

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

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A “positive” *any more*

- > **Negative polarity item (NPI) *any more/ony mair* (NPIA):**
 - **Sensitive to (requires negative) polarity of environment/context**

(1) Suze is **not** sleeping **any more**. (Standard English)

- > **Positive *any more* (PosA)**
 - **Not sensitive to polarity of environment/context**

(2) **Any more** they just wipe babies off [when they're born]. (F.30.Arizona.2017)
'these days/nowadays'

(3) It's waarm for the time o' year, an' it'll be waarm **any more**. (Argyll.1928)₁
'from now on'

¹DOSL, 2004

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- > **How and why did *anymore* lose polarity sensitivity?**
 - > **Proposal: PosA reflects an earlier system of polarity sensitivity in Scots where polarity-sensitive adverb *any/ony* (hereon: *any*) was licensed in a wider range of contexts which included future-oriented contexts**

Roadmap

- > **Background:**
 - **Polarity sensitivity, *any (more)* (NPI and 'positive')**
 - **Changes in polarity sensitivity**
- > **Corpus study:**
 - **Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (Meurman-Solin, 2017)**
 - **Results: different system of polarity sensitivity**
- > **Discussion, proposal:**
 - **Positive *any more* the result of the loss/change of this system**

Background



Adverb *any* and aspectual adverb *any more* (in English, Scots) are ('weak') NPIs

- > **Distribution restricted, not only to negative contexts** (Klima, 1964; Ladusaw, 1980; van der Wouden, 1994; Giannakidou, 1998; a.o.)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| (4) Aberdeen isn't rainy any more . | (negation) |
| (5) I wisna acquaint wi aabody ony mair . ¹
'I wasn't acquainted with anybody any more.' | (negation) |
| (6) Nobody 's gonna read Older Scots writing any more . ² | (negative word) |
| (7) Do you ski any more ? | (y/n question) |
| (8) I wonder if they sell those any more . | (hypothetical) |
| (9) *Everyone listens to Taylor Swift any more . | ("positive") |

¹ Craiters: 05 - 'Dirty Beast'. *The Scottish Corpus of Texts & Speech*.

² Lecture on Scottish Literature 2. *The Scottish Corpus of Texts & Speech*.

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- > **NPIs must be c-commanded by a ‘trigger’ if the trigger is in the same clause (Ladusaw, 1980)**

(10) ***Any more**, Aberdeen isn't rainy. (no c-command by clause-mate trigger)

- > **Polarity item licenser in CP**

- **C with negative features licenses NPIs in subordinate clauses**
 - > Basque complementizer *enik* licenses NPIs; declarative *ela* does not (Laka, 1990)
- **Negation part of functional projection Σ**
 - > **Also emphatic affirmation; so when denying a negation (“I did so clean my room!”), roughly analogous emphatic affirmation particle *ba* in Basque (Laka, 1990)**
- **Polarity operator in CP**

- (11) a. John forgot [_{CP} Op [_{C'} that [_{TP} **anyone** insulted Mary]]]
b. *John forgot **anything**.
c. John didn't remember **anything**. (Progovac, 1988, 1993)

- **NPIs in certain constructions, including yes/no questions, conditionals, adversative predicates, comparatives, and too-constructions licensed indirectly by a polarity operator in spec CP**
- **Clause-mate negation licenses NPI directly**

Syntactic relationship between NPI, licenser

- > **Syntactic relationship between negative word or NPI and licenser (Progovac, 1988, 1993; Postal, 2000; Szabolcsi, 2004; Den Dikken, 2002; Zeijlstra, 2004, 2008; Merchant, 2013; Haegeman and Lohndal, 2010; Roberts and Roussou, 2003; a.o.)**
- > **Merchant, Zeijlstra, Haegeman and Lohndal: reverse Agree, where the Goal (negation or negative operator) with interpretable features c-commands the Probe (n-word or NPI) with uninterpretable features**

NPIs syntactically identical to their positive polarity item (PPI) indefinite counterparts (Merchant, 2013)

(12) a. John didn't see **anyone**, but Mary did [~~see someone~~].
b. ... *but Mary did see **anyone**.
c. $\exists x$.see(Mary, x)

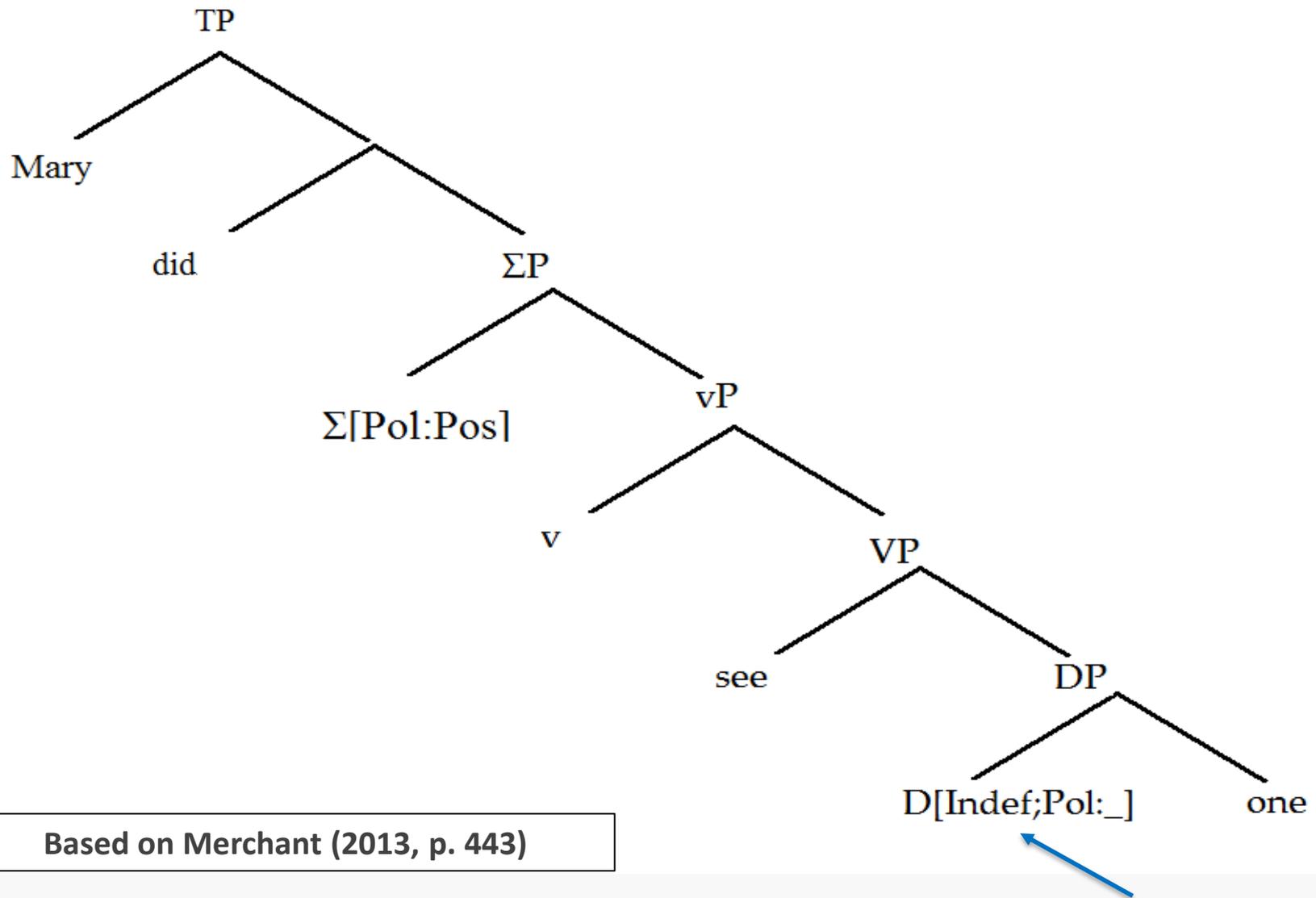
(13) a. John saw **someone**, but Mary didn't [~~see anyone~~].
b. \neq ... but Mary didn't see **someone**.
c. $\exists x$.see(Mary, x)

(p. 449)

> **"polarity items in some instances should be analyzed as particular structure-dependent realizations of their non-polarity sensitive brethren."**
(p. 441)

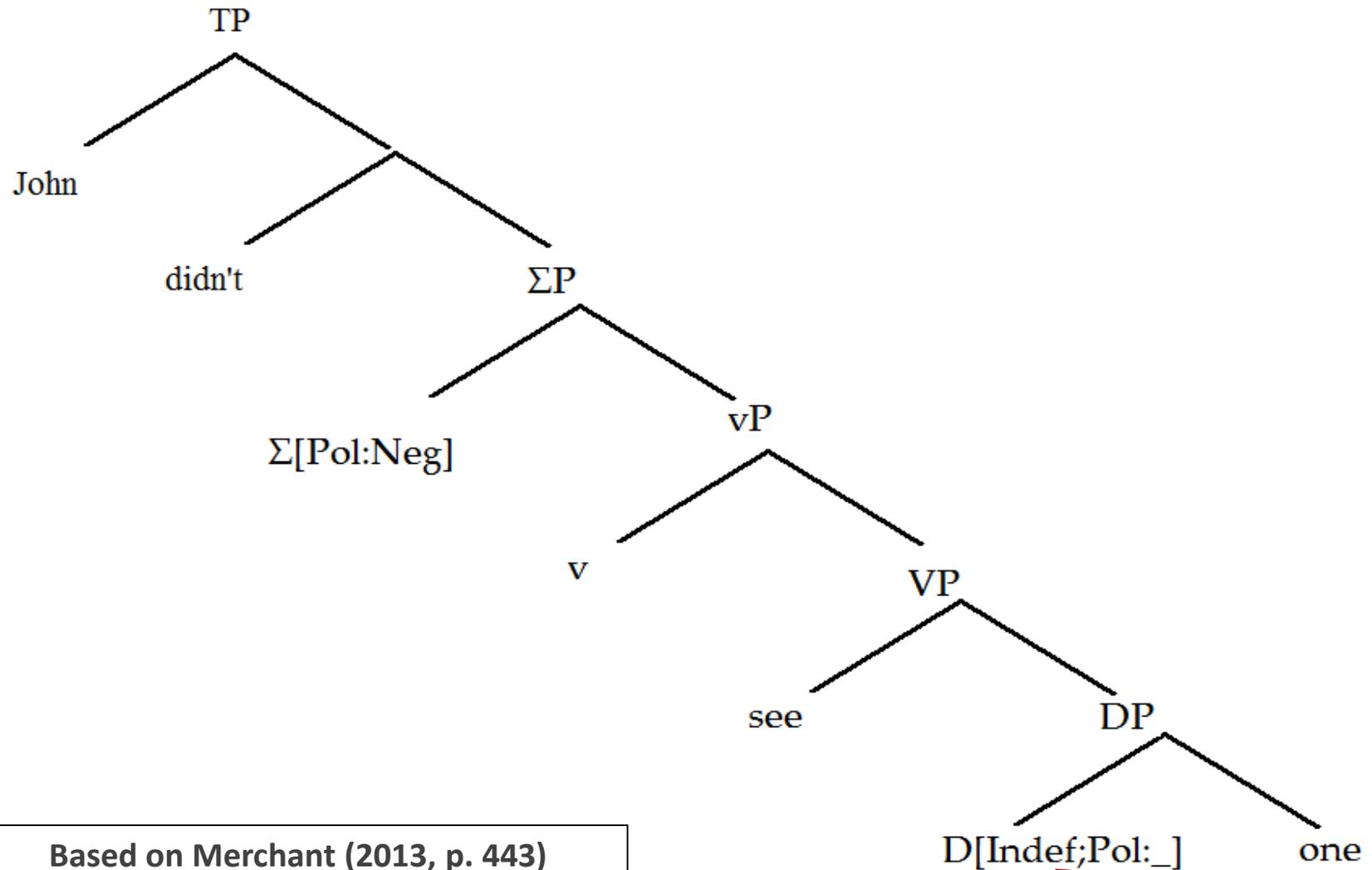
> **any, some**: before feature valuation are D heads with [uPol]
– [uPol] valued as negative by $\Sigma P \rightarrow$ **any**; positive [uPol] \rightarrow **some**
– Result combines with complement of DP

(14) Morphological insertion rules:
a. [Cat[D, Indef]; Infl[Pol:Neg]] \rightarrow **any**
b. [Cat[D, Indef]; Infl[Pol:Pos]] \rightarrow **some**



Based on Merchant (2013, p. 443)

- (15) a. John didn't see **anyone**, but Mary did [~~see someone~~].
 b. $\exists x.\text{see}(\text{Mary}, x)$



Based on Merchant (2013, p. 443)

- (16) a. Mary saw **someone**, but John didn't [~~see~~ **anyone**].
 b. $\exists x$.see(Mary, x)

In some dialects of Scots/Scottish English, Irish English: ‘positive’ *any more*

North of Ireland:

(17) A servant being instructed how to act, will answer ‘I will do it **any more**’. (north Ireland. 1898)₁

(18) The Orange marches have become increasingly working class. If they have money, middle-class people go on holiday for the Twelfth **anymore**. (Ulster.1995)₂

SW Scotland:

(19) It's waarm for the time o' year, an' it'll be waarmer **any more**. (Argyll.1928)₃

(20) There's no herring in it the day, but there'll be herring **any more**. (Argyll,1928)₃

- > **Sc/Ir PosA most often in future contexts with modal auxiliary *will* or ‘*ll*’**
 - **also possible in present tense, always stative**
 - **“from now on” or “nowadays”**

¹Wright, 1898

²Montgomery, 2006a

³DOSL, 2004

In some dialects of North American English: 'positive' *any more*

North America:

(21) Movies are so violent **anymore**. (M.58.Nevada.2015)

- > **North American PosA has received a fair amount of attention** (Malone, 1931; Labov, 1972; Hindle & Sag, 1973; Murray, 1993; many others), **mostly in sociolinguistic and dialectological literature**
- > **Less attention to Irish and Scottish PosA; mainly dictionaries** (*Dictionary of the Scots Language, English Dialect Dictionary, a.o.*)

North American PosA likely from Scotland, via Ulster (Ireland)

> **Earliest attestation, late 19th century:**

(22) A servant being instructed how to act, will answer 'I will do it any more'. (north Ireland.1898)¹

> **But likely developed in 16th-18th century southwest Scotland**

> **Distribution of PosA and migration history of communities where PosA is attested**

– **Distribution of PosA**

- > SW Scotland
- > Ulster (North of Ireland)
- > North America (USA: Midland states, Appalachia, scattered through West; Canada: Ontario)

– **Migration history of communities where PosA is attested**

- > **SW Scotland → Ulster, Ireland:**
 - Early 17th century settlers from the West Midlands of England, Lowlands of Scotland, especially Ayrshire and Renfrewshire and Galloway and Kirkcudbrightshire (Montgomery, 2006b and Corrigan, 2010) colonized Ulster, Ireland
- > **Ulster → North America**
 - Scots-Irish settlers arrived in North America: 17th-20th centuries
 - PosA most common where greatest number of Scots Irish settled (Eitner, [1949] 1991; Montgomery, 2006a; Murray, 1993; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998; a.o.)

¹Wright, 1898

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- > **Most conservative hypothesis: Scottish immigrants brought PosA with them to Ireland in early seventeenth century (Willis, 2017)**
 - > **PosA developed in Scotland before or during migrations: 16th-18th century**

Items usually “less” to “more” negative; PosA seems to go in opposite direction

> Jespersen Cycle (1917):

- “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)

> Due to reasons of Economy (Roberts & Roussou, 2003; van Gelderen, 2011)

Polarity-sensitive items develop from non-polarity-sensitive items

- “at all”, “a bit”, “lift a finger” (Horn, 1989)
- French negative words *plus* “any/no more”, *nul* “no”
 - > Passed through NPI stage (Roberts and Roussou, 2003)
- > **Loss of polarity sensitivity less common**
 - But Jäger, 2010: positive *any more* and other “backward” changes
 - *Anyway, anyhow?* (Hindle & Sag, 1973, a.o.)
- > **If PosA lost polarity sensitivity, this is uncommon. How/why did it happen?**

NPI *any*: grammaticalizes, gains polarity sensitivity by 11th century

- > **Adj/det *any* used in typical NPI contexts to reinforce negation from at least the year 1000** (Eitner, 1991 [1949]; Einkenkel, 1903, cited in Haspelmath, 1997; OED “any, adj., pron., and n., and adv.,” 2017)
 - **Before Old English split off into what would become Scots vs. English**
- > **from Germanic base of the adjective *one* (*aenig* in Old English) and the Germanic base of the -y suffix (-*ig* in Old English)**
 - **Originally “(even) one, even the least or fewest”** (Hamilton 1858: 615, cited in Horn, 2005, fn1)
 - **End of scale**
- > **Adverb *any* modifying comparative adjectives and adverbs “in any degree, to any extent, at all”** (“any more, adj., pron., and n., and adv.,” 2017) appears by 14th century

Free choice item *any*: determiner or DP

- > **Free choice use develops later** (Einenkel, 1903, cited in Haspelmath, 1997; OED “any, adj., pron., and n., and adv.,” 2017)
- > **FCI *any* (det or DP) licensed in contexts such as:**

- **Future**

(23) I’ll take any book (it doesn’t matter which).

- **Modal**

(24) You can take any book.

- **Habitual**

(25) I read any book I find.

Adverb *any* is not possible in FCI contexts/with FCI reading

- > **Adv *any* not licensed in FCI contexts in present-day Standard English or Scots; is an NPI exclusively**

(25) *Take any more pie. (can't get reading "take any amount more, it doesn't matter what amount more")

(26) *I can play any more piano.

(27) *I'll smoke any more.

- > **Aspectual *any more*, and other "continuation" adverbials (*any further/longer*), likewise not grammatical in FCI contexts:**

(28) *Cats chase birds any more/longer/further. (generic)

(29) *I'll hug my cat any more/longer/further. (future)

Corpus study



Corpus study

- > **Late Middle Scots, 1550-1700, and early Modern Scots, 1700-1750**
 - Lowland Scots speakers emigrated to Ulster during the 1600s; change must have happened before or around this time
- > **Main source: Corpus of Scottish Correspondence (ScotsCorr) (Meurman-Solin, 2017)**
 - 1540-1750
 - Approx. 417,000 words of Scottish correspondence
 - both male and female (21%) authors; various social classes, education levels represented
 - compiled specifically with historical dialectology and historical sociolinguistics in mind
 - Extracted tokens of lemma *any* (and orthographic variants) of all parts of speech from ScotsCorr (N = 1,218)
- > **Also consulted**
 - **The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots (HCOS) (Meurman-Solin, 1995)**
 - > 1450 to 1700
 - **The Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing (CMSW)**
 - > 1700 - 1945
 - **The Irish Emigrant Database (IED)**
 - > letters
 - > mid-1700s to mid-1900s
 - **A Corpus of Irish English (CIE) (Hickey, 2003)**
 - > 13th-20th centuries

Adverb *a/ony* (AdvA) licensed in contexts not licensed today: future-oriented contexts

- > Full disclosure: no tokens of PosA from primary sources**
 - No unambiguous example of aspectual adverbial *any more* found outside of canonical NPI contexts
- > However, patterns in corpus data point to a different system of polarity sensitivity of adverb *any* in 16th-18th century Scots than in Present Day English, Scots, Scottish English, Irish English**
 - Licensed in contexts not licensed today: future-oriented contexts

AdvA overwhelmingly in future-oriented contexts

> Even when NPI:

(30) geif ze will zit preif oure s*er%vice \ **ony** farder we sall agme*n%t ye re*n%tis
'If you (will) test our service any further we shall increase the rents'

(J. Henrison.1555.TID 250) **(future or verb of desire will)**

(31) I alreadie \ have past my word or given my wreat not to medle **any mor** in that
buisines (J. W. of Bogie.1665.TID 522) **(promissory expressions)**

'I have already given my word or promised in writing not to meddle any more
in that business'

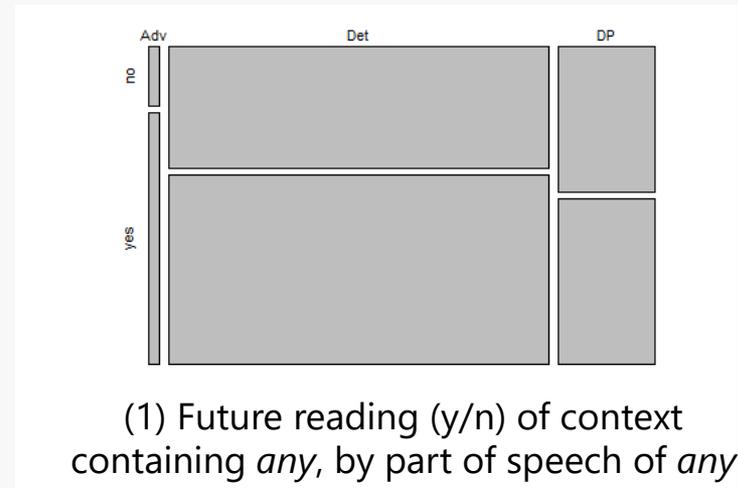
(32) I cou'd almost wish \ never to see this Cursed \ nation **any more** (A.
Robertson.1708.TID 1828) **(verb of desire wish)**

(Examples from ScotsCorr unless otherwise noted)

AdvA in ScotsCorr overwhelmingly in future-oriented contexts

- > **Statistically significant relationship between part of speech of *any* (DP, determiner, or adverb) and “futureness” of context**
 - $\chi^2(2, N = 1,170) = 9.1498, p = .01$

- > **Adverb *any* (although small number in 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**
 - **Largest difference between expected and observed frequencies is for adverb *any* (see standardized residuals in (2))**



	no	yes
Adv	-2.227262	2.227262
Det	-1.333479	1.333479
DP	2.208367	-2.208367

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

Adverb *any* in ScotsCorr licensed in prospective contexts without other potential NPI triggers

- > **No other NPI trigger (negation, polar question, etc.); prospective context (directive verb, modal *may*)**

(33) I houpe your Lo / will giue such \ direction that they may rather stay \ **any longer** for ships nor after they \ {f2} ar shiped (A. Campbell.1627.TID 959)

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

- > **letter writer from Argyllshire, southwest Scotland**

- **where loss of polarity sensitivity of *any more* should have taken place, according to evidence from distribution of PosA (Southwest Scotland, north of Ireland, and parts of North America) and migration patterns (Scotland→north of Ireland→North America)**

- > **Adv *any* licensed without c-commanding negation:**

(34) assure \ him y=t= **any longir** I will not delaye? him (J. Sutherland.1682.TID 1573)

'assure him that any longer I will not delay him'

Discussion



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- > **What does this tell us about the development of PosA in Scots?**
 - > **PosA may have resulted from a previous polarity system, change thereof**

Not all NPIs are created equal: variation in licensing contexts cross- and intra-linguistically

- > Dutch *ook mar* 'so much as' not licit with quantifiers *few* and *seldom*; require more 'negative' items like negative indefinites (Zwarts, 1981)
- > Greek "emphatics" (require negation, negative-like items) vs. "nonemphatics" (also licit with deontic and epistemic (but not alethic) modals, interrogatives, imperatives, antecedents of conditionals, habituais, and future) (Giannakidou, 1998)
- > Serbian/Croatian NPIs only licensed by negation (Giannakidou, 1998, p. 161); Polish NPIs are licensed by negation and *bez* "without" (Giannakidou, 1998, p. 160, citing Przepiórkowski and Kupsc (1997))
- > English *yet* (a "strong" PI) is allowed in a narrower set of contexts than *any* (a "weak" NPI) (Van der Wouden, 1997, p.141):
 - (36) *any* is a "weak" NPI
 - a. Chomsky didn't talk about **any** of these facts.
 - b. No one has talked about **any** of these facts.
 - c. At most three linguists have talked about **any** of these facts.
 - (37) *yet* is a "strong" NPI
 - a. Chomsky didn't talk about these facts **yet**.
 - b. No one has talked about these facts **yet**.
 - c. *At most three linguists have talked about these facts **yet**.

Prospective/future licenses Pls in other languages

> NPIs appear in future-oriented clauses, not past clauses, in German, Dutch, and Greek (Giannakidou and Zwarts, 1999)

> Greek NPIs and Dutch NPI *ook maar iets* licensed in future clauses:

(38) Thav ro **kanena** filo na me voithisi.

Fut find.1sg **any** friend subj me help.3sg

'I will find a friend to help me.' (Giannakidou, 1998, p. 59)

(39) * De kinderen vertrokken zodra zij **ook maar iets** ontdekten.

The children leftJpl as soon as they anything discovered.3pl

'*The children left as soon as they discovered anything.'

(40) De kinderen zullen vertrekken zodra zij **ook maar iets** ontdekken.

The children will leave. 3pl as soon as they anything discover.3pl

'The children will leave as soon as they discover anything.' (Giannakidou and Zwarts, 1998)

Other prospective contexts that license NPIs in some languages

> Greek:

- complement of strong intensional verbs license NPIs in Greek (Giannakidou, 1998)
 - (41) volitionals: *thelo* 'want', *elpizo* 'hope', *skopevo* 'plan'
 - directives: *dhiatazo* 'to order', *simvulevo* 'advise', *protino* 'suggest'
 - modals: (invariant) *prepi* 'must' (deontic and epistemic), *ine pithanon* 'it is possible'
 - permissives: *epitrepo* 'allow'
 - negative: *apofevgho* 'avoid', *arnume* 'refuse', *apagorevo* 'forbid'
 - verbs of fear: (verba timendi) *fovame* 'to be afraid'
- imperatives (Giannakidou, 1998)

- > These contexts in Greek, English, and in the ScotsCorr data also tend to have a future orientation

Past is veridical; future is not

- > **Past is veridical; future is not** (Giannakidou, 1998, 2014; Giannakidou & Zwarts, 1999; Giannakidou and Mari, 2018; a.o.)
 - past is “deterministic”, and thus veridical: *x happened* entails *x happened*. Future, however, is “projected, but not actual truth” (Giannakidou, 1998; Giannakidou and Zwarts, 1999)
 - “Future is nondeterministic, and thus nonveridical: we do not know whether the expected events will take place” (Giannakidou, 1998, p. 138)
- > **Strong intensional verbs do not entail the truth of their complement:**
 - “I want Suze to meow” does not entail “Suze meows” (strong intensional complement of want)
- > **“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, p. 51)
 - Similarly for deontic modals
 - Do not entail the truth of the event taking place = nonveridical

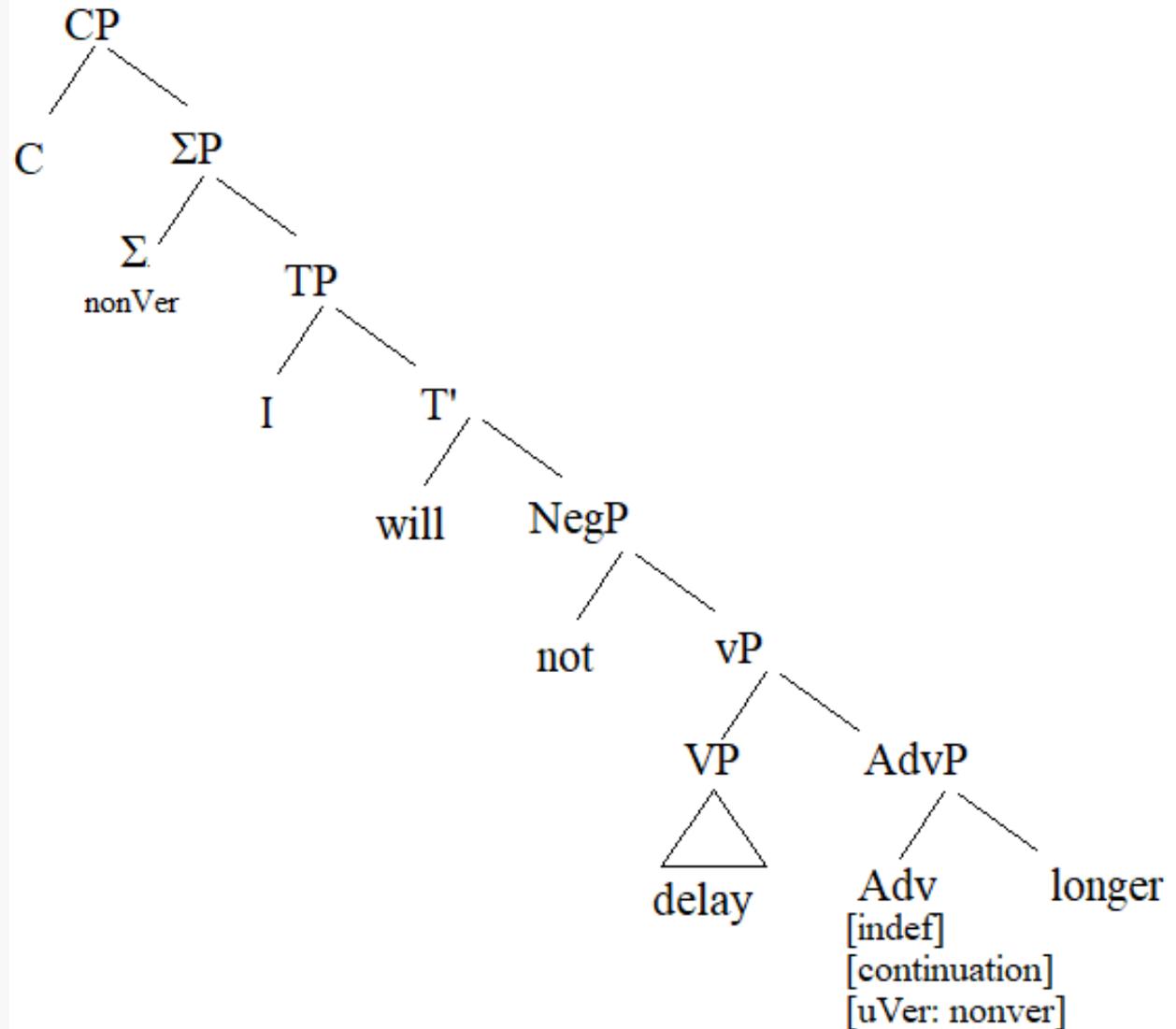
Scots nonveridical Σ triggered by prospective contexts

- > **Prospective contexts= future *will* and *shall*; (the complement of) strong intensional verbs (Farkas, 1985, 1992) such as directive verbs *want*, *insist*, etc. and modals; imperatives; and root or deontic modals with future orientation**
- > **in addition to narrower PI contexts like in the c-command domain of negation, in polar questions, and antecedents of conditionals**
- > **(DP/Det) FCIs always licensed in these prospective contexts, unlike adverb *any***

(42) I will not delay any longer.

> **Two potential licensors:**

1. **nonveridical Σ (triggered by future context)**
2. **negation**



> **Lexical insertion rules for Scots at this time:**

(43) a. [Cat[Adv, Indef]; Infl[Ver:Nonver]] → any

b. [Cat[Adv, Indef]; Infl[Ver:Ver]] → *somewhat*, Ø, etc.

Narrowing of licensing contexts for AdvA to exclude (solely) prospective contexts

- > **Modern Scots/Scottish English, Early Modern and Modern English: narrower licensing contexts for NPIs**
 - aspectual adverbials *any longer/further/more* in ‘canonical’ NPI contexts in corpora of Modern Scottish language (Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing, 1700-1945); same for diachronic corpora and dictionaries of English (The Helsinki Diachronic corpus, OED)
- > **Early 1600’s: Scots was more different from English than it had been or would later be (Macafee, 1996)**
- > **Period of Anglicization begins in late 16th century (Macafee & †Aitken, 2002)**

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- > **Much is the same in the conservative (wider) and innovative (narrower) dialects except for the result of the lexical insertion rules in certain contexts**
 - > **Created ambiguity in contexts with both (the narrower) PI triggers and prospective orientation**

(44) I alreadie \ have past my word or given my wreat not to medle **any mor** in that buisines (J. W. of Bogie.1665.TID 522)

'I have already given my word or promised in writing not to meddle any more in that business'

***Any more/ony mair* reanalyzed as out of scope of negation/nonveridical triggers/licensors**

- > **In contexts where *any more* was in a clause with negation, but not c-commanded by it the result was a new interpretation—not a polarity sensitive item, but a non-polarity sensitive item, an adverb that could take wide scope and did not require Agree with a licensor**

(45) assure \ him y=t= **any longir** I will not delaye? him (J. Sutherland.1682.TID 1573)

'assure him that any longer I will not delay him'

(46) Any more I will not delay him.

- > **For a conservative speaker, *any more* is the result of Agree with Σ in CP layer, triggered by future-oriented *will***
- > **For innovative speaker, there is nothing to value [uVer: nonVer] for *any more***
- > **Result: wide-scope terminative adverb**
 - presupposition [$\neg\alpha$ used to ϕ]
 - assertion [α ϕ 's] at Reference time (following Horn, 2014: 338; Ladusaw, 1980)

Fusion of *any more* into single morpheme, isolation from AdvA paradigm

- > What sets aspectual adverb *any more* apart from AdvA? (why did this change happen to *any more* and not the rest of the AdvA paradigm?)
 - *Any more/any mair* lexicalizes; fuses into 1 morpheme, loses decomposability
 - > Nonver = any more; ver = still
- > Adv[uVer; indef] + Adv[uVer, continuation] → Adv[uVer; indef; continuation]
- > Aspectual *any more*: different featural makeup than *any* + *further/more* (aspectual adverbs)
- > Lexical insertion rules for indefinite/intensifier adverb *any*:
 - (45) a. [Cat[Adv, Indef]; Infl[Ver:Nonver]] → *any* (+longer, further, bigger, etc.)
 - b. [Cat[Adv, Indef]; Infl[Ver:Ver]] → *somewhat*, etc.
- > *Any more's* non-PI counterpart = *still*. Lexical insertion rules:
 - (46) a. [Cat[Adv, continuation]; Infl[Ver:Nonver]] → *any more*
 - b. [Cat[Adv, continuation]; Infl[Ver:Ver]] → *still*

-
- > **Fusion of *any more* into a single morpheme and isolation from paradigm of AdvA makes loss of polarity sensitivity possible**
 - see Roberts & Roussou, 2003: negative quantifier *me:dhen* → noun *midhen* 'zero'
 - > Other negative quantifiers with similar morphological structures disappeared or further grammaticalized and became clausal negators, so *me:dhen* was reanalyzed as a single item
 - Less complex option: lose [uVer] features entirely, retain only continuation/terminative adverbial features
 - > *anymore* [uVer], [continuation/terminative] → *anymore* [continuation/terminative]
 - Language contact a further catalyst?

Thank you!

Comments/questions/slides: acdejong@uw.edu

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