

Even more on *anymore*

Laurence R. Horn, Yale University

<laurence.horn@yale.edu>

Forty years ago at the Second Colloquium on New Ways of Analyzing Variation (NWA 2) at Georgetown, Ivan Sag and his colleague Donald Hindle¹ presented a paper on the implications for the syntax and semantics of *anymore*, with a focus on the relation of so-called positive *anymore* to the widely distributed “ordinary” *anymore* that functions as what would now be called a medium-strength negative polarity item. This paper, published two years later as Hindle & Sag 1975, was both a methodological landmark in its application of the notion of the “squish” (cf. e.g. Ross 1972) to a questionnaire-based survey of responses by (what were then known as) informants and a rare exemplar of bridge-building between variationist approaches and theoretical linguistics, in the best tradition of the authors’ UPenn mentor William Labov. It should be noted that even after years of variationist consciousness-raising, mainstream linguists often tend to neglect the existence of nonstandard *anymore*; CGEL, for example, deals with negative polarity *anymore* in some detail without recognizing that wide swaths of the American English speaking public might not raise an eyebrow at *Anymore, you have to take off your shoes before boarding a plane*, much less *Gas is sure expensive anymore*. In this squab (= squib on steroids), I revisit the land of *anymore* for a follow-up characterization of the meaning and distribution of this obstreperous lexical item and some remarks on its relevance for sociolinguistics.

As Hindle & Sag (H&S) point out, speakers in the relevant dialects accept not only (1a) but (1b) and, for some but not all such speakers, (1c).

- (1) a. We don’t eat fish anymore.
b. %We eat a lot of fish anymore.
c. %Anymore, we eat a lot of fish.

The OED *any more* entry includes lemmas distinguishing the mainstream negative polarity item (NPI) *anymore* from its “chiefly Irish English and colloquial North American” doppelgänger (Like H&S, I will use the standard U.S. orthography):

(2) *any more, adv.* from the OED, lemmas 1a and 1b; emphasis added

a. In negative, interrogative, or hypothetical contexts: in repetition or continuance of what has taken place up to a particular time; further, longer, again.

b. Chiefly *Irish English* and *N. Amer. colloq.* In affirmative contexts: now, nowadays, at the present time; from now on.

1903 McClure's Mag. Dec. 215/1 **There’s just only this one any more.**

1920 D. H. LAWRENCE *Women in Love* xiii. 167 ‘Quite absurd,’ he said. ‘Suffering bores me, any more.’

¹ Don Hindle (UPenn PhD 1979), true to his Philly roots, is Principal Language Scientist at Oracle in Philadelphia.

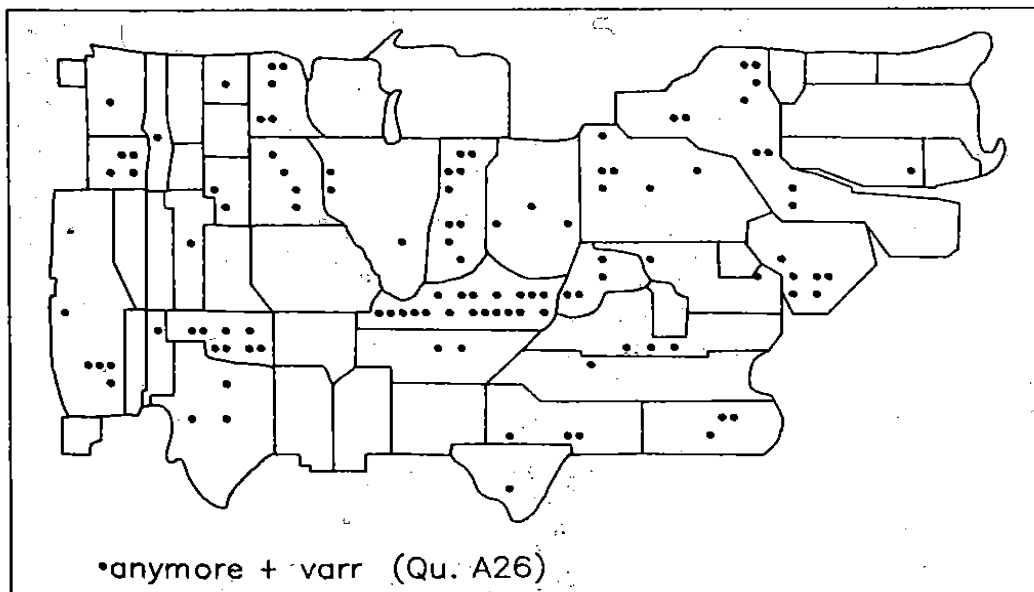
1973 Capital Times (Madison, Wisconsin) 14 Mar. 2/1 Any more, the difference between a white collar worker and a blue collar worker is simply a matter of shirt preference.

1979 Whig-Standard (Kingston, Ontario) 20 Nov. 1/3 **Everything we do anymore** seems to have to be done in a big hurry.

1996 C. I MACAFEE Conc. Ulster Dict. 7/1, I think it'll be fine any more.

Note in particular the two cites with boldface added. Along with the frequently cited (e.g. in MWDEU, p. 106) utterances by Betty Grable in 1940, *Every time I even smile at a man any more the papers have me practically married to him*, and by Harry Truman in 1973, *It sometimes seems to me that all I do anymore is go to funerals*—these actually constitute instances of ordinary (a)-list NPI *anymore*. The exclusive semantics of contexts defined by *only* (*Only card-carrying inebriates would ever drink of a drop of that punch*) and the restrictor of universals (*All he ever does is watch TV and eat Cheetos*) are in fact garden-variety downward-entailing, NPI-licensing environments (cf. Horn 1996, 2002), although this is not generally recognized by lexicographers. (For example, the Cambridge Dictionaries Online site provides the sentence *We never go out—all we do anymore is watch TV* and comments “*Anymore* also means now or from now on, often even in positive statements”—a true claim but not one illustrated by their cited datum, which is widely accepted by those nonplussed at *Gas is expensive anymore*.)

DARE offers more details on the range over which (2b)-type *anymore* is likely to be attested and accepted, mapping the distribution on one of their patented maps (Volume I, p. 73; see also <http://microsyntax.sites.yale.edu/positive-anymore> for a different map and references and discussion on this construction and its distribution).



along with an entry indicating that *anymore* “in positive constructions”, after emigrating from Northern Ireland, has overspread in scattershot through much of the U.S., largely sparing New England. A useful quote from Wolfram & Christian (1976: 105) on the regional and social distribution of positive *anymore* appears toward the end of the entry.

(3) DARE entry (p. 73)

anymore adv Also *any more* [EDD, OEDS, 1898 → with earliest ex from nIreland, but see also 1946 *AmSp* 21.301–2; addit discussion and bibliography in 1959 *AmSp* 34.157, 1975 *AmSp* 50.305–310] **scattered, but least freq NEng** (in use by speakers of all educ levels: see quot 1965–70) See Map

In positive constructions: nowadays, now.

1859 [see all anymore]. 1931 *AmSp* 6.460 WV, People used to shop a lot in the morning, but any more the crowd comes in about three o'clock . . . Any more the high school pupils are such babies nobody goes to their entertainments . . . My customers have to see me by appointment any more. 1931 *AmSp* 7.19 swPA. 1932 *AmSp* 7.233, 235, 236 MI, IL, WV. 1935 *AmSp* 10.160 NY. 1939 *AmSp* 14.156, 304 WV, SC. 1943 *AmSp* 18.141, 152 NE, IL. 1944 *AmSp* 19.39, 204 Philadelphia PA, IN. 1946 Stuart *Tales Plum Grove* 228 KY, Got so any more there isn't enough good timber for a board tree. 1949 *PADS* 11.17 CO. 1950 *PADS* 14.12 SC. 1959 *AmSp* 34.157 IL. 1965–70 *DARE* (Qu. A26, . . . "People used to walk a lot, but everybody drives a car _____.") 110 Infs, **scattered, but least freq NEng**, Anymore; TX26, Anymore now; IL7, Anymores [Of all Infs responding to the question, 31% have grade-school or less educ, 38% hs, 31% coll; of those giving these responses, 45% have grade-school or less, 25% hs, 31% coll.]; (QR p108) Inf IA12, We all use night-crawlers anymore; (QR p77) Inf NC54, I meet so many people anymore; (QR p20) Inf PA70, Anymore it's the living room. 1966–69 *DARE* Tape NC29, Most of the work anymore is done by power; IL12, Of course, we have two or three coal mines around this part of the country anymore; CA145, That's the way I got it figured anymore; FL32, We put up quite a bit of hay here anymore. 1966–68 *DARE* FW Addits GA33, *Anymore*—in conversation very common for *nowadays*; TN17A, Used in conversation by country people, as in "He's hard of hearing anymore;" neOK, "We use a gas stove anymore." "My aunt makes hats all the time anymore." 1976 Wolfram—Christian *Appalachian Speech* 105, While speakers who come from regions where *anymore* is only used in negative contexts may find the positive *anymore* rather obtrusive, native speakers of varieties where positive *anymore* is current tend not to view it as a socially diagnostic linguistic feature. *Ibid* 106, While it has been noted . . . that this form is used frequently in parts of "western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and parts of Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Utah and other western states, and is apparently spreading to other parts of the United States," it is apparent that its use in A[ppalachian] E[nglish] is fairly stable and has been for some time. 1980 *DARE* File Madison WI, Anymore we aren't following terms as precisely as we used to.

Earlier sources on the occurrence of positive *anymore*, including a series of notes and papers in *American Speech* beginning with Malone 1931 (see also Youmans 1986 and work cited therein), provide attestations from West Virginia, South Carolina, Missouri, Pennsylvania, southern Ontario, and a variety of Midwestern states, often (as with Murray 1993) areas correlated with Scotch-Irish settlement. The Scotch-Irish connection is supported by the Ulster dictionary entry in the final OED cite, but note also the Lawrence 1920 cite, a much-quoted line spoken by Birkin, a stand-in for the author—decidedly English Midlands rather than Scotch-Irish in origin.

Despite the implications of the DARE map and the frequently cited associations with Appalachian English, our construction is frequently attested from Missouri (see Murray 1993) to Michigan and Wisconsin in the north and Delaware in the east, and it has been detected establishing beachheads in other territories, popping up for example in the speech of the suburban-New Jersey-born-and-bred Joe Benigno, who first gained fame as “Joe from Saddle River”, a compulsive call-in listener to sports talk radio shows, before upgrading to regular host on “The FAN” (WFAN New York). Here is Benigno in April of 1997 reviewing an “agita special” win barely accomplished by the somewhat up and down New York Knicks:

- (4) “The Knickuhbockuhs are a different team from quawda duh quawdar **anymaw**.”
 [ˈkwɔrərəˈkwɔrəɪnɪmɔː]

The fusion of positive *anymore* with the echt non-rhotic New Jerseyan accent makes for quite a mix, but it’s worth noting that Benigno is a graduate (Class of ’75) of Franklin College in Franklin, Indiana, the heart of the Midland positive *anymore* range.

If Benigno adopted this feature of Indiana speech and smuggled it back to northern New Jersey, this may be partly attributable to his trade. Positive *anymore* has taken root in the generally unfavorable soil of Metropolitan New York and New England in precisely those parts of that garden watered by athletes and sports commentators who in many, although not all cases, themselves hail from the Midwest or Pennsylvania. Examples abound in the media:

- (5) Most new parks **anymore** are hitters’ parks.
 —Phillies broadcaster Harry Kalas, in ESPN radio interview, 2000;
 Kalas grew up in Illinois and went to college at the U. of Iowa.
- (6) **Anymore** in college football the quarterback is always looking over to the sideline.
 —Kirk Herbstreit (< central Ohio), broadcasting football game in November 2009
- (7) In most trades in the NFL **anymore** you’re not gonna get equal value.
 —John Clayton (< Pittsburgh) on ESPN, re Randy Moss trade to the Raiders
- (8) It’s such a fine line **anymore**.
 —Giants GM Ernie Accorsi (< Hershey, PA), 2.13.02, on the difference between the Super Bowl Giants of 2000 and the 7-9 team they turned into in 2001.
- (9) [all three from Jody McDonald (< Philadelphia/Delaware Valley) on WFAN, 2001-03]
 He’s getting three, three and a half mil, that’s what you’ve got to pay for a fifth starter **anymore**.
 Three DBs [= defensive backs, on a given play] is almost a given in this league **anymore**.
 He’s a guess hitter **anymore**.
- (10) The Celtics are a *team*, in every concept you can be a team in 2010 **anymore**.
 —Mitch Albom (< Michigan), on ESPN’s “The Sports Reporters”, Oct. 2010

Despite its condemnation by usage “experts”, as illustrated in detail below, positive *anymore* can be viewed essentially as NPI *anymore* without the arbitrary

restriction to negative (or, more accurately, downward-entailing) contexts; compare such non-NPI adverbs as *anyway* or *anyhow*, or the reconstruction of positive *at all* (= ‘altogether’ or ‘somewhat’) as an negative or free choice polarity item (H&S, 107-108; on *at all* see also van Dongen 1911 and Horn 2001).²

Semantically, [α *doesn't* ϕ *anymore*] can be taken (as in Horn 1970: 321 and Hindle & Sag 1975: 92) to involve a positive presupposition about the past [α used to ϕ] and a negative assertion about the present [$\neg\alpha$ ϕ 's]. Thus, positive *anymore* clauses, like those with NPI *any*, represent a reversal of polarity: Birkin's declaration combines the presupposition that suffering didn't bore him in the past with the assertion that it does now. The frequent equating of *anymore* to (non-polarity) *now(adays)* seems to work for most but not all attested cases of positive *anymore*, failing to extend to the attested (but not widely endorsed) instances in (11), as noted respectively by Krumpelmann (1939) and Eitner (1949: 311), neither of which presupposes a change of state.³ (See, however, the commentary by Youmans 1986: 72 on these examples.)

- (11) a. They still use that custom anymore.
b. You stay in your office too late anymore.

In the other direction, Labov (1973) notes that *anymore* cannot stand in for *nowadays* in the contexts in (12):

- (12) a. When would you rather live, 1920 or {nowadays/*anymore}.
b. When was the best brewed beer? —{Nowadays/*Anymore}.

Further, it might be remarked that both NPI *anymore* and its non-polarity counterpart cousin allow for a wider range of time intervals over which the reversal of fortune operates, as in these (im)possible reports of an all-night poker game:

- (13) a. I started out winning, but I haven't been getting good cards anymore.
b. #I started out winning, but I haven't been getting good cards nowadays.
c. I started out losing a bunch, but I've been getting really good cards anymore.
d. #I started out losing a bunch, but I've been getting really good cards anymore.

In contexts like (13b,d) we'd need a (non-existent) adverbs *nowanhours* as a suppletive form corresponding to *nowadays* if we wanted to avoid *anymore* (or perhaps *lately*, whose opposite-polarity presupposition is somewhat weaker).

² Malone (1931), in a vain quest to head off decades of misunderstanding, observes that speakers in West Virginia in using “*any more* in the affirmative” (e.g. “*They do everything white folks do any more*”) have merely “chucked” the “rather artificial rule” restricting the occurrence of the adverb to negative contexts.

³ As another instance of a tempting but fallacious equation between a dialectal form and its mainstream counterpart, consider Appalachian/AAVE *liketa*, as in *I liketa died* ‘I almost died’. While *liketa* is typically regarded as a synonym of standard *almost*, there are subtle but significant syntactic and semantic differences between the two (see <http://microsyntax.sites.yale.edu/liketa> and Johnson 2013).

Positive *anymore* can provide a kind of stealth authorship marker in literary contexts, since it tends to pop up in the mouths (or thoughts) of characters whose CVs would make such utterances unlikely. Thus, for example, the characters in Richard Russo’s 2001 Pulitzer Prize winning novel *Empire Falls* are all from Maine (well beyond the positive *anymore* isogloss), but Russo himself is from upstate New York, which explains why his characters tend to utter clauses (within their language of thought) with positive *anymore*, complete with the telltale fronting:

- (14) She put the three cushions down on seats only a third of the way up the bleachers because **anymore** her feet always hurt from standing all day.

Anymore, all he wanted to do was jack off to the porn he downloaded off the internet.

Similarly, Pulitzer Prize winning author Richard Ford’s 2002 story “Abyss” is set in northern New Jersey, but Ford himself grew up in Arkansas and Mississippi and attended Michigan State University, both positive *anymore* domains, whence:

- (15) His father always said it didn’t matter who knew what you did, only *what* you did. And what they’d been doing was fucking and riding around in a rental car on company time—which was probably a federal crime **anymore**.

It will be noticed that Russo’s and Ford’s *anymores*, while not negative polarity occurrences, are nevertheless emotively negative, amounting to an expression of regret at the change of state. As can be confirmed by an inspection of corpora (or, on a smaller scale, the inventory of OED cites in (2b)), this is a characteristic (though not ineluctable) feature of positive *anymore*.

One important issue in the investigation of constructions subject to regionally and/or socially variation like our target is the extent to which non-mainstream constructions are or are not stigmatized, and by whom. Let us turn for perspective to the case of personal datives (PDs: cf. Webelhuth & Dannenberg 2006, Horn 2008, to appear, Bosse et al. 2012,), as exemplified in the examples from (16), from traditional country and mountain ballads and their modern offspring, and those in (17), from prose sources; I have added boldface to mark the co-indexed antecedents and the pronominal PD.

- (16)a. And now **I**’ve married **me** a pretty little wife
And I love her dearer than I love my life. (“Rake and Rambling Boy”, traditional)
- b. **I**’m gonna buy **me** a shotgun, just as long as I am tall.
(Jimmie Rodgers, “T for Texas”)
- c. Now the Union Central’s pulling out and the orchids are in bloom,
I’ve only got **me** one good shirt left and it smells of stale perfume.
(Bob Dylan, “Up to Me”)
- d. My daddy he once told me
Hey don’t **you** love **you** any man (Dusty Springfield, “We’ll Sing in the Sunshine”)
- f. Raised in the woods so’s he knew every tree

[pro_i] Kilt **him**, a b'ar when he was only three. (“Ballad of Davy Crockett”)

- (26) a. “I’m going to have to hire **me** a detective just to follow you around.”
(1988 Sara Paretsky novel, *Blood Shot*, p. 191)
- b. “I wish **I** could afford **me** a swimming pool and a Buick and all. I was at Diamond Head thirty-eight years, not counting the war, but **I** sure never got **me** a retirement deal like that.”
(1992 Sara Paretsky novel, *Guardian Angel*, p. 312)
- c. “If you attend church just to go through the motions, God’d rather **you** get **you** a bottle of bourbon and a whore and go to a hotel and have **you** a good time.” (2001 Garrison Keillor novel, *Lake Wobegon Summer 1956*, p. 274)

In the real world, however, such non-argument pronominals, while indicating subject involvement and often intentionality (see above sources), may also function to index the speaker as an uneducated redneck. A key turning point in the 2004 U.S. presidential campaign took place in the swing state of Ohio when John Kerry, the patrician nominee from Massachusetts, staged an event to demonstrate his empathy with rural gun owners that badly backfired. As the Washington Times put it in their October 23, 2004 editorial, “When Johnny went a-huntin’”:⁴

Mr. Kerry’s Ohio hunting adventure started last Saturday, when the senator, campaign entourage in tow, went into a grocery store and asked the owner: “Can I get me a hunting license here?” Even the phraseology sounded staged. Mr. Kerry ordinarily doesn’t talk this way, and his language sounded fake and patronizing—as if he was pretending to talk like someone from rural Ohio.

Kerry was savaged in right-wing blogs and columns for his inauthentic display of “uneducated redneckese”, “hick” or “ignorant” speech, or “dumbed-down grammar”. Commentators wondered rhetorically, “Is poor grammar something that amounts to reaching out to them-there dumb, gun-loving right-wing rednecks?”

As a parallel instance of negative evaluation of outsiders for venturing a personal dative, consider the case of Dan Fogelberg (1951-2007), whose work was never to my knowledge covered by *Dead Tongues*, but who nevertheless managed to build a reputation for his accomplishments as a “singer-songwriter, composer, and multi-instrumentalist whose music was inspired by sources as diverse as folk, pop, rock, classical, jazz, and bluegrass” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dan_Fogelberg). As it happens, Fogelberg hailed from Peoria, IL, in the heart of Midlands *anymore* country but not part of the usual range of personal datives. One of Fogelberg’s trademark songs was the 1980 “Same Old Lang Syne”—“a narrative ballad told in the first person [that] tells the story of two long-ago lovers meeting by chance in a grocery store on

⁴ As the editorial’s title suggests, Kerry was widely portrayed at the time as having solicited a “huntin’ license,” with (inauthentic) working class “g-dropping”, even though the actual recording of Kerry’s request—web-filed as “Can I Get Me A Huntin License Here.mp3”—demonstrates that he actually used his usual velar nasal. Whatever the facts of the matter, two weeks later Kerry barely lost Ohio to George W. Bush, and with it the electoral votes that would have turned the 2004 election in his favor.

Christmas Eve” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Same_Old_Lang_Syne). One particular verse of Fogelberg’s song prompted this impassioned screed 25 years later from blogger Kate Marie, fortunately still preserved at the “What’s the Rumpus” blog site, <http://whatstherumpus.blogspot.com/2005/12/more-stupid-holiday-songs.html>:

Here are the lines that always bothered me:

*She said she'd married her an architect,
Who kept her warm and safe and dry,
She would have liked to say she loved the man,
But she didn't like to lie.*

First of all, I understand why Fogelberg wants to throw in that extra syllable in the first line, but couldn’t he have found a more elegant way of doing it? Did she really say “I married me an architect?” Or is Fogelberg, who seems capable of standard usage, the kind of guy who would say, “Dag nabbit, she up ‘n’ married her an architect.”⁵

Presumably it was this very “dagnabbit” effect that helped John Kerry up ‘n’ lose those crucial Ohio electoral votes.

But how can we reconcile the vitriolic reaction to Kerry’s personal dative with the claim (Christian 1991: 14; Webelhuth & Dannenberg 2006: 31, 34) that the use of PDs is “not stigmatized” among Southern vernacular speakers? It appears that the PD is indeed accepted non-judgmentally within the in-group of users defined by the relevant community of practice while serving as a shibboleth to impugn outsiders who employ it. In this respect it parallels the socially variable effect of reclaimed or reappropriated slurs like *nigger*, *hebe*, *fag*, *dyke*, *slut*, or *bitch*.

The dual nature of stigma assessment observed for personal datives emerges with even greater force in our own case. While positive *anymore* speakers may not regard the construction as “a socially diagnostic linguistic feature,” much less a stigmatized marker (Wolfram & Christian 1976: 103; Murray 1993: 174), those domiciled beyond the isogloss have no such compunction. After Bob Greene lamented in a 1975 *Newsweek* column that “We are so cool and so hard and so hip anymore that there has grown a large dead spot inside us all,” Greene’s editors—offended by this “extension of the meaning of *anymore*”—submitted his sentence to the *Harper Dictionary of Contemporary Usage* panel to determine the status of this “new sense” of *anymore*. The HCDU panelists, comprising 166 “distinguished experts in the field of the English language,” condemned Greene’s *anymore* with virtual unanimity across two editions as “barbaric patois” (John Ciardi), “uneducated” (Isaac Asimov), “nonce slang” (Willard Espy), “a barbarism” (Red Smith), and similar

⁵ Depending on the interplay between (autobiographical) faithfulness and (metrical) markedness, Fogelberg might have considered altering the offending line in a way to appease Kate Marie and her no doubt sizable cohort, e.g. by *She said she married a semanticist*, or practicing more radical surgery on the verse:

*She said she married a philosopher,
Who kept her rational and wise,
She said she'd like to say she loved the man,
But she hates the sound of lies.*

variations on this theme: “nonsensical”, “confusing”, “illogical”, “unsure immigrant speech”, “illiterate and without meaning”, “faintly nauseating”, “lower class”, “silly and probably a boner.”

The application of the BARBARISM brand to “the use of words or expressions not in accordance with the classical standard of a language” (OED), or more generally to acts and customs perceived to display ignorance or crudity, is particularly telling. The label derives via Latin *barbarismus* ‘the use of a foreign tongue or the incorrect use of one’s own’ from the Greek noun *barbarismos* ‘foreign mode of speech’ and adjective *barbaros* ‘foreign, non-Greek’, often described as of onomatopoeic origin: “*bar-bar-bar*” = ‘It’s non-Greek to me.’ Along the same lines, *solecism*—wielded variously to impugn perceived improprieties in speech or grammar, breaches of etiquette, or errors more generally—traces back to the Greek *soloikos* ‘speaking incorrectly’, a toponym based on Soloi, an Athenian colony in Cilicia whose inhabitants were known for their nonstandard (hence “incorrect”) variety of Attic Greek. In each case, the trajectory is ‘foreign, different (from us)’ > ‘hard (for us) to understand’ > ‘wrong’ (or worse: cf. *barbaric*, *barbarous*, *barbarity*). Red Smith thus follows a long, if not particularly distinguished, tradition.

And just how old is, or isn’t, positive *anymore* anyway? Besides being viewed as wrong or incorrect, unfamiliar syntactic constructions are often symptomatic of the recency illusion (Zwicky 2005). This is the often voiced impression, arising from selective attention, that some observed phenomenon—in particular a given linguistic construction or a meaning associated with a given expression—is of recent origin, when in fact it has been attested for years, decades, or centuries. Standard examples involve word-level usage or syntactic formations, e.g. the singular sex-neutral use of *they*, the conjoined nominative in *between you and I*, or the use of *nice* to mean ‘pleasant’ or *aggravate* to mean ‘annoy’, each of which has been disparaged by late 20th century usage mavens as unfortunate recent innovations and each of which can be shown to have existed for 200 years or more. When yet another usage expert excoriates the appearance of positive *anymore*, personal datives, multiple modals, or the *needs washed* construction (see <http://microsyntax.sites.yale.edu/phenomena> on these and others) as portending the death of the English language and the moral and intellectual bankruptcy of its speakers, the horses of linguistic change have once again galloped off well before the barn door of prescriptivism has been ordered shut.

William and Mary Morris introduce their entry in HDCU with the claim that positive *anymore* “represents a new sense”—a claim echoed by some of their certified experts who opine that positive *anymore* is “confined to the speech of young people.” (“Any way to head it off?” one wistfully wonders.) Similarly, Follett’s *Modern American Usage* finds it among “the young in particular”—and “wrong”: “Once a law-abiding word, *anymore* now keeps bad company.” But as actual non-pontifical work in both lexicography and dialectology indicates, the claim that this construction represents a new development is as unfounded as the supposition by some HDCU panelists that positive *anymore* “may be disappearing” or “dying out.” (For more on the actual current status of positive *anymore*, see in addition to the references cited above, Hutchinson & Armstrong to appear and the discussion and references at <http://microsyntax.sites.yale.edu/positive-anymore>.)

While squishes have come and gone, the observations in Hindle & Sag 1975, while quite disparate in content and methodology from the vast majority of entries in the latter author's admirable broad and deep publication history, remains a valuable starting point for the systematic study of *anymore*, and in so doing reinforces (as if it needed reinforcing) what a mensch we have (us) in Ivan. Do linguists recognize the breadth, depth, and impact on our understanding of the highways and byways of language we can find in the lifework of Ivan A. Sag, spanning the exploration of (in no particular order) grammatical variation, ellipsis, theory-building, indefinites, classic rock, coordination, extraction, volleyball, more ellipsis, questions, negative concord, binding, and idioms? If the celebration by his friends and colleagues of this amazing career is any indication—*anymore* we do!

Acknowledgments

In addition to the participants in and commenters at the 2011 Linguistic Society of America workshop in Pittsburgh that served as the initial impetus for getting me to think more systematically about positive *anymore*, specific thanks to Ivan Sag, Will Salmon, Dennis Storoshenko, Jim Wood, Raffaella Zanuttini, Arnold Zwicky, and various posters on the American Dialect Society e-mail list. I cannot but end with a rousing chorus⁶ of the U. of R.'s alma mater, from someone who wore the dandelion yellow (a color rich and mellow) a few years earlier than Ivan did...

Full many fair and famous streams
Beneath the sun there be,
But more to us than any seems
Our own dear Genesee.

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⁶ For those who can't remember or don't know the actual tune, the melody of "America the Beautiful" works surprisingly well.

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