

Origins of “positive” *any more* in Scotland: not so positive

Introduction. “Positive” *any more* (PosA) in Scotland and Ireland (“I will do it any more”, meaning “... from now on”) is a rare instance of apparent loss of polarity sensitivity. The negative grammaticalization cycle predicts the opposite, that items become restricted to more “negative” environments (Jespersen, 1917). I offer an account of the original change from negative polarity item (NPI) *any more* to PosA, which most likely happened in Scotland between the 16th and 18th centuries. I argue that this was not (initially) a loss of polarity sensitivity, but a change in nonveridical (roughly, non-positive) licensors. Data from the Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (CSC; Meurman-Solin, 2017) show that aspectual *any more* and similar expressions appear most often in future-oriented contexts, a type of nonveridical context (Giannakidou, 1998, 2001). Ambiguity in possible attachment sites of the aspectual adverb further contributed to reanalysis.

Background. In the British Isles, PosA has been attested in Ireland (1) and Scotland (2):

- (1) A servant being instructed how to act, will answer ‘I will do it **any more**’. (Wright, 1898)
- (2) It's waarm for the time o' year, an' it'll be waarmer **any more**. (“Any more adv. phr.,” 2004)

Modern Scottish/Irish PosA is most often in future-oriented contexts (generic or habitual readings are possible too); earliest attestations of PosA are with future only. NPI *ony mair* (“any more”) in 16th-18th century Scots, like English NPI *any more*, is also found with past tense.

NPI *ony mair*, like present-day English NPI *any more* and many NPIs cross-linguistically but unlike PosA, must be in the c-command domain and semantic scope of a “nonveridical” trigger (Ladusaw, 1980). A propositional operator is nonveridical if it does not entail the truth of a proposition (Giannakidou, 1998). NPIs have syntactic polarity features that must Agree with a nonveridical element such as an Σ head in the CP layer (Laka, 1990; Merchant, 2013; Progovac, 1993; a.o.). In addition to its NPI use, the Scots determiner and pronoun *ony*, like English *any*, has a “free choice item” (FCI) use (“I’ll take any cookie”). FCI *any* is licit in contexts such as future, modal, and habitual (Giannakidou, 2001). DP *ony mair* in 16th-18th century Scots can have an FCI reading, but aspectual NPI *ony mair/any more*, cannot (in any dialect of Scots or English); it must be in the scope of a more negative licensor than future, etc.

PosA has been argued to be due to contact with Irish (Crozier, 1984; Milroy, 1981), or Scottish Gaelic (Willis, 2017), whose aspectual/temporal adverbs like *feasta* “from now on... (not) any more” (Crozier, 1984, p. 317) are not polarity sensitive. This has not been investigated in depth however, and no aspectual/temporal adverb in (current or historical) Irish or Scottish Gaelic is completely equivalent to PosA. There is no satisfying answer to how PosA emerged.

Data. Evidence from the distribution of PosA and from migration patterns suggest that PosA developed between the 16th and 18th centuries in Scotland (Willis, 2017). Examples of “additionality” items *any more*, *any further*, *any longer* in NPI and FCI contexts were therefore extracted from the Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (CSC), a corpus of Scottish correspondence from 1540-1750 (Meurman-Solin, 2017). These items appear overwhelmingly in contexts with a prospective reading; aspectual adverbs especially favor future-oriented contexts (see table; low N likely due to general low frequency of “additionality” compounds and size of corpus, approx. 417,000 words).

Considering tokens of *any* in the CSC, there is a significant relationship between complement type of *any* (“additionality” item, other NP, none, etc.) and future orientation of context, $\chi^2(4, N = 1,178) = 14.96, p < .005$. The greatest difference between expected/observed frequencies is in

any with “additionality” complements (more likely to occur in prospective contexts).

ANY MORE, ANY FURTHER, ANY LONGER TOKENS BY TYPE AND BY “FUTURENESS” OF CONTEXT

	Aspectual adverb	All others	TOTAL
Future reading	17	21	38
Non-future reading	3	7	10
TOTAL	20	28	48

Discussion. I propose that frequent appearance of *any*- aspectual adverbials in future contexts plus ambiguity of aspectual adverbials’ attachment site allowed aspectual *any more* to be reanalyzed as licensable by a new type of nonveridicality, future orientation, instead of (or in addition to) more “negative” nonveridicality triggered by, e.g., negation and hypotheticals (recall that in non-PosA dialects, aspectual *ony mair/any more* is not licensed in non-negative future contexts). The future is nonveridical since it does not entail the truth of its proposition (Giannakidou, 1998, 2001). Aspectual *any more* would have had to fuse into a single morpheme before reanalysis so that it was no longer decomposable into the NPI determiner and complement. PosA in present tense, habitual contexts would have developed later.

The aspectual adverbhood of *any more* also contributed to its reanalysis: unlike arguments which externally merge in limited, predictable positions, or event-internal adverbs that cannot attach above vP (Ernst, 2002), aspectual adverbs can attach in various positions in the TP layer, including above NPI triggers like negation (“She (no longer/still) will not (any longer/still) drink coffee”). They are often pronounced at the end of clauses and sentences, obscuring their attachment site; *any more* could attach above, e.g., negation, but be pronounced last (if right-adjoined/if other elements move over it). This ambiguity of lexicalized *any more* rendered opaque the c-command by a negative element which was evidence for language acquirers of Agree of *any more* with a more “negative” nonveridical Σ . After reanalysis, Agree with nonveridical Σ continues, but the nonveridicality triggers for this item include future orientation.

The present analysis 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 *any more*.

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