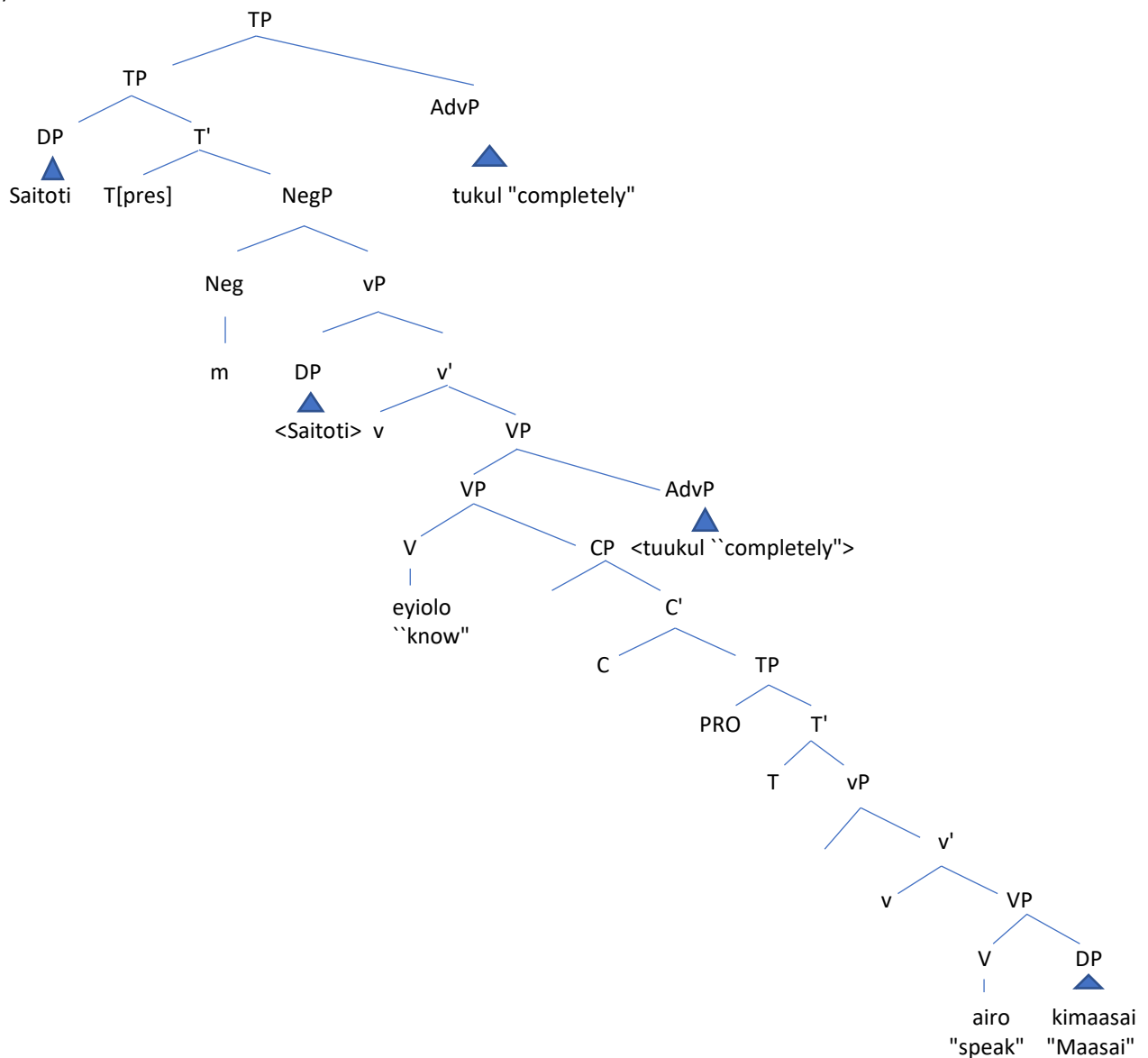


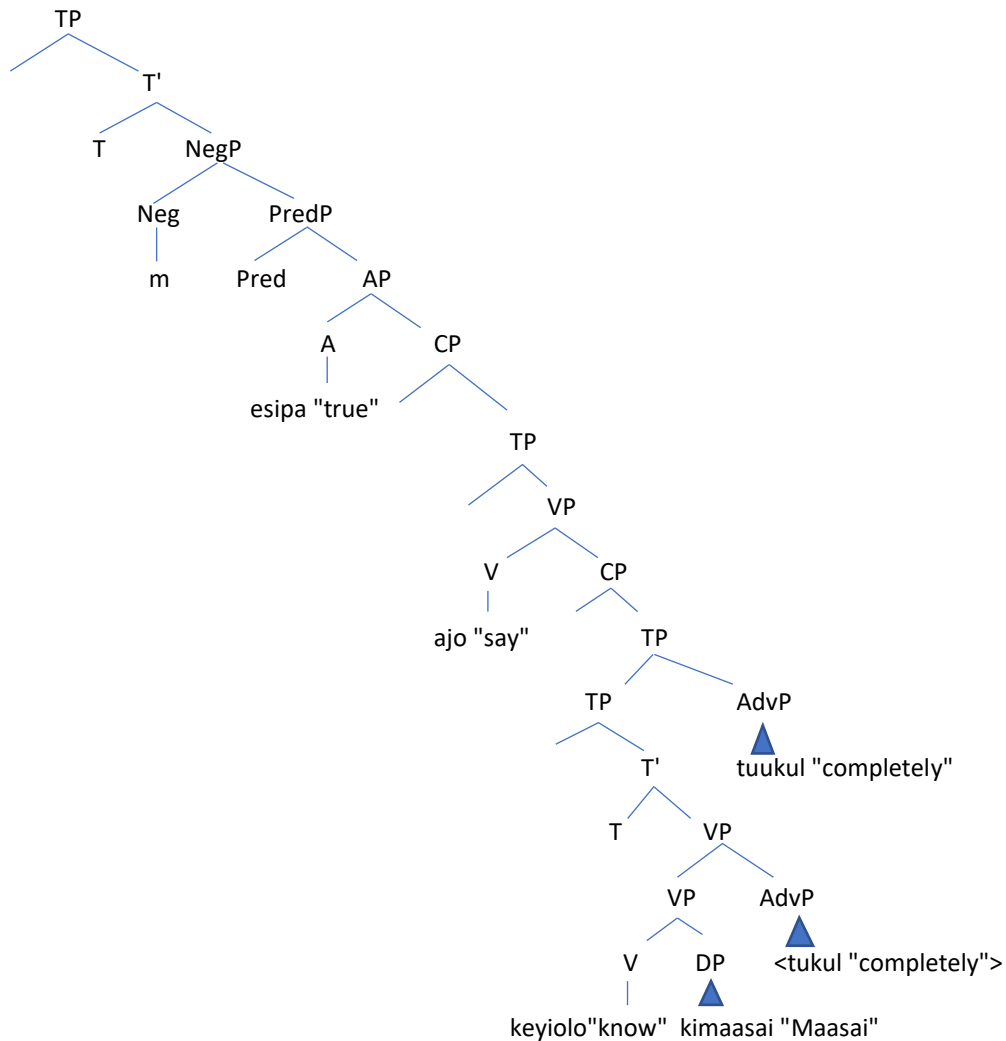
(2)'



Increased intensity or higher pitch on *tuukul* "completely" does not change the scopal interpretation, presumably because it is already lexically focused. With non-local negation in (3), *tuukul* "completely" scopes under the c-commanding negation as in (3').

- (3) Mesipa ajo keyiolo Saitoti kimaasai tukul.
 not.true to.say know Saitoti Maasai completely
 "It is not true that Saitoti knows how to speak Maasai completely (Saitoti can speak a little bit of Maasai)."
 [negation>completely/*completely>negation]

(3)'



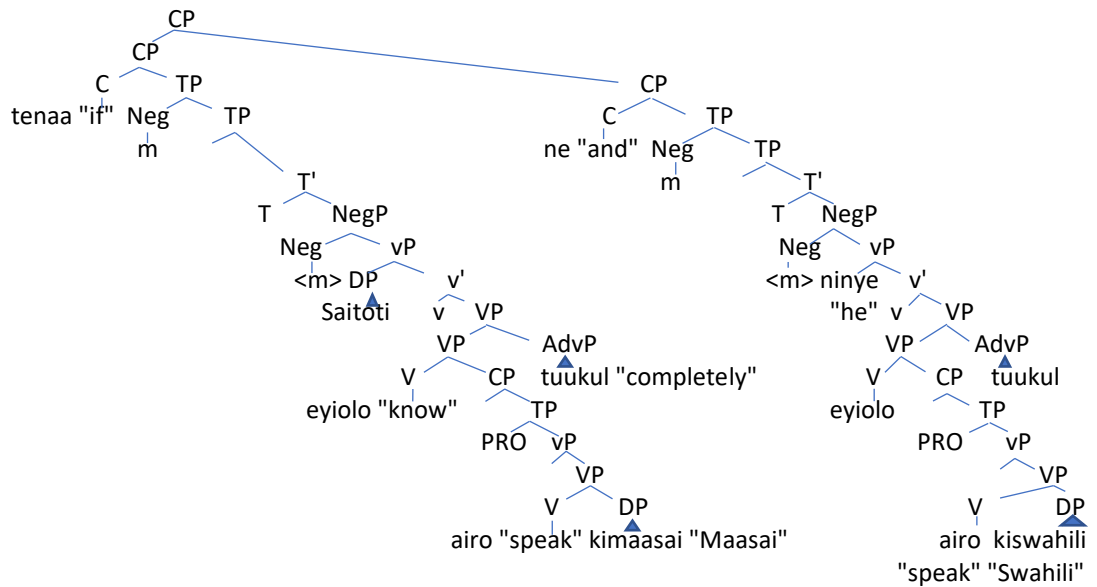
What is not expected as the PPI is that, in negative conditionals as in (4), *tuukul* "completely" allows to take scope under negation. The two focus sensitive items—*if* and negation—take wider scope than *tuukul*. The negative raises instead of *tuukul* "completely." The consequent clause connected with the conjunctive *ne* "and" also scopes out of the negation, for structural parallelism with the antecedent clause, as (4)' shows (Ross 1967, Fox 2000).

(4) Tena meyiolo Saitoti airo kimaasai tuukul ne meyiolo
 if not.know Saitoti speak Maasai completely and not.know
 ninye airo kiswahili tukuul
 he speak Swahili completely

"If Saitoti does not know how to speak Maasai completely, he does not know how to speak Swahili completely either (Saitoti would know a little bit of Maasai and Swahili, like 50% competence)."

[negation>completely/*completely>negation]

(4)'



Also in interrogatives, *tuukul* scopes under negation as in (5a). As an emphatic marker, *tuukul* "completely" requires negation in question sentences as in (5).

- (5) a. Itu ainyototo Saitoti {pii/tuukul}?
 did.not 1sg. awake Saitoti completely
 "Is Saitoti not awake completely (Saitoti is awake a little but isn't he awake completely and drowsy)?"
 [not>completely, *completely>not]
- b. Keinyototo Saitoti {pii/*tuukul}?
 3RD.SG.awake Saitoti completely
 "Is Saitoti awake completely?"

Tuukul "completely" in the veridical context of *aidip* "after" dislikes negation as in (6a) even though *tuukul* with negation is allowed in the clause of the non-veridical *apa* "before" in (6b).

- (6) a. *Etu airo Saitoti kimaasai tuukul aidip etu ninye aiyolou kiswahili tuukul.
 did.not speak Saitoti Maasai completely after did.not he learn Swahili completely
 "Saitoti did not speak Maasai completely after he did not learn Swahili completely."
- b. Etu airo Saitoti kimaasai tuukul apa etu ninye aiyolou kiswahili tuukul.
 did.not speak Saitoti Maasai completely before did.not he learn Swahili completely
 "Saitoti did not speak Maasai completely before he did not learn Swahili completely."

Since *tuukul* "completely" can appear without negation, and takes wider scope than negation, we can call it the PPI, but the weak one. The weak PPI *tuukul* "completely" appears in monotone decreasing and nonveridical contexts—in the restrictor and nuclear scope of the negative (*maata* "not have"), *metii* "nobody," as in (7a, b), *kuutik* "few," *etu* "never," *metii ormwanafunzi* "no student," in (8a, b), *naabaya ormwanafunzi tomon* "at most ten students," the universal *pokira* (all/every for one or two entities), *pooki* (all/every for many), *openy* "only," *tomon ake* "exactly (only) ten," *kumook* "many," and the superlative *pii* (cf. Zwarts 1995, van der Wouden 1997, Giannakidou 2001). It is also grammatical in the clause of *eton* "before," the antecedent of the conditional *pee* "if," and *anu* "when."

- (7) a. Metii endungani keyolo airo kimaasai tuukul -engaji.
 nobody people to.know speak maasai completely house
 "Nobody who speaks Masai is in a house now."

- b. Metii endungani te engaji tukul.
nobody people in house completely
"There is nobody in a house completely."
- (8) a. Metii ormwanafunzi nairo Japanese tuukul keeta enjore.
no student speak.PRES Japanese completely have.PAST friend
"No student who speaks Japanese completely had a friend."
- b. Metii ormwanafunzi keeta enjore tuukul.
no student have.PAST friend completely
"No student had friend completely."

Thus, an emphatic degree raiser *tuukul* "completely" is the weak PPI which can occur in nonveridical context. *Tuukul* receives saliency in the sentence and scopes over local negation, but takes lower scope in negative conditional and interrogatives. Negative questions, which are emphatic, gives rise to *tuukul*. Since *after* calls for some temporally preceding event, negation is hard to cooccur with *tuukul*. It appears that *tuukul* prefers some emphatic environment—negative questions to affirmative ones, negative *before*-clauses to negative *after*-clauses. Otherwise, *tuukul* itself is the only focal point in the sentence. So the study of *tuukul* sheds light on the environment and the semantic contribution of the emphatic PPIs.

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