Central England where PosA has not been attested, and so it would be very unlikely that he would have used PosA.

To play devil’s advocate to Montgomery’s analysis, *anymore* in example (165) could alternatively be parsed as a fronted polarity-insensitive aspectual adverb, with the reading ‘from now on, you’ll be informed...’. On this analysis, it is not c-commanded by a canonical API trigger such as those listed above at any point in the derivation (assuming it is fronted to the CP layer for topicalization and that it originated somewhere lower in the clause). The semantics would be that of PosA: the implication that a state of affairs (being habitually informed) does not hold at some point prior to reference time, which here is after speech time (since this is a future context), and the assertion that a state will hold at reference time and indefinitely into the future. This would fit well with what we know about British Isles

PosA: it is most often used in future contexts to mean ‘from now on’.

Even if this is not an unambiguous example of PosA, it is nevertheless informative. This could be evidence of a transition: *anymore* is beginning to move into the variable context (Tagliamonte 2007, a.o.) normally occupied by inceptive adverbs such as *from now on* or *henceforth*. In other words, in this context, one would expect to find a polarity insensitive inceptive adverb. When a change is in progress, there are likely to be such examples where a form is ambiguous between two readings. Once the change is complete, fewer ambiguous strings and more unambiguous examples of PosA are expected to be found, as is the case in twentieth century Scots/Scottish English and Irish English, where clear examples of PosA have been recorded.

The *Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing (CMSW)* and the Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots provides another possible example of PosA:

(167) it may easily be fancied, that a confusion must take place, and that it was impossible **any more** to keep the two declensions separate. (*CMSW, An Essay on the Scotch English Dialect*, 1862, Document 2)

This example includes the API trigger *impossible*, but *anymore*'s attachment site is ambiguous, making it difficult to determine whether it is in a nonveridical context or not. On the reading where *anymore* is in the embedded clause, it is likely API *anymore*. API *anymore* is grammatical in a clause embedded under the negative predicate:

(168) It's impossible [to do that **any more**].

On the other reading, it is in the matrix clause, which is ungrammatical for API *anymore*, but not PosA:

- (169) a. *It is impossible **any more**. (API *anymore*)
 b. It is impossible **any more**. (PosA)

If *anymore* in (167) is in the matrix clause, then this can be argued to be a PosA; if it is preposed to the subordinate clause, this is API *anymore* licensed (by a nonveridical Σ) in

the nonveridical clause which is selected by the matrix predicate *is impossible*. However, it is in past tense, which is not possible for British Isles PosA. On a somewhat related note, from this and other examples, to be discussed below, it seems that aspectual adverbials in older Scots were not always pronounced clause-finally.

2.5.3.2 Description and analyses of ScotsCorr any tokens

Since there was no unambiguous example of aspectual adverbial *anymore* found outside of the canonical API contexts listed in the previous section (that is, no clear examples of PosA), I therefore widened the focus and studied the *any* paradigm in the likeliest time and place of change (based on evidence in section 2.4): Scotland between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

Tokens of the lemma *any* were extracted from the ScotsCorr. As the corpus is not tagged for lemma, I searched for all variants of *any* listed in the *OED* and *Dictionary of the Scots Language (DOSL)* as current between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries in Scots, Scottish English, and England English. A number of tokens were removed for the following reasons: repeats of the same token (if a text was included in the corpus more than once); if they were clearly not the lemma *any* (for example, the name *Annie*); if the context was torn, damaged, or irretrievable in some way due to the condition of the original manuscript. The final count of tokens of *any* is 1,217. I coded these manually for various factors, including whether *any* is in an API context (as defined in (164)) and/or an FCI context⁶; whether *any* is in a future-oriented context; part of speech of *any*; and classification of *any*'s complement (if there is one), including part of speech of the complement and whether the complement is part of an aspectual adverb, for example *more*, *further*, or *longer* (“I will not meddle any more/longer/further”).

⁶Recall from above and Chapter 1 that determiner or pronoun *any* can be an FCI with a ‘no matter which’ reading in contexts such as intensional, generic, modal, and habitual ones (Giannakidou 2001: 663). Determiner or pronoun *any* therefore does not always require an API context. Adverb *any* quantifying adjectives or adverbs cannot have an FCI reading however, so it is licit in fewer contexts (API ones only).

2.5.3.2.1 *Any more* in DP, v/VP, and AspP There are examples in the ScotsCorr of *any more* of various parts of speech and that modify different types of constituent. This is similar to the situation in present-day Englishes. Examples below include examples of *any more* that are pronouns (170), that quantify nouns (171), and that quantify events or are aspectual adverbs (172).

(170) *Any more* as pronoun in the ScotsCorr⁷

the geaveing of the \reson will be suffecint with out saying **any****mor** in apologising for him

‘the giving of the reason will be sufficient without saying any more in apologizing for him’

(ScotsCorr, Helen Cochrane, Lady Strathnaver [1686], Sutherland [North], Dunrobin, text ID 1170; translation mine)

(171) *Any more* quantifying nouns in the ScotsCorr

a. I will nott take **any more pains** \wpon ym~

‘I will not take any more pains on/with them.’

(ScotsCorr, John Campbell of Glenorchy[1692], Argyllshire[Southwest], Edinburgh, text ID 1613; translation mine)

b. If I get **any more newes** before \this letter goe I will put them \in a post Scriptum

(ScotsCorr, John Seton[1642], Lothian[Southeast], London, text ID 1510)

(172) *Any more* as aspectual adverb in the ScotsCorr

a. I will not trubell your la / **anie more** for the present till I heiar frome your la

‘I will not trouble your ladyship any more for the present until I hear from your ladyship.’

⁷The symbols and punctuation marks in the ScotsCorr examples are from the transcribers and have to do with visual prosody. See Meurman-Solin (2016) for a key to these symbols.

(ScotsCorr, Charles Erskine of Cambuskenneth[1640], Stirlingshire[Southeast], text ID 484; translation mine)

b. I assuir \zou I will not **anie moir** inter\tein it

‘I assure you I will not any more entertain it.’

(ScotsCorr, William Douglas[1627], Lothian[Southeast]/London, text ID 1378; translation mine)

2.5.3.2.2 Semantics of aspectual adverbial *any more* As mentioned in the introduction to this subsection, there were no examples of PosA in the ScotsCorr. Recall from section 2.3 that the meaning of *anymore* (polarity-sensitive or not) is presuppositional only. The difference in meaning between API *anymore* and PosA is that API *anymore* presupposes (like aspectual adverb *still*) that $\alpha\phi$ for a period before reference time, while PosA presupposes $\neg\alpha\phi$ for a period before reference time. All tokens of adverbial *anymore* in the ScotsCorr (totaling only 7 tokens) with an aspectual adverbial reading had a positive presupposition, and thus were not examples of PosA. For example, as described in the previous paragraph, the presupposition of (172a) is ‘I trouble your ladyship before reference time (=now)’; the presupposition of (204) is ‘I entertain it before reference time (=now)’. The same is true of synonymous aspectual adverbials *any further* and *any longer* (total of 13 tokens).

2.5.3.2.3 ‘Canonical’ API contexts Aspectual *anymore* in the ScotsCorr is only found in canonical API contexts as listed in (164). Widening the focus to include aspectual adverbials *any further* and *any longer*, *any longer* is found in two contexts that are not listed in (164):

(173) assure \him y=t= **any longir** I will not delay? him

‘assure him that any longer I will not delay him’

(ScotsCorr, James Sutherland[1682], Moray[North]/Elgin, text ID 1573; translation mine)

(174) I houpe your Lo / will giwe such \direction that they may rather stay \b**any longer**

for ships nor after they \f2 ar shiped (ScotsCorr, Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll[1627], Argyllshire[Southwest]/Orchard, text ID 959)

‘I hope your Lordship will give such direction that they may in fact stay/stop any longer for ships than/until after they are shipped...’

In (173) *any longer* is in a sentence with negation, but is not c-commanded by it as an API licensed by the negative marker would be in present-day English or Scots. In (211) *any longer* has no ‘typical’ API trigger in the sentence at all.

Widening the focus even more to all tokens of *any*, it is found in API or FCI contexts exclusively in the ScotsCorr: 875 of 1217 tokens (72%) are in API contexts, and 342 of 1217 tokens (28%) are in FCI contexts. There is no discernable pattern for whether they are more likely to be found in an API context (versus FCI context) by time period. The Figure 2.3 illustrates this (*yes* means that *any* plus its potential complement are in an API context; *no* means that they are not, so are FCIs): There appears to be a general trend toward *any* being found more often in API (versus FCI) contexts, but the differences between expected and observed frequencies are not significant.

2.5.3.2.4 Tense, mood, and future orientation Regarding tense and mood, Present Day English aspectual API adverb *anymore* is possible with any tense, though more common in modal future or present tense. Aspectual adverbial *anymore* in the ScotsCorr is found only in the modal future (with *will*) or non-finite contexts with a future reading. Widening the focus, aspectual adverbials *any further/longer* in the ScotsCorr are found only in modal or present tense contexts, mainly with future orientation. They are not found in the past tense (except for modal *should*), but past reference is possible, as the following shows:

(175) ...it was not possible to live **any longer** with her . (ScotsCorr, James Erskine [1730], Stirlingshire [Southeast] /Edinburgh, text ID 1802)

A chi-square test of independence was run to determine whether there is a relationship between part of speech of *any* (DP, determiner, or adverb) and future orientation, or ‘fu-

le(CSCAny_03132018\$Period, CSCAny_03132018`NPI coi

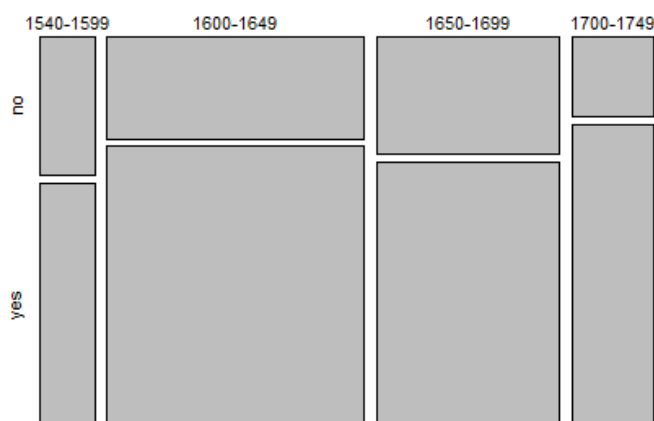


Figure 2.3: API context (y/n) of all tokens of *any* by time period

tureness' of the context in which it is found. Tokens whose 'futureness' of context or part of speech were unclear or ambiguous were excluded from the test. The relationship is significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 1,170) = 9.1498, p = .01$. As the mosaic plot⁸ in Figure 2.4 shows, adverb *any*, although small in number in the corpus ($N=26$), and determiner *any* are more likely to be in a future-oriented context, while DP *any* is more likely to be in a non-future oriented context. The largest difference between expected and observed frequencies is for adverb *any*, as the standardized residuals in Table 2.6 show. The majority (21 of 26) of the adverbs in this sub-corpus are modifying an adverb of 'addition', *further*, *longer*, or *more*.

Another chi-square test, this time for the relationship between 'futureness' of context and complement type of *any* was performed. Again, tokens whose 'futureness' of context

⁸Mosaic plots are a graphical representation of the cell frequencies in a contingency table. The size of the boxes corresponds to the frequencies in each cell in the table, i.e., of each pairing of variants, adverb without a future reading (Adv x no), adverb with future reading (Adv x yes), etc.

```
table(FRYesNoPOSSimp$POS, FRYesNoPOSSimp$FR)
```

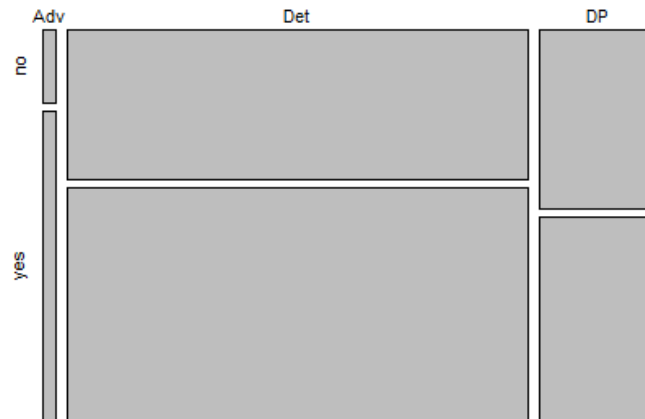


Figure 2.4: Future reading (y/n) of context containing *any*, by part of speech of *any*

	No	Yes
Adv	-2.227262	2.227262
Det	-1.333479	1.333479
DP	2.208367	-2.208367

Table 2.6: Standardized residuals: future orientation of context (yes or no) by part of speech of *any*

	Adtn	None	NP	Of + DP	other
no	-3.0421558	1.3292972	-0.8244968	2.1627850	-0.1303059
yes	3.0421558	-1.3292972	0.8244968	-2.1627850	0.1303059

Table 2.7: Standardized residuals: future orientation of context (yes or no) by *any*'s complement type

was unclear or ambiguous were discarded for this test. Complement types were divided into five groups. First, the ‘additionality’ group included all instances of *more*, *further*, or *longer* whether they were NPs, adjectives, or determiners. The other four groups were not ‘additionality’ items, and were divided into the following groups: no complement (i.e., *any* is a DP), NP, *of* + DP, or other. ‘Other’ includes complements of *any* that are relative clauses, verbs, comparative adjectives and adverbs (e.g., *any sooner*), and other complements that are ambiguous between more than one part of speech. This ‘other’ category was created as some of the complement types listed had very low numbers of tokens and would not be suitable for a chi-square test (since there should be at least five expected tokens per cell).

The relationship between complement type and future orientation of context is also significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 1,178) = 14.96, p < .005$. The standardized residuals in Table 2.7 show that the largest difference between expected and observed frequencies of *any* in future-oriented versus non-future-oriented contexts is in the ‘additionality’ category, which is more likely to occur in a future-oriented context.

A chi-square goodness of fit test using only tokens of *further*, *longer*, and *more* that are VP/aspectual adverbs, for ‘future reading’ of context (excluding tokens where the future reading was not clear) shows that the difference in number of actual observations from expected observations is significant, $\chi^2(1, N = 20) = 9.8, p < .002$.

Using only tokens of *further*, *longer*, and *more*, a chi-square test for independence of VP/aspectual adverbials (that is, *any* plus aspectual adverbial complement *further*, *longer*, and *more*) versus *further*, *longer*, and *more* of all other parts of speech (VP adverbs, NPs,

adjectives) did not show a significant relationship between future orientation of context and VP/aspectual adverb-ness in this group.

No other sets of factors were found to have a significant relationship, including time period (divided into four time periods, according to the ScotsCorr’s coding scheme: 1540-1599; 1600-1649; 1650-1699; 1700-1749) and API context with other factors such as part of speech, ‘additionality’, complement type, or future orientation.

A caveat should be made for these tests: chi-squared tests assume that each observation is independent, but this is not necessarily the case, as there are likely multiple observations per letter and/or author.

2.5.3.2.5 Aspect Aspectual *anymore*, *any further*, and *any longer* are found in imperfective contexts only. They can appear with events that are habitual or states, or that are single in-progress episodes (or that are ambiguous between in-progress or habitual). An example of an event that is a single episode is the following.

- (176) I will not trubell your la / **anie more** for the present till I heiar frome your la
 ‘I will not trouble your ladyship any more for the present until I hear form your ladyship.’
 (ScotsCorr, Charles Erskine of Cambuskenneth[1640], Stirlingshire[Southeast], text ID 484; translation mine)

There is a single event of troubling, and the writer says he will end this event for the present. The writer does not say that he will end a habitual event of troubling, but an in-progress event, signaled by the phrase “for the present”.

2.5.4 Summary: any (more) around the time of reanalysis from API > PosA

I established in section 2.4 that sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots was the likely period and language in which PosA developed. This conclusion was based on the distribution of PosA (southwest Scotland, northern parts of Ireland [Ulster], and areas of North America

settled by Scots Irish) and migration patterns (Scotland > Ulster in seventeenth century; later Ulster > North America). The main findings about *anymore* and related words and phrases in corpora from this period of Scots and Scottish (or Scots Irish) English, mainly the ScotsCorr (1540-1750), are the following:

(177) Main points: *anymore* and related items in the ScotsCorr (1540-1750) around the time of reanalysis leading to PosA

- Aspectual adverbial *anymore* and synonymous adverbials *any further/longer* always have a ‘positive’ presupposition, like API *any more* and unlike PosA that is attested later in Scotland and Ireland.
- *Any* (all parts of speech) is found only in API or FCI contexts.
- Aspectual *anymore* and synonymous *any further* in the ScotsCorr is only found in canonical API contexts; two instances of synonymous *any longer* are found in non-canonical-API contexts.
- Aspectual adverbials *any further, longer* in the ScotsCorr are found mainly in contexts with future orientation, but past reference is possible.
- There is a statistically significant relationship between *any*’s complement type and future orientation of context. *Any* quantifying ‘addition’ words *more, further, or longer* (any part of speech) was the likeliest complement type to be in a future-oriented context.
- There is a statistically significant relationship between part of speech of *any* (DP, determiner, or adverb) and future orientation of context. Adverb *any* is the likeliest to be in a future-oriented context.
-
- Aspectual *anymore* and synonymous *any further/longer* in the ScotsCorr are only found in imperfective contexts. These can be states, habitual events, or in-progress events.

2.6 Secondary sources

I also consulted dictionaries and linguistics articles and books to glean examples of PosA in Scotland and the north of Ireland. Most of these are not from the period of Scots in question but will be helpful in determining the characteristics of the earliest examples of British Isles PosA. I do not include these examples from secondary sources in any statistical tests, but I discuss their properties below.

Recall from section 2.4 that *anymore* most likely changed from API to non-API in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland based on the distribution of PosA (southwest Scotland, northern parts of Ireland [Ulster], and areas of North America settled by Scots Irish) and migration patterns (Scotland > Ulster in seventeenth century; later Ulster > North America). Since no examples of PosA were found in the ScotsCorr, which covers the period from 1540 to 1749, we must look forward in time to the first attestations of PosA in Scotland and Ireland.

The earliest PosA cited in Scotland is from 1928, in the *Dictionary of the Scots Language's* (*DOSL*) entry for *any more* (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.). These examples are repeated from section 2.4.

(178) There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring **any more**. (1928, Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg)

(179) It's waarm for the time o' year, an' it'll be waarmer **any more**. (1928, Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg.)

As also discussed in section 2.4, the *DOSL* defines this *any more* as follows: "In affirmative sentences, 'from now onwards; henceforth'". (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

PosA examples from Ireland include (180), repeated from section 2.4. As mentioned, this is the earliest unambiguous example of PosA.

(180) A servant being instructed how to act, will answer 'I will do it **any more**'. (Wright 1898)

The definition given is “for the future; used in positive, as well as negative phr.” (Wright 1898).

There is an earlier example of *any more*, from 1859, but not everyone agrees that it is ‘positive’. The *OED* lists this example with other examples of PosA “in affirmative contexts” with the meaning “now; at the present time; from now on”, noting that it is “chiefly Irish English and N. Amer. colloq.” (*OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.). The DARE also lists this as an example of PosA.

(181) A servant will say, ‘The potatoes is all **any more**,’ i.e. are all gone [now]. (J. R. Bartlett, 1859, *Dict. Americanisms* (ed. 2), *All any more*, cited in Cassidy 1985)

Willis (2017: 2, fn. 2) notes that this is not a clear example of PosA, since *all* means ‘gone’ in this example and could therefore be an adversative predicate with a meaning like ‘not there’, thus qualifying as a weak API context. However, unless *all* is sentential negation or inherently negative in this dialect as in example (182a), this would be a veridical clause and would not be an API context for most varieties of English, as in example (182b):

- (182) a. *The potatoes are gone **any more**.
 b. The potatoes are nonexistent/not here **any more**.

A *Concise Ulster Dictionary*, a dictionary of the dialect of Scots and English in Ulster, Northern Ireland, gives the definition “used in positive contexts; from now on” for PosA (Macafee 1996) and the following example:

(183) I think it’ll be fine **any more**. (Macafee 1996)

No source is given for this example. The dictionary is “an edited compilation of a number of mainly amateur wordlists” (p. xv), but the editor took care to verify that words appeared in more than one source when possible, and consulted other experts in Ulster culture and language. The words in the dictionary were collected between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Traynor’s (1953) County Donegal (in Ulster) glossary includes the following definition

of *anymore* in the entry “*Any* (a:ni, o:ni), adv., pron.”: “used in positive: for the future”⁹. The following example is attributed to “Mr. William McMEnamin and Family”, from the village of Cloghan in Donegal.

(184) I think it’ll be fine **any more**; The water in the lower well is better and I’ll go there **any more**. (Traynor 1953)

Montgomery (2006a) is a collection of lexical items that are found in both Ulster Scots and (some varieties of) American English, likely originating in the former, he argues. Each entry includes definitions, examples drawn from other sources and from Montgomery’s own files, and other relevant information such as etymology, when available. The entry for “any-more, any more *adv* (in positive constructions)” states: “In Ulster used predominantly in the future tense to mean ‘from now on’, a usage unknown in the U.S., where the form occurs in the present tense with the meaning ‘now, nowadays, at present’, i.e. to indicate a contrasting state of affairs to the past” (p. 9). In addition to examples from other sources, the Ulster examples of PosA include the following example overheard in Ulster:

(185) The Orange marches have become increasingly working class. If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Montgomery 2006a)

Kallen (1997, 2013) provides the following examples of PosA (examples (186a), (187c), and (188a) are repeated from section 2.4). As discussed in section 2.4, Kallen shows that there are three different uses/senses of PosA in Ireland: ‘from now on’, ‘now(adays)’, and ‘still’.

(186) PosA: ‘from now on’

- a. Maybe that’s where they’re going to be kept now **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; Dublin, from field notes)
- b. Every child will make it [first communion] in second class **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; and Kallen 2013: 164; Aran Islands, context is “a schoolteacher dis-

⁹Interestingly, Traynor also defines *any time* as “from now on”, though I have not seen this in other sources consulted.

cussing a new policy regarding the timing of first communion for Catholic pupils”, Kallen 2013: 164)

- c. We can do our homework on this [desk] **anymore**, can’t we? (Kallen 1997: 153; and Kallen 2013: 164; Dublin, from field notes)
- d. Exit through the center doors **anymore**. (Kallen 2013: 164; Dublin, from field notes; context is “bus driver’s instruction to passengers concerning a new policy of exiting Dublin buses by centre doors, rather than by the door at the front of the bus”, Kallen 2013: 164)
- e. They’re going to doll her up **anymore**. (Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)
- f. That’s the number you’re to use **anymore**. (Kallen 2013: 164; unknown provenance, from field notes)

(187) PosA: ‘nowadays’

- a. The grant is gone down but it’s only a small portion of it [the total cost] **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; Galway/Dublin, from field notes)
- b. It’s getting hard to find them **anymore**.¹⁰ (Kallen 1997: 153; and Kallen 2013: 164; provenance unknown; from field notes)
- c. Wool is so expensive **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; and Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)
- d. Die fast **anymore**! (meaning “Now, die fast!”; Kallen 1997: 153; Dublin, from field notes; paraphrase by an adult of what a child said while playing)
- e. I think people care less **anymore**. (Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)
- f. People are very rude **anymore**. (Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)
- g. Being married to the job **anymore** isn’t a guarantee of promotion to executive. (Kallen 2013: 164 provenance unknown, from field notes; context is “the speaker

¹⁰This could be an API for some speakers, as argued in DeJong (2016).

...is commenting on changes in workplace practice”, Kallen 2013: 164)

(188) PosA: ‘still’

- a. I wish I could look at the world that way **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; and Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes)
- b. I’ve completely forgotten that Esther needs a lunch **anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153; and Kallen 2013: 164; Galway, from field notes; context is “the speaker is remarking that her daughter still needs to have a lunch made for her during summer holidays”, Kallen 2013: 164)

As Kallen (1997, 2013, p.c.) points out, these examples are unique compared to other examples reported in the literature for a number of reasons. First, it appears that PosA is also present outside of Ulster, found also in Galway, Dublin, and the Aran Islands. The geographic distribution is thus wider than the data from other sources suggests—most (if not all) examples of Irish PosA in other sources are from Ulster. As Kallen remarks (2013, p.c.) however, there is still a restricted distribution of PosA: it has not been reported in the southeast of Ireland. His examples are from field notes and were not part of a random sample from what I understand, so this may be merely suggestive of a pattern.

The second unique aspect of Kallen’s data is that, while many other sources have focused on the ‘from now on’ sense of PosA in Ireland and Scotland, Kallen reports several examples of the ‘nowadays’ sense, and some that he analyzes as having a ‘still’ sense. The two examples of what Kallen says are PosA with a ‘still’ sense are arguably either PosA with a ‘nowadays’ sense or APIs, however. Example (188a) may be an API licensed by a nonveridical operator: “I wish I could look at the world that way anymore” implies that the speaker does not look at the world that way, and the embedded clause may be interpreted as nonveridical. It could also be argued to be PosA with a ‘nowadays’ interpretation. The ‘still’ interpretation is only possible if it is part of the subordinate clause (“I wish that it was still the case that I look at the world that way”). If *anymore* is part of the matrix clause, a PosA with a ‘nowadays’ sense emerges: an implication that in the past ‘I did not wish’, and an assertion that ‘I wish’

now ('...that I could look at the world that way'). Without more knowledge of the context of the conversation, and what the speaker's intention was, it is difficult to determine with certainty the interpretation of this *anymore*. In example (188b), "I've completely forgotten that Esther needs a lunch anymore" is equivalent to "I did not remember that Esther needs a lunch anymore", so *forgotten* could be a negative predicate. This example is unlikely to be a PosA adjoined to the matrix clause since PosA requires a state, and *have forgotten* is perfective.

Milroy (1981: 4) records the following examples of PosA from speakers in west Donegal:

- (189) a. They're getting big boys **anymore**.
 b. This is the way they do it **anymore**.
 c. It'll be all right anyway **anymore**.
 d. I'll be getting six or seven days' holiday **anymore**. (Milroy 1981: 4)

A Dictionary of Hiberno-English includes the following examples of PosA:

- (190) a. I swear I'll do it **anymore**. (Dolan 2006: 9)
 b. He fights a lot **any more**. (Crystal 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)

The *OED*'s entry for *anymore* defines PosA as "In affirmative contexts: now; at the present time; from now on", and attributes it to "Chiefly Irish English and N. Amer. colloq." ((*OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv., sense C1b). Aside from other examples from sources already given, the entry includes the following PosA example:

- (191) We'll squeeze Michael a bit. He'll chip in **anymore**. (*Whistle in Dark*, T. Murphy 1971, cited in *OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.)

This quote is from a 1971 play by T. Murphy, a native of Tuam, County Galway, Ireland.

2.6.1 Summary: PosA after reanalysis (from secondary sources)

The main properties of PosA in Scotland and Ireland that are relevant to this thesis can be summarized as follows. First, there are two main senses of PosA: 'from now on' or

	‘from now on’ (S_E)	‘now, nowadays’ (S,E)	Total
Future			
<i>will</i>	11		11
<i>be going to</i>	2		2
Modal			
<i>can</i>	1		1
Imperative	1	1	2
Present (habitual or stative)		9	9
Non-finite	1	1	2
Total	16	11	27

Table 2.8: Positive *anymore* in Scotland and Ireland by tense and/or mood and sense

‘nowadays’. As noted in the literature, ‘from now on’ is the most attested sense in British Isles PosA. However, the ‘nowadays’ meaning is also well-represented (though mostly from Kallen’s examples). As discussed in section 2.3 and as can be seen in Table 2.8, the ‘from now on’ sense is found mainly in future or modal contexts. In all examples with the ‘from now on’ reading, the asserted event begins after speech time (see (189c) for example). The ‘nowadays’ sense is found mainly in present, habitual contexts, as can be seen in Table 2.8. It is never found with in-progress progressive aspect. In all examples with the ‘nowadays’ meaning, the asserted event overlaps with speech time (see (190b) for example). Table 2.8 groups the twenty-seven adequately unambiguous examples of PosA by tense/mood and sense. As can also be seen in Table 2.8, there are no examples of British Isles PosA in the past tense or with an asserted event in the past tense. This is in contrast to API *anymore* in the ScotsCorr (as noted earlier) and in Present Day English. It does not require any kind of API (nonveridical) context, however.

The meaning of all examples of British Isles PosA is as in Table 2.2: the meaning of *anymore* in [$\alpha\phi$ anymore] is a presupposition that $\neg\alpha\phi$ for a period before reference time. API *anymore*'s presupposition is the opposite of PosA's: $\alpha\phi$ for a period before reference time.

Finally, while aspectual adverb *anymore* in the ScotsCorr could have an in-progress reading, British Isles PosA is only found with states or habitual events. The following example, repeated from earlier, illustrates the use in habitual contexts:

- (192) The Orange marches have become increasingly working class. If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Montgomery 2006a)

The main properties of British Isles PosA (all from the late nineteenth century or later) are the following:

- (193) Main properties: 'positive' *anymore* in Scotland and Ireland (late 19th century-early 21st century)
- – PosA has a 'negative' presupposition, unlike API *any more* in the ScotsCorr.
 - PosA is not restricted to API (nonveridical) contexts.
 - PosA is only found in present or future tenses, with the asserted event overlapping or after speech time. Past tense and asserted events in the past are not found.
 - PosA is only possible with states or habitual events; in-progress progressive is not found.

In the next chapter, I will provide a formal description of *anymore* both pre- and post-reanalysis, and will give a proposal for how the change from API *anymore* to PosA proceeded.

2.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided background and language data from primary and secondary sources that will be the starting point for an analysis of the original change from polarity-sensitive *anymore* to British Isles 'positive' *anymore* (PosA). I argued based on migration

patterns and the distribution of PosA that it was most likely innovated between the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries in Scotland. In the next chapter, I will provide a formal description of *anymore* both pre- and post-reanalysis, and will give a proposal for how the change from API *anymore* to PosA proceeded.

Chapter 3

ANALYSIS: SCOTS POLARITY SENSITIVE *ANYMORE* >
POSITIVE *ANYMORE***3.1 Introduction**

Once the change that resulted in ‘positive’ *anymore* (PosA) has been localized in space and time, we can begin to investigate the central question of this chapter: how and why did the change from API (Affective Polarity Item) *anymore* to PosA happen? There have been many proposals for the development of PosA. Some assume that the reanalysis that resulted in loss of polarity sensitivity happened in North America, which I argued in Chapter 2 was not the case based on migration patterns (Scotland > Ireland > North America) and the distribution of PosA. Instead, there was a single *anymore* that lost polarity sensitivity, likely in Scotland between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries, and this PosA spread with migrations to north Ireland and North America. I will give additional evidence in Chapters 4 and 5 that PosA in all these places is the same one, but has undergone predictable changes. There are some proposals for the emergence of PosA that argue that it happened in the British Isles, but few go into detail or use data from the time and place of likely change.

In this chapter, I will propose that aspectual API *anymore* was reanalyzed in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland (in Middle Scots). Pre-change, it is a ‘continuative’ aspectual adverb adjoined to AspP. As a continuative adverb it is only possible in imperfective contexts. It has uninterpretable polarity features [uVer: nonver] that Agree with a nonveridical licenser. I propose that post-change, PosA is an aspectual adverb with [boundary] features that also adjoins to AspP. It requires non-episodic, non-past events, which in my analysis is due to its feature [non-specific/indefinite]. The reanalysis likely happened in a future irrealis context that also contained negation. This was a transitional context where

a language acquirer could interpret *anymore* as polarity sensitive or as requiring contexts with non-specific, indefinite events. I will argue that there was one additional condition in the reanalysis: it happened in contexts where *anymore* was fronted and took scope over negation, in order to produce the ‘inceptive’ meaning of PosA.

In section 3.2, I review previous accounts of the reanalysis of *anymore* that led to PosA, including both language-internal and language-external accounts. Section 3.3 provides the formal details of *anymore* before and after reanalysis. In section 3.4 I discuss my proposal for how the original reanalysis of PosA took place. Section 3.5 concludes.

3.2 *Anymore’s loss of polarity sensitivity: previous analyses*

In this section, I review previous analyses of *anymore’s* loss of polarity sensitivity. I also discuss some studies that deal more with synchronic variation in the environments where modern North American API and positive *anymore* are accepted. These studies are relevant to the historical development of *anymore* because they provide insight into how *anymore* could have lost polarity sensitivity in other dialects, for example sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland. The language-internal accounts assume (with the exception of Eitner 1991) that the reanalysis of *anymore* took place in North America, while the language-external accounts argue that the reanalysis occurred in Scots, Scottish English, or Irish English. Some language-internal accounts suggest that PosA is similar to other more ‘positive’ *any-*words, though most do not give a detailed analysis for how or why such words became more ‘positive’.

3.2.1 Language-internal accounts

Jäger (2010) cites North American PosA as an example of a change from an API indefinite to a ‘normal’ (non-polarity-sensitive) indefinite. While she does not give an individualized analysis for *anymore*, her overall theory of changes in polarity sensitivity from API to non-API indefinite is this (as described in Chapter 1 in more detail): APIs have a [+affective] feature, but such features are marked. If a language acquirer does not encounter sufficient

evidence for that feature, they will acquire that word without the marked feature. She argues that the semantics of the item stays the same; only the syntactic featural makeup changes. While Jäger provides a framework for explaining loss and gain of polarity sensitivity and focuses on breadth of coverage, she does not provide a reason why *anymore* lost polarity sensitivity when and where it did (Weinreich, Labov, & Herzog’s 1968 actuation question).

Some studies of PosA in North America attempt to relate PosA to other *any-* words that are in some sense ‘positive’. Hindle & Sag (1973) note that *anyway* and *anyhow* are another example of loss of polarity sensitivity by *any-*words.

- (194) a. I’m not going to do it **anyhow**.
 b. I’m going to do it **anyhow**. (Hindle & Sag 1973: 107)

They suggest that these items lexicalized and then lost their restriction to nonveridical environments. They further conjecture that there is a similarity between *anymore* and *anyway/anyhow*: “Whereas there may be deeply rooted semantic reasons for the distribution of *any* (its distribution has remained essentially the same since **Beowulf**)”, *any-*compounds that have lexicalized must have lost these deeply rooted semantic reasons, and thus lose the now “arbitrary” restriction to nonveridical contexts (Hindle & Sag 1973: 107).

Labov (1972b) reports that in certain contexts API *any* could be interpreted correctly even if it was not something that informants judged to be grammatical. One example is the following prompt that he gave to informants: “Someone said, ‘These razor blades are going like hot cakes. I hope there’s any left.’ What would he mean?” (Labov 1972b: 74). He also noted that informants did not judge this *any* as having a “negative meaning”. He concludes that “the movement of *any* into positive contexts is not limited to *anymore*” (Labov 1972b: 74). As discussed in Chapter 1, clauses embedded under directive verbs like *hope* are a classic context for APIs cross-linguistically.

Eitner (1991) is the only work on PosA that posits a language-internal change that occurred in the British Isles (not North America). Recall from Chapter 2 that *any* was polarity sensitive in the oldest Old English texts, and that free choice *any* developed later.

Eitner (1991) finds that *any* is first used in ‘affirmative’ contexts in the *OED* around 1300, citing the following example:

- (195) The serpent... was more wise than **any** beast. (Eitner 1991: 271, citing *OED* I, I, c. s.v. *any*)

This is actually a free choice item (FCI) use of *any*, so it did not lose polarity sensitivity altogether according to theories that treat FCIs as a type of API (discussed in Chapter 1; for Giannakidou 2001, for example, FCI *any* is not a ‘normal’ indefinite as it is still restricted to non-episodic contexts). In any case, Eitner suggests that *any more* followed *any* in extending from API contexts to affirmative contexts, and suggests that it happened in conditional contexts like the following.

- (196) a. If we hear the voice **any more**.
 b. We hear the voice **any more**. (Eitner 1991: 271)

He argues that PosA in (196b) could have been reanalyzed in a conditional clause such as the one in (196a). He suggests further that this change happened language-internally in English, became localized in Scottish speech, then was taken with immigrants to Ulster, Ireland and later to North America.

Haycock (2001: 9) challenges Eitner’s proposal, arguing that *anymore* does not have the same meaning in conditional and ‘positive’ sentences. *Anymore* in conditional contexts has the meaning ‘still’ or ‘again’, part of a continuative scale (he cites Israel 1995 for the analysis of *anymore/still* and this type of scale), while in positive contexts it “operates more on an inceptive scale, which concerns the onset of new conditions. Such a scale would capture all the meanings ascribed to *anymore* in a positive context: nowadays, henceforth and soon” (Haycock 2001: 9). For Haycock, a reanalysis from API *anymore* to PosA in conditional contexts is unlikely because the scales are different: continuative (API *anymore* in conditionals) versus inceptive (PosA).

Several studies were carried out with North American informants, usually a mix of those who used and/or understood PosA and those who did not. Labov (1972b) was the

first, followed by others including most notably Hindle & Sag (1973) and Murray (1993). I also completed a small-scale study of English speakers from Washington and Idaho, which I describe in more detail in Chapter 4. A similar method was used in each of these studies: subjects were asked to give grammaticality judgments of sentences with aspectual *anymore* in a wide variety of contexts, including both API contexts, non-API contexts, and some contexts that were potentially ambiguous.¹ The authors of these studies were more concerned with the spread and synchronic variation of PosA in America. They appear to assume that PosA is a change in progress in North America and seek to determine whether the change is proceeding incrementally.

I disagree with these studies that PosA originated in North America, but one point in Labov (1972b) and Ladusaw (1980) is relevant to understanding the original reanalysis that (I argue) took place in Scotland. They make observations on the semantic differences between API *anymore* and PosA that will be helpful for identifying the type of context where the original reanalysis could have taken place.

Labov (1972b) at first thought that PosA meant ‘still’ instead of its real meaning ‘nowadays’, as did many of his (non-PosA dialect) informants. He argues that speakers who have never been exposed to PosA are not able to infer its meaning. Labov says that PosA “represents the filling of a new grammatical category which did not exist before” and that “The development of positive *anymore* is not the filling of an empty hole, which might be done by the extrapolating and generalizing ability of the native speaker” (Labov 1972b: 72). What I take this to mean for the original reanalysis of API to positive *anymore* is that the reanalysis needed the right context in order to take place, namely a negative one, to result in the ‘nowadays’ sense and not the ‘still’ sense.

Ladusaw (1980) suggests just such a context for the reanalysis of *anymore* (he assumes of course that the change happened in North America). “Since *anymore* appears only sentence-finally, it is ambiguous between a wide-scope adverb and a narrow-scope adverb” (Ladusaw

¹The methods and results of these studies will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

1980: 127), and reanalysis as a wide-scope adverb, in habitual or generic sentences only, created PosA. He gives the following examples of API and North American positive *anymore* and their respective meanings (assertions followed by implicatures after the semicolons).

- (197) a. Calculators aren't cheap anymore
 b. <calculators aren't cheap; It has been the case that they were cheap>
- (198) a. Calculators are cheap anymore
 b. <calculators are cheap; It has been the case that they were not cheap> (based on Ladusaw 1980: 127)

3.2.2 *Language contact accounts*

Another line of analyses of the origin of PosA cites language contact with Goidelic languages. These assume that the original reanalysis of polarity-sensitive *anymore* to PosA happened in Scotland or Ireland. Crozier (1984) was the first to my knowledge to suggest Irish *feasta* as the source of PosA in Irish English, which in affirmative sentences translates as ‘from now on’, in negative ones as ‘(not) any more’ (Crozier 1984: 318). The *Dictionary of the Scots Language (DOSL)* notes that PosA is due to “influence of Gael[ic] idiom” (*DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.), although it does not indicate which idiom was the influencer. Hickey (2004: 51) suggests Irish *riamh* ‘ever’.

Willis (2017) is a manuscript that is still a work in progress at the time this dissertation is written, but it offers some interesting insights. Willis discusses four aspectual/temporal adverbs in Scottish Gaelic and Modern Irish that could have been the source of PosA, some suggested by previous researchers and some novel. These adverbs are all possible in both API and non-API contexts, so they are not polarity sensitive according to Willis. The first is Scottish Gaelic (*am*) *feast*, Irish *feasta*, both of which mean ‘from now on’ in affirmative contexts (see (199c) below) or ‘(not) any more, no longer’, in other words ‘from now on not’ in negative ones (see (199a) and (199b) below) (Willis 2017: 6). Willis notes that it has “future time reference” (Willis 2017: 6), which I take to mean that the event asserted takes

place at a time after speech time. For example, in (199a), the event *not see them* is predicted to take place beginning at speech time, but not necessarily overlapping with speech time. However, *feasta* also appears to be possible in contexts where asserted (stative) events hold at speech time: if the translations are accurate, in (199b) the event *not be current* holds at the time of speech, while in (199d) *have long nights* also holds at the time of speech. *Feasta* is possible in present tense as well as future as the examples below show.²

(199) Scottish Gaelic (*am*) *feast*, Irish *feasta*

- a. Ní fheicfidh tú **feasta** iad.
NEG see.FUT you anymore them
'You will not see them any more.' (Irish | *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *feasta*)
- b. Ní ritheann an réal **feasta**.
NEG run.PRES the sixpenny.bit anymore
'The sixpenny bit is no longer current (does not run any more).' (Irish | *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *rith*)
- c. Tabhair mo shuaimhneas dom **feasta**.
give.imper.2sg my peace to.1SG anymore
'Let me have peace from now on.' (Irish | *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *feasta*)
- d. Tá an t-airneán againn **feasta**.
be.PRES the long.nights with.1PL anymore
'We have long nights now.' (Irish | *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *airneán*)

Another aspectual/temporal adverb that Willis suggests as a potential source of PosA through language contact is Scottish Gaelic and Modern Irish (*a*) *thuilleadh*. It means 'any more' in negative contexts as in (200a), while clause-initially it is a polarity-insensitive discourse adverb meaning 'furthermore, moreover, in addition' (Willis 2017: 6) as example (200b) shows. It can also be used in affirmative contexts to mean 'further' as in (200c) (Willis does not discuss the aspectual/temporal adverb in affirmative contexts).

(200) Scottish Gaelic, Modern Irish *a thuilleadh*

²All examples are cited in Willis (2017); their original source is given in parentheses.

- a. Nil sé in aghaidh an dlí a thuilleadh a bheith
 neg.BE.PRES it against the law anymore be.INF PROG listen.INF
 ag éisteacht le nó ag breathnu ar ráidió agus teilifís an Iarthair.
 with or PROG look.INF on radio and television the west
 ‘It is no longer against the law to listen, or to watch, Western radio and televi-
 sion.’ (**Irish** | McCloskey 1986: 184–5)
- b. **A thuilleadh** air sin, dhrùidh an t-uisge oirnn gus an robh
 more on this drench.PAST the water on.1PL until PRT be.PAST.DEP
 sinn bog fliuch.
 we very wet
 ‘In addition to this, the water drenched us until we were soaking wet.’ (**Scottish Gaelic** | *Corpas na Gàidhlig* text 35, 1973)
- c. Dh’ fhiosraich e dhiubh a thuilleadh...
 PAST ask.PAST he to.2SG more
 ‘He asked you further...’ (**Scottish Gaelic** | *Corpas na Gàidhlig* text 142, 1812)

A third candidate is Scottish Gaelic *riamh*, Irish *riamh* which mean “ever (in reference to the past)” (Willis 2017: 5). Example (201a) shows that it is possible in the scope of negation, and example (201b) shows that it is also possible in affirmative contexts.

(201) Scottish Gaelic *riamh*, Irish *riamh*

- a. Chan fhaca mi **riamh** dad cho pronn ri na sgonaichean aice.
 NEG see.PAST I ever anything as crumbly as the scones with.3SF
 ‘I haven’t ever seen anything as crumbly as her scones.’ (**Scottish Gaelic** | <http://www.togblog.org/>)
- b. Bha cuimhn’ aige **riamh** tuilleadh air an dearbh àit’ far na
 be.PAST memory with.3SM ever more on the exact place where REL
 thurchair e bhith.
 happen.PAST he be.INF
 ‘He remembered for ever more the exact place where he happened to be.’ (**Scottish Gaelic** | *Corpas na Gàidhlig* text 203)

Finally, Willis suggests that Scottish Gaelic *choidhche*, Irish *choíche* could have been the source for PosA. They mean “always, forever... (‘at all times’)” in affirmative contexts and “(n)ever... (‘at no time’)” in negative ones (Willis 2017: 6). No examples are given yet in his

(unfinished) paper.

Willis suggests that a speaker of a Goidelic language learning Scots or English might take *anymore* to correspond directly to one of these polarity-insensitive items. He also suggests that *anymore* could have undergone further changes in Scots or Scottish or Irish English so that it no longer has the same meaning as its source word. For example, *a thuilleadh* in (200), which can be a discourse adverb meaning ‘in addition, furthermore’ in non-API contexts, could have been the source of PosA. He gives the following hypothetical example:

(202) **Any more**, you need to clean the windows.

‘In addition, you need to clean the windows.’ (Willis 2017: 7)

An additional change from ‘furthermore’ to ‘in the future’, Willis argues, would not be unexpected: ‘X and Y implies X then Y’ is a common implicature, so ‘In addition, you need to clean the windows’ could be reanalyzed as ‘After that/Next/in the future you need to clean the windows’ (Willis 2017: 7).

Willis argues moreover that it may not have been a single lexical item that induced the reanalysis of *anymore* but the fact that the whole class of aspectual/temporal adverbials in Goidelic languages are polarity insensitive. Since such items are possible in veridical and nonveridical contexts in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, perhaps bilingual English-Goidelic speakers did not posit polarity sensitivity for *anymore*. I will discuss these possibilities in section 3.4.7 and suggest that language-external sources of PosA, if there were any, likely did not act alone; there must have also been language-internal sources of change.

3.3 Comparison of API *anymore* in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots and 20th century British Isles PosA

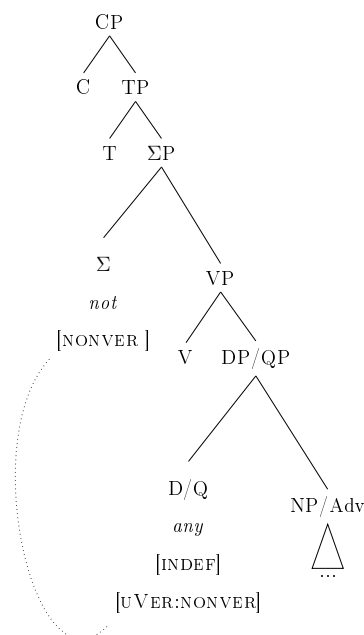
In this section I provide a formal characterization of API *anymore* in older Scots and PosA in Scotland and Ireland. Much of the description of API *anymore* is based on descriptions of Present Day English, but they hold for Scots in the sixteenth to early eighteenth century as well except for a few differences which I will point out. I propose that API *anymore* in sixteenth to eighteenth century Scots is a ‘continuative’ aspectual adverb that adjoins to AspP.

As a continuative adverb it is only possible in imperfective contexts. It has uninterpretable polarity features [uVer: nonver] that Agree with a nonveridical licenser. British Isles PosA is an aspectual adverb with an [Asp_{boundary}] feature that also adjoins to AspP. It requires non-in-progress, non-past events, which in my analysis is due to its [non-specific/indefinite] feature.

3.3.1 *API anymore in 16th to 18th century Scots: polarity sensitive ‘continuative’ aspectual adverb in AspP*

As established in Chapter 2, polarity sensitive *any* in Present Day English is a Heimian indefinite that requires Agree with a nonveridical operator to obtain quantificational force so that it can bind a variable in its scope (following Roberts & Roussou 2003, Biberauer & Roberts 2011 and Giannakidou 1998). Based on the literature on Scots and my study of *any* in the ScotsCorr (Corpus of Scottish Correspondence, 1540-1750), this is also true of *any* and orthographic variants in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots. I propose that it has uninterpretable polarity features (which I will call [uVer], in the spirit of Merchant 2013) that must Agree with a nonveridical operator associated with Σ in the TP layer or other operator in the CP layer. I repeat the tree from (??) in Chapter 2 as (203) below.

(203) *Any* as a quantifier with [uVer]



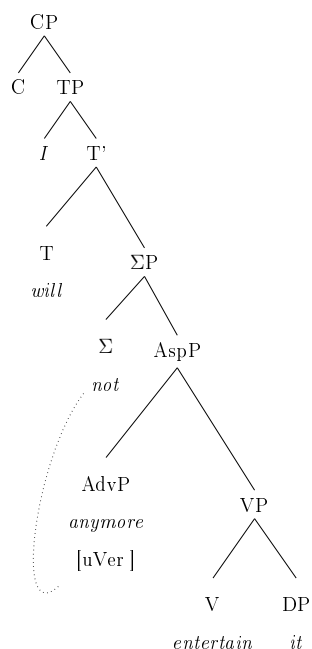
After the syntactic derivation in (203) is built up and sent to the interfaces, in the Morphological Component lexical insertion rules take D/Q[Indef; uVer:nonVer] and provide the morphological realization *any*; uVer valued instead as veridical is spelled out as *some* (in the spirit of Merchant 2013).

In my analysis, the *anymore* that lost polarity sensitivity is different from *any*, although they are clearly related historically. *Anymore* is an aspectual adverb that relates imperfective events, not an indefinite with a variable that must be bound by a quantifier. Like API *any* however, it has uninterpretable polarity features that must Agree with a nonveridical operator. This can be seen in (204), (repeated from Chapter 2).

(204) I assuir \zou I will not **anie moir** inter\tein it³

‘I assure you I will not any more entertain it.’ (ScotsCorr, William Douglas[1627], Lothian[Southeast]/London, text ID 1378; translation mine)

³The symbols and punctuation marks in the ScotsCorr examples are from the transcribers and have to do with visual prosody. See Meurman-Solin (2016) for a key to these symbols.



I treat *anymore* as one morpheme in my analysis, but I will ultimately remain agnostic as to whether it was one or two morphemes at the time of reanalysis. The number of morphemes should not significantly affect the proposal.

I will now argue that API *anymore* in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots, as in Present Day English, is a continuative aspectual adverb like *still*, based on its meaning in different contexts. API *anymore* does not inherently indicate the end of a state or event; when it appears to do so, it is due to the context in which it is found. Cinque (1999), a detailed cross-linguistic study of the syntax of adverbs, argues that English *still* is in the class of ‘continuative’ aspectual adverbs, indicating the continuation of a state or imperfective event. He argues that English *any/no more* and *any/no longer* are ‘terminative’ aspectual adverbs. Terminative aspect “characterizes a situation as having reached an end point, though not necessarily the natural end point” (Cinque 1999: 95). I will follow Cinque in treating terminative and continuative aspect types as (at least potentially) distinct, and agree that English *no more* and *no longer* are terminative adverbs. However, unlike Cinque, I do not place API adverbs *anymore*, *any longer*, and *any further* in the class of terminative adverbs. They do not have inherent negation like the negative *no more*, *no longer*, and

Italian *più* ‘no longer’. They are often in negated contexts, but they can also appear in non-negative, but still nonveridical, contexts in which they are more akin to continuative *still*. Haspelmath (1993) likewise argues that *still* and *anymore* are both adverbs in the continuative aspect class. API *anymore* is considered by many to be a suppletive form of *still* (e.g., Ladusaw 1980).

Cinque (1999) at first takes continuative and terminative adverbs to be members of the same class of adverbs, as discussed above. Cinque shows that in Luganda (205), and in Nkore-Kiga (206), when the ‘still tense’ is negated, it becomes the ‘no longer tense’:

- (205) a. Mu-**kya**-tudde. **Luganda**
 you-still-sit
 ‘You are still seated.’
- b. Te-mu-**kya**-tudde.
 not-you-still-sit
 ‘You are no longer seated.’ (Comrie 1985: 54, cited in Cinque 1999: 206-207, fn 50)
- (206) a. A-**ki**-rwaire. **Nkore-Kiga**
 he-still-ill
 ‘He’s still ill.’
- b. T-a-**ki**-rwaire.
 neg-he-still-ill
 ‘He’s no longer ill.’ (Taylor 1985: 160, cited in Cinque 1999: 206-207, fn 50)

Negated continuative aspect can therefore be identical to terminative aspect. This is the what happens to API *anymore* when it is in negative contexts, I propose.

Aspectual API *anymore* and *still* have very similar meanings, as discussed in Chapter 2. As a reminder, their meaning is the presupposition that a state of affairs was true before reference time, and they both require imperfective events. Take the following sentences as examples.

- (207) Suze **still** chases fluffy mice.
- (208) Suze doesn’t chase fluffy mice **anymore**.

In (207), *still* presupposes that the habitual event *Suze chases fluffy mice* holds during a period before reference time. In this example reference time overlaps with speech time since it is in the simple present tense. The rest of the sentence without *still* is the assertion: *Suze chases mice*. In (208), *anymore* has the same presupposition as *still*. It presupposes that the habitual event *Suze chases fluffy mice* holds during a period before reference time. The rest of the sentence asserts *Suze doesn't chase fluffy mice*. The differences between the two are mainly syntactic: API *anymore* must be in the scope of negation or a nonveridical operator, while *still*, which is not an API, can appear in veridical or nonveridical contexts.

Nonveridical contexts do not have to be negative, of course. In non-negative, non-veridical contexts, the similarity of *still* and *anymore* is even more pronounced. In the following example of *any longer* from the ScotsCorr, an aspectual adverb that is synonymous with *anymore*,⁴ the presupposition is that *I tarry here* before reference time (which is after speech/writing time, since the modal *should* renders the event *tarry any longer* future-oriented), and the meaning of the non-presuppositional portion of the clause is a hypothetical event that may or may not continue into the future.

- (209) for gif ze thynk that I suld tare heir **ony langar**
 for if you think that I should tarry here any longer
 ‘for if you think that I should stay here any longer...’

(ScotsCorr, John Campbell[1543], unknown/Dieppe, text ID 55; translation mine)

This *any longer* could be replaced with *still* and have the same meaning:

- (210) ...if you think that I should **still** stay here ...

Again, there is a presupposition that *I tarry here* before reference time, and the meaning of the non-presuppositional portion of the clause is a hypothetical event that may or may not continue into the future.

⁴I use an example with *any longer* because this adverb is more numerous in the ScotsCorr, and in fact none of the seven tokens of aspectual adverb *anymore* were in non-negative contexts. I take this to most likely be due to the small number of tokens of aspectual adverb *anymore*, and not necessarily indicative of it being confined to negative contexts only. Support for this hypothesis comes from the fact that in Present Day English and Scots, aspectual adverb *anymore* is possible in non-negative contexts such as that in (209).

Example (211) shows the similarity of API aspectual adverbs such as *any longer* and *anymore* with *still* even more clearly. Although the phrase here is again *any longer*, it is synonymous with API *anymore* and will work well to illustrate my point.

- (211) I houpe your Lo / will giwe such \direction that they may rather stay **any longer** for ships nor after they \f2⁵ ar shiped for if they doe I dar \not undertak bot many may run \away (tho they seem nou willing) \‘I hope your Lordship will give such direction that they may in fact stay/stop any longer for ships than/until after they are shipped...’ (ScotsCorr, Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll[1627], Argyllshire[Southwest]/Orchard, text ID 959; translation mostly by Caroline Macafee, partly mine)

The meaning of the aspectual adverb here is similar to *still*. The presupposition is positive, and the writer hopes that the event will continue as before: ‘I hope that your Lordship will give such direction that they will *still* stay’ (presupposition that they were there before reference time; desire that it will continue from reference time forward), and not ‘I hope... that they will stay from now on’ (presupposition that they were not there, or not staying, before reference time; desire that it will continue from reference time forward). The larger context of the letter shows that the ‘still’ meaning is the one intended here. This is a letter from a son to a father about ships that have been delayed. The author is asking the addressee to tell his men to continue to stay with him (the addressee) until the ships are ready to depart so that he does not have to reassemble the men again later.

No more and *no longer* are true ‘terminative’ adverbs, because they are semantically negative. Like *still* and API *anymore*, their presupposition is also $\alpha\phi$ before reference time, but unlike *still* and API *anymore*, their assertion is always negative, indicating the end of a state of affairs: $\neg\alpha\phi$ after reference time. Table 3.1 shows the meanings of continuative adverb API *anymore*, *still*, and terminative adverb *no more*, repeated in part from Chapter

⁵Transcriber’s notation, not relevant for our purposes

	Presupposition	Assertion
API <i>anymore</i>	$\alpha \phi$ before Ref time	depends on context
still	$\alpha \phi$ before Ref time	depends on context
<i>no more</i>	$\alpha \phi$ before Ref time	$\neg\alpha \phi$ after Ref time

Table 3.1: Presuppositional meaning of API *anymore*, British Isles PosA, and *no more* and assertion of the clause containing them (based in part on Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014, Ernst 2001, Michaelis 1996)

2.

I will now show that Late Middle Scots API *anymore*, a continuative aspectual adverb in my analysis, is in a position adjoined to AspP. In the process I will summarize studies of adverbial syntax including Cinque (1999), Alexiadou (1997).⁶

Adverbials are usually not obligatory. Unlike other elements of the clause which have a fairly fixed position in the clausal spine, such as verbs or arguments, adverbials as a group have a seemingly freer distribution: they can appear clause-initially, in various positions within the clause, and clause-finally. Sometimes the same adverb(ial) can appear in more than one location, such as deictic adverbs like *now*.

(212) **Now** I'll start writing.

⁶A note about terminology: *adverb* is a category, just as *verb* and *noun* are categories. *Adverbial* refers to the function of words or larger constituents to modify or give more detailed information about other constituents such as VPs, AdjPs, AdvPs, or clauses, for example. Adverbials can be adverbs, but not necessarily; they can also take the form of nouns or noun phrases, prepositional phrases, or clauses.

- (1) Adverbials of different parts of speech
 - a. Adverb
Suze ran **quickly**.
 - b. Noun
Suze ate raw chicken **this morning**.
 - c. Prepositional phrase
I don't want to go **to the store**.
 - d. Clause
I missed the bus **because my alarm didn't go off**.

(213) I'll **now** start writing.

(214) I'll start writing **now**.

There are however restrictions on position depending on the adverbial type (manner, aspectual, speaker-oriented, etc.) and/or the specific adverbial. Alexiadou (1997) for example divides adverbs into several classes, most of them fairly standardly assumed: sentence-modifying ones, such as evaluative, conjunctive, speaker-oriented, modal, domain, and subject-oriented adverbs; VP-modifying ones, including manner; temporal; completion/resultative; and aspectual/quantificational adverbs. Each class has different restrictions, positional or otherwise. Aspectual adverbs like ‘anterior’ *already* and ‘continuative’ *still* for example (adverb class names from Cinque 1999) are possible between subject and verb and clause-finally in English, but not clause-initially⁷. In other languages the equivalent to *already* is allowed clause-initially, but in this position it is interpreted as focused (Alexiadou 1997). Cross-linguistically, adverbs of the ‘anterior’ class such as *already* and the ‘continuative’ class such as *still* precede what Cinque (1999) calls ‘perfect’ adverbs like *always* as well as manner adverbs like *quickly*, but follow speaker-oriented adverbs like *honestly* or *obviously*, for example. Adverbs are often used as diagnostics for other syntactic phenomena, such as verb movement (e.g., Pollock 1989), because they are assumed to have a fixed position (or positions). They can move to the CP layer for example for information reasons (which I will show later in this section), but movement is not obligatory for basic licensing of adverbs.

Many proposals in adverbial syntax show that adverbs’ positions in the clause determine their interpretation, and vice versa. There is a debate as to whether adverbs are adjuncts or specifiers of a functional head. I will adopt the former position. Cinque (1999) and Alexiadou (1997) both propose that adverbs are specifiers of functional projections in a universal clausal spine. Alexiadou says that “Syntactically . . . , there is only one language. Given that adverbs are related mostly to the interpretative properties of functional projections, then it follows that the syntax of adverbs shows the same restrictions across languages” (Alexiadou 1997:

⁷ *Still* on a ‘nevertheless’ reading is possible clause-initially, but this is considered to be a different adverb class.

234). As Alexiadou points out, the assumption that functional projections and their order are cross-linguistically uniform follows Cinque 1995; Chomsky 1995; Sportiche 1993; a.o.

Cinque (1999) argues that there is a universal order of functional clausal projections that may have overt realizations in the form of affixes, particles, or adverbs. He uses transitivity tests to show that adverbs in many languages occur in a fixed order. Aspectual ‘terminative’ adverbs *no/any longer*, *no/any more* and their counterparts in many other languages must follow (counterparts of) ‘anterior’ adverb *already* (215) and precede ‘perfect’ *always* (216). The examples below show the relative order in Italian to illustrate.

(215) Anterior adverb ‘already’ precedes terminative adverb ‘no longer’

a. All’epoca non possedeva **già più** nulla.

Italian

‘At the time (s)he did not possess **already any longer** anything.’

b. *All’epoca non possedeva **più già** nulla.

‘At the time (s)he did not possess **any longer already** anything.’

(Cinque 1999: 5)

(216) Terminative adverb ‘no longer’ precedes perfect ‘always’

a. Da allora, non ha **più sempre** vinto.

‘Since then, he has **no longer always** won.’

b. *Da allora, non ha **sempre più** vinto.

‘Since then, he has **always no longer** won.’

(Cinque 1999: 6)

The same relative order of adverbs holds in French, he shows, as well as in Norwegian, Chinese, Bosnian/Serbo-Croatian, Hebrew, Albanian, and Malagasy.

Cinque shows that ‘continuative’ adverb *ancora* ‘still’ has a similar order in the clause relative to ‘terminative’ **più**, which is unsurprising given that their interpretation is similar, as discussed above. They both precede perfect adverb ‘always’ *sempre*, as shown in the example below.

- (217) Continuative adverb ‘still’ precedes perfect adverb ‘always’
- a. Lui ha **ancora sempre** il coltello dalla parte del manico.
 ‘He **still always** has an advantage.’
- b. *Lui ha **sempre ancora** il coltello dalla parte del manico.
 ‘He **always still** has an advantage.’ (Cinque 1999: 9)

Note that *no longer* in the English translation in (216a) and *still* in the translation in (216a) for example can be between subject and verb. Terminative and continuative adverbs are also possible in clause-final position:

- (218) Suze doesn’t eat squirrels **any more/longer**.
- (219) Suze eats squirrels **still**.

Examples of *anymore* in the ScotsCorr include (220), repeated from (204) above; and (221)), repeated from Chapter ??:

- (220) I assuir \zou I will not **anie moir** inter\tein it
 ‘I assure you I will not any more entertain it.’
 (ScotsCorr, William Douglas[1627], Lothian[Southeast]/London, text ID 1378; translation mine)
- (221) I cou’d almost wish \never to see this Cursed \nation **any more**
 (ScotsCorr, Alexander Robertson[1708], Perthshire[Central]/Edinburgh, text ID 1828)

Their position in the clause, between subject and verb (220) and clause-final (?), is consistent with terminative and continuative aspectual adverbs.

Alexiadou (1997) shows that aspectual adverbs are sensitive to perfective/imperfective (grammatical) aspect and other aspectual features. I will provide a short description of grammatical aspect before discussing how aspectual adverbs are sensitive to it. Grammatical aspect includes the categories ‘perfective’, meaning that an event is viewed as complete; and

‘imperfective’, meaning that the event is viewed as incomplete at reference time (recall the discussion of Reichenbach’s theory of tense in the previous chapter).

(222) At noon, Suze had taken a nap.

In the example, the event time is that of Suze’s taking a nap; the reference time is that by which Suze has taken a nap (noon); the speech time is when the sentence is uttered. At reference time, the event *Suze had taken a nap* is finished, so it is perfective. In example (223) however, the event is not finished at reference time, so it is imperfective.

(223) At noon, Suze was taking a nap.

Sub-types of imperfective aspect include (but are not limited to) states, habitual, generic, and progressive. Habitual and generic sentences are ones where the event is repeated during an interval, as opposed to episodic sentences, where an event is only interpreted as taking place once. Examples of these types of aspectual distinctions are given below.

(224) Suze is in a box. **State: Non-episodic**

(225) Suze sleeps in a box (e.g., every day). **Habitual: Non-episodic**

(226) Cats sleep in boxes. **Generic: Non-episodic**

(227) Suze is sleeping in a box. **Progressive (episodic on non-habitual reading)**

(228) Suze slept in her box yesterday afternoon. **Perfective: Episodic**

States and habitual and generic sentences describe the way the world is during reference time. Progressives can describe a single event in progress, in which case they are episodic. They can also have a habitual reading if the event is interpreted as happening repeatedly. Example (227) can be interpreted as a single event of Suze sleeping in a box at speech time, or as a series of events where she habitually sleeps in a box (instead of a bed, for example). Consider (220) and (221) again. In (220), the event *entertain it* can have a habitual reading: I will not habitually entertain it (the idea). In (221), the event *see this nation anymore* can be interpreted as a state or habitual event of seeing this nation.

Durative and indefinite frequency adverbs like *usually* and *still* require imperfective aspect⁸. Alexiadou gives the following examples of *sinithos* ‘usually’ from Greek. Example (229a) shows that *sinithos* is grammatical with imperfective aspect but (229b) shows that it is not grammatical with perfective.

(229) Durative and indefinite frequency adverbs require imperfective aspect

a.	Diavaza	sinithos to vivlio	Greek
	read-IMP:1SG	usually the book-ACC	
	‘I was usually reading the book.’		

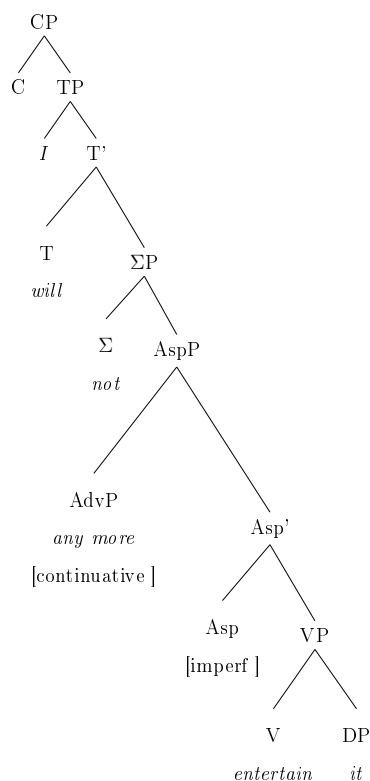
b.	*Diavasa	sinithos to vivlio	(Alexiadou 1997: 91)
	read-PERF:1SG	usually the book-ACC	

Recall from the previous chapter that all examples of API aspectual adverb *anymore* were in imperfective contexts.

Alexiadou derives the fact that aspectual adverbs are sensitive to perfectivity as follows. She proposes that aspectual adverbs are generated in spec AspP. They are licensed under feature matching with the features of Asp. Unlike Cinque (1999), she assumes only a single type of Asp head that is marked for +/- perfective (with various sub-features within each), and that aspectual adverbs are marked for +/- durative, +/- definite frequency, +/- point, etc., that are only grammatical with one type of perfectivity (perfective or imperfective). To illustrate how her system operates, consider the tree of (220) in (230).

(230) ‘I will not any more entertain it’

⁸Alexiadou classifies *still* as aspectual, but not *anymore* because the latter is a ‘negative’ adverb, like *yet*. She follows Zanuttini (1991), who argues that negative adverbs are located in the specifier of a Neg Phrase.



Any more is adjoined to an imperfective Asp phrase. *Any more*'s own continuative features are compatible with this Asp, so it is licit.

Cinque (1999) does not provide an explanation for the sensitivity of aspectual adverbs to perfectivity, but he proposes that each class of adverbs is in the specifier of a functional projection. In addition to the universal order of adverbs that he demonstrates, discussed above, he also establishes a universal order of clausal heads using evidence from the relative order of derivational and inflectional suffixes, auxiliaries, and functional particles in a number of languages (Basque, Turkish, Chinese, Korean, Una, Tauya, various creoles including Guyanese Creole and Sranan, and many more languages). For example, he gives evidence that $Asp_{habitual}$ and T(Anterior) are initially merged in a higher position than $Asp_{perfect}$.

(231) $Asp_{habitual}$ initially merged in higher projection than $Asp_{perfect}$ ⁹

⁹Because habitual *-n* is an affix, it attaches to the verb as the verb moves from V to a higher position in the clause, resulting in a linear order that is the reverse of the order of projections in the syntactic tree.

- a. Eda-**n ohi** du.’ **Basque**
 drink-PERF HAB aux.agr
 ‘He usually drinks.’

(Cinque 1999: 74, citing Ortiz de Urbina 1989: 141)

(232) T(Anterior) in higher projection than $Asp_{perfect}$

- a. Bila gua sampai dia (**sudah**) **habis** pergi. **Malay**
 when 1sg arrive 3sg ANT PERF go
 ‘When I arrived he had already gone.’

(Cinque 1999: 75, citing Baxter 1988: 133)

In (231), the projection where Basque habitual particle *ohi* is base merged is structurally higher than the projection where perfect suffix *-n* is base merged. Perfect *-n* attaches to the verb, which continues to move to a position in the clause above habitual particle *ohi*, resulting in the surface order PERF > HAB. This is of course the opposite order of the structural hierarchy, $Asp_{habitual} > Asp_{perfect}$. Example (232) from Malay is evidence that T(Anterior) precedes $Asp_{perfect}$: anterior marker *sudah* precedes habitual marker *habis*.

Cinque shows that the hierarchies of adverbs and functional heads (more or less) mirror each other, and proposes therefore that each class of adverbs is in the specifier of a functional projection. The head or the adverb may be overt or null. The functional projections are present in every language, Cinque argues, whether or not they have an overt realization. The uppermost levels of his universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections are shown in example (233):

(233) Universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections (Cinque 1999: 106)

[*frankly* Mood_{speechact} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [*allegedly* Mood_{evidential} [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [*once* T_{past} [*then* T_{future} [*perhaps* Mood_{irrealis} [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} [*usually* Asp_{habitual} [*again* Asp_{repetitive} [*often* Asp_{frequentative} [*intentionally* Mod_{volitional} [*quickly* Asp_{celerative} [*already* T_{anterior} [*no longer* Asp_{terminative} [*still* Asp_{continuative} [*always* Asp_{perfect(?)} etc.]

Cinque places *no longer* and synonymous terminative adverbs in the spec of the $Asp_{terminative}$

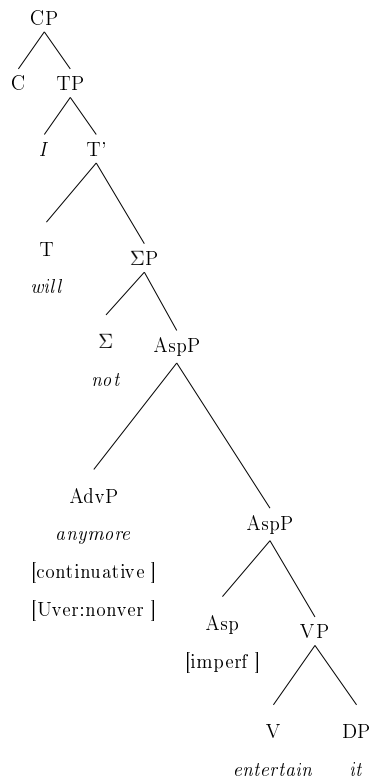
projection in the TP layer, below *already* in $T_{anterior}$ and directly above *still* in $Asp_{continuative}$, in turn above *always* in $Asp_{perfect}$ ¹⁰, as shown in (233)¹¹. The locations of $Asp_{terminative}$ and $Asp_{continuative}$ are motivated in part by the relative linear order of terminative and continuative adverbs and other adverb types, as shown earlier in this section. I follow some elements of Alexiadou (1997) and place Late Middle Scots aspectual API *anymore* in a position adjoined to an imperfective AspP. I adopt Alexiadou's (1997) proposal that adverbs are licensed by feature matching with the relevant head to which they attach. I take this operation to be similar to Agree, but no feature valuation takes place; the interpretable features of the adverb and head to which it adjoins must simply be identical. API *anymore*'s [continuative] feature constrains it to adjoining to an imperfective Asp. This captures the fact that it is only possible with imperfective aspect as discussed in the previous chapter.

This can be seen in (234), a slightly more detailed version of (230).

(234) 'I will not any more entertain it'

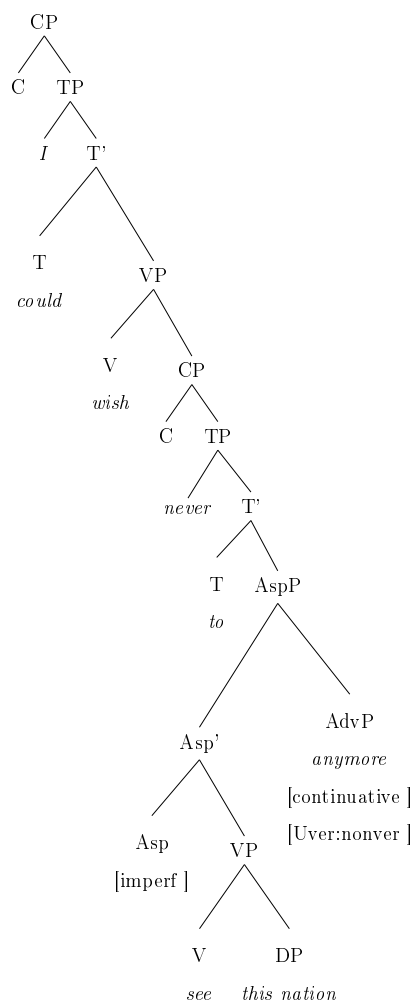
¹⁰This is the 'imperfect' value of perfect aspect according to Cinque.

¹¹Cinque's conclusion that *always* should be in $Asp_{perfect}$ is tentative, hence the question mark in (233).



When it is clause-final, I propose that it is right-adjoined to AspP. This is shown in (235), the example repeated from (221).

(235) I cou'd almost wish \never to see this Cursed \nation **any more**



Turning now to tense restrictions, recall from the previous chapter that Present Day English aspectual adverb API *anymore* is possible with any tense, though it appears to be more common with future and present tenses or time reference. Aspectual adverbial *anymore* in the ScotsCorr is found only in contexts with a future reading, and similar aspectual adverbials *any further/longer* in the ScotsCorr appear mainly in future-oriented contexts, for example with modal future *will*, other modals (*can*, *may*), or in non-finite clauses. *Any further/longer* are found in contexts with future or past reference as well, however. The following shows that past reference is possible (repeated from Chapter 2):

(236) "...it was not possible to live \bany longer with her ." (ScotsCorr, James Erskine

[1730], Stirlingshire [Southeast] /Edinburgh, text ID 1802)

I argue that aspectual *anymore* in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots was likely compatible with past or present time reference given the fact that the other continuative adverbs *any further/longer* in the ScotsCorr, as well as *anymore* in Present Day English, are possible with past and present time reference. The low number of aspectual *anymore* tokens ($N=10$) in the ScotsCorr leaves the likely possibility that examples of this adverb with non-future reference are not represented when in fact they were possible.

In summary, the main features of sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots that are relevant to my analysis of the change to ‘positive’ *anymore* are the following. It is polarity sensitive and so it has [uVer: nonver] features that must Agree with a nonveridical operator. It is an aspectual ‘continuative’ adverb that Merges in a position adjoined to AspP. Its [continuative] feature provides the interpretation of the (non) continuation of an imperfective event that holds prior to reference time. I argued that it has no tense restrictions.

3.3.2 *British Isles PosA: polarity insensitive aspectual adverb in AspP with [boundary] feature*

Some time before Scots speakers emigrated in large numbers to Ulster, Ireland which began in the early seventeenth century, Scots aspectual API *anymore* lost polarity sensitivity, likely in the sixteenth to seventeenth century. Since we have no examples of PosA around the time of the change, I will provide an analysis of the earliest examples of Scots and Irish PosA that exist in secondary sources, from the twentieth century. I will propose that PosA is an inceptive or inchoative adverb with a [boundary] feature, marking the end of a state or imperfective event and the beginning of one of the same type, but of opposite polarity.

Piñón (1997) discusses event boundaries in order to provide an analysis of achievement predicates such as *stop*, *begin*, and *recognize*.¹² Achievements are often associated with inchoativity (according to Marín & McNally 2011, who cite Dowty 1979). Piñón proposes

¹²Achievements are one of the four types of predicate aspect in Vendler’s 1967 classification, the other three being *accomplishments*, *activities* or *processes*, and *states*.

an ontology for eventualities in which he argues that achievement predicates denote what he refers to as *boundary happenings*. This helps to capture the intuition (building on Vendler 1967 and Mittwoch 1991, among others) that achievement predicates are instantaneous. Piñón demonstrates with the following example which includes the achievement predicate *recognize*.

(237) Anita recognized Peter the moment he entered the room.

In (237), the event of Anita recognizing Peter took place in a single instant, the one in which he entered the room. Piñón argues that “there are instantaneous events which—while not changes themselves—nonetheless presuppose changes in their immediate vicinity” (Piñón 1997: 276).

In his ontology, Piñón distinguishes between two types of entity (among other items, not reviewed here as they are not relevant to the current discussion): *happenings*, including events, states, and processes; and *boundary happenings*, which are the beginnings and ends of happenings. Happenings take time, while boundary happenings are instantaneous and do not take time. The following is a simplified visualization of Piñón’s proposal, based on Piñón (1997: 282), example 11.

(238) Visualization of the parts of Piñón’s (1997) *happenings*

a. [———]

Example (238a) represents a happening. The brackets represent the left and right boundaries of the happening, while the horizontal line is the body of the happening.

He proposes that achievements denote boundaries of eventualities. They may be beginnings or endings of eventualities if they satisfy two requirements: 1) the beginning or ending of an event is not preceded or followed by an event of the same type; and 2) the beginning or ending of an event must be part of a larger event that continues to the right (for beginnings) or left (for endings) (Piñón 1997: 277). For example, in (237), a state of Anita recognizing Peter begins. This means that she did not recognize Peter immediately before the beginning

of recognition (at least not immediately before this particular event), and that the state of recognizing continued for a while after it began.

Marín & McNally (2011) adopt the ontology of happenings and boundary happenings from Piñón (1997) in their analysis of two types of (what they argue are) inchoative predicates in Spanish. The two types are the *aburrirse* ('to be/become bored') class and the *enfadarse* ('to become angry') class. I will not summarize their proposal here, but mention it to provide further support for the argument that boundaries are an integral part of inchoative aspect and what is in some sense its opposite, terminative aspect.

As discussed previously, adverbs such as *no more* and *no longer* are true 'terminative' adverbs, because they are semantically negative. Their meaning is the presupposition $\alpha\phi$ before reference time and the assertion $\neg\alpha\phi$ at reference time. They could also be thought of as having a [boundary] feature, since the end of a state or event is the beginning of another one of opposite polarity. I will discuss this feature in detail later in this section.

The meaning of British Isles PosA is the presupposition that $\neg\alpha\phi$ during some period prior to reference time and the assertion $\alpha\phi$ after reference time, which are the polar opposites of *no more*'s assertion and presupposition. In example (239), the presupposition of *anymore* in the clause *there'll be herring anymore* is in fact given in the first clause: the state *be herring in it* does not hold prior to reference time.

(239) There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL, Any more adv. phr.*)

I propose that British Isles PosA is an inceptive or inchoative aspectual adverb that also has a [boundary] feature, as suggested for terminative adverbials *no more* and *no longer* above. When it appears in positive contexts, it indicates the onset of a state or non-episodic event. The meaning of British Isles PosA is shown in Table 3.2. The meanings of API *anymore* and terminative adverb *no more* (repeated from earlier) are included for comparison.

Regarding word order and adverb type, I propose that British Isles PosA is also an aspectual adverb adjoined to AspP. There is no difference in position between this and

	Presupposition	Assertion
API <i>anymore</i>	$\alpha\phi$ before Ref time	depends on context
PosA	$\neg\alpha\phi$	$\alpha\phi$ at Ref time
<i>no more</i>	$\alpha\phi$ before Ref time	$\neg\alpha\phi$ at Ref time

Table 3.2: Presuppositional meaning of API *anymore*, British Isles PosA, and *no more* and assertion of the clause containing them (based in part on Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014, Ernst 2001, Michaelis 1996)

API *anymore* in Middle Scots. The examples of modern British Isles PosA (22 total from secondary sources) are all clause-final. This is common for aspectual adverbs such as ‘terminative’ *no longer*, as discussed above. In two instances, British Isles PosA follows another adverbial:

- (240) Maybe that’s where they’re going to be kept **now anymore**. (Kallen 1997: 153)
- a. *now* > *anymore*: ‘It is now the case that they are going to be kept there anymore (from now on)’
 - b. *anymore* > *now*: ‘It is the case from now on that they are going to be kept there now (from now on)’
- (241) It’ll be all right **anyway anymore**. (Milroy 1981: 4)
- a. *Anyway* as manner adverb: ‘It’ll be all right in any way (all ways) anymore (from now on)’
 - b. *Anyway* as discourse adverb: ‘Anyway (regardless), it’ll be all right anymore (from now on)’

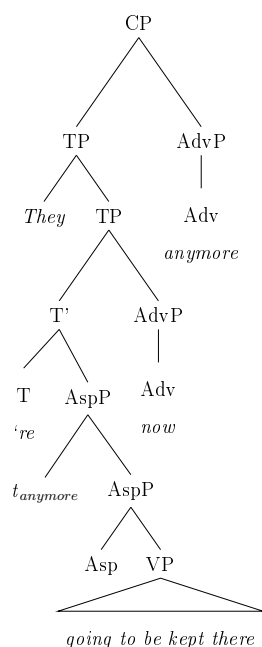
In (240), two scope possibilities exist: *anymore* can take wide or narrow scope. In example (241), there are two readings of *anyway*, as a manner adverb (241a) or discourse adverb (241b). I will show that PosA is adjoined to AspP in all instances.

In (240), *now* precedes *anymore* but can either take wide or narrow scope. In fact, the

two adverbs are synonymous in this context: both mean that at reference time, (which begins immediately after speech time), a state of *they be kept here* begins, and both presuppose that this state was not true before reference time. When *now* occurs with future orientation in English, the event is not interpreted as holding before speech time, but at or immediately after speech time, as in (240) (pointed out by, e.g., Michaelis 2008). That is, starting at or immediately after speech time (i.e., ‘from now on’), a state of *they be kept here* begins. So, the scope *now* > *anymore*, shown in (240a), means that at the present moment, ‘now’, a state is beginning in which they will be kept there. The other scope order, *anymore* > *now* (240b), means that a state stretching into the future (‘from now on’) is beginning in which they are going to be kept there, and this state begins ‘now’.

I propose that in (240), *now* is right-adjoined to TP, and *anymore* moves to the CP layer for focus. This is shown in the tree below, a simplified version of the sentence in (240).

(242) They’re going to be kept there **now anymore**.



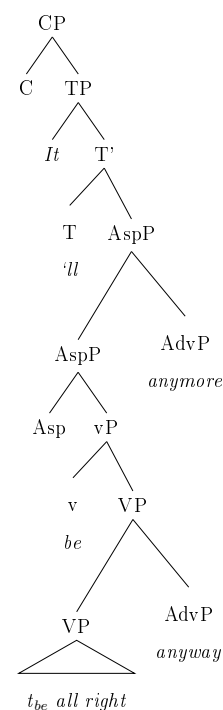
This derives the correct word order and the potentially ambiguous scope between the two adverbs: on the wide-scope reading of *anymore*, it is interpreted in its moved position in the CP layer; on the narrow-scope reading, *anymore* is interpreted in its base position, adjoined

to AspP.

In (241), there are two different readings of *anyway*, each associated with a different position in the tree. On the narrow reading of *anyway*, it is a VP-internal adverb meaning ‘in any way’, as shown in (241a). I propose that on this reading, it adjoins to VP, *anymore* adjoins to AspP, and they are both right-adjoined. This is shown in the tree below.

(243) It’ll be all right **anyway anymore**.

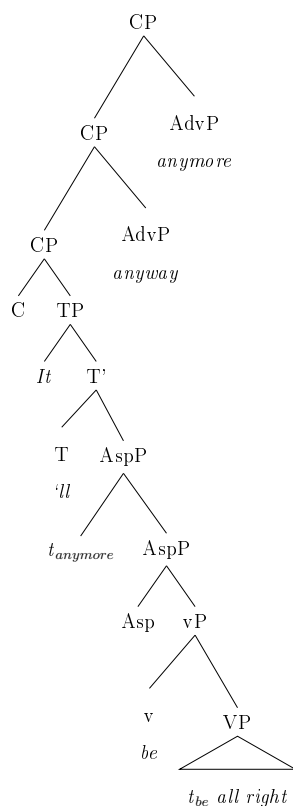
VP-internal *anyway*



On the wide-scope reading of *anyway*, shown in (241b), it is a discourse-related CP adverb. I propose that in this structure, *anyway* is right-adjoined to a projection in the CP layer (its base-generated position), and *anymore* moves from AspP to a position above *anyway* in the CP layer for focus. It is also right-adjoined to this position.

(244) It’ll be all right **anyway anymore**.

Discourse adverb *anyway*



I turn now to evidence that British Isles PosA is only compatible with non-specific, indefinite events. It is not polarity sensitive, so it no longer has [uVer]. It is not possible in all ‘positive’ contexts, however. As discussed in Chapter 2, it is only possible in contexts with future or present reference, such as modal or irrealis future contexts as in (245), or present-tense habitual, generic, or stative contexts; it is not attested in past contexts or with in-progress present.

- (245) There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

The contexts where it is possible are ones where the event can or must be interpreted as non-specific and indefinite; in other words, they are non-episodic contexts. I will briefly discuss studies and examples of indefinite, non-specific pronouns because they are found in many contexts where the event is also non-specific and indefinite. The insights in these studies help to explain British Isles PosA’s distribution restrictions.

Episodic contexts are ones that entail the truth of a single event, for example ones in past tense and perfective aspect or in-progress present. Non-episodic contexts include (among others) intensional, generic, modal, future, and habitual contexts (Giannakidou 2001: 663). Examples from Modern Greek include the following.

- (246) Opjosdhipote fititis bori na lisi afto to provliima. **Root modal**
 any student can.3sg subj solve.3sg this the problem
 ‘Any student can solve this problem.’ (Giannakidou 2001: 677)
- (247) Opjadhhipote ghata kinigai pondikia. **Generic**
 any cat hunt.3sg mice
 ‘Any cat hunts mice.’ (Giannakidou 2001: 679)
- (248) I Maria tha paralavi opjondhipote proskeklimeno omiliti apo to aerodromio.
 the Maria will pick.3sg any invited speaker from the airport
 ‘Maria will pick up any invited speaker from the airport.’
 (Giannakidou 2001: 678) **Future**

These examples do not entail the truth of the event taking place, so in that sense are non-episodic. “Root modals are typically future oriented and are used to talk about propensities and potentials of people, things, and spatio-temporal locations, given their current circumstances. Usually, circumstances permit or prevent events from happening” (Kratzer 2012: 51). Deontic modals are similar in that they talk about ‘propensities and potentials’, given some kind of rules, code, or governing entity.

Giannakidou (1998, 2014), Giannakidou & Mari (2018), Giannakidou & Zwarts (1999) discuss indefinite pronouns licensed in canonical API contexts and prospective-oriented contexts. I will focus on their arguments regarding the non-episodicity and nonveridicality of future events. They argue that the past is veridical, but the future is not; it can be known that a past event took place with certainty, but the future can never be known with certainty. Giannakidou (1998), Giannakidou & Zwarts (1999) argue that the past is “deterministic”: *x happened* entails *x happened*. A similar explanation can be given for in-progress present: *x is happening* entails *x is happening*. Future, however, is “projected, but not actual truth. Future is nondeterministic, and thus nonveridical: we do not know whether the expected

events will take place” (Giannakidou 1998: 138). They are therefore non-specific, indefinite events. Haspelmath similarly says that non-specific indefinite pronoun series can only appear in irrealis contexts, and not past-tense perfective or in-progress present ones because such contexts presuppose the existence of a referent, which is impossible for non-specific pronouns.

Examples of the episodic contexts perfective past and in-progress present are given below. Non-specific pronouns, which Giannakidou (1998, 2014), Giannakidou & Mari (2018), Giannakidou & Zwarts (1999) argue to be polarity items, are not possible in such contexts because they entail the truth of the events and their participants. This is shown in the examples below of non-specific indefinites in Modern Greek and Lithuanian (the *kq nors* series of indefinites in Lithuanian can only have a non-specific meaning).

(249) Non-specific pronouns not possible in episodic contexts

a. Perfective past

i. *Idha **kanenan**. **Greek**
 saw.1sg anybody
 ‘I saw anybody’ (Giannakidou 2011: 31; translation mine)

ii. ***Kas nors** atėjo. **Lithuanian**
 who INDEF came
 ‘Somebody came.’ (Pilka 1984: 29, 56, cited in Haspelmath 1997: 39)

b. Ongoing (in-progress) present

*Žūrė-k, **kas nors** bėga. **Lithuanian**
 look-/textscimpy who INDEF runs
 ‘Look, somebody is running.’ (Pilka 1984: 29, 56, cited in Haspelmath 1997: 39)

What Haspelmath calls ‘distributive’ contexts however can license non-specific indefinite pronouns. These distributive contexts include habitual events and the scope of universal quantifiers. Example (250) shows that the Lithuanian non-specific indefinite *kq nors* is licit with universal quantifiers.

(250) In the scope of universal quantifiers

Visi **ką nors** skaitė. **Lithuanian**
 all what INDEF read
 ‘Everybody is reading something [non-specific].’ (Pilka 1984: 127, cited in Haspelmath 1997: 41)

Example (251) shows that Greek polarity item indefinite (in Giannakidou’s 1998 analysis) *kanéna* is possible in habitual contexts.

(251) Habituals

Otan píjena ja ipno, ksefiliza sinithos **kanéna** periodhiko. **Greek**
 when went.1sg for sleep, browsed.1sg usually any magazine
 ‘Whenever I went to bed, I usually browsed through a magazine.’
 (Giannakidou 1998: 60)

(252) I gates kinigun **kanéna** pondiki pu ke pu.
 the cats hunt.3sg any mice every now and then
 ‘Cats hunt mice every now and then.’ (Giannakidou 1998: 137)

The reason that non-specifics are possible in the scope of universal quantifiers and with habitual events, Haspelmath (1997) argues, is that these contexts do not presuppose a single event or a unique, specific object. For example, in a sentence like ‘Everybody is reading something’ where *everybody* takes wide scope and each person reads a different thing, a single unique event of reading a *thing* is not presupposed. Likewise, in habitual contexts, there are multiple events. For example, ‘Some/a candidate comes from time to time’ does not refer to a unique candidate or event.

British Isles PosA is found in non-episodic contexts only, where events are non-specific and indefinite. The Scots/Scottish English PosA in (253) for example, repeated from earlier, is in a non-episodic context, the modal future with *will* and an imperfective event *be herring*. *There’ll be herring any more* does not refer to a specific perfective event of herring existing and ceasing to exist (‘there were herring’), or arriving (‘hundreds of herring arrived’), or a dynamic in-progress event (‘the herring are biting me’) but a state of herring existing and stretching indefinitely into the future. It does not describe a single episode, but describes the state of the world at reference time.

(253) There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

Examples (254) and (255), repeated from Chapter 2, are also non-episodic: they describe habitual events or tendencies, not a single episode.

(254) If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Montgomery 2006a: 9)

(255) He fights a lot **any more** (Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)

In example (255) for example, *anymore* is in the non-episodic context of habitual present tense. There is not a single perfective event ('he fights') or dynamic ongoing present one ('he is fighting [at this very moment]'), but a state where he habitually fights but is not necessarily doing so now. The stative event *he fights a lot* holds at reference time, but is presupposed to not have held at some point prior to reference time (reference time is at speech time, since this is present tense). A new state of *he fights a lot* therefore begins prior to speech time.

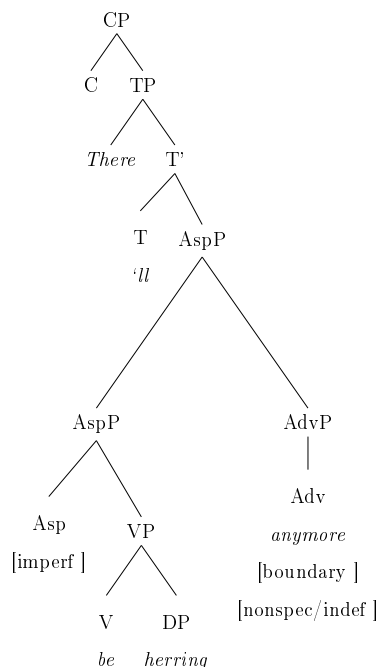
British Isles PosA is not found in past tense contexts, even if these are imperfective and do not pick out single events, for example with habitual events.

(256) I always walked to school **anymore**. (unattested in British Isles PosA)

I suggest that this is because events in the past, even if they are imperfective, are more definite and episodic because they are more likely to have finished by speech time. In this case the truth of the whole event would be entailed at speech time; instead of a series of habitual events it is a larger event that has finished, and is thus perfective.

I propose therefore that the original and present day British Isles PosA is an aspectual adverb with [non-specific/indefinite] features that have the effect of requiring it to be adjoined to an imperfective Asp and in a non-past, not-in-progress context. I also proposed earlier that it is an aspectual 'boundary' adverb with [Asp_{boundary}], indicating the beginning of a new stative event and the end of an event of the same type but of opposite polarity. A representation of this *anymore* is below.

(257) there'll be herring **any more**



As I have argued, British Isles PosA is an aspectual adverb with a [boundary] feature, and it adjoins to AspP. I only have examples of it in clause-final position, so in my analysis it is right-adjoined. It requires non-episodic events due to its [non-specific/indefinite] feature, so it is limited to contexts such as modal or irrealis future, present-tense habitual, generic, or stative contexts; it is not attested in past contexts or in-progress present. It is not restricted to API contexts, only non-episodic and non-past ones, so it is not polarity sensitive and does not have [uVer].

3.3.3 Summary of similarities and differences between API *anymore* and British Isles PosA

The differences and similarities between polarity sensitive *anymore* in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scotland on the one hand, and British Isles PosA on the other, are summarized in Table 3.3.

	Scots API <i>anymore</i>	British Isles PosA
[uVer]?	yes	no
Position	adjoined to AspP	adjoined to AspP
Adverb type	Asp _{continuative}	Asp _{boundary}
Presupposition	$\alpha\phi$ before Ref time	$\neg\alpha\phi$ before Ref time
Assertion	depends on context	$\alpha\phi$ before Ref time
Other features		non-episodic
Tense restrictions	none	present or future
Aspectual restrictions	imperfective	no in-progress present

Table 3.3: Comparison: 16th-early 18th century Scots API *anymore* and British Isles PosA

3.4 *Anymore becomes Asp_{boundary} adverb with [non-specific/indefinite] feature in contexts with both negation and future*

I propose that there are two important elements in the change that led to PosA. First, polarity sensitive *anymore* in sixteenth to early eighteenth century Scots in the ScotsCorr (1540-1750) is often in negated, future-oriented contexts, as discussed in the previous chapter. The events in these contexts are non-specific and indefinite since they do not pick out single events. This allowed *anymore* to be reanalyzed as requiring non-episodic, non-past contexts instead of nonveridical ('typical' API) and imperfective ones. Second, the polarity sensitive *anymore* was able to precede negation and other clause-mate API licensors linearly. This allowed *anymore* to be reanalyzed as taking wide scope with respect to negation. The reanalysis in such a context was necessary to produce the 'inceptive' meaning associated with the boundary of an event.

3.4.1 *Future irrealis and other contexts with non-specific, indefinite events*

In this section, I will argue that *anymore* was reanalyzed as having [non-specific/indefinite] features because of its frequent occurrence in negated future-oriented contexts. As I have established, API *anymore* and related aspectual adverbs *any longer/further* in the ScotsCorr require imperfective events, but these can have an in-progress reading. British Isles PosA on the other hand requires future or present tense, non-episodic contexts. Non-episodic contexts include states, habitual events, or generic events. These describe facts about the way the world is at reference time. PosA does not appear in contexts such as in-progress present or past since they entail the truth of a single event. I propose that the restriction to non-past contexts was due to API *anymore*'s frequent appearance in negated future-oriented contexts, including being embedded under negated desiderative predicates. These commonly have a non-episodic, 'state of the world' reading. I propose that *anymore* became sensitive to a different property of its environment, one related to nonveridicality. It came to require non-past, non-progressive contexts, where the truth of a single event is not entailed. In other words, it came to require a weaker form of nonveridicality.

As discussed in the previous chapter, *anymore* in the ScotsCorr can appear with events that are single episodes. This is shown in the following example, also repeated from the previous chapter.

- (258) I will not trubell your la / **anie more** for the present till I heiar frome your la
 'I will not trouble your ladyship any more for the present until I hear form your ladyship.' (ScotsCorr, Charles Erskine of Cambuskenneth[1640], Stirlingshire[Southeast], text ID 484; translation mine)

There is a single event of troubling, and the writer indicates that he will end this event for the present. The writer does not say that he will end a habitual event of troubling, but an in-progress event, signaled by the phrase *for the present*. However, without the phrase *for the present*, this could be interpreted as not troubling anymore at all, that is, neither now or at any point in the future; a state of *not troubling* will begin. The phrase *for the present*

is necessary to disambiguate the in-progress reading from the habitual one.

Other examples in the ScotsCorr such as the following are even more biased toward a non-episodic reading.

(259) I alreadie \have past my word or given my wreat not to medle **any mor** in that buisines

‘I already have passed my word or given my written word not to meddle any more in that business’

(ScotsCorr, John Wemyss of Bogie[1665], Fife[Southeast]/Bogie, text ID 522; translation mine)

(260) I cou’d almost wish \never to see this Cursed \nation **any more** (ScotsCorr, Alexander Robertson[1708], Perthshire[Central]/Edinburgh, text ID 1828)

In (259), the embedded clause *not to meddle any mor* can easily be interpreted as a state of *not meddling* holding from reference time on. Similarly for (260), the embedded clause *never to see this Cursed nation any more* is clearly non-episodic: I desire for a state to begin in which I do not see this nation. I propose therefore that these contexts allowed *anymore* to develop a restriction to non-episodic contexts. This change led to *anymore*’s loss of polarity sensitivity and reanalysis as having a [boundary] feature. I discuss these further changes in the next section.

3.4.2 Contexts where *anymore* precedes negation in Middle Scots

I will argue that negated contexts, and more specifically, contexts where *anymore* moved to a position above negation, were crucial to the reanalysis of this aspectual adverb. First, negation allowed a reading as an aspectual adverb marking the boundary between two states of opposite polarity. Second, because API *anymore* could precede negation, it could be interpreted outside the scope of negation, which is what differentiates APIs from non-APIs.

Recall from Chapter 2 and section 3.3 above that aspectual API adverb *anymore*’s meaning is a presupposition that $\alpha\phi$ during some period before reference time, where the

	Presupposition	Assertion
API <i>anymore</i>	$\alpha\phi$ (imperf) before Ref time	depends on context
<i>still</i>	$\alpha\phi$ (imperf) before Ref time	depends on context
PosA	$\neg\alpha\phi$ (non-specific, indef) before Ref time	$\alpha\phi$ (state) after Ref time
<i>no more</i>	$\alpha\phi$ (imperf) before Ref time	$\neg\alpha\phi$ after Ref time

Table 3.4: Presuppositional meaning of API *anymore*, British Isles PosA, and *no more* and assertion of their context (based in part on Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014, Ernst 2001, Michaelis 1996)

event is imperfective. Its meaning is presuppositional only. PosA’s meaning is the presupposition $\neg\alpha\phi$ during some period before reference time, where the event is non-episodic, and the assertion $\alpha\phi$. The meanings of API *anymore*, *still*, PosA, and *no more* are given in Table 3.4 as a reminder.

As discussed in section 3.2, Labov (1972b) argues that speakers who have never been exposed to PosA are not able to infer its meaning. He reports that he and many of his informants (who do not use or understand PosA in North America) thought that PosA meant ‘still’ instead of its real meaning ‘nowadays’. I take this as suggestive evidence that Scots *anymore* was reanalyzed in a negative context which expressed an event boundary. If the reanalysis happened in a context where the polarity was not reversed, the meaning of PosA would be like *still*, with a positive presupposition. Take example (261), repeated from earlier. Although the phrase here is *any longer*, it is synonymous with API *anymore* and will work well to illustrate my point.

(261) I houpe your Lo / will giwe such \direction that they may rather stay **any longer** for ships nor after they \f2¹³ ar shiped for if they doe I dar \not undertak bot many may run \away (tho they seem nou willing) \

¹³Transcriber’s notation, not relevant for our purposes

‘I hope your Lordship will give such direction that they may in fact stay/stop any longer for ships than/until after they are shipped...’ (ScotsCorr, Archibald Campbell, 8th Earl of Argyll[1627], Argyllshire[Southwest]/Orchard, text ID 959; translation mostly by Caroline Macafee, partly mine)

As discussed previously, without negation, the meaning of the aspectual adverb here is similar to *still*, and not *from now on*; the presupposition is positive: ‘I hope that your Lordship will give such direction that they will *still* stay’ (presupposition that they were there before reference time), and not ‘I hope...that they will stay from now on’ (presupposition that they were not there, or not staying, before reference time). The writer desires for the event of staying to continue; there is no event boundary.

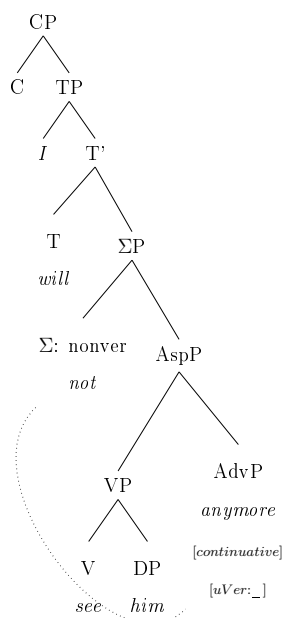
However, in a clause where the polarity is reversed, as in a clause with negation for example, an event boundary is expressed. Take for example (262), which includes the adverb *any longer* with a similar meaning to aspectual *anymore*:

- (262) assure \him y=t= **any longir** I will not delaye? him
 ‘assure him that any longer I will not delay him’ (ScotsCorr, James Sutherland[1682], Moray[North]/Elgin, text ID 1573; translation mine)

The event (or ‘happening’, in Piñón’s 1997 terms) *delay him* is predicted, or intended by the writer, to end at reference time (after speech time, since the clause includes the modal future *will*). It will have a right boundary.

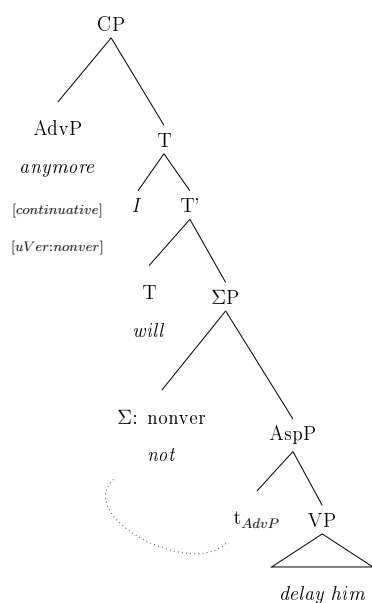
The reanalysis of *anymore* could have happened in clauses that are future irrealis and also include negation, and the negation c-commands *anymore*, as in (263).

- (263) I will not see him anymore.



However, since aspectual API *anymore* and British Isles PosA are AspP-adjoined adverbs as I argued above, and there is no reason to think that *anymore* has moved at any point unless it has moved to the CP layer for information structure reasons, there would be no possibility for a reading where *anymore* scopes above negation if it stayed in AspP. The clausal structure is $[\Sigma P [\text{AspP}]]$ as can be seen in (263), so in its base position *anymore* in AspP is c-commanded by, and in the scope of, negation in ΣP . If *anymore* is fronted to the CP layer as I propose the synonymous *any longer* is in (262), it can be interpreted outside the scope of negation. This is shown in tree form in (264) (substituting aspectual adverbial *anymore* for *any longer*): *anymore* is in a negated context, but its moved position above TP is not c-commanded by negation.

(264) **anymore** I will not delaye him



APIs only take narrow scope with respect to negation, so the moment that *anymore* was interpreted as able to be outside the scope of negation, it was no longer polarity sensitive. This is similar to what Ladusaw (1980) suggested for (North American) PosA, as discussed in the previous chapter. He proposed that the difference between API *anymore* and PosA in North America is simply a difference in scope between negation and *anymore*. With API *anymore*, negation takes wide scope (since it is an API); but with PosA, *anymore* takes wide scope with respect to negation.

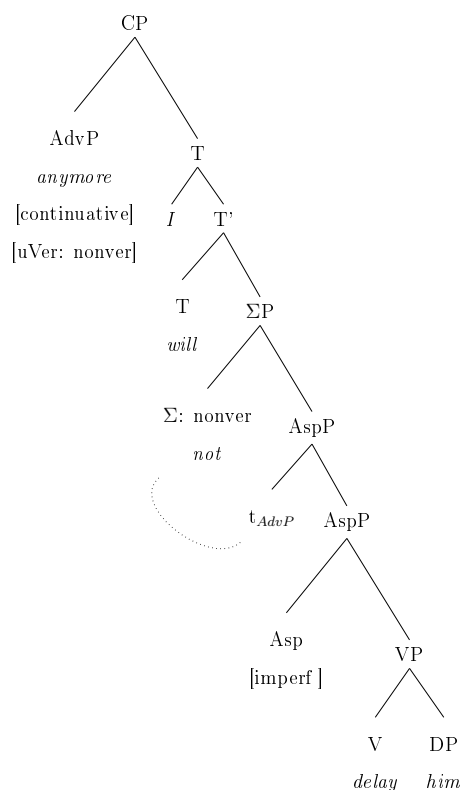
3.4.3 Reanalysis

I propose that contexts such as those in (259) and (260) as well as (264), repeated below in more detail in (265), were transitional contexts for both featural changes: the change from polarity sensitive adverb with [uVer:nonver] to one requiring non-specific, indefinite events with [non-specific/indefinite]; and the change from [Asp_{continuative}] to [Asp_{boundary}] adverb. The two changes are intertwined.

The transitional context is nonveridical and imperfective, so it is compatible with Middle Scots API aspectual *anymore* with [uVer: nonver] and [continuative] features. On the reading of *anymore* in its reconstructed base position, the scope relation is the API one, *not* >

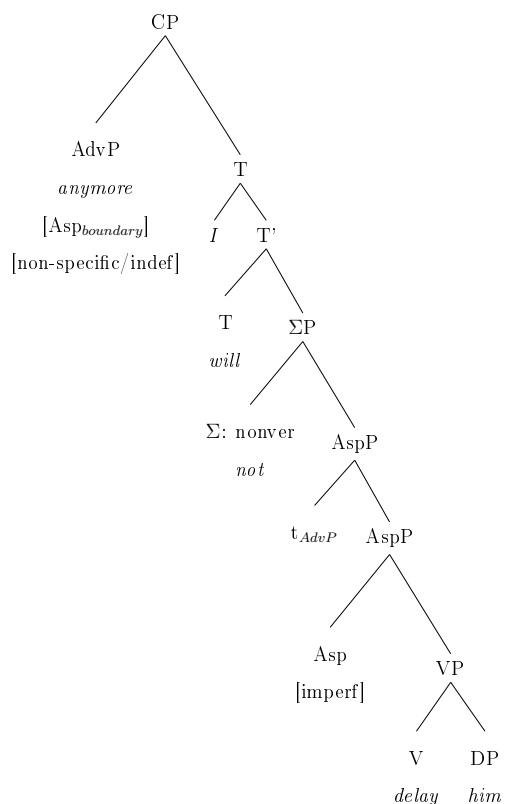
anymore: it is not the case that I will delay him anymore. It is a continuative adverb, though it is negated: the state *delay him* does not continue. I propose that this is the preanalysis/input structure.

(265) **anymore** I will not delay him (pre-reanalysis)



This string is also compatible with a British Isles PosA-type reading of *anymore*. The irrealis future context is non-specific and indefinite, so it is compatible with an adverb that requires non-past, non-in-progress events. If *anymore* had already developed, or simultaneously developed, a restriction to non-episodic contexts, and it is in a position where it can be interpreted outside the scope of negation, it is primed to become polarity insensitive. *Anymore* no longer requires negation or nonveridical contexts, but only non-episodic ones; the evidence for the [uVer] features is obscured. The ‘inceptive/inchoative’ reading, with a boundary between imperfective events, is also possible in this context: a state of *delay him* ends and a state of *not delay him* begins. After reanalysis, the structure would be as in

(266):

(266) **any more** I will not delay him (post-reanalysis)

The result is a non-polarity sensitive aspectual adverb that could be in non-episodic contexts that appear ‘positive’ such as future ones, as in the Scots PosA example (367), repeated from earlier. In a non-negative context, the [boundary] feature contributes the interpretation of the beginning of an event (*be herring*) and the simultaneous end of the same event with opposite polarity (*not be herring*).

(267) There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

Unlike terminative adverbs like *no more* that have negation as part of their meaning, *anymore* was able to divorce the [boundary] part of its meaning from negation.

Because *anymore* must simply avoid contexts with definite and specific events, nothing rules out its appearing in other types of non-episodic contexts such as habitual or generic

present. This is of course attested in Scots Irish PosA, shown in examples (368) and (369), repeated from (254) and (255).

(268) If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**.
(Montgomery 2006a: 9)

(269) He fights a lot **any more** (Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)

API *anymore* (in negative contexts) and PosA are therefore the same: they mark the end of one state and the beginning of one of that same kind but of opposite polarity. An aspectual adverb with a [boundary] feature that can appear in ‘positive’ contexts, that is, whose meaning is an implication that a state of opposite polarity held at a point prior to reference time, would be reinforced if a similar item existed in bilingual speakers’ grammar from Scots Gaelic (which I discuss below).

Recall from Chapter 1 that polarity-sensitive indefinites may over time become negative indefinites or negative markers under the right conditions, and that this has been attested more often than the loss of polarity sensitivity. In other words, the general trend is non-polarity-sensitive indefinite > API indefinite > negative indefinite. This may have to do with the fact that negation is salient (Martins 2000), and children tend to overgeneralize, assigning negative features to items that are not necessarily negative but do occur often in negative contexts. I suggest that in the case of *anymore*, the marking of an event boundary instead emerged as prominent.

The changes from API to ‘positive’ *anymore* are summarized below:

(270) Featural changes of API *anymore* > ‘positive’ *anymore* (Scotland, 16th to early 18th century)

a. [Asp_{continuative}] > [Asp_{boundary}]

b. [uVer: nonver] > [non-episodic]

3.4.4 *Subject any preceding negation: Not a context for reanalysis of API anymore*

Another pattern of *any* preceding negation has been attested in several periods of Scots and/or Scottish English and Irish English, and may go back to Northern Old English. This pattern involves *any* in subject position preceding negation. It is different from the one discussed above, where *anymore* and similar adverbs undergo A-bar movement from a position below negation to a position outside the scope of negation in the CP layer. When *any* is in subject position preceding negation, it is unlikely that *any* was in the scope of negation at any point during the derivation. It is possible that an operator or negative feature of some kind in the CP layer licensed *any* in this context, perhaps due to contact with Irish.

A somewhat well-known, though apparently uncommon, phenomenon in Irish and some other geographically close varieties of English is referred to in the literature as ‘failure of negative attraction’ (FNA). Perhaps one of the first mentions of FNA is in Hayden and Hartog (1909), cited in Filppula (1999: 181):

- (271) “‘Any’ is constantly used in IE (Irish English) as the subject of a negative sentence ‘**Any** of them would not go for the doctor’” (Hayden and Hartog 1909, cited in Filppula 1999: 181)

In most varieties of English, an indefinite quantifier subject ‘attracts’ negation to it, so instead of ‘*anybody does not go’, the indefinite becomes negated, ‘nobody goes’ (Filppula 1999). In varieties with FNA however, negation can remain ‘low’, and *any* can precede negation, as in ‘anybody does not go’. This can also occur with non-polarity item quantifiers like the universal quantifier *every* (Harris 1984, Filppula 1999) or *either* (Harris 1984). FNA occurring with APIs is of interest to those studying polarity sensitivity since it is an exception to the usual pattern of APIs needing to be linearly preceded by negation in English.

Harris (1984), Filppula (1999), among others, argue that FNA is likely due to contact of English with Irish. Their reasoning is based on 1) the geographical distribution of FNA in areas where English has been in contact with Celtic languages (Northern English, Scots and Scottish English, and Irish English according to Filppula 1999), and 2) a construction

in Irish and other Celtic languages that could have been the model for FNA in English. Irish indefinite pronouns such as *aon duine* or *duine ar bith* ‘anyone’ have the same form in negative or positive contexts, so they are not polarity sensitive according to Harris (1984), Filppula (1999). When in subject position, they never combine with a negative particle. Negation *ní*, *níor* in Irish is always clause-initial, cliticizing to the verb (and Irish is VSO so the verb is clause-initial) (Harris 1984, Filppula 1999). Harris gives the following example of parallel sentences in English and Irish:

(272) **Anyone** wasn’t at home.

Ní raibh **aon duine** sa bhaile. (Harris 1984: 305)
 neg be.past any person in.the home

In (272), negation *ní* precedes the verb *raibh*, which both precede the subject *aon duine* ‘any person, anyone’ as Irish is a verb-initial language. English of course is not a verb-initial language, so the verb and negation follow the subject. Harris (1984), Filppula (1999) argue that Irish speakers therefore use non-negative indefinites in subject position in English even when it violates the negative attraction rule, since Irish subject indefinites are never morphologically negative. This is not dissimilar to Willis’s (2017) proposal for how PosA emerged: as discussed previously, he suggested that because temporal adjectives in Goidelic languages are not in general polarity sensitive, speakers of these languages could have failed to posit polarity sensitivity for English or Scots temporal/aspectual adverb *anymore*.

Another (speculative at this point) possibility is that for speakers with FNA, an operator or negative feature of some sort in the CP layer licenses API *any* in subject position. This could be due to contact with Irish, for example. McCloskey (2017) argues that negation in Irish finite clauses is expressed morphophonologically in C. *Ní* (as in (272)) and *cha* are the forms of negative C in matrix finite clauses, while *nach* or *ná-* are the forms of negative C in embedded finite clauses according to McCloskey. Negative complementizers cannot appear in clauses with another complementizer or another marker of sentential negation. He proposes that C in negative clauses has an uninterpretable negation feature which is valued by a Polarity head in a PolP (equivalent to Laka’s 1990 ΣP) with an interpretable negative

feature. McCloskey proposes that PolP is directly below CP and above TP in Irish.

(273) [CP [C_{FIN,uNEG}] [PolP [Pol_{FIN,iNEG}] [TP]]] (based on McCloskey 2017: 114)

I suggest that speakers of English with FNA might therefore also posit a [uNeg] feature in English C in a negative clause even though English complementizers do not have morphophonological negation features, and in main clauses English C is often not pronounced at all. This [uNeg] in C would, for example, Agree with negation in Σ P, found below TP in English. The negative C could license polarity item *any* in subject position in the specifier of TP.

Any in subject position could also precede negation in Northern Old English. It is possible that APIs were also licensed by a negative feature in the CP layer due to contact with Goidelic languages. Old English generally exhibits negative concord (NC), where a negative indefinite can be accompanied by the main negator *ne* to form a single semantic negation. This is shown in (274), where the morphologically negative *nan* ‘(not) any, no’ occurs with *ne*.

(274) **Ne** mæg **nan** man twam hlafordum *þeowian*.
 neg may any man two masters serve
 ‘No man may serve two masters.’

(*WS Gosp.*, Matt. 6: 24, cited in Ingham 2013: 141)

Ingham (2006) shows that there are dialectal differences in systems of negative concord (NC) in Old English. While Standard West Saxon (WS) texts show a system of ‘strict’ NC, in which negated indefinites (NI) always occurred with the preverbal negative particle *ne* as in (274), non-WS texts have a ‘non-strict’ system of NC. In this non-strict dialect, *ne* is used systematically when NIs follow the verb, as shown in (275). When NIs precede the verb, *ne* can be absent, as in (276).

(275) **Nes** **nefre** in his muðe nymþe Crist ‘He always spoke of Christ.’ (*St. Chad*
 neg.was ever in his mouth except Christ
 239, cited in Ingham 2013: 141)

- (276) ...*θæt* he **nane** *θinga* him andwerdan wolde
 that he no things to.him answer would
 ‘...that he would in no wise answer.’ (*Wærfirth* 122, 16, cited in Ingham 2013: 141)

Ingham (2013) points out a third Old English dialect that optionally employed non-NC constructions, using polarity item *ænig* instead of negative indefinites in negated clauses. This *NEG...any* pattern is (as discussed in Chapter 2) is thought to be the conservative system from Indo-European, while the *NEG...NI* one in other Old English dialects was innovative. The texts where *any*-indefinites are employed with clause-mate negation are from Northumbria. This is seen most clearly in the Lindisfarne glosses, a translation of the Bible in Latin with Old English glosses of the Latin. Ingham gives the following example of *ænig* following *ne* in the Lindisfarne glosses:

- (277) Gefea iuer **ne** nimeð **ænig** fro iuh
 joy your neg takes any from you
 Latin: Gaudium vestrum nemo tollit a vobis.
 ‘No one takes your happiness away from you.’ (*Lindisfarne*, John 16: 22, cited in Ingham 2013: 142)

Ingham points out that this is similar to the non-NC system of Present Day Standard English, which can (and must) employ API *any* in the *c*-command domain of negation.

Ingham says that *ænig* is a polarity item that also appears in non-negative API contexts, for example in polar questions. This holds in all dialects and all periods of Old English, he says, giving the following example to demonstrate:

- (278) Hwæt segst *θu*, sceaphyrde? Hæfst *θu* **ænig** gedeorf?
 what say you shepherd have you any toil
 ‘What do you say, shepherd? Do you work hard?’
 (Aelfric’s Colloquy 12, cited in Ingham 2013: 142)

Ingham shows that this dialect also has examples of *ænig* in subject position, preceding negation (example repeated from the previous chapter):

- (279) **Ænig** mon **ne** mæg tuæm hlaferdum hera.
 any man neg may two lords.dat serve

Latin: *Nemo potest duobus dominis servire.*

‘No one can serve two masters.’

(*Lindisfarne*, Matt. 6: 24, cited in Ingham 2013: 142)

This could be argued to be FCI *any*; however, the Latin gloss *nemo* ‘no one’, and not another gloss such as ‘all (people/men) not’, suggests that this is a weak indefinite that takes narrow scope with regard to negation and has the meaning $\neg\exists(x)$ (like API *any*), and not an FCI with the meaning $\forall\neg(x)$.

To summarize, *any* in subject position is possible in negative sentences in various dialects of English and Scots in Ireland, Scotland, and Northern England from Northern Old English through the present day. Because *any* in subject position would not be in the scope of negation at any point during a derivation, it must have been licensed by something other than the negation. I suggested tentatively that it is licensed by a negative feature in the CP layer, an innovation due to contact with Goidelic languages.

3.4.5 *British Isles PosA not possible in clause-initial position*

One unexpected difference between API *anymore* in the ScotsCorr and British Isles PosA is that the API version is found in clause-initial position, but the British Isles PosA is not. I suggest that this is a change that English and Scots aspectual adverbs have undergone more generally since the eighteenth century. Cinque (1999) demonstrates that aspectual adverbs, including *più* ‘no longer’ (here with the negative adverb *mica* in the specifier of *più*, according to Cinque, because it modifies *più*), can move to a fronted position for focus:

(280) Aspectual adverbial (*mica*) *più*, unfocused reading

Non hanno chiamato **mica più**, da allora.
 NEG have.3pl called not longer, since then
 ‘They haven’t telephoned not any longer, since then.’ (Cinque 1999: 5)

(281) Aspectual adverbial (*mica*) *più*, focused reading

Mica più l’ho visto
 not longer he.have.1sg seen

‘Not any longer have I seen him.’ (Cinque 1999: 168, fn 8)

Alexiadou (1997) also shows that aspectual adverbs can surface in clause-initial position. This is shown in the example below.

- (282) **AMESOS** tha erthi o Janis
 immediately FUT come-PERF:3SG the John-NOM
 ‘John will come immediately.’ (Alexiadou 1997: 94)

They bear focal stress, as indicated by the uppercase letters. She says that they are in the specifier of F(ocus)P(hrase), having moved here from their lower, base-generated position.

It is therefore possible for aspectual adverbs to move to a clause-initial position for focus. However, it is not as common for aspectual adverbs to appear in clause-initial position as it is for other types of adverbial, such as temporal adverbs and other ‘adverbs of setting’ that can appear freely in a clause-initial topic position, according to Cinque (this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5). It is therefore conceivable that British Isles PosA is possible in clause-initial position, but there are simply no examples of it. Since I have only found 22 examples of British Isles PosA, this is not unreasonable.

Another explanation is that aspectual adverbs as a class in Present-Day English and Scots do not undergo focus movement, but instead receive focal stress in their base positions. Take the following as examples.

- (283) a. *ALREADY I ate dinner.
 b. I ALREADY ate dinner.
- (284) a. *STILL Suze is sleeping.¹⁴
 b. Suze is STILL sleeping.

In (283), *already* is not possible in clause-initial position; it can however bear (contrastive) focal stress in a lower position (its base position presumably), between subject and verb. The same is true of *still* in (284): it cannot appear clause-initially, but it can receive focal

¹⁴This is possible with a homophonous *still* with a different meaning, ‘nevertheless’.

stress in a lower position. In older varieties of English and Scots, aspectual adverbs are able to appear in clause-initial position. Take for example (285), repeated from the previous chapter.

- (285) it may easily be fancied, that a confusion must take place, and that it was impossible **any more** to keep the two declensions separate.

(CMSW, *An Essay on the Scoto-English Dialect*, 1862, Document 2)

On the reading where *any more* is in the subordinate clause, the adverb would be in clause-initial position, possibly in a focus position in the embedded CP layer. Another example of an aspectual adverb in a fronted position in older English (1677) comes from the *OED*.

- (286) The Devil considering, that if **any longer** he detain'd him there, he should be a looser for want of his service on Earth.

(*Poor Robin's Visions* 57, 1677, in *OED*, *long*, adv.1)

It appears therefore that aspectual adverbs were more common in clause-initial position in older varieties of English and Scots, but that as a class they are often not possible in this position in present day varieties. I will show in Chapter 5 that North American PosA is possible in clause-initial position because it is a temporal, not aspectual, adverb.

3.4.6 *Why did only anymore change?*

I propose that this change only affected aspectual adverb *anymore* and not other *any* words for a variety of reasons. First, *any* quantifying 'addition' words *longer*, *further*, *more* was significantly more likely than *any* with other complements to occur in a future-oriented context. This created a situation favorable to the reanalysis of such words as requiring non-specific, indefinite contexts instead of nonveridical, imperfective ones. Second, while *any more* in the nominal domain could have an FCI reading in non-episodic contexts, this is not possible for aspectual adverb *anymore* for reasons that I will discuss below. *Anymore* on a VP-adverb reading did not undergo reanalysis because VP adverbs are not sensitive to perfectivity, so it could be found in episodic contexts more often than aspectual *anymore*.

Finally, *anymore* underwent reanalysis while the other ‘additional’ aspectual adverbs *any further/longer* did not because *more* has less semantic content, making reanalysis more probable.

First, as discussed in Chapter 2, the ScotsCorr (Scottish Corpus of Correspondence) data show that adverb *any* with ‘addition’ words *longer, further, more* of all types of speech (adjective, VP/aspectual adverb, noun) is more often in future-oriented contexts than *any* with other complements¹⁵ is. A chi-square test of independence to determine whether there is a relationship between complement type and future orientation of context shows that the relationship is significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 1,178) = 14.96, p < .005$. The standardized residuals show that the largest difference between expected and observed frequencies of *any* in future-oriented versus non-future-oriented contexts is in the ‘additional’ category, which is more likely to occur in a future-oriented context. In other words, *any* quantifying ‘addition’ words *longer, further, more* was significantly more likely than *any* with other complements to occur in a future-oriented context.

This frequent association of *any* quantifying ‘addition’ words *longer, further, more* and future irrealis contexts created a situation favorable to the reanalysis of such words as requiring non-episodic, non-past contexts instead of imperfective, nonveridical ones. However, recall again from Chapter 2 that a chi-square test for independence of *any* with VP/aspectual adverbials *further, longer, and more* on the one hand versus *any* with *further, longer, and more* of all other parts of speech (VP adverbs, NPs, adjectives) did not show a significant relationship between future orientation of context and VP/aspectual adverb-ness. So the reason that only a VP/aspectual adverb from the ‘additional’ group underwent reanalysis, while other ‘additional’ *any-* compounds remained APIs must not be the propensity for appearing in future-oriented contexts, since this applied at a somewhat similar rate to all parts of speech in the ‘addition’ group.

I propose that aspectual adverb *anymore* lost polarity sensitivity while determiner or

¹⁵Divided into to the following groups: no complement (i.e., *any* is a DP), NP, *of* + DP, or ‘other’, a catch-all for complements with low numbers of tokens and that did not fall into any of the other categories

pronoun *any (more)* did not because the determiner and pronoun has a free choice item (FCI) reading in non-episodic contexts while the aspectual adverb *anymore* cannot have a such a reading. In the nominal domain, *any (more)* is in fact licit in non-episodic contexts. When it appears in such contexts it is interpreted as an FCI, as discussed in Chapter 2. An example is given in (287):

(287) Determiner *any* as FCI in non-episodic contexts in the ScotsCorr

I ...shal take y=t= 2000 Ma or **any more** of ye prin=ll= sowm you could spare
to me

‘I ... shall take that 2000 Marks or any more of the principal sum you could spare me.’
(ScotsCorr, Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun[1660], Sutherland[North], Edinburgh,
text ID 1660; translation mine)

Any more is in a future, non-episodic context, and has the reading ‘I shall take any more of the principal sum, no matter how much more’. Recall from Chapters 1 and 2 that Giannakidou (2001) defines FCIs as indefinites with an individual variable and a world variable; these variables must be bound by an operator that provides different possible worlds so that the variable can vary in each possible world.. Such operators are available in generic, modal (including future irrealis), and habitual contexts, for example. To illustrate, Giannakidou gives the sentence in (288), using the *-dhipote* series of Greek indefinites which she says only have FCI readings. The example means roughly “consider the books that *any book* can be assigned as its value in each relevant i-alternative [i.e., every possible world where everything is the same except the value of the FCI variable]; you are free to borrow one of those books” (p. 711).

(288) Boris na danistis **opjodhipote** book
may.2sg subj borrow.2sg FC vivlio
‘You may borrow any book.’ (Giannakidou 2001: 711)

Giannakidou demonstrates that FCIs are excluded from episodic contexts (affirmative, negative, or interrogative) because they pick out a single event with participants that cannot

vary, but are set. This can be applied to adverb *any* with complement *more* in the nominal domain. Adverb *any* in (287) for example does not modify a participant (at least not directly) but quantifies the amount ‘more’ (of the principal sum). Adapting Giannakidou’s meaning of (288) to (287), a more precise meaning of (287) would be roughly ‘consider the amount that *any more* (*of the principal sum you spare me*) can be assigned as its value in each relevant i-alternative [i.e., every possible world where everything is the same except the value of *any more*]; I shall take one of those.’ The additional amount more (instead of an individual) varies in each possible world.

Aspectual adverb *anymore* however does not contribute a variable to be bound, but instead specifies a temporal relationship between events, according to Ernst (2001) and as discussed above. It is therefore not able to be reanalyzed as an FCI. In this way it is different from argument *any* (+ complement N) or from adverb *any* quantifying words of addition in the nominal domain. API aspectual adverb *anymore* presupposes that an imperfective event holds during a period before reference time, while British Isles PosA’s meaning is the presupposition that a non-specific, indefinite event does not hold before reference time. If it could be reanalyzed as an FCI, it might have done so, but that is not possible.

As for *anymore* on a VP-adverb reading, I propose that it did not undergo reanalysis because VP adverbs are not sensitive to perfectivity (Alexiadou 1997). This meant that it could be in contexts with perfective aspect, which is episodic. An example of VP adverb is given below.

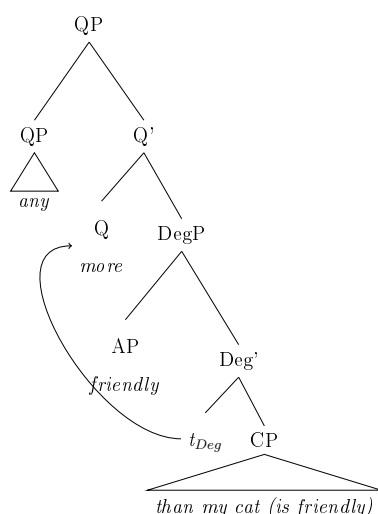
(289) I did not read **anymore** last night.

On the VP reading, the event is perfective and episodic: there is a single (negated) event, and it is finished at reference time. This could have placed VP *anymore* more often in episodic contexts, so it was less likely to be reanalyzed as requiring non-episodic ones.

Perhaps the largest question is: why did the other ‘additional’ aspectual adverbs *any further/longer* not undergo reanalysis? Why was it only *anymore* that did so? I suggest that it is because *more* has less semantic content than *further* or *longer*. In comparatives, the

Degree head is the locus of the comparative features and comparative morphemes such as English *-er* (Lechner 2004, Bacskai-Atkari 2014, Corver 1997, a.o.). I assume the following structure for DP comparatives (following Bacskai-Atkari 2014, Lechner 2004):

(290) Comparatives



The Deg head relates the items to be compared, in this instance the adjective *friendly*, which is in the specifier of DegP, with the second clause to be compared which is the complement to Deg in their analysis. The comparative morpheme *-er* affixes to some adjectives and adverbs; on others, *more* moves from Deg to Q, as shown in (290). Bacskai-Atkari (2014) and Lechner (2004) focus on nominal comparatives, but I assume the same general structure is present in other types of comparative.

More in comparatives is a Degree head; it is therefore pure addition or comparison. *Longer* and *further* contain the comparative morpheme *-er* that is a morphological variant of *more* plus the adjectives *long* and *far* which have semantic content beyond pure comparison or addition. This, I propose, is why the terminative aspectual adverb *anymore* underwent reanalysis to a different adverb type, while the synonymous terminative aspectual adverbs *any longer/further* did not.

This is similar to what Roberts & Roussou (2003) argue for why French *point* underwent certain changes that other similar items did not. Although the changes that happened to *point* and *anymore* are quite different, the reason for these two items being targeted

for change is likely to be the same. Recall from Chapter 2 that *point* grammaticalized into a negative marker while other nouns like *personne* became negative quantifiers. *Point* was once a non-polarity-sensitive lexical item (meaning something like ‘point’). Like other indefinites that later became inherently negative (such as *personne* ‘person’ > ‘no one’, i.e. $\lambda x(\text{person}(x)) > (\text{person}(x))$), *point* was reanalyzed as being merged directly in Num instead of moving from N to Num. However, Roberts & Roussou argue, *point* was different in that it did not have the appropriate semantic content to be reinterpreted as the restriction of a negative quantifier, unlike *personne* for example. *Point* was thus further reanalyzed as clausal negation proper. Similarly, *more*, which has no semantic content beyond ‘addition’, was more amenable to reanalysis as part of a new aspectual adverb requiring non-episodic contexts than *further/longer* which have meaning beyond pure ‘addition’.

3.4.7 Language contact

As discussed above, it has been proposed numerous times that contact with a Goidelic language may have been the impetus for reanalysis of *anymore*. This is not impossible, but as pointed out by Jeffrey Kallen (p.c.) and confirmed by a native speaker of Irish that he has consulted, no lexical items in Irish are completely synonymous with PosA. Either they have senses in addition to PosA’s two main ones, ‘from now on’ or ‘nowadays’, or do not have one or either of these senses. In this section I will evaluate each of the proposed sources of PosA in Scottish Gaelic and Irish. I conclude that Irish *feasta* comes close, but other candidates are less close matches. What I have argued in the rest of this chapter does not preclude a language contact origin: bilingual Gaelic/Scots speakers might have had additional input for the change from Gaelic non-polarity-sensitive aspectual adverbs, tipping the balance toward the reanalysis of aspectual *anymore*. I suggest that if *feasta* or any of the other proposed loan sources of PosA did indeed have a role in the development of PosA, it was in addition to internal language changes. Aldridge (2010) argues something similar for change in word order in Austronesian languages: internal and external factors may work together in driving language change.

The most commonly suggested source of British Isles PosA is Irish *feasta*. *Feasta* in affirmative sentences translates as ‘from now on, henceforth’, in negative ones as ‘no more, not any more’ (Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, *feasta*, adv., also noted in Crozier 1984, Willis 2017, *Any more adv. phr.* 2004, a.o.). It is at first glance a good candidate for a possible source for PosA. Willis (2017) suggests also the cognate Scottish Gaelic (*am*) *feast*. Scottish Gaelic *am feast* means ‘for ever’ according to the *Dwelly* dictionary however. It is therefore a less good candidate for loan source.

Let us say for the sake of exploration that an ancestor of Scottish Gaelic *am feast*/Irish *feasta* which was more similar to the modern Irish version was the source of PosA. The Irish version can indeed translate British Isles PosA well in most cases, and can be used in both veridical and nonveridical contexts. It is used mostly, but not solely, with future reference. These characteristics of *feasta* are demonstrated in the examples below.

(291) Irish *feasta*: future reference, veridical context

Is méanar duit **feasta**.
 be.PRES fortunate for.you *feasta*
 ‘It is well for you from now on.’

(Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, *feasta*, adv.)

(292) Irish *feasta*: present reference (stative), nonveridical context

Níl mórán umhlóide ina chnámha **feasta**
 NEG.be much suppleness in bones *feasta*
 ‘His bones are not very supple any more.’

(Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, *feasta*, adv.)

Recall from section 3.4.7 examples of *feasta* cited in Willis 2017, repeated here, which also show that *feasta* is possible in both negative and affirmative contexts, and is mainly found with future reference, but also present:

(293) Irish *feasta*

- a. Ní fheicfidh tú **feasta** iad.
 NEG see.FUT you anymore them
 ‘You will not see them any more.’

(*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *feasta*, cited in Willis 2017)

- b. Ní ritheann an réal **feasta**.
 NEG run.PRES the sixpenny.bit anymore
 ‘The sixpenny bit is no longer current (does not run any more).’

(*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *rith*, cited in Willis 2017)

- c. Tabhair mo shuaimhneas dom **feasta**.
 give.imper.2sg my peace to.1SG anymore
 ‘Let me have peace from now on.’

(*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *feasta*, cited in Willis 2017)

- d. Tá an t-airneán againn **feasta**.
 be.PRES the long.nights with.1PL anymore
 ‘We have long nights now.’

(*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, s.v. *airneán*, cited in Willis 2017)

As these examples also demonstrate, *feasta* appears to favor stative predicates like PosA.

Some examples of *feasta* in the *Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla* appear less similar to PosA, however.

- (294) Ba cheart dó ciall a bheith aige **feasta**.
 be.PAST/COND right for sense he be at feasta
 ‘It is about time he had sense.’

(*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, *feasta*, adv.)

- (295) Ba chóir go mbeadh siad anseo **feasta**, am ar bith **feasta**
 be.PAST/COND near that be.COND they here feasta, time any feasta
 ‘They ought to be here by now, at any time now.’

(*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla*, *feasta*, adv.)

In (294), the dictionary’s translation ‘It is about time he had sense’ is difficult to reconcile with PosA. The gloss however makes the connection with PosA clearer: a more literal translation would be ‘It would be right for him to have sense from now on’. Like PosA, there is a presupposition that ‘he’ does not have sense prior to reference time (overlapping with speech time), and the rest of the sentence expresses the fact that he should have sense beginning at reference time and extending indefinitely into the future. In (295), *feasta*’s connection with

PosA is more tenuous. The sentence presupposes that ‘they’ are not here at reference/speech time, like PosA, but it is not in a context with an imperfective event. PosA requires non-episodic events that can continue indefinitely past reference time, like ‘have sense’ in (294). The event ‘they be here’ in (295) however refers to their arriving here, an achievement. It is a one-time event, not an enduring, imperfective one. PosA in such a sentence, ‘They ought to be here anymore’, would mean either that they ought to be here ‘from now on’, or they ought to be here ‘nowadays’, not ‘at any time now’.

Scottish Gaelic *riamh*, Irish *riamh* ‘ever’, ‘never’, or ‘always’ (Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, *riamh*, adv.; *Am Faclair Beag, a-riamh*) have also been considered as a possible source for PosA (Hickey 2004, Willis 2017). While they are indeed used in both negative and affirmative contexts, they are used with past reference only. It would be surprising if this was the source of PosA, since PosA is used mainly in future and present in Scots or Scottish/Irish English, and never in the past.

(296) Irish *riamh* ‘ever’, ‘never’, or ‘always’: past reference, veridical context

Tá siad mar a bhí **riamh**. ‘They are the same as ever they were.’
 be.PRES they like PRT be.PAST riamh
 (Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, *riamh*, adv.)

A third possibility for a Celtic source of *anymore* is Scottish Gaelic (*a*) *t(h)uilleadh*, Modern Irish (*a*) *tuilleadh*. They are like English *more* in many ways. They are quantifiers that mean ‘addition, additional, more’ in the nominal domain and are used irrespective of polarity of the context (Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, *tuilleadh*; *Am Faclair Beag, tuilleadh*). As adverbs, they can mean “More, any more, farther, moreover” (*Am Faclair Beag, tuilleadh*). They appear to be possible in positive contexts adverbially, as the following examples show ((298) and (299) repeated from earlier)

(297) Bith mi ga dheannamh **tuilleadh**
 be-fut I at-its doing more
 ‘I’ll do it more’ (**Scottish Gaelic** | David Adger, p.c.)

(298) **A thuilleadh** air sin, dhrùidh an t-uisge oirnn gus an robh
 more on this drench.PAST the water on.1PL until PRT be.PAST.DEP

sinn bog fliuch.

we very wet

‘In addition to this, the water drenched us until we were soaking wet.’

(**Scottish Gaelic** | *Corpas na Gàidhlig* text 35, 1973, cited in Willis 2017)

(299) Dh’ fhiosraich e dhiubh **a thuilleadh**...

PAST ask.PAST he to.2SG more

‘He asked you further...’

(**Scottish Gaelic** | *Corpas na Gàidhlig* text 142, 1812, cited in Willis 2017)

The aspectual adverb sense (corresponding to *anymore* as in ‘I won’t do it anymore’) appears to be used most often in negative contexts, though it is not noted that it is confined to negative contexts in the dictionaries of Irish or Scottish Gaelic consulted (*Foclóir Gaeilge–Béarla, tuilleadh*; *Am Faclair Beag, tuilleadh*). Examples of this sense of *tuilleadh* are given below, (301) repeated from above.

(300) Cha robh an t-acras air **tuilleadh**.

NEG be.PAST the hunger on.3MS more

‘He wasn’t hungry any more.’

(**Scottish Gaelic** | *Corpas na Gàidhlig* text 108, 1867, cited in Willis 2017)

(301) Nil séin aghaidh an dlí **a thuilleadh** a bheith ag éisteacht

neg.BE.PRES it against the law anymore be.INF PROG listen.INF with

le nó ag breathnu ar ráidió agus teilifís an Iarthair.

or PROG look.INF on radio and television the west

‘It is no longer against the law to listen, or to watch, Western radio and television.’

(**Irish** | McCloskey 1986: 184–5)

As can be seen from example (300), *(a) t(h)uilleadh* is possible with past reference, unlike British Isles PosA.

Scottish Gaelic *tuilleadh* is often accompanied by *a chaidh* ‘forever’ to mean ‘forever more’ (David Adger, p.c.). Recall that Willis (2017) suggested that the related words Scottish Gaelic *choidhche*, Irish *choíche* could be the source of PosA. An example is below.

(302) Chan fhaic thu **tuilleadh a chaidh** i

not see-fut you more forever her

‘You won’t see her any more/again’ (**Scottish Gaelic** | David Adger, p.c.)

This sense of course has future reference, but unlike PosA, ‘forever more’ does not necessarily presuppose a change from a current or previous time. It can be uttered even when there is no change from the past: ‘I love syntax and I’ll love it forevermore’.

I conclude that none of the proposed sources of PosA in Irish or Scottish Gaelic are perfect matches. Each of the possible sources have freer distributions than PosA or have different meanings. Scottish Gaelic *(a) t(h)uilleadh*/Modern Irish *(a) tuilleadh* ‘more, any more, farther, moreover’ is possible in past tense, and *riamh* ‘ever, never, always’ is only used in past tense. British Isles PosA however is not possible in past tense. As can be seen from the translations, the meanings are quite different from that of PosA ‘nowadays, from now on’. Scottish Gaelic *tuilleadh a chaidh* ‘forever more’ is different from PosA in that it does not presuppose a change from a previous time. The best candidate for a Gaelic lexical item source for PosA appears to be *feasta*, but even these two words are not identical. PosA requires imperfective events that can continue indefinitely past reference time, but *feasta* seems to be compatible with punctual events. It is true as Willis (2017) points out (discussed previously) that *any more* could have undergone further changes in Scots or Scottish/Irish English so that it no longer has the same meaning as its source word. The Irish or Scottish Gaelic item likewise could have undergone further changes so that it no longer has the same meaning as when it served as a source word, but all of the proposed source words have fewer constraints than PosA so it would be more likely that PosA changed.

What about Willis’s suggestion that the reanalysis of *any more* may have been due to the fact that the whole class of aspectual/temporal adverbials in Goidelic languages are polarity insensitive (discussed in section 3.4.7)? Since such items are possible in veridical and nonveridical contexts in Irish and Scottish Gaelic, perhaps bilingual English-Goidelic speakers did not posit polarity sensitivity for *any more*. One counterargument is that other temporal and aspectual polarity items like *ever* and *yet* remained polarity sensitive in these dialects. Why would the whole class of temporal and aspectual adverbs serve as a model for aspectual *anymore*, but skip other English and/or Scots temporal and aspectual adverbs?

Even if the entire class of Scottish Gaelic temporal and aspectual adverbs were not

responsible for the change to *anymore*, why would a similar process target only a single pair of adverbs in Scots and Gaelic? Why would *ever* not lose polarity sensitivity as well by analogy with Scottish Gaelic *riamh* ‘ever, never, always’? Language-internal reasons like the ones proposed in this chapter can answer these questions: *anymore* was different from *ever* and *yet*. Language-internal changes targeting only aspectual *anymore* that made the evidence for polarity sensitivity opaque, combined with a non-polarity-sensitive word in a Goidelic language with similar semantics, could have worked together to result in reanalysis of *anymore* as an ‘inceptive’ aspectual adverb with a [boundary] feature that is only licit in contexts where the event is non-specific and indefinite. I propose therefore that it is most likely that any influence from *feasta* or any of the other potential loan sources of PosA was in addition to language-internal factors stimulating change.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have proposed that present-day British Isles PosA comes from a reanalysis of aspectual API *anymore* that occurred in sixteenth to eighteenth century Scotland. Pre-change, it is a ‘continuative’ aspectual adverb adjoined to AspP. It is polarity sensitive, so it has [uVer:nonver] features. Because it is a continuative adverb, it requires imperfective events. Post-change, PosA is an aspectual ‘inceptive’ type of adverb with a [boundary] feature and is still adjoined to AspP. It requires non-in-progress and non-past contexts, which I argued is due to [non-specific/indefinite] features. Because Scots aspectual API adverb *anymore* was often in negated irrealis future contexts, a type of non-episodic context, it came to require non-episodic contexts instead of ‘typical’ API nonveridical ones; in other words, it came to require contexts where the event can be interpreted as non-specific and indefinite. The reanalysis likely happened in a negated context where *anymore* was fronted above negation in order to allow *anymore* to be interpreted outside the scope of negation and to provide a [boundary] interpretation. API *anymore* therefore lost its [uVer:nonver] features, which were supplanted by [non-specific/indefinite] ones. These various conditions worked together to allow the reanalysis that resulted in British Isles PosA. While several

previous proposals have suggested a Goidelic loan as the source of PosA, I have shown that language-external sources of the change, if there were any, likely did not act alone; there must have also been language-internal sources of change.

Chapter 4

**BACKGROUND, EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE: SCOTS > ULSTER
SCOTS > NORTH AMERICAN POSITIVE *ANYMORE***

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I provide a description of ‘positive’ *anymore* (PosA) in North America, including both linguistic and social factors. It is different from British Isles PosA in some ways, leading some scholars to argue that North American and British Isles PosA were two separate developments. While British Isles PosA is defined as ‘from now on’ or ‘nowadays’ and is possible in contexts with present or future tense readings, North American PosA only means ‘nowadays’ and is only possible with present tense readings. A second difference (but one that has received little attention in the literature) is that British Isles PosA has only been attested clause-finally, while the North American one is also possible clause-initially and between subject and verb for some speakers. The two PosAs have similarities, however. In addition to the fact that they can both mean ‘nowadays’ in present tense contexts, they are both only possible in non-episodic contexts. As I will also argue in this chapter, the migration patterns from Ulster, Ireland to parts of North America match the distribution of PosA. After providing the empirical facts about North American PosA in this chapter, I will argue in the next chapter that based on the syntactic and semantic similarities and differences of the two PosAs and what is known about language change, it is most probable that they come from the same source.

In section 4.2, I give an overview of the findings of previous studies of PosA in North America, focusing on language-internal and language-external factors that have been found to correlate with PosA in North America. Section 4.3 shows that the regions where PosA is most common, namely in the Midland states (especially in the Ohio, Missouri, and central-

Mississippi Valleys) and Appalachia, are precisely where the Scots-Irish settled in the greatest numbers; the region where it is rarest, New England, is where few Scots-Irish settled. In section 4.4, I describe a diachronic corpus study of North American PosA. Results of the study confirm findings of previous studies (PosA is common in the Midland region; it is usually clause-final and in present tense non-episodic clauses) and reveal some novel trends (many instances of PosA are from the West; there is a significant number of preposed and clause-medial tokens of PosA). Section 4.5 summarizes a synchronic grammaticality judgment study that I carried out. The results also show that present tense non-episodic clauses favor PosA. In section 4.6 I summarize the findings of the chapter by giving a concise description of North American PosA. I then describe the relevant aspects of British Isles PosA and compare this to North American PosA. This will be the starting point for the next chapter, where I will give a formal analysis of the syntactic changes that North American PosA has undergone since its arrival from Ireland. Finally, section 4.7 concludes.

4.2 Background

In this section I summarize the main characteristics of PosA, both language-internal and language-external, as reported in the most influential studies of PosA. Language-internally, North American PosA is restricted to present tense (or at least present reference); it is not found in contexts with a future or past reading. It is only used with imperfective aspect, but never with progressives that have a ‘at this moment’, in-progress reading. Preposed *anymore* and *anytime* as an isolated response to a question are among the least attested and accepted. PosA sentences with a universal quantifier are preferred in at least some dialects. The most robust language-external finding regarding PosA is that it has been found mainly in the ‘Midland’ region of the United States. This is where Scots Irish settlers settled in the greatest numbers; this is an argument in favor of North American PosA being a descendant of British Isles PosA.

4.2.1 *Previous literature on North American PosA: language-internal factors*

As discussed in chapters 2 and 3, in-depth studies of North American PosA were carried out starting in the 1970's (Hindle & Sag 1973, Hindle 1974, Labov 1972b). While most work on PosA in Scots or Irish and Scottish English has been descriptive, including dictionaries, PosA in North America has been the focus of both descriptive and more theoretical work. In Chapter 2 I gave an overview of the semantic analyses of PosA in order to distinguish it from affective polarity item (API) *anymore* in historical corpora; in Chapter 3 I reviewed the proposals for the origins of PosA. In this section I will discuss the parts of previous studies of PosA that are relevant to the description of PosA in North America.

PosA in North America has been defined as “‘now, nowadays, at present’, i.e., to indicate a contrasting state of affairs to the past” (Montgomery 2006a: 9). It has only been attested and accepted in contexts with present tense reference, as in (303). It is not possible with past (304) or future (305) reference.

(303) Those secretaries write most of the letters **any more** anyhow. (Labov 1972b: 277)

(304) *John liked his dog **anymore**, so he gave it a milkbone last week. (Parker 1975: 309)

(305) *Your boss will trust you **anymore**, when he sees how honest you are next week. (Parker 1975: 309)

No previous studies investigated aspect in detail, but PosA in previous work has only been found with imperfective aspect as in (303), but not with in-progress progressive (‘He’s reading a book anymore’). This is perhaps implied in the most common definition, ‘nowadays’ (*He’s reading a book nowadays).

As mentioned in earlier chapters, previous studies of PosA in North America most often analyzed data collected from grammaticality judgments and comprehension checks in interviews and questionnaires. The authors of these studies were more concerned with the spread and synchronic variation of PosA in America. As such, they do not compare North American PosA to the British Isles one. They appear to assume that PosA is a change in progress in

North America and seek to determine whether the change is proceeding incrementally. I will focus here on the judgments of PosA sentences. These are sentences where *anymore* is not in a typical API context, that is, when it is in a veridical context and/or is not c-commanded by negation or another nonveridical licenser.

Most, if not all, respondents in these studies accept or produce *anymore* in a nonveridical context when it is c-commanded by the trigger (the element that introduces the nonveridicality, such as negation). In a veridical, or ‘positive’ sentence such as (306c), *anymore* was less accepted, although in some regions in the Midwest, Appalachia, and also Pennsylvania and Ohio, this sentence type was much more readily accepted than in other regions. PosA sentences were improved with a universal quantifier for some respondents (in predicate logic, a quantifier that sets the value of x as ‘all x’; in (332), universal quantification is expressed by *every* and x is *one* or *person*). Likewise, *anymore* in a veridical sentence was more accepted when the sentence was a complaint, as in (306b). Preposed *anymore* (306d) and *anymore* as an isolated response to a question (306e) were among the least accepted.

- (306) Summary of findings of previous PosA studies (judgments in non-API contexts only)
- a. **Veridical sentences with universal quantifiers: medium acceptance** (Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010)
Everyone listens to Justin Bieber **anymore**.
 - b. **Veridical complaints: medium acceptance** (Hindle 1974, Trudgill & Chambers 1991)
Kids are so spoiled **anymore**!
 - c. **(‘Plain’) veridical sentences: less accepted** (Labov 1972b, Hindle & Sag 1973, Murray 1993)
Sam rides a bike **anymore**.
 - d. **Preposed: low acceptance** (Labov 1972b, Hindle & Sag 1973, Murray 1993, Youmans 1986)
Anymore, I don’t hike much.

- e. **Wh-questions: low acceptance** (Labov 1972b, Murray 1993)
Where do you live **anymore**?
- f. **Isolated response to question: low acceptance** (Labov 1972b, Murray 1993)
(Question: Do you swim much?) Answer: **Anymore**.

Punske & Barss (2010) propose that there is a different dialect of PosA in Tucson, Arizona, which they call Southwest *anymore*. It is stricter than other PosA dialects: whereas Eastern PosA dialects allow *anymore* in both upward and downward entailing contexts, “SW *anymore* cannot appear in contexts other than syntactically driven upward entailment (i.e. has a quantifier) or downward entailment” (Punske & Barss 2010: 9). Thus, the quantificational adverb *a lot* in (4.2.1) licenses *anymore* in their analysis:

- (307) a. John eats a lot of chicken **anymore**. **Southwest American English**
b. *John eats chicken **anymore**.

Bare plurals with a generic (but not existential) reading also license *anymore* in this dialect. Punske and Barss propose that this is due to a silent operator that is syntactically present and licenses *anymore*.

Eitner (1991), using PosA data from dictionaries, notes that clause-medial PosA “seems slightly less pointed and less emphatic, and tends more toward the connotation of *still*” (Eitner 1991: 267). In fact, in contrast to what has been reported by most other (especially later) studies, he says that there is not always an implication of change from a former state, citing the sentence “They still use that custom anymore”. Trudgill & Chambers (1991) note that North American PosA usually indicates that the speaker disapproves of what they are talking about.

4.2.2 Previous literature on PosA: language-external factors

In this section I discuss the language-external factors that were found to be relevant in previous studies of PosA. It is attested mainly the ‘Midland’ and Appalachian regions of the

United States, though speakers who use and/or accept PosA are also present in other parts of the country in less dense concentrations. No other language-external factors have been found to correlate with PosA.

4.2.2.1 Geographical distribution (argument in favor of British Isles origin of PosA)

The most consistent language-external finding from previous studies of North American PosA is that it is concentrated in certain geographical areas, mainly the ‘Midland’ region of the United States. The definition of this region has changed over the years. This dialectal region was first identified by Kurath (1949) using the regional distribution of lexical items. In Kurath (1949), it is located between the ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern’ dialect areas, starting in central Pennsylvania and spreading west and south, including Kentucky, West Virginia, and Tennessee in Appalachia. In Kurath and McDavid (1961), the Midland region was further refined and divided into the ‘North Midland’ and ‘South Midland’ dialects. The greater Midland area included much of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and part of Nebraska; to the south, West Virginia, part of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Carver (1987) continued Kurath’s work, using more lexical items to further define the Midland region and other dialect boundaries. These dialect boundaries are the result of settlement patterns which were established for the most part in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Atlas of North American English (ANAE; Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006) follows in the tradition of Kurath and the other linguists who created linguistic atlases beginning in the 1930’s. It is “the first comprehensive view of the pronunciation and phonology of English across the North American continent” (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 3); the Atlas defines American English dialect regions based on vowel systems. It presents the results of a telephone survey (Telsur) of 762 speakers that was carried out between 1992 and 1999. The authors and their research team measured the vowel systems of 439 of the 762 speakers (21 different items were measured). The authors used the results to delineate dialect regions

of North American English in a principled way.¹ Their map is shown in Figure ?? . Their dialect boundaries agree in large part with Carver's (1987) North American dialect map that is based on lexical items from the *Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)*, as the authors of the *ANAE* point out. One area where there is less agreement however is the West: Carver finds subdivisions within the region but Labov et al. do not find enough variation in vowel systems to sub-divide the West. Compared with Kurath's (1949) and Kurath and McDavid's (1961) regional boundaries, however, the *ANAE*'s Midland region corresponds more to their North Midland, excluding the states south of the Ohio River.



Figure 4.1: *Atlas of North American English's* map of North American English dialects

¹ Respondents were locals to the area where they lived and were surveyed, having been born and/or raised there. Generally two or three respondents per urban area were sampled. It is, as the authors admit, limited in that no area is studied in detail, but it concentrates instead on breadth of coverage.

The *ANAE* also collected data on some morphosyntactic features and lexical items, including PosA. In the Telsur, respondents were asked to rate sentences containing targeted grammatical forms. They were asked to indicate for each sentence whether a) they would say the sentence themselves; b) it was something they had heard where they lived but would not say themselves; or c) it was something they had never heard. The three sentences for which PosA judgments were elicited are the following:

(308) PosA sentences for which Telsur elicited grammaticality judgments

- a. What if you were looking at the price of a new car and someone said, “Boy, cars are sure expensive anymore!”
- b. What if someone said, “It’s real hard to find a good job anymore”?
- c. What if someone said, “I used to watch football, but anymore I watch baseball”?

The places where the majority of speakers sampled said that they would use the sentences were in the Midland (specifically: Montana, Eastern Idaho, Colorado, western South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Iowa, southern Illinois, southern Indiana, southern Ohio, southern Pennsylvania, Kentucky, West Virginia and the western parts of Virginia, Eastern Tennessee, western North Carolina, Delaware, Washington D.C., Maryland) and a small area in northern Pennsylvania/southern New York, and another one in southern Georgian/northern Florida. Speakers in many other areas accepted the PosA sentences, but were not the majority: all other states in the West except Utah had at least one respondent who accepted PosA; they were also scattered throughout the Southern States, a few were in New England and a few in the North. Their map is shown in figure 4.2.

This corroborates the findings of other PosA studies. Many note that PosA use and/or acceptance covers a broad swath across the United States corresponding to Kurath’s Midland region (and extending westward in a somewhat straight line), including Murray (1993). Wolfram & Schilling-Estes (1998) note that it is found from Central Pennsylvania to western states including Utah. The *Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)* administered surveys to respondents in (and native to) over a thousand communities throughout the United

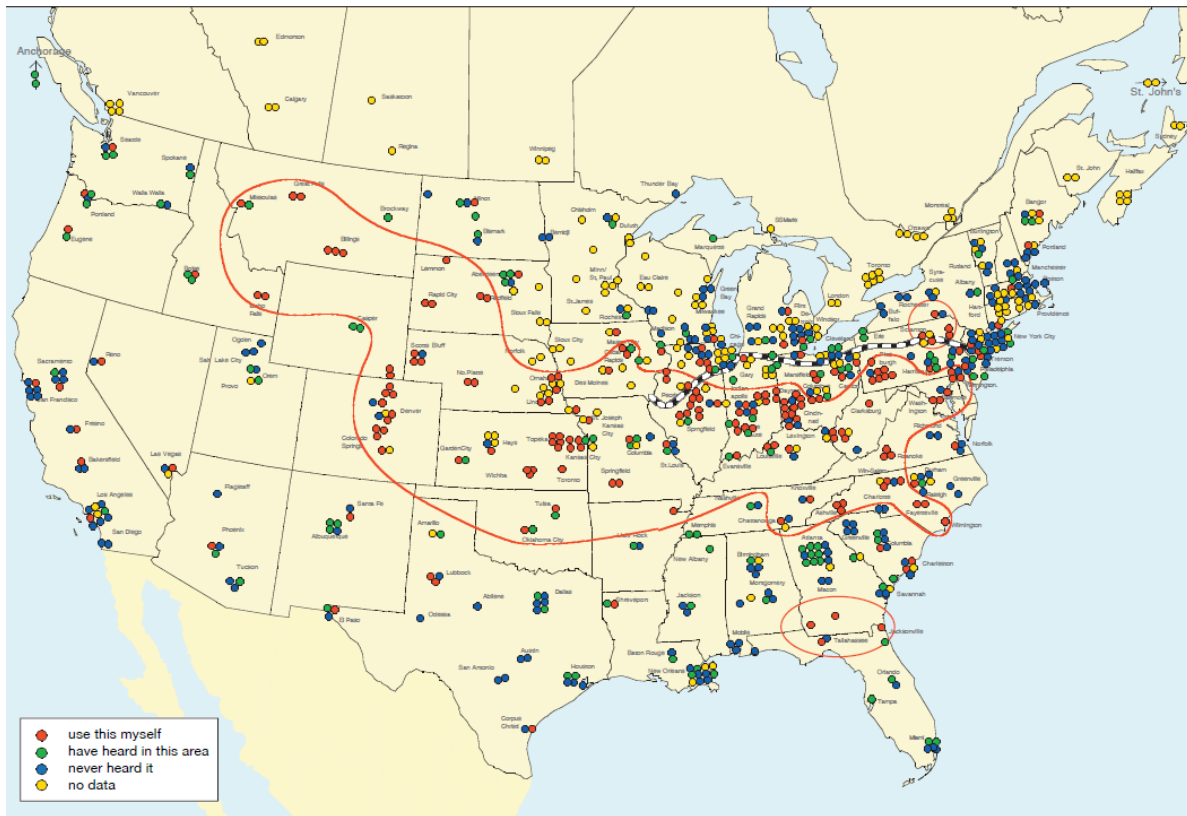


Figure 4.2: *Atlas of North American English's* map of the geographic distribution of positive *anymore*

States between 1965 and 1970. Among the survey tasks was the following, where respondents were asked to indicate what word they would use to complete the following sentence: “People used to walk a lot, but everybody drives a car __.” High numbers of *anymore* as a response were found in states in Kurath’s Midland region, especially Oklahoma, Kentucky, Indiana, and Pennsylvania, as well as quite a few in non-Midland states New York and New Jersey. The *DARE* states that use of PosA is widespread but very seldom in New England dialects (Cassidy 1985: 73).

As for PosA in the West, few studies have focused specifically on this region. Non-regional-specific studies of PosA have however found it to be used or accepted in places scattered throughout the West, though generally in less dense concentrations than in other regions (some speakers surveyed in communities accept/use it, but not all). The *DARE* reports instances of PosA in Colorado, New Mexico, California, Washington, Oregon, and Idaho. Dunlap’s (1945) study found that one speaker from Spokane, in eastern Washington; one speaker from Clifton, (southwestern) Arizona; and one from Fresno, California indicated that PosA was used in their home town.

In Canada, PosA has been attested in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Ontario (Fee and McAlpine 1997, cited in Haycock 2001; Eitner 1991, Trudgill & Chambers 1991 and Chambers 2009 for PosA in Ontario). Haycock (2001) analyzes results of a question on language perception in his Dialect Topography questionnaire and finds that the Golden Horseshoe, in Ontario, Canada, has a small number of speakers who use PosA.

An overview of regions and states where PosA has been reported to be in use or be accepted in grammaticality judgments is in (309).

- (309) PosA reported to be a feature of the following regions (regions based on Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
- a. Midland
 - i. Ohio (Eitner 1991, from data in Wentworth 1944 and Dunlap 1945, Labov 1972b, Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: southern Ohio)

- ii. Indiana (Eitner 1991, from data in Wentworth 1944 and Dunlap 1945, Labov 1972b, Cassidy 1985, Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: southern Indiana)
- iii. Illinois (Labov 1972b, Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: southern Illinois)
- iv. Missouri (Labov 1972b, Youmans 1986, Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
- v. Kansas (Labov 1972b, Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
- vi. Oklahoma (Cassidy 1985, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
- b. Western Pennsylvania (Eitner 1991, from data in Wentworth 1944 and Dunlap 1945, Labov 1972b: western Pennsylvania; Cassidy 1985, Shields 1997, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: southern Pennsylvania)^{2,3}
- c. Mid-Atlantic
 - i. New Jersey (Cassidy 1985)
 - ii. Philadelphia (Eitner 1991, from data in Wentworth 1944 and Dunlap 1945, Hindle 1974, Cassidy 1985, Shields 1997, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: southern Pennsylvania)
 - iii. Delaware (Eitner 1991, from data in Wentworth 1944 and Dunlap 1945, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
 - iv. Maryland (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
- d. North
 - i. New York (Eitner 1991, from data in Wentworth 1944 and Dunlap 1945,

²The places labeled with ‘Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006’ are those where they found that the majority of respondents polled accepted PosA

³Eitner (1991: 269), drawing on data in the *American Dialect Dictionary* (Wentworth, 1944) and Dunlap (1945), notes that PosA is used or recognized most often in “West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and South Carolina”, although he points out that the samples were most likely heavily skewed toward informants from West Virginia (for Wentworth) and Delaware (for Dunlap).

- Cassidy 1985)
- ii. Iowa (Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
 - iii. Nebraska (Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
- e. South
- i. Oklahoma (Cassidy 1985)
 - ii. Appalachia (Malone 1931, Wolfram & Christian 1976)
- f. West (Labov 1972b)
- i. South Dakota (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: western South Dakota)
 - ii. Nebraska (Murray 1993, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
 - iii. Montana (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
 - iv. Colorado (Cassidy 1985, Antieau 2003: eastern Colorado, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)
 - v. New Mexico (Cassidy 1985)
 - vi. Arizona (Punske & Barss 2010: Tucson, in southern Arizona, Dunlap 1945: Clifton, in southern Arizona)
 - vii. Utah (Labov 1972b)
 - viii. Idaho (Cassidy 1985, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: eastern Idaho)
 - ix. Washington (Cassidy 1985, Dunlap 1945: Spokane, in eastern Washington)
 - x. Oregon (Cassidy 1985)
 - xi. California (Dunlap 1945: Fresno, Cassidy 1985)
- g. Canada
- i. Ontario (Trudgill & Chambers 1991, Haycock 2001: Golden Horseshoe [Toronto area], Chambers 2009: Toronto)⁴
- h. Other areas

⁴Chambers (2009) notes its perhaps once robust, but now declining, use in the Toronto area.

Preposed and isolated response to question

↓

Veridical sentences

↓

Non-veridical, c-commanded by licenser

Table 4.1: Implicational scale of sentence types accepted by informants in Murray (1993)

i. Washington, D.C. (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006)

Some analyses propose that PosA is or was spreading from areas of concentration in the Midland region (Labov 1972b, Hindle & Sag 1973, Murray 1993), not necessarily from migration but via contact with neighbors. Murray (1993)⁵, for example, shows that PosA is accepted less and less as distance from (what he argues are) Midwestern centers of PosA use and acceptance increases. He argues that this pattern suggests that PosA is spreading outward from the Midwest to other parts of the country. Another piece of evidence to support his hypothesis that PosA is spreading outward from the Midwest is a particular pattern that emerges from his data. This pattern is an “implicational scale of usage” (Murray 1993: 184), illustrated in Table 4.1. Acceptance of one sentence type in the scale entails acceptance of all types below it in the scale. Preposed *anymore* and *anymore* as an isolated response to a question were the least accepted. If respondents accepted these, they also accepted veridical sentences where *anymore* was not preposed. Typical API environments, i.e., non-veridical clauses where *anymore* is c-commanded by a licenser (such as negation; an adversative predicate in a higher clause; a polar question operator in a polar question; etc.) were accepted by almost all respondents. Murray argues that this implicational scale, where informants who accept one construction also accept all constructions above it in the scale,

⁵Murray (1993) discusses data collected between 1984 and 1988 from 10,019 respondents from the Midwest: Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana. His data includes recorded conversations and grammaticality judgments from questionnaires.

and do not accept any below it in the scale, is evidence for the spread of North American PosA outward in waves or ripples from its central point in the Midwest (following Bailey's 1973 wave model). Each wave brings new layers higher on the implicational scale outward.

4.2.2.2 Age, education level, rurality, style

Regarding extralinguistic factors other than geographic location that correlate with PosA, the *Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE)* notes that this variant is used by speakers of all education levels (Cassidy 1985); Youmans' (1986) study confirms this for Missouri speakers, and he notes that most people who use it are not aware of any negative judgment or prescriptive rules against it. Eitner (1991), in analyzing the examples of PosA in the *American Dialect Dictionary* (Wentworth 1944), also finds that speakers of all levels of education use PosA, as do both urban and rural dwellers. Hindle (1974), Wolfram & Christian (1976), and Murray (1993) find that social factors do not correlate with use or acceptance of PosA. Often people claim to have never heard it even when they are in contact with people who use it, and likely hear it on a daily basis. The *ANAE* notes it is not stigmatized and its use and acceptance do not appear to be stratified by social class. It may best be classified as a social indicator (Labov 1972b, as discussed in Chapter 1) since previous studies found that it is not subject to style shifting and is not very salient within or between communities.

4.3 *Geographic evidence supports a British Isles origin of North American PosA*

Settlement patterns and the distribution of PosA in North America and Ireland suggest that North American PosA was brought to North America by speakers of Ulster Scots, from the North of Ireland (Eitner 1991, Montgomery 2006a, Murray 1993, Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998, a.o.). PosA is a feature of Scots-Irish, or Ulster Scots, as discussed in Chapter 2. In that chapter I argued that PosA first emerged in Scotland, and Scots-speaking migrants introduced PosA in Ulster when they settled there beginning in the seventeenth century. I

presented evidence from settlement patterns and the distribution of PosA in Scotland and Ireland to support the argument for this trajectory of PosA from Scotland to Ulster, Ireland. I will argue in this section that PosA continued to North America with migrants from Ulster, once again using evidence from settlement patterns and the distribution of PosA. The areas where PosA is most common, namely in the Midland states (especially in the Ohio, Missouri, and central-Mississippi Valleys) and Appalachia, are precisely where the Scots-Irish settled in the greatest numbers; the place where it is rarest, New England, is where few Scots-Irish settled.

Eitner (1991) was to my knowledge the first to point out that the distribution of PosA in North America matches the settlement patterns of Ulster Scots speakers.⁶ Others including Montgomery (2001, 2006a) also attribute PosA in North America to Ulster immigrants. Eitner (1991) and Montgomery (1995) point out that large numbers of Ulster Scots arrived in Philadelphia from Ulster, Ireland starting around 1720. This would have been after PosA emerged in Scotland, which I argued in Chapter 2 likely happened between the sixteenth and early eighteenth century. There were five major waves of emigration in the eighteenth century, beginning in 1717 (Montgomery 1995, citing Leyburn 1962). Each wave was prompted by economic or religious factors. Ulster emigrants “formed a distinct segment of the greater Irish migration in chronology, in culture, and in settlement patterns” (Montgomery 1995: 26). The Great Famine of the 1840’s also prompted many from northern Irish communities to emigrate (Corrigan 2010). Fewer emigrants came from Ulster Scots-speaking regions after 1800, however (Montgomery 1995).

Eventually some of these settlers or their descendants spread to other parts of North America. Ulster Scots immigrants “spread throughout the Mid-Atlantic states and the highlands of the American South” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1998: 98); that is, to “the back country of Maryland, Virginia, and the eastern part of West Virginia... [and] west of the Blue Ridge, and eastward in the Piedmont” (Eitner 1991: 270). Scots Irish communities

⁶Eitner uses the name ‘Scotch-Irish’ to refer to the variety of Scots spoken in Ulster, Ireland, but the preferred term by current speakers is ‘Ulster Scots’, so I will use the latter term.

were one of the main groups who settled this ‘back country’ of America, the western parts of the Middle and South Atlantic regions of what would or had just become the United States (Montgomery 1995, citing Fischer 1989). Some found their way to Ohio, and still others followed the Ohio River west. Few Ulster Scots speakers settled in New England and New York (Eitner 1991). Eitner (1991: 127) states that the “frontiers as far as Oregon and Washington always had the Scotch-Irish as a part of their populations” (citing Baugh 1935 and Burr 1922: 44-7). In Canada, communities of Ulster Scots (or Ulster Scots heritage) speakers arrived in Ontario via the United States when British Loyalists from Pennsylvania fled to Ontario after the War of Independence around the end of the eighteenth century. Later, a wave of Ulster Scots immigrants arrived in Ontario in the 1820’s.⁷ Few Ulster Scots speakers settled in New England and New York, and, Eitner points out, this is reflected in the absence of PosA in these places.

Not everyone agrees that American PosA developed from the Ulster one, but they are in the minority. Objections to the Ulster > North America trajectory of PosA are generally footnotes or a short aside in a longer work that does not focus primarily on PosA. Butters (2001), in the same volume as Montgomery (2001), says that it is not obvious that American PosA came from Ulster because it is found both in areas that were and were not heavily settled by Scots Irish. Chambers (2009) and Chambers & Trudgill (1991) argue something similar. Corrigan (2010: 176, fn 10) mentions in a footnote that PosA is likely a global feature of multiple varieties of postcolonial English, much like multiple negation, which exists in many varieties of English but cannot necessarily be traced back to a single source. She cites Labov (1991) as demonstrating this, but Labov does not in fact come to this conclusion. He says that PosA “appears to be spreading outwards from its centre in the Midwest” (Labov 1991: 277). Labov also argues that North American PosA belongs to a separate grammar

⁷There is disagreement regarding when PosA was introduced to Ontario, and by whom: Eitner (1991) suggests that Ulster Scots immigrants to Ontario in the 1820’s introduced PosA there; Trudgill & Chambers (1991) disagree and instead propose that British Loyalists from Pennsylvania brought PosA with them when they fled to Canada after the War of Independence around the end of the eighteenth century. Haycock (2001) finds support for PosA being introduced to Ontario by Loyalists, and not directly from Ulster Scots.

than that of API-*anymore*-only speakers, and that PosA in fact is unlikely to be part of a “pan-dialectal grammar” as respondents in his study were not able to predict the meaning of PosA by extrapolating on rules from their own grammar. Despite these arguments against North American PosA coming from Ulster, I will adopt the view that it did indeed come from Ulster as the arguments given for this are more detailed and numerous: in particular, the regions in North America where PosA is found are the same regions where immigrants from Ulster or their descendants settled in the greatest numbers.

4.4 *Diachronic corpus study*

In this section I describe a diachronic corpus study that I carried out in order to better understand the language-internal and -external factors that correlate with PosA in North America during different periods of time, and to determine whether and how these factors have changed over time. No diachronic studies of PosA had been conducted prior to this. I used corpora of American English from the eighteenth century to present, mainly relying on the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA). I found that PosA is used mostly in present tense contexts with imperfective aspect (states or habitual or generic events; no in-progress present). In addition, several tokens of PosA are clause-initial, and this preposing appears to correlate with a later publication date and authors from regions other than the Midland region and Appalachia. For the most part, authors who produce PosA are from regions found to have PosA in the literature. However, one quarter of authors are from the West, which is somewhat unexpected based on previous studies. The number of authors from the West increases with later date of publication and later date of birth of the author.

4.4.1 *Methods: Sources*

For this study, I chose corpora of American English from the eighteenth century to present, especially in areas where PosA has been reported. The main corpus I used was the *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA).

The *Corpus of Historical American English* (COHA) is a 385-million word, 100,000-text corpus of American English texts from between the 1810s to the 2000s. It was designed and compiled by Mark Davies (with assistance in book scanning and error checking from students) and released in 2010. It includes the following four genres: fiction, non-fiction books, magazines, and newspapers. Each decade in the corpus is balanced by genre, with roughly half of the words for each decade being fiction. The two genres of fiction books and non-fiction books are also balanced by subgenre for each decade. The fiction works are divided into subgenres including drama, prose, and poetry. The non-fiction books are divided into sub-genres using Library of Congress classifications (for example, history, religion, etc.). There are no newspapers for the decades from the 1810s to the 1850s however. It is part-of-speech tagged and includes basic information about each text in addition to date, such as name of author, title, and publication information when known.

As many of the texts had to be scanned and converted to text from books or converted to text from PDF images, some errors in text conversion occurred. To combat this, Davies and his team calculated an ‘accuracy score’ by comparing types in the newly converted documents to types in accurate, proofread texts written in the 1990s and 2000s, and discarding texts with the lowest accuracy scores (for the newspaper genre, for example, more than half of the texts were discarded so that the remaining ones had very high accuracy scores). This may have caused many newspapers from the earliest years to be discarded, since there may have been older forms or spellings in these texts that were not present in the modern ‘clean’ corpus, causing them to have low accuracy scores. Indeed, as mentioned, there are no newspapers from the 1810s through the 1850s.

Later decades have higher total word counts (the number of words increase more or less steadily as the decades advance); there are around 1 million words in the earliest decade, 1810, and around 29.5 million for the latest decade, 2000. The full (downloadable) corpus that I used (purchased by the University of Washington Sociolinguistics Lab) only includes ninety-five percent of each text for copyright reasons; five percent of the words in each text are obscured. This was done in the following way: for every 200 words, ten words are replaced

with the @ symbol.

One major advantage of this corpus is the size: it is 100 times larger than any other corpus of historical English (Davies 2012). This is essential for a low-frequency item such as PosA. A disadvantage is that the texts are all published works, which presumably were edited and very non-spontaneous; in other words, we would expect the language to be in a less natural, vernacular register than personal letters (Culpeper & Kytö 2010, Nevalainen 1999, Montgomery & Gregg 1997, a.o., and as discussed in Chapter 2).

Other corpora, which I briefly consulted or that were consulted on my behalf, include *Private Voices* (Montgomery & Ellis), a collection of letters written by soldiers and their families during the American Civil War. The project leads are Michael Ellis and Michael Montgomery. The goal of the corpus is to provide a tool to investigate regional English dialects in the nineteenth century. It includes approximately ten thousand letters and diaries written mostly by low-ranking soldiers (privates) to family members or others with whom they had a close relationship. These letters “come much closer to everyday speech and reveal more about American English and its varieties in the 1860s than any other documents” (Ellis & Montgomery 2018, “Introduction” page) as they were written by individuals with little formal education who “tended to write ‘by ear’” (Ellis & Montgomery 2018, “Introduction” page). Unfortunately, there are no examples of PosA in the corpus according to Michael Montgomery, who is familiar with the letters and has searched it for many common non-standard linguistic features (p.c.).

The Audio-Aligned and Parsed Corpus of Appalachian English (AAPCAppE) (Tortora et al. 2017) is a 1-million word corpus of the English dialect spoken in Appalachia between the 1930’s and 1990’s. It is tagged for part of speech, and the text is aligned with the audio recordings. It is a collection of pre-existing corpora and/or oral history collections that have been digitized, tagged for part of speech, and text/audio aligned (for the AAPCAppE) (Tortora et al. 2017). Although the corpus was not yet available to the public at the time of writing, Christina Tortora searched a 170,000-word sub-corpus on my behalf. The search returned no results for PosA.

A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers (ARCHER) is a corpus of British and American English of roughly 3.3 million words and 1,710 texts (of which 1.34 million words and 635 texts are American English). The American sub-corpus covers the period from 1750-1999. It was created by Douglas Biber and Edward Finegan in the 1990s, but is continually being improved and updated by a number of researchers. The corpus is tagged for genre of text (including a wide range of genres that range from more to less edited and more to less speech-like or speech-based, such as advertising, fiction, drama, sermons, journals, news, letters and diaries), sex of author, time period, and variety (American vs. British). I accessed ARCHER version 3.2 via CQPweb (Hardie 2012) and searched the American English sub-corpus for all instances of *any more* and *anymore* (case-insensitive). This returned 73 results, which I examined to determine whether they were in an API context or were instances of PosA. None of the tokens were PosA.

4.4.2 Methods: Corpus search

I searched for *any more* and *anymore* (with lower- or upper-case letters) in the COHA, using the Snowmutt search service command line interface, version 0.2, created by John McCranie (2017) to provide an interface to several corpora including the COHA, and a Python script created by Matt Hohensee. The tools searched all the text files in the COHA and returned results for each token of *anymore* (or *any more*), appending the text ID number, genre, year, and other basic metadata. The total number of hits was more than 26,000. I manually sorted the tokens from the earliest ones through the year 1900 ($n=1883$) to determine whether they were in an API context (including but not limited to the *c*-command domain of negation or a negative element, polar questions, *if*-clauses, the restriction of universal quantifiers, and in nonveridical subordinate clauses, i.e., those under negative-like items like *doubt*), and if not, whether they were aspectual/temporal adverbs. In other words, I manually sorted them into examples of PosA vs. API *anymore*. I removed all tokens whose context was missing (due to the removal of ten words every 200 words for reasons of copyright).

For the remaining tokens, those from 1901 to 2009, I auto-tagged the tokens for API

context in the following manner. I used an R script created by Alicia Wassink and a Python script created by Matt Hohensee that search the five words preceding and following the *any()* token for the API triggers *not*, *n't*, *no*, *never*, *without*, *if*, *nor*, *neither*, *none*, *nobody*, and *nothing*. If one or more of the triggers is found, they are appended to a column in the same row as the token. I checked the remaining tokens manually for API context (since, for example, polar questions were not detected with the auto-tagger); if tokens were not in an API context, I further divided them into aspectual/temporal adverb (PosA) versus all others. As with the pre-1901 tokens, I removed all tokens whose context was missing.

4.4.3 Results

The search resulted in twenty-six tokens of PosA in the COHA, which means that for every 1,000 tokens of *anymore* (or *any more*), one is PosA. This is a low-frequency variable indeed. The twenty-six tokens come from twenty authors and twenty-one different texts. The dates range from 1936 to 2008, with author's dates of birth ranging from 1885 to 1970. The genres include fiction (novels, short stories, and drama) and magazines. The two other genres in the COHA, news and non-fiction books, are absent from the PosA token collection. For the most part, the tokens are either written by authors who are from or lived for an extended period of time in a dialect region known in the linguistic literature to have a significant number of PosA speakers (including the Midland), or the character who uses the PosA token is from such a region. However, one quarter of authors are from the West, which is somewhat unexpected based on previous studies' findings. Additionally, the number of authors from the West increases as time of publication and author's year of birth advances. Most tokens of PosA in the COHA are clause-final. However, there is a significant number of preposed and clause-medial (between subject and verb) PosAs. Furthermore, non-clause-final tokens are more frequent in later dates and farther from the 'heartland' of PosA. Most tokens are in present tense imperfective clauses, confirming findings of previous studies.

Appalachia	1
Midland	5
New England	1
North	3
South	1
West	5
Multiple regions	2
Unknown region of birth	2
Total	20

Table 4.2: Number of authors in the COHA producing PosA born in each region

4.4.3.0.1 External factors: Geographical distribution; rurality; orality; time

My results confirm many of the findings of previous studies, but they also reveal some trends that have not been reported before. PosA in this corpus is produced mostly by authors from the Midland region, but also from places scattered throughout the West. Out of the twenty authors (producing a total of twenty-six tokens of PosA), five are from the Midland (as defined in the *ANAE*); one is from Appalachia; three are from the North; five are from the West; one is from New England; one is from the South; one is from Illinois (North) and Oklahoma (Midland); one is from Missouri (Midland), Kentucky (Appalachia), and Arizona (West); and two authors' place of origin is unknown. This is shown in table 4.2. These findings are similar to what has been reported in previous studies, for example the *DARE* and the *ANAE*, which found respondents in many areas who accepted PosA, but the highest concentration of PosA accepters was in the Midland region and Appalachia. Unlike previous findings, however, quite a few authors are from the North (three), though one is from the Chicago area, where several respondents also accepted PosA in the *ANAE* study. A more robust unexpected finding in the COHA data is the high proportion of authors from the West: five out of twenty, or one quarter of authors, are from the West (and possibly more,

since two authors' region of origin are unknown).

One finding that relates both to geography and time is that the number of authors from the West increases as time of publication and author's year of birth advances. This is illustrated in Figure 4.3⁸. Of the PosA tokens from the five authors from the West,

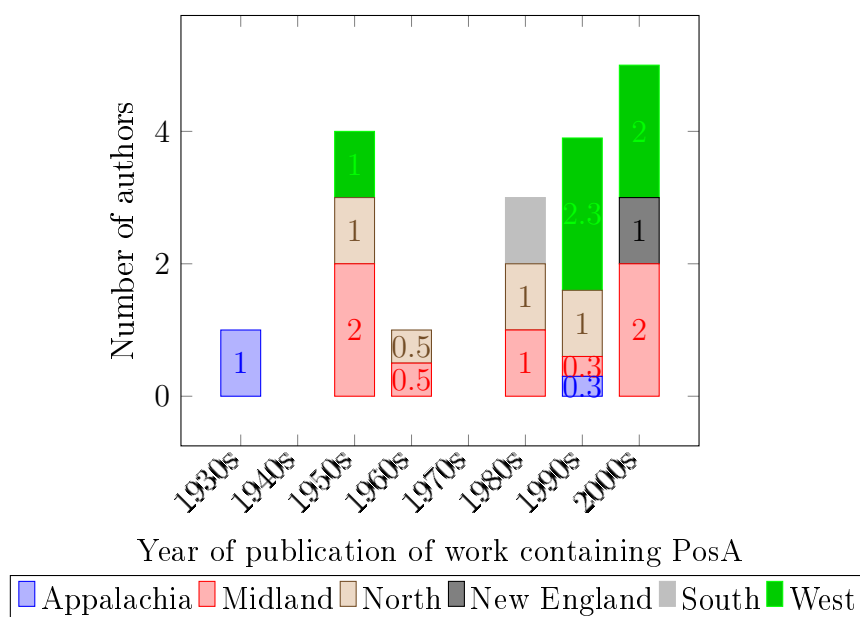


Figure 4.3: Number of authors in the COHA producing PosA: decade of publication and region of birth

one author's PosA was published in 1952 (recall that the earliest PosA in the corpus was published in 1936); the four others were published in 1995 and later. To consider this in a different way, out of the authors whose PosA token(s) was/were published before 1972 (the midpoint between the first and last attestation in the COHA), one of six (17%) is from the West; after 1972, 4.3 (the .3 is because one author grew up in three places, of which one was in the West) of fourteen (31%) are from the West. The 4.3 occurrences are all from the last two decades in the corpus, the 1990's and 2000's.

A similar pattern holds between the year of birth of the authors and their region of

⁸Figure 4.3 does not include the two authors whose region of origin is unknown.

origin. This is shown in figure 4.4⁹. Of the seventeen authors whose year of birth is known (ranging from 1885 to 1970), the earliest from the West was born in 1907. However, the majority (4.3 out of 5.3) were born after 1940, with the two youngest authors, born in 1962 and 1970, born in the West. Furthermore, looking at tokens of PosA from the West only, the

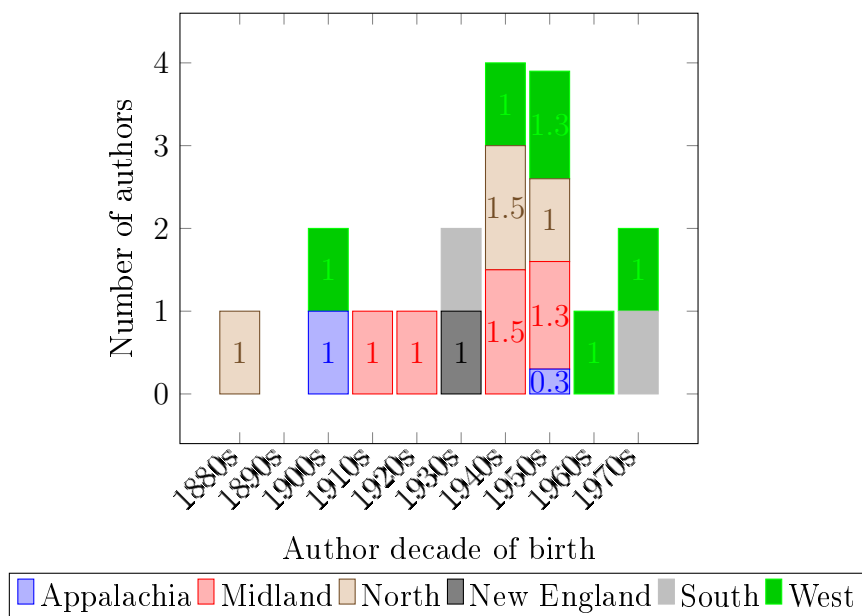


Figure 4.4: Number of authors in the COHA producing PosA: decade and region of birth

place of origin of authors is farther west as the dates of birth of the authors advance. The earliest PosA published (1952) and also from the oldest author from the West (born in 1907) was written by an author from Denver, Colorado, the author from the place farthest east out of the authors from the West. Ron Carlson was born in Utah in 1947 (text in 1995). Robert Boswell grew up in three places, Arizona being one of them; he was born in 1953 (text in 1990). Erin McGraw was born in California in 1957 (text in 2008); Chuck Palahniuk was born in Washington in 1962 (text in 1999); and Laird Barron was born in 1970 in Alaska (text in 2005). This is summarized in Table 4.3.

Another finding regarding the West as a region is that many of the PosA tokens are set

⁹Figure 4.4 does not include the two authors whose region of origin is unknown.

Author	Region of birth	Year of birth	Year of publication
Mary Coyle Chase	Denver, CO	1907	1952
Ron Carlson	Utah	1947	1997
Robert Boswell	Arizona	1953	1990
Erin McGraw	California	1957	2008
Chuck Palahniuk	Washington	1962	1999
Laird Barron	Alaska	1970	2005

Table 4.3: Authors in the COHA producing PosA (from West only): region of birth farther west as year of birth, publication advances

there: of the twelve works (out of twenty-one total works) whose setting is known, seven are set in the West. Only five tokens are set in the Midland, the ‘heartland’ of PosA according to many previous studies. The place where most of the tokens are set is somewhat different from the place of origin of the writers. Many of the authors who are not from the West set their work in the West.

Regarding time and PosA use, PosA appears to increase in use over time in this corpus, though the low numbers make it difficult to generalize. Figure 4.5 shows the number of occurrences of PosA in the COHA per 10 million words. There is a general trend toward more PosA instances out of total words in the corpus as the decades advance, but there is a significant peak in use in the 1950’s and a subsequent dip in the following two decades before a final steady upward rise in proportional use of PosA from the 1980’s to 2000’s.

PosA in the COHA seems to be associated with orality and rurality. Out of twenty-six tokens, at least fourteen appear in dialogue, i.e., spoken by a person (in an interview) or by a character. Furthermore, genres are less formal ones (closer to vernacular). Regarding rurality, at least nine out of twenty-six tokens are found in works set in a rural area. Many of the authors grew up in rural places.

The most important points regarding the results of the external factors correlating with

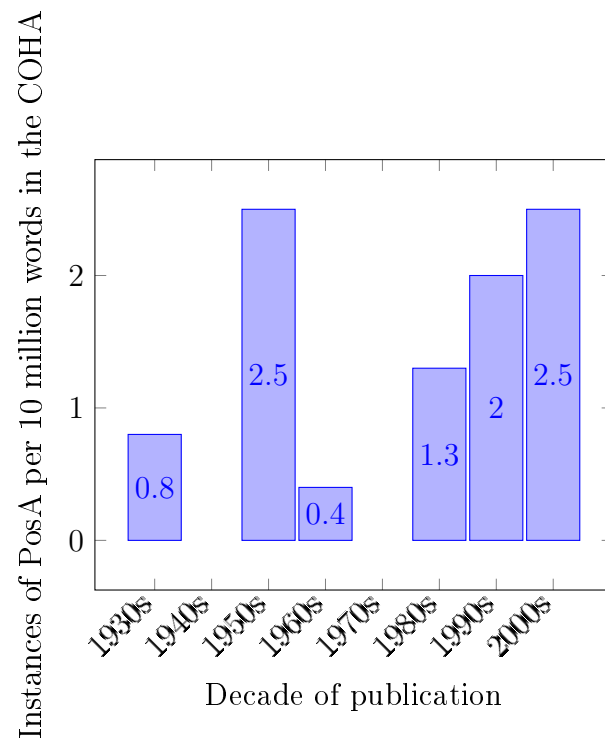


Figure 4.5: Number of instances of PosA per 10 million words in the COHA

PosA in the COHA are geographical. For the most part, authors who produce PosA are from regions found to have PosA in the literature. However, one quarter of authors are from the West, which is somewhat unexpected based on previous studies. The number of authors from the West increases as time of publication and author's year of birth advances.

4.4.3.0.2 Internal factors: Syntactic distribution; semantic factors This study produced unexpected findings regarding internal factors correlating with PosA in the COHA. A significant number of tokens are clause-initial, which has been reported in the literature to be ungrammatical for most (if not all) PosA speakers. The preposed PosAs all appear in works published in the 1990's or 2000's, and are all written by authors who are from regions outside what has been called the 'heartland' of PosA, that is, outside the Midland region and Appalachia. Other results that are consistent with findings in previous studies include the tense of the clauses containing PosA. PosA tokens in the COHA are never in a context with a future reading, and are mainly in present tense clauses. Regarding aspect, previous studies found that PosA requires imperfective contexts, which is confirmed in my study. However, previous work did not focus on the subtypes of imperfective aspect. I found that PosA in the COHA is only possible with the following subtypes of imperfective aspect: states or habitual or generic events. It is never found with in-progress events.

Regarding linear order, most PosA tokens in the COHA data are clause-final (eighteen tokens, representing fifteen authors; example given in (310c). Of the remaining tokens, only two (by two authors) are between the subject and verb (310b), and six are clause-initial (representing five authors; (310a)). The occurrence of clause-initial tokens was unexpected because previous research, discussed earlier, found that clause-initial PosA was rarely accepted in grammaticality judgment tasks. The numbers of tokens of PosA by position in the clause are also shown in Table 4.4.

(310) Positions of PosA in the clause

a. **Clause-initial**

But **anymore**, it was hard to tell how he felt by the sound of his steps (COHA:

Initial	6
Medial	2
Final	18
Total	26

Table 4.4: PosA’s position in clause

Stephen Coyne [2000] “Hunting country”, *Southern Review*: Winter 2000, Vol. 36, Iss. 1; text number 39115)

b. **Clause-medial (between subject and verb)**

The lift handles are no good, and everything **anymore** has the aerodynamic lift handles. (COHA: Ron Carlson [1995] “The chromium hook”, *Harper’s Magazine*: Oct 1995, Vol. 291, Iss. 1745; text number 39245)

c. **Clause-final**

In a way he almost felt sorry for him, **anymore**. (COHA: James Jones [1951] *From Here to Eternity*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons; text number 780017)

There appears to be a relationship between position in the clause and year of publication: all clause-initial tokens are from 1998 or later. Table 4.6 shows the number of tokens of PosA in clause-initial, -medial (between subject and verb), and -final position by year of publication. Similarly, all clause-initial tokens are written by authors born in 1935 or later. Although there are only two tokens appearing between subject and verb, they are also from later in the corpus: 1995 and 1998 (from an author born in 1947, the other’s year of birth unknown). The data therefore points to the possibility that clause-initial PosA is newer and/or is increasing in use over time.

Further, there is a correlation between position of PosA in the clause and region of origin of the author and region where the work is set. All non-clause-final tokens (i.e., tokens that are clause-initial or between subject and verb) are from authors who are not from the

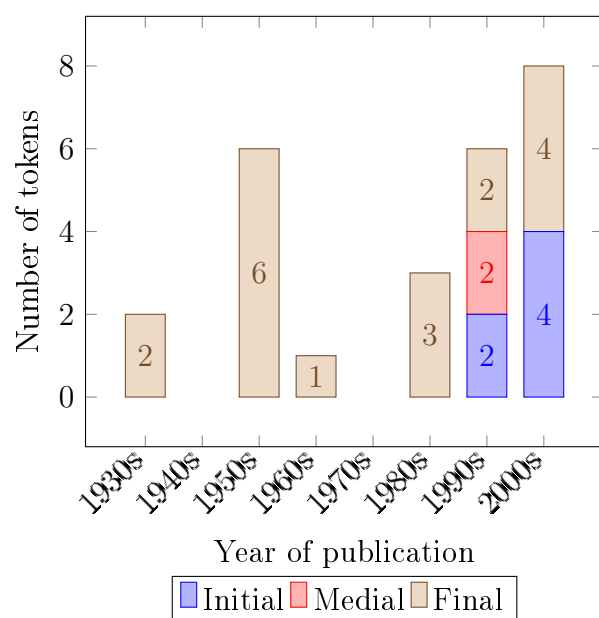


Figure 4.6: PosA's position in the clause by decade

'heartland' of PosA: these five authors are from the West, North, New England, and one of unknown place of origin. The two tokens between subject and verb are by an author from Utah (the West); the other is unknown. All authors from the Midland and Appalachia (PosA 'heartland') use only clause-final tokens. All clause-initial tokens are from works set in non-heartland areas: the North, South, and West (one token in an unknown setting). However, only four tokens (from three works) are set in the Midland or Appalachia, so this result is merely suggestive of a pattern due to the low numbers of PosA tokens set in 'heartland' areas.

Most of the PosA tokens in the COHA data are in present tense (indicative) (311a) or narrative past tense clauses (311b), except one that is a modal (311c) and one that is non-finite, embedded under a clause in the narrative past (311d). These numbers are summarized in Table 4.6.

(311) Tenses of clauses containing PosA

a. **Present tense**

Region	Position in clause			Total
	Initial	Medial	Final	
Appalachia			2	2
Midland			7	7
New England	2			2
North	1		2	3
South			1	1
West	2	1	4	7
Multiple			2	2
Unknown	1	1		2
Total	6	2	18	26

Table 4.5: PosA’s position in the clause and author’s region of origin

I travel so much **anymore** (COHA: Erin McGraw [2008] *The seamstress of Hollywood Boulevard*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin; text number 36291)

b. **Narrative past tense**

The woman looked familiar—so many of them did, **anymore**, causing him frequently to turn away, hoping to avoid recognition. (COHA: Robert Love Taylor [2000] “Deranged by Desire”, *Southern Review*: Summer 2000, Vol. 36, Iss. 3; text number 38433)

c. **Modal**

Anymore I wouldn’t go near the mines. (COHA: Annie Proulx [2008] *Fine just the way it is: Wyoming stories 3*, New York : Scribner; text number 36134)

d. **Non-finite (embedded in narrative past)**

Here and there, you did still find a family who’d lived in the same house for decades, but now their children were taking over the property, hoping for a little

Present tense	20
Narrative past tense	4
Modal	1
Non-finite	1
Total	26

Table 4.6: Tense of clause containing PosA

of that inflation windfall so key to the California dream **anymore**. (COHA: David Corbett [2004] *Done for a dime*, New York: Ballantine Books; text number 29717)

The PosA token in a modal context is the only PosA in such a context in the COHA data; the same is true of the token in a non-finite context. PosA tokens in the COHA are never in a context with a future reading.

Regarding grammatical aspect, all COHA PosA tokens are in contexts with an imperfective reading; more precisely, they are in non-episodic contexts, like British Isles PosA. The grammatical aspect readings are as follows, out of a total of twenty-six tokens: generic (2/26, 8%), as in example (312a); habitual (7/26, 27%) as in example (312b); state (17/26, 65%) as in example (312c); progressive (in-progress, non-states) (0). This is summarized in Table 4.7. Three tokens are formally progressive, but do not have an in-progress progressive reading.

(312) Aspect of clauses containing PosA

a. **Generic**

Need a degree **anymore** to take out the trash. (COHA: Robert Boswell [1990] “Imagining Spaniards”, *Southern Review*: Summer 90, Vol. 26 Issue 3; text number 53233)

b. **Habitual**

Generic	2
Habitual	7
State	17
Progressive	0
Total	26

Table 4.7: Grammatical aspect of clause containing PosA

He even eats his meals out there, **anymore**. (COHA: Sam Shepard [1985] *A Lie of the Mind*; text number 13996)

c. **State**

It's so big **any more** and so complicated the President has to be a figurehead. (COHA: John Bartlow Martin [1958] "The Changing Midwest", *Saturday Evening Post*: 1/11/1958, Vol. 230 Issue 28; text number 491527)

To summarize the findings regarding internal factors correlating with PosA in the COHA, several tokens are clause-initial, which is not consistent with previous literature on PosA. Preposing appears to correlate with a later publication date and authors from regions other than the Midland region and Appalachia. Regarding tense and aspect of the context in which PosA is found, there is never a future reading; present tense is most common by far; and all contexts have a non-in-progress, imperfective (i.e., non-episodic) reading.

4.4.3.1 *Summary of Results*

The following summarizes the basic findings for language-internal and -external factors correlating with the COHA PosA tokens.

Geography Authors are generally from regions where PosA use or acceptance has been reported in the literature on PosA. However, one quarter of authors are from the West, which is somewhat unexpected based on previous studies' findings.

Geography x time The number of authors from the West increases as time of publication and author's year of birth advances.

Position in clause As previous studies found, most tokens of PosA were clause-final. However, there is a significant number of proposed and clause-medial (between subject and verb) PosAs.

Position in clause x time Non-clause-final tokens are more frequent in later dates.

Position in clause x geography Non-clause-final tokens are more frequent farther from the 'heartland' of PosA.

Tense Most tokens are in present tense (indicative) clauses, confirming findings of previous studies; one is in a modal context and two are in narrative past tense.

Aspect All tokens are in imperfective, non-episodic contexts, especially states; no tokens are in clauses with a progressive reading.

4.5 *Synchronic grammatical judgment study*

This section will provide the details of a small-scale study of PosA in Washington and Idaho that I carried out as part of the English in the Pacific Northwest study (Alicia Beckford-Wassink, P.I.). The goal of the English in the Pacific Northwest study is to study the English spoken in the Pacific Northwest United States, which has been relatively understudied in the linguistic literature despite the fact that English has been spoken in the area for at least 200 years. One goal of my study was to ascertain whether and how much PosA was used in parts of the Pacific Northwest, and to determine what linguistic and social factors correlate with PosA in this region since it has received relatively little attention.

Respondents gave grammaticality judgments of sentences containing *anymore* (API and 'positive') in a variety of semantic contexts and syntactic environments found to be relevant to *anymore* in previous literature and personal observations. I concentrate here on the sentences

containing PosA. I found that several factors improve judgments: universal quantification, generic subjects, quantificational adverbs such as *a lot* and *much*, *anymore* in clause-final position, present tense, and imperfective, non-in-progress aspect (i.e., non-episodic contexts). Almost no speakers accept sentences in the past or future, with *anymore* in isolation, or with *still*. Older respondents from Idaho were more likely to accept PosA sentences, young western Washingtonians the least. This following subsections will provide an overview of the respondents who participated in the judgment task and will describe the task itself, including the conditions in which respondents completed it. I then analyze and discuss the results using an implicational scale and multivariate statistical analysis.

4.5.1 *Methods: Speakers*

Twenty-one speakers from Washington and Idaho participated in the syntactic judgment task. Subjects from Washington were recruited with posters on and around the University of Washington campus, in museums, and in other places in Seattle, Washington; through Craigslist advertisements; by word of mouth; and through ‘snowballing’. Subjects from Idaho were recruited by word of mouth and snowballing only. Respondents are native speakers of English, lived in Washington or Idaho between the ages of five and eighteen, and have no known speech or hearing disorders. Interviews were conducted in English by interviewers who are native English speakers.

Table 4.8 groups the respondents by sub-region, generation, and gender. There are some imbalances in the sample: there are fewer respondents from eastern Washington than from the other sub-regions. There are only two Generation 2 speakers, both from females from eastern Washington, and there is a skew toward Generation 3 speakers. I therefore pooled Generations 1 and 2, for a total of seven speakers (two from western Washington, three from eastern Washington, and two from Idaho). The other significant imbalances are in gender of the participant; however, gender was not hypothesized to show an effect.

Region	Generation			Gender		Total
	Gen 1 (1900-51)	Gen 2 (1951-75)	Gen 3 (1976-96)	F	M	
W. Washington	2		6	4	4	8
E. Washington	1	2	2		1	5
Idaho	2		6	7	1	8
Total	5	2	14	15	6	21

Table 4.8: Speakers by sub-region, generation, and gender

4.5.2 Methods: Materials

This study uses variationist experimental methods to examine the social variables as well as the syntactic contexts and semantic environments that favor acceptance of *anymore* by speakers from Washington and Idaho. The design of the grammaticality judgment task draws on elements from Labov (1972b), Hindle & Sag (1973), Youmans (1986), Murray (1993), and Labov, Ash & Boberg (2006).

The grammaticality judgment task reported on here is one task in a syntactic module that was part of a larger traditional Labovian sociolinguistic interview. All parts of the interview were recorded. The judgment task consisted of the thirty-one sentences containing *anymore*. Interviewers read these sentences to informants using the prompt from Labov, Ash & Boberg’s (2006: 293) TELSUR interview: “For each sentence I read you, I’d like you to tell me whether you think it sounds like something you could say yourself, or something you’ve heard around your area but you wouldn’t say, or something you’ve never heard before”. There were therefore three possible responses.

Self-reports of use are admittedly not a perfect proxy for actual use of PosA: Milroy and Gordon (2003) note that self-reports are not always accurate, and that respondents may say that they do not use a variant, only to use it in more conversational speech at another point.

Further, it is more of a metalinguistic task than a purely linguistic task, because it asks respondents to think about their own language (rather than simply producing it). However, Milroy and Gordon also recognize the utility of self-reports, and argue that they may be more accurate than indirect elicitation for low-frequency items, which *anymore* certainly is. The prompts in this study were essentially grammaticality judgments, much like those used in generative syntax, which ask respondents to reflect on whether a given form or phrase is possible in their dialect. These judgments are valuable when a linguist desires to know whether a very specific construction or lexical item in a specific environment is grammatical for their informants. Self-reports of the grammaticality of carefully constructed sentences containing *anymore* were the best choice for this study, in part because other tasks in the interview designed to indirectly elicit *anymore* did not result in an adequate number of tokens to make generalizations or to answer my research questions.

4.5.3 *Methods: Elicitation procedures*

Data was collected in Seattle, Washington and in the Boise, Idaho area between January and June 2014 using Samson H4 Zoom flash recorders. Interviews were typically conducted by two English in the Pacific Northwest study researchers at a time, either in the field (most often in respondents' homes) or in the Sociolinguistics Laboratory or the Phonetics Laboratory at the University of Washington. The judgment task was conducted with a single respondent at a time in order to not influence judgments by hearing those of another respondent.

4.5.4 *Results: Syntactic judgment study*

I present the results of respondents' grammaticality judgments below: in section 4.5.4.1, I discuss the relative rankings of sentences and patterns that emerge; in section 4.5.5 I report the results of a multivariate statistical analysis. Each judgment sentence was coded for the internal factors of TENSE; ASPECT (all imperfective: generic, state, habitual, progressive, ambiguous between habitual or progressive); SUBJECT TYPE (generic DP, wh-word, name, definite DP, personal pronoun, *it* in matrix clause and null subject in embedded clause);

OTHER ADVERBIAL in the clause (quantificational [*a lot* or *much*], intensifying [*very, very well, such, sure, so, really*], the aspectual adverb *still*, no other adverbial); CLAUSE COMPLEXITY (simple or complex); and POSITION OF *anymore* in the clause (final, preposed, between subject and verb, in isolation). Tokens were coded for the language-external factors of GENERATION, REGION, and GENDER. To summarize the results of the sentence rankings and multivariate analysis, factors that improved judgments are the following: universal quantification, generic subjects, quantificational adverbs such as *a lot* and *much*, *anymore* in clause-final position, present tense, and imperfective, non-in-progress aspect (i.e., non-episodic contexts). Almost no speakers accepted sentences in the past or future, with *anymore* in isolation, or with *still*. Older respondents from Idaho were more likely to accept PosA sentences, young western Washingtonians the least.

4.5.4.1 Sentence rankings

Table 4.9 presents the results of the judgment task for PosA sentences and sentences that are ambiguous (between being API contexts or not); the API sentences are excluded since they will not be relevant to the present discussion, but they are still included in the rankings. The table below is arranged with the most accepted sentences at the top and the speakers who accepted the most sentences on the left (each column represents the judgments of a single speaker). The first and most accepted eight sentences (not shown) are ‘typical’ API contexts. These sentences are accepted by almost all speakers.

Rank- Sentence	Judgments (each column represents 1 respondent)																				
- Ambiguous sentences -																					
9- Because of the traffic, I hate going downtown anymore.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	h	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	X	✓	X	X	h
10- It’s really hard to find a good job anymore.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	h	h	✓	h	h	h	X	
- ‘Positive’ contexts/environments: veridical or not c-commanded by licenser -																					
11- Kids are all spoiled anymore.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	X	h	X	X	✓	X	✓	h	X	X	h	X	X	X	X	X

30- Laura is speaking French anymore.	X X X X X X X X X X X X	X X X X X X X X X X
31- John liked his dog anymore, so he gave it a milkbone last week.	X X	

Table 4.9: Implicational scale of positive *anymore* sentences

(✓: respondent uses, **h**: respondent has heard but does not use;

X: respondent has never heard and does not use; empty: no data)

Focusing on sentences ranked ninth and lower in this table, an implicational scale emerges, as Labov (1972b) and Murray (1993) found in their studies and Hindle & Sag (1973) hypothesized should be the case for judgments of *anymore*. The first sentence to be rejected by more than one speaker, and where this table begins, is number 9 ‘Because of the traffic, I hate going downtown anymore’, which is followed by 10 ‘It’s really hard to find a good job anymore’. Contrary to the first eight sentences where *anymore* is in unambiguously API contexts and which almost all respondents accepted, the clauses containing *anymore* in sentences 9 and 10 in this table are ambiguous between a veridical and non-veridical reading. In 9, it is not clear whether the speaker goes downtown or not; in 10, it is not obvious whether one finds jobs or not. For this reason, I argue (also in DeJong 2016), judgments of sentences 9 and 10 do not fit the pattern in sentences 1 through 8 (almost unanimously accepted). Nor do they fit the pattern of judgments of sentences 11 through 23, which are typical PosA sentences according to the literature and are almost unanimously accepted by only the PosA-dialect respondents (more on these sentences in the next paragraph). Sentences 9 and 10 are accepted by some API *anymore*-only speakers (those who do not accept PosA sentences 11 through 23) and are rejected by other API *anymore*-only speakers.

Sentences 11 through 23 are typical PosA sentences, as mentioned in the previous paragraph. They are either veridical, or if there is negation or a negative word or phrase it is not c-commanding *anymore*. Starting at sentence 11, it becomes clear which respondents have PosA in their grammar because they accept almost all of the sentences in this section:

Position	Sentence rankings
In isolation	26
Preposed	17, 19, 22 (avg: 19)
Between subj. and verb	12, 14, 23 (avg: 16)

Table 4.10: Judgment rankings of sentences, grouped by position in sentence

the leftmost three respondents and marginally the fourth and fifth respondents from the left. All other respondents to the right accept two or fewer sentences, so I classify them as API-*anymore*-only speakers. Sentences 24 through 31 were accepted by one or fewer respondents.

Within the judgments of sentences that are veridical and/or not c-commanded by a licenser, there are some sub-patterns to note for the factors POSITION OF *anymore* (in the clause), TENSE, ASPECT, and OTHER ADVERBIAL (in the clause). Regarding the position of *anymore* in the clause, Table 4.10 shows the rankings (out of all thirty-one sentences, where 1 is the most accepted and 31 the least) of all but clause-final position (what I consider the default). In isolation (as in (313a)) is ranked the lowest; preposed (313b) was ranked higher, but not as high on average as between subject and verb (313c). The preposed and clause-medial sentences were not universally rejected by any means.

(313) Position of PosA in the clause

a. **In isolation (as response to a question)**

Question: Do you eat red meat? Reply: **Anymore**. (rank: 26)

b. **Preposed**

Anymore, the trails are very well maintained. (rank: 19)

c. **Between subject and verb**

Kids **anymore** have such a sense of entitlement. (rank: 12)

The rankings for future (314a) and past tense (314b) for PosA are quite low, as predicted.

Tense	Sentence rankings
Future	25
Past	31

Table 4.11: Judgment rankings of sentences, grouped by tense

These are shown in Table 4.11. This is in contrast to API *anymore*; sentence (315) (not shown in the implicational Table 4.9), with future tense in the embedded clause, was one of the top four sentences and participants universally responded that they ‘would say’ it.

(314) Tenses of clauses containing PosA

a. **Future**

Seattle will be a drier city **anymore**. (rank: 25)

b. **Past**

John liked his dog **anymore**, so he gave it a milkbone last week. (rank: 31)

(315) API *anymore* with future tense

I doubt (that) he’ll do that **anymore**. (rank: 1)

Sentence (325) with no change from the past implied ranked very low: it falls in 28th place out of 31.

(316) They still use that custom **anymore**. (rank: 28)

As for aspect, it is not possible to test perfectivity for PosA, since it is impossible with the past tense (as the past tense sentence was rejected by all speakers in this task), and only imperfectives are possible in present tense in English. Within imperfectives, generic sentences (317a) received the highest rankings, as can be seen in Table 4.12. Habituals (317b) and states (317c) were well received as well¹⁰ PosA sentences with progressive aspect

¹⁰Disregarding sentences that were likely rejected for other reasons, such as the sentence ranked 28th, likely rejected because of ‘still’.

Aspect (imperfective)	Sentence rankings
Generic	11, 12, 13, 14, 23 (avg: 15)
Habitual	15, 16, 17, 29 (avg: 19)
State	18, 19, 20, 22, 24 (avg: 21)
Progressive	21, 27, 30 (avg: 26)

Table 4.12: Judgment rankings of sentences, grouped type of imperfective aspect

(317d) are ranked low, on the other hand.¹¹ The three sentences with progressive aspect are ambiguous between an in-progress reading and a habitual reading, although the habitual reading is more prominent with (317d-i) likely due to the quantifier ‘a lot’ (the most natural reading of this sentence to me is habitual). The other progressives have no quantifier, and the progressive reading is the first one.

(317) *PosA* with different types of imperfective aspect

a. Generic

Kids are all spoiled **anymore**. (rank: 11)

b. Habitual

John smokes a lot **anymore**. (rank: 15)

c. State

It’s a nice park **anymore**. (rank: 18)

d. Progressive

i. Laura is speaking a lot of French **anymore**. (rank: 21)

ii. He’s driving **anymore**. (rank: 27)

The results for aspect are novel since this factor has not been tested or investigated in any of the literature I have read.

¹¹The sentence ranked 20th, ‘It’s getting to be a nice campus anymore’, is formally progressive but is in fact a state, so it is not grouped with the progressives.

To summarize the results of the sentence rankings, the most accepted PosA sentences have universal quantification, *anymore* in clause-final position, and are present tense with imperfective, non-in-progress aspect (i.e., non-episodic). Almost no participants accepted sentences in the past or future, with *anymore* in isolation, or with *still*.

4.5.5 Multivariate statistical analysis

Logistic regression, a type of multivariate statistical analysis, was conducted using Rbrul (Johnson 2009). Logistic regression is widely used in socio-syntax because it can provide insight into the conditions that favor the choice of a syntactic variant by simultaneously modeling the effects of internal and external factors.

I only discuss PosA tokens here. API tokens are those sentences where *anymore* was, at least potentially, c-commanded by a nonveridical licenser (negation; an operator in a polar question; in an embedded clause under an adversative predicate, etc.; see (164) in Chapter 2 for a more complete list); PosA sentences are all remaining sentences. The possibly ambiguous sentences ‘Because of the traffic, I hate going downtown anymore’ and ‘It’s really hard to find a good job anymore’ were included in the API tokens. Recall from above that each judgment sentence was coded for the internal factors of TENSE, ASPECT (all imperfective: generic; state; habitual; progressive; ambiguous between habitual or progressive), SUBJECT TYPE, OTHER ADVERBIAL (in the clause), CLAUSE COMPLEXITY, and POSITION OF *anymore* (in the clause). Tokens were coded for the language-external factors of GENERATION, REGION, and GENDER.¹²

¹²In running regression analyses, several adjustments had to be made. After splitting the sentence tokens into PosA versus API, there was only one past tense and one future tense sentence prompt in the PosA sentences. There was no longer enough data to make generalizations on tense, so the factor group TENSE was removed from the analysis of PosA token sentences. Furthermore, past tense PosA sentences were never accepted, so they were removed so as not to skew the statistics, for example by giving the other factors in those sentence prompts more weight than they deserved. The prompt [‘Do you eat red meat?’] ‘Anymore’ was likewise never accepted, while ‘Few children go trick-or-treating anymore’ was universally accepted. These sentences were also removed for the same reason described above. GENDER was included in the model, but results are not representative because there is only one male each from Idaho and eastern Washington, and only one Gen 1 male and no Gen 2 males; the remaining three males are Gen 3 western Washingtonians. This is not a major concern because gender was not hypothesized to have an effect.

Results of the logistic regression for PosA tokens only are shown in Figure 4.7. The input, or application value, is sentences that respondents reported they ‘would say’ or ‘have heard but wouldn’t say’ versus those they ‘would never say’.¹³

When examining the results from the multivariate analysis, the centered factor weights of each factor, or level (e.g., generic DP), within each factor group (e.g., SUBJECT TYPE) highlight the categories that favor or disfavor the judgments of grammaticality; that is, they are stronger or weaker predictors of a speaker accepting a given sentence prompt. This can be used together with the proportion accepted (‘would use’ and ‘heard’) for additional evidence to support the classification of factors as favoring or disfavoring PosA acceptance. Comparing the range across factor groups (the difference between the highest and lowest factor weight in each group) shows the relative strength of each factor group; a higher range is evidence suggesting that the factor group is a stronger predictor.

For internal factors, SUBJECT TYPE has the highest p-value but the second-highest range. Generic DP subjects (as in example (317a)) are the most favored, names (as in (317b)) the least. I will argue that this is likely because it is easier to have an imperfective reading with generic subjects. OTHER ADVERBIAL IN THE CLAUSE, on the other hand, has the largest range but the second-highest p-value. Within this factor group, the factor quantificational adverbials (for example, *a lot* in (317b)) has the highest centered factor weight, and the aspectual *still* (as in example 325)) the lowest. Results for the third significant factor, POSITION OF *anymore* IN CLAUSE, are in agreement with findings of previous literature: sentence-final is the most favoring position according to the factor weights, preposed the

Results for GENDER are therefore not shown in Figure 4.7. Gen 1 and Gen 2 were combined because there are only two Gen 2 respondents, both from eastern Washington.

¹³There are several reasons for this grouping, as opposed to grouping ‘have heard’ and ‘would never say’ and comparing them to ‘would say’. Labov (1972b), Hindle & Sag (1973), and Hindle (1974), among others, found that respondents showed a bias toward accepting fewer sentences rather than more. For example, on more than one occasion respondents used PosA in conversation but would later deny it when confronted about it, or judge similar sentences as ungrammatical in grammaticality judgment tasks. One would expect respondents to be conservative in reporting that they would say such sentences, possibly underreporting their use of PosA. Further, grouping ‘have heard’ with ‘would use’ in the statistical analyses could capture more of the grammar of the respondents’ speech communities, assuming they are reporting things they hear others say in their area.

PA TOKENS (VERIDICAL OR NOT C-COMMANDED BY NONVER. LICENSOR)			
Application value: "would use", "heard" vs. "never heard"			
Overall proportion: 0.329			
Total N: 371			
Deviance: 272.107			
Random effect: speaker			
INTERNAL FACTORS			
Factors	Centered factor weight	N	Proportion accepted
<i>Subject type (p 4.46e-10)</i>			
Generic DP	.794	120	.5
Definite DP	.77	39	.436
Expletive "it"; null	.701	20	.3
Personal pronoun	.388	97	.247
Name	.049	95	.158
	Range: .745		Range: .342
<i>Other adverbial (p 4.02e-07)</i>			
Quantificational	.914	56	.375
Intensification	.562	100	.5
--No other adverbial--	.329	198	.247
Aspectual (<i>still</i>)	.13	17	.118
	Range: .901		Range: .382
<i>Position of anymore (p < .01)</i>			
Final	.706	252	.278
Between subject and verb	.5	59	.475
Preposed	.294	60	.4
	Range: .412		Range: .197
<i>[Not significant: clause complexity (p .278)]</i>			
EXTERNAL FACTORS			
Factors	Centered factor weight	N	Proportion accepted
<i>Region (p < .01)</i>			
Idaho (Boise area)	.786	148	.507
Eastern WA	.455	76	.316
Western WA	.245	147	.156
	Range: .541		Range: .351
<i>Age (p < .05)</i>			
Gen 1 & 2 pooled	.677	116	.457
Gen 3	.323	255	.271
	Range: .354		Range: .186

Figure 4.7: Results of mixed effects logistic regression (one-level) for PosA

least favoring.

The statistical results of PosA tokens for social variables are also as expected. REGION is the strongest predictor, with Idahoans most likely to accept PosA and western Washingtonians the least. For GENERATION, older respondents were more likely to report that they would use or have heard PosA. The findings for region and age are also shown in Figure 4.8. Older Idahoans were the most likely to accept PosA sentences, younger western Washingtonians the least. Young Eastern Washingtonians almost converge with their age group in western Washington.

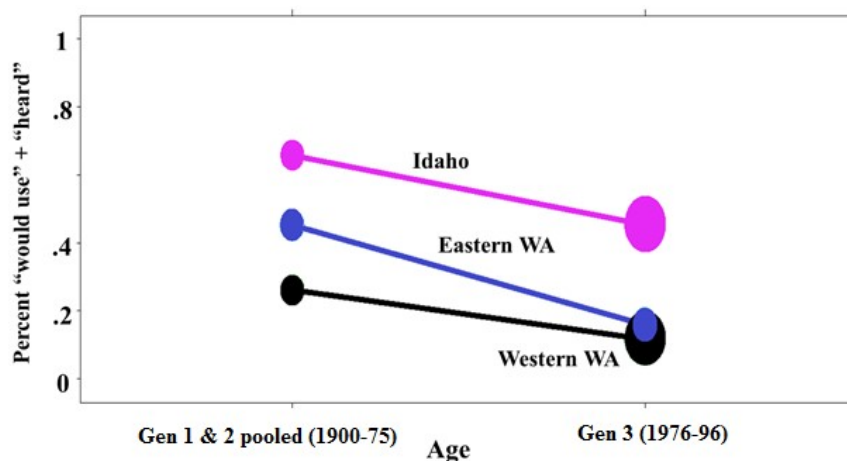


Figure 4.8: Percent of ‘would use’ and ‘heard’ tokens for age and region

In summary of the results of the multivariate analysis of PosA tokens, generic subjects are highly favored, while proper name subjects are disfavored. Quantificational adverbs such as *a lot* and *much* are favored while the adverb *still* is not. Sentence-final is the most favored position of *anymore* in the clause, sentence-initial the least. Respondents from Idaho were more likely to accept PosA sentences, western Washingtonians the least. Older respondents accepted PosA sentences more than younger respondents.

4.5.6 Summary of results of syntactic judgment study

Results from the sentence rankings and multivariate analysis indicate that several factors improve judgments: universal quantification, generic subjects, quantificational adverbs such as *a lot* and *much*, *anymore* in clause-final position, present tense, and imperfective, non-in-progress aspect (i.e., non-episodic contexts). Almost no speakers accept sentences in the past or future, with *anymore* in isolation, or with *still*. Older respondents from Idaho were more likely to accept PosA sentences, young western Washingtonians the least.

4.6 Comparison of North American vs. British Isles PosA

In this section I summarize the main characteristics of British Isles PosA and North American PosA. They are similar in some ways: they are both possible in present tense contexts and can have a ‘nowadays’ reading. Neither is possible with past tense reference. Both are found in imperfective aspect only, but never with an in-progress reading. In other words, they require non-episodic contexts. However, British Isles PosA also has a ‘from now on’ meaning and can be used in future-oriented contexts; this is not true of North American PosA. North American PosA is possible in many different positions within a clause: clause-initial, between subject and verb, and clause-final. British Isles PosA on the other hand only appears in clause-final position.

4.6.1 British Isles PosA

As discussed in Chapter 2, British Isles PosA has two readings, ‘from now on’ (318) or ‘nowadays’ (319).

(318) There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**.

‘from now on’

Argyll, Scotland

(DOSL, **Any more** adv. phr.)

(319) Wool is so expensive **anymore**.

‘nowadays’

Galway, Ireland

(Kallen 1997: 153, Kallen 2013: 164)

The ‘from now on’ reading is the most common and was attested the earliest, but the ‘nowadays’ sense is by no means rare. A change from a prior time is implied.

PosA in Scotland and Ireland is possible in contexts where the asserted event follows speech time, for example with (modal) future tense (318), modals such as *can* (320), imperatives (321), and non-finite clauses (322). It has been most often attested in future tense contexts. It is also possible in contexts where the asserted event coincides with speech time, such as with present tense (319).

(320) We can do our homework on this [desk] **anymore**, can’t we? (Kallen 1997: 153, Kallen 2013: 164)

(321) Exit through the center doors **anymore**. (context is “bus driver’s instruction to passengers concerning a new policy of exiting Dublin buses by centre doors, rather than by the door at the front of the bus” Kallen 2013: 164)

(322) They’re going to doll her up **anymore**. (Kallen 2013: 164)

There are no examples of British Isles PosA with a past reading, i.e., with (asserted) events that end prior to speech time. Out of the twenty-two British Isles PosA examples, the division by tense or temporal reading is as follows: present (9), future (10), modal (1), non-finite (2). Sixteen tokens out of twenty-two have a future reading; the other six do not.

British Isles PosA is only found with imperfective aspect, mainly states or habitual events. The following example, repeated from Chapter 2, illustrates the use in habitual contexts:

(323) The Orange marches have become increasingly working class. If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Montgomery 2006a: 9)

The event in example (319) is both a state and in generic aspect. The proportion of readings of different types of aspect are as follows, out of twenty-one tokens: generic (2/21, 10%), habitual (7/21, 33%), state (12/21, 57%), progressive (0), In-progress progressives (‘He’s

reading a book anymore’) are never found.

One final finding regarding British Isles PosA from secondary sources is that it is always clause-final. It is never found clause-medially or clause-initially. This can be seen in all the examples in this section.

Below is a summary of the main characteristics of British Isles PosA that will be relevant to the analysis of the change to North American PosA:

(324) Main points: ‘positive’ *anymore* in Scotland and Ireland

- has a ‘nowadays’ or ‘from now on’ meaning
- requires contexts with a present or future tense reading; past tense readings are not found
- not possible with in-progress progressive aspect; only possible with states or generic or habitual aspect (non-episodic contexts)
- appears in clause-final position

4.6.2 North American PosA

North American PosA is similar to British Isles PosA in most respects, with two main differences. First, North American PosA is only possible with a present reading, i.e., where the reference, event, and speech times overlap, while British Isles PosA is also possible with a future reading. North American PosA’s meaning is therefore always ‘nowadays’, never ‘from now on’. Second, North American PosA is possible between subject and verb as well as in clause-initial and clause-final position. British Isles PosA is only attested in clause-final position.

North American PosA’s meaning is ‘nowadays’ (never ‘from now on’). Because it implies a change from the past, no respondents in my grammaticality judgment study ‘would say’ the following sentence, and only one respondent indicated that they had heard it used (repeated from (325) above):

(325) They still use that custom **anymore**.

In contrast, quantificational adverbs such as *a lot* and *much* favored acceptance of PosA in my grammaticality judgment study. An example is given in (326), repeated from (317b).

(326) John smokes a lot **anymore**.

This is likely because these adverbs render the ‘change from the past’ part of PosA’s meaning more salient (as suggested by Larry Horn, p.c.).

North American PosA is only possible in contexts with a present tense reading. Most of the PosA tokens in the COHA data are in clauses with a present tense reading, where speech, event, and reference time overlap (327a); a small number are in narrative past tense clauses (327b); one is a modal (327c); and one is non-finite (embedded under a clause in the narrative past) (327d)¹⁴.

(327) Tenses of clauses containing PosA

a. **Present tense**

I travel so much **anymore** (COHA: Erin McGraw [2008] *The seamstress of Hollywood Boulevard*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin; text number 36291)

b. **Narrative past tense**

The woman looked familiar—so many of them did, **anymore**, causing him frequently to turn away, hoping to avoid recognition. (COHA: Robert Love Taylor [2000] “Deranged by Desire”, *Southern Review*: Summer 2000, Vol. 36, Iss. 3; text number 38433)

c. **Modal**

Anymore I wouldn’t go near the mines. (COHA: Annie Proulx [2008] *Fine just the way it is: Wyoming stories 3*, New York : Scribner; text number 36134)

d. **Non-finite (embedded under narrative past)**

Here and there, you did still find a family who’d lived in the same house for

¹⁴Examples repeated from (311) above.

decades, but now their children were taking over the property, hoping for a little of that inflation windfall so key to the California dream **anymore**. (COHA: David Corbett [2004] *Done for a dime*, New York: Ballantine Books; text number 29717)

Results from my grammaticality judgment study indicate that present tense is preferred, as in example (328a), repeated from (317a). Future and past tense readings on the other hand are neither used nor accepted. PosA tokens in the COHA are never found in a context with a future or past reading. No respondents in my judgment study accepted sentences in the past, as in example (328c), repeated from (314b); only one respondent replied that they had ‘heard’ the sentence with PosA in a future tense clause (example (328b), repeated from (314a)); and the remaining respondents reported that they had never heard it and do not use it.

(328) Tenses of clauses containing North American PosA

a. **Present**

Kids are all spoiled **anymore**.

b. **Future**

Seattle will be a drier city **anymore**.

c. **Past**

John liked his dog **anymore**, so he gave it a milkbone last week.

Like British Isles PosA, North American PosA appears exclusively in contexts with imperfective aspect but is incompatible with in-progress progressives. Most examples of PosA in the COHA are states, as in example (329c), repeated from (312c); some are habitual, as in example (329b), repeated from (312b); a small number are generic, as in example (329a), repeated from (312a); none are progressive.

(329) Aspect of clauses containing PosA in the COHA

a. **Generic** (2/26, 8%)

Need a degree **anymore** to take out the trash (COHA: Robert Boswell [1990])

“Imagining Spaniards”, *Southern Review*: Summer 90, Vol. 26 Issue 3; text number 53233)

b. **Habitual** (7/26, 27%)

He even eats his meals out there, **anymore** (COHA: Sam Shepard [1985] *A Lie of the Mind*; text number 13996)

c. **State** (17/26, 65%)

It’s so big **any more** and so complicated the President has to be a figurehead. (COHA: John Bartlow Martin [1958] “The Changing Midwest”, *Saturday Evening Post*: 1/11/1958, Vol. 230 Issue 28; text number 491527)

There is a small number of formally progressive clauses, but none of these have in-progress readings. In the grammaticality judgment study, generics, habituals, and states ranked much higher than sentences that are formally progressive and are ambiguous between a habitual or in-progress reading, such as (330), repeated from earlier.

(330) He’s driving **anymore**.

North American and British Isles PosA therefore appear in contexts with similar aspectual properties.

Certain subject types and quantifiers may have added to the non-episodic reading of PosA sentences in my grammaticality judgment study. Universal quantification, generic subjects, and quantificational adverbs such as *a lot* and *much* improved acceptance. I argued above that quantificational adverbs *a lot* and *much* may help to make the ‘change from the past’ part of PosA’s meaning more salient, thereby improving judgments. I suggest that they may also make an imperfective or non-in-progress reading more salient. For example, the sentence in (331), repeated from earlier, which contains *a lot* was accepted by more respondents than (330), which does not contain a quantificational adverb. As I argued in section 4.5, *a lot* appears to make the habitual reading more prominent, and the in-progress reading less so. Generic subjects like *kids* in (328a) contribute to generic aspect, and an overt universal quantifier such as *all* in (328a) or *everyone* in (332) make a generic aspect

reading more salient.

(331) Laura is speaking a lot of French **anymore**.

(332) Everyone listens to Justin Bieber **anymore**.

As for word order, North American PosA is used and accepted most often in clause-final position, but it is also found and attested between subject and verb and even in clause-initial position. The finding that PosA is possible clause-initially is not consistent with previous literature on PosA, most of which found that clause-initial PosA was rarely used or accepted. Results from the sentence rankings and multivariate analysis of my judgment sentences show that *anymore* in clause-final position is most favored, sentence-initial is disfavored, and no speakers indicated that they ‘would say’ a sentence with *anymore* in isolation. Sentence-initial PosA is by no means universally rejected, however. In the COHA it is in fact somewhat common. Out of twenty-two tokens of PosA in the COHA, eighteen are clause-final, as in (335) (repeated from (310c)); two are between subject and verb (334) (repeated from (310b)), and six are clause-initial (333) (repeated from (310a)).

(333) But **anymore**, it was hard to tell how he felt by the sound of his steps. (COHA: Stephen Coyne [2000] “Hunting country”, *Southern Review*: Winter 2000, Vol. 36, Iss. 1; text number 39115)

(334) The lift handles are no good, and everything **anymore** has the aerodynamic lift handles. (COHA: Ron Carlson [1995] “The chromium hook”, *Harper’s Magazine*: Oct 1995, Vol. 291, Iss. 1745; text number 39245)

(335) In a way he almost felt sorry for him, **anymore**. (COHA: James Jones [1951] *From Here to Eternity*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons; text number 780017)

Preposing of PosA in the COHA appears to correlate with a later publication date and authors from regions other than the Midland region and Appalachia.

In my grammaticality judgment study, age and region showed an effect on acceptance of PosA. Older respondents from Idaho were more likely to accept PosA sentences, young

western Washingtonians the least.

The main characteristics of North American PosA are the following:

(336) Main points: ‘positive’ *anymore* in North America

- only has a ‘nowadays’ meaning
- requires contexts with a present tense reading; future and past tense readings are not found
- not possible with in-progress progressive aspect; only possible with states or generic or habitual aspect (non-episodic contexts)
- most common in clause-final position, but also possible between subject and verb and is fairly common in clause-initial position

4.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a description of the social and linguistic factors relating to PosA based on previous literature, a diachronic corpus study, and a synchronic grammaticality judgment study. North American PosA only has a ‘nowadays’ meaning and is only licit with a present tense reading, never a past or future tense reading. It is only possible with imperfective aspect, but never in-progress events. While it is most usual in clause-final position, it is also possible between subject and verb and is fairly common in clause-initial position. I also argued based on migration patterns and the distribution of PosA in Ireland and North America that the British Isles one is likely the source of the North American one. In the next chapter I will give an analysis of the syntactic changes that North American PosA underwent since its arrival from Ireland.

Chapter 5

ANALYSIS: SCOTS, ULSTER SCOTS > NORTH AMERICAN
POSITIVE *ANYMORE***5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter I argue that North American ‘positive’ *anymore* (PosA) developed from the British Isles PosA. In the previous chapter I discussed evidence from the geographic distribution of PosA and Scots Irish settlement patterns in previous literature that suggests that PosA was brought to North America by Scots Irish (from Ulster, Ireland) settlers during the mid-eighteenth century or later. I will now present language-internal evidence for the connection between North American and British Isles PosA. I show that the changes it has undergone are not only possible but expected given what is known about grammaticalization and syntactic reanalysis.

Butters (2001: 332) remarks that “the clear opportunity for analogy to have been at work in extending the negative *anymore* to positive *anymore* environments makes a clear-cut, exclusive assignment of the form to the Scotch-Irish antecedents dubious at best” (p. 332). Chambers (2009) and Trudgill & Chambers (1991) likewise argue that the Irish and American versions of PosA must have been separate developments. The syntactic and semantic properties of the two are too different: the American version means ‘nowadays’ while the Scots-Irish one means ‘soon’ or ‘from now on’ (Chambers and Trudgill: 265 refer to Scots Irish PosA sentences including “There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring any more”).

Willis (2017) takes the opposite view and argues that the North American and British Isles non-polarity-sensitive *anymores* are not so different that the one could not have developed from the other. Haycock (2001) also argues that the semantic shift from ‘soon’ to ‘now’

cannot be dismissed as impossible or even unlikely. Kallen (1997: 153) gives examples from field notes of PosA spoken by individuals from Ireland, that mean ‘from now on’ (example (337)) or ‘nowadays’ (example (338)), as discussed in Chapter 2.

(337) Every child will make it [first communion] in second class anymore.

(338) Wool is so expensive anymore. (Kallen 1997: 153)

Kallen suggests the possibilities that the North American version became restricted to the ‘nowadays’ sense only, or that the Irish one developed further senses after it was taken to North America. I will argue that PosA in North America is descended from the Scots Irish one, and that it became restricted to the ‘nowadays’ sense.

The starting point for the change is British Isles PosA. In Chapters 2 and 3 I showed that there are restrictions on its distribution. It is only found in future and present tense, imperfective contexts (habitual, generic, or states; never progressive readings). It has not been attested clause-initially or clause-medially (between subject and verb), only clause-finally. I argued that it is an aspectual adverb, adjoined to AspP. The type of adverb is ‘inceptive’, marking the onset of a new imperfective event. In addition to its [Asp_{boundary}] features, it also has [non-specific/indefinite] ones that require that it be in contexts with non-in-progress, non-past events. North American PosA, like British Isles PosA, also requires a state or a habitual or generic event; it is ungrammatical with an in-progress progressive reading. I propose that it also has [non-specific/indefinite] features. Unlike the British Isles version, it is only compatible with the present tense (or narrative past that reads like present tense). PosA in North America is often sentence-initial. I will argue that it is a present tense deictic adverb that adjoins to TP with a present tense T. Its [T_{present}] feature is responsible for its dependency with a present tense T, and its [boundary] feature captures the fact that it contrasts a state of affairs at speech time with the absence of this state of affairs during some period before speech time.

I propose that at some point before the twentieth century when the first examples of North American PosA appear, British Isles-type PosA likely appeared often in present tense

contexts, and that allowed it to be reanalyzed as a present tense temporal adverb. British Isles PosA was not found in past contexts; it only appeared in present and future ones, so it would only need to appear less often in future contexts in order for the reanalysis to be possible. An adverb that indicates the boundary of non-specific/indefinite, present tense events (in the input that the language acquirer encounters) is essentially indistinguishable from a present-time adverb that contrasts non-specific/indefinite events at the present moment. I will demonstrate that the surface realization of a present tense clause with British Isles aspectual PosA in AspP is also compatible with a structure that has a TP temporal adverb with slightly different features and a slightly different interpretation. This ambiguous context allowed reanalysis of the aspectual > temporal adverb to take place. I follow van Gelderen (2011) who argues that Late Merge, the preference for items in a numeration to wait to merge later (i.e., higher) if given an opportunity to do so, can help to explain cross-linguistic tendencies of adverbs that are reanalyzed as being part of a higher projection in the clause.

In section 5.2 I will present evidence to support my claim that North American PosA is a deictic speech-time adverb with [boundary] and [non-specific/indefinite] features. In doing so, I give an overview of previous literature that has argued that the elements that determine the interpretation of tense are various heads in the clause, and that adverbs' interpretation relates to their position in relation to such elements. I also compare British Isles PosA to the North American one. In 5.3 I present my analysis of the change from one PosA to the other. Section 5.4 is the conclusion to this chapter.

5.2 North American 'positive' anymore is a deictic speech-time adverb, British Isles 'positive' anymore is an aspectual adverb

In this section I will argue that North American PosA is a present tense deictic temporal adverb using evidence from word order and tense restrictions that were discussed in more detail in the previous chapter. I will also provide an overview of what previous literature has found to be the main characteristics of temporal adverbs, in particular deictic or speech-

time adverbs like *nowadays* and *now*. Temporal adverbs commonly appear in three positions cross-linguistically: clause-initially, clause-medially, and clause-finally. This is exactly where North American PosA is found. Deictic temporal adverbs are only possible with a single tense; North American PosA is only possible with present tense. I propose that North American PosA merges as an adjunct of TP and may move to a Topic position in the CP layer. The adverb has a [non-specific/indefinite] feature that accounts for its compatibility with generic, habitual, and state events but not in-progress present. It also has a [$T_{present}$] feature that makes it only compatible with present tense, and it has a [boundary] feature that contrasts a state of affairs at speech time with the absence of this state of affairs during some period before speech time. Throughout this section, I will also contrast North American PosA with the British Isles one, which I argued in Chapter 3 was an aspectual adverb with [$Asp_{boundary}$] and [non-specific/indefinite] features. It adjoins to an AspP with a state or habitual or generic event. It is possible with both present and future reference, but not past.

While I do not assume as articulated a clausal spine like Cinque (1999), I do assume that each adverb in the AspP layer and higher (at least) is merged in a specific position and that it can only move for information structure reasons. Each projection can however be the ‘home’ to more than one adverb class, which have features ([continuative], [habitual], etc.) that are licensed by feature matching with the head they modify as described in Chapter 3. This operation is similar to Agree, but no feature valuation takes place; the interpretable features of the adverb and head to which it adjoins must simply be identical.

5.2.1 *Relationship of functional heads to interpretation of tense and aspect*

In this section I will survey work that shows that the interpretation of tense and aspect is associated with various functional heads in the clause, and that the interpretation of adverbs depends on their location with respect to these heads. Tense “is traditionally understood to be the grammaticalized location of events in time” (Thompson 2005: 7). In recent generative theories of tense and aspect, it has been argued that the structure of sentences and the interpretation of tense have a systematic relationship subject to the rules of Universal Grammar,

and that the interpretation of tense comes from various heads in the syntactic structure, not only from T(ense) (Hornstein 1991, Zagana 1988, Demirdache & Uribe-Echevarria 2000, Thompson 2005, a.o.). Thompson (2005: 3) for example shows that there is a correlation between syntax (several heads, not just T) and the interpretation of temporal relationships in a clause, and that “syntactic locality constrains the interpretation of time in natural language”. She (among others) argues that times are semantic features associated with functional heads.

Recall the discussion of Reichenbach’s (1947) theory of tense in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. For a reminder, below is a Reichenbachian tense framework adopted by Thompson (2005), based on Hornstein (1991), which is identical in all relevant ways to the framework adopted in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. There are three times involved in the interpretation of tense and aspect: S(peech), R(eference), and E(vent) times.

- (339) Reichenbachian Tense Framework, in Thompson (2005: 5), based on Hornstein (1991)
- a. S, R, E present
 - b. E, R _ S past
 - c. S _ R, E future
 - d. E _ S, R present perfect (etc.)

Thompson illustrates with the example in (340):

- (340) At 2:00, Mary had left the store.

In the example, the E(vent) time is that of Mary’s leaving; the R(eference) time is that by which Mary leaves (2:00); the S(peech) time is when the sentence is uttered.

Speech time has been argued to be associated with the T/Infl head, reference time with Asp, and event time with *v* and/or *V* (Hornstein 1991, Thompson 2005, a.o.). Thompson (2005) for example proposes that S, R and E are semantic features on T, Asp, and V respectively. She argues that tense morphemes in English are associated with T, and determine the relative order of R and S time. For example, past tense *-ed* orders R time before S time. Aspectual morphemes determine the relative order of E and R times. English aspectual

have, when present, indicates that E precedes R; otherwise, the two are simultaneous. For example, in (341), the event of swatting the fly is before R time (due to the presence of *have*), which is before S time (due to the presence of *-ed*). In (342), the event of swatting the fly is simultaneous with R time (due to the absence of *have*), and both E and R are before S time (due to the presence of *-ed*).

(341) Mary had swatted the fly. (E_R_S)

(342) Mary swatted the fly (E,R_S) (Thompson 2005: 6)

Thompson also shows that English temporal adverbials in different positions in a clause have different temporal readings. Thompson assumes that adverbials modify the time (S, R, or E) associated with the head to which the adverbial adjoins. In (343b) for example, only one reading is available: Mary had already left BEFORE 2:00. In (343a), she may have left at 2:00 or before 2:00. When a temporal adverb modifies event time, she argues that it adjoins to VP (such as in example (343a), where the reading is available in which leaving happened at 2:00); when it modifies reference time, it is in AspP (example (343a) or (343b), where leaving the store happened before the time in the temporal adverbial).

(343) a. Mary had left the store at 2:00.

b. At 2:00, Mary had left the store. (Thompson 2005: 1)

She supports this analysis with various tests to determine syntactic position (VP constituency tests; scope of other elements such as negation and other adverbs) in order to establish that the different readings correspond to different positions of the temporal adverbial. Her explanation for the fact that clause-initial temporal adverbials only have the reading where they modify reference time, such as in (343b), appeals to the Shortest Movement Condition (Chomsky 1995). Since there are two possible derivations for the sentence, the one with the shortest movement to CP (from AspP and not VP) is the only one allowed.

5.2.1.1 Deictic temporal adverbs and PosA: Word order

Turning to deictic adverbs in particular, Cinque (1999) argues that present-time deictic adverbs like *ora* ‘now’ occupy the specifier of T_{past} when it has the value ‘present’¹ Recall Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of functional projections from Chapter 2, repeated here as (344).²

(344) Universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections (Cinque 1999: 106)

[*frankly* Mood_{speechact} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [*allegedly* Mood_{evidential} [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [**once** T_{past} [*then* T_{future} [*perhaps* Mood_{irrealis} [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} [*usually* Asp_{habitual} [*again* Asp_{repetitive} [*often* Asp_{frequentative} [*intentionally* Mod_{volitional} [*quickly* Asp_{celerative} [*already* $T_{anterior}$ [*no longer* Asp_{terminative} [*still* Asp_{continuative} [*always* Asp_{perfect(?)} etc.]

T_{past} orders an event before speech time (when it has the value ‘past’) or at the same time as speech (when it has the value ‘present’). *Present* is the unmarked value of the feature associated with this head. Past-time deictic adverbs like Italian *un tempo*, *una volta* ‘once’ are presumably the marked version of T(past).

Cinque (1999) shows that what he calls ‘purely’ deictic temporal adverbs (those anchored to speech time) like Italian *ora* ‘now’ and English *now* can appear preverbally (between subject and verb in the English case) as shown in (347) and (348). More specifically, he shows that deictic temporal adverbs must appear before speaker-oriented adverbs and the Mood[*irrealis*] adverb *forse* ‘perhaps’ (examples (345) and (346)); they can appear before or after ‘modal’, ‘evaluative’, and ‘pragmatic’ adverbs like *probabilmente* ‘probably’, *fortunamente* ‘fortunately’, and *francamente* ‘frankly’:

(345) Gianni è **ora forse** partito.

¹Cinque proposes that there are three distinct T heads. I will not review this part of his proposal as it is not relevant to the present discussion. I will not adopt his proposal, but will adopt a more standard structure with a single T head.

²The subject is in one of several “DP-related functional projections”, not pictured, as opposed to adverb-related functional projections. He does not go into detail about the exact location of these projections, but they are interspersed throughout the TP layer in his analysis. This is his explanation for the fact that subjects can occur in many different positions with respect to adverb classes cross-linguistically.

- ‘G. has **now perhaps** left.’ (Cinque 1999: 13)
- (346) *?Gianni è **forse ora** partito.
 ‘G. has **perhaps now** left.’ (Cinque 1999: 13)
- (347) **Probabilmente ora** ci ascolterà.
 ‘(S)he probably now will listen to us.’ (Cinque 1999: 13)
- (348) **Ora probabilmente** ci ascolterà.
 ‘(S)he now probably will listen to us.’ (Cinque 1999: 13)

Alexiadou (1997) likewise demonstrates that English temporal adverbs can appear in preverbal position:

- (349) The Prime Minister **today** described the relations between Persia and Britain as having reached a happy stage. (Alexiadou 1997: 113)

Alexiadou (1997) like Cinque proposes that deictic temporal adverbs are in the specifier of T when between subject and verb in English.

North American PosA is found between subject and verb³, as discussed in the previous chapter. Example (350a), repeated from the previous chapter, is an example from the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). Example (350b), also repeated from the previous chapter, is from my grammaticality judgment study of Pacific Northwest English speakers. Six (of twenty-one) respondents in my study reported that they ‘would say’ this sentence, and three responded they ‘have heard’ it.

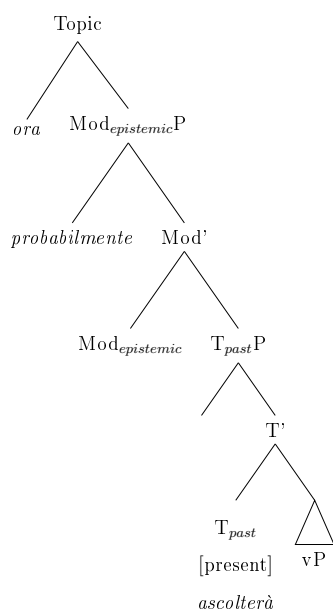
- (350) **North American PosA possible between subject and verb**
- a. The lift handles are no good, and everything **anymore** has the aerodynamic lift handles. (COHA: Ron Carlson [1995] “The chromium hook”, *Harper’s Magazine*: Oct 1995, Vol. 291, Iss. 1745; text number 39245)

³Unfortunately I do not have examples of North American PosA near modal, evaluative, pragmatic, or irrealis adverbs so I cannot test their relative positions. I do not have examples of clause-medial PosA with modals or auxiliary verbs either, so I cannot make any claims about its relative order with respect to modals and auxiliaries.

b. Kids **anymore** have such a sense of entitlement.

In addition to their default positions, Cinque (1999) suggests that speech-time adverbs like *ora* ‘now’ can also appear freely in a clause-initial Topic position that precedes sentence adverbs. He remains agnostic as to whether they are base generated in this position or if they move there, but I will assume in my analyses that they move to this position from a lower one. This explains how *ora* can precede adverbs in higher projections, like *probabilmente* which is in the specifier of $\text{Mod}_{epistemic}$, above *ora*’s canonical position in T_{past} . This can be seen in the tree below, a simplified version of the sentence in (351).

(351) Ora probabilmente ascolterà.
 now probably listen.fut
 ‘(S)he now probably will listen.’



This topic position, Cinque says, is likely to be the position that hosts various types of ‘adverb of setting’, including other temporal adverbs like *two weeks ago* and ‘domain’ adverbs like *politically* and *legally* that can front freely. According to Cinque, speech-time adverbs and domain adverbs serve a similar function, that of providing “the relevant frame within which to evaluate the truth (or appropriateness) of a given speech act” (Cinque 1999: 175, fn 41)

I found that North American PosA is also possible in clause-initial position, like deictic

speech-time adverbs. Out of twenty-two tokens of PosA in the COHA, six are clause-initial, illustrated by (352), repeated from Chapter 4.

- (352) But **anymore**, it was hard to tell how he felt by the sound of his steps. (COHA: Stephen Coyne [2000] “Hunting country”, *Southern Review*: Winter 2000, Vol. 36, Iss. 1; text number 39115)

In my grammaticality judgment study, clause-initial PosA was not the most favored position, but such sentences were accepted by multiple speakers. Example (353) for example received the judgment ‘would say’ by four respondents and ‘have heard’ by an additional four respondents.

- (353) **Anymore**, I don’t hike much.

Cinque (1999) also notes that speech-time adverbs can occur freely in a post-verbal position with no change in intonation (which would signal a parenthetical use, for example):

- (354) Hanno dato la notizia a Gianni proprio **ora/allora**/and so forth.

‘They gave the news to G. just **now/then**/and so forth.’ (Cinque 1999: 15)

Alexiadou (1997) similarly points out that temporal adverbs, including but not limited to deictic ones (*today, tomorrow, now, then, etc.*), have unusual scope properties because they often follow the constituents they scope over. They take wide scope with respect to the event in their clause but are cross-linguistically common in clause-final position. This is shown below for English, French, and Italian.

- (355) He came yesterday.

- (356) Il ira à Paris demain. **French**
 he go-FUT to Paris tomorrow
 ‘He will go to Paris tomorrow.’

- (357) Mi occupero de loro domani. **Italian**
 me occupy-FUT of them tomorrow
 ‘I will take care of them tomorrow’. (Alexiadou 1997: 112, translations mine)

As discussed in the previous chapter, North American PosA is used and accepted most often in clause-final position. Results from the sentence rankings and multivariate analysis of my judgment sentences show that *anymore* in clause-final position is most favored. Out of twenty-two tokens of PosA in the COHA, eighteen are clause-final, as in (358) (repeated from Chapter 4).

(358) In a way he almost felt sorry for him, **anymore**. (COHA: James Jones [1951] *From Here to Eternity*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; text number 780017)

In contrast, British Isles PosA is an aspectual adverb that is an adjunct of AspP, as I argued in Chapter 3. The first type of evidence for this claim comes from the word order. Recall that all examples of modern British Isles PosA that I collected (twenty-two total from secondary sources) are clause-final. It cannot be clause-initial; this is expected if it is an aspectual adverb, as aspectual adverbs, especially in present day English and Scots, are not as commonly fronted as TP adverbs. Aspectual adverbs are also possible clause-medially. I do not have a good explanation at this time for why this is not attested with British Isles PosA.

5.2.1.2 *Deictic temporal adverbs and PosA: Tense restrictions*

Turning to tense restrictions and temporal adverbs, deictic adverbs are only compatible with one tense:

(359) Irthe **kthes/*avrio** o Janis (Alexiadou 1997: 85)
 came-3sg yesterday/tomorrow the John-nom

(360) Yesterday I bought/*buy/*will buy a cactus.

Alexiadou (1997) argues that there is a dependency between Tense and temporal adverbs: deictic adverbs have time features such as [+/- past], etc. that must match those of T. This is a way to capture the fact that temporal adverbs are only compatible with one tense. I adopt Alexiadou's proposal and suggest that North American PosA has [T_{present}] features that must match those of a present tense T.

North American PosA is only compatible with a present tense or narrative past tense reading, demonstrated in Chapter 4. Most of the PosA tokens in the COHA data are in present tense as in (361a); a small number are in narrative past tense clauses (361b); one is modal (361d); and one is non-finite (361c)⁴.

(361) Tenses of clauses containing PosA

a. **Present tense**

I travel so much **anymore**. (COHA: Erin McGraw [2008] *The seamstress of Hollywood Boulevard*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin; text number 36291)

b. **Narrative past tense**

The woman looked familiar-so many of them did, **anymore**, causing him frequently to turn away, hoping to avoid recognition. (COHA: Robert Love Taylor [2000] “Deranged by Desire”, *Southern Review*: Summer 2000, Vol. 36, Iss. 3; text number 38433)

c. **Non-finite**

Here and there, you did still find a family who’d lived in the same house for decades, but now their children were taking over the property, hoping for a little of that inflation windfall so key to the California dream **anymore**. (COHA: David Corbett [2004] *Done for a dime*, New York: Ballantine Books; text number 29717)

d. **Modal**

Anymore I wouldn’t go near the mines. (COHA: Annie Proulx [2008] *Fine just the way it is: Wyoming stories 3*, New York : Scribner; text number 36134)

PosA tokens in the COHA are never found in a context with a future or past reading. Results from my grammaticality judgment study show that present tense is preferred, while future and past tense readings are not used or accepted.

⁴Examples repeated from Chapter 4.

North American PosA requires that speech, reference, and event times be simultaneous. This condition is met in (361a): the habitual event of traveling includes speech time (interpreted as the present) and reference time (also interpreted as the present). Narrative past tense is a special case. Although it is formally past tense, it does not necessarily refer to an event that took place in the past. Present-time adverbials including *these days* and *nowadays* are allowed in narrative past tense as seen in (362) even if they are not allowed in non-narrative past tense contexts (363).

(362) The woman looked familiar-so many of them did, **these days/nowadays**. (narrative past tense)

(363) *She worked at a bakery **anymore/nowadays**. (non-narrative past tense)

This is because tense actually establishes the relationship between an evaluation time and a reference time (Zagona 2013, a.o.). In matrix clauses, this is speech time, but in some cases the evaluation time can be linked to a different time. For example, in embedded clauses the evaluation time might be that of the event in a higher clause. In (364), the embedded clause event *have the grocery list* can be interpreted as taking place during the speech time of the whole sentence, i.e., John still has the grocery list now. In this case it is not semantically past tense, and is purely formal.

(364) John said he had the grocery list. (Zagona 2013: 758)

In narrative past tense, the past tense is defective in a certain sense. The evaluation time is not the present moment of reading or telling the story, but the time at which the story takes place, usually set implicitly or explicitly in the story, for example, 'It was 1959' (Zagona 2013, a.o.). In (361b), the evaluation time is in the past, but it is simultaneous with reference time and the event *the woman looked familiar*. Example (361c) is similar: although it is in a non-finite clause, the rest of the sentence is in past tense. The evaluation time is set to some past time in the story, and the event *hope for a little of that inflation* and reference time are at this evaluation time. This is confirmed by the other present-time adverb *now* earlier in the sentence. Therefore, more precisely, North American PosA must be in a context

where evaluation time (which may or may not be the present moment), reference time, and event time are simultaneous. In this chapter I will nonetheless use the term ‘speech time’ for simplicity, and not ‘evaluation time’, since in many cases that I will examine the two are identical.

In example (361d), evaluation time is speech time, ‘now’, but the clause is an irrealis modal one so the event does not take place in the actual world. The habitual event *not go near the mines* would not take place at speech time if some (unnamed) condition were met. So once again, speech, reference, and event time occur together with North American PosA.

In Chapter 3, I argued that British Isles PosA’s features are [Asp_{boundary}] and [non-specific/indefinite]. Its [non-specific/indefinite] features constrain it to present-tense clauses with generic, habitual, or stative aspect, but not in-progress present because that entails the truth of a single event occurring or having occurred at reference time. It also includes future irrealis clauses. Like North American PosA, British Isles PosA is not found in past tense contexts, even if these are imperfective and do not pick out single events, for example with habitual events.

(365) I always walked to school **anymore**. (unattested in British Isles PosA)

I suggested in Chapter 3 that British Isles PosA’s incompatibility with past tense was due to the fact that events in the past, even if they are imperfective, may ‘count’ as definite and episodic because they have finished. Past tense is also ungrammatical for North American PosA.

(366) North American PosA incompatible with past tense

*We often drank tiki drinks **anymore**.

This is expected for a present-tense temporal adverb which I argue that North American PosA is.

British Isles PosA is possible in clauses with future orientation, however. For example, the Scottish English PosA (367), repeated from Chapters 2 and 3, is in a non-episodic

context with the future modal *will*. ‘There’ll be herring any more’ does not refer to a specific perfective event of herring existing and ceasing to exist (‘there were herring’), or arriving (‘hundreds of herring arrived’), or an ongoing dynamic event (‘the herring are biting me’) but a state of herring existing and stretching indefinitely into the future. It does not describe a single episode, but a state.

(367) There’s no herring in it the day, but there’ll be herring **any more**. ([1928], Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg, from *DOSL*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

British Isles PosA is possible in other types of non-episodic contexts such as habitual or generic present, shown in (254) and (255), repeated from Chapters 2 and 3.

(368) If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Montgomery 2006a: 9)

(369) He fights a lot **any more** (Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)

These are also non-specific and indefinite events: they describe habitual events or tendencies, not a single episode. The only examples of present progressive morphology are interpretable as states:

(370) They’re getting big boys **anymore**. (Milroy 1981: 4)

These examples show that PosA does not modify specific events, but states and potential and/or recurring events that may or may not be currently occurring. These events describe the way the world is at reference time.

North American PosA, in contrast to British Isles PosA, is incompatible with future reference, as demonstrated in Chapter 4. Punctual deictic temporal adverbs like *now* are however compatible with future reference, including with modal future *will*:

(371) I love/will love cats now.

(372) I will leave now.

This is not an argument that North American PosA is not a deictic temporal adverb, however, or that British Isles PosA is a deictic temporal adverb because it is also possible with future

reference, like *now*. The reason that North American PosA is not possible with future reference while *now* is possible with future reference has to do with the fact that PosA is not a punctual adverb picking out a single instant. It is only possible with non-episodic present, i.e., states, generic, or habitual events. An example of North American PosA with non-episodic events is given in (373), repeated from Chapter 4.

(373) He even eats his meals out there, **anymore** (COHA: Sam Shepard [1985] *A Lie of the Mind*; text number 13996)

The event of *eat meals* is a habitual one, describing how the world is at speech time; it is not a single episode. North American PosA (and British Isles PosA as well) cannot modify progressives that are interpreted as describing a single event:

(374) *I'm eating dinner anymore. (intended: I'm eating dinner right now)

It can, however, modify progressives that are interpreted as habitual or generic events:

(375) I'm practicing banjo anymore. (intended: I practice banjo habitually now.)

In other words, for North American PosA, reference time is an extended one, not a single point, so it requires imperfective events. Take (376) for example.

(376) He stinks **anymore**. (COHA: Mary Coyle Chase [1952] *Bernadine*; text number 14037)

(377) <—[*Event he stinks*—[*Reftime* extended interval—[*Speectime*]|—|—>

The stative event *he stinks* includes the reference time, which is an extended interval, covering several days or more, and not a single point. The reference time in turn includes speech time, which is a single point in time. I propose that North American PosA, like British Isles PosA, has a [non-specific/indefinite] feature that restricts it to contexts with states or generic or habitual events.

Other deictic speech-time adverbs like *nowadays* that require non-episodic events are also not possible with future reference. Example (378a) shows that *nowadays* is ungrammatical with in-progress present events, but it is grammatical with habitual events (378b).

That is, it requires non-episodic events, like North American PosA. Example (379) shows that *nowadays* is only possible with present tense, not future or past.

(378) **Nowadays only grammatical with non-episodic events**

- a. *I am reading a book **nowadays**. (in-progress reading)
- b. I read books **nowadays**.

(379) I love/*will love/*loved cats **nowadays**.

Furthermore, like *nowadays*, PosA appears to not be possible with the present perfect, although other present-time adverbials are:

(380) She has completed her statement now*nowadays*anymore. (Michaelis 1996: 478, fn 3)

Therefore, the reason that North American PosA is not compatible with future has to do with the fact that, like *nowadays*, it requires a non-episodic event. North American PosA is thus more like *nowadays* than *now*, as noted frequently in the literature on PosA.

5.2.2 *Meaning of North American PosA*

The meaning of North American PosA is similar to that of *nowadays*: they contrast a state of the world at the present time with the past, when the state did not hold. The *OED*'s definition of *nowadays* is the following.

(381) “At the present time, in contrast with the past.” (*OED*, *nowadays*, adv., n., and adj., sense A)

Nowadays is a present-time adverb. Its etymology, according to the same entry in the *OED*, is the present-tense deictic adverb *now*, “At the present time or moment”, and the archaic adverb *adays*, “at the present time”, (*OED*, *nowadays*, adv., n., and adj.). There is therefore nothing in its etymology to suggest that it had or has a morpheme asserting a change from the past; the “in contrast with the past” part of its meaning is, I suggest, likely pragmatic; it is an implicature. According to Grice’s first maxim of quantity (‘Say as much as you can’), if

I make the statement that at this moment something holds, without any other qualification to the statement, it is interpreted as not having held at previous points in time. Michaelis (2008: 11) gives the following example:

(382) Sue was home at noon.

In (382), without any other context one infers that Sue was not home at any (much) larger stretches of time than the reference time, noon, or any other relevant times; if she were, the speaker would have mentioned the larger stretch or the other times (between noon and 2 o'clock), making the largest statement possible, saying as much as s/he could. This, she says, is due to Grice's first maxim of quantity. This inference can be suspended by saying 'In fact, she is still home now'; thus the state can be extended beyond the reference time of noon (Michaelis 2008: 11).

Nowadays' meaning is also implicational, I propose.

(383) Sue eats fish **nowadays**.

In the example above, it is implied that Sue did not eat fish prior to the reference time *nowadays*. This implicature can be suspended by saying, 'in fact, she has always eaten fish'. I argue that North American PosA, however, is not implicational, but presuppositional, like British Isles PosA and affective polarity item (API) *anymore*. In the following example, the 'in contrast to the past' part of its meaning cannot be suspended.

(384) Sue eats fish **anymore**.

According to the native speakers of North American PosA that I consulted, it is not felicitous to say 'in fact, she has always eaten fish'. One can however challenge this part of the meaning by saying, 'Wait, but she has always eaten fish!', which is consistent with a presupposition. Because of this presupposition that is still part of North American PosA's meaning, I propose that it has a [boundary] feature like British Isles PosA, indicating an event boundary.

Recall from Chapter 3 that the meaning of British Isles PosA is the presupposition $\neg\alpha\phi$ before reference time, which may be in the future or present. This is also given in Table

	Presupposition	Assertion
BI PosA	$\neg\alpha\phi$ (non-spec/indef) before ref. time	$\alpha\phi$ (non-spec/indef at ref. time
NAm PosA	$\neg\alpha\phi$ (non-spec/indef) before speech time	$\alpha\phi$ (non-spec/indef) at speech time

Table 5.1: Meaning of British Isles (BI) PosA and North American (NAm) PosA

(based on Ladusaw 1980, Hindle & Sag 1973, Punske & Barss 2010, Labov 1972b, Horn 1970, 2014, Ernst 2001, Michaelis 1996)

5.1, repeated from Chapter 3. In example (367), the presupposition of *anymore* in *there'll be herring anymore* is in fact given in the first clause: the state *be herring in it* does not hold at reference time, which overlaps with speech time, i.e., the present (in Scottish English 'the day' can mean 'today', *OED*, *day*, n.", sense P9 e). This is in contrast to the assertion of the clause *there'll be herring anymore*, which asserts that the event will hold at reference time, which is after the present moment since the future orders event and reference time after speech time (S_R,E). Other British Isles PosA examples also show that reference time and event time are clearly not at speech time in future-oriented contexts:

(385) We'll squeeze Michael a bit. He'll chip in **anymore**. (*Whistle in Dark*, T. Murphy 1971, cited in *OED*, *any more*, adj., pron., and n., and adv.)

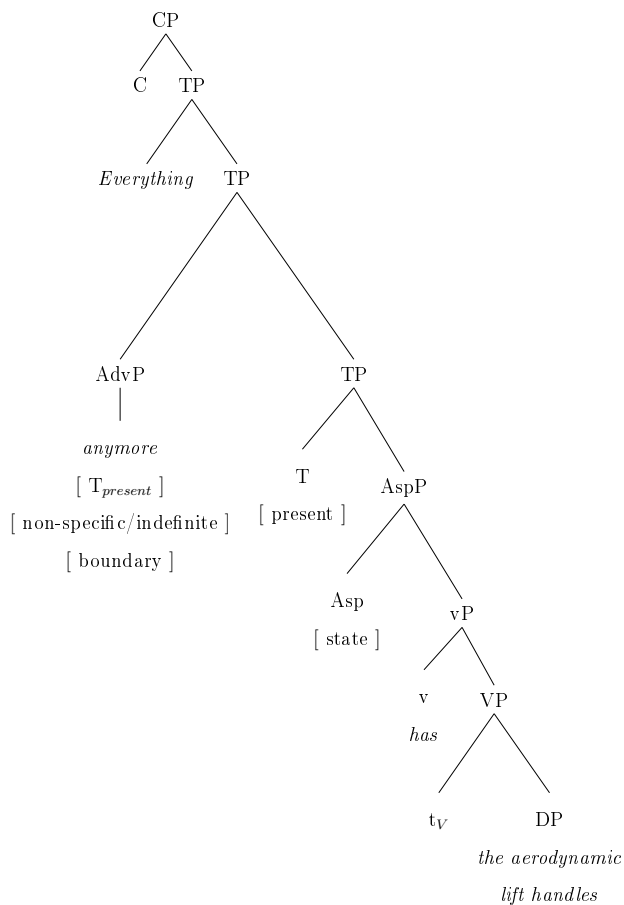
In (385), the event of chipping in will take place after the squeezing, which is also in the future. Michael is clearly not in a state of being ready to chip in, since he first needs to be squeezed, and then will be ready. The reference time for the second sentence is the time during or after the squeezing. Thus, the event and reference time may overlap with each other, but not with speech time (S_R,E).

As discussed above, British Isles PosA is also possible in present tense contexts, where speech, reference, and event time all overlap. For North American PosA, only present tense is possible, as discussed above as well. Its meaning is therefore a presupposition that $\neg\alpha\phi$ before speech time (which overlaps with reference and event time in present tense [S,R,E]).

The assertion of the sentence in which North American PosA is found is $\alpha\phi$ at speech time. Like British Isles PosA, then, the ‘contrast from a previous time’ part of the meaning is a presupposition, but unlike British Isles PosA, speech, reference, and event time must all overlap.

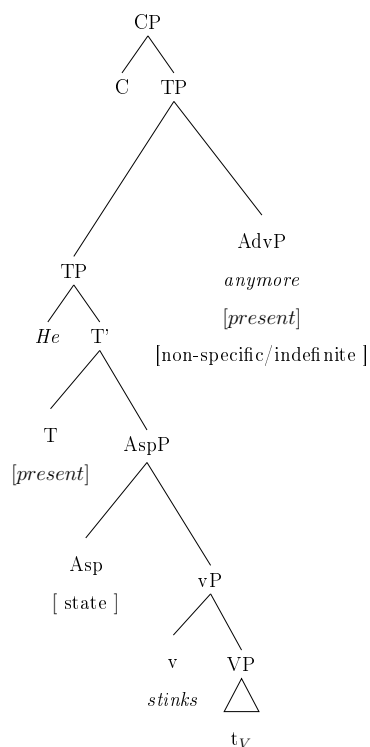
The tree in (386) presents my analysis of the features and structural position of North American PosA, drawing on aspects of Thompson (2005), Zagona (2013), Alexiadou (1997), and Cinque (1999). Following Alexiadou (1997), I assume that adverbs are licensed through a Match operation with the head to which it adjoins. The relevant features (e.g., Asp, T) must be identical. The adverb adjoins to TP and is pronounced between subject and verb. The [non-specific/indefinite] feature of *anymore* is only compatible with states, generic and habitual events.

(386) Everything **anymore** has the aerodynamic lift handles.



When it appears clause-finally, North American PosA is also in the specifier of TP but it is right-branching, shown in (387).

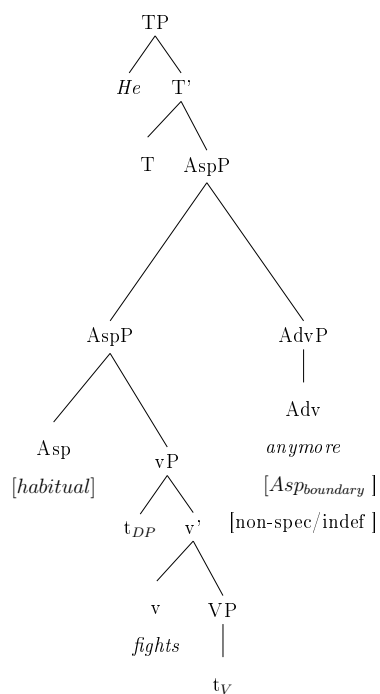
(387) He stinks anymore. (COHA: Mary Coyle Chase [1952] *Bernadine*; text number14037)



I propose that North American PosA in clause-initial position is in a Topic position, as Cinque (1999) argues for *ora* ‘now’ in Italian in (351) above. I suggest that it base merges as an adjunct of TP, but moves to the Topic position.

For comparison, below is a tree of British Isles PosA in a present tense habitual clause.

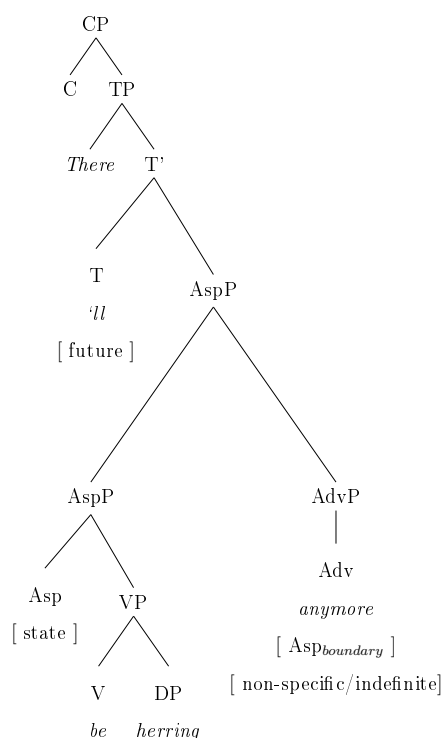
- (388) He fights **any more** (simplified version of Scots Irish PosA example from Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)



Anymore is right-adjoined to AspP. The [non-specific/indefinite] features of the adverb match the [habitual] feature on Asp, so the derivation converges.

Below is a tree of British Isles PosA in a future-oriented clause.

(389) There'll be herring **any more**



As shown in (389), *anymore* adjoins to an AspP with [state] features, with which it is compatible.

5.2.3 Summary: differences between British Isles PosA and North American PosA

I will now briefly summarize the differences and similarities between British Isles and North American PosA. North American PosA is a speech time deictic temporal adverb that merges as an adjunct of a present tense T. Like any adverbial, North American ‘positive’ *anymore*’s features must be licensed by a Match operation with those of the head to which it is adjoined. It has [$T_{present}$] features, so it is only compatible with a present T. Speech, reference, and event time must all be simultaneous. The [boundary] feature is meant to capture its meaning, a contrast of the state of the world at speech time with the absence of this state during some period before speech time. North American PosA also has a [non-specific/indefinite] feature, so it refers to the state of the world at speech time, not a single event in progress at speech time. This explains why it is not possible with in-progress present, but only habitual, generic,

or state predicates in present tense or narrative past.

British Isles PosA is an aspectual adverb that is an adjunct of a non-specific/indefinite AspP. It has the features [Asp_{boundary}], marking the end of a state and the beginning of a new one. It also has [non-specific/indefinite] features that I argued in Chapter 3 limit it to future or present reference and habitual or generic events, or states. In the next section, I will present my analysis for the change from British Isles PosA to the North American one.

5.3 *Analysis of change*

I will now present my analysis of the change from British Isles to North American PosA. I begin with a syntactic analysis of present tense clauses where *anymore* is ambiguous between the two adverbs. I suggest that this is where the cue for a lower adverb in AspP was obscured, allowing PosA to be reanalyzed as a TP adverb instead. I then review other examples of adverbs that have been reanalyzed as higher adverb types from van Gelderen (2011) and some of my own. I apply van Gelderen's (2004, 2011) Late Merge in my analysis of the change that PosA underwent. Finally, I discuss Roberts & Roussou (2003)'s analysis of modal verbs in T developing from lexical verbs that move from V to T, highlighting differences and similarities with the change I discuss in this chapter.

5.3.1 *British Isles > North American PosA*

In this subsection I will present my syntactic analysis of the reanalysis of British Isles PosA > North American PosA. As discussed in the previous section and Chapter 3, British Isles PosA's [non-specific/indefinite] features restricted it to present or future tense. It is never found in past tense contexts of any kind. This therefore likely placed PosA in present tense contexts a fair amount. Unfortunately I do not have examples of PosA in North America before the 1930's, so I do not have empirical evidence of PosA appearing frequently in present tense contexts prior to the change to present tense temporal adverb. This is the likeliest scenario based on the similarities and differences between British Isles and North American PosA, however. Frequent appearance of British Isles-type PosA in present tense

contexts would have had the effect that present tense comes to be seen as obligatory and part of PosA's featural makeup. It therefore developed a [present] feature and a dependency with a present tense T, to which it adjoined.

The restriction of British Isles PosA to habitual, state, or generic aspect and non-past contexts is also due to its [non-specific/indefinite] features. This remained in North American PosA. The [boundary] feature also remained. Like *nowadays* it contrasts a present state with the absence of this state during some period before the present. An inceptive, boundary-marking adverb that (in the input that the language acquirer encounters) only appears in present-tense, non-episodic contexts is essentially indistinguishable from a present-time adverb that contrasts non-episodic events at the present moment. As Table 5.1 of the meaning of British Isles and North American PosA shows, there is essentially no semantic difference in present-tense contexts between the two adverbs: both presuppose that $\neg\alpha\phi$ before speech time (since the reference time is at the same time as speech time in present contexts), and the clause in which it is found asserts that $\alpha\phi$ at speech time.

The featural changes from the British Isles-type PosA and North American PosA that I propose are the following.

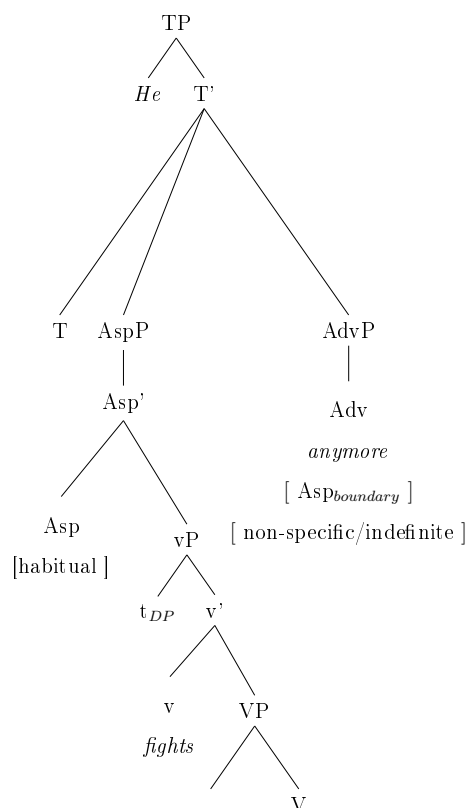
(390) [Asp]> [T_{present}]

The only change that occurred was from an [Asp] adverb to a present [T] adverb. The [boundary] and [non-specific/indefinite] features remained.

To illustrate an ambiguous context where this reanalysis could have taken place, compare the tree in (391), repeated from (388) above, where *anymore* is an AspP adverb, with the similar one in (392), where *anymore* is a TP adverb.

(391) PosA as an aspectual adverb in AspP

He fights **any more** (simplified version of Scots Irish PosA example from Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)



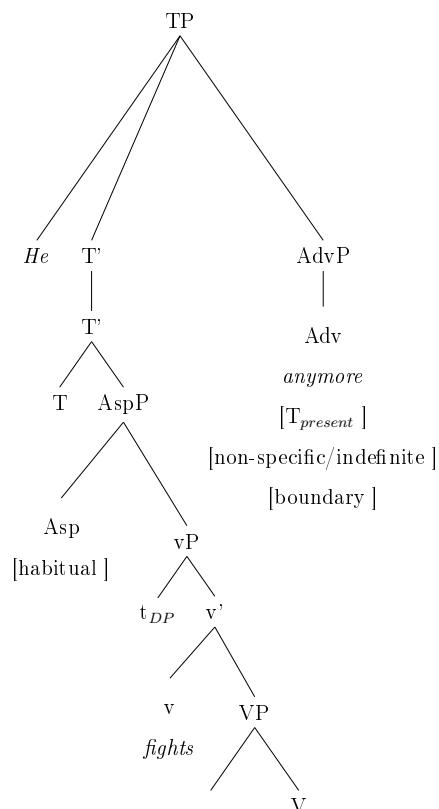
In (391), *anymore* is an adjunct of AspP. It must modify a nonspecific, indefinite event such as one with habitual aspect.

The surface string *he fights anymore* is also compatible with the structure in (392). *Anymore* is a speech-time adverb referring to the speaker's temporal reference point, an adjunct of a present tense TP instead of AspP. The [Asp] feature is instead [$T_{present}$], which, when combined with the [boundary] feature, presupposes that a state did not hold prior to speech time. It matches the present tense T's [present] feature, and so speech time includes reference time, which must include event time. Event, reference, and speech time align: the reference time is included in the larger imperfective event *he fights*, and this overlaps with speech time (now). The [non-specific/indefinite] feature remains; this PosA is only compatible with events that describe the state of the world and not a single episode.

(392) PosA as a deictic temporal adverb in TP

He fights **any more** (simplified version of Scots Irish PosA example from Crystal,

338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)



The input string *he fights anymore* is therefore compatible with both underlying structures, especially when *anymore* is clause-final as in these examples, since both aspectual and temporal adverbs are common clause-finally.

Recall from the previous chapter that according to the Corpus of Historical English (COHA) data, preposing of North American PosA may be becoming more common as time advances. Many previous studies of PosA found that preposed PosA was not commonly produced or accepted (Labov 1972b, Hindle & Sag 1973, Murray 1993, Youmans 1986). My study of PosA in Washington and Idaho showed that preposing was also disfavored compared to other positions, but it was by no means completely rejected by all speakers. This may be evidence that the change to deictic temporal adverb is not complete, and that is a change in progress for North American PosA.

5.3.2 *Reanalysis of adverbs: lower > higher*

Why would PosA be reanalyzed from an AspP adverb to a TP one? Reanalysis of adverbs as higher adverb types has been documented before, and I will discuss some of these cases here. Van Gelderen (2011) provides examples of adverbials from lower in the clause becoming higher ones over time, such as English aspectual VP adverb *once* ‘one time’ reanalyzed as a tense (TP) adverb ‘at one time (as opposed to another)’. She proposes that Late Merge is responsible for this pattern: if an item in a numeration can wait to merge, it will do so. I will adopt van Gelderen’s analysis of Late Merge to explain what induced PosA to merge in a higher projection. When language acquirers encountered ambiguous strings compatible with a structure in which *anymore* could be either an adverb in AspP or one in TP, I propose that *anymore* was reanalyzed as merging in TP. Evidence for merging sooner, in the lower position, would be necessary; if this evidence is obscured, language acquirers will choose the structure with PosA in a higher position.

van Gelderen (2011), also discussed in Chapter 1, is a work on the cyclical nature of grammaticalization, using a large and varied set of cross-linguistic examples. She focuses in turn on grammaticalization in different parts of the clause and types of grammatical relations. In her examination of the tense, mood, and aspect cycles, she demonstrates that VP adverbs modifying the verb in various languages have been reanalyzed as modifying the time or aspect of the whole event. In a manner parallel to lexical verbs that base merge in VP being reanalyzed as functional elements that base merge in a higher projection such as TP (e.g., Roberts and Roussou’s 2003 analysis of English modals, which I discuss below), these adverbs are reanalyzed as part of a higher projection (following Cinque 1999, where adverbs are specifiers of a unique functional projection). She also gives examples of aspectual adverbials becoming temporal ones, and of VP or TP adverbs becoming CP ones. “Many English higher adverbials derive from lower adverbials (and many of these from adjectives); the high ones disappear and are replaced by new ones” (van Gelderen 2011: 252).

Van Gelderen shows how some VP adverbs in Old English (OE) were reanalyzed as CP

adverbs, such as *witodlice* ‘surely, certainly, undoubtedly’:

- (393) **Witodlice** [æfter θam θe ic of deaθe arise] ic cume to eow on galilee
 Surely after that that I of death arise I come to you in Galilee
 ‘Surely, after I arise from the dead, I come to you in Galilee.’ (*West Saxon Gospels*,
 Matthew 26.32 Hatton, Skeat editor, in van Gelderen 2011: 253)

In early OE *witod* is more usually used an adjective meaning ‘appointed, certain’:

- (394) Ne bið θec mælmete ... ne rest **witod**
 not is you-DAT food ... nor resting-place fixed
 ‘You shall have no food, nor a fixed resting-place.’ (Junius, *Daniel* 574-5, Krapp
 editor, in van Gelderen 2011: 254)

Later in OE, *witod*, compounded with the noun *-lice* ‘body’ is used as an adverb:

- (395) ic gelyfe **witodlice** θæt eallswa God unc geuθe θæt wit unc gemetton, θæt ...
 I believe truly that so God us gave that we us met that ...
 ‘I believe verily that just as God granted us that we met that ...’ (Aelfric, *Lives of*
Saints II, 30: 369, Skeat edition p. 212, in van Gelderen 2011: 254))

Later still in OE, *witod* and other similar adverbs are increasingly preposed. They are often ambiguous between a VP and CP adverbial, van Gelderen shows: *witodlice* in example (393) could be a sentence adverb, or it could be a VP adverb modifying *cume to eow* ‘come to you’. This adverb is therefore reanalyzed from a VP manner adverb, modifying the event, to a CP adverb that indicates the speaker’s views. Van Gelderen assumes Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of functional projections, but places Mood[*speechact*] (frankly, honestly), Mood[*evaluative*] (fortunately), Mood[*evidential*] (allegedly), Mod[*epistemic*] (probably) in the CP layer (instead of the TP layer as Cinque assumes). Van Gelderen remarks that this VP adverb > CP adverb grammaticalization (and similar ones that happened around the same time in OE) were fairly rapid, completing a full grammaticalization cycle in OE.

Van Gelderen suggests that English *once* started as an aspectual VP adverb and was reanalyzed later as a temporal adverb. In Old English, it is an aspectual adverb in VP, meaning ‘one time only (not twice or more)’:

- (396) Soðlice *þa se broður þas word gehyrde ænes*,
 Truly then that brother that word heard once
 ‘Truly when that brother heard that word once.’ (Gregory *Dialogues*, IV. xlix. 338,
 Hecht edition, in van Gelderen 2011: 265)

The earliest example in the OED of *once* as a tense adverb possibly meaning ‘at one point in time (as opposed to another)’ is the following:

- (397) *Dises geares com þet leoht to Sepulchrum Domini innan Ierusalem twiges, ænes to Eastron, and oðre siðe to Assumptio sanctae Marie.*

‘This year came the light to Sepulchre (of the) Lord in Jerusalem twice, once at Easter and other time at (the) Assumption (of) St Mary.’ (*Peterborough Chronicle* a1120, in van Gelderen 2011: 265)

It retains both the aspectual and tense meanings and uses *now*. Van Gelderen points out that tense adverbs are few in number compared to other adverb types that she analyzes as being in TP (aspectual⁵, modal, etc.), suggesting that it may be due to the fact that there are other (non-adverbial) ways to express tense, such as auxiliaries, particles, and affixes.

She discusses several aspectual adverbs in the history of English. *Soon*, she shows, was an aspectual adverb in OE meaning ‘without delay’, describing the aspectual contour of the action, which she locates in VP:

- (398) *Ac he him **sona** ondwyrd, & him swiðe stiernlice stierde.*
 ‘But he answered him without delay, and guided him sternly.’ (Alfred, Pastoral Care 196, in van Gelderen 2011: 277)

It now can also be used as a temporal adverb, in the TP layer, with a meaning like ‘in the near future’:

- (399) I’ll **soon** do that. (van Gelderen 2011: 277)

⁵I place aspectual adverbs in AspP, unlike van Gelderen.

It has also reached the CP layer, grammaticalizing into a (part of a) complementizer, *as soon as*, which in the example below is in the CP layer of the clause *it's official*:

- (400) **As soon as** it's official, the President will clearly have a statement. (CSE-WH94, in van Gelderen 2011: 277)

A very similar cyclic change occurred with OE *hraðe* 'quick, soon', which began as a VP aspectual adverbial, was reanalyzed as a TP temporal adverb meaning 'in the future', then again as a modal adverb higher in the TP layer, still existing as *rather* meaning 'prefer to do'. Van Gelderen also argues that the aspectual adverbs *usually* and *often* have changed from VP to TP adverbs. *Usually*, for example, is first found in the fifteenth century as a manner adverb ('in the usual way/manner'), and later gained the VP-external use as a habitual aspectual adverb (in the TP layer for Cinque 1999).

There may be other examples of adverbs being reanalyzed as higher types (these are examples I collected): German *jetz* 'now' (aspectual > temporal); French *plus* ('more' to 'no longer': DP domain to aspectual?); *normalement* (French) ('in a normal way' > modal, like epistemic 'should'); *normally* ('in a normal way' > 'usually, habitually': aspectual).

To summarize the examples of adverbs being reanalyzed as merging in a higher position in the clause from van Gelderen (2011), the following is the general trend for adverbial reanalysis:

- (401) Event-internal (VP layer) > aspectual (AspP or TP layer) > temporal (TP layer) > modal or speaker-oriented (CP layer)

She notes that adverbial reanalysis "remains to be formulated in terms of Feature Economy" (p. 279), and that it is difficult to do so as there is not an accepted theory of adverbs as having features that need to be valued or checked (van Gelderen 2011: 251). She proposes that Late Merge (also known as 'Procrastinate'), the preference for Merging an item (not just adjuncts) in the numeration as late as possible, is the mechanism responsible for reanalysis of adverbs as a structurally higher adverb type. She does not provide an account of how the adverbs acquired features such as temporal or aspectual ones that allowed them to wait to merge later,

however. Her main point as I understand it is that, if an ambiguous string is compatible with a structure in which a particular adverb is either of a lower adverb type (e.g., manner adverb in VP) or a higher one (e.g., a temporal one in TP), and if conclusive linguistic evidence for the lower one is somehow obscured, language acquirers tend to choose the higher version. The featural reanalysis would therefore be simultaneous with the structural reanalysis.

A similar analysis can be applied to the reanalysis of PosA from an aspectual (in AspP in my analysis) to temporal adverb (in TP). If an input string like ‘he fights anymore’ is compatible with a structure like (391) or (392) above, and the evidence for the lower type is obscured (i.e., the acquirer does not encounter PosA in future contexts, only present ones), *anymore* will be reanalyzed as temporal instead of aspectual, and can wait to adjoin to a higher projection where it is licensed.

5.3.3 *Reanalysis of other lexical categories: lower > higher*

As discussed in Chapter 1, Roberts & Roussou (2003) also argue that grammaticalization, or reanalysis of lexical material (e.g., verbs or nouns) to more functional material (e.g., tense or mood markers) tends to involve reanalysis of lexical items as merging higher in the syntactic tree. Their proposal is different from van Gelderen’s (2011), however. They argue that this upward reanalysis involves loss of movement. As a reminder of their proposal, they assume that there is a universal order of functional heads (following Cinque 1999, a.o.) and that these heads are present in every language but are not overtly realized morphophonologically in all of them. They argue that grammaticalization therefore does not involve structural change. Instead, it involves reanalysis of the overt realization of features related to these functional heads. If functional heads are overtly realized in a language, this may be done in one of two ways: by merging an item in the projection of the functional head, or by movement to the projection from a location lower in the tree. This parameter setting, realization of a functional head by Move vs. Merge, is subject to variation and change. Change happens when the cues (often morphophonological) for a parameter are obscured. A child acquiring a language chooses the less marked syntactic structure unless there is evidence in the child’s

input for the marked version. Less marked means less complex, which generally means less movement: movement means that features of more than one head are associated with a single lexical item. Movement also involves both Agree and Merge, while base generation only involves the operation Merge.

To see how this operates in the T domain, I will summarize Roberts & Roussou's (2003) analysis of development of English modal auxiliaries. The authors discuss the well-known case of grammaticalization of English modals such as the future tense modal *will* that developed from the cognate lexical verb meaning 'to want' (a form of which is still in use today, not uncommon in syntactic change). Before the sixteenth century, English modals as we know them did not exist. The cognates of Present Day English modals in older English ('premodals') behave like lexical verbs do at that time. For example, the premodals have finite and non-finite forms, unlike Present Day English modals ("*To can swim is useful", Roberts & Roussou 2003: 36); and they can take complements including clausal complements, as shown in (402) and its corresponding structure according to Roberts and Roussou in (403).

(402) Sone hit **mæi** ilimpen

soon it may happen

(a1225 (?a1200): Lay. *Brut* 2250; Denison 1993:299 cited in Roberts & Roussou 2003: 40)

(403) [_{TP} Sone [_{TP} hit mæi [_{VP} t_{mi} [_{TP} T [_{VP} ilimipen]]]]] (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 40)

(404) [_{TP} Soon [_{TP} it may [_{VP} happen]]] (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 41)

Older English had V-to-T raising, as is well known. This is shown in (403), where the premodal *mæi* Merges in V and moves to T. Roberts & Roussou propose that this structure was reanalyzed as the one in (404) in the early sixteenth century. The second structure is simpler: the modal no longer has both [V] and [T] features, only [T]. Instead of moving to T from V, it is merged directly in T; T is realized via Merge instead of Move. A biclausal structure is reduced to a biclausal one. This is different from van Gelderen's 2010 proposal,

since adverbs do not move in order to check features aside from information structure features; no adverbs move from V to T to check features, for example. As she points out, it is difficult to explain the upward reanalysis of adverbs in terms of feature reduction (i.e., due to loss of movement from one functional head to another) since they do not undergo head movement to check features.

According to Roberts & Roussou, the reanalysis of lexical verbs as modals was set in motion when infinitival morpheme *-(e)n* was lost from English. This also occurred near the beginning of the sixteenth century. This ending was evidence for T in a lower clause. Once *-(e)n* was lost, the evidence for premodals as Vs was lost because the evidence for a biclausal structure was lost. Erosion of morphology that signals movement gives language acquirers no reason to choose the marked (moved) structure, so they choose the unmarked structure where modals merge directly in T. Later in the sixteenth century, main verbs lose V-to-T movement, and only modals and auxiliaries are possible in T.

Not all parts of Roberts and Roussou's (2003) system apply straightforwardly to the reanalysis of aspectual > temporal PosA. Because it is an adverbial, it cannot move except for reasons of information structure (topicalization or focus), so merging higher does not entail that it loses movement or has fewer features. It is also not a change that affects a class of lexical items but a change that affects a single adverb. The reanalysis of PosA is however a change from a lower position to a higher one in the clause, which Roberts & Roussou (and also van Gelderen 2011, a.o.) take to be a hallmark of grammaticalization. They do note that "(a) there is a structural correlation between a lexical item and the interpretation it receives, and (b) this correlation targets different heads in the clausal structure" (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 48), so a reanalysis from one position to another is plausible under the right conditions, even if no loss of movement is involved. While they do not discuss the reanalysis of adverbs, they do note that Cinque's (1999) analysis has the advantage that it "allows a single lexical item to receive different interpretations by simply assuming different positions in the functional structure" (Roberts & Roussou 2003: 47). This is similar to what I argued occurred in the reanalysis of aspectual (British Isles) to temporal (North American) PosA.

5.4 Conclusion

It is of course not unreasonable to expect that an item/language in a new contact situation would undergo additional changes. Montgomery (2001: 150) points out many grammatical features and lexical items that were introduced to North America from Ulster Scots speakers that continued to develop separately in North America so that they are quite different now from the counterpart in Ulster (for example, North American *y'all* from Ulster Scots *ye aw*, now rare in Ulster and different semantically and pragmatically from the North American version).

In this chapter I argued that North American PosA developed from the British Isles one. British Isles PosA is an aspectual adverb that adjoins to an aspectual projection below T. The North American version adjoins to a present tense T only; it is a present-time deictic adverb, interpreted as pointing to the speaker's time. It contrasts a present state with the absence of this state during a period before the present moment. Like the grammaticalization of lexical items of other categories that have been argued to mainly undergo upward reanalysis in the clausal hierarchy, PosA has been reanalyzed as merging in a higher projection.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I traced the historical development of the adverb *anymore* from a polarity sensitive aspectual adverb in Late Middle Scots, shown in (405); to a non-polarity sensitive aspectual adverb which spread to Ulster, Ireland with migrations (406); to a non-polarity sensitive deictic temporal adverb in North America which I argued developed there in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (407).

(405) I assuir \zou I will not **anie moir** inter\tein it

‘I assure you I will not any more entertain it.’ (ScotsCorr, William Douglas[1627], Lothian[Southeast]/London, text ID 1378)

(406) I’ll be getting six or seven days’ holiday **anymore**. (West Donegal, Ulster, Northern Ireland: 1981, Milroy 1981: 4)

(407) **Anymore** I just say ‘no’. (Washington, USA: 2018)

I argued, based on migration patterns (Scotland > Ireland > North America) and the geographical distribution of ‘positive’ *anymore* (PosA) (precisely where these immigrants settled), that PosA was most likely innovated in Late Middle Scots (between 1550 and 1700) and taken to Ulster, then North America, where it underwent further changes. The North American change happened, I propose, in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, after migrations from Ulster, Ireland that began in the early eighteenth century.

I proposed that polarity sensitive *anymore* in Middle Scots is a ‘continuative’ (‘still’) aspectual adverb adjoined to AspP. It requires imperfective contexts. It has uninterpretable polarity features [uVer: nonver] that Agree with a nonveridical licenser. I proposed that post-change, PosA is an aspectual adverb with [Asp_{boundary}] features that also adjoins to

AspP. It requires non-in-progress, non-past events, which in my analysis is due to its [non-specific/indefinite] features. The reanalysis likely happened in a future irrealis context that also contained negation. This was a transitional context where a language acquirer could interpret *anymore* as polarity sensitive or as requiring non-episodic contexts. I argued that there was one additional condition in the reanalysis: it happened in contexts where *anymore* was fronted and took scope over negation, in order to produce the ‘inceptive’ (‘now and not previously; from now on’) meaning of PosA. I proposed, contrary to previous accounts of the emergence of PosA in the British Isles, that any influence from language contact was in addition to language-internal factors, which were the main stimulus of the change.

The North American PosA is usually translated as ‘nowadays’ and is generally restricted to present tense, imperfective (but not in-progress progressive) contexts, as can be seen in (407). The Scottish and Irish PosA is usually translated as ‘nowadays; from now on’ and has a freer distribution. It occurs in future-oriented contexts, as seen in (406). It is also common in other modal contexts and in present tense, imperfective contexts (408), but never past tense or in-progress present ones.

(408) He fights a lot **any more** (Crystal, 338, cited in Dolan 2006: 9)

I proposed that North American PosA is a present tense deictic temporal adverb adjoined to TP. It has [$T_{present}$], [boundary], and [non-specific/indefinite] features: it contrasts a state of affairs at speech time with the absence of this state of affairs during a period prior to speech time. I demonstrated that the surface realization of a present tense sentence with British Isles aspectual PosA in AspP is also compatible with a temporal adverb in TP with slightly different features and a slightly different interpretation. Since British Isles-type PosA did not appear in past contexts, language acquirers likely heard PosA often in present contexts and came to see present tense as part of the adverb’s featural makeup.

I return now to the five problems to be addressed in a theory of language change according to Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968) (WLH) that I summarized in the introduction to this thesis. To remind the reader, the *constraints problem* refers to the possible and impos-

sible changes in a language, or Language in the general sense. Universal Grammar addresses part of this problem: no changes should arise that are impossible linguistic structures. On this part of the constraints problem I do not have anything meaningful to add. However, this thesis has contributed to the possible pathways of change. It has demonstrated that what appears to be the opposite direction of expected change, loss of polarity sensitivity instead of being restricted to more negative contexts or taking on negative features, is in fact possible. A different feature became prominent in contexts where *anymore* was found, and so *anymore* took on this feature instead. I also provided support for the hypothesis that reanalysis of lexical items tends to involve them taking on the features of higher projections in the syntactic tree, since British Isles PosA, an aspectual adverb with [Asp] features, became North American PosA, a temporal adverb with [T] features. Unlike Roberts & Roussou (2003), however, who argue that this can be explained by the avoidance of feature syncretism, since they take to feature syncretism to be less economical, I show that upward reanalysis is possible without loss of feature syncretism since at no time did PosA spell out the features of more than one functional head.

The *transition problem* is “the route by which a linguistic change is proceeding to completion”. This includes both intermediate stages in the form or structure as it undergoes change, and the spread of the change through a speech community. In considering the syntactic changes that a lexical item like *anymore* has undergone, where the form remains constant but its meaning and possible contexts changed, a way to phrase this problem is through the following question: what intermediate stages in meaning and syntactic and semantic constraints did the adverb undergo (if any) as it became a polarity insensitive adverb with a [boundary] feature, and as it later underwent further change to become North American PosA, a temporal adverb? The synchronic studies of PosA in North America described in Chapter 4 provided mixed results: some argued that there was a continuum of ‘negativity’ of the possible contexts between API *anymore* and PosA (including Hindle & Sag 1973) as (they proposed) it spread from the Midwest United States outward, while others Labov (1972b) argued that the two adverbs’ meanings and licensing contexts were different enough

that they belonged to different grammars, and that no transition between the two could be observed as it spread throughout a speech community.

I was able to tentatively address the transition problem of the different stages the adverb has undergone for PosA in North America. My data from the COHA showed that older authors used PosA clause-finally, while younger authors used PosA in other positions in the clause, especially clause-initially. Temporal adverbs can front freely, while this does not appear to be possible for many aspectual adverbs in Present Day Englishes. It thus appears that North American PosA is becoming a temporal adverb, and may already be one for many speakers, but the change is either not complete or has not spread to all members of the communities in which it is used.

Examples like the one below could be taken as evidence for a transition from API *anymore* to PosA in the British Isles as this new type of *anymore* takes hold in communities in Scotland and Ireland.

- (409) Heaving No More At presen [present?] to Add I remain thy Affectionet [affectionate?] friend And Brother in the truth and **Any More thou May Be informed by my Well asteemed [esteemed?] Friend Zechoria [Zacharia?] Dix**
 (IED, William Hinshaw [1784], Killyneill [Ulster]/North Carolina, document ID 9501017)

In Chapter 2, I provided two possible analyses of this string of text. On one analysis (from Michael Montgomery, p.c.), it is a fronted free choice item (FCI) DP that is one of the objects of *inform*; without passivization and fronting the clause containing *anymore* would be “My Well asteemed Friend Zechoria Dix may inform you Any More [news, etc.]” On the other analysis, *anymore* could be parsed as a fronted polarity-insensitive aspectual/temporal adverb, with the reading ‘from now on, you’ll be informed...’. I argued in Chapter 3 that PosA likely developed from the polarity sensitive aspectual adverb *anymore* in contexts where there was ambiguity between a polarity sensitive aspectual adverb and a polarity insensitive aspectual adverb. The example above however is ambiguous between a free choice item DP on the one hand and a polarity sensitive aspectual adverb on the other hand. It may therefore

not be immediately obvious that the ambiguity in (409) is relevant to the change from API *anymore* and PosA since it is not a clear example of either an aspectual API *anymore* or PosA.

However, careful analysis of heterogeneity (in this instance, ambiguity of structures) to find order (a limited number of possible structures) can be instructive in this case. Even if (409) is not a clear example of PosA, it shows that the possible contexts in which *anymore* is found are expanding in eighteenth century Irish English. If *anymore* is moving into the variable context of polarity insensitive ‘inceptive’ adverbs, it is not surprising to find examples like the one above. There is a finite number of possible structures that can be assigned to this example, and understanding the structures in which *anymore* is found as the change spreads through a speech community has helped to shed light on the transition problem.

Concerning the spread of the two types of PosA through the various speech communities in question, this deserves further research. I was not able to determine the different rates of use, either for authors of all ages or in different age ranges, at any point in time, for example, because the numbers of tokens for PosA were simply too low. For British Isles PosA, I do not have the ages of all the speakers as the tokens come from secondary sources, many of which did not include birth years of speakers.

This thesis has perhaps had the greatest success in addressing the *embedding problem*. Much early research on morphosyntactic change and variation, including some work on PosA, focused on single lexical items and their semantic (non-)equivalence to other items. They did not always take the linguistic system within which a change occurs into account when seeking to explain linguistic change. This is the case for example in early studies that propose that PosA came from a Gaelic word such as *feasta*: they show that PosA and *feasta* are synonymous in some contexts, but they did not consider the different requirements and restrictions of the two (for example, PosA requires non-episodic events that describe the way the world is at reference time, while *feasta* has a freer distribution). Other studies or remarks that British Isles and North American PosA cannot be from the same source similarly ignored the embedding of *anymore* in the greater linguistic system. For example, Chambers (2009)

and Chambers & Trudgill (1991) argue, based on the examples of Scottish PosA below, that the Scottish and North American versions of PosA are too different because 1) the Scottish examples mean *soon* or *from now on*, while the North American one means *nowadays*; 2) the Scottish version in (411) does not appear to indicate a contrast with the past, unlike the North American version, which always does so; and (3) Scottish PosA does not imply disapproval, while this has been argued to be a feature of North American PosA.

(410) There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring **any more**. (*OED*, *Any more* adv. phr.)

(411) It's waarm for the time o' year, an' it'll be waarmer **any more**. (1928, Arg.1 for Campbeltown and s.Arg.)

Regarding reason 1), I showed that Irish PosA in fact has both meanings, 'from now on' and 'nowadays', which would have bridged the gap. I do not have an in-depth answer to reason 2) at this time, but it is possible that there is some variation in meaning of PosA among speakers, and in any case this does not preclude a connection between British Isles and North American PosA. The third reason is easiest to refute. North American PosA simply does not always imply disapproval: in examples I have studied, only some imply disapproval.

The main evidence to refute this claim, however, is that Chambers (2009) and Chambers & Trudgill (1991) have ignored the embedding of PosA in its linguistic system as a whole. In my investigation of the changes that *anymore* has undergone, I have made an effort to look at the system in which it is embedded and to understand what elements in that system may have helped contribute to its change. I have shown that the contexts in which *anymore* appeared throughout its history from Late Middle Scots to Present Day Scots/Scottish English, Irish English, and North American English played a central role in the changes that it underwent. API *anymore* in the Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (ScotsCorr) in sixteenth to eighteenth century Scots occurred mainly in negated, future-oriented contexts, and occasionally in a position where it could be interpreted outside the scope of negation. These constraints allowed the reanalysis of *anymore* as a non-polarity-sensitive aspectual adverb

with a [boundary] feature. British Isles PosA is possible in non-episodic, non-past contexts, and indicates the end of a state of affairs and the beginning of another. These constraints overlap in many ways with a present tense temporal adverb, allowing PosA to be further reanalyzed as such.

Another of WLH's problems is the *evaluation problem*, or the "subjective correlates" (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968: 186) of variables. While I did not directly contribute to providing a solution to this problem regarding any of the *anymores* that I investigated, the evaluation problem influenced my choice of text types in my corpus studies. I made use of the notion of *style* and different levels of conscious awareness found to correlate with more or less use of certain types of variant. I showed in Chapter 2 that English began to be seen as a prestige language in Scotland, especially in public written texts, around the time that British Isles PosA was likely innovated in Scots (between the sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries). PosA and the conditions leading to PosA were likely unique to Scots and/or Scottish English, and these would be unlikely to surface in formal written texts where English influence was common; it was therefore necessary to locate corpora that contain written texts that are of a less formal register, more spontaneous, and therefore more likely to reflect vernacular Scottish language. For these reasons, I searched corpora of personal letters such as the Helsinki Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (ScotsCorr, 1540-1750) to study *anymore* and related expressions.

North American PosA on the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 4, has been found in previous studies not to be stigmatized or salient within or between communities and not subject to style shifting (Hindle 1974, Wolfram & Christian 1976, Cassidy 1985, Eitner 1991, Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). It was more likely than Scottish PosA (and the conditions that led to the reanalysis of API *anymore* as PosA) therefore to appear in written, published documents where more attention is paid to language use. In Chapter 4 I described a diachronic corpus study of PosA in North America that I carried out using the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA), a large corpus of published written documents including fiction, non-fiction books, magazines, and newspapers.

The *actuation problem*, why a particular change takes place at a particular time, in a particular speech community (but not at other times or in other speech communities), is the most basic and important question to be answered, yet it is quite possibly the most difficult. In providing answers to the other questions described above, I have attempted to chip away at the actuation problem. API *anymore*'s frequent appearance in negative and future contexts and its status as an aspectual adverb (as opposed to a DP) allowed reanalysis as polarity insensitive, while other types of *any* did not undergo this change for various reasons described in Chapter 3. Late Middle Scots also apparently allowed fronting of API aspectual adverbs, allowing *anymore* to be interpreted outside the scope of negation, which sets this speech community apart from others. British PosA's similarities in meaning and syntactic constraints to the present tense temporal adverb made a change in adverb type and position likely. As WLH point out, however, this is only part of the answer to the actuation problem. Even if a reanalysis takes place in the grammar of one or more language acquirers, it will not take hold in a community unless it is adopted by other members of the speech community, and will die out. Understanding why a change takes place also involves understanding the spread of the change, but this part of the history of PosA must wait for future research.

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