Weak NPI *Gebi Ahaanba* in Somali

In English, the negative polarity items (NPIs) *any, at all* or *anymore* normally appear in negative contexts. For example in the sentence *I don't drink any coffee at all/anymore*, the NPIs *any, at all* and *anymore* are *licensed* by the negative marker *not*. The omission of *not* makes the sentence infelicitous. In Somali spoken in Somaliland (Saeed 1999), *gebi-ahaanba* "completely/all" is the NPI licensed by the negative *ma* according to (1a) (cf. Benmamoun 2006, on Moroccan Arabic). The omission of the negative makes the sentence unacceptable as in (1b).

(1) a. Ma cabbo buunka gebi ahaanba.
NEG drink.1SG.PRES coffee completely/all at

"I don't drink coffee at all."

b. Waan cabbo bunka (*gebi ahaanba).
I drink.1SG.PRES coffee completely/all at

"I drink coffee at all."

Even without the "strong" negative *ma*, *gebi-ahaanba* "at all" is licensed in the predicate of *Cidna* "no one" as in (2a) which is supposed to be negation of "medium" strength because of what is called anti-additive property (Zwarts 1996, van der Wouden 1997, Zwarts 1998). *No one* is anti-additive in that the inference in (3a) holds. On the contrary, *no one* is not anti-multiplicative as in (3b)—even when nobody wears both masks and gloves together at the same time, some of them may only wear masks only and not both. On the other hand, the positive counterpart *cid baa* "someone" does not license *gebi-ahaanba* in (2b).

(2) a. Cidna ma(y) odhan waxba gebi-ahaanba.
no one NEG.PAST say something/nothing at all

"No one said anything at all"

b. Cidbaa tidhi wax {*gebi-ahaanba/$\surd$haba yaratee.}
someone say.3SG.PAST something at all

"Someone said anything at all"

(3) a. No one wears a mask or gloves at all. $\rightarrow$ No one wears a mask and no one wears gloves at all

b. No one wears a mask and gloves at all. -/$\rightarrow$ No one wears a mask or no one wears gloves at all.

Moreover, *dhawr* "few" licenses *gebi-ahaanba* "at all" as in (4). *Few* is monotone decreasing, which is "weak" negative, in the nuclear scope so that *few cats eat meat at all* logically entails *few cats eat chicken at all* but not vice versa, because cats may be beef eaters. So, *gebi ahaanba* appears to be the weak NPI licensed in the weak negative environment (cf. Gajewski 2011). However, another monotone decreasing operator *ugu badnaan 300 marti ah* "at

most 300 guests" does not license *gebi-ahaanba* as shown in (5). Contrary to the Fauconnier-Ladusaw's Generalization on NPI licensing that monotone decreasing scope licenses NPIs (Fauconnier 1975, Ladusaw 1979), not all monotone decreasing operators license this weak NPI in Somali.

(4) Dhawr bisadood ayaa cunay hilib gebi ahaanba.
few cat.PL SEPARATOR eat meat at all

"Few cats eat meat at all."

(5) Ugu badnaan 300 oo marti ah ayaa soo boogaday hudheelka sannadkii
at most CONJ guest.PL of have.PRES/PAST visit.PAST hotel year
hore (*gebi-ahaanba).
last at all

"At most 300 guests visited the hotel last year at all."

It has also been known that NPI licensing in non-monotonic scope, which is neither monotone decreasing nor increasing, is problematic to the above generalization or DE (downward entailingness) hypothesis (Ladusaw 1979, Linebarger 1980, anonymous, among others). *Gebi ahaanba* can also appear in non-monotonic scope. Even though the non-monotonic scope of the negative emotive *regret* anti-licenses *gebi ahaanba*, other non-monotonic licensers such as *la yaabay* "was surprised at" as in (6), the antecedent of the conditional in (7) and *mararka qaar* "rarely" as in (8) all license *gebi ahaanba*.

(6) Wuxuu la yaabay qurxinta hudhelka gebi ahaanba.
he be.surprised.at.PAST decoration hotel at all

"He was surprised at the hotel decoration at all."

(7) Haddii roob da'o, gebi ahaanba waxa la xidhi doonaa waddada.
if rain at all it at close will road.SG

"If it rains tomorrow, the road will be closed.

(8) Mararka.qaar wazaan akhriyaa buugta qosalka ah fiidka gebi ahaanba.
rarely/hardly/seldomly I read books comic evening at all

"I rarely read comic books in the evening at all."

What characterizes non-monotonic NPI licensing? Negative implicature does not guarantee NPI licensing because the negative attitude *regret* does not license *gebi ahaanba.* Non-veridicality (Giannakidou 1997) is not the key to NPI licensing either because the *be surprised at* in (6) is factive or veridical. Since *regret* is Strawson DE (von Fintel 1999), Strawson DE-ness is not the key to NPI licensing. Thus, none of the following—monotone decreasingness, negative implicature, non-veridicality or Strawson DEness—is the key to NPI licensing. We also need to explicate the anti-licensing by monotone decreasing *at most n* and non-monotonic *regret*. What has been driven is the proper subset relationship between non-monotonic and monotone decreasing context and *gebi ahaanba* licensing context in (9).

(9) {non-monotone, monotone decreasing} $\subset$ *gebi ahaanba* licenser

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