Negation in modern Arabic varieties from a typological point of view

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Abstract

This thesis considers negation in 54 modern Arabic varieties from a typological point of view (as in Song 2001, Croft 2003 and Miestamo 2005). The types of negation investigated here are: standard negation, non-verbal negation, negative imperatives, negative existential clauses, negation with pseudo-verbs, negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions. This approach results in 30 generalizations capturing different ways of expressing different types of negation among the contemporary varieties of Arabic; for example: the construction for standard negation in modern Arabic varieties is almost always symmetric (done by the addition of the negative morpheme to the affirmative clause only) and very rarely asymmetric (an example is the dialect of ʔAbha); there is no *š*-variety (a variety that uses *...-š* negatively in standard negation) where *...-š* is not, at least optionally, omitted in emphatic negation; the negator *mā* can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Arabian Peninsula where this is extremely rare. One of the most interesting results the study reveals is that negation in Arabic is going through a cycle additional to the Jespersen's cycle which is already identified by several studies (e.g., Lucas, 2009 and Diem, 2014). In the first stage of this additional cycle, a single negator is used to negate both verbal and non-verbal clauses. In the second stage, this negator is attached to a personal pronoun to negate non-verbal clauses only. In the third stage, a new single morpheme is coined and generalized to negate any non-verbal clause. In the fourth stage, this new morpheme is used to negate certain types of verbal clauses. In the last stage, verbal and non-verbal clauses return to be negated similarly, in that this new coined morpheme can negate both of them. In the study, this cycle is referred to as *the Arabic negative cycle.*

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First and foremost, "Thank You Allah". Thank You for everything You have blessed me with. Thank You for being always with me in both my difficult and happy times. My knowledge of You has been always the most comfortable thing in my life.

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Third, it seems typical for postgraduate students to thank their supervisors in their theses; however, I cannot emphasize this strongly enough to make it sound sincere rather than typical. It is the least I can do. It is the least to do for an extraordinary person who has provided me with so much help that is beyond his duty. There are literally no words to thank Dr. Christopher Lucas enough. And even if there are, I am not sure from where should I start, should I thank him first for the things I have learnt from him, or his patience and encouragement, or for his kindness and making me always feel welcome. Nevertheless, I have no choice but to use words, hoping they can express my deepest gratitude. Many thanks Dr. Lucas for everything, without your help, this work would definitely be impossible.

Finally, I dedicate this thesis to my mother Amnah, who makes me always feel special, and my wife Maram, who makes everything in life meaningful.

The total word count of this thesis, including references and appendices, is 81,232 and 76,403 excluding these.

List of abbreviations

1	First person	INF	Infinitive
2	Second person	LOC	Location
3	Third person	M	Masculine
ABS	Absolutive	NEG	Negative marker
ACC	Accusative	NH	Non-hypothetical
A	Aspect	NOM	Nominative
ASER	Assertive	NSI	Negative-sensitive item
AUX	Auxiliary	NSP	Non-specific
COMP	Complementizer	OBJ	Object
COP	Copula	PASS	Passive
DEF	Definite article	PTCP	Participle
DEM	Demonstrative	PRF	Perfect
EMPH	Emphatic	PL	Plural
EX	Existential	POSS	Possessive
F	Feminine	PRES	Present
FUT	Future	PRG	Progressive
GEN	Genitive	PST	Past
HAB	Habitual	SBJV	Subjunctive
IMP	Imperative	SG	Singular
IMPF	Imperfect	T	Tense
JUSS	Jussive	VOC	Vocative particle
INCL	Inclusive		
IND	Indicative		
INDEF	Indefinite		

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1. Introduction

This thesis is a typological study of the way negation is expressed across modern Arabic varieties. Under this theme, different types of negation are considered in 54 documented Arabic varieties across the Arabic-speaking world. These types are standard negation, non-verbal negation, negative imperatives, negative existential clauses, negation with pseudo-verbs, negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions.

In this introductory chapter, I first give an overview of the different types of Arabic and discuss the fact that Standard Arabic cannot be considered as the origin for all modern Arabic varieties; yet, it is justifiable to compare Standard Arabic to the modern varieties in order to understand some of the modern negative structures (section 1.1). In section 1.2, I provide information on the broad transcription system used in the present study. In doing so, I touch upon some of the phonological variations between modern Arabic varieties in both consonants (section 1.2.1) and vowels (section 1.2.2). Then, I discuss certain syntactic and morphological characteristics of Arabic, especially those which interact with negation (section 1.3). In this vein, the different types of Arabic sentences and basic word order are first explained because different sentence structures may require different negative strategies (1.3.1). Second, I shed light on the tense and case marking systems of Arabic, as both may interact with negation as well (section 1.3.2). An overview of previous works on Arabic is given in section 1.4, especially on the ones done on the history of Arabic negation. The aims and the structure of the thesis are explained in 1.5. Finally, section 1.6, on the significance of the present thesis, concludes this chapter.

1.1 Standard Arabic

Arabic is a member of the Semitic branch of the Afro-Asiatic language family. The language (arguably a language family in its own right) is primarily spoken in the Middle

East, north Africa, and some of the surrounding areas such as Malta and parts of sub-Saharan Africa, by more than 300 million people.

In the literature, Classical Arabic, Standard Arabic and *fuṣḥā* are occasionally used to refer to the same thing (the literary Arabic of the first few centuries of the Islamic era). Modern Standard Arabic, in contrast, is used to refer to the contemporary written language, which is phonologically, syntactically and morphologically very close to Classical Arabic. The only significant differences between the two are perhaps lexical. That is, a number of Classical Arabic expressions and lexical items are not used in Modern Standard Arabic. In this thesis, however, the term Standard Arabic is used as an umbrella term for both Classical and Modern Standard Arabic.

It is important, at the beginning of this study, to emphasize on the fact that Standard Arabic is not the mother of all modern Arabic varieties. This fact has been discussed in several studies (e.g. Al-Jallad, 2017; Lucas, 2018; Obler, 1975; Owens, 2005; Watson, 2011). Nevertheless, it is justified to refer to negation in Standard Arabic in order to explain some of the negative phenomena found in some modern Arabic varieties. In fact, in the upcoming chapters, before any negative structure is compared among the modern varieties of Arabic, it is first explained how such a structure is expressed in Standard Arabic if Standard Arabic has it. For one thing, some of the modern negative phenomena are best understood historically. For another, some of the proposed generalizations make reference to the way negation is rendered in Standard Arabic.

The justification of referring to Standard Arabic is based on two reasons. First, it seems, as there is no evidence suggests otherwise, Standard Arabic as found in Qur'an and other early Arabic texts is more similar to the early varieties of Arabic than the modern Arabic varieties, "and this is especially likely to be true of features such as exclusively preverbal negation, concerning which Classical Arabic, other ancient Semitic languages, and contemporary Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula are all in

agreement" (Lucas, 2018: 9). Therefore, if the Standard Arabic we know is not the mother of the modern Arabic varieties, it is, at least, relatively similar to their mothers.

The other reason concerns the diglossia present in the Arabic world, but before we proceed, a few words on diglossia are in order. Diglossia means a situation where two distinct forms of a single language are used simultaneously in one place, often by the same speakers, with each form having a distinct social function (Ferguson, 1959). This phenomenon can be observed almost in every Arabic-speaking region as both Standard Arabic and the local dialect of that region are spoken under different conditions within the same community. Standard Arabic in these cases would be the formal variety that is used in education and formal occasions, and moreover it would be the written variety in most, if not all, printed materials such as newspapers, magazines, books, etc. On the other hand, the colloquial variety would be used on a daily basis in informal situations. Unlike Standard Arabic, the colloquial variety in a region is mostly considered to be unwritten, although many songs and conversations on social media are written in colloquial varieties.

With this in mind on diglossia, the reference to Standard Arabic looks to be compelling. First, many native Arabic speakers end up being exposed to almost the same amount of Standard Arabic and the local Arabic dialect spoken in their areas which makes them bidialectal. Second, Arabic speakers find themselves in many situations forced to refer to Standard Arabic as the origin of their Arabic. In writing, for instance, because there are no conventional alphabetical symbols for any of the modern Arabic varieties, speakers who desire to write in their own varieties are forced to use the alphabetical symbols of Standard Arabic. And because there are some phonological differences between Standard Arabic and modern Arabic varieties as will be shown in section 1.2, one may cope with these phonological differences in two ways. First, if the different phoneme already has a representative symbol in the Standard alphabetical system, this

symbol is chosen. For example, the item for 'three' takes the form *θalāθah* in Standard Arabic, whereas in Urban Hijazi Arabic it takes the form *talātah*.[1] As can be noted here, the reflex of the Standard phoneme /θ/ is [t] in this dialect. And because in the Standard Arabic alphabet, both /θ/ and /t/ have specific symbols for them, Urban Hijazi speakers would choose the Standard symbol /t/ <ت>, when writing the word for 'three'. Second, if the different phoneme has no representative symbol in Standard Arabic, speakers render such a phoneme by using analogy. That is to say, they make reference to how the item they wish to present in their own varieties is written in Standard Arabic. For example, /g/ is a phoneme used in Madinah Arabic, but not in Standard Arabic. Consequently, the Madinah Arabic morpheme *gāl* 'said' would be rendered in writing as *qāl* <قال>.

Bearing in mind this diglossia situation, one can say that if the phenomenon of language contact is rightly taken into consideration to explain the evolution of many linguistic phenomena found in human languages, this long and massive contact between Standard Arabic and modern Arabic varieties should definitely be taken into consideration as well. Not to mention that the contact between Standard Arabic and modern Arabic varieties does not occur at the physical level only, but also at the intellectual level. In other words, the two varieties are not spoken by two different types of people who happen to be in contact (physical contact); they are spoken by the same people who think of them analogically all the time (intellectual contact).[2] In short, then, we can say referring to Standard Arabic in order to understand some of the modern Arabic structures is justified either from a diachronic point of view, as Standard Arabic could be the mother of modern Arabic varieties or, at least, very similar in relevant respects to their mothers, or from a synchronic viewpoint since these varieties are in intensive contact with Standard Arabic.

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[1] Throughout this section, many names such as Urban Hijazi Arabic are proposed. See section 2.5 for information on where each Arabic variety considered in this study is spoken.

[2] Perhaps also what is known as "code-switching" in linguistics is a result of an intellectual contact between two languages.

1.2 Phonology

1.2.1   Consonants

Standard Arabic has 29 consonant phonemes, presented in Table 1. The rows in this table show the place of articulation, whereas the columns show the manner. Note also that in the cells, symbols appear either to the left or to the right. Left symbols are voiceless, where the right ones are voiced. In a few cells, one can see some symbols appear to be above each other, indicating they have the same place of articulation. In these cases, the lower symbols are emphatic, meaning that they have a secondary uvular or pharyngeal articulation not shared by the sounds presented by the symbols above.

Table 1: Consonants in Standard Arabic

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	b			t d ṭ ḍ			k	q		ʔ
Nasal	m			n						
Tap[3]				r						
Fricative		f	θ ð ḏ̣	s z ṣ	š			χ ɣ	ḥ ʕ	h
Affricate					ǧ					
Glide (Approximate)	w					y				
Lateral				l ḷ						

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[3] This /r/ is trill in some cases.

All of the above consonants can be found in modern Arabic varieties. This is not to say they are used identically in every dialect; in fact, such a case does not exist. It means one might find some of these consonants used in one dialect, whereas the others are used in another one.[4] In addition to these consonants, the following are used:

Table 2: Some consonants in contemporary Arabic

Symbols	Place and manner of articulation
ẓ	Emphatic voiced alveolar fricative
c	Voiceless alveolar affricate
ž	Voiced palato-alveolar fricative
č	Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
g	Voiced velar stop

The above consonants are not used in Standard Arabic.[5] Yet, they can be observed in different modern Arabic varieties. /ẓ/, for example, can be found in Cairene and Damascus Arabic. It is used in certain lexical items where Standard Arabic has /ḍ/ or /ḏ̣/. For example, the Standard Arabic morpheme *ḏ̣ann* 'surmise' is realized as *ẓann*. /c/ can be found in some varieties of central Saudi Arabia. It may occur in place of the Standard Arabic /k/. For example, *kaḏḏāb* 'liar' in Standard Arabic is pronounced as *caḏḏāb*. /ž/

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[4] Perhaps a separate study is needed to capture all of the phonological variations between modern Arabic varieties. Thus, I only discuss here the major ones, especially those I encounter in the data I collected for the purpose of this study.

[5] Some of them are used in some regional pronunciations of Standard Arabic, e.g., /g/ in Egypt and Yemen and /ž/ in Levant and Maghreb.

can be observed in most Levantine and North African varieties. It is used in place of the Standard Arabic /ǧ/. For example, in Damascus Arabic, the Standard Arabic morpheme *ḥaǧar* 'stone' is pronounced as *ḥažar*. /č/ can be heard sometimes in place of the Standard Arabic /k/ in the Gulf region, as well as in rural Palestine. For instance, the Standard Arabic morpheme *kalb* 'dog' is pronounced as *čalb*. The last consonant in Table 2 is /g/. It is found in many Arabic varieties in place of the standard /q/ as in *galb* 'heart' rather than the Standard Arabic form *qalb*. In Egypt, on the other hand, /g/ is used in place of the Standard Arabic /ǧ/ as in *gamal* 'camel' rather than *ǧamal*.

The phonological differences between Standard Arabic and modern Arabic varieties do not always involve use of a new consonant as explained above. In some cases, the reflex of a particular Standard Arabic consonant itself exists as a distinct consonant phoneme in Standard Arabic. For example, in Cairene Arabic, /ʔ/ is used in place of the Standard Arabic /q/. In this vein, for example, the Standard Arabic item *qahwah* 'coffee' appears as *ʔahwah* in Cairo. Another example can be observed in much of the Gulf. In this region, the traditional realization of the Standard Arabic /ǧ/ is /y/, for example, *ǧumʕah* 'Friday' becomes *yimʕah*.

Finally, examples in Standard Maltese in this thesis are transcribed differently to examples from other Arabic varieties. Standard Maltese has its own Latin-script orthography, which is used conventionally in transcribing examples of this dialect. Thus, this convention is followed here as well. In this vein, Table 3 below shows the relevant symbols in the Maltese orthography, which are used in presenting examples of Standard Maltese only, in the left-hand column and their values in the right-hand one.

Table 3: Standard Maltese consonants

Symbols in the Maltese orthography	Their phonetic values
ċ	č
ġ	ǧ
ħ	h
j	y
q	ʔ
x	š
z	c
ż	z
h	Silent

1.2.2   Vowels

Standard Arabic has three vowel qualities only, with a short-long length distinction for each one of them. All of these vowels are listed below in Table 4.

Table 4: Vowels in Standard Arabic

Symbols	Description	Example
a	Open front unrounded vowel	*ğabal* 'mountain'
ā	The long version of /a/	*bāb* 'door'
i	Close front unrounded vowel	*min* 'from'
ī	The long version of /i/	*ṭabīb* 'doctor'
u	Close back rounded vowel	*kutub* 'books'
ū	The long version of /u/	*ḥurūf* 'letters'

The three Standard Arabic long vowels (/ā/, /ī/ and /ū/) can be observed in most, if not all, modern Arabic varieties. In addition, the long vowels /ō/ and /ē/ can be found in many modern varieties only. These /ō/ and /ē/ vowels are monophthongised reflexes of what can be transcribed in Standard Arabic as /aw/ and /ay/, respectively. For example, the Standard Arabic morphemes *yawm* 'day' and *bayt* 'house' are realized as *yōm* and *bēt* in Madinah Arabic.

The short vowels (/a/, /i/ and /u/) are used in a very similar way to Standard Arabic in some modern Arabic varieties such as Cairene Arabic. Generally speaking, however, a number of other varieties collapse the phonemic distinction between /i/ and /u/, or even the phonemic distinction between /i/, /u/ and /a/ into a single phonemic short vowel schwa /ə/. Consider the following examples, and note that in Western Libyan Arabic /ə/ is used in *ktəbt* 'wrote' and in Dellys Arabic used in *ṣəyyad* 'fisherman':

(1) Western Libyan Arabic

ma-ktəbt ḥatta ḥaža

NEG-write.PRF.1SG any thing

'I did not write anything.' (Krer, 2013: 86)

(2) Dellys Arabic

huwa maši ṣəyyad

he NEG fisherman

'He is not a fisherman.' (Souag, 2005: 167)

Some varieties distinguish more vowels than the aforementioned. For example, in a number of varieties, the short vowels /o/ and /e/ can be observed. However, such vowels are typically not phonemic; they are used as allophones of other vowels, e.g., in many varieties [o] is used as an allophone of /u/ and [e] as an allophone of /i/. An example of this phenomenon can be found in Sousse Arabic, where the vowel [ɛ] as in (3) below is an allophone of /a/ and the choice between them depends on the surrounding consonants (Talmoudi, 1980: 17).

(3) Sousse Arabic

ʕmur-hum mɛ yēklu

never-they NEG eat.IMPF.3PL

'They never eat.' (Talmoudi, 1980: 166)

Talmoudi (1980) makes explicit which vowel symbols in his transcription represent underlying phonemes and which represent allophones. In many works consulted for the present thesis, however, such information is neither explained nor is there enough accessible data to infer it. For this reason, vowels in examples collected for the present

work will be copied faithfully from the original source. Due to this approach and the other cases discussed above, the following table summarizes all the vowels used in the present thesis in addition to those given in Table 4.

Table 5: Additional vowels used in the study

Symbols	Description
e	Close-mid front unrounded vowel
o	Close-mid back rounded vowel
ɛ	Open-mid front unrounded vowel
ə	Mid central vowel (schwa)
ē	The long version of /e/
ō	The long version of /o/
ɛ̄	The long version of /ɛ/

1.3 Syntax and morphology of Arabic

1.3.1   Syntax

Arabic clauses may be divided into two major types: verbal and non-verbal. The verbal ones are those which contain an overt verb. In transitive clauses, the dominant basic word order in Standard Arabic is either VSO or SVO. Both are exemplified in the following, respectively:

(4) Standard Arabic

    a.   ʔakala   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

        eat.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

        'Ahmad ate the apple.'

    b.   ʔaḥmad-u   ʔakala   t-tuffāḥat-a

        Ahmad-NOM   eat.PRF.3MSG   DEF-apple-ACC

        'Ahmad ate the apple.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

However, Alsalem (2012) and Krer (2013), among others, claim that all of the six possible orders of subject, object and verb (VSO, VOS, SVO, SOV, OVS and OSV) can be found in Standard Arabic. This claim might be due to the fact that Standard Arabic has a case marking system, a point that will be discussed later in section 1.3.2.2. In other words, since the core arguments (subjects and objects) in Standard Arabic carry inflectional suffixes (case endings), their syntactic function in the clause can be determined by these inflections rather than by their order in the clause. In (4) above, for example, the subject *ʔaḥmad* 'Ahmad' carries the nominative case *-u*, and the object *t-tuffāḥat* 'the apple' carries the accusative one *-a*; therefore, regardless of their order in the clause, one can still identify them based on the case markers they carry.

    The previous claim suggests that Standard Arabic is a free word order language. However, this is not the case. We must draw a clear line between what is possible in theory and what is actually attested in the writing and speech of Arabic speakers. We must also draw another line between what is considered as a dominant basic word order and more marked word orders that are rarely used for particular information-structural effects. In theory, a language, like Arabic, that has a case marking system might be eligible to be a free word order language, but what is found in practice in the vast majority of sentences in canonical texts are mostly two orders, either VSO or SVO. However,

VOS (5)(a) and OVS (5)(b) might be found in Standard Arabic as illustrated by the following examples from Qur'an: [6]

(5) Standard Arabic

a. Ɂinamā yaχšā   ḷḷāh-a   min   ʕibādih-i   l-ʕulamāɁ-u

   EMPH   fear.IMPF.3MSG   God-ACC   from   slave.PL-GEN   DEF-scholar.PL-NOM

   'Scholars fear God.' (Lit. 'Among God's servants, only scholars truly fear him')

   (Qur'an 35: 28)

b. kull-an   waʕada   ḷ-ḷāh-u   l-ḥusnā

   both-ACC.INDEF   promise.PRF.3MSG   God-NOM   DEF-welfare

   'God promised both the welfare.'   (Qur'an 57: 10)

In the previous examples, *aḷḷāh* 'God' in (5)(a) and *kull* 'both' in (5)(b) are the objects and have the accusative case *-a* and *-an* (the indefinite form of *-a*), respectively. In contrast, *al-ʕulamāɁ* 'scholars' in (5)(a) and *aḷḷāh* 'God' in (5)(b) are the subjects and have the nominative case *-u*. These orders, however, cannot be used in all cases. In fact, there is what is known among Arabic grammarians as *wuǧūb taqdīm al-fāʕil ʕalā al-mafʕūl* 'the obligation of placing the subject before the object'. That is to say, if the overt case marking suffixes cannot be used, the subject must precede the object in the clause. This is the case, for example, when the stems of the core arguments end in vowels. That is, case marking inflections are mostly vowels in Arabic, and clusters of vowels do not occur in Arabic. In the following, *mūsā* 'Musa' and *ʕīsā* 'Isa' are both names that end in vowels. Thus, it is impossible to add another vowel at the end of them. As a result, the subject and the object is determined by their order in the clause only; whichever noun

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[6] To my knowledge, VOS and OVS are the only orders that can be used on very rare occasions as explained in (5), whereas the other two (SOV and OSV) are not used.

comes first is perceived as the subject of the clause, while the other is considered as the object.

(6) Standard Arabic

ḍaraba	mūsā	ʕīsā
hit.PRF.3MSG	Musa	Isa

'Musa hit Isa.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

Similarly to Standard Arabic, in modern Arabic varieties both VSO and SVO are possible. The following are representative examples from Madinah and Cairene Arabic. Note that the same clause can be either SVO or VSO:

(7) Madinah Arabic

  a. katab   ʔaḥmad   risālah

      write.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad   letter

      'Ahmad wrote a letter.'

  b. ʔaḥmad   katab   risālah

      Ahmad   write.PRF.3MSG   letter

      'Ahmad wrote a letter.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(8) Cairene Arabic

  a. ʔakal   ʔaḥmad   kēka

      eat.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad   cake

      'Ahmad ate a cake.'

  b. ʔaḥmad   ʔakal   kēka

      Ahmad   eat.PRF.3MSG   cake

      'Ahmad ate a cake.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

It is worth mentioning here that, as noted by Brustad (2000), SVO might be more common in modern Arabic varieties than VSO. She also notes that, in modern Arabic varieties, verb-initial clauses mostly lack an independent subject; it is marked on the verb (Brustad, 2000: 317–318). This is also noticed in the data I gathered in my fieldwork (see section 2.6) and the data found in the sources I consulted for the purpose of this study, for instance:

(9) Annaba Arabic

χadamt   fi   ṣbīṭār

work.PRF.1SG   in   hospital

'I worked in a hospital.'   (Meftouh, Bouchemal, & Smaïli, 2012: 130)

(10)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

yiǧi

come.IMPF.3MSG

'He comes.'   (Erwin, 2004: 141)

Another case in my data that might support the assumption of the preference of SVO over VSO when there is an independent subject is that the following clauses that were included in the questionnaire designed for the present study (see section 2.6 for more details on the fieldwork):

(11)   Yanbuʕ Arabic

a. mḥammad   yašrab   l-ḥalīb

Mohammed   drink.IMPF.3MSG   DEF-milk

'Mohammed drinks the milk.'

b. yašrab   mḥammad   l-ḥalīb

    drink.IMPF.3MSG   Mohammed   DEF-milk

    'Mohammed drinks the milk.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

The previous are two versions of the same clause. They differ in word order only, one SVO and one is VSO. Participants were asked to negate these clauses. The aim was to determine if basic word order affects the placement of the negator in the clause. Interestingly, participants, in all cases, added only the verbal negator *mā* for the SVO clause. For the VSO clause, in contrast, many participants not only added the negator *mā* but also reorganised the clause to make it SVO. In other words, the following clause was the negative form of both clauses in (11):

(12) Yanbuʕ Arabic

      mḥammad   mā   yašrab   l-ḥalīb

      Mohammed   NEG   drink.IMPF.3MSG   DEF-milk

      'Mohammed drinks the milk.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

Based on this, one might conclude that both VSO and SVO are used in modern Arabic varieties; however, VSO seems to be used commonly when there is no independent subject in the clause, and if there is one, SVO seems to be preferable.

The second type of Arabic clause is non-verbal.[7] These do not contain an overt verb; they are formed by juxtaposing a nominal and its predicate, e.g.:

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[7] They are also called verbless or nominal sentences.

(13) Standard Arabic

ʔaḥmad-u ṭālib-un

Ahmad-NOM student-NOM

'Ahmad is a student.' *(Personal knowledge)*

(14) Madinah Arabic

χālid ðaki

Khaled smart

'Khaled is smart.' *(Personal knowledge)*

(15) Cairene Arabic

tamīm mudarris

Tameem teacher

'Tameem is a teacher.' *(Personal knowledge)*

As can be noticed in the English translation of the above examples, non-verbal sentences in Arabic are copular clauses in the present tense. Copular verbs in Arabic are omitted in the present and appear if the clause is changed to the past or the future. The following correspond to the above examples respectively. Note the Arabic copular verb *kān* 'was' is used as these clauses occur in the past tense.

(16) Standard Arabic

kān ʔaḥmad-u ṭālib-an

was Ahmad-NOM student-ACC

'Ahmad was a student.' *(Personal knowledge)*

(17)   Madinah Arabic

kān   χālid   ðaki

was   Khaled   smart

'Khaled was smart.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(18)   Cairene Arabic

tamīm   kān   mudarris

Tameem   was   teacher

'Tameem was a teacher.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

It is important to mention here that clauses such as the ones in (17) and (18) are not considered to be non-verbal clauses in the present thesis as they contain an overt verb, namely *kān* in this case. That is, verbal clauses, even if the verb is the copular *kān,* are negated by a different strategy. Compare the following clauses from Madinah Arabic:

(19)   Madinah Arabic

a. χālid   mu   ðaki

    Khaled NEG   smart

    'Khaled is not smart.'

b. ma   kān   χālid   ðaki

    NEG   was   Khaled   smart

    'Khaled was not smart.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

In (19)(a), the clause is non-verbal (no overt verb is used); thus, the non-verbal negator *mu* is used. In (19)(b), on the other hand, the verbal negator *ma* is used as the clause contains verb, despite the fact this clause is just the past tense version of the previous one.

Finally, the verbal negative strategy is mostly used to negate so-called pseudo-verb clauses. However, they are considered in the present work as a separate category because in some modern Arabic varieties certain types of them tend to be negated by particular negative strategies. This is not to say they are negated differently; it is just that in some varieties there is more than one negative strategy possible with ordinary verbs, and in these varieties certain pseudo-verbs tend to be negated by some of these strategies only (see section 6.2 for more details).

As Brustad puts it "a pseudo-verb can be a nominal or prepositional phrase that is used semantically to convey a verbal meaning, often but not necessarily possessive or existential in nature." (Brustad, 2000: 153). In section 6.2, more detail is given on this, but for now, consider the examples below. Note that ʕind- functions in (20)(a) as a pseudo-verb meaning 'have', but in (20)(b) functions as a preposition meaning 'by'.

(20)   Madinah Arabic

    a. ʕind-   sayyārah

        have-1SG   car

        'I have a car.'

    b. sayyārt-i   ʕind   il-bēt

        car-my   LOC   DEF-house

        'My car is by the house.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

Madinah Arabic is one of the varieties in which pseudo-verbs and ordinary verbs are negated in the same fashion. Thus, the clause in (20)(a) above is negated by placing the verbal negator *ma* before ʕind as in:

(21)   Madinah Arabic

    ma   ʕind-i   sayyārah

    NEG   have-1SG   car

    'I do not have a car.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

In contrast, the clause in (20)(b) is negated by using the non-verbal negator *mu* as in (22) since *ʕind* here is perceived as a preposition not a pseudo-verb, which makes this clause non-verbal.

(22)   Madinah Arabic

    sayyārt-i   mu   ʕind   il-bēt

    car-my   NEG   LOC   DEF-house

    'My car is not outside of the house.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

1.3.2   Morphology

1.3.2.1 Tense

In Standard Arabic, also in modern Arabic varieties, the verbal system is neither a completely tense-marking nor a totally aspect-marking system (Lucas, 2009: 20). Typically, verbs in Arabic are typically divided into two categories, which we label here perfect and imperfect. Perfect verbs refer to past time with perfective aspect (23)(a), whereas imperfect verbs refer to non-past time and habitual or progressive aspect (23)(b).

(23)   Standard Arabic

    a. ʔakala   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

          eat.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

          'Ahmad ate the apple.'

b. yaʔkul-u   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

    eat.IMPF.3MSG-NOM   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

    'Ahmad eats the apple.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Future tense clauses in Standard Arabic are expressed by prefixing *sa-* or inserting the particle *sawfa* before an imperfect verb.

(24)   Standard Arabic

a. sa-yaʔkul-u   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

    FUT-eat.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

    'Ahmad will eat the apple.'

b. sawfa   yaʔkul-u   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

    FUT   eat.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

    'Ahmad will eat the apple.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

In modern Arabic varieties, mostly different morphemes are used instead of *sa-* and *sawfa* to express future tense. In Madinah Arabic, for instance, the future morphemes are *b-* and *rāḥ* (25), in Cairene Arabic, the morpheme is *ḥa-* (26), and in Malian Ḥassāniyya, it is *lāhi* (27).[8]

(25)   Madinah Arabic

a. b-yākul   ruzz

    FUT-eat.IMPF.3MSG   rice

    'He will eat rice.'

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[8] *b-* is derived from *yabɣī* 'want', *rāḥ* and *ḥa-* are derived from *rāyiḥ* 'going', see Stewart (1998) for more information on this and similar morphemes in the modern varieties of Arabic.

b. rāḥ   yākul   ruzz

FUT   eat.IMPF.3MSG   rice

'He will eat rice.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(26) Cairene Arabic

ḥa-yākul   ruzz

FUT-eat.IMPF.3MSG   rice

'He will eat rice.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(27) Malian Ḥassāniyya

mā-hu   lāhi   yṭīh

NEG-he   FUT   fall.IMPF.3MSG

'He will not fall.'   (Heath, 2003: 114)

Tense plays a role in negation. In a number of modern Arabic varieties, future tense clauses, for example, are negated differently. In Cairene Arabic, for instance, with perfect verbs, negation can be realized by the bipartite construction *ma……-š,* but with future tense clauses negation must be single and expressed by *miš.*

(28) Cairene Arabic

a. ma   gā-š   imbāriḥ

NEG   come.PFR.3MSG-NEG yesterday

'He did not come yesterday.'

b. miš   ḥa-tīgi   bukra

NEG   FUT-come.IMPF.3FSG   tomorrow

'She is not going to come tomorrow.'   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982 39)

It is worth noting here that verbs (only imperfect verbs) can carry mood affixes in Standard Arabic. These affixes are as follows: -*u* (for the indicative) -*a* (for the subjenctive) and ∅ (for the jussive mood).[9] In (29), the verb *yaʔkul* 'eat' has the indicative mood suffix case -*u*:

(29)   Standard Arabic

yaʔkul-u   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

eat.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

'Ahmad eats the apple.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Note here mood markers on verbs might be affected by negation (see section 3.3 for more details). For example, imperfect verbs following the Standard Arabic negator *lan* must have the subjunctive mood -*a*:

(30)   Standard Arabic

lan   yaʔkul-a   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

NEG   eat.IMPF.3MSG-SBJV   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

'Ahmad eats the apple.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Modern Arabic varieties have no overt case or mood suffixes as can be seen in (31) and (32).

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[9] All of these affixes have different allomorphs in Arabic. Note also that the indicative and the subjunctive makers are identical to the nominative and the accusative makers, respectively. Thus, they are labelled identically in the Arabic tradition, as *mafʕūl* and *manṣūb*, respectively.

(31)   Southern Sinai Arabic

al-biʕīr   hāða   la-h   arbaʕt iyyām mā   warad

DEF-camel   this   for-him   four   day.PL NEG   drink.PRF.3MSG

'This camel had not drunk for four days.'   (de Jong, 2011: 272)

(32)   al-Karak Arabic

yazan   ma-bilʕab   faṭbōl

Yazan   NEG-play.IMPF.3MSG   soccer

'Yazan does not play soccer.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 42)

This absence of case markers in modern Arabic varieties might, in fact, explain why SVO tends to be more common in transitive clauses if subjects are independent. That is, with VSO word order, both the A and the P are adjacent to each other, but with SVO, they are separated by the verb which make them more identifiable.

1.3.2.2 Case marking system

Case marking (or case affixation) is a system that is used for indicating the grammatical relationship to the head of the clause or phrase of the case-marked word. Perhaps the best way to approach this phenomenon in Arabic is by briefly discussing first how it is done cross-linguistically. From a typological point of view, languages can be divided into three types based on the way they mark core arguments: nominative/accusative, ergative/absolutive and tripartite (Comrie, 2013; Tallerman, 2005).[10] Before we examine each one of them in order to determine the type used in Arabic, we must define the term *core argument*. This term refers to three types of noun phrases: subject (S), Agent (A)

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[10] There is also a *neutral system*, in which core arguments are marked in the same way or equally unmarked, and there is a *split case marking system*, in which two of these three systems are used within the same language, see for more details Tallerman (2005: 164).

and patient (P). The subject (S) is the subject of intransitive clauses, the agent (A) is the subject of transitive clauses, and the patient (P) is the object of transitive clauses.

In the nominative/accusative system, S and A are marked in the same way, but P is marked differently. This is the case in Latin.

(33)   Latin (Italic, Indo-European)

a. puella   veni-t

girl.NOM   come.PRES.3SG

'The girl(s) comes.'

b. puella   puer-um   audi-t

girl.NOM   boy-ACC   hear.PRES.3SG

'The girl hears the boy.'   (Tallerman, 2005: 162)

Note here that the S and the A in the previous is *puella* 'girl'. It has the nominative case in both examples which means both S and A are marked in the same way. The P *puer-um* 'boy', in contrast, has the accusative case.

In the ergative/absolutive system, S and P are marked in one way, and A is marked in another. Consider the following from Lezgian:

(34)   Lezgian (Northeast Caucasian)

a. zun   ata-na

I.ABS   come.PRF

'I came.'

b. aburu   zun   ajib-da

they.ERG   I.ABS   shame-FUT

'They will shame me.'   (Tallerman, 2005: 163)

As can be seen in the above, the S in (34)(a) *zun* 'I' has the absolutive case. In (34)(b), *zun* 'I' occurs in the P position and also has the absolutive case. The A *aburu* 'they', on the other hand, has the ergative case. This puts S and P in one side and A in another.

Finally, in the tripartite system, each argument (S, A and P) is marked differently. This is found in Hindi.

(35)   Hindi (Indo-Iranian, Indo-European)

  a.   laRkā   kal   āy-ā

       boy   yesterday   come.AOR-MSG

       'The boy came yesterday.'

  b.   laRke   ne   laRkī   ko   dekh-ā

       boy.OBL   ERG   girl   ACC   see-MSG

       'The boy saw the girl.'   (McGregor, 1977 as cited by Comrie, 2013)

In (35)(a), there is no overt case mark assigned to the S *laRkā* 'boy', whereas in (35)(b), the ergative postposition *ne* is assigned to the A *laRke* 'boy', and the accusative postposition *ko* is assigned to the P *laRkī* 'girl'.[11]

Turning to Arabic, Standard Arabic has the nominative/accusative system in which S and A are marked in one way, and P is marked in another. In (36) below, *Ɂaḥmad* 'Ahmad' functions as the S and the A, and in both cases has the nominative case *-u*. *t-tuffāḥat* 'the apple', in contrast, functions as the P and has the accusative case *-a*:

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[11] According to Comrie (2013), the noun preceding the ergative case *ne* in this language must be in the oblique case.

(36)　Standard Arabic

   a.　ðahaba　　　Ɂaḥmad-u

     go.PRF.3MSG　Ahmad-NOM

     'Ahmad went.'

   b.　Ɂakala　　　　　　Ɂaḥmad-u　　　　　t-tuffāḥat-a

     eat.PRF.3MSG　　　Ahmad-NOM　　　DEF-apple-ACC

     'Ahmad ate the apple.'　　　　　　　　　　　*(Personal Knowledge)*

1.4 Previous studies on Arabic

Arabic has been the topic of numerous previous studies. Many of these focus on a single dialect aiming to write a reference grammar of that dialect (e.g., de Jong, 2000; Erwin, 2004; Khalafallah, 1969; Owens, 1984; Qafisheh, 1992). Other studies investigate a single phenomenon such as negation in a specific Arabic dialect, e.g., Krer (2013) on Western Libyan Arabic; Chatar-Moumni (2012) on Moroccan Arabic; and Murphy (2014) on Damascus Arabic.

In several studies an attempt to compare negation in some Arabic varieties has been made (Diem, 2014; Hoyt, 2005; Lucas, 2009; Wilmsen, 2014). However, this thesis differs from all of these in important respects. In these studies, not only are a relatively small number of Arabic varieties discussed, but also only certain types of negation are investigated. For instance, Hoyt (2005) only considers the similarities and differences in standard negation between Moroccan and Palestinian Arabic. Diem (2014) also discusses the same aspect but between Cairene and Moroccan. Negative imperatives, for example, are not investigated in detail in any previous work. That is simply because, unlike this thesis, a systematic comparison of the different types of negation in most, if not all, modern Arabic varieties has not been the focus of previous works (see section 1.5 for more details on the aims of the present thesis).

The history of negation in Arabic has been also discussed in several works, (e.g. Diem, 2014; Lucas, 2009; Wilmsen, 2014). It seems appropriate to summarize this issue further here, since, although the present work is synchronic, an understanding of the historical background will result in a better understanding of some of the modern negative phenomena.

Arabic has gone through what has been known since Dahl (1979) as Jespersen's cycle. In his study of negation in various Indo-European languages, Jespersen notes that:

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 (Jespersen, 1917: 4).

The cycle can be summarized by the following three stages: in stage I, negation is expressed by a pre-verbal negative marker that gets weakened over time, in stage II, the original negator is supported by another morpheme placed post-verbally in order to strengthen the notion of negation, and in stage III, the original negator is omitted and negation is achieved through the use of the new morpheme only, which presumably will go through the same cycle again. The three stages are typically illustrated by the following examples from old (Stage I), contemporary standard (Stage II) and contemporary colloquial French (Stage III):

(37)   French (Italic / Indo-European family)

    a. Old French

      jeo   ne   dis

      1SG   NEG   say

    'I do not say.'

    b. Contemporary standard French

      je ne   dis   pas

      1SG NEG   say   NEG

    'I do not say.'

    c. Contemporary colloquial French

      je dis   pas

      1SG say   NEG

    'I do not say.'

Similarly to French, the cycle can be observed in Arabic (Diem, 2014; Lucas, 2009):

(38)   Arabic

    a. Standard Arabic

      mā   Ɂakala   Ɂaḥmad-u   ṭ-ṭaʕām-a

      NEG   eat.PRF.3MSG   Ahmed-NOM   DEF-food-ACC

      'Ahmad did not eat the food.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

    b. Palestinian Arabic

      (ana)   mā-akalt[i]-š   il-fūl

      I   NEG-eat.PRF.1SG-NEG   DEF-fava beans

      'I did not eat fava beans.'   (Lucas, 2010: 173)

c. Palestinian Arabic

(ana)   baḥibbⁱ-š   il-fūl

I   like.IMPF.1SG-NEG   DEF-fava beans

'I do not like fava beans.'   (Lucas, 2010: 173)

The origin of the negative …-š in Arabic is *šayʔ* 'thing', which functions as an accusative adverb as in the following Quranic passage (3: 120) (Diem, 2014; Lucas, forthcoming):

(39)   lā   yaḍurru-kum   kaydu-hum   šayʔan

       NEG   harm.IMPF.3MSG-you.PL   cunning-their thing.ACC

       'Their cunning will not harm you at all.'   (Lucas, 2009: 256)

Although the development of negation in Palestinian Arabic presents a good example of Jespersen's cycle in the way Dahl (1979) explains it (preverbal > bipartite > post-verbal), the development in Cairene Arabic may be

more cyclic in the strict sense of the word, because negation in Cairene Arabic is not only undergoing the third of three stages consisting of one particle > two particles > one particle, but will perhaps some time in the future end with exactly the same preverbal position which it had when the development started: *1. ma verb. 2. ma-verb-š. 3. miš verb.* (Diem, 2014: 99–100).

An example of negation with *miš* placed pre-verbally in Cairene Arabic can be seen in the following clause:

(40)   Cairene Arabic

di   miš   ʕamalit   ḥāga

DEM.FSG   NEG   do.PRF.3FSG   thing

'She has not done anything.'   (Diem, 2014: 96)

An alternative analysis is offered by Wilmsen (2014). In this vein, Wilmsen argues that the use of the negative morpheme …-š in Arabic, is a result of Croft's cycle, not Jespersen's cycle. In section 6.1.2, this issue is discussed further as we will be explaining then the cycle proposed by Croft (1991) as well as Wilmsen's alternative proposal.

1.5 Aims and structure

The main goal in this thesis is to determine to what extent modern Arabic varieties are alike and to what extent they differ in terms of negation. The significance of this goal is discussed further in the next section (1.6).

To answer this question, this thesis is divided into eight chapters: one is introductory; one is on the methodology; five are on the results; and the last one is the conclusion. As we have already seen, the introductory chapter gives an overview of the Arabic language in general. Under this theme, we have discussed several points: why it is reasonable to refer to Standard Arabic to understand some of the contemporary negative aspects found among the modern Arabic varieties (section 1.1); exploring some of the phonological variations between modern Arabic varieties to outline the broad transcription system used in the present study (section 1.2); illustration of some of the Arabic syntactic and morphological characteristics that interact with negation (section 1.3); previous works done on Arabic with particular attention to those done on

the history of negation in Arabic (section 1.4); this section (1.5) on the aims and the structure of this study: and finally, section 1.6 on the significance of the present project.

The methodology chapter (2) explains the method adopted in this research. Under this theme, essential background information on typology is provided in 2.1 to differentiate between this study and typical typological studies; the four necessary steps that should be followed in any typological study, including this one, is explained in 2.2; the various types of typological generalizations that can be proposed to capture how a phenomenon is expressed across the investigated sample are outlined in 2.3, a list of the modern Arabic varieties included in this study and their consulted sources are given in section 2.4, and finally, section 2.5 gives details of the fieldwork trip conducted to collect data for the purpose of this study.

Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 present the results of this study. In each chapter, a different type of negation is considered: chapter 3 is on standard negation, chapter 4 is on non-verbal negation, chapter 5 is on negative imperatives, chapter 6 is on negative existential clauses and negation with pseudo-verbs, and chapter 7 is on negative-sensitive items.

In each chapter, before we illustrate how any of these types of negation is expressed among the modern varieties of Arabic, we first define it, explain how it is expressed cross-linguistically, and how it is rendered in Standard Arabic as reference may be made occasionally to this when it is needed. In some cases, however, there might not be any typological framework that illustrates how the negative type in question is expressed cross-linguistically. In other cases, also, the investigated negative type may not be observed in Standard Arabic. Therefore, these two sections may not always be included in every chapter, and when they are not, an explicit statement is made to this effect.

The number of the modern Arabic varieties considered in each chapter varies significantly based on the availability of data. For instance, in chapter 3, standard negation is considered in 53 modern varieties out of the 54 included in this study. That is, no information regarding standard negation is found in Abeche Arabic, which is, though, included in other chapters where the relevant information is found. Accordingly, before any negative type is discussed among the modern varieties, an explicit statement is also made regarding the number of the varieties included in that chapter.

After defining the considered negative type, explaining how it is expressed cross-linguistically if possible, and explaining how it is expressed in Standard Arabic if applicable, the negative type is examined among modern Arabic varieties. In this regard, the modern varieties are categorized and, based on this categorization, generalizations are proposed and explained where possible. The categorization differs from one chapter to another. In some chapters, two different categorizations are proposed: one based on typological feature values and the other based on geography. In the first one, varieties that tend to behave in the same manner regarding the considered negative type are grouped under one category, whereas in the second, a geographically-based overview regarding the same negative type is given to show the variations found among varieties of the same region. In some chapters, both types of categorizations are conducted as each one of them seems to reveal different interesting results. In others, only one of them is done as the other might seem to be less interesting. For instance, regardless of their regions, the majority of modern Arabic varieties tend to negate existential clauses by using the verbal negator (section 6.1); therefore, it would be pointless to explain how such a construction is expressed on a region-by-region basis.

In a small number of cases, no categorization, either based on similarities and differences or based on geography, is proposed. For example, pseudo-verbs (section 6.2) in a given variety always seem to be negated similarly to ordinary verbs. In a few varieties

only, further data collected shows that speakers can choose from different accessible negative strategies used in their variety to negate certain types of pseudo-verbs, while their choice is limited with other types of pseudo-verbs. In this case, therefore, no categorization is proposed. Instead, facts are stated as found in the majority of the modern varieties in which negation with pseudo-verbs is no different from negation with ordinary verbs, then the extra available information on the limited speakers' choice found in a very small number of varieties is discussed.

Finally, each of the five results chapters includes a summary where every generalization proposed in that chapter is repeated, and all of these generalizations together are repeated in the conclusion chapter (8) where a summary of the whole thesis is given.

1.6 The significance of the study

The significance of this study can be summarized in two points. First, there is a great wealth of studies on negation in individual Arabic varieties, and "it is time to draw up an interim balance in the form of comparative studies, so that we may see what our achievements [in Arabic dialectology] are, where we have to indicate serious lacunae, and what our attention should be focused on" (Woidich, 1999: 355). Second, the synchronic variations among varieties may represent language change in progress (Croft, 2003: 232). If this is the case in Arabic, the present study should, then, help us to understand the way Arabic evolves over time, since capturing these synchronic variations is one of the aims in this project. This, in turn, should help in reconstructing the development of negative constructions in Arabic. For example, "when one of two related languages has an asymmetrical paradigm and the other language a symmetrical one, the asymmetrical paradigm is, *ceteris paribus*, the more archaic one, from which, by the way of generalization of one of the variants, the symmetrical paradigm developed" (Diem,

2014: 77). In other words, speakers of the symmetrical dialect have generalized the new construction whereas speakers of the other one have not yet. Consider the following:

(41)   Moroccan Arabic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)

   a.   ma-žbəṛt   flus

        NEG-find.PERF.1SG   money

        'I did not find money.'

   b.   ma-žbəṛt -š   li-flus

        NEG-find.PERF.1SG-NEG   DEF-money

        'I did not find the money.'   (Diem, 2014: 76)

(42)   Cairene Arabic

   a.   ma-χadt^i-š   filūs

        NEG-take.PRF.1SG-NEG   money

        'I did not take money'

   b.   ma-χadt^i-š   il-filūs

        NEG-take.PRF.1SG-NEG   DEF-money

        'I did not take the money.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

In standard negation, Moroccan Arabic speakers use the bipartite negative strategy only when the direct object is definite. Cairene Arabic speakers, in contrast, use the same strategy whether the direct object is definite or not. Thus, the negation patterns found in Moroccan should be, then, perceived as the more archaic. In this vein, when the present study sheds the light on such variations and points out which Arabic dialect has a symmetrical negative paradigm and which has not, it will help to have a better understanding of the history of negation in Arabic which will lead to a better understanding of the history of negation in Semitic languages in general.

2. The present study

This chapter is devoted to explaining the present thesis. Because this study is typological, in section 2.1, essential background information on typology is given first in order to show in which respects the present work is similar and in which it differs from typical typological studies. Then, in section 2.2, I outline the necessary steps in any typological study, which are also followed in the present one. In 2.3, I illustrate the various types of typological generalizations as any generalization proposed here falls into one of these types. Data and varieties included in the study are given in section 2.4. And finally, fieldwork methodology is given in section 2.5.

2.1 Typology

The term *typology* refers to feature-based classification. Similarly to many linguistic terms, it is borrowed from another field of study. According to Croft (2003: 1) the term is adapted from its use in biology in the nineteenth century, a field that inspired many linguists during that time. Greenberg (1974: 13), by contrast, claims that the term is borrowed from psychology around 1928.[12]

Initially, linguistic typology was connected with morphology only; in fact, the term typological morphology was used to refer to morphological classification as opposed to genealogical classification (Greenberg, 1974: 13). It aimed at categorizing languages into three groups: fusional, where a word consists of several morphemes and boundaries between them are not clear; agglutinative, where a word also consists of more than one morpheme but the boundaries between them are clear; or isolating, where each word represents one morpheme only (Shopen, 2007). The technique used in the Arabic word *katabnā* (43), for example, is fusional since it is impossible to draw a line between the

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[12] Perhaps, though, Croft is referring to the first typological study conducted by Schlegel (1808), whereas Greenberg is reporting the first use of the word *typology* itself since Greenberg cites Schlegel's work in his book, indicating familiarity with it.

verb *write*, the perfect tense marker, the marker of first person, and the marker of plural; they are fused together. In contrast, when words are built by agglutination, the morphemes which they consist of are recognizable, and there is a one-to-one relationship between morphemes and grammatical functions. This is the case in the Turkish (44), as the three morphemes *gel-me-yecek* are identifiable as 'come', then a negative marker, then a future tense marker. In the isolating language Tetun Dili (45), however, the task is straightforward as each word encodes one meaning only.

(43)　　Standard Arabic

　　　　katabnā

　　　　write.PRF.1PL

　　　　'We wrote.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　*(Personal Knowledge)*

(44)　　Turkish (Turkic)

　　　　gel-me-yecek

　　　　come-NEG-FUT

　　　　'(S)he will not come.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Schaaik, 1996: 22)

(45)　　Tetun Dili (Austronesian)

　　　　nia　　la　　ba

　　　　3SG　　NEG　　go

　　　　'He did not go.'　　　　　　　(Klinken, Hajek, & Nordlinger, 2002: 56)

Currently, typology is used in a wider sense. It is a field of study that investigates similarities as well as differences among languages, and classifies them accordingly in order to come up with a generalization that captures what is either possible or impossible in human languages (Croft, 2003; Song, 2001; Velupillai, 2012). Typologists do not examine whole languages, rather they investigate a specific phenomenon, or perhaps

phenomena, across languages. In this vein, any linguistic aspect could be subject to study, for example: whether the existence of a voiceless nasal consonant in the sound system of a language implies the occurrence of a voiced one (phonology); whether there is a cross-linguistic preference for suffixation over prefixation (morphology); whether SOV is the most common basic word order universally (syntax); and so on. In addition, a typological study can be either synchronic– an investigation of a specific linguistic feature across a number of contemporary languages or dialects as in Mörth's (1997) study of the numeral system in modern Arabic varieties– or diachronic– an investigation of the development of a linguistic feature in different languages over time as in McGregor's (2013) work on the origin of tense, aspect and mood markers in Australian languages. The present thesis is synchronic focusing on negation (primarily the syntax of negation) in modern Arabic varieties.

Like any field, typology faces various challenges. First, typological studies are limited since not all languages are available to study. In this study, the aim is to investigate the system of negation in all modern Arabic varieties; in practice, we are limited to those for which it is possible to obtain the relevant information.

The second challenge might be the more critical one in this field, although it does not present a problem for the present study, due to a key difference between this study and a more typical typological investigation. In typology, languages are sorted based on their similarities and difference regarding the phenomenon in question. Accordingly, to the extent that some of the languages in a typologist's sample are alike due to their genetic relationships or due to contact, that sample will present a skewed picture of the overall global situation. Such a risk is typically reduced by considering, as much as possible, languages from different language families and different geographical areas. Dryer (1989) innovates a new method to control for the two effects. In his methodology, languages are grouped into genera based on their genetic relationships. He refers to each

group as a *genus* which is, approximately, comparable to an Indo-European subfamily such as Germanic, Romance, etc. Then, genera are divided into the following five linguistic areas: Africa, Eurasia, Australia–New Guinea, North America and South America. Dryer (1989), though, uses the term *linguistic area* differently. Conventionally, the term is used to describe an area where many typological characteristics are shared by genetically unrelated languages. Dryer, on the other hand, uses the term for "an area in which at least one linguistic property is shared more often than elsewhere in the world to an extent which is unlikely to be due to chance, but which is probably due to either contact or remote genetic relationships" (Dryer, 1989: 266). This explains why the five linguistic areas in his study are approximately the size of a continent, and since the size of the areas is maximized, the areal effect is reduced. That is, it might be possible to borrow a feature from a language spoken within the same continent but not from another continent. Finally, to control genetic relationships, only genera, not languages, are counted in the study. In other words, a pattern that occurs in many languages within the same genus is counted as 1. Dryer (1989) illustrates the new method by testing the widely spread hypothesis of the preference of SOV basic word order over SVO. The result confirms the hypothesis as shown in the following (Dryer 1989: 271):[13]

	Afr	Eura	A-NG	Nam	Sam	Total
SOV	22	26	19	26	18	111
SVO	21	19	6	6	5	57

Table 6: SOV and SVO preference

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[13] Afr=Africa, Eura=Eurasia, A-NG=Australia-New Guinea, Nam=North America and Sam=South America

The data reveals that there are 111 genera in the sample containing SOV languages but only 57 of them contain SVO languages. Hence, the cross-linguistic preference of SOV over SVO is confirmed.

For the purpose of this study, however, the considered varieties do not belong to different language families or separate geographical areas; instead, they belong to a single language, namely Arabic, and all of them are spoken in relatively adjacent areas. In this study, the steps of typical typological studies are almost always followed as this approach seems to be a useful framework for approaching the variation in the expression of negation among varieties of Arabic. The most important respect in which this study departs from typical typological studies is way considered sample is constructed. That is, unlike with typical worldwide typological studies, the sample here is, in fact, a reasonable approximation of varieties of a single language (Arabic). In this vein, there is no need to control for relatedness and contact because the aim is not to shed light on what is or isn't universal in human language, it is instead to give as comprehensive a picture as possible of the ways in which the expression of negation varies in different Arabic varieties, see section 1.6 for further discussion on the rationale behind this.

2.2 Steps of typological studies

Croft (2003) differentiates between three types of typological studies. The first is *typological classification*, in which languages are classified based on their structural differences. Another type is *typological generalization*, which refers to the study of a recurring pattern across languages– Croft also refers to this as the study of language universals, which will be discussed further in section 2.3. The last type of study Croft identifies is *functional–typological explanation* which essentially consists of offering an explanation of findings from the first and the second type of typological studies.

A slightly different perspective is offered by Song (2001). He proposes the following four stages as fundamental steps in any typological investigation: (I) identify which phenomenon (or phenomena) is being studied; (II) classify languages into groups based on the different strategies they use to express the phenomenon in question; (III) rely on the proposed classification in order to formulate a proper generalization; and finally, (IV) explain the result(s) where possible.

In the first stage, the studied phenomenon is identified. There is no restriction on which linguistic aspect should be investigated, nor how many linguistic properties should be examined simultaneously. In stage II, languages are classified based on the differences among them with regard to the chosen property. For example, based on the order of subject, object and verb in declarative clauses, languages are categorized into the following six types: SOV, SVO, VSO, VOS, OSV, OVS. However, a study of 1377 languages shows that SOV and SVO are overwhelmingly common cross-linguistically; 565 languages are SOV and 488 languages are SVO (Dryer, 2013). Consequently, in stage III, the following generalization can be formulated: the vast majority of the world's languages tend to have either SOV or SVO as a basic word order. Such a tendency would impose the question why (Stage IV). At this stage, linguistic typologists are expected to make every effort to explain the result.

Note that the three definitions suggested by Croft (2003) are already implied in Song's four stages. What Croft calls *typological classification* is, in fact, Song's stage II, where languages are categorized into groups. And *typological generalization* represents stage III where a generalization is made in the light of the result of stage II. Finally, *functional–typological explanation* is what one does in stage IV to explain the conclusion.

In this thesis, I follow these four steps outlined by Song (2001). First, I demonstrate in detail the phenomenon I investigate and the approach to it adopted here. Second, I classify Arabic varieties on the basis of the similarities and the differences they

exhibit. Then, I rely on the proposed classification to formulate generalizations. Finally, I explain the conclusions reached where possible.

2.3 Generalizations

There is a strong relationship between generalizations and universals, but before we explain this relationship, we must first define the term *universal.* The relationship between universals and typology is extremely strong to the point that frequently they are mentioned in the same publication title (Comrie, 1981; Croft, 2003; Haspelmath, 2001). Simply, universals are properties that can be seen in all, or in most, human languages (Song, 2001; Velupillai, 2012). Logically speaking, then, a universal statement can also be made to describe a pattern that never, or rarely, occurs among languages. Accordingly, studies concerned with language universals are almost, if not always, statistical (Comrie, 1981; Dryer, 1991; Greenberg, 1963). That is to say, a pattern is identified as a universal if it is attested in a large number of languages, or not universal when there are no, or only a few languages, that have it. By definition then, language universals is a subfield of typology as in typology one investigates similarities and differences simultaneously whereas in language universals the aim is to determine shared properties only. Ramat (1987), however, views language universals as being in opposition to typology. As he puts it "…typological research and research into universals are, in principle, diametrically opposed …" (Ramat, 1987: 41). Typology is the study of language differences whereas universals is about similarities (ibid). However, such a claim may not be accurate. That is, it might be plausible to look at similarities without paying much attention to differences, but not vice versa. If typology aims at classifying languages based on the different properties they have, how can someone, then, accomplish such a task without being aware of the similarities among them? Similarities must be sorted out first in order to exclude them in any meaningful classification. For example, there is no way to make

an attempt to differentiate between languages on the basis of their ability to express negation without first establishing the fact that negation is universal. Once the four steps (outlined in 2.2 above) are followed in any typological study, the researcher must end up announcing the investigated pattern as either universal or not. Let us take the case of a language's ability to express negation, for example. Negation (the studied phenomenon) is defined in Stage I. Then, in Stage II, languages are classified based on their ability to express it. In this stage, all languages will be grouped into one category as all of them are able to express negation. As a result, one can conclude that negation is universal. Thus, indeed, any study into universals is a typological research one way or another.

Universals are divided into two types: implicational and non-implicational (Song, 2001; Velupillai, 2012). Both can be divided further as absolute and non-absolute (ibid).[14] In other words, implicational universals can be either absolute or non-absolute; similarly, non-implicational universals can be absolute or non-absolute. Velupillai (2012: 34) also notes that implicational universals can be bidirectional or unidirectional. The division is illustrated in the following figure:

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[14] Velupillai (2012) uses different terminology; he refers to implicational vs. non-implicational as restricted vs. unrestricted and for absolute vs. non-absolute as absolute vs. statistical.
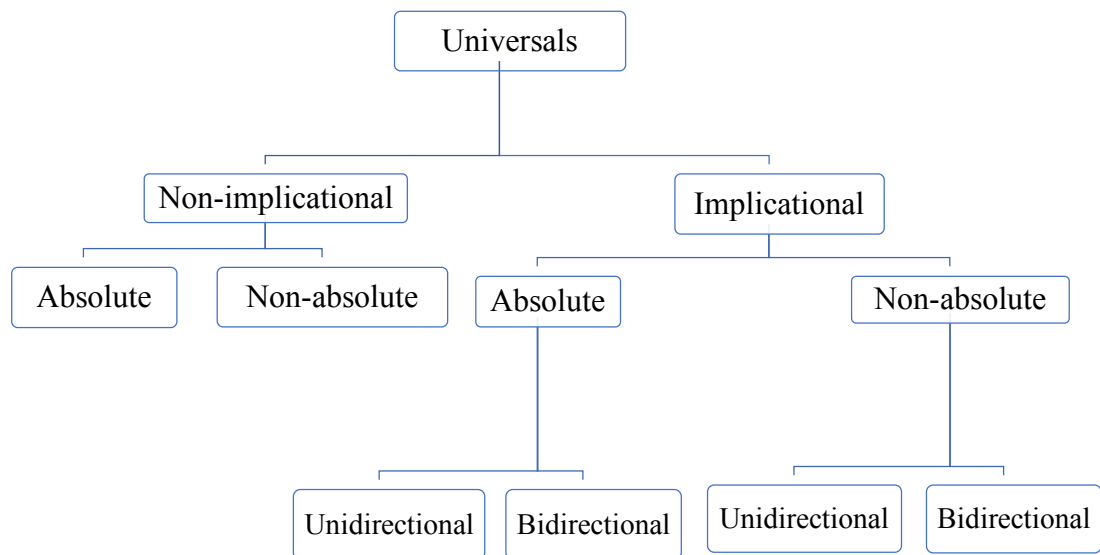
Figure 1: Types of universals

In non-implicational universals, an unconditional statement is made, along the lines of X happens in all or most languages. If the statement holds true with no exceptions cross-linguistically, the non-implicational universal is absolute. If the statement, however, holds true in most languages, the non-implicational universal is non-absolute. On the other hand, in implicational universals, the statement is conditional and may take the following form: if X is found, then Y is observed. Similarly to non-implicational universals, if the statement is always true, the implicational universal is absolute; if it is mostly true, the universal is non-absolute. In implicational universals, however, a new parameter can be added: bidirectional vs. unidirectional. That is, if the relationship between X and Y is symmetrical, the implicational universal is bidirectional, meaning as X imposes Y, Y also imposes X. In contrast, if the relationship is asymmetrical, the universal is unidirectional, meaning X imposes Y, but not vice versa.

The four types of universals can be identified in the work of Greenberg (1963), for example:[15]

A. *"Universal 42.* All languages have pronominal categories involving at least three persons and two numbers."

(Greenberg, 1963: 60)

B. *"Universal 1.* In declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost always one in which the subject precedes the object." (Universal 1)

(Greenberg, 1963: 43)

C. *"Universal 26.* If a language has discontinuous affixes, it always has either prefixing or suffixing or both."

(Greenberg, 1963: 56)

D. *"Universal 41.* If in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system."

(Greenberg, 1963: 59)

An example of a non-implicational absolute universal is (A), whereas (B) is an example of a non-implicational non-absolute universal. In contrast, (C) is an implicational absolute universal and finally (D) is an implicational non-absolute universal.

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[15] In his study, Greenberg considers 30 languages and classifies them on the basis of basic word order. Only three, though, out of the six logically possible orders are considered in his paper (SOV, SVO and VSO) since the others are cross-linguistically rare. Perhaps it is worth noting in this context that basic word order used to be perceived in the light of the order of verb, subject and object; however, it has been argued in several studies that subject is less relevant and only verb and object should be taken into consideration. For more details, see Dryer (1991) and Lehmann (1973).

With this in mind about universals, one can conclude that not every generalization is necessarily a universal, but every universal is by default a generalization. That is, a universal statement is meant to capture a cross-linguistic pattern, whereas a generalization might be either a statement that describes a cross-linguistic one, in this case it can be called a universal, or a one that occurs among a certain group of languages only. For instance, the fact that all languages are capable of expressing negation can be called a cross-linguistic generalization or, simply, a universal. Although the latter would be the most accurate term to use, the term *generalization* is sufficiently usable in this case. In contrast, the fact that there is a preference among Modern Arabic varieties for SVO word order over VSO must be perceived a generalization only because it is made to describe a pattern that found among a specific group of languages or, in this case, dialects.

Despite the differences between the two terms (universals and generalizations), it is plausible to say that the division used in universals can be applied identically to generalizations. That is to say, generalizations can be either implicational or non-implicational, which, in turn, can be divided further as absolute and non-absolute. Therefore, typological generalizations given in the present work fall into one of these types. See chapter 8 for the type of every generalization proposed in this study.

2.4 Data collection

In this thesis, negation in 54 Arabic varieties is considered. The data in the study are collected from published sources, except for negation in Saudi Arabia where fieldwork is conducted, a point which I will return to later in section 2.6 below. I tried to include every source available to me that has sufficient information on negation. Mainly, the considered sources are either English or Arabic sources because I do not have reading ability in any other language. However, an attempt has been made to consult several sources from other

languages such as Reinhardt (1894) and Seeger (1996; 2013). Nevertheless, my reading ability presents one of the limitations in this study.

The 54 considered Arabic varieties are listed with their sources below in Table 7. In this table, varieties are represented by countries, and these countries are organized alphabetically, except for Ḥassāniyya.[16] This representation is used only for the sake of simplification and to give an approximate impression of where each variety may be found, since political borders between two countries do not necessarily present a division between the language(s), or the dialect(s), spoken in each of them. Also, it does not mean the whole country speaks one form of a language either. In Egypt, for example, it is possible to distinguish in Sinai alone seven varieties spoken in this relatively small area, namely Biyyā̱ḏī and Aχrasī Arabic, Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic, Northwestern Sinai Arabic, Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic and Ṭuwara Arabic (de Jong, 2000; de Jong, 2011). While these varieties are very similar in many respects, major differences in the way negation is expressed can be observed between them. In Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic, for example, standard negation is bipartite rendered by *ma……-š*, whereas in Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic, standard negation is single rendered by *mā* alone. The following represent each variety, respectively:

(46)   Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic

ma   šuft-iš

NEG   see.PRF.1SG- NEG

'I did not see.'   (de Jong, 2000: 317)

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[16] This name refers to a dialect, not a country. That is, this dialect is spoken across a few countries as will be illustrated in section 2.5.

(47)   Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic

mā   bitrīdu-h

NEG   want.IMPF.3FSG -him

'She does not want him.'   (de Jong, 2011: 183)

In Ḥassāniyya Arabic, on the other hand, the case is the opposite as this variety is spoken not only in Mauritania, but also in Western Sahara and part of Algeria. Therefore, in section 2.5 the place of where each Arabic variety can be found is noted.

Table 7: List of varieties and their sources

Country	No.	Arabic variety	Sources
Algeria	1.	Annaba Arabic	(Meftouh et al., 2012)
	2.	Dellys Arabic	(Souag, 2005, 2016)
Chad	3.	Abeche Arabic	(Kaye, 1976)
	4.	Largeau Arabic	(Abu Absi, 1966)
Egypt	5.	al-ʕArīš Arabic	(de Jong, 2000)
	6.	Egyptian western desert Arabic	(Maṭar, 1981)
	7.	Biyyāḏī and Aχrasī Arabic	(de Jong, 2000)
	8.	Cairene Arabic	(Brustad, 2000; Diem, 2014; Doss, 2008; Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982; Woidich, 1968, 2011)
	9.	Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic	(de Jong, 2011)
	10.	Northwestern Sinai Arabic	(de Jong, 2000)
	11.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	(Khalafallah, 1969)
	12.	Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	(de Jong, 2000)
	13.	Southern Sinai Arabic	(de Jong, 2011)

	14.	Ṭuwara Arabic	(de Jong, 2011)
Ḥassāniyya Region	15.	Ḥassāniyya Arabic	(Al-Any, 1969; Francis, 1979; Heath, 2003, 2004; Taine-Cheikh, 2007)
	16.	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	(Heath, 2003, 2004)
Iraq	17.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	(Abu-Haidar, 1991)
	18.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	(Al-Khalesi, 2006; Erwin, 2004)
	19.	Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	(Salonen, 1980)
Jordan	20.	al-Karak Arabic	(Alsarayreh, 2012)
	21.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	(Al-Deaibes, 2016; Alqassas, 2012, 2015; Haija, 1985)
	22.	as-Salṭ Arabic	(Herin, 2011; Palva, 2004)
Kuwait	23.	Kuwaiti Arabic	(Alsalem, 2012)
Lebanon	24.	Aley Arabic	(Bishr, 1956)
	25.	Baskinta Arabic	(Abu-Haidar, 1979)
	26.	ʕAtīž Arabic	(Younes & Herin, 2016)
Libya	27.	Eastern Libyan Arabic	(Owens, 1984)
	28.	Western Libyan Arabic	(Algryani, 2015; Borsley & Krer, 2012; Krer, 2013)
Malta	29.	Standard Maltese	(Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997; Lucas, 2009, 2014; Mifsud, 2011)
Morocco	30.	Moroccan Arabic	(Benmamoun, 1997; Chatar-Moumni, 2012; Harrell, 1962, 2004; Heath, 2002; Hoyt, 2005b, 2005a; Lucas, 2009)
Nigeria	31.	Eastern Nigeria Arabic	(Owens, 1993)
	32.	Western Nigeria Arabic	(Owens, 1993)
Oman	33.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	(Davey, 2013)

Palestine	34.	Palestinian Arabic	(Hoyt, 2005b, 2005a; Lucas, 2009, 2010; Rosenhouse, 2011; Seeger, 1996, 2013)
Saudi Arabia	35.	al-Bāḥa Arabic	Fieldwork
	36.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	Fieldwork
	37.	Ḥagil Arabic	Fieldwork
	38.	Madinah Arabic	Personal knowledge[17]
	39.	Urban Hijazi Arabic	(Sieny, 1978)
	40.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	Fieldwork
	41.	ʔAbha Arabic	(Al-Azraqi, 1998)
	42.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	(Ingham, 1994) and Fieldwork
Sudan	43.	Sudanese Arabic	(Bergman, 2002)
Syria	44.	Damascus Arabic	(Cowell, 2005; Murphy, 2014)
The United Arab Emirates	45.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	(Qafisheh, 1977)
	46.	Dubai Arabic	(Hoffiz, 1995)
Tunisia	47.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	(Halila, 1992)
	48.	Sfax Arabic	(Bahloul, 1996)
	49.	Sousse Arabic	(Talmoudi, 1980)
Yemen	50.	Adeni Arabic	(Ahmed, 2012)
	51.	Hadhrami Arabic	(Ahmed, 2012)
	52.	Ṣana'a Arabic	(Qafisheh, 1992; Watson, 1993)
	53.	Taiz Arabic	(Ahmed, 2012)
	54.	Zinǧibār Arabic	(Ahmed, 2012)

In this study, the 54 varieties are divided into seven categories based on their geographical areas: Maghrebi, Egyptian, Sudanic, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Arabian Peninsula and Yemeni. The Maghrebi area includes the Arabic varieties found in

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[17] I am native speaker of this dialect.

Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Malta and the Ḥassāniyya region. The Egyptian area includes the varieties of Egypt only. The Sudanic area includes Sudan, Chad and Nigeria. The Levantine area includes Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine. The Mesopotamian area includes Iraq only. The Arabian Peninsula area, for the purposes of this study, includes Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Oman, but not Yemen. That is, the way negation is expressed in Yemen is significantly different from the way it is expressed in the other parts of the Arabian Peninsula. Finally, the Yemeni area includes Yemen only.

There are a few points that should be noted before we proceed. First, in this thesis many Arabic varieties are included, and yet I have made no attempt to give an independent definition of the term *variety*. In this study, the condition for a variety to be included separately from others is just that if the original source treats it separately from others. For one thing, in order to classify two forms of speech as a single or different varieties, they should be compared at many levels, i.e., phonologically, syntactically, morphologically, etc. However, in this study, only one linguistic feature is considered (negation); therefore, the similarities between two varieties in the way negation is formed are not enough to view them as a single variety. For another, this is a typological study, and from a typological point of view, to say negation is expressed in region X and in region Y in the same fashion is important as much as to say it is expressed differently. As a result, whether region X and region Y have similar or different varieties has only secondary relevance for the present study. This approach seems to be a practical way of separating varieties for present purposes. However, sometimes further investigation is needed. Al-Khalesi (2006), as an example, states that he is describing Baghdadi Arabic, but we know from Erwin (2004) and Abu-Haidar (1991) that there are two different varieties of Arabic spoken in Baghdad: one by the Christian people and one by the Muslims. Consequently, more investigation is made to determine whether Al-Khalesi is

meant to describe the Christian or the Muslim one – see section 2.5 for more information about this and other similar investigations.

Another point worth mentioning in this context is that, for some varieties, such as Cairene Arabic, more than one source is available. Thus, all of them are considered and data are compared among them to confirm the reached result. Sometimes further investigation is made. This has been the case in Sfax Arabic, Palestinian Arabic and northern Jordanian Arabic. In Sfax Arabic, no affirmative clause in the consulted source is available. Thus, a personal communication with the author has been made to get more information in this regard. Such a clause is important to see whether standard negation in this variety is symmetric or asymmetric and the only possible way to find out this is by comparing negative clauses to affirmative ones.

In Palestinian Arabic, the case is that both *mā* and *mā……-š* can be found in almost every negative verbal clause as shown by the following:

(48)   Palestinian Arabic

　　a.   mā　　　akalt-iš

　　　　NEG　　　eat.PRF.1SG-NEG

　　　　'I did not eat.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Lucas, 2010: 173)

　　b.   mā　　　riḍi　　　　　　yuskut

　　　　NEG　　　agree.PRF.3MSG　　shut up.IMPF.3MSG

　　　　'He refused to shut up.' (Lit. 'He did not agree to shut up.')

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Seeger, 1996: 36)

However, all of the accessible examples for y-imperfect verbs show that these verbs are negated by *mā* only, for example:

(49)   Palestinian Arabic

aḥmad	mā	yiʕrif	yākul
Ahmad	NEG	know.IMPF3MSG	eat.IMPF.3MSG

'Ahmad does not know how to eat.'   (Seeger, 1996: 30)

As none of the available sources provide any example of a y-imperfect verb negated by *mā……-š*, nor does any of them deny its occurrence, confirmation from a native speaker of the dialect has been sought. The reached conclusion shows that y-imperfect verbs can be negated by *mā……-š* as well, for example:

(50)   Palestinian Arabic

imisk-o	ʕašān	mā	yitḥarrak-iš
hold.IMPF.2MSG-him	so	NEG	move.PRF.3MSG-NEG

'Hold him so he does not move.'

In northern Jordanian Arabic, Alqassas states that "the form of negation used in negative imperatives is [la…-š] rather than [ma……-š]" (Alqassas, 2012: 14). In Haija (1985), on the other hand, the following example where *ma……-š* is used as a negator in negative imperatives is found:

(51)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

ma	tsarriχ-iš
NEG	shout.IMP.2MSG-NEG

'Do not cry (shout)!'   (Haija, 1985: 13)

Because of this explicit contradiction between the two sources, an expert, who happens to be a native speaker of the variety, is consulted, and he confirms that negative imperatives can be done by *ma……-š* as well.[18]

Another contradictory set of data found about Northern Jordanian Arabic is that, according to Alqassas (2015), the negative polarity item *ʕumr* is mostly pre-verbal in this variety, but it can also be post-verbal. Both are exemplified below, respectively:

(52)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

a. ʕumr-o   mā   zār   el-batra

    ever-him   NEG   visit.PRF.3MSG   DEF-Petra

    'He has never visited Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 102)

b. mā   zār   ʕumr-o   el-batra

    NEG   visit.PRF.3MSG   ever-him   DEF-Petra

    'He has never visited Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 102)

When *ʕumr* is post-verbal, however, negation can be either single as in the previous example or bipartite as in the following:

(53)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

    ma-zār-iš   ʕumr-o   el-batra

    NEG-visit.PRF.3MSG-NEG   ever-him   DEF-Petra

    'He never visited Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 107)

In Haija's book (1985), in contrast, the following example is observed where *ʕumr* is pre-verbal and the bipartite negation is used:

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[18] This is obtained via personal communication with Mutasim Al-Deaibes.

(54)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

ʕumr-i	ma	šuft-iš	wāḥad	miθl-u
(n) ever-I	NEG	see.PRF.3MSG-NEG	one	like-him

'I have never seen anyone like him.'   (Haija, 1985: 15)

Accordingly, a confirmation from the same expert is sought, and this time, Alqassas's analysis seems to be the most accurate one as Al-Deaibes confirms that bipartite negation is not possible when the item *ʕumr* occurs pre-verbally in the clause.[19]

Finally, I reproduce every example faithfully from its original source, but the gloss and the transcription symbols are changed where necessary for the sake of consistency. I have also, on very rare occasions, changed the English translation of some examples. That is, sometimes a source may add extra information in the translation line that helps the point the author is trying to explain. For example, in her book of Baskinta Arabic, Abu-Haidar (1979) provides the following example:

(55)   Baskinta Arabic

ʔana	b-asāʕid	ʔimm-i	b-šiɣl	il-bayt
I	HAB-help.IMPF.1SG	mother-me	with-work	DEF-house

'I am (in the habit of) helping my mother with the housework'

(Abu-Haidar, 1979: 86)

In the English translation line of this example, the phrase "in the habit of" is extra information used because Abu-Haidar is trying to explain the use of the habitual marker

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[19] It is possible here that the differences between the two sources are due to the idiolectal variation. Further research would be needed to determine whether the structure in (54) is grammatical for speakers of Northern Jordanian Arabic other than Haija.

b- with imperfect verbs. In my paper, however, the English translation for the same example is 'I help my mother with the housework'.

In the following section, I discuss the names and the places of where each modern Arabic variety included in the study is spoken. I also explain any investigation made or any assumption proposed to determine the place of where a variety can be found.

2.5 Modern Arabic varieties, names and places

Generally speaking, I tried to name every variety after the place where it is spoken. In certain cases, however, a different name is proposed, as the variety might be spoken by specific group of people or in more than one place within the same region. Below, varieties are discussed on a country by country basis, and these countries are organized alphabetically.

From Algeria, two varieties are considered: Annaba Arabic (Meftouh et al., 2012) and Dellys Arabic (Souag, 2005, 2016). Annaba is spoken in the city of Annaba, a coastal city located in the north-eastern corner of Algeria. Dellys is also a coastal city located in the northern part of Algeria between Algiers and Bejaia. It is about 80 kilometers east of Algiers.

From Chad, also another two varieties are investigated: Abeche Arabic (Kaye, 1976) and Largeau Arabic (Abu Absi, 1966). Abeche Arabic is spoken in Abeche, one of the Chadian major cities located in the eastern part of Chad. In contrast, Largeau Arabic is spoken in the north of Chad, more specifically in Largeau (also known as Faya), which is the largest city in northern Chad (Abu Absi, 1995).

Ten varieties in the study come from Egypt: al-ʕArīš Arabic (de Jong, 2000), Egyptian western desert Arabic (Maṭar, 1981), Biyyāḍī and Aχrasī Arabic (de Jong, 2000), Cairene Arabic (Brustad, 2000; Diem, 2014; Doss, 2008; Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982; Woidich, 1968, 2011), Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic (de Jong, 2011),

Northwestern Sinai Arabic (de Jong, 2000), Ṣaʕīdī Arabic (Khalafallah, 1969), Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic (de Jong, 2000), Southern Sinai Arabic (de Jong, 2011) and Ṭuwara Arabic (de Jong, 2011). al-ʕArīš Arabic is the variety of Alʕarīš, a city in the northeast of Sinai. Egyptian western desert Arabic is the variety of the Bedouins in the Western Desert of Egypt (Maṭar, 1981).[20] Biyyāḏ̣ī and Aχrasī Arabic is spoken by Biyyāḏ̣iyyah and Aχārsah, both are Bedouin Arabic tribes in the northwest of Sinai (de Jong, 2000). Cairene Arabic is spoken in Cairo, the capital city of Egypt. Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic is the variety of Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil tribes (de Jong, 2011). Muzēnah is a large tribe in the center of, south and southeast Sinai, whereas Banī Wāṣil, in contrast, is a small tribe lives "near the town of Aṭ-ṭūr and towards the east of it and in the western part of the massif of the central south of Sinai" (de Jong, 2011:115). Northwestern Sinai Arabic is the variety of several Arabic tribes in the northern part of Sinai. These tribes are Rmēlī, Swērkī, ʕAyyādī, Turbānī, Masʕūdī, Balawī and Aḥaywī (de Jong, 2000). Ṣaʕīdī Arabic can be found in in Upper Egypt, specifically, in the strip of Nile that extends between Cairo and Aswan. Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic is the variety of Smāʕnah, an Arabic tribe settled in the northwest of Sinai, and ʕAgālah, another Arabic tribe in the north of Sinai (de Jong, 2000). Southern Sinai Arabic, like Northwestern Sinai Arabic, is a variety of several Arabic tribes in Sinai. These tribes are called Tarābīn, Ḥwēṭāt, ǧarāǧrah, Tayāha, badarah, Dbūr and Malalḥah (de Jong, 2011).

Two types of Ḥassāniyya are included in the study: Ḥassāniyya Arabic (Al-Any, 1969; Francis, 1979; Heath, 2003, 2004; Taine-Cheikh, 2007) and Malian Ḥassāniyya (Heath, 2003, 2004). Ḥassāniyya Arabic is mainly, but not exclusively, spoken in Mauritania and Malian Ḥassāniyya is spoken only in Mali. The name Ḥassāniyya is derived from "Bani Hassan", Arabic tribes who speak the variety (Al-Any, 1969: 15). Approximately, the borders of this variety are "Goulimine in the north, Tindouf in the

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[20] This source is written in Arabic, so I had to transcribe the examples myself.

northeast, Tombouctou in the southeast and the Senegal River in the south" (Taine-Cheikh, 2007: 1) As can be seen on the map below (Map 1), the variety is spoken in the south of Morocco, Western Sahara, Mauritania, small part of Algeria and the northwestern part of Mali. In this very large area, there are four main varieties of Ḥassāniyya: Ahl s-sāhil (West), Ahl š-šarq (East), Ahl il-tel (North) and Ahl il-qibla (South) (Al-Any, 1969: 15). However, "the differences between these varieties appear to be mainly in vocabulary and usage, rather than morphology and syntax" (ibid: 15). Al-Any summarizes the differences between these varieties in the following three aspects: meaning (the meaning of a word may differ from one area to another), vocabulary (some words maybe heard in certain varieties only but not in others, which may suggest these words have been borrowed from neighbouring languages), and intensity (words or expressions may have different degree of intensity) (Al-Any, 1969: 16). Heath also supports this claim, according to him "except for the inevitable lexical variation, there seems to be little difference in grammar (including phonology) in Ḥassāniyya varieties of Mauritania, the Western Sahara, and the more purely Ḥassāniyya-type varieties of the Moroccan oases" (Heath, 2004: ix). However, Heath notes that there are some phonological as well as grammatical differences between the Mauritanian Ḥassāniyya and the Malian Ḥassāniyya (spoken in the Timbuktu area northern Mali) (Heath, 2003: 7–8). Based on this, Ḥassāniyya in this paper is considered as a single variety, despite the fact that it is spoken in a relatively large area, except the one spoken in Mali which is classified separately as Malian Ḥassāniyya.

Map 1: Ḥassāniyya region

Christian Baghdadi Arabic (Abu-Haidar, 1991), Muslim Baghdadi Arabic (Al-Khalesi, 2006; Erwin, 2004) and Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic (Salonen, 1980) are all Iraqi varieties. Širqāṭ Arabic is found in the city of Širqāṭ in the governorate of Nineveh in the north of Iraq. The city is about 100 km south of Mosul, the capital city of Nineveh. Both Christian Baghdadi and Muslim Baghdadi are spoken in Bagdad, the capital city of Iraq. Clearly, Christian Baghdadi is spoken by the Christian population of the city (Abu-Haidar, 1991), and Muslim Baghdadi Arabic is the variety of the Muslim population (Al-Khalesi, 2006; Erwin, 2004). It should be noted, however, Erwin (2004) confirms that he is describing the variety of Baghdadi Muslims (Erwin, 2004: 1). Al-Khales (2006), in contrast, states that the described variety in his study is the variety spoken in Baghdad only (Al-Khales, 2006: xvi). Thus, it is not clear whether Al-Khales is investigating the Muslim or the Christian variety. It seems, however, Al-Khales's book is about the Muslim variety only. That is, according to Abu-Haidar (1991) who describes the Christian Baghdadi Arabic, one of the main differences between Christian Baghdadi and Muslim Baghdadi is that Muslim speakers have the consonant [r] in their variety whereas the

Christian speakers replace this consonant with [ɣ]. And based on the data provided by Al-Khales (2006), one can see that [r] is present everywhere in his book.

From Jordan comes al-Karak Arabic (Alsarayreh, 2012), Northern Jordanian Arabic (Al-Deaibes, 2016; Alqassas, 2012, 2015; Haija, 1985) and as-Salṭ Arabic (Herin, 2011; Palva, 2004). Al-Karak Arabic is spoken in the province of al-Karak, about 140 km south of Amman, the capital city of Jordan. as-Salṭ Arabic is spoken in as-Salṭ, a city approximately 25 kilometers northwest of Amman. Northern Jordanian Arabic is the variety found in Horan areas of Jordan. It is worth noting in this context that both Alqassas (2012) and Al-Deaibes (2016; 2019) note that three types of Arabic varieties can be observed in Jordan: Urban Jordanian Arabic, Rural Jordanian Arabic and Bedouin Jordanian Arabic. And both Alqassas and Al-Deaibes explicitly state that the differences between these Arabic varieties are primarily phonetic. Although Alqassas claims that "this classification [urban, rural and Bedouin], to a large extent, does not make reference to a certain lifestyle or geographic region", he declares that the rural dialect is spoken in the suburbs of Irbid and can also be found in the city of Irbid (Alqassas, 2012: 2). In contrast, Al-Deaibes proposes the following geographical distribution: the urban dialect is the one used in big cities (Amman, Zarqa, and Irbid); the rural dialect is the dialect of the villagers living in the countryside and the suburbs in northern Jordan; and the Bedouin dialect is spoken by desert inhabitants who lives in different part of Jordan (Al-Deaibes, 2016: 22–23). Thus, in this study, the name of the Arabic variety spoken in the north of Jordan, more specifically in Horan areas, is called *Northern Jordanian Arabic*. Note this name implies only the urban and the rural, not the Bedouin dialect.

Only one variety comes from Kuwait, Kuwaiti Arabic (Alsalem, 2012). According to Alsalem (2012), "when linguists refer to KA [Kuwaiti Arabic] they mean one particular urban dialect. This study provides a description of the morpho-syntax of negation patterns in all the varieties of KA and SA [Standard Arabic]. Thus, data in this

study is meant to represent all the varieties of KA" (Alsalem, 2012: 4). This statement implies that there is more than one variety of Arabic spoken in Kuwait. However, when the author gives examples in her study, she does not assign any of these examples to any specific Kuwaiti variety. This suggests one the following two scenarios: either negation is expressed in the same way in every Kuwaiti variety, or the author is describing any negative construction that can be heard in Kuwait. It is not clear which one of these scenarios is the case here.

Aley Arabic (Bishr, 1956), Baskinta Arabic (Abu-Haidar, 1979) and ʕAtīž Arabic (Younes & Herin, 2016) are all spoken within Lebanon. Aley Arabic is spoken by Druze population of Aley. The city of Aley is about 15 km east Beirut. Baskinta Arabic is the variety of Baskinta, a town located in northern Lebanon. ʕAtīž Arabic is spoken by the ʕAtīž people, a clan of the Nʕēm tribe in Wadi Khaled in Akkar, north of Lebanon.

Two varieties in the study are from Libya: Eastern Libya Arabic (Owens, 1984) and Western Libya Arabic (Algryani, 2015; Borsley & Krer, 2012; Krer, 2013). Easter Libya is the variety spoken in Banghazi, a coastal city on the Mediterranean Sea. Western Libya, on the other hand, is the variety spoken in the west of Libya, including Tripoli (the capital city of Libya).

From Malta, only one variety is considered, Standard Maltese (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997; Lucas, 2009, 2014; Mifsud, 2011). It is the written variety and the variety spoken in major towns such as Valetta and Sliema.

Similarly to Kuwait and Malta, only one variety included in the study is from Morocco, Moroccan Arabic (Benmamoun, 1997; Chatar-Moumni, 2012; Harrell, 1962, 2004; Heath, 2002; Hoyt, 2005b, 2005a; Lucas, 2009). It is the urban koine variety spoken in major cities in Morocco such as Casablanca, Fez, Rabat and Meknes.

In Nigeria, according to Owens (1993), two varieties can be found in this region: one in the east and one in the west and both are included here. As Owens puts it:

Very roughly, there exist two main Arabic varieties in Nigeria, an eastern one and a western one. Allowing for a certain fuzziness in the clustering of dialect isoglosses, the dividing line between the two areas runs along a line south from Lake Chad mid-way between Ngala (eastern area) town and Kirenawa (western) directly southwards towards Gulumba, then south and slightly east towards Bama (Owens, 1993: 13–14).

From Oman, only one variety is included, the coastal Dhofārī Arabic (Davey, 2013). It is the variety of Dhofār, a governorate located in the south of the Sultanate of Oman.

Also, another one variety comes from Palestine, Palestinian Arabic (Hoyt, 2005b, 2005a; Lucas, 2009, 2010; Rosenhouse, 2011; Seeger, 1996, 2013). According to Lucas (2010), who has done fieldwork in this area, there are no significant differences in the syntax of negation in varieties spoken by non-Bedouins in Palestine. Thus, Palestinian Arabic here refers to the non-Bedouin variety spoken in Palestine.

From Saudi Arabia, eight varieties are included: al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Madinah Arabic, Urban Hijazi Arabic (Sieny, 1978), Yanbuʕ Arabic, ʔAbha Arabic (Al-Azraqi, 1998) and ʕUnayzah Arabic. All of them are named after specific cities in Saudi Arabia, except Urban Hijazi Arabic. Both al-Baḥa and ʔAbha are small cities located in the south of Saudi Arabia; Al-ʔAḥsāʔ is a city in the east; Ḥagil is a city in the north; Madinah and Yanbuʕ are cities in the west; and finally, ʕUnayzah is a city in the center. In contrast, the Urban Hijazi Arabic is named after Al-Hijaz. Technically, Al-Hijaz is the western part of Saudi which extends from Jordan in the north to ʕAsīr in the south. Conventionally, however, the name is used to refer to Makkah, Madinah and Jeddah only, which are the biggest cities in the west of Saudi. And according

to Sieny (1978), the variety he is describing is the one spoken in these cities only. However, this variety is different from the one named Madinah Arabic in this paper. That is, Madinah Arabic is the variety spoken by the Bedouin population in Madinah while Hijazi Arabic is spoken by the urban population of the city. Mainly, the two varieties differ from each other in two aspects: lexicon and phonology. In lexicon, one may find some Arabic words are used in one variety whereas their synonyms are used in the other. In phonology, speakers of the Bedouin variety have preserved the Classical Arabic phonemes [θ] and [ð], but the urban variety speakers use, instead, [t] and [d], respectively. It should be borne in mind; however, the term *Bedouin* in Saudi Arabia is not used to refer to a nomadic person of the desert only. It is used to refer to those who descend from Bedouin Arabic tribes. Accordingly, a Saudi person may have lived his or her whole life in one of the major cities in Saudi, and yet, he or she is still classified as Bedouin. On the other hand, the term *Urban* is used to refer to those who their ancestors have become Saudi by the process of naturalisation.[21] However, the division of Bedouin/Urban might be observed only in Al-Hijaz major cities. That is, perhaps most immigrants to Saudi Arabia are found in this region and this is for two reasons. First, the majority of immigrants might be Muslims and because of this they may prefer this region in order to be close to Makkah and Madinah, the two holy cities in Islam. Second, this immigration phenomenon took place a while ago and during that time Al-Hijaz was the only urbanized area in Saudi.

One variety only in this study comes from Sudan, Sudanese Arabic. It is spoken in Khartoum, the capital city of Sudan.

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[21] According to the locals, the phonological differences between the Bedouin variety and the Urban variety in Madinah are because most of the immigrants are originally from India, Pakistan and Turkey, and in their languages, there is no [θ] or [ð]. Consequently, they had to substitute these sounds with [t] and [d]. This story needs further investigation to be taken as a fact. Interestingly, however, nowadays descendants of those immigrants are perfectly capable to pronounce [θ] and [ð] as they are born and raised in Saudi Arabia; yet, they do not. For some reasons, they intentionally want to be distinguished from Bedouins, a topic that could be interesting from a sociolinguistic perspective.

Also, one variety comes from Syria (Damascus Arabic), spoken in Damascus, the capital city of Syria (Cowell, 2005; Murphy, 2014).

From the United Arab Emirates, Abu Dhabi Arabic (Qafisheh, 1977) and Dubai Arabic (Hoffiz, 1995) are included. Abu Dhabi is the capital city of the country, whereas Dubai is one of the main and the largest city there.

From Tunisia, Sahel/Tunis Arabic (Halila, 1992), Sfax Arabic (Bahloul, 1996) and Sousse Arabic (Talmoudi, 1980) are considered. The name Sahel/Tunis Arabic is proposed because this is a mixed variety. As Halila puts, "the data used in this dissertation is drawn primarily from the dialect of the author, a mixed dialect between that of the general area of the central coastal region known as the Sahel and the dialect of the city of Tunis" (Halila, 1992: 27–28). In contrast, Sfax Arabic and Sousse Arabic are non-mixed which are named after specific cities. Sfax is the capital city of the Sfax governorate, located in the east of Tunisia.[22] Sousse is also a capital city but for Sousse governorate. It is also located in the east but more toward the north.

Finally, Adeni Arabic (Ahmed, 2012), Hadhrami Arabic (Ahmed, 2012), Ṣana'a Arabic (Qafisheh, 1992; Watson, 1993), Taiz Arabic (Ahmed, 2012) and Zinğibār Arabic (Ahmed, 2012) are all from Yemen. Adeni Arabic is the Arabic variety spoken in the city of Aden in the south of Yemen. Ṣana'a Arabic is the variety of Ṣana'a, the capital city of Yemen. Taiz Arabic is the variety of Taiz, a city in southwest of Yemen. Zinğibār Arabic is the variety of Zinğibār, the capital city of Abyan Governorate. Hadhrami Arabic is observed in the Hadhramaut Governorate. However, according to Ahmed (2012), there are two different varieties spoken in this region: Hadhramout assahel 'the coastal area' and Hadhramout alwadi 'the valley area'. These two varieties differ from each other in lexicon and perhaps morphology but not in syntax (ibid).[23]

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[22] Through personal communication with Bahloul, I found that this is the dialect of Sfax as the author does not provide this information in her paper.

[23] Ahmed (2012) does not state whether the two dialects are identical with respect to negation or not. I assume; however, they are alike in this regard because the aim of Ahmed's fieldwork was

2.6 Fieldwork

Saudi Arabia is a relatively large country, approximately 2,150,000 km^2. In this area, many forms of Arabic can be found. However, we do not have a great deal of information about the Arabic dialectological situation, especially regarding negation in this region. Therefore, fieldwork was conducted in this area in several trips in 2017 and 2018. In these trips, five areas were visited: north, south, east, west and the center. In each area, one city only was considered. However, big cities were avoided because of the problem of *koineization* whereby a new dialect of a language may arise due to the mix of many other dialects. In contrast, extremely isolated settlements would be ideal, but these were difficult to find or hard to reach. A good compromise, then, seemed to be medium-sized cities for which there is little inward migration from other parts of the country; thus, speakers in these places are not expected to be too influenced by other varieties of the region due to contact. In this vein, the following cities have been chosen: Ḥagil in the north, al-Bāḥa in the south, al-ʔAḥsāʔ in the east, Yanbuʕ in the west and ʕUnayzah in the center (see map 2 below).

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to investigate negation only. Therefore, any difference between the two dialects in negation would be expected to be mentioned in her thesis.

Map 2: Fieldwork areas

All participants were males only and over 18 years old. That is, it is culturally inappropriate for a woman to sit with a male stranger and discuss anything except in extraordinary circumstances. It might be possible, though, to collect data from female subjects accompanied by male chaperones, or by recruiting female assistants to collect data. However, since it is not anticipated that there will be major differences between males and females in the use of the negative structures to be investigated here, it is judged preferable to collect more data in less time from a narrower range of subjects (males only), than less data in more time from a wider range of subjects (both males and females).

In Yanbuʕ, ʕUnayzah and al-Bāḥa, I was able to contact a friend who helped me to find participants. In al-ʔAḥsāʔ and Ḥagil, on the other hand, I had to visit many coffee shops and the university campus looking for individuals to help. However, in order for a person to be included in the study, he must have not lived for more than six months in any place other than the city in question. Moreover, his parents must be from the same city. This is to make sure as much as possible this person does not have a mixed variety.

Data was collected in the fieldwork by two main direct methods, as well as informal observations. First, a recording session was held once in each city where at least three participants were asked to discuss inoffensive topics such as the different cultural traditions in Saudi Arabia, whether smartphones have positive or negative impact on our lives, whether education is essential to be successful in life, and so on. Each session took about 30 minutes. To be more specific, the recording took in Ḥagil 35 min; in al-Bāḥa 27 min; in al-ʔAḥsāʔ 30 min; in Yanbuʕ 31min; and in ʕUnayzah 30 min.[24] This method was used, not only to record as much as possible natural speech, but also to make it possible to discover any unanticipated local particularities in the expression of negation in the variety under investigation.

The second method involved a questionnaire. In each city, at least ten speakers were asked to fill out a questionnaire (see Appendix B). This is to make sure the needed information regarding negation is captured. The questionnaire consisted of four parts. In the first part, a situation is set and informants were asked to react accordingly. For example, the following question was asked: if someone was invited to attend an event but that person missed it, how would you describe his being absent? This is to elicit how negation is formed with perfect tense, with an expected answer along the lines of 'he didn't attend'. As might be noticed, I tried here not to use negation when I described such situations. This technique was used in order to make participants unaware at this stage of the main purpose of the questionnaire (i.e. negation). After every response, a follow up question was asked to see if there is any other way to express the same notion of negation. For example, after recording the answer of a participant on how to ask someone not to do something, I asked him if there is any other way to say the same thing. If there was any,

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[24] Getting participants to agree to be recorded for this long was not an easy task to achieve. For various reasons, several participants were initially reluctant to be recorded. Thus, I had to assure them that the data will not be made public and it will be used for the purpose of this study only, see the consent form in appendix A.

I recorded his answer and checked it with other participants. In other words, I asked other participants if they would say this or not.

In the second part of the questionnaire, I gave participants affirmative sentences and asked them for their negative counterparts. For example, if the given sentence is *He is tall,* the expected answer is *He is not tall.* This might be more straightforward way to ask about negation than the one used in the first part. The reason is sometimes the situation technique did not always result in a negative construction. Participants sometimes repeated the same information in the question. For instance, a respond to "how would you describe Mohammed's absence?" is sometimes "Mohammed is absent".

In the third part, informants were given some negative Arabic sentences and they were asked to reproduce them in their local variety. In this part, participants were almost fully aware of the main purpose of the study (i.e. negation). Yet, this part was important as it operated as a backup plan. If the necessary information about the different types of negative constructions was not obtained in the first and the second part, it is always obtained in the third one.

All of these three parts were identical for each city, and they were organized based on their directness of revealing their main purpose (negation), from least direct (the situation technique) to the most direct (the repetition of some negative sentences). The fourth part of the questionnaire, however, was different in each city. That is, this part is an acceptability judgment, and it was constructed during the process of collecting data. At the beginning of each trip, the recording session was done first, followed by doing the three previously mentioned parts of the questionnaire with four people only. Then, based on the gathered information, the acceptability judgement part was constructed, and the other six participants were asked to do this fourth part, in addition to the other three (see Appendix C for ʕUnayzah; Appendix D for Yanbuʕ; Appendix E for al-Bāḥa; Appendix F for al-ʔAḥsāʔ; and Appendix G Ḥagil). Mainly, this part was to collect data about the

behaviour of negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions, in which two negative elements are present in the same clause and they fail to cancel each other out (see section 7.1for more detail about this phenomenon). In this part also, responses to the follow up questions were included. That is to say, as mentioned above, each question in part one of the questionnaire was followed by another one to see whether the phenomenon in question can be expressed in any other way, and when a response to any of these questions was recorded, it was included in this part to double check their acceptability. For example, in al-Bāḥa Arabic, *ʔiṣḥak* is another morpheme that can be used in negative imperatives as in the following:

(56)   al-Bāḥa Arabic

ʔiṣḥak   tifliḥ

NEG.IMP   go.IMP.3MSG

'Do not go!'   *(Fieldwork data)*

Therefore, the following clause *ʔiṣḥak tifliḥ* 'Do not go' was used and informants in this city were asked whether this is an acceptable clause or not.

After the first introductory chapter and this second one on the methodology, we move now to the analytical part of the thesis. This consists of five chapters. In each one of them, different type, or sometimes types, of negation is considered. The first chapter of these five (chapter three) is on standard negation; the second is on non-verbal negation; the third is on negative imperatives; the fourth is on negative existential clauses and negation with pseudo-verbs; and finally, the fifth is on negative indefinites and negative concord constructions.

3. Standard negation

This chapter is on standard negation in modern Arabic varieties. In this chapter and the upcoming ones, the four steps outlined in section 2.2 for typological studies are performed. First, I explain the phenomenon in question (step I). In this vein, I define the term *standard negation* in 3.1. I discuss the way it is expressed cross-linguistically in order to show where Arabic varieties fit into the cross-linguistic map (3.2). Then, I demonstrate how standard negation is rendered in Standard Arabic (section 3.3) as reference to this will be made occasionally. In step II, I categorize Arabic varieties based on their similarities and differences with respect to standard negation (3.4). Under this section also, step III, where generalizations are proposed, and step IV, where an explanation is given when it is possible, are performed.

3.1 What is standard negation?

Negation is universal; every language in the world, with no known exceptions, is capable of expressing the notion of negation (Dahl, 1979; Song, 2001). In logic, negation serves to invert the truth value of the proposition in which it occurs. In natural language, it serves a similar function, but can operate either at the sentential level or at the level of smaller constituents. In sentential negation, the entire clause is within the scope of negation as in *John did not come*, whereas in constituent negation, only a particular constituent in the clause is negated as in *John wants milk not water,* where the notion of negation is applied to the word *water* only.

Sentential negation can be divided further into two different types: standard negation and non-standard negation (Miestamo, 2007). The division is made based on the type of the negated clause. If the negated clause is a declarative verbal main clause (*He did not go to school*), the sentential negation is standard; otherwise, it is identified as a non-standard negation such as negation of embedded or imperative clauses.

Accordingly, by standard negation in this study, we refer to the negation of Arabic verbal sentences. This excludes non-verbal and pseudo-verb clauses, see section 1.3.1 for types of Arabic sentences.

3.2 Typology of standard negation

Strategies used cross-linguistically to express standard negation have been classified in accordance with two frameworks: one considers the nature of the negator itself, and the other considers the structural differences between negative clauses and their affirmative counterparts.[25] The first one is proposed by Dahl (1979). In Dahl's study, 247 languages are considered and two different types of standard negation are distinguished: morphological (108 languages) and syntactic (139 languages). If the negative morpheme is a prefix, a suffix or a circumfix, the negative strategy is morphological.[26] The following are representative examples: in Persian the negative marker is the prefix *na* attached to the verb stem (57); in Turkish it is the suffix *me* also attached to the verb (58); and in Amharic it is the circumfix *al…. əmm* affixed to the verb as well (59):

(57) Persian (Iranian, Indo-European)

     diruz   na-raft-am   madrese

     yesterday   NEG-went-1SG   school

     'I did not go to school yesterday.'   (Kwak, 2010: 623)

(58) Turkish

     gel-me-yecek

     come-NEG-FUT

     '(S)he will not come.'   (Schaaik, 1996:22)

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[25] To my knowledge, these are the only frameworks in the literature for standard negation.
[26] Two matters to be noted here: negative infixes have not been attested yet, and negative circumfixes may also be called double, bipartite or discontinuous.

(59)   Amharic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)

al-säbbär-äčč-əmm

NEG-break.PST-3FSG-NEG

'She did not break.'   (Leslau, 1995: 292)

In syntactic negation, in contrast, negation is expressed by an uninflected particle, an auxiliary verb or a dummy auxiliary construction (negative marker(s) + dummy auxiliary verb). Negation in English can be done by the use of an uninflected particle as in *John is writing* / *John is not writing* or the use of the dummy auxiliary construction as in *John writes* / *John does not write*. An example of a negative auxiliary verb can be found in Dupaningan Agta:

(60)   Dupaningan Agta (Philippine, Austronesian)

awan=ko   katandi

NEG=1SG.GEN   know

'I don't know/understand.'   (Robinson, 2012: 187)

Perhaps it is worth noting in this context that bipartite negation does not automatically mean morphological negation with circumfixes; syntactic negation can be bipartite as well. In Hdi, for example, negation is achieved by the use of two uninflected particles: *a* occurs immediately after the verb and *wa* occurs clause-finally:

(61)   Hdi (Chadic, Afro-Asiatic)

za   a   ta   hlu'wi   wa

eat   NEG   OBJ   meat   NEG

'He does not eat meat.'   (Frajzyngier & Shay, 2002: 383)

In the same vein as Dahl (1979) but not using the same terminology, Dryer (2013) examines the nature of the negative morpheme in 1157 languages. The results are as follows: 395 languages with negative affixes, 502 with negative particles, 47 with negative auxiliaries, 73 where the case is not clear whether the negative word is a verb or a particle, 21 languages with variation between negative words and affixes, and 119 with bipartite negation, in which negation is expressed by two simultaneous morphemes. In both Dahl's and Dryer's studies, no language in which negation is achieved by a change such as word order or intonation is attested. In other words, the presence of one or more negative morphemes is mandatory.[27]

Despite the similarities between the two studies, there are some differences among them. While Dahl considers the dummy auxiliary construction (negative marker(s) + dummy auxiliary verb), Dryer does not. Dryer classifies constructions like *John does not eat apples* based on the nature of the negative morpheme– in this case we have a negative particle. Second, in Dahl's study, uninflected free morphemes are considered to be particles, but in Dryer's this is not always the case. In his sample, Dryer finds languages where verbs have little or no morphology. Thus, it is hard to determine whether the free negative morpheme is a particle or an auxiliary verb. It could be a particle since it is not inflected, or it might be an auxiliary but with no inflections because verbs do not inflect in these languages. Dryer puts such languages in a separate category, namely languages where it is not clear whether negators are particles or verbs. For instance, in Maori both the negator and the verb appear uninflected; thus, the negator could be a particle or an uninflected auxiliary verb:

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[27] The fact that this phenomenon is not observed in their data may suggest its infrequency but does not deny its existence. In some Dravidian languages, negation is expressed by the omission of tense markers only (Miestamo, 2010).

(62)   Maori (Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian)

kaahore	taatou	e	haere	ana	aapoopoo
NEG	1PL.INCL	T/A	move	T/A	tomorrow

'We are not going tomorrow.'   (Dryer, 2013)

The last difference between the two studies concerns bipartite negation. Dahl identifies this based on the type of the negators themselves. That is, if they are independent words, negation is syntactic, but if they are affixes, negation is morphological. It is not clear how a bipartite negative construction is classified if one of the morphemes is, for example, an affix and the other is a particle. Perhaps, though, such an instance is not observed in Dahl's sample. Dryer, in contrast, treats bipartite negation as a separate category. He classifies any negation involving two different morphemes under this type. The two morphemes could be both particles or both affixes, or even one is a particle and the other is an affix.

The second classification of standard negation is proposed by Miestamo (2005). He considers a sample of 297 languages and, upon a comparison between affirmative clauses and their negative counterparts, suggests two different negative strategies: symmetric vs asymmetric. The distinction between them can be observed from the constructional point of view and the paradigmatic one. In other words, the negative construction can be symmetric or asymmetric and the negative paradigm can also be either symmetric or asymmetric. In the symmetric negative construction, there is no structural difference between negative clauses and their corresponding affirmatives aside from the presence of the negative marker(s). This is the case in Kham (63), there is no structural difference between the clause in (63)(a) and the one in (63)(b) other than the negative marker *ma*; thus, the construction is symmetric.

(63)   Kham (Tibeto-Burman, Sino-Tibtan)

a. ba-ke

    go-PERF

    'He went.' or 'He left.'   (Watters, 2002: 258)

b. ma-ba-ke

    NEG-go-PRF

    'He did not go.'   (Watters, 2002: 264)

If, however, further differences between the two constructions are observed, the construction is asymmetric. This is the case in Japanese (64) where tense is encoded by different morphology in negatives. The past tense suffix in affirmatives is *ta* as in the affirmative clause in (64)(a), whereas in negatives it is *katta* as in the negative clause in (64)(b).

(64)   Japanese (Japonic)

a. kodomo   ga   ringo   o   tabe-te   i-ta

    child   NOM   apple   ACC   eat-PRG   AUX-PST

    'The child was eating an apple.'

b. kodomo   ga   ringo   o   tabe-te   i-na-katta

    child   NOM   apple   ACC   eat-PRG   AUX-NEG-PST

    'The child was not eating an apple.'   (Nyberg, 2012: 18-19)

Some languages, though, have both a symmetric and an asymmetric negative construction simultaneously. In English, for example, between *he is tall* and *he is not tall*, the negator *not* is the only difference; therefore, the construction is symmetric in this

example. On the other hand, between *he came* and *he did not come,* further differences

are observed, namely the auxiliary verb *did,* so in this case the construction is asymmetric.

As for the paradigm, if there is a one-to-one correspondence between affirmatives

and negatives, the negative paradigm is symmetric; otherwise, it is asymmetric. To put it

differently, in symmetric negative paradigms, every notion expressed in affirmatives can

be negated but in asymmetric paradigm, not every notion can be negated. In the Dutch

example in (65), for instance, the negative paradigm is symmetric, whereas in

Meithei (66) it is asymmetric. That is, in Dutch, all types of affirmatives can be negated,

but in Meithei this is not the case. Affirmative clauses in Meithei can be either non-

hypothetical to convey "mild assertion; the speaker does not support the statement by

providing evidence for it, but simply presents it as fact", or assertive to indicate strong

assertion (Chelliah, 1997: 132). Negative clauses, on the other hand, must be assertive

only. As a result, speakers' choices are reduced in negation, and this is what makes the

paradigm asymmetric in Meithei (Miestamo, 2007).

(65)   Dutch (Germanic, Indo-European)

Present

    a. ik   zing

       1SG   sing.PRES

       'I sing.'

    b. ik   zing   niet

       1SG   sing.PRES   NEG

       'I do not sing.'

Past

    a. ik   zong

        1SG   sing.PST

        'I sang.'

    b. ik   zong   niet

        1SG   sing.PST   NEG

        'I did not sing.'

Perfect

    a. ik   heb   gezongen

        1SG   PERF   sing

        'I had sung.'

    b. ik   heb   niet   gezongen

        1SG   PERF NEG sing

        'I had not sung.'   (Miestamo, 2007: 557)

(66)   Meithei (Sino-Tibetan)

Affirmative: non-hypothetical

    a. təw-i

       do-NH

       '(She) does.'

Affirmative: assertive

    b. təw-e

      do-ASER

      '(Yes, she) has.'

Negative: assertive

c. əy   fotostat   təw-tə-e

1SG   photocopy   do-NEG-ASER

'I have not made copies.'   (Miestamo, 2007: 557)

It is important to note here that only Miestamo's framework will be considered in this project. The one proposed by Dahl is not applied. That is, Dahl uses certain criteria to distinguish between syntactic and morphological negation, and some of them might be impossible to adopt here. In his work, the distinction between particles and auxiliaries seems to be reasonably straightforward. If the independent negative morpheme is inflected for categories such as tense and person, which typically tend to appear on verbs, the negator is classified as an auxiliary (Dahl, 1979: 85). If it is not inflected, it is classified as a particle. The distinction gets more complicated when it comes to separating affixes from independent words. This difficulty is admitted by Dahl himself; nevertheless, he follows certain criteria to favour one treatment over another. In his study, a negator is probably an affix if it is a portmanteau morpheme, shares a single stress with the verb, is placed between the verb and other inflections, or if there is a morphophonemic alternation in the negator itself (Dahl, 1979: 83). A portmanteau morpheme is a single morpheme that realizes two grammatical categories (Givón, 1984: 72). This is the case in Finnish, as *en* realizes negation and person:

(67)   Finnish (Finnic, Uralic)

a. Luen

    read.PRES.1SG

    'I read.'

b. en   lue

NEG.1SG   read.PRES

'I do not read.'   (Dahl, 1979: 84)

On the other hand, the negator is probably an independent morpheme if it is movable in the clause, carries its own stress, carries an inflectional affix, or is written separately in the orthographic system (Dahl, 1979: 83–84). It is not clear whether the previous factors must be applied all together or whether only one of them is enough to draw a conclusion. However, as Dahl puts it, "In most cases, we have chosen the orthographic factor as decisive…….it probably tends to reflect the gut feelings of the users of the language" (Dahl, 1979: 84). This may imply that only one factor is sufficient to reach a conclusion, and in most cases this factor is the orthographic one.

It is going to be very difficult to apply Dahl's framework in the present study. In some Arabic varieties, there are some negators which one can, with great confidence, classify as independent words, namely negative verbs, since these can be inflected for gender and number. This is the case with the negative copula *laysa* in Standard Arabic:

(68)   Standard Arabic

a. ʔal-mudīr-u   laysa   ğayyid-an

DEF-manager-NOM   NEG.COP.3MSG good-ACC

'The manager is not good.'

b. ʔal-mudīr-at-u   laysat   ğayyid-at-an

DEF-manager-F-NOM   NEG.COP.3FSG   good-F-ACC

'The manager(F) is not good(F).'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Matters become less straightforward, however, with other Arabic negators like *mā*. In some varieties, this item is pronounced with a long vowel (*mā)* and has its own stress which may suggest its independence. Not to mention the fact that it is written separately as a word in Standard Arabic, for example:

(69)   Standard Arabic

mā	χaraǧa	ʔaḥmad-u	mina	l-bayt-i
NEG	get.out.PRF.3MSG	Ahmad-NOM	from	DEF-house-GEN

'Ahmad did not leave the house.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

In contrast, in a number of modern Arabic varieties, which are largely unwritten, the vowel is pronounced short *(ma)*. Additionally, it is combined in many Arabic varieties with the post-verbal morpheme …-*š,* for example:

(70)   Cairene Arabic

ʔaḥmad	ma-raḥ-š	il-bēt
Ahmad	NEG-go.PRF.3MSG-NEG	DEF-house

'Ahmad did not go home.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Hoyt (2007) investigates the status of *ma* and …-*š* in Palestinian Arabic and comes to the conclusion that both negators should be characterized as *special clitics* according to the criteria proposed by Zwicky and Pullum (1983). A morpheme is classified as a special clitic if it forms a prosodic word with its hosts, can be attached to words from different classes, can be attached to words that already hosting other clitics, and its syntactic distribution is different from other free morphemes in the language (Hoyt, 2007: 120). This analysis makes negation in Palestinian somewhere between

morphological and syntactic. That is, clitics are not completely affixes nor totally independent words. Negative clitics are not considered in Dahl's study. However, one might argue that negation effected by means of clitics should be classified as morphological, since, for one thing, clitics are bound morphemes in the same way as affixes. For another, they would appear to be moving toward becoming affixes, based on the notion of grammaticalization where independent morphemes become clitics then become affixes overtime (Hopper & Traugott, 2003). The notion of grammaticalization may support this analysis of negative clitics. However, the same notion may put the entire framework into question. That is, a classification based on the nature of the negative morpheme may change overtime when, as a result of grammaticalization, free morphemes become clitics and then end up as affixes after a certain period of time. In other words, negation in a language might change from being syntactic (accomplished by an independent morpheme) at a certain point, to become morphological at a later point if that negative marker loses its phonological independence. Finally, there is insufficient accessible data from every Arabic variety to examine, for example, their phonological systems to determine the rules that govern stress in order to find out whether negative markers are independent morphemes or not. All of this makes Dahl's insights very hard to consider in this project, and, as we will see after demonstrating standard negation in Standard Arabic below, categorizing the strategies used to express standard negation among Arabic varieties based on, for example, features (e.g. single or bipartite negation) could be more productive way than categorizing them with this distinction.

3.3 Standard negation in Standard Arabic

In Standard Arabic, standard negation is always single and can be expressed by seven different morphemes: *lam, lammā, lan, lā, ʔin, mā* and *laysa.* The negative construction is symmetric in some cases and asymmetric in others as follows:

The first negator is *lam,* which can only be used to negate perfect aspect.

(71) Standard Arabic

a. ʔakala   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

    eat.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

    'Ahmad ate the apple.'

b. lam   yaʔkul   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

    NEG.PST   eat.IMPF.JUSS.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

    'Ahmad did not eat the apple.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Note here two structural differences can be noted between the above examples: the verb in (71)(a) is perfect and tense is encoded by the verb, but in (71)(b) the verb is imperfect in the jussive mood and tense is encoded by the negator *lam.* Because of the different verbal construction and because of the different way of marking past tense, the negative construction is asymmetric in this case.

The second negator is *lammā.* It is similar to *lam* in that it negates perfect aspect only, the negator realizes negation and past aspect, and must be followed by an imperfect verb in the jussive mood. Accordingly, negation in this case is asymmetric as well. Compare the following and note in the affirmative clause the verb is perfect, but when the clause is negated the verb is imperfect. Also, note aspect is marked by the negator *lammā.*

(72) Standard Arabic

a. qaḍā   mā   ʔamara-h

    do.PRF.3MSG   what   command.PRF.3MSG-him

    'He did what [God] commanded him.'

b. lammā　　　　yaqḍi　　　　　　　　mā　　　　　　ʔamara-h

NEG.PST　　　do.IMPF.JUSS.3MSG　　what　　　command.PRF.3MSG-him

'He did not do what [God] commanded him.'　　　　　(Qur'an 80: 23)

It is worth noting that there is a functional difference between *lam* and *lammā*. Both negate the proposition of the clause, but only *lammā* implies that the negated proposition is expected to occur in the future. Thus, a more suitable English translation to the clause in (72)(b) would be 'He did not do what [God] commanded him yet.'.

The third negator is *lan.* It can be only used to negate future clauses.

(73)　　Standard Arabic

　　a. sa-yaktub-u　　　　　　　　ʔaḥmad-u　　　　　r-risālat-a

　　　FUT-write.IMPF.3MSG-IND　　Ahmad-NOM　　　　DEF-letter-ACC

　　　'Ahmad will write the letter'

　　b. lan　　　　　yaktub-a　　　　　　　　ʔaḥmad-u　　　r-risālat-a

　　　NEG.FUT　　write.IMPF.3MSG-SBJV　　Ahmad-NOM　　DEF-letter-ACC

　　　'Ahmad will not write the letter'　　　　　　*(Personal Knowledge)*

Note here that negation is asymmetric as well. For one thing, the verb in the affirmative clause is in the indicative mood (signaled by the suffix *-u*), but in the negative one, the verb is in the subjunctive mood (signalized by the suffix *-a*). For another, the future marker *sa-* is omitted in negation and *lan* realizes both the negation and the future aspect.

The fourth negator is *lā*. It is typically used with imperfect verbs only. Unlike the previous cases, negation here is symmetric. Consider the following and note that the presence of *lā* is the only structural difference between the two clauses:

(74)   Standard Arabic

    a. yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

       ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

       'Ahmad asked Khaled'

    b. lā   yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

       NEG   ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

       'Ahmad does not ask Khaled'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

The fifth negator is *ʔin.* It can be used with both perfect and imperfect aspect, for example:

(75)   Standard Arabic

Perfect

    a. saʔala   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

       ask.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

       'Ahmad asked Khaled'

    b. ʔin   saʔala   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

       NEG   ask.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

       'Ahmad did not ask Khaled'

Imperfect

    a. yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

       ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

       'Ahmad asked Khaled'

    b. ʔin   yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

       NEG   ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

       'Ahmad does not ask Khaled'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

As can be observed negation is symmetric in this case since it is expressed by the addition of *ʔin* only.

The sixth negator is *mā*. Similarly to *ʔin,* it can be used with both perfect and imperfect verbs, and negation with *mā* is always symmetric.

(76)   Standard Arabic

Perfect

  a. saʔala   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

      ask.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

      'Ahmad asked Khaled'

  b. mā   saʔala   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

      NEG   ask.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

      'Ahmad did not ask Khaled'

Imperfect

  a. yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

      ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

      'Ahmad asked Khaled'

  b. mā   yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χāled-an

      NEG   ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

      'Ahmad does not ask Khaled'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Finally, *laysa* is a negator used in Standard Arabic mostly with non-verbal clauses (see section 4.2). It can also be used rarely to negate imperfect clauses only as in (77).

(77)   Standard Arabic

    a. ʔadrī

       know.IMPF.1SG

       'I know.'

    b. lastu   ʔadrī

       AUX.NEG.1SG   know.IMPF.1SG

       'I do not know.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Note in the previous example, *laysa* is inflected for person. However, if the subject is a third singular masculine, *laysa* is not inflected. That is, this person is unmarked in Arabic, e.g.:

(78)   Standard Arabic

    a. yadrī

       know.IMPF.1SG

       'He knows.'

    b. laysa   yadrī

       NEG.3MSG   know.IMPF.1SG

       'He does not know.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

       The following table summarizes negators and their functions in Standard Arabic. Note, however, that as explained above and summarized below in the table, in some cases, there are more than one negator is possible. For example, perfect aspect clauses can be negated by *lam* and *mā*. In these cases, the choice between them seem to be due to stylistic considerations.

Table 8: Negators and their functions in Standard Arabic

No.	Negators	Function	Type of the negative strategy	Type of the negative construction
1.	*lam*	Negate perfect aspect only, and encode past	Single	Asymmetric
2.	*lammā*	Negate perfect aspect only (with an expectation to occur in the future) and encode past	Single	Asymmetric
3.	*lan*	Negate future clauses and encode future	Single	Asymmetric
4.	*lā*	Negate imperfect aspect only	Single	Symmetric
5.	*ʔin*	Negate both perfect and imperfect aspect	Single	Symmetric
6.	*mā*	Negate both perfect and imperfect aspect	Single	Symmetric
7.	*laysa*	Rarely negate imperfect aspect only	Single	Symmetric

Note in the table three negative morphemes result in asymmetric negation, namely *lam, lammā* and *lan.* All of them have another grammatical function (encoding tense). The negators *lā, ʔin,* and *mā* render negation only. This fact may suggest *lam, lammā* and *lan* are negative auxiliaries, but *lā, ʔin* and *mā* are negative particles. That is, particles are typically uninflected, whereas auxiliaries are usually inflected for categories, which typically appear on finite verbs such as tense in this case. *laysa* is a non-verbal negator that might be used with imperfect verbs only. This negator is inflected for person unless the subject is a third masculine singular. The use of this negator results in symmetric negation as well. After this, we turn now to standard negation in modern Arabic varieties.

3.4 Standard negation in Modern Arabic varieties

In this section, step II, step III and step IV of the steps identified by Song (2001) for typological studies are performed. That is, Arabic varieties are categorized into groups in accordance to their similarities and differences (step II). In this vein, generalizations are proposed where it is appropriate (step III) and the result is explained where possible (step IV). The categorization, however, is divided into two sub-sections: categorization based on features and categorization based on geographical areas. Both sub-sections are divided further as we will see. Then, a summary of this chapter is given. Note, however, as mentioned previously, in this thesis 54 Arabic varieties are considered, but this section is based on 53 of them only. Abeche Arabic is excluded in this chapter but included in others. There are no available data on how standard negation is expressed in Abeche Arabic. In fact, Abeche Arabic is the only Arabic variety in the present thesis where information on non-verbal negation and negative imperatives is found, but not on standard negation. Usually, the case is the opposite; data on standard negation is mostly the first to find, where the other types of negation may not be discussed in the consulted source. Similar exclusion will occur occasionally in the study. Another point that should be emphasized here is that the result reached in this chapter, and in the others, is that while the vast majority of data presented here is based on explicit information contained in published sources, in some cases reasonable assumptions have been made even though there is a lack of data. Assumptions of this sort can cautiously be made, for example, when speculating about the behaviour of a negative morpheme in an under-described variety surrounded by better-described varieties with uniformly similar negation systems. In any case, when such assumptions are proposed, explicit statements are made to highlight them.

3.4.1   Categorization by features

The first feature is regarding the type of the negative strategy used in standard negation. This strategy can be single, bipartite or single~bipartite. The second feature is regarding the use of ...-*š* in negation. The last one is regarding the negative construction (symmetric vs. asymmetric). After categorizing the modern Arabic varieties based on each feature, a general result based on this categorization is given and explained.

3.4.1.1 Negative strategies

3.4.1.1.1   Single negation

Single negation refers to a negative strategy in which negation is rendered by the use of a single negative morpheme only. As in 3.3, Standard Arabic makes a use of the single negative strategy only. And the same strategy can be observed in many modern Arabic varieties, for example:

(79)   Largeau Arabic

rafīg-na   mā   ʔakal   halāwa

friend-our   NEG   eat.PRF.3MSG   candy

'Our friend did not eat candy.'   (Abu Absi, 1995: 33)

(80)   al-Karak Arabic

yazan   ma-laʕib   faṭbōl

Yazan   NEG-play.PRF.3MSG.   soccer

'Yazan did not play soccer.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 42)

(81)   Hadhrami Arabic

ma   namit   samḥ   al-bariḥ

NEG   sleep.PRF.1SG   early   DEF-last.night

'I did not sleep early last night.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 48)

Single negation is observed in 29 out of the 53 varieties considered in this section. It is common across all of the seven geographical areas (Maghrebi, Egyptian, Sudanic, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Arabian Peninsula and Yemeni). However, among the modern Arabic varieties, some single negators must be placed pre-verbally and others must occur post-verbally as we will see in 3.4.1.1.3. Only the pre-verbal ones can occur among the single negation varieties. This takes us to the first generalization:

> *Generalization 1: In standard negation, the pre-verbal single negative strategy is the most common one observed among the modern Arabic varieties.*

The following table summarizes the 29 Arabic varieties. Where the first column states the name of the region, the second one is for numbering, the third is to state the name of the modern Arabic variety, and the last column is for the negative morpheme(s) used in each variety.

Table 9: Modern Arabic varieties where standard negation is single

Region	No.	Arabic variety	The negative morpheme(s)
Maghrebi	1.	Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*ma* and *ma* + PRO
	2.	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*mā* and *ma* + PRO
Egyptian	3.	Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic	*mā*
	4.	Northwestern Sinai Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	5.	Southern Sinai Arabic	*mā*
Sudanic	6.	Eastern Nigeria Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	7.	Western Nigeria Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)

	8.	Sudanese Arabic	*mā*
	9.	Largeau Arabic	*mā*
Levantine	10.	al-Karak Arabic	*ma*
	11.	ʕAtīž Arabic	*mā*
	12.	Damascus Arabic	*mā* and *mū*
Mesopotamian	13.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	14.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	15.	Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	*mā*
Arabian Peninsula	16.	Kuwaiti Arabic	*mā*
	17.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	*mā*
	18.	al-Bāḥa Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	19.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	20.	Ḥagil Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	21.	Madinah Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	22.	Urban Hijazi Arabic	*mā*
	23.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	24.	ʔAbha Arabic	*mā, mā+*PRO, *lim, lis* and *lis+*PRO
	25.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)
	26.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	*ma*
	27.	Dubai Arabic	*mā*
Yemeni	28.	Hadhrami Arabic	*ma*
	29.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*miš* (or *miši* and *māši*)

In this table, the negator *mā* is the most common negator, found in 28 out of the 29 varieties. In 24 out of these 28, *mā* is used as the only negator, whereas in the other four (Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Damascus Arabic and ʔAbha Arabic), *mā* is used but beside other negative morphemes. This imposes our next generalization:

Generalization 2: In modern Arabic varieties where the negative strategy is single, the negator used is almost always mā.

In Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Damascus Arabic and ʔAbha Arabic, *mā* is found as well as other negators. In Ḥassāniyya and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, *mā* negates non-future clauses only.[28]

(82)   Ḥassāniyya Arabic

   ma   tkallamt

   NEG   speak.PRF.1SG

   'I did not speak.'   (Francis, 1979: 111)

(83)   Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic

   mā   žayt   lə-r-rāžəl   hāða

   NEG   come.PRF.1SG   to-DEF-man   this

   'I did not come to this man.'   (Heath, 2003: 20)

When the negated clause is future, *mā* is affixed to the appropriate personal pronoun, a pronoun that agrees with the subject of the clause in person number and gender.

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[28] It is *ma*, with a short vowel, in Ḥassāniyya and *mā*, with the long vowel, in Malian Ḥassāniyya

(84)   Ḥassāniyya Arabic

    mā-ni   lāhi   nimši

    NEG-me   FUT   go.IMPF.1SG

    'I will not go.'   (Francis, 1979: 99)

(85)   Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic

    mā-hu   lāhi   yṭiih

    NEG-he   FUT   fall

    'He will not fall.'   (Heath, 2003: 114)

In (84), the subject of the clause is first singular; thus, the pronoun suffix *-ni* is attached to the negator *mā,* whereas in (85) the subject is third singular masculine; thus, the suffixed attached here is *-hu.* This attachment of the personal pronoun to the negative morpheme, or morphemes when the attachment occurs with *ma……-š* as in *ma-nī-š* 'I am not', is very common, especially in non-verbal negation as will be seen in section 4.4.2. Henceforth, this strategy is referred to as *NEG+PRO*.

    In Damascus Arabic, the verbal negator is mostly *mā.*

(86)   Damascus Arabic

    l-wāḥed   mā   bilāʔi   mətəl   balad-o

    DEF-one   NEG   find.IMPF.3MSG   like   country-his

    'There is no place like home.' (Lit. 'One does not find the like of his community.'

                                        (Cowell, 2005: 383)

However, similarly to many modern Arabic varieties (see section 3.4.1.1.3), when verbs are affixed to *ʕam-* (the progressive aspect maker) or to *raḥa-* (the future tense marker), they can be negated by the non-verbal negator in the variety. In Damascus, this negator

is *mū* which can be used optionally instead of *mā* in these cases. In (87)(a) and (87)(b)

below, the *ʕam*-verb is negated by *mā* and *mū,* respectively. The same can be noted with

the *raḥa*-verb in (87)(c) and (87)(d).

(87)   Damascus Arabic

a. ʔabū-k   mā   ʕam-yākol

father-your   NEG   PRG-eat.IMPF.3MSG

'Your father is not eating.'   (Cowell, 2005: 384)

b. mū   ʕam-yəštɣəl   hallaʔ

NEG   PRG-work.IMPF.3MSG   now

'He is not working now.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

c. l-ʔaɣlab   mā   laḥa-yəḥṣal   ʕa-š-šaɣle

DEF-most.likely   NEG   FUT-get.IMPF.3MSG   on-DEF-job

'Chances are, he will not get the job.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

d. mū   raḥa-tkūn   əmṣībe   kbīre   ʔiza   mā   ḥṣəlt   ʕalē

NEG   be.IMPF.3FMSG   misfortunate   big   if   neg   get.PRF.1SG   on.it

'I will not be a great misfortunate if I did not get it.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

This *mū* is an advanced stage of the attachment between the third singular masculine

pronoun and the negative morpheme which can be realized as follows: *mā+hu > māhu >*

mū. This advanced stage can be noted in many modern Arabic varieties, but the resulting

morpheme differs considerably depending on the verbal negator in the variety in question.

For example, when the verbal negator is *mā……-š*, the fusion between this negator and

hu may result in *muš.* All the varieties where this fusion is observed will be discussed

further in 3.4.2.2. For now, when the attachment results in a single form, the resulting

form is labeled as a *negator*. In this regard, *mā-ni* in Ḥassāniyya Arabic (84) is called *NEG+PRO,* but *mū* in Damascus Arabic will be referred to as another negator.[29]

In ʔAbha Arabic, the negators are *mā, mā+PRO, lim, lis* and *lis+PRO*. First, *mā* can be used with past and present clauses, both exemplified respectively below.

(88)   ʔAbha Arabic

a. huwwah   mā   ṣaddag-hā   yōm   gālat   la-h

   he   NEG   believe.PRF.3MSG-her   day   tell.PRF.3FSG   to-him

   'He did not believe her when she told him.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 116)

b. mā   tiʕrif   ḥatta   tuslug   bēḍah

   NEG   know.IMPF.3FSG   even   boil. IMPF.3FSG   egg

   'She does not even know how to boil an egg.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 123)

Second, *mā+PRO* is used to negate present clauses. In (89)(a), the subject is third singular masculine; thus, the pronoun *-hū* 'he' is used, but in (89)(a), the subject is third singular feminine; this, the pronoun *-hi* 'she' is used.

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[29] As mentioned previously, the use of the non-verbal negator to negate future clauses is very common among the modern varieties of Arabic. However, unlike Damascus Arabic, negation in these varieties is single in some cases and bipartite in others; thus, they are discussed in a separate section (3.4.1.1.3). The question, however, is what about the situation in single negation varieties which are spoken in areas adjacent to Damascus Arabic such as the ones in Iraq? In other words, in varieties where negation is single like Damascus Arabic are future clauses negated by *mū*? Based on the available data, it seems that although the non-verbal negator is *mū* in some of these varieties adjacent to Damascus Arabic, such as Christian Baghdadi Arabic and Muslim Baghdadi Arabic, it is not used with future clauses. Consider the following from Muslim Baghdadi Arabic and note that the verbal negator *mā* seems the only possibility to negate future clauses:

   ma-raḥ-yiği
   NEG-FUT-come.IMPF.3MSG
   'He is not going to come.'   (Erwin, 2004: 141)

(89)   ʔAbha Arabic

  a. mā   hū   yχalli   ḥadinn   yḥākī-h

      NEG   he   let.IMPF.3MSG   anyone   talk.IMPF.3MSG-him

      'He does not let anyone talk to him.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 73)

  b. mā   hi   tišrab   iš-šāhī   bi   s-sukkar

      NEG   she   drink.IMPF.3FSG   DEF-tea   with   DEF-sugar

      'She does not drink tea with sugar.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 73)

This *mā*+PRO strategy can also negate future clauses, but note unlike present clauses *mā* alone is not another option here to negate such clauses.

(90)   ʔAbha Arabic

     mā   hū   b-ygʕud

     NEG   he   FUT-stay.IMPF.3MSG

     'He will not stay.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 140)

lim is another verbal negator in ʔAbha Arabic. Recalling standard negation in Standard Arabic from 3.3, one can see that this *lim* is etymologically related from *lam*. Moreover, similarly to *lam, lim* can be used with past tense meaning only, and past tense in affirmatives is marked on the verb, but when verbs are negated by *lim,* the verb takes the imperfect form. Compare the following and note that in (91)(a) the verb is inflected for the past, but (91)(b) past tense is conveyed by *lim*.

(91)   ʔAbha Arabic

   a. gāmatt   umm-ī

      wake.PRF.3FSG   mother-me

      'My mother woke up.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 84)

   b. lim   agūl   la-h

      NEG.PST   tell.IMPF.1SG   to-him

      'I did not tell him.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 141)

lis is also an ʔAbha Arabic negator. It is etymologically related to *laysa*, a negator used in Standard Arabic, mostly, with non-verbal clauses (see section 4.2). *lis* can be used with either present or future clauses. However, with present clauses, *lis* must be accompanied by the appropriate personal pronoun (*lis*+PRO).

(92)   ʔAbha Arabic

      lis-nī   aʕrif   ðōlā   l-banāt

      NEG-me   know.IMPF.1SG   these   DEF-girls

      'I do not know these girls.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 56)

With future clauses, the accompaniment of the personal pronoun is optional. However, when *lis* is used alone with future clauses, the future marker *b-* must be omitted, but when *lis*+PRO is used, the *b-* marker is not omitted. Both cases are exemplified respectively in the following:

(93)   ʔAbha Arabic

   a. lis   yiswī-h

       NEG.FUT   fix.IMPF.3MSG-it

       'He will not fix it.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

   b. lis-nī   b-sāfir   ða   l-yōm

       NEG-me   FUT-travel.IMPF.1SG   this   DEF-day

       'I am not going to travel today.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

In the previous, example (93)(a) shows that *lis* is inflected for future tense, but example (93)(b) shows future tense is encoded by *b-* (the future tense marker in this variety). Perhaps this is to avoid confusion. That is to say, *lis*+PRO can negate present (92) and future clauses (93)(b). Therefore, when *lis*+PRO is used the only difference between the negative present clause and the negative future clause would be the presence of *b-*. In contrast, when *lis* alone is used, there is no need for *b-* to differentiate between the two types of clauses as the use of *lis* alone is permitted with negative future clauses only.

   Finally, Table 9 shows that Zinǧibār Arabic is the only one where the single verbal negator is *miš,* which has two allomorphs (*miši* and *māši*), for example:

(94)   Zinǧibār Arabic

   a. miš   idina-hum   as-siyārah   ḥaqqa-na

       NEG   give.PRF.1PL -them   DEF-car   POSS-our

       'We did not give them our car.'

b. miš   ba-nandi-hum   as-siyārah   ḥaqqa-na

NEG   FUT-give.IMPF.1PL-them   DEF-car   POSS-our

'We will not give them our car.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 34)

As Ahmed puts it, "this dialect employs a single negative marker *mish* [*miš*] to negate all types of constructions. The negative marker is composed of *ma* and *sh* [...-*š*] but it is never expressed as a two-part marker" (Ahmed, 2012: 33). This is, however, does not mean *mā* is completely absent in this variety. The case is that *miš* is the ordinary verbal negator and *mā* is used in certain cases only. For example, when negation is emphasized, …-*š* is omitted and the used negator is *mā* alone*,* for example:

(95)   Zinǧibār Arabic

wallah   ma   qūm   men   maḥall-in

by-God   NEG   stand.IMPF.1SG   from   place-my

'I swear By God that I will not leave my place.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 45)

Such an omission is very common among the modern Arabic varieties, see section 3.4.1.2 for more details on this phenomenon.

3.4.1.1.2 Bipartite negation

The bipartite negative strategy means standard negation is rendered by the use of two negative morphemes simultaneously. This strategy is not found in Standard Arabic (see section 3.3), only in modern Arabic varieties. It is found as the only possible way to perform negation in 11 out of the 53 Arabic varieties, consider here:

(96)　Biyyāðī and Aχrasī Arabic

　　　ma　　šuft-ū-š

　　　NEG　　see.PRF.2MSG-him-NEG

　　　'You did not see him.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(de Jong, 2000: 393)

(97)　Taiz Arabic

　　　ma-raḥan-š　　　　　　　al-mudarrisāt　　al-ʔidārah　　　　　　　al-yawm

　　　NEG-go.PRF.3FPL-NEG　　DEF-teacher.FPL　DEF-management.office　DEF-today

　　　'The teachers (F) did not go to the office today.'　　　(Ahmed, 2012: 55)

　　　Unlike the single strategy which can be found across the Arabic world, the bipartite strategy seems to be a characteristic found in some regions only, Maghrebi, Egyptian and Yemeni. Table 10 outlines the 11 bipartite negation varieties in which single negation (whether pre-verbal or post-verbal) is impossible in unmarked standard negation contexts. Similarly to the previous table, the modern Arabic varieties are represented by regions, followed by the name of the Arabic variety and finally the negative morpheme(s).

Table 10: Modern Arabic varieties where standard negation is bipartite

Region	No.	Arabic variety	The negative morpheme(s)
Maghrebi	1.	Moroccan Arabic	*ma……-š(i)*
	2.	Annaba Arabic	*mā……-š*
	3.	Dellys Arabic	*ma……- š(i)*
	4.	Sfax Arabic	*ma……-š*
	5.	Sousse Arabic	*ma……-š*
	6.	Eastern Libyan Arabic	*ma……-š*
Egyptian	7.	Biyyāḍī and Aχrasī Arabic	*ma……-š*
	8.	Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	*ma……-š*
	9.	Ṭuwara Arabic	*ma……-š*
Yemeni	10.	Adeni Arabic	*ma……-š*
	11.	Taiz Arabic	*ma……-š*

As the previous table demonstrates, in Moroccan Arabic and Dellys Arabic the second part of the verbal negator (...-*š*) may be pronounced as ...-*ši*.[30] However, it is worth noting that, according to Souag, the vowel /i/ in Dellys Arabic is rarely pronounced by younger generations (Souag, 2005: 166), for example:

[30] Note that in Moroccan Arabic, *ma……-šay* is also possible but with emphatic negation only. This section, however, focuses on non-emphatic negation, and emphatic negation will shortly be discussed in section 3.4.1.2.

(98)   Dellys Arabic

ma-qrit-š   haða   l-ktab

NEG-read.PRF.1SG   this   DEF-book

'I did not read this book.'   (Souag, 2005: 166)

It should be borne in mind that the second element *...-š* may be omitted in certain cases. This phenomenon is common wherever this *...-š* is found. For example, in Moroccan Arabic, the presence of the item *ʕammər* 'never' entails the omission of *...-š,* compare the following clauses:

(99)   Moroccan Arabic

  a. ma-nemšiw-š

     NEG-come.IMPF.1PL-NEG

     'We will not go.'   (Harrell, 2004: 152)

  b. ʕəmmər-hum   ma-šafu-h

     never-they   see.PRF.3PL-him

     'They have never seen him.' or 'They never saw him.'   (Harrell, 2004: 154)

Despite this omission, which results in single negation, the negative strategy in Moroccan Arabic is classified as always bipartite, see section 3.4.1.2 for more information on this omission across the modern Arabic varieties. In order for standard negation in a variety to be classified as single~bipartite, both the single and the bipartite negative strategies have to be frequent as we will see in the following section, not as in Moroccan Arabic where bipartite negation is used and the single one is possible under certain restricted circumstances. It should also be noted that, as we will see in the following section, some modern varieties negate certain clauses such as future clauses by the use of a single

morpheme. In the varieties listed in Table 10 above, however, no available data shows the use of such a morpheme, and negation in these varieties seems to be always bipartite in non-emphatic negation.

3.4.1.1.3 Single~bipartite negation

Single~bipartite negation means both the single as well as the bipartite negative strategy are frequently found within the same variety. This is the case in 13 out of the 53 Arabic varieties, all of which are listed in the following table:

Table 11: Modern Arabic varieties where standard negation is Single~Bipartite

Region	No.	Arabic variety	The negative morpheme(s)
Maghrebi	1.	Standard Maltese	*ma……-x* and *mhux*
	2.	Western Libyan Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*
	3.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	*ma……-š, miš* and *ma*-PRO-*š*
Egyptian	4.	al-ʕArīš Arabic	*ma……-š (i)* and *miš*
	5.	Egyptian western desert Arabic	*mā* and *mā……-š*
	6.	Cairene Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*
	7.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	*ma……- šey* and *...- šey*
Levantine	8.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*
	9.	as-Salṭ Arabic	*ma……-š, ...-š* and *mā*
	10.	Aley Arabic	*ma……-š, ...-š, miš* and *ma*
	11.	Baskinta Arabic	*ma……-š, ...-š* and *miš*
	12.	Palestinian Arabic	*mā……-š, ...-š, mā* and *muš*
Yemeni	13.	Ṣana'a Arabic	*mā……-š* and *mā*

The 13 varieties can be divided further into three sub-categories: varieties where the choice between the single and the bipartite strategy seems to be optional (Group A); varieties where future clauses are negated by the single strategy and non-future clauses are negated by the bipartite one (Group B); and finally varieties where there is an overlap between the two strategies (Group C).

In group (A), the speaker here seems to have an option of using either single or bipartite negation. There seems to be no constraints on which one should be used. This is the case in four varieties: Egyptian western desert Arabic, Saʕīdī Arabic, Ṣanaʾa Arabic and as-Salṭ Arabic. In the following, for example, in Egyptian western desert Arabic (100) and in Saʕīdī Arabic (101), a perfect clause is once negated by the single strategy and once by the bipartite one.

(100)   Egyptian western desert Arabic[31]

   a. mā   gā-š

       NEG   come.PRF.3MSG-NEG

       'He did not come.'   (Maṭar, 1981: 183)

   b. ir-rāgil   mā   ʕaṭā   min   χabar

       DEF-man   NEG   give. PRF.3MSG   from   new.PL

       'The man did not report any news.' (Lit. 'The man did not give any news.')

                                              (Maṭar, 1981: 183)

(101)   Ṣaʕīdī Arabic

   a. l-kalb   ma   ḥaṣṣal-ši   l-ʕaḍma

       DEF-dog   NEG   reach.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-bone

       'The dog did not reach the bone.'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 101-102)

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[31] Note Maṭar (1981) is written in Arabic; thus, the examples here are my own transcription.

b. l-kalb   ḥaṣṣal-ši   l-ʕaḍma

    DEF-dog   reach.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-bone

    'The dog did not reach the bone.'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 101-102)

as-Salṭ Arabic differs slightly from the rest of group (A) varieties. Here, the same optionality is almost found between *ma……-š* and *mā.*

(102) as-Salṭ Arabic

a. ṭabʕan   ma   ylāgī-š   ǧawāb

    of course   NEG   get.IMPF.3MSG   answer

    'Of course, he does not get answer.'

b. ʔiḥna   mā   binṭīḥ   ʕa-l-ġōr

    we   NEG   go.down.IMPF.1PL   to-DEF-Jordan.valley

    'We do not go [down] to the Jordan valley.'   (Palva, 2004: 229)

However, with *b*-imperfect verbs only in addition to *ma……-š* and *mā,* the negator *...-š* can be used. The following is an example of a *b*-imperfect verb negated by each one of the three negators.

(103) as-Salṭ Arabic

a. ma   baʕrif-š   inklīzi

    NEG   know.IMPF.1SG   English

    'I do not know English.'   (Palva, 2004: 229)

b. ʔiḥna   mā   binṭīḥ   ʕa-l-ɣōr

    we   NEG   go.down.IMPF.3MPL   to-DEF-Jordan.valley

    'We do not go [down] to the Jordan valley.'   (Palva, 2004: 229)

c. baḥkī-š   maʕ-ak   baḥki   maʕ   umm-ak

speak.IMPF.1SG   with-you   speak.IMPF.1SG with   mother-your

'I do not speak to you, I speak to your mother.'   (Palva, 2004: 230)

Based on negation in group (A), the following can be formulated:

Generalization 3: The optionality between using single and bipartite negation is
rarely found in modern Arabic varieties.

In group (B), there is a split between negation of future clauses and negation of
non-future clauses. The bipartite negation is used only with non-future clauses (past or
present), whereas the single one is preserved with future clauses only.[32] This is the case
is four varieties: Standard Maltese, Western Libyan Arabic, al-ʕArīš Arabic and Northern
Jordanian Arabic. The following are from Western Libyan Arabic and Northern
Jordanian. Note the first clause of each example is non-future; thus, negation is bipartite,
and the second one is future; thus, negation is single.

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[32] A logical question would be here that how future clauses are negated in group (A). This is to
make sure they do not belong to group (B). In other words, can the optionality of using single or
bipartite negation be found with future clauses in group (A) varieties as well? The result shows
that Ṣana'a Arabic definitely belongs to group (A) since the optionality does occur even with
future clauses. On the other hand, data on negation of future clauses in Egyptian western desert
Arabic, Saʕīdī Arabic and as-Salṭ Arabic is not found. Therefore, a sensible step here could be
classifying these three varieties under a different category in which the motivation is the
ambiguity of negation with future clauses. However, since the consulted sources of these three
varieties are either a descriptive grammar book or a journal article written specifically on
negation, any difference in negation with future clauses would highly be expected to be
mentioned. The lack of this mention could be because there is nothing to mention. That is,
negating future clauses is similar to negating any other type of clause.

(104)   Western Libyan Arabic

   a. l-awlād   ma-mšū-š   li-l-madrsa

      DEF-boy.PL   NEG-go.PRF.3PL-NEG   to-DEF-school

      'The boys did not go to the school.'   (Krer, 2013: 75)

   b. l-awlād   miš   ḥa-yemšū   li-l-madrsa

      DEF-boy.PL   NEG   FUT-go.IMPF.3PL.   to-DEF-school

      'The boys do not go to the school'.   (Krer, 2013: 97)

(105)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

   a. ma-zār-iš   el-batra

      NEG-visit.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-Petra

      'He did not visit Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 102)

   b. miš   ḥa-yisāfir

      NEG   FUT-travel.IMPF.3MSG

      'He will not making the journey.'   (Haija, 1985: 10)

    In group (C), there is an overlap between the two strategies. This is the case in five varieties: Cairene Arabic, Sahel/Tunis Arabic, Aley Arabic, Baskinta Arabic and Palestinian Arabic. The overlap here differs considerably from one variety to another. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to demonstrate how this overlap occurs on a case-by-case basis.

The first case is Cairene Arabic. Here, *ma……-š* and *miš* can be used with non-future clauses, for example:[33]

(106) Cairene Arabic

   a. ma-biyḥibb-iš   il-ḥaflāt

       NEG-like.IMPF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-party.PL

       'He does not like parties.'

   b. miš   biyḥibb   il-ḥaflāt

       NEG   like.IMPF.3MSG   DEF-party.PL

       'He does not like parties.'   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

However, when the clause is future, only *miš* is possible.

(107) Cairene Arabic

    miš   ḥa-tīgi   bukra

    NEG   FUT-come.IMPF.3FSG   tomorrow

    "She is not going to come tomorrow"   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

The second case is Sahel/Tunis Arabic. In this variety, standard negation can be expressed by three morphemes: *ma……-š, miš* and the use of the NEG+PRO construction. *ma……-š* is used with non-future and non-progressive aspect clauses.

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[33] Brustad investigates the use of *ma……-š* and *miš* with non-future clauses with an Egyptian linguist and concludes that in such cases *miš* is used to indicate "a kind of categorical negation, a marked (but not emphatic) form of verbal negation" (Brustad, 2000: 302). Mughazy (2003), in contrast, argues that *miš* is used to express metalinguistic negation, not descriptive negation. The difference between these two types of negation is that the descriptive negation concerns with the truth-conditions of the proposition in the clause, whereas the metalinguistic negation concerns with the assertability of that proposition (Mughazy, 2003). However, whichever analysis is more accurate, it is clear that in Cairene Arabic *miš* is possible in standard negation with non-future clauses.

(108)   Sahel/Tunis Arabic

nawāl   ma-žāt-š   l-bārḥ

Nawal   NEG-come.PRF.3FSG-NEG   DEF-yesterday

'Nawal did not come yesterday.'   (Halila, 1992: 30)

If the negated clause is future or has a progressive aspect interpretation, either *miš* or *ma-*PRO-*š* are used. In the following, (109)(a) and (109)(b) are future clauses, whereas (109)(c) and (109)(d) are progressive clauses, each one of these types is once negated by *miš* and once by *ma*-PRO-*š*:

(109)   Sahel/Tunis Arabic

a.   nawāl   miš   bāš   tžī

     Nawal   NEG   FUT   come.IMPF.3FSG

     'Nawal is not coming.'

b.   nawāl   ma-hyā-š   bāš   tžī

     Nawal   NEG-she-NEG   FUT   come.IMPF.3FSG

     'Nawal is not coming.'

c.   nawāl   miš   taqra   fi   ktāb

     Nawal   NEG   read. IMPF.3FSG   in   book

     'Nawal is not reading a book.'

d.   nawāl   ma-hyā-š   taqra   fi   ktāb

     Nawal   NEG-she-NEG   read. IMPF.3FSG   in   book

     'Nawal is not reading a book.'   (Halila, 1992: 31)

     The third case is Aley Arabic. Here, the negators are *ma……-š, …-š, miš* and *ma*. If the negated verb is perfect, the used negator can be either *ma……-š* or *ma* alone.

(110)   Aley Arabic

   a. ma   Ɂaχad-ā-š   maʕ-u

      NEG   take.PRF.3MSG-her-NEG   with-him

      'He did not take her with him.'

   b. ma   Ɂaχad-a   maʕ-u

      NEG   take.PRF.3MSG-her   with-him

      'He did not take her with him,'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

If the negated verb is *b*-imperfect, the used negators are *ma……-š, …-š* alone or rarely *ma* alone, e.g.:

(111)   Aley Arabic

   a. ma   baʕrif-š   bayy-ak

      NEG   know.PRF.1SG-NEG   father-your

      'I do not know your father.'

   b. baʕrif-š   bayy-ak

      know.PRF.1SG-NEG   father-your

      'I do not know your father.'

   c. ma   baʕrif   bayy-ak

      NEG   know.PRF.1SG   father-your

      'I do not know your father.'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

If the negated verb is *ʕab*-imperfect, the negator used is *miš*. [34]

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[34] *ʕab-* seems to be the progressive aspect marker in this dialect.

(112) Aley Arabic

miš   ʕabiktub   maktūb

NEG   write.IMPF.1SG   letter

'I am not writing a letter.'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

The fourth case is Baskinta Arabic. Here, negators are *ma……-š, …-š* and *miš.*
With perfect verbs, *ma……-š* is used.

(113) Baskinta Arabic

Ɂimm-i   ma   ʕallamit-nī-š   šiɣl   is-sinnāra

mother-me   NEG   teach.PRF.3FSG-me-NEG   work   DEF-crochet

'My mother did not teach me how to crochet.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 109)

With *b*-imperfect verbs, the negator is either *ma……-š* or *…-š* alone.[35]

(114) Baskinta Arabic

  a. hal-mutār   ma   byiflaḥ-š   imlīḥ

      this-tractor   NEG   plough.IMPF.3MSG-NEG   well

      'This tractor does not plough well.'

  b. byismaʕ-š   il-kilmi

      heed.IMPF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-word

      'He does not heed (my) advice.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 109)

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[35] In this case only (*b*-imperfect verbs), *ma* in *ma……-š* may become *Ɂa* as in *Ɂa……-š*. As Abu-Haidar puts it "the particle *Ɂa* is, in fact, *ma*, but *m* is elided where it is followed by a word beginning with *b*-" (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 110).

With *ʕan*-imperfect verbs and future clause, the negator is *miš*.[36]

(115) Baskinta Arabic

a. miš   ʕan-yiḥki   maʕ-i   baʔa

NEG   PRGtalk.IMPF.3MSG   with-me   anymore

'He is not talking to me anymore.'

b. miš   raḥ   nizraʕ   ilʔās   is-sini

NEG   FUT   plant.iMPF.1PL   potatoes   DEF-year

'We shall not plant potatoes this year.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 109)

The last case is Palestinian Arabic. The negators here are *mā……-š, …-š, mā* and *muš. mā……-š* and *mā* can be used with non-future clauses.

(116) Palestinian Arabic

a. mā   akalt-iš

NEG   eat.PRF.1SG-NEG

'I did not eat.'   (Lucas, 2010: 173)

b. mā   riḍi   yuskut

NEG   agree.PRF.3MSG   shut up.IMPF.3MSG

'He refused to shut up.' (Lit. 'He did not agree to shut up.') (Seeger, 1996: 36)

Beside the above two negators, the post-verbal *…-š* can be used with *b*-imperfect verbs.

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[36] *ʕan-* seems to function as the progressive aspect marker in this dialect.

(117) Palestinian Arabic

(ana)   baḥibb-iš   il-fūl

I   like.IMPF.1SG-NEG   DEF-fava beans

'I do not like fava beans.'   (Lucas, 2009: 244)

The last negator is *muš.* It is used with future clauses only.

(118) Palestinian Arabic

muš   rāḥ   yuktob

NEG   FUT   write.IMPF.3MSG

'He is not going to write.'   (Rosenhouse, 2011)

Table 12 below summarizes how standard negation is expressed in group (C) varieties.

Table 12: Standard negation in group (C)

No.	Arabic variety	The negative morpheme(s) and their functions
1.	Cairene Arabic	Both *ma……-š* and *miš* can be used with non-future clauses, but only *miš* can be used with future clauses.
2.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	*mā……-š* is used with non-future and non-progressive clauses, and *miš* and *ma-PRO-š* are used with futures and progressive clauses.
3.	Aley Arabic	*ma……-š* and *ma* are optionally used with prefect verbs; *ma……-š, …-š* and *ma* are optionally used with b + imperfect verbs; and *miš* is used with ʕab + imperfect verbs only.
4.	Baskinta Arabic	*ma……-š* and *...-š* can be used with b-imperfect verbs, but with perfect verbs only *ma……-š* is possible and with ʕab + imperfect verbs only *miš* is possible.
5.	Palestinian Arabic	*mā……-š* and *mā* can be used with perfect and non-b-imperfect verbs; *mā……-š, …-š* and *mā* can be sued with b-imperfect; and only *muš* is possible with future clauses.

We have seen in the previous a categorization of the modern Arabic varieties based on the type of the negative strategy. In the following section, however, a different feature is considered, the use of ...-*š* in negation. As we will see, varieties in this regard are divided into two groups: varieties where this ...-*š* is found and varieties where this ...-*š* is not found. The focus in this section will be on the common omission of this ...-*š* among varieties that have it.

3.4.1.2 The negative …-š

Based on the use of …-š as a negative morpheme, or at least as part of it, Arabic varieties can be divided into two categories: š-varieties, where the negative …-š is observed, and non-š-varieties, where this …-š is not observed at all. By default, then, the š-group includes all Arabic varieties where negation is classified as bipartite (Table 10) and where negation is classified as single~bipartite (Table 11). That is, …-š is always present as the second element in any bipartite negation. Based on this, one can say bipartite negation always entails the use of ...-š (or its variants such as ...-šey or ...-ši) as the second element. The same is true about mā; bipartite negation, almost always entails the presence of mā (or its variant ma) as the first element; thus:[37]

> *Generalization 4: In standard negation, bipartite negation almost always entails*
> *the use of is* ma……-š.

This is not to be confused with the Arabic negator lā. In some modern Arabic varieties, lā may co-occur with ...-š to express negative imperatives, but not standard negation, see section 5.4.

On the other hand, not all modern Arabic varieties where negation is single belong automatically to the non-š-group. In Zinǧibār Arabic, negation is single; yet, it belongs to the š-group as the single negator here is *miš* which contains /š/. The geographical distribution of these š-varieties and non-š-varieties is explained in detail in section 3.4.4, and the fact that not all š-varieties have this ...-š as a result of going through Jespersen's cycle as some of them may just have borrowed it from other adjacent varieties is

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[37] As far as the available data shows, the only exception to this is found in Baskinta Arabic where *ma……-š* may become *ʔa……-š* with *b*-imperfect verbs.

explained in section 4.4.3. Here, we will focus on the phenomenon of omitting this …*-š*
in certain constructions.

Commonly, this omission occurs mostly when negation is emphasized (the
omission is also found in other cases as will be explained). In modern Arabic varieties,
emphasis seems to be commonly expressed by use of an oath, the use of a negative-
sensitive item, or by stress. The latter can be called *wordless*; in fact, this may be a better
term for this way of emphasizing as we will see shortly.

The first strategy is oath which mostly involves the use of *waḷḷāhi* 'by-God'.

(119)   Ṭuwara Arabic

waḷḷā   mā   ğā-ni

by-God   NEG   come.PRF.3MSG-us

'By God, he did not come to us.'   (de Jong, 2011: 102)

(120)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

waḷḷah   mā   b-yōm   bassāmḥ-k

by-God   NEG   in-day   forgive.IMPF.1SG-you

'I will not forgive you in any day = I will never forgive you.'

                                                      (Alqassas, 2015: 114)

(121)   Adeni Arabic

waḷḷah   ma-aqūm   men   maḥl-i

by-God   NEG-stand.IMPF.1SG   from   place-my

'By God, I will not leave my place.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 66)

The second case for this omission is in the presence of a negative-sensitive items
(NSIs). These items can be divided further into negative polarity items, negative concord
items and negative indefinite pronouns. All of these types will be addressed in chapter 7.

For now, it is sufficient to say that NSIs are items which tend to occur in certain non-affirmative clauses such as negation, interrogatives and conditionals. In the following, the item *ʕumr-* 'never' is an example of an NSI (it is a negative polarity item).

(122)   Moroccan Arabic

ʕəmmər-hum   ma-šafu-h

never-they   see.PRF.3PL-him

'They have never seen him.' or 'They never saw him.'   (Harrell, 2004: 154)

(123)   Sousse Arabic

ʕomr-o   mɛ   yɛdfaʕ

never-he   NEG   pay.IMPF.3MSG

'He never pays.'   (Talmoudi, 1980: 166)

(124)   Cairene Arabic

ʕumr-u   mā   ḥass   innu   huwwa   ʔagnabi

never-he   NEG   feel.PRF.3MSG   that   he   foreign

'Never has he felt that he was foreign'   (Brustad, 2000: 307)

The last relevant emphasis type is stress (or wordless). The reason this could be called *wordless* is that the consulted sources usually provide an example of this way of emphasizing negation without explaining how the emphasis is marked. The author would just give a statement similar to: the second element …-*š* is omitted when extra emphasis is intended, for example:

(125) Smēʕniy and ʕGēliy Arabic

    mā   ha-zʕal

    NEG   FUT-get.angry.IMPF.1SG

    'I shall not be angry.'   (de Jong, 2000: 318)

(126) Biyyāḏī and Aχrasī Arabic

    mā   kammalin   gōlit-hin

    NEG   finish.PRF.3FPL   talk-their(F)

    'They had not even finished.'   (de Jong, 2000: 393)

However, in Zinǧibār Arabic only, the author reports that emphasis may be expressed by a focal stress. Then, she puts the stressed items in *bold* as in:[38]

(127) Zinǧibār Arabic

kanēn	**ma**	**yatšeršafain**	ammāt	awwal
be.PRF.3FPL	NEG	wear.veils.IMPF.3FPL	woman.PL	old

    'Women in the old days were not wearing veils.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 45-46)

However, if we know that the focal stress has been used in Zinǧibār Arabic, we do not know if the same has been used in others. All we know is that the clause is emphasized. Thus, the *wordless* label seems to be more suitable here, and is the only one that will be used from now on.

The amount of the available data on the three cases (oath, the use of an NSI and wordless) varies considerably from a variety to another. In some Arabic varieties, there is no information found on any of them. In others, some or a little data can be found. In

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[38] Note here in Zinǧibār Arabic, negation is single rendered by *miš,* and when …-*š* is omitted the resulting negator is *ma.*

Table 13 below, all the Arabic varieties where …-*š* is used as a negator or part of it are listed. In this table, varieties are organized according to the type of their negative strategy. The (√) and (X) symbols do not mean …-*š* is omitted or not; they are just to indicate whether data on oath, the use of NSIs and the wordless method is available or not. The same table can be viewed, however, as a list of the Arabic *š*-varieties.

Table 13: *š*-varieties

No.	Negative strategy	Arabic variety	Oath	Wordless	NSI
1.	Single negation	Zinǧibār Arabic	√	√	√
2.		Moroccan Arabic	X	√	√
3.		Annaba Arabic	X	X	X
4.		Dellys Arabic	X	X	√
5.		Sfax Arabic	X	X	√
6.		Sousse Arabic	X	X	√
7.		Eastern Libyan Arabic	√	X	√
8.	Bipartite negation	Biyyāḏī and Aχrasī Arabic	√	√	X
9.		Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	X	√	X
10.		Ṭuwara Arabic	√	X	X
11.		Adeni Arabic	√	X	√
12.		Taiz Arabic	X	X	√
13.		Standard Maltese	X	X	√

14.	Single~bipartite negation	Western Libyan Arabic	X	X	√
15.		Sahel/Tunis Arabic	X	X	√
16.		al-ʕArīš Arabic	X	√	X
17.		Egyptian western desert Arabic	X	X	X
18.		Cairene Arabic	√	X	√
19.		Saʕīdī Arabic	X	X	X
20.		Northern Jordanian Arabic	√	X	√
21.		as-Salṭ Arabic	√	X	√
22.		Aley Arabic	X	X	X
23.		Baskinta Arabic	X	X	X
24.		Palestinian Arabic	√	X	√
25.		Ṣana'a Arabic	√	X	√

As demonstrated by the previous table, data on all of the three cases is available in Zinǧibār Arabic only, whereas in Annaba Arabic, Egyptian western desert Arabic, Saʕīdī Arabic, Aley Arabic and Baskinta Arabic, there is no available data at all. The other varieties are somewhere between; data might be found on …-š with oath but not on …-š with NSIs, for example, or found on …-š with wordless emphasis but not on the other cases. Another important point that can be noticed in this table is that information on emphasis by oath or by NSIs are significantly more available than information on emphasis by the wordless strategy. Yet, this is not a surprise. That is, the oath and the

NSIs strategies are done by the addition of a separate morpheme to the clause, whereas no such addition is found with the wordless strategy. This makes the latter strategy less conspicuous than the others. Accordingly, an investigator of a specific variety, may exclude, intentionally or unintentionally, wordless emphatic negation. The intentional exclusion could be because such strategy has no impact on the way negation is expressed in the variety in question. In other words, negation in a clause that is emphasized wordlessly is identical to a clause that is not emphasized wordlessly; thus, there is no need to differentiate between these two types of clauses in term of negation. In contrast, the unintentional exclusion could be because this way of emphasizing a clause is not observed in the investigated variety. In other words, we cannot know if wordless emphasis is found in every modern Arabic variety or not.

Bearing in mind the various ways to express emphatic negation and the amount of the available data on this, we now turn to the question of whether this emphasis always entails the omission of the negative …-*š* or not. The answer is not always but mostly; thus,

Generalization 5: In the š-*varieties, …-*š *is mostly omitted in emphatic negation.*

This is based on data from 20 out of the 25 *š*-varieties in Table 13 above since in 5 of them no data is available (Annaba Arabic, Egyptian western desert Arabic, Saʕīdī Arabic, Aley Arabic and Baskinta Arabic). In 13 out of these 20, the omission of …-*š* seems to be mandatory as demonstrated by the examples (119) - (127) above. The exempt 7 from these 20 are Palestinian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Sfax Arabic, Eastern Libyan Arabic, Ṣana'a Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic. In these 7, the situation is different; in some of them the omission is optional while in others it is applied in some

cases only. The differences are best explained on a case-by-case basis, followed by a summary and overall discussion on this omission phenomenon.

The first case is Moroccan Arabic. This variety could be classified with the above 13 varieties where *...-š* is always omitted in emphatic negation. However, there is one exception here. In the above 13, an assumption has been made on the omission of *...-š* in the wordlessly emphasized negation, but here the long version of this *...-š* is used instead, namely *šay*:[39]

(128)   Moroccan Arabic

ma-ža-šay

NEG-come.PRF.3MSG-NEG

'He certainly did not come.'   (Harrell, 2004: 152)

The second case is Palestinian Arabic and as-Salṭ Arabic. Two matters are to be noted here. The first one is that both *ma……-š* and *mā* are possible in standard negation

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[39] There is available data that shows the omission of *...-š* in this dialect occurs also in other cases. First, when the direct object of the clause or the complement of the negative verb is an indefinite noun. Compare the following:

a.   ma-žbərt-š   lə-flus
     NEG-find.PRF.1SG   DEF-money
     'I did not find the money.'

b.   ma-žbərt   flus
     NEG-find.PRF.1SG-NEG   money
     'I did not find (any) money.'   (Harrell, 2004: 154)

Second, when the clause contains an adverbial phrase of duration such as *hadi šahrin* 'these two months' and *telt šur* 'three months'. However, in order for the omission to be applied here, these phrases must not occur finally in the clause. Compare the following:

a.   hadi   šahrin   ma-ža   l-d-dar
     these   two.months   NEG-come.PRF.3MSG   at-DEF-house
     'Since two months, he has not come to the house.'

b.   ma-ža-š   l-d-dar   hadi   šahrin
     NEG-come.PRF.3MSG-NEG   at-DEF-house   these   two.months
     'He has not come to the house since two months.'   (Chatar-Moumni, 2012: 7)

in these varieties (cf. section 3.4.1.1.3); therefore, one might say that in cases where *...-š* is not used, *mā* is the only possible negator rather than saying *...-š* is omitted. In other words, the speakers' choice between *ma……-š* and *mā* has been reduced here to *mā* only. Data is found on this use of *mā* only with oath and with NSIs as demonstrated by the following:

(129) Palestinian Arabic

    a.   waḷḷāhi   mā   šuft-u

       by-God   NEG   see.PRF.1SG –him

       'By God, I did not see him.'   (Hoyt, 2007: 4)

    b.   ʕumr-ī   ma-šuft-u

       never-me   NEG-see.PRF.1SG-him

       'I never saw him.'   (Hoyt, 2005b; 17)

(130) as-Salṭ Arabic

    a.   waḷḷa   ma   btaʕrif   wēn-o

       by-God   NEG   know.IMPF.2MSG   where-him

       'Do not you know where he is?' (Lit. You swear you do not know where he is)

    b.   ʕumr-i   ma   ruḥt   ʕa-maṣ(i)r

       never   NEG   go.PRF.1SG   to-Egypt

       'I have never been to Egypt.'   (Palva, 2004: 230)

The second matter is that, as far as can be found, *...-š* is possible with one type of NSIs, namely *wala*-items. A *wala*-item is a negative concord item because it may co-occur with the ordinary negator and yet, this co-occurrence does not result in a double negative construction where the result is an affirmative reading (this will be discussed further in 7.1). For now, it is sufficient to say that in Palestinian Arabic and as-Salṭ Arabic,

...-*š* is possible with negative concord items (a sub-category of NSIs). The possibility, however, occurs if, and only if, these *wala*-items are placed post-verbally as when they are used pre-verbally, predicate negation is not used in the first place (See section 7.1).

(131)   Palestinian Arabic

   ma-šāf-nī-š   wala   ḥada

   NEG-see.PRF.3MSG-me-NEG   NEG   one

   'No one saw me.   (Hoyt, 2005: 1)

(132)   as-Salṭ Arabic

   maʕ-hummu-šš   walā   girš

   with-they-NEG   NEG   piaster

   'They did not have a piaster [in their pockets].'   (Palva, 2004: 232)

The third case is found in Eastern Libyan Arabic and Sfax Arabic where the omission is optional. In Eastern Libyan Arabic, data is available on emphatic negation with oath and with NSIs, and with both the omission seems to be optional. In the following, (133)(a) and (133)(b) show the optionality of the omission with an NSI item, whereas (133)(c) shows the optionality of the same omission with oath.[40]

(133)   Eastern Libyan Arabic

   a.   gabul   ʕumr-a   ma   ǧa-š

        before   never-he   NEG   come.PRF.3MSG-NEG

        'Before he never came.'   (Owens, 1984: 200)

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[40] In both of these cases (with oath and with NSIs), Owens explicitly reports that ...-*š* is optional, but in explaining this optionality, he provides several examples with NSIs (some with ...-*š* and some without ...-*š*) and one example only with oath (with ...-*š*). Therefore, I was able to choose two examples with NSI (a and b) to show how ...-*š* is optionally used, but with oath I had to use the only provided example and indicate the optionality of omitting ...-*š* by using two brackets around it as in (c).

b. ʕamr-a   ma   ǧa

   never-he   NEG   come.PRF.3MSG

   'He never came at all.'   (Owens, 1984: 162)

c. wallāhi   ma   nagdar (-š)

   By.God   NEG   can.PRF.1SG (-NEG)

   'Really I cannot.'   (Owens, 1984: 204)

On the other hand, in Sfax Arabic, data is available on emphatic negation with NSIs only, and the optionality of omitting …-*š* in their presence can be seen with the NSI *ḥatta ḥad* 'anybody' below:

(134)   Sfax Arabic

    ma-qābilti(-š)   ḥatta   ḥad   l-yūm

    NEG-meet.PRF.1SG(-NEG)   any   body   DEF-today

    'I did not meet anybody today.'   (Bahloul, 1996: 79)

With one NSI, however, the omission is still required, namely *šay* 'anything' as in:[41]

(135)   Sfax Arabic

    ma-šuft   šay

    NEG-see.PRF.1SG   anything

    'I did not see anything.'   (Bahloul, 1996: 79)

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[41] Perhaps the fact that *šay* is the long version of …-*š* makes it difficult to have the two morphemes following each other in the same clause.

The fourth case is Ṣana'a Arabic. Here data is available on oaths and on NSIs, and as far as the data shows …-*š* is possible with oaths but impossible with NSIs, *aḥad* 'one' is the NSI in the following example.[42]

(136)   Ṣana'a Arabic

a.   wałłāhi   mā   fihimt-š

     By.God   NEG   understand.PRF.1SG-NEG

     'Honestly, I did not understand.'   (Qafisheh, 1992: 271)

b.   mā   yiʕraf   aḥad   ʕann-ih

     NEG   know.IMPF.3MSG   one   about-it

     'No one knows about it'   (Watson, 1993: 262)

Lastly, in Northern Jordanian Arabic, …-*š* is omitted in oaths (137)(a), but not with NSIs (137)(b) (*ḥada* 'one' is the NSI in this example).

(137)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

a.   wallah   mā   b-yōm   bassāmḥ-k

     buy-God   NEG   in-day   forgive.IMPF.1SG-you

     'I will not forgive you in any day = I will never forgive you.'

                                                        (Alqassas, 2015: 114)

b.   ma-šuft-iš   ḥada

     NEG-see.PRF.1SG-NEG   one

     'I did not see anyone.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 103)

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[42] Note similarly to Palestinian Arabic and as-Salṭ Arabic, both in *mā …...-š* and *mā* are possible in Ṣana'a Arabic; thus, the case here is more of a choice reduction rather than an omission.

However, according to Alqassas, the NSI ʕumr- can occur pre-verbally and post-verbally, and when it is pre-verbal, the omission is required (138)(a), but when it is post-verbal, the omission of ....-š is optional (138)(b) and (138)(c).

(138)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

    a.   ʕumr-o   mā   zār   el-batra

        never-him   NEG   visit.PRF.3MSG   DEF-Petra

        'He has never visited Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 102)

    b.   mā   zār   ʕumr-o   el-batra

        NEG   visit.PRF.3MSG   never-him   DEF-Petra

        'He has never visited Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 102)

    c.   ma-zār-iš   ʕumr-o   el-batra

        NEG-visit.PRF.3MSG-NEG   never-him   DEF-Petra

        'He never visited Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 107)

Interestingly enough, the negator *ma-……-š* can be attached directly to the item *ʕumr-*.

(139)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

        ma   ʕumr-ī-š   šuft   wāḥad   miθl-u

        NEG   (n) ever-I-NEG   see.PRF.3MSG.   one   like-him

        'I have never seen anyone like him.'   (Haija, 1985: 15)

The following table summarizes, the omission of ...-š in the 7 exempt Arabic varieties where the omission is not always required in every emphasized negative construction. The symbol (+) is when the omission must be applied; (−) is when the omission is not

applied; (±) is when the omission is optional; (+/−) is when the omission is possible but with some exceptions; and finally (X) is used where information is not available.

Table 14: The variation of omitting ...-š

No.	Arabic variety	Oath	Wordless	NSI
1.	Moroccan Arabic	X	−	+
2.	Palestinian Arabic	+	X	+/−
3.	as-Salṭ Arabic	+	X	+/−
4.	Sfax Arabic	X	X	+/−
5.	Eastern Libyan Arabic	±	X	±
6.	Ṣana'a Arabic	±	X	+
7.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	+	X	+/−

A quick glance at the previous table shows that no information is found with the wordless strategy except in Moroccan Arabic. And as mentioned above this may due to the fact that this strategy is not common in all modern Arabic varieties, or may occur but has no effect on negation and thus not mentioned in published sources. Data on the oath strategy is not found in Moroccan Arabic and Sfax Arabic but found in the rest. Omission with this strategy is required in Palestinian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic, and optional with Eastern Libyan Arabic and Ṣana'a Arabic. Data on the NSI strategy is found in all of them. In Moroccan Arabic and Ṣana'a Arabic, the omission seems to be required with NSIs. In Palestinian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Sfax Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic, such omission is also required but with some exceptions. In

Eastern Libyan Arabic only, by contrast, the omission is optional. This takes us to another generalization regarding the use of ...-*š*:

Generalization 6: There is no š-*variety where* …-š *is not, at least optionally, omitted in emphatic negation.*

In conclusion, then, we know so far that the negative …-*š* is a result of going thorough Jespersen's cycle (cf. section 1.4). We also know that ...-*š* cannot be used to negate every affirmative clause. However, since ...-*š* is a result of a new development, the absence of ...-*š* in some construction should be considered as the incomplete generalization of the new negative construction rather than an omission in part of it (Diem, 2014: 77). In other words, ...-*š* is not omitted in emphatic negation, the original pattern is simply maintained in this context. This is justified from a theoretical point of view. In stage II of Jespersen's cycle, the original negator is supported by another morpheme to strengthen the notion of negation; thus, the original function of the new morpheme is to emphasize. In emphatic negation, the negative notion is already strengthened by emphasizing the clause; therefore, there is no need for double emphasis. Accordingly, applying ...-*š* in emphatic negation could be viewed as one of the late steps, if not the last one, in Stage II of the cycle (cf. Lucas, 2007). In this sense, Eastern Libyan Arabic is the most advanced Arabic variety, as in this variety only the use of ...-*š* seems to be completely optional in emphatic negation, while in the other varieties the case differs from being impossible to possible with some exceptions.

3.4.1.3 Symmetric vs. Asymmetric negative construction

In 3.2, we have seen that when negation is formed by the addition of a negative marker(s) only to an affirmative clause, the negative construction is symmetric. When negation

involves any change other than this addition, the negative construction is asymmetric. We have also seen, in Standard Arabic 3.3, that there are seven negators (*lam, lammā, lan, lā, ʔin, mā* and *lysa*). The use of *lam, lammā* and *lan* results always in asymmetric negation and the use of *lā, ʔin, mā* and *lysa* results always in symmetric negation. Thus, the negative construction in Standard Arabic could be classified as symmetric~asymmetric since both (the symmetry and the asymmetry) are observed.

In the 53 Arabic varieties considered here, the negative construction in standard negation is almost always symmetric. There is no Arabic variety where the construction is always asymmetric only, and there are four varieties where the construction is symmetric in some cases and asymmetric in others (symmetric~asymmetric). The fact that symmetry is the only possibility in 49 Arabic varieties leads to the following generalization:

Generalization 7: In modern Arabic varieties, the negative construction in standard negation is almost always symmetric.

An example of this symmetry can be seen from comparing the following affirmatives to the negatives that follow them. Note that the only structural difference between affirmatives and negatives in the exemplified Arabic variety below is the presence of the negative marker(s).

(140)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

   a.   yiǧi

      come.IMPF.3MSG

      'He comes.'

b. ma-yšūf

NEG-see.IMPF.3MSG

'He does not see.' (Erwin, 2004: 141)

(141) Standard Maltese

a. smajt l-istorja kollha

hear.PRF.1SG DEF-story whole

'I heard the whole story.'

b. ma smajt-x l-istorja kollha

NEG hear.PRF.1SG-NEG. DEF-story whole

'I did not hear the whole story.' (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 88)

The only four Arabic varieties where the negative construction is symmetric~asymmetric are: Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Sahel/Tunis Arabic and ʔAbha Arabic. In Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, asymmetric negation occurs with negative future clauses only because in negating these clauses the negator *mā* must be accompanied by the relevant personal pronoun (NEG+PRO construction). This mandatory accompaniment presents another structural difference between future affirmatives and future negatives aside from the presence of the negative marker. As an example, compare the following affirmative future clauses to the negative future clauses:

(142) Ḥassāniyya Arabic

a. lāhi nšuf-ak iṣ-ṣubḥ

FUT go.IMPF.1SG-you.SG DEF-morning

'I will see you in the morning.' (Francis, 1979: 100)

b. mā-ni   lāhi   nimši

  NEG-me   FUT   go.IMPF.1SG

  'I will not go.'   (Francis, 1979: 99)

(143) Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic

a. lāhi   nəšrī-h

  FUT   buy.IMPF.1SG-it

  'I will buy it.'   (Heath, 2003: 166)

b. mā-hu   lāhi   yṭiih

  NEG-he   FUT   fall

  'He will not fall.'   (Heath, 2003: 114)

In Sahel/Tunis Arabic, the asymmetry occurs with progressive and future clauses only. And similarly to the previous case, negation of these clauses entails an accompaniment between the relevant personal pronoun and the negative morpheme(s). As an example, compare the following:

(144) Sahel/Tunis Arabic

a. nawāl   (bāš)   tžī   yudwa

  Nawal   FUT   come.IMPF.3FSG tomorrow

  'Nawal will not come tomorrow.'   (Halila, 1992: 37)

b. nawāl   ma-hyā-š   bāš   tžī

  Nawal   NEG-she-NEG   FUT   come.IMPF.3FSG

  'Nawal is not coming.'   (Halila, 1992: 31)

Note, however, in Sahel/Tunis Arabic, there is an option to negate these clauses with *miš* which would result in symmetric negation as in the following:

(145)   Sahel/Tunis Arabic

nawāl   miš   bāš   tžī

Nawal   NEG   FUT   come.IMPF.3FSG

'Nawal is not coming.'   (Halila, 1992: 31)

In ʔAbha Arabic, when perfect clauses are negated by *lim,* the negative construction is asymmetric as tense in affimatives is marked on the verb but in negatives marked on this *lim.* This different placement of the tense marker presents another structural difference between past affirmatives and past negatives, for example:

(146)   ʔAbha Arabic

   a. gāmatt   umm-ī

       wake.PRF.3FSG   mother-me

       'My mother woke up.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 84)

   b. lim   agūl   la-h

       NEG.PST   tell.IMPF.1SG   to-him

       'I did not tell him.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 141)

When present clauses are negated by the NEG+PRO construction, the result is asymmetric negation as the pronoun is not used in affirmatives. Note, however, that two verbal negators in this variety can accompany the personal pronoun: *mā* and *lis.* In the following, (147)(a) is an affirmative clause to show the absence of the personal pronoun, where (147)(b) and (147)(c) are to exemplify the presence of the personal pronoun with both *mā* and *lis* respectively:

(147)   ʔAbha Arabic

a.   aʕrif   ḥārat   ḍirah

     know.IMPF.1SG   area   Dirah

     'I know the Dirah area.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 226)

b.   mā   hū   yχalli   ḥadinn   yḥākī-h

     NEG   he   let.IMPF.3MSG   anyone   talk.IMPF.3MSG-him

     'He does not let anyone talk to him.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 73)

c.   lis-nī   aʕrif   ðōlā   l-banāt

     NEG-me   know.IMPF.1SG   these   DEF-girls

     'I do not know these girls.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 56)

Finally, future clauses in ʔAbha Arabic are always negated asymmetrically. They can be negated by either *lis*+PRO or by *lis* alone. Both are exemplified below after the future affirmative clause in (148)(a).

(148)   ʔAbha Arabic

a.   bi-tsāfir   baʕdēn

     FUT-travel.IMPF.3FSG   later

     'She will travel later.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 86)

b.   lis-nī   b-sāfir   ða   l-yōm

     NEG-me   FUT-travel.IMPF1SG   this   DEF-day

     'I am not going to travel today.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

c.   lis   yiswī-h

     NEG.FUT   fix.IMPF.3MSG-it

     'He will not fix it.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

While in the first case, the accompaniment of the personal pronoun with *lis* is the structural difference, in the second case, the structural difference is the omission of the future marker *b-*.

To summarize, then, the asymmetry in Standard Arabic occurs with *lam, lammā* and *lan,* and the reason is because these items not only negate the clause, but also indicate its aspect which is used to be inflected on the verb. In modern Arabic varieties, the asymmetry is either because of the use of the NEG+PRO construction or because of the use of *lim* and *lis*. The latter ones are observed in ʔAbha Arabic only as *lim* and *lis* are only used in this variety. *lim,* as mentioned before, is related to the Standard Arabic negator *lam* (see section 3.3), which can negate perfect aspect only.

(149)   Standard Arabic

    a. ʔakala   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

        eat.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

        'Ahmad ate the apple.'

    b. lam   ya?kul   ʔaḥmad-u   t-tuffāḥat-a

        NEG.PRF   eat.IMPF.JUSS.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   DEF-apple-ACC

        'Ahmad did not eat the apple.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Note here that in the negative clause *lam* encodes past tense instead of the verb doing so in the affirmative clause. This is similar to the use of *lim* in ʔAbha Arabic; *lim* is only compatible with a past interpretation and requires the verb to be imperfect rather than perfect. Therefore, it is not only this negator that is preserved in ʔAbha Arabic but also its grammatical function.

The second negator is *lis* which is also related to the Standard Arabic negator *laysa.* Similarly to *laysa* in Standard Arabic, it could negate imperfect verbs and be

inflected for person in this case. The question, however, is that if *lis* is etymologically related to *laysa* which is rarely used to negate imperfect verbs, how did it become capable of negating future clauses in ʔAbha Arabic. Part of the answer could be that in Arabic, the participial form of verbs may be used to refer to a future action or entails a progressive aspect interpretation. For example, in the following, *ðāhib* is the participial form of the verb *ðahab* 'went', and the clause in this example is non-verbal. Yet, as can be seen in the English translation, the clause can either be understood as occurring in the future or has progressive aspect interpretation.

(150)   Standard Arabic

ʔanā   ðāhib-un   ʔilā   al-madrasat-i

I   go.PTCP-NOM   to   DEF-school-GEN

'I will go to the school.' Or 'I am going to the school.' *(Personal Knowledge)*

The above clause can be negated by *laysa; lastu* in this example since it has to be inflected for the first singular person. Note the future and the progressive interpretation are still in place.

(151)   Standard Arabic

lastu   ðāhib-an   ʔilā   al-madrasat-i

NEG.1SG   go.PTCP-ACC   to   DEF-school-GEN

'I will not go to the school.' Or 'I am not going to the school.'

(Personal Knowledge)

This semantic ambiguity does not occur if the clause contains a time phrase item such as *ɣad* 'tomorrow' or *l-ʔān* 'now' as in (152); otherwise the semantic meaning can be determined from the context.

(152)   Standard Arabic

a.   ʔanā   ðāhib-un   ʔilā   al-madrasat-i   ɣad-an

     I   go.PTCP-NOM to   DEF-school-GEN   tomorrow-ACC

     'I will go to the school tomorrow.'

b.   ʔanā   ðāhib-un   ʔilā   al-madrasat-i   l-ʔān

     I   go.PTCP-NOM to   DEF-school-GEN   DEF-now

     'I am going to the school now.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

This future interpretation of a non-verbal clause that is negated by *laysa* could be the origin of the use of *lis* with future clauses in ʔAbha Arabic. That is to say, *laysa* in Standard Arabic is mostly used with non-verbal clauses. Certain types of these clauses can refer to the future. Because of these non-verbal future clauses which can be negated by *laysa* in Standard Arabic, ʔAbha Arabic speakers get the use of *lis* with verbal future clauses.

Finally, the reason which results in asymmetric negation in Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Sahel/Tunis Arabic is that the verbal negator in these varieties could be accompanied by a personal pronoun in some cases as in (153) below.

(153)   Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic

mā-hu   lāhi   yṭiih

NEG-he   FUT   fall

'He will not fall.'   (Heath, 2003: 114)

However, this reason could be considered as a more temporary reason. It should disappear once the merger of the pronoun and the negative morpheme is completed. This expected merger is based on the similar cases found in many modern Arabic varieties. For instance, in Damascus Arabic (section 3.4.1.1.1), the merger of the negator *mā* and the pronoun *hu* results in *mū*. This, in turn, is viewed as a single negative morpheme that expresses negation symmetrically. Therefore, in Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, for example, when *mā-hu* becomes, *mu* (or an item that is relatively similar), there will be no reason to classify negation of future tense clauses as asymmetric in this variety.

3.4.2   General remarks on the feature categorizations

Several overall points can be drawn from the feature categorizations. These points will be explained in two sections. In the first one, we discuss the type of negators and their placement in the clause. In the second one, we return to the use of *...-š* in some modern Arabic varieties. We have already established that this *...-š* is a result of going through Jespersen's cycle; thus, here we discuss the progression of these modern Arabic varieties in this cycle.

3.4.2.1 Negators and their placement in the clause

As we have seen in section 3.3, negators used to express standard negation in Standard Arabic are: *lam, lammā, lan, lā, ʔin, mā* and *laysa*. And we have seen that negators that are used for the same purpose in modern Arabic varieties are: *mā*, *mā…….-š* (or other variants such as *ma…….-ši* or *ma…….-šey*), *muš* (or other variants such as *miš*), *...-š* (or other variants such as *...-šey*), *lim, lis* and the NEG+PRO construction. Accordingly, we can formulate the following generalization:

Generalization 8: The use of lammā*,* lan*,* lā *and* ʔin *in standard negation is unattested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Reflexes of *lam* and *laysa* are only attested in one variety only, ʔAbha Arabic. Therefore, we can also formulate the following:

Generalization 9: Reflexes of lam *and* laysa *in standard negation is extremely rare in modern Arabic varieties.*

Accordingly, *mā,* which could be paired with *...-š,* seems to be the most Arabic negator that has survived in the modern varieties. One question could be asked here, why has this reduction in the number of negators occurred in Arabic in the first place? The answer could be for the sake of economy. Simply speaking, having one negative marker to express standard negation would be more economical than having seven markers for the same purpose. The question, then, is why is the chosen negator *mā,* not any other one? It could be because when speakers have a choice between seven items which express the same notion (standard negation), they might prefer choosing the most active one. In this sense, *mā* is the most active negator. That is to say, in Table 8 above, *lam* and *lammā* negate perfect clauses only; *lā* negates imperfect clauses only; *lan* negates future clauses only*; laysa* rarely negates imperfect clauses; and finally, *ʔin* and *mā* negate both perfect and imperfect clauses. Thus, unlike the others, *ʔin* and *mā* may be more practical as they can negate more than one type of clauses. However, *ʔin* is already rarely used in Standard Arabic. This makes *mā* the most eligible tool to be chosen if speakers are being economical.

Perhaps it is worth noting in this context that the vowel in *mā* may be shortened in the modern varieties. In fact, this seems to be very common in rapid speech, compare the following:

(154)   Ḥagil Arabic

   a. mā   ydāwim

      NEG   attend.work.IMPF.3MSG

      'He does not go to work.'

   b. ma   ydāwim

      NEG   attend.work.IMPF.3MSG

      'He does not go to work.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

The placement of the negative morpheme is another point to be noticed. In Standard Arabic, whether the negative morpheme is *mā* or any other one, it is always placed immediately before the verb.

(155)   Standard Arabic

    mā   saʔala   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

    NEG   ask.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

    'Ahmad did not ask Khaled'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

In modern Arabic varieties, the case is different since negation here could be single, bipartite or single~bipartite. If the negator is a single morpheme, other than ...-š

and its variants, then it is mostly placed before the verb or prefixed to it if this negator has become an affix.[43]

(156)   Christian Baghdadi Arabic

    mā   tʕallamtu   mōsēqa

    NEG   learn.PRF.1SG   music

    'I did not learn music.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1991: 129)

(157)   Aley Arabic

    miš   ʕabiktūb   maktūb

    NEG   write.IMPF.1SG   letter

    'I am not writing a letter.'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

Note that in the Aley Arabic example, the negator is *miš*, not *mā.* This is to assert the fact that any single negator, other than *...-š,* is mostly placed pre-verbally.

    In contrast, when the single morpheme is *...-š* (or its variants), it is always, without exception, suffixed to the verb (post-verbal).

(158)   Palestinian Arabic

    (ana)   baḥibb-iš   il-fūl

    I   like.IMPF.1SG-NEG   DEF-fava beans

    'I do not like fava beans.'   (Lucas, 2009: 244)

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[43] The exception to this is when the NEG+PRO construction is used as in Ḥassāniyya and Malian Ḥassāniyya.

    mā-hu   lāhi   yṭiih
    NEG-he   FUT   fall
    'He will not fall.'   (Heath, 2003: 114)

(159) Ṣaʕīdī Arabic

l-kalb   ḥaṣṣal-ši   l-ʕaḍma

DEF-dog   reach.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-bone

'The dog did not reach the bone.'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 101-102)

When the negation is bipartite, usually the two parts sandwich the verb.

(160)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

ma-zār-iš   el-batra

NEG-visit.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-Petra

'He did not visit Petra.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 102)

Note, however, that the suffixation of...-š to the verb follows any direct or indirect object clitics that might be attached to the verb as in:

(161)   Baskinta Arabic

ʔimm-i   ma   ʕallamit-nī-š   šiɣl   is-sinnāra

mother-me   NEG   teach.PRF.3FSG-me-NEG   work   DEF-crochet

'My mother did not teach me how to crochet.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 109)

Also note that, in some varieties such as in Sahel/Tunis Arabic below *ma-…….-š* can sandwich the personal pronoun, but this is very common in non-verbal negation as we will see in section 4.3.

(162)   Sahel/Tunis Arabic

nawāl   ma-hyā-š   taqra   fi   ktāb

Nawal   NEG-she-NEG   read. IMPF.3FSG   in   book

'Nawal is not reading a book.'   (Halila, 1992: 31)

With this in mind on the placement of the negator(s), the following may be proposed:

Generalization 10: In standard negation, the negative morpheme(s) mostly occur(s) adjacent to the verb.

The previous generalization holds true unless the clause contains an auxiliary verb. In Standard Arabic, *mā* comes before the auxiliary verb instead of being coming before the main verb.

(163)   Standard Arabic

mā   kān   yasʔal-u   ʔaḥmad-u   χālid-an

NEG   was   ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

'Ahmad was not asking Khaled'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

In the modern varieties of Arabic, mostly when negation is single, the negator comes before the auxiliary, and when negation is bipartite the negators sandwich this auxiliary. This is based on data from 10 varieties only as data on negative clauses

containing an auxiliary verb is not found in the others.[44] The following represent the

phenomenon in single and bipartite negation, respectively:

(164)   Madinah Arabic

mā	kān	yaktub	ʔaḥmad	risālah
NEG	was.PRF.3MSG	write.IMPF.3MSG	Ahmad	letter

'Ahmad was not writing a letter.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(165)   Western Libyan Arabic

l-awlād	ma-kanū-š	yalʕbū	fi	l-madrsa
DEF-boy.PL	NEG-be.PRF.3PL-NEG	play.IMPF.3PL	in	DEF-school

'The boys were not playing the school.'   (Krer, 2013: 76)

In al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic and in Northern Jordanian Arabic, the case is slightly different. In al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, negation is single and the negative morpheme can either be placed before or after the auxiliary verb; however, this different placement seems to have no semantic implications.

(166)   al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

a.
ʔaḥmad	mā	kān	yākil
Ahmad	NEG	was	eat.IMPF.3MSG

'Ahmad was not eating.'

b.
ʔaḥmad	kān	mā	yākil
Ahmad	was	NEG	eat.IMPF.3MSG

'Ahmad was not eating.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

In Northern Jordanian Arabic, on the other hand, the bipartite negator can either sandwich the auxiliary or the main verb. Unlike al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, the different placement may have some impact of the meaning of the clause as suggested by Alqassas (2015). The different meaning can be seen in the English translation of the following:

(167)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

    a. ma-kunt-iš   albas   badleh

       NEG-was.1SG-NEG   wear.IMPF.1SG   suit

       'I used not to wear a suit.' (Although I was supposed to do so)

    b. kunt   ma-albas-iš   badleh

       NEG-was.1SG-NEG   wear.IMPF.1SG   suit

       'I did not use to wear a suit.'   (Alqassas, 2015: 114)

After these remarks on negators and their placement in the clause, we now turn to the progression of the *š*-varieties in Jespersen's cycle.

3.4.2.2 The progression of the modern Arabic varieties in Jespersen's cycle

The final point that needs to be made regarding the feature categorizations concerns the progression of some modern Arabic varieties through Jespersen's cycle. But first we should recall Diem's analysis outlined in section 1.4, on the relatively advanced position of Cairene Arabic in the cycle. According to Diem, negation in Palestinian Arabic is a good example of Jespersen's cycle as explained by Dahl (1979) (pre-verbal > bipartite > post-verbal), whereas negation in Cairene Arabic may be "more cyclic in the strict sense of the word…." (Diem, 2014: 99–100). That is, in Cairene Arabic, the cycle results in a new negator (*miš*), which is used pre-verbally. According to Diem then, stage II in the cycle can go in two directions: to strictly pre-verbal negation, or to strictly post-verbal

negation. However, in some varieties such as Palestinian Arabic, we can find both: the post-verbal negation and the pre-verbal *miš*. Therefore, the pre-verbal negation (*miš*) could be considered as a further development in Palestinian Arabic. Let us call it for now stage IV. In other words, the cycle would be pre-verbal > bipartite > post-verbal > pre-verbal. In this sense, the negator in stage I would be the pre-verbal *mā;* in stage II the bipartite *mā…...-š*; in stage III the post-verbal *...-š*; and finally in stage IV the pre-verbal *miš*. Note that the negators in stage I and stage IV are different, but their place is the same (pre-verbal). In stage I, the negator is the original Arabic negator *mā,* but in stage IV it is *miš*.[45] In this paper, however, we adopt different analysis from this one to explain the use of *miš*, but let us first explore which Arabic varieties use it. In Table 15, all the *š*-varieties are listed and the stage which they have reached in the cycle is given. This is based on the four stages analysis.

Table 15: The progress of modern Arabic varieties in Jespersen's cycle

No.	Region	Arabic variety	The stage in Jespersen's cycle
1.	Maghrebi	Moroccan Arabic	Stage II
2.		Annaba Arabic	Stage II
3.		Dellys Arabic	Stage II
4.		Sfax Arabic	Stage II
5.		Sousse Arabic	Stage II
6.		Eastern Libyan Arabic	Stage II
7.		Standard Maltese	Stage IV
8.		Western Libyan Arabic	Stage IV

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[45] As will be explained shortly, the phonological shape of this *miš* could be different depending on the variety.

9.		Sahel/Tunis Arabic	Stage IV
10.	Egyptian	Biyyāḏī and Axrasī Arabic	Stage II
11.		Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	Stage II
12.		Ṭuwara Arabic	Stage II
13.		Egyptian western desert Arabic	Stage II
14.		Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	Stage III
15.		al-ʕArīš Arabic	Stage IV
16.		Cairene Arabic	Stage IV
17.	Levantine	as-Salṭ Arabic	Stage III
18.		Northern Jordanian Arabic	Stage IV
19.		Aley Arabic	Stage IV
20.		Baskinta Arabic	Stage IV
21.		Palestinian Arabic	Stage IV
22.	Yemeni	Sanaʾa Arabic	Stage II
23.		Adeni Arabic	Stage II
24.		Taiz Arabic	Stage II
25.		Zinǧibār Arabic	Stage IV

In this table, a variety is considered to be stage II if *mā……-š* can, at least, be used with some clauses in standard negation; considered to be stage III if *…-š* can, at least, be used with some clauses in standard negation; and finally considered to be stage IV if *miš*

can, at least, be used with some clauses in standard negation. There are many varieties where more than one stage can be found. In Palestinian Arabic, for instance, all the negative strategies of the four stages can be observed simultaneously (the pre-verbal *mā,* the bipartite *mā…...-š*, the post-verbal *...-š* and the pre-verbal *muš*. In (168), each one of them is exemplified, respectively:

(168)   Palestinian Arabic

   a.   mā   riḍi   yuskut

        NEG   agree.PRF.3MSG   shut up.IMPF.3MSG

        'He refused to shut up.' (Lit. 'He did not agree to shut up.') (Seeger, 1996: 36)

   b.   mā   akalt-iš

        NEG   eat.PRF.1SG-NEG

        'I did not eat.'   (Lucas, 2010: 173)

   c.   (ana)   baḥibb-iš   il-fūl

        I   like.IMPF.1SG-NEG   DEF-fava beans

        'I do not like fava beans.'   (Lucas, 2009: 244)

   d. muš   rāḥ   yuktob

        NEG   FUT   write.IMPF.3MSG

        'He is not going to write.'   (Rosenhouse, 2011)

     We have seen the progression of every *š*-variety in the cycle, and now let us determine which one of them is the most advanced one in this regard. Logically speaking, it is going to be one of the stage IV varieties. In Table 16 below, all of the Arabic varieties where stage IV seems to be reached are listed. As mentioned above, the phonological shape of the negator used in stage IV differs from one variety to another; thus, the negator used in each variety is given as well as the type of clauses this negator can operate with.

However, the available data for Northern Jordanian Arabic shows the use of *miš* with future clauses only but not with progressive aspect clauses. In contrast, the available data for Aley Arabic and Baskinta Arabic shows the use of the same negator with progressive aspect clauses but not with future clauses. However, these three varieties are spoken in relatively adjacent areas and their negative patterns seem to be similar. Thus, it is assumed that progressive aspect and future clauses in these three varieties are negated by *miš*, even though there is no available data to show the use of *miš* with progressive aspect clauses in Northern Jordanian Arabic nor there is available data to show the use of this negator with future clauses in Aley Arabic and Baskinta Arabic,

Table 16: Stage IV varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Stage IV negator	Type of the negated clause
1.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*miš* (or *miši* and *māši*)	The only morpheme to negate for all type of clauses
2.	al-ʕArīš Arabic	*miš*	Negates future clauses only
3.	Cairene Arabic	*miš*	Always negates future clauses and optionally may be used instead of *ma……-š* to negate non-future clauses
4.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*miš*	Negates future and progressive clauses only
5.	Aley Arabic	*miš*	Negates future and progressive clauses only
6.	Baskinta Arabic	*miš*	Negates future and progressive clauses only
7.	Western Libyan Arabic	*miš*	Negates future clauses only
8.	Standard Maltese	*mhux*	Negates future clauses only
9.	Palestinian Arabic	*muš*	Negates future and progressive clauses only
10.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	*miš*	Negates future and progressive clauses only

In this table, the stage IV negator seems to be able to negate all types of clauses in Zinǧibār Arabic and in Cairene Arabic only. However, while in Zinǧibār Arabic, this negator is the only one used for all types of clauses, in Cairene Arabic, it is used beside

ma……-š. In the latter, future clauses are only negated by this stage IV negator whereas other types of clauses can be negated either by this negator or by *ma……-š.* Accordingly, Cairene Arabic may not have reached stage IV completely, whereas Zinǧibār Arabic has. This means Zinǧibār Arabic is more advanced than Cairene Arabic. In fact, it is more advanced than any documented Arabic variety in this regard. Among the other stage IV varieties, the negator in question is not even used with every clause, only with future or progressive aspect clauses.

However, the advancement of Zinǧibār Arabic here should not be perceived as a contradiction to the advancement of Eastern Libyan Arabic discussed in 3.4.1.2 where the bipartite negative strategy has been generalized to negate every clause including the emphasized ones. Eastern Libyan Arabic is still considered more advanced than Zinǧibār Arabic in this regard. In Zinǧibār Arabic, even when negation seems to be reaching stage IV, *...-š* is omitted in emphatic negation as in (169).

(169)   Zinǧibār Arabic

a. wallah   ma   qūm   men   maḥall-in

    by-God   NEG   stand.IMPF.1SG   from   place-my

    'I swear By God that I will not leave my place.'

b. ʕumr-h   ma   zār   qaryat-na

    ever-him   NEG   visit.PRF.3MSG   village-our

    'He has never visited our village.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 45)

The previous analysis is one way of approaching this topic. Another way, which could be more accurate, is to view what has been called stage IV negator as a result of a separate development in negation. That is to say, as we will see in section 4.3, modern Arabic varieties tend overwhelmingly to express non-verbal negation by the use of a

NEG+PRO construction. This seems to be the case whether the Arabic variety is affected by Jespersen's cycle or not. Consider the following non-verbal clauses from Yanbuʕ Arabic, where Jespersen's cycle is not observed, and Sahel/Tunis Arabic, where the cycle is observed:

(170) Yanbuʕ Arabic

    mā-hu   ðaki

    NEG.3MSG   smart.MSG

    'He is not smart.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

(171) Sahel/Tunis Arabic

    nawāl   ma-hyā-š   firḥāna

    Nawal   NEG-she-NEG   happy

    'Nawal is not happy.'   (Halila, 1992: 42)

In many cases, as well, the third singular masculine personal pronoun *hu* 'he' is chosen and fused with the verbal negator in the variety in question, which in turn, comes to be generalized to negate any non-verbal clause. However, as can be expected, the morpheme that results from this fusion differs considerably depending on whether the variety is going through Jespersen's cycle or not. In Yanbuʕ Arabic, for example, Jespersen's cycle is not observed; thus, when the verbal negator *mā* is fused with *hu* 'he', the result is *mū*. On the other hand, in Sahel/Tunis Arabic, Jespersen's cycle is observed; thus, when the verbal negator *mā……-š* is fused with *hu,* the result is *miš.* Both cases are exemplified below, respectively:

(172)   Yanbuʕ Arabic

    mu   ðaki

    NEG   smart.MSG

    'He is not smart.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

(173)   Sahel/Tunis Arabic

    nawāl   miš   fîrḫāna

    Nawal   NEG   happy

    'Nawal is not happy.'   (Halila, 1992: 42)

In many modern Arabic varieties, the new morpheme of this fusion spreads into standard negation. Damascus Arabic below is an example of a variety where Jespersen's cycle is not observed; hence, the new coined morpheme is *mū* which can negate future or progressive aspect clauses. In contrast, Northern Jordanian Arabic is a variety where Jespersen's cycle has occurred; therefore, the coined morpheme is *miš* which can also negate future clauses. In the following, the use of this new morpheme in each variety is exemplified, once with a non-verbal clause and once with a verbal one.

(174)   Damascus Arabic

  a. hal   ḥaki   hāda   mū   ḥəlu

      that   talk   this   NEG   nice

      'That (kind of) talk is not nice.'   (Cowell, 2005: 386)

  b. mū   ʕam-yəštɣəl   halla?

      NEG   PRG-work.IMPF.3MSG   now

      'He is not working now.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

(175)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

a.   ʔana   miš   χaddām-ak

     I   NEG   servant-your

'I am not your servant.'

b.   miš   ḥa-yisāfir

     NEG   FUT-travel.IMPF.3MSG

'He will not make the journey.'   (Haija, 1985: 10)

The extension of the use of this new morpheme into standard negation may start with future or progressive aspect clauses. In other words, when this new morpheme is used in standard negation, it is probably first used to negate future or progressive aspect clauses. To explain this, let us first recall the stage IV varieties in Table 16 where this new morpheme is found. From this table, we see that in 8 out of these 10 stage IV varieties, the new morpheme is only used with future or progressive aspect clauses.[46] In Zinǧibār Arabic and Cairene Arabic only, the new morpheme can negate any type of clause. However, in Zinǧibār Arabic, this new negator is the only one used, but in Cairene Arabic it is the only possible one to negate future clauses while other types of clauses can be negated by either this new morpheme or by *ma……-š*. Therefore, because of the tendency in the use of this new morpheme in negating future and progressive clauses only in 8 out of the 10 varieties, it is assumed that this morpheme tends to be used with such clauses first, and because of the case in Cairene Arabic where future clauses are only negated by this morpheme while other clauses are possibly negated in the same way, it is assumed that this morpheme is gradually generalized in standard negation. Finally, because this new morpheme is used to negate all types of clauses in Zinǧibār Arabic, it is

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[46] These 8 varieties are al-ʕArīš Arabic, Northern Jordanian Arabic, Aley Arabic, Baskinta Arabic, Western Libyan Arabic, Standard Maltese, Palestinian Arabic and Sahel/Tunis Arabic.

assumed that the generalization of the use of this morpheme in standard negation is a point modern Arabic varieties are potentially heading to. Note that this analysis is based on 10 varieties only, the varieties we use to consider above as varieties of stage IV in Jespersen's cycle. However, if we consider other varieties where Jespersen's cycle is not observed, we find the same tendency of using the new negative morpheme with future or progressive clauses only. In Damascus Arabic, for example, the new morpheme resulting from the fusion of the personal pronoun and the verbal negator is *mū*. This morpheme is used with non-verbal clauses in Damascus, for example:

(176)   Damascus Arabic

hal   ḥaki   hāda   mū   ḥəlu

that   talk   this   NEG   nice

'That (kind of) talk is not nice.'   (Cowell, 2005: 386)

In standard negation, this *mū* is used optionally in place of *mā* to negate future and progressive aspect clauses as in (177), the first two clauses are progressive and the other two are future.

(177)   Damascus Arabic

a. Ɂabū-k   mā   ʕam-yākol

    father-your   NEG   PRG-eat.IMPF.3MSG

    'Your father is not eating.'   (Cowell, 2005: 384)

b. mū   ʕam-yəštɣəl   hallaɁ

    NEG   PRG-work.IMPF.3MSG   now

    'He is not working now.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

c. l-ʔaɣlab   mā   laḥa-yəḥṣal   ʕa-š-šaɣle

DEF-most.likely   NEG   FUT-get.IMPF.3MSG   on-DEF-job

'Chances are, he will not get the job.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

d. mū raḥa-tkūn   əmṣībe kbīre ʔiza mā   ḥṣəlt   ʕalē

NEG FUT-be.IMPF.3FMSG misfortune big   if   NEG get.PRF.1SG on.it

'It will not be a great misfortunate if I do not get it.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

The question, then, is why there is a tendency of using the new morpheme with future and progressive aspect clauses first. The rationale could be similar to the aforementioned one for the use of *lis*+PRO in ʔAbha Arabic in section 3.4.1.3. That is to say, certain non-verbal clauses (containing the participial form of the verb) in Arabic may be interpreted as future tense or as progressive aspect clauses. This relationship between the participial non-verbal clauses and future/progressive aspect clauses could be the reason why both clauses tend to be negated in the same fashion. Another factor could be that in many modern Arabic varieties, the progressive aspect marker *ʕam-* and the future tense marker *raḥ/ḥa*, etc., are derived, respectively, from the participle *ʕammāl* 'doing' and the participle *rāyiḥ* 'going'. This may give some non-verbal properties to these clauses. Therefore, they tend to be the first clauses negated by the non-verbal negative strategy.

If this is true, then one can propose the following stages to capture this development of negation in modern Arabic varieties. For ease of reference, this development will be called *the Arabic negative cycle* in which the new morpheme resulting from the fusion is called a *mū~miš morpheme* because commonly the phonological shape of this new morpheme is found to be either *mū* or *miš*.[47]

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[47] Note that this proposed cycle is not the same as Croft's cycle, which Wilmsen (2014) claims to identify in the historical developments of Arabic negation, because the cycle proposed here makes no reference to (negated) existential verbs– a crucial element of Croft's cycle. For more information on problems with Wilmsen's (2014) proposals, see Lucas (forthcoming).
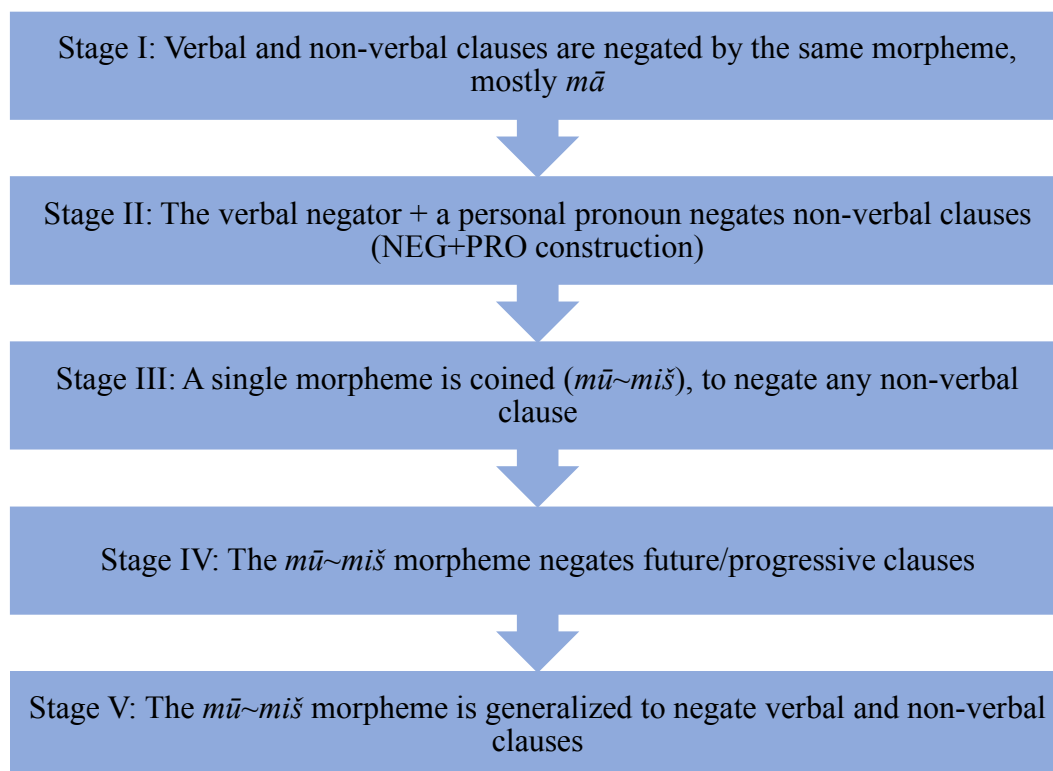
Figure 2: The Arabic negative cycle

In the first stage, an Arabic negator, mostly *mā,* is used to negate both verbal and non-verbal clauses. This is the case in some of the Sudanic varieties as we will see in 4.3.1.3. In the second stage, the verbal negator is attached to a personal pronoun that agrees with the subject of the non-verbal clause in person, number and gender (NEG+PRO construction) to express non-verbal negation. In the third stage, a new single morpheme is coined mostly, but not necessarily always as we will see with some varieties in 4.3, as a result of fusing the verbal negator with the third singular masculine pronoun resulting in what we will refer to in this thesis as *mū~miš* morpheme. This *mū~miš* morpheme is in turn generalized to negate any non-verbal clause. In the fourth stage, this *mū~miš* morpheme negates future and progressive aspect clauses. Finally, the *mū~miš* morpheme can negate both verbal and non-verbal clauses of all kinds. Note that this

development is called a cycle because, in the final stage, verbal and non-verbal clauses return to a point similar to the one they have started from, which is being negated in the same fashion.

Viewing the evolution of Arabic negation in this way resolves a problem that arises from viewing Jespersen's cycle as four rather than three stages. In Table 16 above, we have seen the stage that every Arabic variety seems to have reached in Jespersen's cycle based on the four stages proposal. We have also seen that in many Arabic varieties where the cycle has occurred, there is an overlap between these four stages as in Palestinian Arabic. In this variety, the pre-verbal *mā* (stage I), the bipartite *mā……-š* (stage II), the post-verbal *…-š* (stage III) and the pre-verbal *muš* (stage IV) are all attested. In other Arabic varieties, however, one might find the pre-verbal *mā* (stage I), the bipartite *mā……-š* (stage II) and the pre-verbal *muš* (stage IV) only, with stage III (negation with the post-verbal *…-š* only) not being observed. This is the case, for example, in Standard Maltese, Western Libyan Arabic, Cairene Arabic and others. In these cases, the third stage is skipped. If we adopt, however, the Arabic negative cycle illustrated in Figure 2, there will be no skipping. Varieties such as Standard Maltese, Western Libyan Arabic and Cairene Arabic are still at stage II, as the use of *miš* in these varieties is a result of another development in negation, namely what we call here the Arabic negative cycle.

In section 4.3, the stage of every modern Arabic variety considered in this study regarding this Arabic negative cycle will be given. That is, there are some stages in this cycle concerned with non-verbal negation; thus, the placement of the modern Arabic varieties cannot be determined until we examine how non-verbal negation in these varieties is done.

In the following section, a different categorization of modern Arabic varieties is proposed. This categorization is geographical. The reason for this is to explain the variations in the way standard negation is expressed among varieties of the same region.

3.4.3   Geographical Categorization

As mentioned in various places above, the modern Arabic varieties can be divided into seven categories based on their geographical areas: Maghrebi, Egyptian, Sudanic, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Arabian Peninsula and Yemeni. Varieties of each area are discussed below. After showing the variations in negation between varieties of the same region, general remarks based on this categorization are discussed.

3.4.3.1 Maghrebi

In the Maghrebi region, all of the previously mentioned negative strategies (single, bipartite and single~bipartite) can be found. This is based on the 11 Maghrebi varieties included in the study as shown in Table 17 below.

Table 17: Standard negation in the Maghrebi varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	Ḥassāniyya Arabic	Single	*ma* and *ma* + PRO
2.	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	Single	*mā* and *ma* + PRO
3.	Moroccan Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š(i)*
4.	Annaba Arabic	Bipartite	*mā……-š*
5.	Dellys Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š(i)*
6.	Sfax Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š*
7.	Sousse Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š*
8.	Eastern Libyan Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š*
9.	Standard Maltese	Single~bipartite	*ma……-x* and *mhux*
10.	Western Libyan Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š* and *miš*
11.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š, miš* and *ma*-PRO-*š*

The single negation is found in the south, more specifically in Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, and can done either by *mā* or *mā*+PRO, e.g.:

(178)   Ḥassāniyya Arabic

a. ma   tkallamt

    NEG   speak.PRF.1SG

    'I did not speak.'   (Francis, 1979: 111)

b. mā-ni   lāhi   nimši

 NEG-me   FUT   go.IMPF.1SG

 'I will not go.'   (Francis, 1979: 99)

In the north of this region, the negative ...-š appears and here both strategies bipartite and single~bipartite are found. In Moroccan Arabic, Annaba Arabic, Dellys Arabic, Sfax Arabic, Sousse Arabic and Eastern Libyan Arabic, the observed strategy is the bipartite strategy only as in:

(179) Sfax Arabic

 ma-kammilt-iš

 NEG-finish.PRF.1SG-NEG

 'I have not finished.'   (Bahloul, 1996: 74)

In Standard Maltese, Western Libyan Arabic and Sahel/Tunis Arabic, the observed strategy is single~bipartite. In Standard Maltese and Western Libyan Arabic, the situation is identical; the bipartite morpheme negates non-future clauses as in (180) and the single one negates future clauses as in (181).

(180) Western Libyan Arabic

 l-awlād   ma-mšū-š   li-l-madrsa

 DEF-boy.PL   NEG-go.PRF.3PL-NEG   to-DEF-school

 'The boys did not go to the school.'   (Krer, 2013: 75)

(181) Standard Maltese

mhux se jmur id-dar

NEG FUT go.IMPF.3MSG DEF-home

'He is not going to go home.' (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 88)

In Sahel/Tunis Arabic, the situation is almost similar to the previous one. The future/non-future division is observed, and negation is expressed in the same fashion (bipartite with non-future clauses and single with future clauses). However, more data in Sahel/Tunis Arabic is found which shows that the division also applies to progressive and non-progressive clauses. That is to say, non-future and non-progressive clauses in this variety are negated by *ma……-š*, but future and progressive clauses are negated by either *miš* or by the NEG+PRO construction as in (182).

(182) Sahel/Tunis Arabic

a. nawāl miš bāš tžī

Nawal NEG FUT come.IMPF.3FSG

'Nawal is not coming.'

b. nawāl ma-hyā-š bāš tžī

Nawal NEG-she-NEG FUT come.IMPF.3FSG

'Nawal is not coming.' (Halila, 1992: 31)

3.4.3.2 Egyptian

From this region, 10 varieties are considered. Similarly to the case in the Maghrebi region, all three negatives strategies can also be found in Egypt, as in Table 18.

Table 18: Standard negation in the Egyptian varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic	Single	*mā*
2.	Southern Sinai Arabic	Single	*mā*
3.	Northwestern Sinai Arabic	Single	*mā*
4.	Biyyāðī and Aχrasī Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……š*
5.	Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……š*
6.	Ṭuwara Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……š*
7.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma…… šey* and *…-šey*
8.	Egyptian western desert Arabic	Single~bipartite	*mā…… š* and *mā*
9.	Cairene Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……š* and *miš*
10.	al-ʕArīš Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š(i)* and *miš*

The single strategy is a characteristic of three Egyptian varieties: Muzēnah and Banī Wāṣil Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic and Northwestern Sinai Arabic. All of them are spoken in Sinai, and *mā* is the only possible negator in all of them, for example:

(183)   Northwestern Sinai Arabic

   mā   šift-ih

   NEG   see.PRF.1SG-him

   'I did not see him.'   (de Jong, 2000: 244)

Bipartite negation is a characteristic of another three varieties: Biyyāðī and Aχrasī Arabic, Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic and Ṭuwara Arabic. This is based on the available data for these three varieties. All of them are spoken in Sinai as well, and the negator used here is *ma……-š* (184).

(184) Ṭuwara Arabic

   ma   naʕraf-ha-š

   NEG   know.IMPF.1.PL-her-NEG

   'We do not know her.'   (de Jong, 2011: 101)

The single~bipartite negation is characteristic of four varieties: Ṣaʕīdī Arabic, Egyptian western desert Arabic, Cairene Arabic and al-ʕArīš Arabic. In Egyptian western desert Arabic and in Ṣaʕīdī Arabic, it seems that speakers can freely choose between using the single or the bipartite negative strategy, e.g.:

(185) Egyptian western desert Arabic[48]

   a. mā   gā-š

       NEG   come.PRF.3MSG-NEG

       'He did not come.'   (Maṭar, 1981: 183)

   b. ir-rāgil   mā   ʕaṭā   min   χabar

       DEF-man   NEG   give. PRF.3MSG   from   new.PL

       'The man did not report any news.' (Lit. 'The man did not give any news.')

                                                                  (Maṭar, 1981: 183)

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[48] Note Maṭar (1981) is written in Arabic; thus, the examples here are my own transcription.

(186)   Ṣaʕīdī Arabic

a.   l-kalb   ma   ḥaṣṣal-ši   l-ʕaḍma

DEF-dog   NEG   reach.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-bone

'The dog did not reach the bone.'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 101-102)

b.   l-kalb   ḥaṣṣal-ši   l-ʕaḍma

DEF-dog   reach.PRF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-bone

'The dog did not reach the bone.'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 101-102)

In al-ʕArīš Arabic, the single strategy seems to be used with future clauses only, while the bipartite one is used with non-future clauses as in:

(187)   al-ʕArīš Arabic

a.   ma   ğat-š

NEG   come.PRF.3FSG-NEG

'She did not come.'

b.   miš   ha-tnām

NEG   FUT-sleep.IMPF.2SG

'You will not sleep.'   (de Jong, 2000: 526)

Finally, in Cairene Arabic, both the bipartite strategy and the single one can occur with non-future clauses, for example:

(188)   Cairene Arabic

a.   ma-biyḥibb-iš   il-ḥaflāt

NEG-like.IMPF.3MSG-NEG   DEF-party.PL

'He does not like parties.'

b. miš   biyḥibb   il-ḥaflāt

    NEG   like.IMPF.3MSG   DEF-party.PL

    'He does not like parties.'   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

However, with future clauses, only *miš* is possible, e.g.:

(189) Cairene Arabic

    miš   ḥa-tīgi   bukra

    NEG   FUT-come.IMPF.3FSG   tomorrow

    "She is not going to come tomorrow"   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

3.4.3.3 Sudanic

In this region, only single negation is found, and the negator used is always *mā*. This is according to four varieties form this region: Eastern Nigeria Arabic, Western Nigeria Arabic, Sudanese Arabic and Largeau Arabic (Table 19).

Table 19: Standard negation in the Sudanic varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	Eastern Nigeria Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
2.	Western Nigeria Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
3.	Sudanese Arabic	Single	*mā*
4.	Largeau Arabic	Single	*mā*

The following exemplify the way negation is rendered in the Sudanic region.

(190)   Eastern Nigeria Arabic

     ana   ma   šift   ar-rāǧl   da

     I   NEG   see.PRF.1SG   DEF-man   this

     'I did not see the man.'   (Owens, 1993: 173)

3.4.3.4 Levantine

In this region, negation is either single or single~bipartite. This is based on the 8 Levantine Arabic varieties considered in the study (Table 20).

Table 20: Standard negation in the Levantine varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	al-Karak Arabic	Single	*ma*
2.	ʕAtīž Arabic	Single	*mā*
3.	Damascus Arabic	Single	*mā* and *mū*
4.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š* and *miš*
5.	as-Salṭ Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š, …-š* and *mā*
6.	Aley Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š, …-š, miš* and *ma*
7.	Baskinta Arabic	Single~bipartite	*ma……-š, …-š* and *miš*
8.	Palestinian Arabic	Single~bipartite	*mā……-š, …-š, mā* and *muš*

In al-Karak Arabic, ʕAtīž Arabic and Damascus Arabic, negation is single. The negative morpheme here is *mā*. However, unlike the case in al-Karak Arabic and ʕAtīž

Arabic where no data is available on how future and progressive aspect clauses are negated, in Damascus Arabic, such clauses can be negated by either *mā* or *mū*. (191) below is to exemplify the use of *mā* and (192) is to exemplify *mū* in Damascus Arabic.

(191)   ʕAtīž Arabic

gabl   al-badu   mā   tsāwi   čišič

before   DEF-Bedouins   NEG   do.IMPF.3MPL   Čišič

'Before, the Bedouins did not do Čišič.'   (Younes & Herin, 2016)

(192)   Damascus Arabic

mū   ʕam-yəštɣəl   hallaʔ

NEG   PRG-work.IMPF.3MSG   now

'He is not working now.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

In Northern Jordanian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Aley Arabic, Baskinta Arabic and Palestinian Arabic, negation is single~bipartite. The bipartite negator in all of them, as well as in any Arabic variety where bipartite negation is found, is *ma……-š.*

(193)   Palestinian Arabic

mā   akalt-iš

NEG   eat.PRF.1SG-NEG

'I did not eat.'   (Lucas, 2010: 173)

The single negator, however, differs considerably. It is *miš* in Northern Jordanian Arabic; *…-š* and *mā* in as-Salṭ Arabic; *…-š, miš* and *ma* in Aley Arabic; *…-š* and *miš* in Baskinta Arabic; and finally *…-š, mā* and *muš* in Palestinian Arabic. Wherever, the *miš* (or *muš* as

in Palestine) is found in this region, it is only used with either future or progressive aspect

clauses, for example:

(194)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

       miš   ḥa-yisāfir

       NEG   FUT-travel.IMPF.3MSG

       'He will not making the journey.'   (Haija, 1985: 10)

(195)   Baskinta Arabic

       miš   Ɛan-yiḥki   maƐ-i   baʔa

       NEG   PRG-talk.IMPF.3MSG   with-me   anymore

       'He is not talking to me anymore.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 109)

Wherever the *...-š* is found, it is used optionally with the other verbal negators in the

variety to negate *b*-imperfect verbs only, for example:

(196)   Aley Arabic

       baƐrif-š   bayy-ak

       know.PRF.1SG-NEG   father-your

       'I do not know your father.'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

Finally, wherever *mā* is found in this region, it is mostly used optionally with the

other verbal negators in the variety to negate non-future clauses as in the following:

(197) as-Salṭ Arabic

ṭabʕan   ma   ylāgī-š   ğawāb

of course   NEG   get.IMPF.3MSG   answer

'Of course, he does not get answer.'   (Palva, 2004: 229)

3.4.3.5 Mesopotamian

Identically to the Sudanic region, only single negation is found in this region, and the negator used is always *mā.* This is based on three varieties, all are listed in Table 21 below.

Table 21: Standard negation in the Mesopotamian varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
2.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
3.	Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	Single	*mā*

Consider the following from Muslim Baghdadi Arabic as an example:

(198) Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

  a. ma-yšūf

     NEG-see.IMPF.3MSG

     'He does not see.'

b. ma-raḥ-yiǧi

NEG-FUT-come.IMPF.3MSG

'He is not going to come.'   (Erwin, 2004: 141)

3.4.3.6 Arabian Peninsula

The Arabian Peninsula (excluding Yemen) is another region where negation is always single. This comes from the consideration of 12 Arabic varieties in this region (Table 22).

Table 22: Standard negation in the Arabian Peninsula varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	Kuwaiti Arabic	Single	*mā*
2.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
3.	al-Bāḥa Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
4.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
5.	Ḥagil Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
6.	Madinah Arabic	Single	*mā*
7.	Urban Hijazi Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
8.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	Single	*mā* (or *ma*)
9.	ʔAbha Arabic	Single	*mā, lis* and *lim*
10.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	Single	*ma*
11.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	Single	*mā*
12.	Dubai Arabic	Single	*mā*

In all of the varieties here, the negator is *mā* as in (199)*,* except in ʔAbha Arabic where *lis* and *lim* are also found.

(199)   Abu Dhabi Arabic

ma   rāḥ

NEG   go.PRF.3MSG

'He did not go.'   (Qafisheh, 1977: 238)

Beside *mā, lim* in ʔAbha Arabic is used with perfect aspect only and *lis* with either imperfect or future clauses 3.4.1.1.1. In (200), the use of the *lim* as well as the two cases where *lis* is used are exemplified.

(200)   ʔAbha Arabic

a.   lim   agūl   la-h

NEG.PST   tell.IMPF.1SG   to-him

'I did not tell him.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 141)

b.   lis-nī   aʕrif   ðōlā   l-banāt

NEG-me know.IMPF.1SG   these   DEF-girls

'I do not know these girls.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 56)

c.   lis-nī   b-sāfir   ða   l-yōm

NEG-me   FUT-travel.IMPF1SG   this   DEF-day

'I am not going to travel today.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

3.4.3.7 Yemeni

The last region is the Yemeni region, and here all of the three negative strategies are observed. This is according to five varieties considered from this area (Table 23).

Table 23: Standard negation in the Yemeni varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The negative strategy	The negative morpheme(s)
1.	Hadhrami Arabic	Single	*ma*
2.	Zinǧibār Arabic	Single	*miš* (or *miši* and *māši*)
3.	Adeni Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š*
4.	Taiz Arabic	Bipartite	*ma……-š*
5.	Ṣana'a Arabic	Single~bipartite	*mā……-š* and *mā*

The single strategy is a characteristic of Hadhrami Arabic and Zinǧibār Arabic. In the first one, the negator is *ma* and in the second one it is *miš*. The use of both is illustrated respectively by the following:

(201) Hadhrami Arabic

ma   nāmit   samḥ   al-bariḥ

NEG   sleep.PRF.1SG   early   DEF-last.night

'I did not sleep early last night.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 48)

(202) Zinǧibār Arabic

miš   idina-hum   as-siyārah   ḥaqqa-na

NEG   give.PRF.1PL -them   DEF-car   POSS-our

'We did not give them our car.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 34)

In Adeni Arabic and Taiz Arabic, negation is bipartite and, of course, this makes the negator in both of them *ma……-š,* for instance:

(203)   Adeni Arabic

ma-ʕaṭīna-hum-š   haqqa-na   as-siyārah

NEG-give.PRF.1PL-them-NEG   POSS.us   DEF-car

'We did not give them our car.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 55)

In Ṣana'a Arabic, negation is single~bipartite. The single negator is *mā* and the bipartite one is *mā......-š,* and they seem to be used optionally in negation. Consider, for example:

(204)   Sana'a Arabic

a.   ʕalā sibb   mā   yuχruǧ   allī   dāχil-hā

     so   NEG   come.out.IMPF.3MSG what   inside-it

     'So that what is inside it does not come out'   (Watson, 1993: 204)

b.   mā   yištī-š

     NEG   want.IMPF.3MSG-NEG

     'He does not want.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 271)

3.4.4   General remarks on the geographical categorization

The geographical categorization answers two significant questions. The first is: what are the variations in the expression of negation between varieties of the same region. This was answered in the previous section. The second question, which we turn to now, is: in which areas is the negative *...-š* present and in which is it absent? In Table 24, all of the seven regions are listed, followed by the negative strategies found in each one of them. The symbol (+) is to indicate *...-š* is attested, and the symbol (−) is to indicate otherwise.

Table 24: Standard negation in the seven regions

No.	The name of the region	The negative strategy	…-š
1.	Maghrebi	Single, bipartite and single~bipartite	+
2.	Egyptian	Single, bipartite and single~bipartite	+
3.	Sudanic	Single	–
4.	Levantine	Single and single~bipartite	+
5.	Mesopotamian	Single	–
6.	Arabian Peninsula	Single	–
7.	Yemeni	Single, bipartite and single~bipartite	+

Note as in this table, *…-š* is observed wherever the bipartite negation is found. This is the case in the Maghrebi, Egyptian, Levantine and Yemeni regions, and since the use of *…-š* in negation is a result of being affected by Jespersen's cycle, one can say:

Generalization 11: Jespersen's cycle is observed in the Maghrebi, Egyptian, Levantine and Yemeni regions only.

On the other hand, where negation is single only, the negative *…-š* is not observed. This is case in the Sudanic, Mesopotamian and Arabian Peninsula regions; therefore:

Generalization 12: Jespersen's cycle is not observed in the Sudanic, Mesopotamian and Arabian Peninsula regions.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, we have defined the term *standard negation,* and we have seen the way it is expressed cross-linguistically. We then saw how standard negation is expressed in modern Arabic varieties.

Based on 53 Arabic varieties, complementary categorizations have been offered: feature categorization and geographical categorization. The first one is based on the negative strategy, the use of the negative morpheme *...-š* and the type of the negative construction (symmetric vs. asymmetric). The negative strategy feature distinguishes three types of varieties: single, where negation is expressed by the use of a single morpheme only, bipartite, where negation is expressed by the use of two morphemes simultaneously, or single~bipartite, where both the single and the bipartite strategy are found in the same variety.

The negative *...-š* feature distinguishes two groups: *š*-varieties and non-*š*-varieties. And since *...-š* is a result of a variety having gone through Jespersen's cycle, this feature shows which varieties have been affected by this cycle and which have not. Under this categorization, we have also examined cases where this *...-š* is omitted, which is mostly in emphatic negation. The available data also shows that there is no modern Arabic variety where *...-š* obligatorily occurs in all contexts.

The type of negative construction feature results in two groups as well: symmetric and symmetric~asymmetric. Symmetric negation, however, is significantly more common than asymmetric negation. The data collected here shows that there is no modern Arabic variety where negation is asymmetric only.

Based on this feature categorization, a new development in negation in Arabic is recognized (the Arabic negative cycle in Figure 2). According to this cycle, verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses are negated in stage I by the same morpheme. In stage II, non-verbal clauses are negated differently by attaching a personal pronoun to this negator. In

stage III, a *mū~miš* morpheme is coined to negate any non-verbal clause. In stage IV, this *mū~miš* morpheme is used with future and progressive aspect clauses. In stage V, the *mū~miš* morpheme is used to negate any verbal clause.

The second categorization is geographical. Modern Arabic varieties can be divided geographically into seven regions: Maghrebi, Egyptian, Sudanic, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Arabian Peninsula and Yemeni. In some regions, varieties tend to behave in an internally homogeneous way, as is the case in the Sudanic and the Mesopotamian regions, where negation in these areas is always single, and there is no instance of the negative *...-š*. In others, the variations among varieties are considerable, as is the case in the Egyptian region. For example, in the Egyptian area, one can find a variety where negation is always single and the negative *...-š* is not attested at all and a variety where negation is single~bipartite where this *...-š* is used commonly. As well as explaining these variations within each region, we have also presented the geographical distribution of *...-š* under this categorization.

Finally, the result of this chapter is a formulation of 12 generalizations. These are repeated below.

Generalization 1: In standard negation, the pre-verbal single negative strategy is the most common one observed among the modern Arabic varieties.

Generalization 2: In modern Arabic varieties where the negative strategy is single, the negator used is almost always mā*.*

Generalization 3: Optionality between using single and bipartite negation is rarely found in modern Arabic varieties.

Generalization 4: In standard negation, bipartite negation almost always entails the use of ma……-š*.*

Generalization 5: In the š*-varieties, …-*š *is mostly omitted in emphatic negation.*

Generalization 6: There is no š-variety where …-š is not, at least optionally, omitted in emphatic negation.

Generalization 7: In modern Arabic varieties, the negative construction in standard negation is almost always symmetric.

Generalization 8: The use of lammā, lan, lā *and* ʔin *in standard negation is unattested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 9: Reflexes of lam *and* laysa *in standard negation is extremely rare in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 10: In standard negation, the negative morpheme(s) mostly occur(s) adjacent to the verb.

Generalization 11: Jespersen's cycle is observed in the Maghrebi, Egyptian, Levantine and Yemeni regions only.

Generalization 12: Jespersen's cycle is not observed in the Sudanic, Mesopotamian and Arabian Peninsula regions.

The following chapter is on non-verbal negation. Under this theme, non-verbal clauses are defined and the way they are expressed in Standard Arabic is explained, followed by an explanation of the way they are rendered in the modern varieties of Arabic.

4. Non-verbal negation

This chapter is on non-verbal negation. In this chapter, the four steps (or stages) in any typological study introduced in section 2.2 are performed as follows: in 4.1 non-verbal negation is defined and in 4.2 how it is expressed in Standard Arabic is explained (step I), in 4.3 the modern Arabic varieties are categorized according to their expression of non-verbal negation (step II), in 4.4 generalizations are proposed based on the reached conclusion as well as explained where possible (step III and step IV). Note, however, unlike the standard negation chapter, there is no section regarding how non-verbal negation is expressed cross-linguistically. That is, as far as can be seen, no typological framework on this phenomenon is proposed in the literature. It is worth noting, however, that Veselinova (2006) has made an attempt in this regard. In her study, she categorizes languages into six types based on the way they express standard negation, non-verbal negation and existential negation. In type (A), negation in all of the three types of clauses is rendered in the same way. In type (B), standard negation and non-verbal negation are expressed in a way that is different form existential negation. In type (C), standard negation and existential negation are expressed in a way that is different from non-verbal negation. In type (D), standard negation is expressed in one way and non-verbal negation and existential negation are expressed in another. In type (E), the case is not clear. Finally, in type (F), each type of these clauses is expressed differently from the others.

4.1 What is non-verbal negation?

Unlike standard negation, which refers to negating declarative verbal main clauses, non-verbal negation refers to negating declarative non-verbal main clauses. As explained in 1.3.1, these clauses are formed by juxtaposing a nominal and its predicate as in:

(205)   Standard Arabic

ʔaḥmad-u   ṭālib-un

Ahmad-NOM   student-NOM

'Ahmad is a student.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

The predicate in non-verbal negation, however, does not have to be a single morpheme; it could be a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase as in the following:

(206)   Standard Arabic

ʔaḥmad-u   fī   al-bayt-i

Ahmad-NOM   in   DEF-house-GEN

'Ahmad is in the house.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Therefore, in this study, a main clause is considered to be non-verbal as long as it has no overt verb.

4.2 Non-verbal negation in Standard Arabic

Non-verbal clauses in Standard Arabic are negated by *laysa, mā, ʔin* and *ɣayr*. The most common negator with such clauses is *laysa*. With this negator, the predicate in the clause must be in the accusative case. Consider the following and note that the first clause is affirmative, and that the predicate here is in the nominative case, whereas the second one is negated by *laysa* and, thus, the predicate is in the accusative case.

(207)   Standard Arabic

    a.   ʔal-mudīr-u   ğayyid-un

        DEF-manager-NOM   good-NOM

        'The manager is good.'

    b.   ʔal-mudīr-u   laysa   ğayyid-an

        DEF-manager-NOM   NEG.3MSG   good-ACC

        'The manager is not good.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

laysa can be inflected for person, number and gender, for example:

(208)   Standard Arabic

    a.   ʔal-mudīr-at-u   laysat   ğayyid-at-an

        DEF-manager-F-NOM   NEG.3FSG   good-F-ACC

        'The manager(F) is not good(F).'

    b.   ʔal-mudarāʔ-u   laysū   ğayyidīn

        DEF-manager.MPL-NOM   NEG.3MPL   good.MPL.ACC

        'The managers are not good.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Finally, *laysa* can either precede the predicate as in the previous examples or occur initially in the clause as in the following:

(209)   Standard Arabic

    laysa   l-mudīr-u   ğayyid-an

    NEG.3MSG   DEF-manager-NOM   good-ACC

    'The manager is not good.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

The second non-verbal negator is *mā*. Unlike *laysa,* this negator is uninflected, must occur initially in the clause and has no effect on the case ending of the predicate. Consider the following affirmative and its corresponding negative:

(210)   Standard Arabic

    a.   ʔal-mudīr-u　　　　　ğayyid-un

        DEF-manager-NOM　　good-NOM

        'The manager is good.'

    b.　mā　　l-mudīr-u　　　　　　　ğayyid-un

        NEG　　DEF-manager-NOM　　　　good-NOM

        'The manager is not good.'　　　　　　　　　*(Personal Knowledge)*

However, it is worth noting here that there are two types of this *mā* according to the Arabic grammarians: *mā ʔal-ḥiğāziyyah* 'the Hijazi *mā*' and *mā ʔat-tamīmiyyah* 'the Tamimi *mā*'. It was reported that in the early Islamic era the Hijazi *mā* used to be used in the Hijazi region and the Tamimi *mā* in the Najdi region. The only difference between the two is that the Tamimi *mā* has no effect on the case ending of the predicate as explained above, while the Hijazi *mā* makes the case ending of the predicate accusative as in the following:

(211)   Standard Arabic (early Islamic Hijazi variety)

      mā　　l-mudīr-u　　　　　　　ğayyid-an

      NEG　　DEF-manager-NOM　　　　good-ACC

      'The manager is not good.'　　　　　　　　*(Personal Knowledge)*

The third non-verbal negator is *ʔin*. Similarly to the Tamimi *mā,* it is uninflected, has to be initial and has no impact on the case ending of the predicate, for example:

(212)   Standard Arabic

ʔin   il-mudīr-u   ğayyid-un

NEG   DEF-manager-NOM   good-NOM

'The manager is not good.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

The last non-verbal negator in Standard Arabic is *ɣayr.* This negator has to precede the predicate which must then have the genitive case. As an example, consider:

(213)   Standard Arabic

ʔal-mudīr-u   ɣayr-u   ğayyid-in

DEF-manager-NOM   NEG-NOM   good-GEN

'The manager is not good.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Note that *ɣayr* can carry case ending suffixes; it is the nominative case in the above example. This is probably why it is considered to be a noun by the Arabic grammarians, since carrying case endings in Arabic is a characteristic of nouns and nominal elements only such as adjectives.

To sum up, then, *laysa, mā, ʔin* and *ɣayr* are non-verbal negators in Standard Arabic. *laysa* can be inflected for person, it can either be initial or immediately precede the predicate and it makes the case ending of the predicate accusative. *mā ʔat-tamīmiyyah* and *ʔin* are not inflected, they must be initial and have no impact on the case ending of the predicate. *mā ʔal-ḥiğāziyyah* is similar, except the predicate here must have the

accusative case. Finally, *ɣayr* takes a case ending, and must precede the predicate, which must then be in the genitive case.

4.3 Non-verbal negation in modern Arabic varieties

In this section, step II, step III and step IV of the steps outlined by Song (2001) for typological studies are conducted. In step II, varieties are categorized. However, unlike the case in standard negation, only the geographical categorization is adopted here. Categorization by features reveals fewer interesting generalizations for non-verbal negation. That is, the negative strategy (the first feature in the previous chapter) in non-verbal negation is mostly single. The negative *...-š* (the second feature) which is used to differentiate between *š*-varieties and non-*š*-varieties is problematic when it comes to non-verbal negation. As we will shortly see, some of the non-*š*-varieties have borrowed *miš* in non-verbal negation; thus, categorizing these varieties as *š*-varieties could be misleading. For the purposes of this study, *š*-varieties are those which use *...-š* as a negative morpheme, or at least as part of it, in standard negation only. The symmetric vs. asymmetric framework (the last feature) is proposed by Miestamo (2005) to capture the cross-linguistic mechanisms of standard negation only, and negation of non-verbal clauses is different from standard negation according to our definition of these terms. We must also note here that, out of the 54 Arabic varieties included in the study, this chapter is based on 48 varieties only, as detailed information on the negation of non-verbal clauses was not available to me for Sfax Arabic, Muzēnah and Banī Waṣil Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic, Biyyāḍī and Axrasī Arabic, Ṭuwara Arabic and ʕAtīž Arabic.

Finally, two points are worth noting before we start look at non-verbal negation in modern Arabic varieties: (a) clarifying the meaning of NEG+PRO constructions and *mū~miš* morphemes and (b) giving an impression of the organization of this section. First, the NEG+PRO construction refers to the attachment of a verbal negator in a variety to a

personal pronoun, whereas the *mū~miš* morpheme refers to the form resulting from the fusion between a verbal negator and mostly the third singular masculine pronoun. As we will see, both strategies are very common across the Arabic-speaking world. However, in some varieties, the available data shows the use of only one of them. This, in turn, does not automatically deny the existence of the other. Such a fact will be discussed after representing the found data in section 4.4.1, a matter that takes us to the next point to be mentioned before we start (the organization of this section). In this section, data is presented on a region-by-region basis such that the way that non-verbal clauses are negated in each region is described with brief discussion. The main discussion will be provided in the general remarks section which follows this regional data representation.

4.3.1   Geographical categorization

4.3.1.1 Maghrebi

11 Maghrebi varieties are included in the study, but information on non-verbal negation in Sfax Arabic is not available. Thus, only 10 of these varieties are considered here (Table 25). In this table, after the name of the Arabic variety, the negative morpheme(s) used in standard negation and the negative morpheme(s) used in non-verbal negation are given.

Table 25: Non-verbal negation in the Maghrebi varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*ma* and *ma* + PRO	*mā*+PRO
2.	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*mā* and *ma* + PRO	*mā*+PRO
3.	Moroccan Arabic	*ma……-š(i)*	*maši, ma*+PRO+*š* and *ma*+Predicate+*š*
4.	Annaba Arabic	*mā……-š*	*maš* and *maš*+PRO
5.	Dellys Arabic	*ma……- š(i)*	*maši* and *ma*+PRO+*š*
6.	Sousse Arabic	*ma……-š*	*miš, miš*+PRO
7.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	*ma……-š, miš* and *ma*-PRO-*š*	*miš* and *ma*+PRO+*š*
8.	Eastern Libyan Arabic	*ma……-š*	*moš, ma*+PRO+*š* and mo+Predicate+*š*
9.	Western Libyan Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*miš*
10.	Standard Maltese	*ma……-x* and *mhux*	*mhux* and *ma*+PRO+*x*

As can be seen from this table, the addition of the verbal negator to a personal pronoun is very common (NEG+PRO); it can be seen in 9 of them. The following are examples of this phenomenon. Note here that the personal pronoun that is attached to the verbal negator agrees with the subject of the clause in person, number and gender.

(214)   Ḥassāniyya Arabic

   mā-hi   fitrāna

   NEG-3FSG   tired.FSG

   'She is not tired.'   (Francis, 1979: 18)

(215)   Standard Maltese

ma-ħnie-x   sejrin   b-il-mixi

NEG-1PL-NEG   go.PTCP.PL   with-DEF-walking

'We are not going on foot.'   (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 89)

Note also that Ḥassāniyya Arabic is a non-*š*-variety and the verbal negator is *mā*; thus, no *...-š* is attached to the personal pronoun, whereas Standard Maltese is a *š*-variety and the verbal negator is *mā-…...-x*; thus, *...-š* (*...-x* in the Maltese orthography) is suffixed to the pronoun. In 3.4.2.1, we have seen that the suffixation of *...-š* follows any other direct or indirect object clitics that can be attached to the negated verb, but in non-verbal negation the final suffixation of *...-š* is not always the case. In other words, in the *š*-varieties where the NEG+PRO strategy is used, the personal pronoun is mostly intercalated between the pre-verbal *mā* and the post-verbal *...-š* which makes *...-š* the final suffix in the resulting morpheme (*mā*+PRO+*…-š*). In Annaba Arabic and in Sousse Arabic, in contrast, *...-š* is not final as the personal pronoun occurs after it (*mā*+*…-š*+PRO), for example:

(216)   Annaba Arabic

maš-nī   matfakar

NEG-1SG   remember.PTCP

'I do not remember.'   (Meftouh, Bouchemal, & Smaïli, 2012: 128)

In Moroccan Arabic and Eastern Libyan Arabic, the bipartite negators *mā*…...-*š* may sandwich the predicate if this predicate is a single morpheme only, for example:

(217)   Moroccan Arabic

ma-kbir-ši

NEG-big-NEG

'It is not big'   (Harrell, 2004: 155)

(218)   Eastern Libyan Arabic

ana   mo   ṭālib-š

I   NEG   student-NEG

'I am not a student.'   (Owens, 1984: 158)

Finally, the *mū~miš* morpheme, which was introduced in the Arabic negative cycle in Figure 2 as a new coined morpheme resulting, probably, from fusing the verbal negator to the third singular masculine pronoun, is used in most of the Maghrebi varieties as in Table 25. In fact, it is found in all of them, except in Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic where the NEG+PRO construction seems to be more common, if not the only way, to express non-verbal negation. This puts Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic at a different stage from the others in the Arabic negative cycle. In the general remarks section (4.4) below where some overall points on non-verbal negation are discussed, the stage of every modern Arabic variety regarding this cycle will be given. There will also be a discussion on the quality of the *mū~miš* morpheme. That is, in the Arabic negative cycle, we assumed that this morpheme is probably a result of a fusion between the verbal negator and the third singular masculine pronoun. In some varieties, however, it seems to be a result of a direct attachment of the two negative bipartite elements (*mā* and ...-*š*). This seems to be the case in Dellys Arabic, for example. In this variety, the bipartite negative morpheme used in standard negation is *ma……-š(i)*, and the *mū~miš* morpheme used in non-verbal negation is *maši*. For now, it is sufficient to say that this *mū~miš* morpheme seems to be the most common way to render non-verbal

negation in Western Libyan Arabic, whereas in the other varieties this morpheme is used beside other ways such as the NEG+PRO construction. The following exemplify the use of this *mū~miš* morpheme:

(219)   Sousse Arabic

miš   bɛ̄hi

NEG   good

'It is not good.'   (Talmoudi, 1980: 166)

(220)   Western Libyan Arabic

l-ktāb   miš   ždīd

DEF-book   NEG   new

'The book is not new.'   (Krer, 2013: 99)

4.3.1.2 Egyptian

Ten Egyptian varieties are included in the study, but only 6 of them are included in this section. All of these are listed in Table 26 with their verbal and non-verbal negators.

Table 26: Non-verbal negation in the Egyptian varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	Northwestern Sinai Arabic	*mā*	*miš*
2.	Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	*ma……-š*	*miš*
3.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	*ma……-šey* and *…-šey*	*miš* and *ma*-predicate-*šey*
4.	Egyptian western desert Arabic	*mā……-š* and *mā*	*mā*+predicate+*š* *mā*+PRO predicate+*š* *mu*+PRO predicate+*š*
5.	Cairene Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*miš* and *ma*+PRO+*š*
6.	al-ʕArīš Arabic	*ma……-š(i)* and *miš*	*miš*

As can be seen from the table, the *mū~miš* morpheme, which is *miš* in this region, seems to be the most common non-verbal strategy among the Egyptian varieties, for example:

(221) al-ʕArīš Arabic

miš   mawğūd-ah

NEG   present-FSG

'She is not present.'   (de Jong, 2000: 527)

(222) Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic

al-ʕağwah   miš   wāḥid w   aṣābʕ-ak   miš   wāḥid

DEF-pressed dates NEG   one   and fingers-your NEG   one

'Pressed dates are not alike, and your fingers are not alike.' (de Jong, 2000: 318)

Note here that Northwestern Sinai Arabic is a non-*š*-variety (*...-š* is not observed in standard negation); yet, *...-š* is part of the non-verbal negator (*miš*). Compare the following negative clauses and note that the first one is an example of standard negation and the second one is an example of non-verbal negation:

(223)   Northwestern Sinai Arabic

   a. mā   šift-ih

       NEG   see.PRF.1SG-him

       'I did not see him.'   (de Jong, 2000: 244)

   b. miš   ʕayb

       NEG   disgrace

       'It is not disgrace.'   (de Jong, 2000: 224)

This, and other similar instances, will be discussed in the general remarks section (4.4.3).

The NEG+PRO construction is also found in this region. Consider the following from Cairene Arabic:

(224)   Cairene Arabic

      ma-nī-š   gayy

      NEG-1SG-NEG   come.PTCP

      'I am not coming.'   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

In Egyptian western desert Arabic only, this NEG+PRO strategy is used in a different fashion. Usually, *mā……-š* is affixed to the pronoun in which *mā* is prefixed and *…-š* is suffixed. In this variety, however, *mā* is also prefixed to the pronoun, but the post-

verbal …-*š* is suffixed to the predicate. Consider the following and note that *mū* may optionally be used instead of *ma*.[49]

(225)   Egyptian western desert Arabic

   a.   mā-nī   fāḍitlī-š

        NEG-1SG   empty.PTCP.F-NEG

        'I am not available(F).' (Lit. 'I am not empty')

   b.   hāḏā   mū   girīqī-š

        this   NEG   Greek-NEG

        'This [person] is not Greek.'   (Maṭar, 1981: 184)

Finally, beside the two common strategies used in non-verbal negation (NEG+PRO and *mū~miš* morpheme), a less common strategy to express the same notion is found in the region. In Ṣaʕīdī Arabic and in Egyptian western desert Arabic, the single predicate can be sandwiched by *ma-……-šey* as in:

(226)   Ṣaʕīdī Arabic

        li-ktāb   ma   ğadīd-šey

        DEF-book   NEG   new-NEG

        'The book is not new.'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 101)

4.3.1.3 Sudanic

Five Sudanic varieties are considered in this study, and information on non-verbal negation is available in all of them (Table 27).

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[49] No data is found where the predicate is more than one word (e.g., prepositional phrase).

Table 27: Non-verbal negation in the Sudanic varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	Eastern Nigeria Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā, mā*+PRO and *mi*
2.	Western Nigeria Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā, mā*+PRO and *mi*
3.	Sudanese Arabic	*mā*	*mā*
4.	Largeau Arabic	*mā*	*mā*
5.	Abeche Arabic	Unknown	*mā*

As this table shows, the verbal negator in Abeche Arabic is unknown as this is the only variety in the study where information on standard negation is not found. However, it could be assumed, with some confidence, that the verbal negator in Abeche Arabic is *mā* since this morpheme is the only verbal negator found in every considered variety from this region. If this is correct, then one can say that among the Sudanic varieties, *mā* is capable of expressing both standard negation and non-verbal negation, for example:

(227)   Sudanese Arabic

   dā   šakl-ū   mā   zarīf

   that.MSG   appearance-his   NEG   nice

   'That one, his appearance is not nice.'   (Bergman, 2002: 59)

(228)   Abeche Arabic

   hu   mā   kabīr

   he   NEG   great

   'He is not great.'   (Kaye, 1976: 100)

In addition to this similar way of expressing standard negation and non-verbal negation, the *mū~miš* and NEG+PRO strategies can be used in this region as found in Eastern Nigeria Arabic and Western Nigeria Arabic. As an example, consider the following and note that the *mū~miš* morpheme here is the negator *mi*:

(229)   Eastern Nigeria Arabic

ğikka   χamsa   da   mi   katīr

jikka   five   this   NEG   big

'The five jikka are not much.'   (Owens, 1993: 170)

(230)   Western Nigeria Arabic

hi   mā-ha   kabīre

she   NEG-3FSG   big.F

'She is not big.'   (Owens, 1993: 170)

4.3.1.4 Levantine

In this study, eight Levantine varieties are considered. Seven of them are included in this section as in Table 28. The excluded variety is ʕAtīž Arabic because of the shortage of data on non-verbal negation in this variety.

Table 28: Non-verbal negation in the Levantine varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	al-Karak Arabic	*ma*	*ma*+PRO
2.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*miš* and *ma*+PRO+*š*
3.	as-Salṭ Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š* and *mā*	*miš* and *ma*+PRO+*š*
4.	Damascus Arabic	*mā* and *mū*	*mū* and *mā*+PRO
5.	Palestinian Arabic	*mā……-š, …-š, mā* and *muš*	*miš, muš, mā*+PRO and *mā*+PRO+*š*
6.	Aley Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š, miš* and *ma*	*miš*
7.	Baskinta Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š* and *miš*	*miš* and *miš*+PRO

As in the table, the *mū~miš* strategies are very common among the Levantine varieties, for example:

(231)   Palestinian Arabic

hāða   miš   mumkin

this   NEG   possible

'This is not possible.'   (Hoyt, 2005: 6)

(232)   Aley Arabic

bayy-u   miš   ḥakīm

father-his   NEG   doctor

'His father is not a doctor.'   (Bishr,1956: 39)

The NEG+PRO construction is also very common. Consider the following and note that Northern Jordanian Arabic is a *š*-variety; thus, *...-š* is attached to the pronoun, and al-Karak Arabic is a non-*š*-variety; thus, there is no *...-š* attached here.

(233)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

ma-ni-š   žāy   baʕd   iδ-δuhur

NEG-1SG-NEG   come.PTCP   after   DEF-afternoon

'I am not coming in the afternoon.'   (Haija, 1985: 9)

(234)   al-Karak Arabic

l-awlād   mumah   fi-d-dār

DEF-boy.PL   NEG.3PL   in-DEF-house

'The boys are not in the house.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 43)

However, similarly to Annaba Arabic from the Maghrebi region, in Baskinta Arabic only, the personal pronoun in the NEG+PRO construction occurs after the negative *...-š* as in:

(235)   Baskinta Arabic

mišš-u   fāḍi   yḥakkī-k

NEG-3MSG   available   talk.IMPF.3MSG-you

'He has no time to speak to you.' (Lit. 'He is not available to talk to you.')

(Abu-Haidar, 1979: 109)

4.3.1.5 Mesopotamian

Three varieties are included in the study from this region and all of them are included here, as in Table 29 below.

Table 29: Non-verbal negation in the Mesopotamian

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mū*
2.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mū*
3.	Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	*mā*	*mū*

mū, which is the *mū~miš* morpheme, seems to be very common strategy to express non-verbal negation in this region, whereas data on the use of the NEG+PRO strategy is not found. As mention above in 4.3 and will be discussed further in detail in section 4.4.1 below, the lack of data for the use of the NEG+PRO strategy does not mean it is absent in this region; it may just mean it is rarely used. The following are representative examples for the use of *mū* in this region:

(236)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

inta   mū   ʕirāqi

you.MSG   NEG   Iraqi

'You are not an Iraqi.'   (Al-Khalesi, 2006: 36)

(237)   Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic

el-balad   mū   balad-hum

DEF-land   NEG   land-them

'The land is not their land.'   (Salonen, 1980: 115)

(238)   Christian Baghdadi Arabic

hal-akli   mū   ṭaybi   yā-ha

this-food   NEG   tasty   EMPH−FSG

'This food is not tasty.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1991: 128)

Note in the Christian Baghdadi Arabic example in (238), the prefix *yā-* is used to emphasize the clause. This is the case in every non-verbal negative example found in the consulted source. Therefore, a further investigation has been made to see if this morpheme is meant to strength the notion of negation or not. The investigation shows that the prefix *yā-* does not occur with negative non-verbal clauses only, it is possible with the affirmative ones as well. The following show the optionality of this prefix in affirmatives:

(239)   Christian Baghdadi Arabic

   a. həyyi   ḥəlwi

       she   pretty

       'She is pretty.'

   b. həyyi   ḥəlwi   yā-ha

       she   pretty   EMPH-her

       'She is pretty.'   or 'She is indeed pretty.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1991: 122)

Blanc (1964) reports that, according to his informants, the presence or the absence of the prefix *yā-* has no semantic effect, and is felt to be old-fashioned when included (Blanc, 1964: 125). Consequently, the reached conclusion is that although there is no negative non-verbal clause, among the handful examples provided by the consulted source, where the prefix *yā-* is not used, it could be assumed that negative non-verbal clauses without this prefix are possible. That is to say, the prefix *yā-* can be used with any clause, either negative or affirmative.

4.3.1.6 Arabian Peninsula

From this region, 12 Arabic varieties are considered in this study and all of them are considered here as well. In Table 30, these varieties are listed with their verbal and non-verbal negators.

Table 30: Non-verbal negation in the Arabian Peninsula varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	Kuwaiti Arabic	*mā*	*mā*+PRO, *ma*+PRO+-*b*, *mū* and rarely *ɣayr*
2.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā*+PRO
3.	al-Bāḥa Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā*+PRO+-*b*
4.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā*+PRO, *mu, mub* and *muš*
5.	Ḥagil Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā*+PRO and *mu*
6.	Madinah Arabic	*mā*	*mā*+PRO and *mu*
7.	Urban Hijazi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā*+PRO
8.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā*+PRO and *mu*
9.	ʔAbha Arabic	*mā, lis* and *lim*	*lis* and *mā*
10.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	*ma*	*mā*+PRO+-*b* and *mūb*
11.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	*mā*	mā+PRO, *mū, mub* or *mūb*
12.	Dubai Arabic	*mā*	*mū* and *mūb*

As shown in the table, there are several points which can be considered as peculiarities of this region. Perhaps the first two of these points are the use of the Standard

Arabic non-verbal negators (section 4.2) *ɣayr* and *lis*. *ɣayr* is used rarely in Kuwaiti

Arabic to negate adjectives only, for example:[50]

(240)   Kuwaiti Arabic

ʔil-walad	ɣayr	ṣādeg	fī	mašāʕr-ah
DEF-boy	NEG	honest	in	feeling-his

‘The boy is not honest.’   (Alsalem, 2012: 40– 41)

lis (etymologically related to *laysa*) is used in ʔAbha Arabic only as illustrated by

the following:

(241)   ʔAbha Arabic

lis	χālid	hinah
NEG	Khaled	here

‘Khaled is not here.’   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

Similarly to varieties of other regions, both the *mū~miš* and the NEG+PRO

strategy are very common in this region. Consider the following and note, in Ḥagil

Arabic, *mū* is the *mū~miš* morpheme:

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[50] This is what is reported by the consulted source (Alsalem, 2012). However, in many modern Arabic varieties, *ɣayr* can be used in non-verbal negation, not as part of the grammar of these varieties, but as an instance of code-switching into Standard Arabic. Therefore, there is no reason that makes us to expect that the case in Kuwaiti Arabic here is different from the similar cases found in other varieties. In other words, *ɣayr* in Kuwaiti Arabic is an instance of code-switching into Standard Arabic.

(242) Coastal Dhofārī Arabic

mā-hum   mašɣūlīn

NEG-3MPL   busy.PL

'They are not busy.'   (Davey, 2013: 208)

(243) Ḥagil Arabic

mū   ṭālib

NEG   student

'I am not a student.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

However, what seems to be a unique feature in this region is that in al-Bāḥa Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic when the NEG+PRO strategy is used, -*b* is suffixed to the pronoun. These varieties will be referred to as *b*-varieties to differentiate them from the non-*b*-varieties where this -*b* is not found at all. The following are representative examples, but note here that this -*b* is glossed as -*b* for now. In this section, we focus on where this -*b* is exactly found and how it is precisely used, whereas in the general remarks section (4.4), a sub-section is devoted to address the origin of this -*b* and its grammatical function in detail.

(244) al-Bāḥa Arabic

mḥammad   ma-hu-b   muhandis

Mohammed   NEG-3MSG-b   engineer

'He is not an engineer.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

(245) ʕUnayzah Arabic

ma-hu-b   ṭālib

NEG-3MSG-b   student

'He is not a student.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

Because of the presence of this -*b*, the fusion between the verbal negator and the third singular masculine pronoun *hu* 'he' to coin a *mū~miš* morpheme results in *mūb* among the *b*-varieties, whereas the result of the same fusion is *mū* (or *mu*) among the non-*b*-varieties. Consider, for example:

(246) ʕUnayzah Arabic

hind   mūb   ṭālbah

Hind   NEG   student.F

'Hind is not a student.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

(247) Yanbuʕ Arabic

al-bint   mu   ðakiyya

DEF-gril   NEG   smart.FSG

'The girl is not smart.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

As in Table 30 above, one can see that in some varieties both *mū* and *mūb* are used. More specifically, both *mū* and *mūb* are capable of expressing non-verbal negation in al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Abu Dhabi Arabic and Dubai Arabic. However, whereas in al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic and Dubai Arabic, *mū* and *mūb* seem to be optionally used in non-verbal negation, in Abu Dhabi Arabic *mū* tends to negate predicates which start with geminate consonants or start with two consonants only (Qafisheh, 1977: 242). Both cases are exemplified respectively below:

(248) Abu Dhabi Arabic

a. huwa   mū   d-drēwil

he   NEG   DEF-driver

'He is not the driver.'

b. ?āna   mū   mχabbal

    I   NEG   crazy

    'I am not crazy.'   (Qafisheh, 1977: 242)

The question then is: in which varieties is *mūb* a result of further development as explained in the Arabic negative cycle (Figure 2) where the verbal negator is fused with a personal pronoun, and in which varieties is this morpheme borrowed from another adjacent variety in the region (dialect contact; see the discussion of *miš* in Northwestern Sinai Arabic in section 4.4.3). Perhaps this could be answered if we determine first which one of the Arabian Peninsula varieties are what we might call "true" *b*-varieties and which are not. To answer this, let us consider the negative personal pronoun paradigm (the phonological form of every personal pronoun after being attached to the verbal negator) of any variety that makes use of *-b* in non-verbal negation. This is to see whether this *-b* is systematically attached to every negated personal pronoun or not. According to Table 30 above, varieties where *-b* is found in non-verbal negation are al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-?Aḥsā? Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, Abu Dhabi Arabic and Dubai Arabic. The negative personal pronoun paradigms in these varieties are given in Table 31 below. Note in this table, the symbol (−) is to indicate unknown information. Note also that in some cells, more than one morpheme is given. This is because in some cases more than one allomorph is possible. Moreover, in some varieties such as al-Bāḥa Arabic, the form for the third plural masculine and the third feminine masculine are identical; thus, the relevant two cells are merged, whereas in others such as ʕUnayzah Arabic, these forms are different; thus, the relevant two cells are kept separate.

Table 31: The negative personal pronoun paradigm of some of the Arabian Peninsula

varieties

NEG+PRO	al-Bāḥa	al-ʔAḥsāʔ	ʕUnayzah	Kuwaiti	Abu Dhabi	Dubai
NEG.1SG	mānib	mānī	mānib	–	māni	–
NEG.1PL	mānḥin	–	māḥināb	–	miḥna	–
NEG.2MSG	māntab	–	mantəb	–	minta	–
NEG.2FSG	māntib	–	mantib	–	minti	–
NEG.2MPL	māntum	–	mantub	–	mintu	–
NEG.2FPL	māntub	–	mantin	–	mintin	–
NEG.3MSG	māhab māhub māhub māb	māhu	mahub mūb	muhub	–	–
NEG.3FSG	māhib māhīb	–	mahib mīb	–	–	–
NEG.3MPL	māhum	māhum	mahub	muhumb	–	–
NEG.3FPL	māhub		mahin	–	–	–

As shown in the table, *-b* is systematically suffixed to the negated personal pronoun in al-Bāḥa Arabic and ʕUnayzah Arabic. However, there are some exceptions to this suffixation. In al-Bāḥa Arabic, *-b* is not used with the first plural *mānḥin* 'We are not' and optionally used with the second plural *māntum/māntub* 'You (PL) are not' and with the third plural *māhum/māhub* 'They are not'. Note that the optionality here refers to the mandatory omission of either the final /m/ or the final /b/. Consequently, one can conclude that in al-Bāḥa Arabic, *-b* is not possible after the final /n/ and can optionally replace the final /m/.

In ʕUnayzah Arabic, the exceptions are found with the second feminine plural *mantin* 'You (FPL) are not' and the third feminine plural *mahin* 'They (F) are not'. In one

respect, the situation is similar to al-Bāḥa Arabic in which -*b* is impossible after the final /n/. In another respect, it is different, as unlike the case in al-Bāḥa Arabic, in ʕUnayzah Arabic, -*b* always replaces the final /m/ as can be seen with the second masculine plural *mantub* 'You (MPL) are not' and with the third masculine plural *mahub* 'They (MPL) are not'. Therefore, the omission of -*b* after the consonant /n/ in al-Bāḥa Arabic and ʕUnayzah Arabic can be captured by the following phonological rule:

$$ b \longrightarrow \varnothing \qquad \begin{bmatrix} +\text{nasal} \\ +\text{alveolar} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} \quad \# $$

In contrast, the obligatory omission of /m/ in ʕUnayzah Arabic (which is optional in al-Bāḥa Arabic) can be captured by the following rule:[51]

$$ m \longrightarrow \varnothing \quad / \quad \text{Vowel} \underline{\quad} b $$

Also, according to Table 31, -*b* is found in the only two available negative pronouns in Kuwaiti Arabic. Thus, Kuwaiti Arabic might be considered as a variety with a systematic -*b*. On the other hand, -*b* is not used in the negative personal pronoun

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[51] The case could be that, similarly to ʕUnayzah Arabic speakers, al-Bāḥa Arabic speakers do not allow a final /b/ after a nasal (or perhaps any other consonant). This is settled in both varieties after the alveolar nasal /n/, as explained by the first rule. It is also settled in ʕUnayzah Arabic after the bilabial nasal /m/ in which /b/ is chosen over the presence of /m/, as explained by the second rule. In al-Bāḥa Arabic, in contrast, /b/ is also impossible after /m/, but it has not been settled yet which one of them should be chosen over the other. That is, /m/ and /b/ are still competing with each other; once /b/ is omitted and once /m/ is omitted. The competition here could be motivated by the fact that both /b/ and /m/ have the same place of articulation, namely bilabial. In any case, it should be noted that this phenomenon is not general, such that all al-Bāḥa Arabic speakers choose to omit sometimes /m/ and sometimes /b/. It seems to be an individual characteristic in which some speakers always omit /m/ and others would always omit /b/.

paradigm of al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic and Abu Dhabi Arabic.[52] And such information is not found in Dubai Arabic.

As a result, al-Bāḥa Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic may be classified as *b*-varieties since the occurrence of *-b* in these varieties seems to be systematic. Therefore, the use of *mūb* in these varieties is probably a further development in non-verbal negation. On the other hand, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic and Abu Dhabi Arabic may be classified as non-*b*-varieties because the occurrence of *-b* in these varieties is not systematic. Thus, the use of *mūb* in these two varieties is probably a result of dialect contact. In Dubai Arabic, the case is not clear due to the lack of data; we do not know if this *-b* is systematic or not.

Finally, similarly to the borrowing of *mūb, muš* seems to be borrowed as well in al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, possibly from Yemen or Oman, from where many of the Shia inhabitants of the Gulf region are known to have migrated, as some dialects in this region use ...-*š* as part of the negative morpheme. al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic is a non-*š*-variety because …-*š* is not observed here in standard negation; thus, *muš* cannot be considered as a result of attaching the verbal negator to a personal pronoun. Compare the following verbal and non-verbal clauses from al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic:

(249) al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

a. ʔaḥmad   mā   ǧa

Ahmad   NEG   come.PRF.3MSG

'Ahmad did not come.'

b. al-bēt   muš   zēn

   DEF-house   NEG   nice

‘The house is not nice.’   *(Fieldwork data)*

4.3.1.7 Yemeni

Five modern Arabic varieties come from Yemen in the study, and all of them are considered in this section as in Table 32.

Table 32: Non-verbal negation in the Yemeni varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The verbal negator(s)	The non-verbal negator(s)
1.	Hadhrami Arabic	*ma*	*ma*+PRO
2.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*miš* (or *miši* and *māši*)	*miš*
3.	Adeni Arabic	*ma*......-*š*	*muš*
4.	Taiz Arabic	*ma*......-*š*	*ma*+PRO+-*š*
5.	Ṣana'a Arabic	*mā*......-*š* and *mā*	*miš*

Both the NEG+PRO construction and the *mū~miš* morpheme, are used in this region to express non-verbal negation. The following are representative examples:

(250) Hadhrami Arabic[53]

ad-dār   ma-hi   kabēr

DEF-house   NEG-3FSG   big

'The house is not big.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 50)

(251) Taiz Arabic

ma-na-š   rāyiḥ   al-yūm

NEG-1SG-NEG   go.PTCP   DEF-today

'I am not going today.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 61)

(252) Zinǧibār Arabic

al-bait   miš   kabēr

DEF-house   NEG   big

'The house is not big.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 38–39)

(253) Adeni Arabic

al-gaw   muš   ḥama

DEF-air   NEG   hot

'The air is not hot.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 60)

4.4 General remarks on non-verbal negation in modern Arabic varieties

Several overall points can be drawn from the aforementioned demonstration of non-verbal negation in modern Arabic varieties. These points will be explained in the following five sub-sections. In 4.4.1, we outline every possible way found in the modern Arabic varieties to express non-verbal negation, including the use of the NEG+PRO and the *mū~miš* strategies. In 4.4.2, the type of the pronoun attached to the verb when the NEG+PRO construction is used will be examined. In 4.4.3, the phonological shapes of

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[53] *dār* 'house' in Arabic is feminine. This is why the pronoun attached to the negator *ma* is *hi* 'she', the third singular feminine pronoun.

the *mū~miš* morpheme in the modern Arabic varieties is discussed. In 4.4.4, the origin of

-b, which is observed in some Arabian Peninsula varieties, is discussed. Finally, in 4.4.5,

the development of negation in modern Arabic varieties is examined in the light of the

Arabic negative cycle proposed in Figure 2.

4.4.1 Non-verbal negation strategies

We have seen in 4.2 that non-verbal negation in Standard Arabic can be rendered by the

use of *laysa, mā, ʔin* and *ɣayr*. We have also seen that in modern Arabic varieties, the

same notion is commonly rendered by: a) attaching a variety's verbal negator to one of

the personal pronouns in that variety (NEG+PRO); or b) by the use of a *mū~miš*

morpheme; or rarely c) by adopting the strategy used in standard negation. However,

before going further, two points should be noted. First, the Standard Arabic non-verbal

negator *ɣayr* may be used in a modern variety as an instance of code-switching into

Standard Arabic. This is as the case in Kuwaiti Arabic in (254). Second, *lis* (related to

the Standard Arabic *laysa*) is found in ʔAbha Arabic only as in (255).

(254)   Kuwaiti Arabic

     ʔil-walad   ɣayr   ṣādeg   fī   mašāʕr-ah

     DEF-boy   NEG   honest   in   feeling-his

     'The boy is not honest.'   (Alsalem, 2012: 40– 41)

(255)   ʔAbha Arabic

     lis   χālid   hinah

     NEG   Khaled   here

     'Khaled is not here.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 142)

The previous facts impose the following two generalizations:

Generalization 13: The use of ʔin in non-verbal negation is unattested in modern Arabic varieties.

Generalization 14: The use of a reflex of laysa *and* ɣayr *in non-verbal negation is rarely attested in modern Arabic varieties.*

We turn now to the other strategies in non-verbal negation. First, the use of the NEG+PRO construction and the *mū~miš* morpheme is found in every region, except in the Mesopotamian one where data is found on the use of the *mū~miš* approach only. Similar cases are found in some varieties of other regions in which data may be found on the use of the NEG+PRO construction but not on the use of the *mū~miš* morpheme, or vice versa. However, the lack of data for the use of one of these two strategies cannot be taken as evidence that this strategy is not used. It can only be considered as an indication for the common use of the attested strategy and the less, or perhaps rare, use of the absent one. To explain this, let us consider, as an example, the case in al-Karak Arabic and the case in Muslim Baghdadi Arabic.

In al-Karak Arabic, the available data shows that only the NEG+PRO construction is used in non-verbal negation as demonstrated by the following:

(256) al-Karak Arabic

l-awlād   mumah   fi-d-dār

DEF-boy.PL   NEG.3PL   in-DEF-house

'The boys are not in the house.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 43)

Data also shows that, in al-Karak Arabic, a *mū~miš* morpheme has been already coined but has not been generalized yet to negate every non-verbal clause. It is used with third singular subjects only, for example:

(257)   al-Karak Arabic

  haða   mū   ktāb-i

  this   NEG   book-my

  'This is not my book.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 44)

In Muslim Baghdadi Arabic, the case is the opposite; the available data shows the use of the *mū~miš* morpheme only, but there is no available data to show the use of the NEG+PRO construction. The following exemplifies the use of *mū* in this variety:

(258)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

  inta   mū   ʕirāqi

  you.MSG   NEG   Iraqi

  'You are not an Iraqi.'   (Al-Khalesi, 2006: 36)

Therefore, bearing in mind the fact that *mū* in many modern Arabic varieties has been generalized in non-verbal negation, there will be no reason to anticipate that varieties such as al-Karak Arabic would be different from these varieties. In other words, it would be risky to assume that *mū* has never been used to negate any non-verbal clause where the subject is something other than a third singular masculine. In contrast, considering the fact that *mū* is the short version of the NEG+PRO construction *mā-hu*, it would be also difficult to state here that no Muslim Baghdadi Arabic speaker would ever use *mā-hu,* or similar, in non-verbal negation. The appropriate analysis in such cases seems to be that

when either the use of the NEG+PRO construction or the use of the *mū~miš* morpheme is not reported in a variety, it should be considered as an indication that the unreported phenomenon is less commonly used. Note, however, this is one of the a few places in this study where even when there is no available data, the situation can be, with some confidence, assumed. As a result, the following is proposed:

Generalization 15: In modern Arabic varieties, non-verbal negation is commonly expressed by either the use of the NEG+PRO construction or the mū~miš *morpheme.*

As a strict rule, however, whether the non-verbal clause is negated by the NEG+PRO construction or by the *mū~miš* morpheme, the negative item always precedes the predicate. Therefore,

Generalization 16: In non-verbal negation, the NEG+PRO and the mū~miš *morpheme are always placed before the negated predicate.*

Finally, in a few varieties, the standard negation strategy is used in non-verbal negation as well. This seems to be a characteristic of the Sudanic varieties only as in this region *mā* is able to negate verbal and non-verbal clauses, compare the following:

(259)   Sudanese Arabic

   a. mā   ǧō

       NEG   come.PRF.3PL

       'They did not come.'   (Bergman, 2002: 194)

b. dā   šakl-ū   mā   zarīf

    that.MSG   appearance-his   NEG   nice

    'That one, his appearance is not nice.'   (Bergman, 2002: 59)

The same is found in four non-Sudanic varieties (Moroccan Arabic, Eastern Libyan Arabic, Ṣaʕīdī Arabic and Egyptian western desert Arabic). All of which are *š*-varieties and spoken in the north of Africa. This, however, seems to occur only when the predicate is a single word, which, in turn, is intercalated between *mā…...-š,* for example:

(260) Moroccan Arabic

       ma-kbir-ši

       NEG-big-NEG

       'It is not big'   (Harrell, 2004: 155)

The intercalating of pronouns between *mā… ...-š* in such varieties is illustrated in the next sub-section.

4.4.2   The NEG+PRO construction

The morpheme resulting from the interaction between the verbal negator and the personal pronoun (NEG+PRO) differs considerably from one variety to another. This is based on the following two factors: (1) the type of the variety (e.g., *š*-variety, *b*-variety) and (2) the type of the personal pronoun attached to the verbal negator.

Regarding the first factor, in the non-*š*-varieties, when this NEG+PRO construction is used, *mā* is always attached to the personal pronoun as in:

(261) Yanbuʕ Arabic

mā-hum   aðkya

NEG-3PL   smart.MPL

'They are not smart.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

(262) Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic

ntāma   gałb-u   mā-hu   hawn

Ntama   heart-his   NEG-3MSG   here

'Ntama's heart is not here.'   (Heath, 2003: 68)

In only three non-*š*-varieties (al-Bāḥa Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic), which might be identified as *b*-varieties, -*b* is suffixed to the negated personal pronoun and the resulting morpheme here would be *mā*+PRO+-b, for instance:

(263) al-Bāḥa Arabic

mḥammad   ma-hu-b   muhandis

Mohammed   NEG-3MSG-b   engineer

'He is not an engineer.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

The fact that all of these varieties are from the same region imposes the following generalization:

Generalization 17: b-*varieties seem to be found in the Arabian Peninsula region only.*

On the other hand, in the *š*-varieties, when the NEG+PRO strategy is used, the personal pronoun is mostly intercalated between *mā… …-š* in which the morpheme *…-š* appears as the final suffix in the resulting item, for example:

(264)   Taiz Arabic

ma-na-š   rāyiḥ   al-yūm

NEG-1SG-NEG   go.PTCP   DEF-today

'I am not going today.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 61)

However, in three *š*-varieties only (Annaba Arabic, Sousse Arabic and Baskinta Arabic), *…-š* is not final since the attached personal pronoun occurs after *…-š* as in (265).

(265)   Annaba Arabic

maš-nī   matfakar

NEG-1SG   remember.PTCP

'I do not remember.'   (Meftouh, Bouchemal, & Smaïli, 2012: 128)

Accordingly, the following can be formulated:

Generalization 18: In the š-*varieties, …*-š *is mostly the final suffix when the NEG+PRO strategy is used.*

This could mean that the attachment between the negator *ma* and the personal pronoun to express non-verbal negation became a strategy before the use of *…-š*.

The second factor concerns the type of the personal pronoun that is attached to the verbal negator. In Arabic, the pronoun paradigm can be divided into two categories:

dependent and independent. It would be very difficult to identify the phonological shape of every pronoun in every modern Arabic variety; thus, the phonological shapes of these pronouns in Standard Arabic are taken as representative examples as in the table below:

Table 33: The dependent and independent pronouns in Standard Arabic[54]

No.	Pronoun	Dependent form	Translations	Independent form	Translations
1.	1SG	*-ī* *-nī*	me/my	*ʔanā*	I
2.	1PL	*-nā*	us	*naḥnu*	we
3.	2MSG	*-ka*	you(r) (2MSG)	*ʔanta*	you (2MSG)
4.	2FSG	*-ki*	you(r) (2FSG)	*ʔanti*	you (2FSG)
5.	2MPL	*-kum*	your (2MPL)	*ʔantum*	you (2MPL)
6.	2FPL	*-kunna*	you(r) (2FPL)	*ʔantunna*	you (2FPL)
7.	3MSG	*-hu*	him/his	*huwa*	he
8.	3FSG	*-hi*	her	*hiya*	she
9.	3MPL	*-hum*	them/their (3MPL)	*hum*	they (3MPL)
10.	3FPL	*-hunna*	them/their (3FPL)	*hunna*	they (3FPL)

Now let us consider Table 34 below. This table outlines the phonological forms resulting from the attachment between personal pronouns and verbal negators. Note that not all varieties are listed in this table, as information on the NEG+PRO constructions is not always available.[55] Note also that, unlike other tables in this study, data in this table

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[54] In Standard Arabic, there are three grammatical numbers: singular, plural and dual. However, the dual number is ignored in this table as it is not observed in any modern Arabic variety.
[55] To make the information fit in the table, some varieties' names have been shortened as follows: M.Ḥassān= Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, E.Libyan= Eastern Libyan Arabic, W.Libyan= Western Libyan Arabic, S/T= Sahel/Tunis Arabic, E-Nigeria= Eastern Nigeria Arabic, W-Nigeria=

is best to be read vertically rather than horizontally. That is, the purpose of this table is to compare the type of the pronoun attached to the verbal negator in every Arabic variety; thus, it seems appropriate to present the relevant items in the same column, e.g., the resulting form when the verbal negator is attached to the first singular pronoun. In this table, the first column, which contains letters, is for regions. The meaning of these letters is as follows: (R) to mean region, (M) to mean Maghrebi, (E) to mean Egyptian, (S) to mean Sudanic, (L) to mean Levantine and (A) to mean Arabian Peninsula. In the table also, the symbol (−) is to indicate unknown information; more than one item in the cell indicates different allomorphs; and the merger of two cells means the same morpheme is used in these cases. [56]

Western Nigeria Arabic, N.Jordan= Northern Jordanian Arabic, C.Dhofārī= Coastal Dhofārī Arabic and U.Hijazi= Urban Hijazi Arabic.
[56] Note that not all varieties distinguish between 2MPL and 2FPL, for example. In such varieties, the correct term in this case would be 2PL.

Table 34: The negative personal pronoun paradigm of some modern Arabic varieties

R	Name	1SG	1PL	2MSG	2FSG	2MPL	2FPL	3MSG	3FSG	3MPL	3FPL
M	Ḥassāniyya	māni	māna	mānak	mānik	mākum		māhu	māhi	māhum	
	M.Ḥassān	māni	māna	mānak	mānik	mākum		māhu	māhi	māhum	
	Moroccan	–	–	–	–	–	–	mahuš mawši	mayši	–	–
	Annaba	mašnī	mašna	mašk		maškum		mašū	mašī	mašhum	
	Dellys	maniš	–	–	–	–	–	mahuš	–	–	–
	Sousse	mišni	mišnɛ	mišīk		miškum		mišū	mišhɛ	mišhum	
	E.Libyan	maniš	manaš	manakš	manikš	mankanš		–	–	mahumš	mahinš
	W.Libyan	manīš	manāš	makš		makumš		mahūš	mahīš	mahumš	
	Maltese	m'iniex	m'aħniex	m'intix		m'intomx		m'hux m'huwiex	m'hix m'hijiex	m'humiex	
	S/T	manīš	–	–	–	–	–	mahūš	mahyāš	–	–
E	Cairene	manīš	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
S	E-Nigeria	māni	māna	māk	māki	māku	mākan	mi	māha	māhum	māhin
	W-Nigeria	māni	māna	māk	māki	māku	mākan	mi	māha	māhum	māhin
L	al-Karak	mana	maḥna	minit	minti	mintu		mū	mī	mumah mumma	
	N.Jordan	manīš	maḥnāš	mantāš	mantīš	mantūš		mahuāš mahūš	mahiyyāš mahīš	mahumāš mahumiš	mahinniš
	as-Salṭ	manīš	maḥnāš	mantīš		mantūš	mantinnišš	mahūš	mahīš	mahummūš mahummušš	mahinnišš

	Dialect										
	Palestinian	māni mani manīš	–	manit manta mantiš	manti mantīš	mantu mantūš	mantin mantinniš	–	–	mahimm mahimmiš	mahinn mahinniš
	Damascus	māli māni	mālna māna	mālak mālnak	mālek mālnek	mālkon mānkon		mālo māno	māla māna	mālon mānon	
	Baskinta	mišni	–	–	–	–	–	miššu	–	–	–
A	C. Dhofārī	mānī	mānā mānaḥana	mānta	mānti	māntum	māntēn	mūhū	māhē	māhum	māhēn
	al-Bāḥa	mānib	mānḥin	māntab	māntib	māntum māntub		māhab māhub māhub māb	māhib māhīb	māhum māhub	
	al-ʔAḥsāʔ	mānī	–	–	–	–	–	māhu	–	māhum	
	Ḥagil	mānī	maḥnā	mant	manti	mantum mantu	mantin	māhu muhu	māhi mihi mī	māhum muhum mum	mahin
	Madinah	mānī	maḥinā	mant	manti	mantum mantu		māhu	māhi	māhum	
	U.Hijazi	manni	mannana maḥna	mannak manta	mannik manti	mannakum mantu		mannu mahu mū	mannaha mahi	mannahum mahum	
	Yanbuʕ	mānī	maḥna	manta	manti	mantu		māhu	māhi mī	māhum	
	ʕUnayza	mānib	māḥināb	mantəb	mantib	mantub	mantin	mahub mūb	mahib mīb	mahub	mahin
	Abu Dhabi	māni	miḥna	minta	minti	mintu	mintin	–	–	–	–
	Kuwaiti	–	–	–	–	–	–	muhub	–	muhumb	–

The aim here is to find out the type of the personal pronoun (dependent or independent) attached to the verbal negator. However, the dependent and independent forms for 3MSG, 3FSG, 3MPL and 3FPL are not sufficiently phonologically distinct. In fact, in most varieties they are too similar which makes it difficult to identify which form is being attached to the negator. Therefore, these pronouns (3MSG, 3FSG, 3MPL and 3FPL) are excluded in this investigation. However, in a few cases only it might be clear which from is used. For example, in both *m'huwiex* he is not in Maltese and *mahuāš* he is not in Northern Jordanian Arabic, it seems clear that the independent 3MSG form, not the dependent one, is attached to the verbal negator here.

For the 1SG, the dependent pronoun -*nī* 'me' seems to be the one attached to the verbal negator in all Arabic varieties, except in al-Karak Arabic where the independent *ʔanā* 'I' is the one used in such a case. Therefore,

Generalization 19: The use of the NEG+PRO construction for 1SG subject almost always means the dependent pronoun -nī *is attached to the verbal negator.*

For 1PL, 2MSG, 2FSG, 2MPL and 2FPL, the pronouns are different. With the exception of Standard Maltese, the dependent pronouns are chosen to be the attached set among the Maghrebi and the Sudanic varieties. That is to say, when the NEG+PRO construction is used in these regions with, for example, 1PL, the dependent form -*nā* 'us' (not the independent one *naḥnu* 'we') will be attached to the verbal negator. In contrast, with the exception of Damascus Arabic, in the Levantine and the Arabian Peninsula regions, the independent pronouns are chosen to be attached in such cases. Urban Hijazi Arabic (an Arabian Peninsula variety) is unique. That is, both options are available in this variety; it can behave as the Levantine and the Arabian Peninsula varieties as well as the Maghrebi and the Sudanic varieties. Note also that in Coastal Dhofārī Arabic, the same

optionality is found but with the first plural only. That is to say, the negated first plural pronoun in this variety could be *-nā* 'us' as in *mānā* 'we are not' or *naḥnu* 'we' as in *mānaḥana* 'we are not'. Despite these exceptions, the following can be proposed:

Generalization 20: The use of the NEG+PRO construction for 1PL, 2MSG, 2FSG, 2MPL and 2FPL subjects mostly means the relevant dependent pronoun, not the independent one, is attached to the verbal negators in the Maghrebi and the Sudanic region and the relevant independent one is attached instead in the Levantine and the Arabian Peninsula region.

In the following section, we explore the phonological shapes of the *mū~miš* morphemes, a strategy that is common as much as the NEG+PRO construction in non-verbal negation.

4.4.3   The *mū~miš* morpheme

As we have seen, the use of a *mū~miš* morpheme is very common to negate non-verbal clauses. In the Arabic negative cycle introduced in Figure 2, we demonstrate that this form is mostly a result of a fusion between the verbal negator in a variety and the third singular masculine pronoun in that variety. Accordingly, the verbal negator in the *š*-varieties contains *...-š,* and, therefore, when this verbal negator is fused to the third singular masculine pronoun, the resulting morpheme is *muš* or *miš,* for example:

(266)   Palestinian Arabic

hāða   miš   mumkin

this   NEG   possible

'This is not possible.'   (Hoyt, 2005: 6)

In the non-*š*-varieties, on the other hand, the verbal negator has no *...-š;* consequently, the resulting from does not contain such a sound, and it is mostly *mū*, for example:

(267)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

inta   mū   ʕirāqi

you.MSG   NEG   Iraqi

'You are not an Iraqi.'   (Al-Khalesi, 2006: 36)

In some of the non-*š*-varieties, however, the morpheme contains *-b*. This is a characteristic of some of the Arabian Peninsula varieties (see the following section for the origin and the function of this morpheme), for example:

(268)   ʕUnayzah Arabic

hind   mūb   ṭālbah

Hind   NEG   student.F

'Hind is not a student.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

In the following table, the phonological shapes of the *mū~miš* morphemes in the Arabic varieties are given. Note that the table only include varieties where data in this regard is found.

Table 35: The *mū~miš* negator

The region	No.	Arabic variety	The *mū~miš*
Maghrebi	1.	Moroccan Arabic	*maši*
	2.	Annaba Arabic	*maš*
	3.	Dellys Arabic	*maši*
	4.	Sousse Arabic	*miš*
	5.	Sahel/Tunis Arabic	*miš*
	6.	Eastern Libyan Arabic	*moš*
	7.	Western Libyan Arabic	*miš*
	8.	Standard Maltese	*mhux*
Egyptian	9.	Northwestern Sinai Arabic	*miš*
	10.	Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	*miš*
	11.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	*miš*
	12.	Cairene Arabic	*miš*
	13.	al-ʕArīš Arabic	*miš*
Sudanic	14.	Eastern Nigeria Arabic	*mi*
	15.	Western Nigeria Arabic	*mi*
Levantine	16.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*miš*
	17.	as-Salṭ Arabic	*miš*
	18.	Damascus Arabic	*mū*
	19.	Palestinian Arabic	*miš* and *muš*
	20.	Aley Arabic	*miš*
	21.	Baskinta Arabic	*miš*
Mesopotamian	22.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	*mū*
	23.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	*mū*
	24.	Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	*mū*
Arabian Peninsula	25.	Kuwaiti Arabic	*mū*
	26.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	*mu, mub* and *muš*
	27.	Ḥagil Arabic	*mu*
	28.	Madinah Arabic	*mu*
	29.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	*mu*

	30.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	*mūb*
	31.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	*mub, mū* nad *mūb*
	32.	Dubai Arabic	*mū* and *mūb*
Yemeni	33.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*miš*
	34.	Adeni Arabic	*muš*
	35.	Ṣanaʼa Arabic	*miš*

The *mū~miš* morpheme in these varieties may not be always a result of a fusion. Simply, this morpheme could be borrowed from other varieties. This is the case, for example, in Northwestern Sinai Arabic. As in (269), the verbal negator in this variety has no ...-*š*, yet the non-verbal negator is *miš*.

(269)   Northwestern Sinai Arabic

a.   mā   šift-ih

  NEG   see.PRF.1SG-him

  'I did not see him.'   (de Jong, 2000: 244)

b.   miš   ʕayb

  NEG   disgrace

  'It is not disgrace.'   (de Jong, 2000: 224)

A reasonable explanation here is that *miš* in Northwestern Sinai Arabic is a result of dialect contact, because this variety is surrounded by others such as Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic where this *miš* is used to negate non-verbal clauses. In fact, the spread through dialect contact is likely the most important driver not only of Arabic varieties gaining *miš* as a non-verbal negator, but also of varieties gaining discontinuous negation with ...-*š* as a possible construction in standard negation. This is to acknowledge the likelihood that

in reality only a small minority of Arabic varieties (perhaps even just one) originally underwent Jespersen's cycle internally, by grammaticalizing *šī* 'thing' as a negative particle (see section 1.4 above). The rest have presumably borrowed the sound ...-*š* as a negative suffix. Consider, for instance, the fact that in many Arabic varieties such as Dellys Arabic, *ḥāǧa*, not *šī*, is the ordinary word for 'thing' as in the example below; nevertheless, no Arabic variety has grammaticalized this item as a negator.

(270)   Dellys Arabic

ma-ʕənd-i   ḥətta   ḥaǧa

NEG-have-me   even   thing

'I have nothing.' or 'I have not got a thing.'   (Souag, 2005: 166)

Another interesting point about the *mū~miš* morphemes is the presence of *-b* in some of them. This is a characteristic found among the Arabian Peninsula varieties only. Such a phenomenon may require further details and, thus, will be the focus of the next sub-section.

4.4.4   The use of *-b* in non-verbal negation

This sub-section is to discuss the origin as well as the function of the morpheme *-b* which we find in some of the Arabian Peninsula varieties. In his investigation of Najdi Arabic, Ingham states that "This [-b] is a peculiarity of Central Najdi and occurs also as an alternative structure in [Standard Arabic]" (Ingham, 1994: 44).[57] In this study, we find that this *-b* is not only found in the Najdi variety included in this study (ʕUnayzah Arabic),

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[57] Najd is a name of the central region of Saudi Arabia where more than one Arabic variety can be found. Najd is one of the regions where the fieldwork of this study is conducted. ʕUnayzah Arabic is the Najdi variety that has been chosen to be investigated for the purpose of this study, see the reason behind this choice in 2.6 above.

but also found in other two non-Najdi varieties (al-Bāḥa Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic). Ingham does not discuss the function of the alternative structure in Standard Arabic where -*b* is used, which will be explained here. In Standard Arabic -*b* is prefixed to the negated predicate, and in the examples provided by Ingham (1994) on Najdi Arabic as in (271) and the ones provided by Alsalem (2012) on Kuwaiti Arabic as in (272), -*b* is transcribed as a prefix attached to the negated predicate as well.

(271)   Najdi Arabic

ḥasan   ma   hu   b-ǧāy

Hasan   NEG   he   b-come.PTCP

'Hasan is not coming".'   (Ingham, 1994: 45)

(272)   Kuwaiti Arabic

ʔil-ʕarab   mu-hum   b-waḥid

DEF-Arab   NEG-3PL   b-one

'The Arabs are not the same.'   (Alsalem, 2012: 39)

In contrast, I argue in this study that -*b* is no longer prefixed to the predicate; instead, it is suffixed to the negated personal pronoun.[58] This is, at least, true in the two *b*-varieties (ʕUnayzah Arabic and al-Bāḥa Arabic) out of the three ones included in this study. That is because unlike the third *b*-variety in the study (Kuwaiti Arabic), data in ʕUnayzah Arabic and al-Bāḥa Arabic has been obtained through fieldwork in which extra information has been sought to determine the place and the function of -*b*.

In Standard Arabic, -*b* may occur with negative non-verbal clauses to emphasize the negative notion. This is possible with two non-verbal negators only (*mā* and *laysa*).

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[58] Although this point does not seem to have been argued for explicitly in the literature, it is clear that various authors assume the same thing, since they transcribe this form of negation as *mub* and not *mu... b-* (e.g. Holes 2015).

In (273) below, the use of these negators is exemplified once with -*b* and once without it. Note, however, in modern Arabic varieties this -*b* has undergone phonological reduction. It is originally *bi* as can be seen in the Standard Arabic examples below.

(273)   Standard Arabic

a.   mā   ʔanā   qāriʔ-un

    NEG   I   read.PTCP -NOM

    'I am not a reader.'

b.   mā   ʔanā   bi-qāriʔ-in

    NEG   I   EMPH-read.PTCP-GEN

    'I am certainly not a reader.'

c.   ʔal-mudīr-u   laysa   ǧayyid-an

    DEF-manager-NOM   NEG.3MSG   good-ACC

    'The manager is not good.'

d.   ʔal-mudīr-u   laysa   bi-ǧayyid-in

    DEF-manager-NOM   NEG.3MSG   EMPH-good-GEN

    'The manager is not good.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

Aside from the well-known Arabic rule which explains the prefixing of *bi-* to the predicate when extra emphasis is intended, and therefore, similarly to any other Standard Arabic preposition, the noun hosting this prefix must be in the genitive case, we can see that *bi-* in Standard Arabic cannot be separated from the predicate. For instance, when the negative non-verbal clause has extra information involving additional morpheme, or perhaps morphemes, this extra morpheme may occur between the subject and the predicate. In such cases, the emphatic *bi-* moves with the predicate (its host). Consider

the following Quranic passage and note that the additional morphemes here are a prepositional phrase which occurs between the subject and the predicate:

(274) Standard Arabic

wa-mā   ʔanta   ʕalay-him   bi-wakīl-in

and-NEG   you.MSG   on-them   EMPH-sponsor-GEN

'Certainly, you are not their sponsor.' (Lit. 'You are not a sponsor on them')

(Qur'an 42:6)

As demonstrated by the above example, the fact that *bi-* moves with the predicate suggests that the predicate, not the personal pronoun *ʔanta* 'you.MSG' (the subject), is the host of the affix *bi-*.

In the modern Arabic *b*-varieties, on the other hand, *-b* is not used to emphasize; it is part of the ordinary negative morpheme in non-verbal negation, for example:

(275) ʕUnayzah Arabic

ma-nti-b   wakīl   ʕalē-hum

NEG-you.MSG-b   sponsor   on-them

'You are not their sponsor.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

In this example, the prepositional phrase *ʕalē-hum* 'on them' can either follow the predicate *wakīl* 'sponsor' as in this example, or precede it as in the following one.

(276) ʕUnayzah Arabic

ma-nti-b   ʕalē-hum   wakīl

NEG-you.MSG-b   on-them   sponsor

'You are not their sponsor.'   (*Fieldwork data*)

Note that unlike case in Standard Arabic, the affix -*b* does not move with the predicate. This is because it is not attached to it anymore; it is part of the negative morpheme (NEG+PRO).

As a result, it is assumed here that similarly to the analysis of the mandatory use of ...-*š* in the *š*-varieties, we could analyze the mandatory use of -*b* in the *b*-varieties (ʕUnayzah Arabic, al-Bāḥa Arabic and Kuwaiti Arabic). In other words, this mandatory use of -*b* in non-verbal negation is a result of being affected by Jespersen's cycle. In this regard, non-verbal negation in these *b*-varieties can be classified as stage II in this cycle, where the ordinary negator is supported by another morpheme to strength the notion of negation. Therefore, -*b* in the upcoming examples will be glossed as a negative morpheme since its omission would render negative structures ungrammatical. In this context, it is worth noting, however, that while the origin of the negative ...-*š* in Arabic is *šayʔ* 'thing' as explained in 1.4 above, the origin of -*b* is the emphatic *bi-*, which is already used in Standard Arabic for the same purpose (emphasizing the negative notion).

4.4.5   The Arabic negative cycle

In 3.4.2.2, we introduced the Arabic negative cycle. Under this theme, we outlined five stages in Figure 2. In stage I, one negator (mostly *mā*) negates both verbal and non-verbal clauses. In stage II, the verbal negator is attached to a personal pronoun that agrees with the subject of the non-verbal clause to express non-verbal negation (NEG+PRO strategy). In stage III, a single morpheme is formed (*mū~miš* morpheme) usually by fusing the

verbal negator to the third singular masculine pronoun, and this morpheme is generalized to negate any non-verbal clause. In stage IV, the *mū~miš* morpheme is used to negate future and progressive aspect clauses. In stage V, the *mū~miš* morpheme is generalized to negate both verbal and non-verbal clauses. In the same section, we mentioned that the placement of the modern Arabic varieties in their relevant stages regarding this cycle is postponed until we see how non-verbal negation is expressed in them. After seeing this now, we are going to determine their stages.

However, because the Arabic negative cycle concerns both verbal and non-verbal negation, the stage of a variety cannot be determined unless information is available on how verbal and non-verbal negation is expressed in that variety. Accordingly, the stage of the following six varieties cannot be determined as information on how non-verbal negation is expressed in these varieties is unknown: Sfax Arabic, Muzēnah and Banī Waṣil Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic, Ṭuwara Arabi, Biyyāḍī and Axrasī Arabic and ʕAtīž Arabic. Abeche Arabic is similarly excluded since information is not available here on how verbal negation is done. Thus, the total number of varieties where data on both verbal and non-verbal negation is found is 47. All of them are listed in the following table and their stage in the Arabic negative cycle is given. Note, however, in many varieties, more than one stage can be observed. Therefore, the one given stage here is the most advanced stage only. For example, when both stage I and stage II can be found in a variety, the variety is classified, as stage II as this stage is the most advanced one.

Table 36: The progress of modern Arabic varieties in the Arabic negative cycle

No.	Region	Arabic variety	The reached stage
1.		Ḥassāniyya Arabic	Stage IV
2.	Maghrebi	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	Stage IV
3.		Moroccan Arabic	Stage III

4.		Annaba Arabic	Stage III
5.		Dellys Arabic	Stage III
6.		Sousse Arabic	Stage III
7.		Eastern Libyan Arabic	Stage III
8.		Standard Maltese	Stage IV
9.		Western Libyan Arabic	Stage IV
10.		Sahel/Tunis Arabic	Stage IV
11.	Egyptian	Northwestern Sinai Arabic	Stage IV
12.		Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic	Stage III
13.		Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	Stage III
14.		Egyptian western desert Arabic	Stage II
15.		Cairene Arabic	Stage V
16.		al-ʕArīš Arabic	Stage IV
17.	Sudanic	Eastern Nigeria Arabic	Stage III
18.		Western Nigeria Arabic	Stage III
19.		Sudanese Arabic	Stage I
20.		Largeau Arabic	Stage I
21.	Levantine	al-Karak Arabic	Stage II
22.		Damascus Arabic	Stage IV
23.		Northern Jordanian Arabic	Stage III
24.		as-Salṭ Arabic	Stage III
25.		Aley Arabic	Stage IV
26.		Baskinta Arabic	Stage IV
27.		Palestinian Arabic	Stage IV
28.	Mesopotamian	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	Stage III
29.		Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	Stage III
30.		Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	Stage III
31.	Arabian Peninsula	Kuwaiti Arabic	Stage III
32.		Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	Stage II
33.		al-Bāḥa Arabic	Stage II
34.		al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	Stage III

35.		Ḥagil Arabic	Stage III
36.		Madinah Arabic	Stage III
37.		Urban Hijazi Arabic	Stage II
38.		Yanbuʕ Arabic	Stage III
39.		ʔAbha Arabic	Stage I
40.		ʕUnayzah Arabic	Stage III
41.		Abu Dhabi Arabic	Stage III
42.		Dubai Arabic	Stage III
43.		Hadhrami Arabic	Stage II
44.		Zinǧibār Arabic	Stage V
45.	Yemeni	Adeni Arabic	Stage III
46.		Taiz Arabic	Stage II
47.		Sana'a Arabic	Stage III

In the table, the geographical place of a variety does not seem to have an influence on the progress of that variety in the cycle. As can be noticed, three Arabic varieties are in stage I as verbal and non-verbal clauses in them are negated by *mā*. Compare the following verbal and non-verbal clauses from Sudanese Arabic and from ʔAbha Arabic:

(277)   Sudanese Arabic

   a. mā   ǧō

       NEG   come.PRF.3PL

       'They did not come.'   (Bergman, 2002: 194)

   b. dā   šakl-ū   mā   zarīf

       that.MSG   appearance-his   NEG   nice

       'That one, his appearance is not nice.'   (Bergman, 2002: 59)

(278) ʔAbha Arabic

a. mā   tiʕrif   ḥatta   tuslug   bēḍah

    NEG   know.IMPF.3FSG   even   boil. IMPF.3FSG   egg

    'She does not even know how to boil an egg.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 123)

b. mā   l-ɣurfa-k   l-ik   l-ḥāl-ik

    NEG   DEF-room-you   for-you   DEF-alone-you

    'The room is not for you alone.'   (Al-Azraqi, 1998: 140)

In the table also, seven of the modern Arabic varieties are in stage II. That is, non-verbal negation in these varieties is rendered by adding the verbal negator to a personal pronoun that agrees with the subject of the non-verbal clause. Consider the following and note that the verbal negator that is attached to the personal pronoun in the first example is *mā* and in the second one is *mā……-š*:

(279) Urban Hijazi Arabic

    hada   al-bāb   ma-hu   χašab

    this   DEF-door   NEG-3MSG   wood

    'This door is not made from wood' (Lit. 'This door is not wood.')

                                                        (Sieny, 1978: 168)

(280) Taiz Arabic

    ma-na-š   rāyiḥ   al-yūm

    NEG-1SG-NEG   go.PTCP   DEF-today

    'I am not going today.'   (Ahmed, 2012: 61)

The table also shows that most of the varieties are in stage III; 24 of them are in this stage in which a newly coined morpheme (*mū~miš*) is generalized in non-verbal

negation. This number is based on the available data; however, as we explained in 4.4.1, even when there is no available data to show the use of a *mū~miš* morpheme in a variety, it can be expected this morpheme exists but might be rarely used in that variety. Thus, the number of the varieties in this stage (III) is probably more than 24. In any case, this morpheme is mostly, but not always, *mū* among the non-*š*-varieties and *miš* among the *š*-varieties. Both are exemplified below:

(281) Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

inta   mū   ʕirāqi

you.MSG   NEG   Iraqi

'You are not an Iraqi.'   (Al-Khalesi, 2006: 36)

(282) Aley Arabic

bayy-u   miš   ḥakīm

father-his   NEG   doctor

'His father is not a doctor.'   (Bishr,1956: 39)

In the table as well, 11 varieties are at stage IV in which the *mū~miš* negator can negate future and progressive aspect clauses, as in the following:[59]

(283) Damascus Arabic

mū   ʕam-yǝštɣǝl   halla?

NEG   PRG-work.IMPF.3MSG   now

'He is not working now.'   (Cowell, 2005: 387)

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[59] Note in some varieties such as Cairene Arabic, the *mū~miš* morpheme is the only possible negator with such clauses, whereas in others, such as Damascus, these clauses may optionally be negated by the verbal negator.

(284) Standard Maltese

mhux se jmur id-dar

NEG FUT go.IMPF.3MSG DEF-home

'He is not going to go home.' (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 88)

Only two varieties, according to the table, are in stage V (Cairene Arabic and Zinǧibār Arabic). This is because the *mū~miš* morpheme in both varieties can occur in standard negation (i.e., main declarative verbal clauses) with non-future as well as non-progressive clauses, for example:

(285) Cairene Arabic

miš biyḥibb il-ḥaflāt

NEG like.IMPF.3MSG DEF-party.PL

'He does not like parties.' (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

(286) Zinǧibār Arabic

miš idina-hum as-siyārah ḥaqqa-na

NEG give.PRF.1PL -them DEF-car POSS-our

'We did not give them our car.' (Ahmed, 2012: 34)

It should be pointed out here that in section 3.4.2.2 we claimed that the viewing of Jespersen's cycle as four rather than three stages would be problematic. That is, the four stages approach would entail considering the third stage as a stage that has been skipped in many Arabic varieties. The same skipping, however, can be found here. Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic are classified as stage IV in the Arabic negative cycle. This means the *mū~miš* morpheme is used to negate future clauses. However, in these two varieties, there is no available data that indicates the existence of

a *mū~miš* morpheme, and future clauses are negated here by the NEG+PRO construction, for instance:

(287)   Ḥassāniyya Arabic

    mā-ni   lāhi   nimši

    NEG-me   FUT   go.IMPF.1SG

    'I will not go.'   (Francis, 1979: 99)

This means that stage III in these varieties has been skipped where the *mū~miš* is coined and generalized in non-verbal negation. However, if we adopt the approach where Jespersen's cycle is considered to be four stages, we find that the third stage of Jespersen's cycle has been skipped in 6 out of the 10 considered varieties in Table 16. In contrast, if we adopt the Arabic negative cycle advocated here, the skipping of a stage is found in only two varieties out of 47, meaning this approach seems to capture this situation much more neatly. Another point that favours the adoption of the Arabic negative cycle rather than the four stages analysis of Jespersen's cycle is that the latter would only explain the use of the new coined morpheme (*miš* or *muš*) in the *š*-varieties but not the use of the similar morpheme (*mū* or *mūb*) in the non-*š*-varieties. The Arabic negative cycle approach, thus, applies to more data, and captures it more neatly, than the four-stage Jespersen's cycle approach.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed non-verbal negation. Under this theme, we defined non-verbal clauses and we explained how they are negated in Standard Arabic as well as in modern Arabic varieties.

Based on 48 modern Arabic varieties, a geographical categorization is adopted to demonstrate the variations among varieties of each region regarding non-verbal negation. The result shows that there is a common tendency to negate non-verbal clauses by the use of a NEG+PRO strategy, in which the verbal negator is attached to a personal pronoun, or by the use of a *mū~miš* morpheme.

In the Arabian Peninsula region only, a use of -*b* in non-verbal negation is attested. We argued that in Standard Arabic this morpheme is to emphasize the negated clause, but in the modern Arabic varieties (*b*-varieties) it is part of the non-verbal negator. This, in turn, can be interpreted as an instance of Jespersen's cycle in this region.

In this chapter also, we evoked the Arabic negative cycle introduced in the previous chapter. According to this cycle, verbal and non-verbal clauses start by being negated by the same morpheme and return to a similar stage after going through three other stages in which this morpheme is phonologically modified. The majority of the modern varieties, however, can be placed in stage III where a new morpheme is coined and generalized in non-verbal negation, and only two varieties seem to be reaching the final stage where this new morpheme is used in standard negation.

Finally, this chapter results in nine generalizations which are repeated below.

Generalization 13: The use of ʔin *in non-verbal negation is unattested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 14: The use of a reflex of laysa *and* ɣayr *in non-verbal negation is rarely attested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 15: In modern Arabic varieties, non-verbal negation is commonly expressed by either the use of the NEG+PRO construction or the mū~miš *morpheme.*

Generalization 16: In non-verbal negation, the NEG+PRO and the mū~miš *morpheme are always placed before the negated predicate.*

Generalization 17: b-*varieties seem to be found in the Arabian Peninsula region only.*

Generalization 18: In the š-varieties, …-š is mostly the final suffix when the NEG+PRO strategy is used.

Generalization 19: The use of the NEG+PRO construction for 1SG subject almost always means the dependent pronoun -nī is attached to the verbal negator.

Generalization 20: The use of the NEG+PRO construction for 1PL, 2MSG, 2FSG, 2MPL and 2FPL subjects mostly means the relevant dependent pronoun, not the independent one, is attached to the verbal negators in the Maghrebi and the Sudanic region and the relevant independent one is attached instead in the Levantine and the Arabian Peninsula region.

The next chapter is on negative imperatives. We explore how they are expressed cross-linguistically and then how they are rendered in the modern varieties of Arabic.

5. Negative imperatives

This chapter is on negative imperatives.[60] In this chapter, the four steps (or stages) in any typological study introduced in section 2.2 are performed as follows: I first define the term negative imperatives in 5.1, and I investigate how they are expressed cross-linguistically in 5.2 (step I). In 5.3 and in 5.4, I demonstrate how negative imperatives are expressed in Arabic and categorize modern Arabic varieties according to their similarities and differences (step II). In these same sections, step III and step IV are also conducted. That is, generalizations are proposed where appropriate and explained where possible.

5.1 What are negative imperatives?

Simply speaking, an imperative sentence is a sentence that is used to issue a command or a request such as (*go!*). In this sense, it is diffenrt from the declarative sentence (*he goes*). While (*go!*) implies a command or a request, (*he goes*) is a statement. Negative imperatives are also used to issue a command or a request but in a different way. That is, affirmative imperative clauses convey the meaning of doing something, but negative imperative clauses convey the meaning of not doing it. For this reason, they might be called prohibitive clauses. In chapter 3, we saw that standard negation refers to negation of declarative verbal main clauses only. Therefore, negation of imperatives is a type of non-standard negation since the negated clause here is not declarative.

5.2 Typology of negative imperatives

Relatively less attention in the literature has been given to the way negation is expressed in imperatives (Miestamo, 2007). Based on 495 languages, van der Auwera, Lejeune and

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[60] Of course, various other forms of non-standard negation would be interesting to investigate here, for example clausal complements of adversative predicates such as 'fear', 'doubt', etc., but detailed information on the negation of such clauses is rarely available in grammatical descriptions, so we leave such investigations for future work.

Goussev (2013) note four different ways to form negative imperatives meant to address a single addressee.[61] These ways are as follows:

I. Similar negative strategy to that used in standard negation and similar verbal construction found in affirmative imperatives – observed in 113 languages. English is an example of this type as in (288). In this example, one can see that the same strategy (*do + not*) is used in both standard negation and the negative imperative, and verbs in affirmative and negative imperatives are alike.

(288) English (Germanic, Indo-European)

   a. They do not come.

   b. Come.

   c. Do not come

II. Different negative strategy from that used in standard negation but similar verbal construction found in affirmative imperatives – observed in 182 languages. This is the case, for example, in Vietnamese (289). In this language, the verbal construction in the imperative clause (289)(a) is similar to the one found in the negative imperative clause (289)(b), but the negative marker used with imperatives is *cho*, which is different from the standard negation marker *khong* as in (289)(a).

(289) Vietnamese (Vietic, Austroasiatic)

   a. khong   uong   ruou

       NEG   drink alcoholic

      'I/you/he/etc are not drinking alcohol'

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[61] To my knowledge, this is the only major framework in the literature for negative imperatives.

b. uong   ruou

   drink   alcoholic

   'Drink alcohol!'

c. cho   uong ruou

   NEG   drink   alcoholic

   'Do not drink alcohol!'   (van der Auwera et al., 2013)

III.   Similar negative strategy to that used in standard negation but different verbal construction from affirmative imperatives – observed in 55 languages. Spanish is a language of this type, as the ways of forming standard negation and negative imperatives are identical, but verbal forms in affirmative and negative imperatives are different. In the Spanish example in (290), the negator *no* is used with standard negation and negative imperatives, but the verbal construction in the affirmative imperative (*canta* 'sing') is different from the verbal construction in the negative imperative (*cantes* 'sing').

(290)   Spanish (Italic, Indo-European)

a. pedro   no   canta

   Pedro   NEG   sing.IND.PRES.3SG

   'Pedro does not sing.'

b. canta

   Sing.IMP.2SG

   'Sing!'

c. no   cantes

   NEG   sing.SBJV.PRES.2SG

   'Do not sing!'   (van der Auwera et al., 2013)

IV. Different negative strategy from that used in standard negation and different verbal construction from affirmative imperatives – observed in 145 languages. This is the case in Zulu. As can be seen in (291)*,* the bipartite negative marker *a-……-i* is used with standard negation, whereas the negative auxiliary *mus* is used with negative imperatives. In addition, the verbal construction used in affirmative imperative is different from the one used in negative imperatives, as can be seen from comparing the clauses in (291)(b) and (291)(c).

(291) Zulu (Atlantic-Congo, Niger-Congo)

a. a-wu-shay-i   inja

NEG.IND.PRES-2SG-hit-NEG.IND.PRES   dog

'You do not hit the dog.'

b. shay-a   inja

hit-IMP.2SG   dog

'Hit the dog!'

c. mus-a   uku-shay-a   inja

NEG.IMP.AUX-2SG   INF-hit-INF   dog

'Do not hit the dog'   (van der Auwera et al., 2013)

In this study, negative imperatives in Arabic will be classified into different categories based on this typological framework. However, some modifications have been made here. While this framework is meant to classify negative imperatives where the addressee is a second singular person only, it is used here to classify negative imperatives whether the person of the addressee is a second singular or plural, masculine or feminine. That is, in Arabic, as we will see, the person and the number of the addressee seems to have no impact on the way negative imperatives are formed. In other words, the strategy

that negates imperatives in an Arabic variety is the same regardless of the gender and the number of the addressee, and if the verbal construction in affirmative imperatives is different with any addressee such as masculine singular, it will also be different with any other addressee.

5.3 Negative imperatives in Standard Arabic

In Standard Arabic, negative imperatives are expressed by placing the negator *lā* before a different form of the verb to the one used in affirmative imperatives, compare the following:

(292)   Standard Arabic

    a.   ʔiðhab

        go.IMP.2MSG

        'Go.MSG!'

    b.   lā   taðhab

        NEG   go.IMPF.JUSS.2MSG

        'Do not go!'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

The differences between the verbal construction in affirmative and negative imperatives can be observed by comparing the affirmative clause to its negative counterpart in (292) above; it is *ʔiðhab* (in the special imperative form of the verb, lacking a person prefix) in the affirmative and *taðhab* (the jussive form of the imperfect aspect) in the negative. In contrast, the negator *lā* is no different from the *lā* used in standard negation (cf. section 3.3), e.g.:

(293)   Standard Arabic

lā	yasʔal-u	ʔaḥmad-u	χālid-an
NEG	ask.IMPF.3MSG-IND	Ahmad-NOM	Khaled-ACC

'Ahmad does not ask Khaled'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

It should be noted, however, that as explained in section 3.3, *lā* is not the only negator used to express standard negation in Standard Arabic; it is a possible negator used beside others for the same purpose. This case is common, as we will see, in many modern Arabic varieties where more than one negative marker can render standard negation and some of these markers can negate imperatives as well. In such cases, the negative strategy in negative imperatives and in standard negation is considered to be similar, in which 'similar' does not mean identical but means possible use of a particular strategy in the two types of negation. Accordingly, negative imperatives in Standard Arabic are type III. That is, the verbal construction in affirmative imperatives is different from the ones in negative imperatives, but the strategy that negates imperatives is similar to one of the strategies used in standard negation.

5.4 Negative imperatives in modern Arabic varieties

In this section, step II, step III and step IV of the steps outlined by Song (2001) for typological studies are conducted. For step II, modern Arabic varieties are categorized based on their similarities and differences with respect to negative imperatives. For step III, generalizations are proposed based on such categorization, and for IV, the proposed generalizations are explained where possible. Two types of categorizations are proposed here: one according to the negative imperative types explained in 5.2 and one geographical. While the first one reveals the variations among modern Arabic varieties in general, the second one aims to reveal the same variations but among varieties of the

same region. Finally, this section is based on 39 out of the 54 Arabic varieties included in the study, since information on the rest is not available. The excluded 15 varieties are: Annaba Arabic, Dellys Arabic, Sfax Arabic, Eastern Libyan Arabic, Sahel/Tunis Arabic, Muzēnah and Banī Waṣil Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic, Northwestern Sinai Arabic, Biyyāḏī and Axrasī Arabic, Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic, Ṭuwara Arabic, Egyptian western desert Arabic, al-ʕArīš Arabic, Eastern Nigeria Arabic and Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic.

5.4.1   Categorization by types

The framework proposed by van der Auwera, Lejeune and Goussev (2013) reveals four types of negative imperatives (see section 5.2). These four types arose as a result of considering two factors: the verbal construction and the negator. In some languages, the verbal construction between affirmative and negative imperatives is found to be the same, in others found to be different. Similarly, in some languages, the negator used with negative imperatives is found to be similar to the one used in standard negation (negating verbal declarative main clauses), in others, found to be different. In type I and II, the verbal construction is always similar, but the case is not always the same with the negator. When the verbal construction is the same, the negator could be similar resulting in type I or could be different resulting in type II.

In types III and IV, on the other hand, the verbal construction is always different, and when the negator is similar, the type is III and when it is different, the type is IV. In modern Arabic varieties, type I and II are not observed at all. That is, the verbal construction in these varieties is always different. Similarly to standard Arabic, all varieties in the current sample use the special imperative form of the verb with a person prefix for affirmative imperatives, and the imperfect form of the verb (without any aspectual or mood prefixes such as *b-*) for negative imperatives. This means negative imperatives in modern Arabic varieties have to be either type III or type IV depending on

whether the negator is similar to the standard negation marker or different. If the negator used with imperatives is similar to the one used in standard negation, the type is III. If the negator used with imperatives is different from the one used in standard negation, the type is IV. In some varieties, however, there is a mix such that there is more than one possible negator with imperatives, and some of these negators are similar to the markers found used in standard negation and some are different. As we will see, in such cases, the type assigned is III~IV.

5.4.1.1 Type III

In this type (III), negative imperatives are expressed by the use of the same negator used in standard negation, but the verbal construction in negative imperatives is found to be different from the one observed in affirmative imperatives. Consider (294) and note that the first clause is an example of standard negation to illustrate the use of the negator *mā*, the second clause is an affirmative imperative clause to show the verbal construction in such clauses, and the last clause is the negative counterpart of the previous affirmative imperative to illustrate the use of *mā* (the standard negation marker) with negative imperatives and the different verbal construction between affirmative imperatives and their corresponding negatives:

(294)   Sudanese Arabic

   a. mā   ǧō

       NEG   come.PRF.3PL

       'They did not come.'   (Bergman, 2002: 194)

   b. itkallam

       speak.IMP.2MSG

       'Speak!'   (Bergman, 2002: 194)

c. mā   titkallam

NEG   speak.IMPF.2MSG

'Do not speak!'   (Bergman, 2002: 194)

The type III is found in 8 varieties out of 39 varieties considered in this section. All of them are listed in Table 37 below. In this table, the region, the verbal negator (standard negation marker) and the negator used with imperatives are given for each variety.

Table 37: Modern Arabic varieties of type III

Region	No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator
Maghrebi	1.	Sousse Arabic	*mɛ……-š*	*mɛ……-š*
	2.	Western Libyan Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*ma…….-š*
Egyptian	3.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	*ma…… šey* and *…-šey*	*ma……-šey* and *…- šey*
	4.	Cairene Arabic	*ma……š* and *miš*	*ma……-š*
Sudanic	5.	Sudanese Arabic	*mā*	*mā*
	6.	Largeau Arabic	*mā*	*mā*
	7.	Abeche Arabic	Unknown	*mā*
Levantine	8.	Aley Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š, miš* and *ma*	*ma……-š* and *…-š*

It should be noted that the classification of Abeche Arabic with this group is based on the assumption we made in 4.3.1.3, which is, in accordance with other Sudanic varieties, *mā* is expected to be the verbal negator in this variety. If this expectation is correct, then the verbal and the imperative negator in Abeche Arabic are alike, and since

the verbal constructions in affirmative and negative imperatives are different as in (295) below; this variety is categorized as type III.

(295)   Abeche Arabic

  a.   ʔaktib

     write.IMP.2MSG

     'Write!'

  b.   mā   taktib

     NEG   write.IMPF.2MSG

     'Do not write!'   (Kaye, 1976: 101)

Another point shown in the table is that the differences in the imperative negators between these varieties are relatively similar to the differences between them in the verbal negators. That is to say, when the verbal negator in a variety is *mā*, the imperative negator will be *mā* as well. And when there is more than one verbal negator, the imperative negator must be one of them. This is, in fact, the reason behind identifying these varieties as type III because this type entails a similarity between the way negation is expressed in standard negation and in negative imperatives.   We have seen examples of the use of *mā* above, and below are examples of the use of *ma……-š.*

(296)   Cairene Arabic

     ma-truḥ-ši   ʔinnaharda

     NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG   today

     'Do not go today!'   (Gary & Gamal-Eldin, 1982: 39)

(297) Sousse Arabic

mɛ   tɛdfaʕə-š

NEG   pay.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not pay!'   (Talmoudi, 1980: 166)

In two varieties only (Ṣaʕīdī Arabic and Aley Arabic), beside *ma……-š*, the post-verbal negator *...-š* (or *…-šey* in some varieties) is used in negative imperatives. Note that this post-verbal *...-š* is one of the possible strategies in Ṣaʕīdī Arabic and Aley Arabic to form standard negation; otherwise, they would be classified in a different category where declarative verbal main clauses and imperatives are not negated in the same fashion. The following are representative examples for the use of *...-š*:

(298) Aley Arabic

triḥ-š   maʕ-un   bukra

go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG   with-them   tomorrow

'Do not go with them tomorrow!'   (Bishr,1956: 47)

(299) Ṣaʕīdī Arabic

takil-ši   dhān

eat.IMPF.2MSG-NEG   fat

'Do not eat fat!'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 102)

The geographical disruption of the different imperative negators is discussed in 5.4.4 after exploring all of the possible negators used for this purpose. In this vein, a different type from III of forming negative imperatives is demonstrated next.

5.4.1.2 Type IV

In this type (IV), negative imperatives are expressed by the use of a different negator from the one employed in standard negation. Also, similarly to the case in type III, the verbal constructions in affirmative and negative imperatives are different from each other. The following exemplify this type, note that the imperative negator in the exemplified varieties is *lā*, which is not possible in standard negation, note also the different verbal construction between affirmative imperatives and their negative counterparts:

(300)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

  a. rūḥ

    go.IMP.2MSG

    'Go!'

  b. la-trūḥ

    NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG

    'Do not go!'   (Erwin, 2004: 141)

(301)   al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

  a. rəḥ

    go.IMP.2MSG

    'Go!'

  b. lā   trūḥ

    NEG   go.IMPF..2MSG

    'Do not go!'   *(Fieldwork data)*

This type of negative imperative is the most common type in modern Arabic varieties, found in 20 out of the 39 varieties considered in this section as in Table 38.

Table 38: Modern Arabic varieties of type IV

Region	No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator
Maghrebi	1.	Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*ma* and *ma*+PRO	*la*
	2.	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*mā* and *ma*+PRO	*lā*
	3.	Standard Maltese	*ma……-x* and *mhux*	*la..... x* and *….x*
Sudanic	4.	Western Nigeria Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*yā*
Levantine	5.	al-Karak Arabic	*ma*	*lā*
Mesopotamian	6.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*
Arabian Peninsula	7.	Kuwaiti Arabic	*mā*	*lā*
	8.	al-Bāḥa Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*
	9.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*
	10.	Ḥagil Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*
	11.	Madinah Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*
	12.	Urban Hijazi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā*
	13.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*
	14.	ʔAbha Arabic	*mā, lis* and *lim*	*lā*
	15.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	*ma*	*lā* or *la*
	16.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	*mā*	*la*
	17.	Dubai Arabic	*mā*	*lā*
Yemeni	18.	Hadhrami Arabic	*ma*	*la*
	19.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*miš* (or *miši* and *māši*)	*la*
	20.	Adeni Arabic	*ma……-š*	*la……-š*

As in the table, the imperative negator among the IV varieties is mostly *lā,* found in 17 of them. In two varieties only (Standard Maltese and Adeni Arabic), *lā* co-occurs with the post-verbal *...-š*, for instance:

(302)   Adeni Arabic

la-tisharū-š   al-līlah

NEG-stay.up.IMPF.2MPL-NEG   DEF-tonight

'Do not stay up late tonight!'   (Ahmed, 2012: 67)

In Standard Maltese, however, beside *lā......-š*, the post-verbal *...-š* alone is capable of expressing negative imperative, for example:[62]

(303)   Standard Maltese

tirkib-x

ride.IMPF..2PL-NEG

'Do not ride!'   (Mifsud, 2011)

Finally, unlike any other Arabic variety, negative imperatives in Western Nigeria Arabic are done by *yā* (304). The reason for this unique use of *yā* is not clear so far. An investigation was made to check how negation/negative imperatives are expressed in the major contact languages for Nigerian Arabic (Kanuri, Fulfulde, Kotoko and Bagirmi) and *yā* was not used, meaning that a contact-based explanation does not seem correct.

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[62] According to Mifsud (2011), *lā......-x* in Standard Maltese is used to signal extra emphasis on the command, for example:

la   tirkib-x
NEG   ride.IMPF.2SG-NEG
'Do not ride!'   (Mifsud, 2011)

(304)   Western Nigeria Arabic

gada   yā   taǧ   le   bakā-ni

again   NEG   come.IMPF.2MSG   to   place-my

'Do not come again to my place!'   (Owens, 1993: 226)

5.4.1.3 Type III~IV

Negative imperatives in 11 modern Arabic varieties (Table 39) are classified as type
III~IV. That is, the verbal constructions between affirmative and negative imperatives in
these varieties are always different just like any other Arabic variety, but the imperative
negator can be either similar or different to the verbal one. For example, in Moroccan
Arabic, *ma……-š* is used in standard negation, which can also be used, beside *la……š* in
negative imperatives. Example (305) demonstrates the use of *ma……-š* in standard
negation as well as negative imperative and the use of *la……-š* in negative imperatives
only.

(305)   Moroccan Arabic[63]

a. ma-nemšiw-š

    NEG-come.IMPF.1PL-NEG

    'We will not go.'   (Harrell, 2004: 152)

b. ma-təmši-š

    NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

    'Do not go!'   (Harrell, 2004: 153)

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[63] According to Harrell, in Moroccan Arabic, the use of *la……-š* instead of *ma……-š* may deliver
a sense of advice rather than a command (Harrell, 2004: 153). In this regard, for example, the
English translation of negative imperative *la-təmši-š* in (305) might be 'You should not go or I
advise you not to go.'

c. la-təmši-š

NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not go!.'   (Harrell, 2004: 153)

Table 39: Modern Arabic varieties of type III~IV

Region	No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator
Maghrebi	1.	Moroccan Arabic	*ma……-š(i)*	*ma……-š* and *la……-š*
Levantine	2.	ʕAtīž Arabic	*mā*	*mā* and *lā*
	3.	Damascus Arabic	*mā* and *mū*	*mā* and *lā*
	4.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*ma……-š* and *la……-š*
	5.	as-Salṭ Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š* and *mā*	*lā, la……-š, ʔa……-š* and *…-š*
	6.	Baskinta Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š* and *miš*	*ma……-š* and *la……-š*
	7.	Palestinian Arabic	*mā……-š, …-š, mā* and *muš*	*mā……-š, …-š* and *la……-š*
Mesopotamian	8.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*ma* and *la*
Arabian Peninsula	9.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā* or *lā*
Yemeni	10.	Taiz Arabic	*ma……-š*	*ma……-š* and *la……-š*
	11.	Sana'a Arabic	*mā……-š* and *mā*	*mā, mā……-š* and *lā*

In five varieties of this type (ʕAtīž Arabic, Damascus Arabic, Christian Baghdadi Arabic, Coastal Dhofārī Arabic and Sana'a Arabic), the imperative negators can be either *mā* or *lā*, for instance:

(306)   Damascus Arabic

   a.   mā   trūḥu

       NEG   go.IMPF.2PL

       'Do not go!   (Cowell, 2005: 359)

   b.   lā   tətʔaχχar

       NEG   be.late.IMPF.2MSG

       'Do not be late!'   (Cowell, 2005: 389)

In addition to this alternation between *mā* and *lā, mā……-š* is possible in Sana'a Arabic, e.g.:

(307)   Sana'a Arabic

     mā   tistahī-š

     NEG   be.shy.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

     'Do not be shy!'   (Watson, 1993: 262)

In Moroccan Arabic, Northern Jordanian Arabic, Baskinta Arabic, Palestinian Arabic and Taiz Arabic, the negators *mā……-š* and *lā……-š* can alternate as in:

(308)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

  a. ma   tsarriχ-iš

      NEG   shout.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

      'Do not cry (shout)!'   (Haija, 1985: 13)

  b. la-truḥ-iš

      NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

      'Do not go!'   (Alqassas, 2012: 16)

In addition to this alternation between *mā……-š* and *lā……-š, …-š* alone can negate imperatives in Palestinian Arabic, for instance:

(309)   Palestinian Arabic

      tχaf-iš

      fear.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

      'Do not be afraid!'   (Lucas, 2010: 175)

Finally, four imperative negators are observed in as-Salṭ Arabic. These are *lā, la……-š, …-š* and *ʔa……-š*. All of these negators are found in other varieties as well, except *ʔa……-š*, which seems to occur as an imperative negator in this variety only, for example:[64]

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[64] This *ʔa……-š* form is also found in some other Levantine varieties for standard negation, e.g. Baskinta Arabic.

(310)   as-Salṭ Arabic

      ʔa   tgūli-š

      NEG   say.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

      'Do not say!'   (Palva, 2004: 227)

In the following section, overall remarks based on the previous categorization of negative imperatives are outlined and discussed.

5.4.2   General remarks on the categorizations by types

In 5.3, we have seen that the type of negative imperatives in Standard Arabic is III. We have also seen that in modern Arabic varieties (section 5.4) the type is III, IV or III~IV. Thus, neither the type I nor II occurs in Arabic because in these two types the verbal construction in affirmative and negative imperatives is the same, a case not observed among the modern Arabic varieties. Thus:

Generalization 21: In modern Arabic varieties, the verbal construction in affirmative imperatives is always different from the one used in negative imperatives.

The imperative negator in Standard Arabic is *lā,* which is one of the possible morphemes to negate declarative verbal main clauses (standard negation); thus, Standard Arabic is type III. In modern Arabic varieties, the use of this *lā* is very common. In fact, it is found in 30 out of the 39 varieties considered in this section (see section 5.4.4 for the geographical distribution of this and other imperative negators). In *š*-varieties only, the morpheme …-*š* mostly co-occurs with *lā* in negative imperatives. The following demonstrate the use of *lā* and *lā…..-š,* respectively:

(311) Yanbuʕ Arabic

   a. lā   trūḥ

      NEG   go.IMPF.2MSG

      'Do not go!   *(Fieldwork data)*

(312) Adeni Arabic

      la-tisharū-š   al-līlah

      NEG-stay.up.IMPF.2MPL-NEG   DEF-tonight

      'Do not stay up late tonight!'   (Ahmed, 2012: 67)

The fact that …-š in negative imperatives may occur in š-varieties only means that unlike the case in non-verbal negation (cf. section 4.4), …-š is not borrowed in negative imperatives. In other words, the use of …-š in negative imperatives implies this variety is a š-variety in the first place, meaning this …-š is already used in standard negation. This imposes:

Generalization 22: Unlike the case with non-verbal negation, if the negative …-š occurs in negative imperatives in a variety, it always means this variety is a š-variety in the first place.

There is no š-variety where …-š is possible in negative imperatives but not possible in standard negation. This is, however, not to be confused with the optional use of this …-š in negative imperatives. In other words, in many of the š-varieties, there is more than one strategy to render negative imperatives; some of which involve the use of …-š and some do not. For example, Sana'a Arabic is š-variety; thus, …-š can be used in negative imperatives, for instance:

(313) Sana'a Arabic

mā   tistahī-š

NEG   be.shy.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not be shy!'   (Watson, 1993: 262)

These are also, however, other ways in Sana'a Arabic to negate imperatives where …-*š*
is not used, for example:

(314) Sana'a Arabic

mā   tilʕab   al-kurā   hānā

NEG   play.IMPF.2MSG   DEF-ball   here

'Do not play ball here!'   (Watson, 1993: 262)

Note also that Generalization 22 is unidirectional, not bidirectional (see
section 2.3 for the different types of generalizations). That is, the opposite is not
necessarily true. In other words, the absence of …-*š* in negative imperatives does not
mean the variety is a non-*š*-variety. Zinǧibār Arabic, for example, is a *š*-variety; yet, the
use of this …-*š* with negative imperatives is not found so far in the available data.
Imperatives here seem to be negated by *lā* only here, e.g.:

(315) Zinǧibār Arabic

la   tasharu   al-līlah

NEG   stay.up.IMPF.2MPL   DEF-tonight

'Do not stay up tonight!'   (Ahmed, 2012: 46)

The previous observation may indicate that between standard negation, non-verbal negation and negative imperatives, the latter seems to be the most conservative negative structure. It seems to be the last structure among them to be affected by any new strategy used in negation. This can be seen from three points of view. First, in many modern Arabic varieties the use of *lā* as in Standard Arabic has been maintained with negative imperatives. Second, in many modern Arabic varieties where …-*š* is used negatively, this use is common in standard negation as well as in non-verbal negation, but not necessarily in negative imperatives as in the case of Zinǧibār Arabic (315). This could mean that the spread of …-*š* into negation may start with standard negation and non-verbal negation but not with negative imperatives; imperatives are a late stage in this spread. Finally, …-*š* is borrowed and used in some non-*š*-varieties with non-verbal negation, not to mention the fact that in many *š*-varieties it has been probably borrowed and used with standard negation, but no such a borrowing is found with negative imperatives. That is, before …-*š* is used with negative imperatives, it has to be adopted first with other types of negation. However, this conservative status of negative imperatives may be expected. That is, under normal circumstances, standard negation and non-verbal negation might be more frequent than negative imperatives in natural speech. If this correct, then negative imperatives would be less exposed to any new negative strategy.

Another general point on negative imperatives in modern Arabic varieties can be made on type IV (the most common one). We have already established the fact that in both Standard Arabic and modern Arabic varieties, the verbal construction in imperatives changes when they are negated. And we have already explained that this is a characteristic of type III and IV only. Therefore, the classification of a variety as type III or as type IV depends on the type of the imperative negator. In Standard Arabic, the type is III because imperatives are negated by *lā,* which can be used with declarative verbal main clauses as

well. On the other hand, in modern Arabic varieties, the use of this *lā,* whether with or without ...-*š*, is always the reason for classifying a modern Arabic variety as type IV. That is, unlike Standard Arabic, *lā* is not attested in standard negation in any modern Arabic variety. In other words, the use of *lā* in any modern variety means the negative strategy in standard negation and negative imperatives are not the same. It could be however, partially the same when this *lā* is used beside other negators observed in standard negation such as *mā* which would make the type III~IV. Therefore,

Generalization 23: In modern Arabic varieties, the use of the negator lā *always entails classifying negative imperatives as type IV, either totally or partially.*[65]

In one variety only (Western Nigeria Arabic), however, the classification of IV is a result of using *yā* with negative imperatives as in the following example:

(316)   Western Nigeria Arabic

gada	yā	tağ		le	bakā-ni
again	NEG	come.IMPF.2MSG		to	place-my

'Do not come again to my place!'   (Owens, 1993: 226)

Note that this use of *yā* is a peculiarity of Western Nigeria Arabic. It is not observed in any other Arabic variety considered in this study, neither with negative imperatives nor with any other type of negation. Note also that this uniqueness is different from the unique use of *lis* in ʔAbha Arabic (cf. section 3.4.1.1.1). In the case of the latter, we have a reflex of a form that is used in Standard Arabic and it survives in this variety, but the Western

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[65] Totally when the type is IV only, and partially when the type is III~IV.

Nigeria Arabic *yā* is not found in Standard Arabic. As noted above, the origin of this element is unclear: it does not seem to be borrowed from a contact language

The last general point here is that if the use of *lā* with negative imperatives is the reason for classifying Standard Arabic as type III, and the use of the same negator is the reason for classifying some of the modern varieties as type IV, what are the reasons, then, for classifying some of the modern varieties as type III? This takes us to the types of other imperative negators. In some varieties, the verbal negator *mā,* which may co-occur with or without ...-*š* depending on whether the variety is a *š*-variety or not, can be the only imperative negator (cf. 5.4.1.1) or a possible negator beside others (cf. 5.4.1.3). This use of *mā* in negative imperatives is as common as the use of *lā* (the geographical distribution of these negators is discussed in section 5.4.4 below). The following are representative examples for the use of *mā* with and without ...-*š*:

(317)   Christian Baghdadi Arabic

ma-tɣōḫēn   wəyyā-nu

NEG-go.IMPF.2FSG   with-him

'Do not go with him!'   (Abu-Haidar, 1991: 129)

(318)   Western Libyan Arabic

ma-talʕab-š   l-bara

NEG-play.IMPF.2MSG-NEG   DEF-outside

'Do not play outside!'   (Krer, 2013: 105)

In a few varieties, other imperative negators than *mā* and *lā* might be used. In Ṣaʕīdī Arabic, Aley Arabic, Standard Maltese, as-Salṭ Arabic and Palestinian Arabic, the post-verbal ...-*š* can be used alone in negative imperatives, for example:

(319) Palestinian Arabic

txaf-iš

fear.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not be afraid!'   (Lucas, 2010: 175)

Another imperative negator is *ʔa……-š* which is observed in as-Salṭ Arabic only,

for example:

(320) as-Salṭ Arabic

ʔa   tgūli-š

NEG   say.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not say!'   (Palva, 2004: 227)

In the following section, the variations regarding negative imperatives are

explored on a region-by-region basis, followed by a general remarks section to explain

the geographical distribution of the imperative negators.

5.4.3   Geographical categorization

5.4.3.1 Maghrebi

Negative imperatives in modern Arabic varieties can be III, IV or III~IV. All of these

three types are found in this region as in table Table 40.

Table 40: Negative imperatives in the Maghrebi varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*ma* and *ma +* PRO	*la*	IV
2.	Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*mā* and *ma +* PRO	*lā*	IV
3.	Moroccan Arabic	*ma……-š(i)*	*ma……-š* and *la……-š*	III~IV
4.	Sousse Arabic	*ma……-š*	*mɛ……- š*	III
5.	Standard Maltese	*ma……-x* and *mhux*	*la……- x* and *…-x*	IV
6.	Western Libyan Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*ma.......-š*	III

In the non-*š*-varieties (Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic), the imperative negator is *lā,* e.g.:

(321)   Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic

lā   təmši

NEG   go.IMPF.2SG

'Do not go!'   (Heath, 2003: 112)

In two *š*-varieties (Moroccan Arabic and Standard Maltese), the imperative negator *lā* co-occurs with the post-verbal *…-š* as in the example below:

(322)   Standard Maltese

la   tirkib-x

NEG   ride.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not ride!'   (Mifsud, 2011)

However, in both varieties, *lā……-š* is used beside another negator; *ma……-š* in Moroccan Arabic and *…-x* in Standard Maltese. Both are exemplified respectively below:

(323)   Moroccan Arabic

ma-təmši-š

NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not go!'   (Harrell, 2004: 153)

(324)   Standard Maltese

tirkib-x

ride.IMPF.2SG-NEG

'Do not ride!'   (Mifsud, 2011)

Finally, in Sousse Arabic and Western Libyan Arabic, only *ma……-š* seems to be the common negator with imperatives as in (325)

(325)   Sousse Arabic

mɛ   tɛdfaʕə-š

NEG   pay.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not pay!'   (Talmoudi, 1980: 166)

5.4.3.2 Egyptian

Only two Egyptian varieties are considered in this section. This makes it difficult to draw any solid conclusion regarding negative imperatives in this region. The two varieties are Ṣaʕīdī Arabic and Cairene Arabic, and in both, the type of the negative imperative is III (see Table 41).

Table 41: Negative imperatives in the Egyptian varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	Ṣaʕīdī Arabic	*ma……-šey* and …*-šey*	*ma……-šey* and ...*-šey*	III
2.	Cairene Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*ma……-š*	III

In the two varieties, *ma……-š* is the imperative negator (326), and in addition to this, the post-verbal ...*-š* seems possible in Ṣaʕīdī Arabic only (327).

(326)   Cairene Arabic

ma-tinzil-š

NEG-go.down.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not go down!'   (Woidich, 2011)

(327)   Ṣaʕīdī Arabic

takil-ši   dhān

eat.IMPF.2MSG-NEG   fat

'Do not eat fat!'   (Khalafallah, 1969: 102)

5.4.3.3 Sudanic

The Sudanic varieties seems to behave in a similar way. The type of negative imperatives here is always III, except in Western Nigeria Arabic.[66] Consider the following table:

Table 42: Negative imperatives in the Sudanic varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	Western Nigeria Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*yā*	IV
2.	Sudanese Arabic	*mā*	*mā*	III
3.	Largeau Arabic	*mā*	*mā*	III
4.	Abeche Arabic	Unknown	*mā*	III

With the exception of Western Nigeria Arabic, the imperative negator in the Sudanic varieties seems to be always *mā,* for example:

(328)   Largeau Arabic

mā   tašarbi   gahwa

NEG   drink.IMPF.2FSG   coffee

'Do not drink coffee!'   (Abu Absi, 1995: 33)

In Western Nigeria Arabic only, the type is IV. This is due to the use of *yā* as an imperative negator, which is not used in standard negation, for instance:

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[66] Note that the negator used in standard negation (declarative verbal main clauses) is unknown in Abeche. It is, however, assumed to be *mā* (cf. section 4.3.1.3).

(329)   Western Nigeria Arabic

gada   yā   taǧ   le   bakā-ni

again   NEG   come.IMPF.2MSG   to   place-my

'Do not come again to my place!'   (Owens, 1993: 226)

5.4.3.4 Levantine

Similarly to the Maghrebi region, all of the three types of negative imperatives found in the modern varieties can be observed in this region. However, unlike the Maghrebi varieties where the type III~IV is attested in one variety only (Moroccan Arabic), this type seems to be the most common one in this region, found in 6 out of 8 varieties (see Table 43).

Table 43: Negative imperatives in the Levantine varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	al-Karak Arabic	*ma*	*lā*	IV
2.	ʕAtīž Arabic	*mā*	*mā* and *lā*	III~IV
3.	Damascus Arabic	*mā* and *mū*	*mā* and *lā*	III~IV
4.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*ma……-š* and *miš*	*ma……-š* and *la……-š*	III~IV
5.	as-Salṭ Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š* and *mā*	*lā, la……-š, ʔa……-š* and *…….-š*	III~IV
6.	Aley Arabic	*ma…….-š, …-š, miš* and *ma*	*ma……-š* or by *…-š*	III
7.	Baskinta Arabic	*ma……-š, …-š* and *miš*	*ma……-š, la……-š*	III~IV
8.	Palestinian Arabic	*mā…….-š, …-š, mā* and *muš*	*mā……-š* or by *…-š* and *lā……-š*	III~IV

Varieties in the table are identified as type III~IV because, in addition to *lā,* whether accompanied by *...-š* or not, imperatives can potentially be negated by some of the standard negation markers. For instance, in Palestinian Arabic, *mā……-š* and *...-š* are used, among others, in standard negation., and they can also be used in negative imperatives. In contrast, *lā……-š,* in Palestinian Arabic, can only be used with negative imperatives as in (330) below.

(330)   Palestinian Arabic

lā   tuktob-š

NEG   write.IMPF.2MSG-NEG

'Do not write!'   (Rosenhouse, 2011)

The previous optionality is not attested in Aley Arabic; no example demonstrating the use of *lā* in this variety is found, and the available data shows negative imperatives here are either negated by *ma……-š* or *...-š*. Both are already used to express standard negation in Aley Arabic. This similar use of negators in both types of negation (standard negation and negative imperatives) makes negative imperatives type III in this variety. The following is an example of the use of *ma……-š* in standard negation and negative imperatives in this variety:

(331)   Aley Arabic

a.   ma   ʔaχad-ā-š   maʕ-u

     NEG   take.PRF.3MSG-her-NEG   with-him

     'He did not take her with him.'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

b. ma   triḥ-š   maʕ-un   bukra

    NEG   go.IMPF.2MSG-NEG   with-them   tomorrow

    'Do not go with them tomorrow!'   (Bishr,1956: 47)

In al-Karak Arabic, the case is the opposite; there is no similarity between negators of standard negation and negators of negative imperatives. In this variety, *ma* is used with standard negation and *lā* with negative imperatives (332). Thus, the type here is IV.

(332) al-Karak Arabic

    lā   təbki

    NEG   cry.IMPF.2FSG

    'Do not cry!'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 66)

5.4.3.5 Mesopotamian

Similarly to the Egyptian region, information on negative imperatives is found in only two varieties in this region (Table 44). Therefore, it is difficult to draw a coherent conclusion here.

Table 44: Negative imperatives in the Mesopotamian varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	Christian Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*ma* and *la*	III~IV
2.	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*	IV

As in the previous table, the optional use of *ma* and *la* with negative imperatives makes Christian Baghdadi Arabic type III~IV (333), whereas the exclusive use of *lā* with such constructions makes Muslim Baghdadi Arabic type IV (334).

(333)   Christian Baghdadi Arabic

   a. ma-tɣōḥēn   wəyyā-nu

        NEG-go.IMPF.2FSG   with-him

        'Do not go with him!'

   b. la-tχalli   aḥad   yəḍḥak   ʕalē-k

        NEG-let.IMPF.3FSG   anyone   laugh.IMPF.3MSG   on-you

        'Do not let anyone laugh at you!'   (Abu-Haidar, 1991: 129)

(334)   Muslim Baghdadi Arabic

    la-trūḥ

    NEG-go.IMPF.2MSG

    'Do not go!'   (Erwin, 2004: 141)

5.4.3.6 Arabian Peninsula

Among the Arabian Peninsula varieties, negative imperatives are almost always type IV in which the morpheme *lā* negates imperatives but not declarative verbal clauses (standard negation). As in Table 45 below, only Coastal Dhofārī Arabic is categorized as type III~IV because, beside *lā*, the standard negation marker *mā* can also negates imperatives.

Table 45: Negative imperatives in the Arabian Peninsula varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	Kuwaiti Arabic	*mā*	*lā*	IV
2.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*mā* or *lā*	III~IV
3.	al-Bāḥa Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*	IV
4.	al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*	IV
5.	Ḥagil Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*	IV
6.	Madinah Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*	IV
7.	Urban Hijazi Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā*	IV
8.	Yanbuʕ Arabic	*mā* (or *ma*)	*lā* or *la*	IV
9.	ʔAbha Arabic	*mā, lis* and *lim*	*lā*	IV
10.	ʕUnayzah Arabic	*ma*	*lā* or *la*	IV
11.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	*mā*	*la*	IV
12.	Dubai Arabic	*mā*	*lā*	IV

In the following, the use of *lā* in Urban Hijazi Arabic is shown as a representative example of how it is used in this region.

(335) Urban Hijazi Arabic

lā   tāχud   al-ǧarīdah

NEG   take.IMPF.2MSG   DEF-newspaper

'Do not take the newspaper!'   (Sieny, 1978: 168)

On the other hand, the following example shows the optional use of *mā* and *lā* in Coastal Dhofārī Arabic.

(336)   Coastal Dhofārī Arabic

a.   yā   uχt-ī   lā   tiχāfī

     VOC   sister-my   NEG   scare.IMPF.2FSG

     'My sister, do not be scared!'   (Davey, 2013: 206)

b.   mā   tigūl   šē   ʕan   aṣḥāb-ak

     NEG   say.IMPF.2MSG thing   about friend-your

     'Do not say anything about your friend!'   (Davey, 2013: 207)

5.4.3.7 Yemeni

The Yemeni varieties are either type IV or III~IV. Like other modern Arabic varieties, when *lā,* whether co-occurring with *...-š* or not, is used, the variety is classified as type IV, and when it is used beside *mā,* also whether accompanied by *...-š* or not, the type is III~IV. See the table below for the list of the Yemeni varieties and their negative imperative types.

Table 46: Negative imperatives in the Yemeni varieties

No.	Arabic variety	Verbal negator	Imperative negator	Type
1.	Hadhrami Arabic	*ma*	*la*	IV
2.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*miš* (or *miši* and *māši*)	*la*	IV
3.	Adeni Arabic	*ma*......*-š*	*la*......*-š*	IV
4.	Taiz Arabic	*ma*......*-š*	*ma*......*š* and *la*......*-š*	III~IV
5.	Sana'a Arabic	*mā*......*-š* and *mā*	*mā, mā*......*-š* and *lā*......*-š*	III~IV

The sole use of *lā* seems to be the case in Hadhrami Arabic and Zinǧibār Arabic, e.g.:

(337) Zinǧibār Arabic

la   tasharu   al-līlah

NEG   stay.up.IMPF.2MPL   DEF-tonight

'Do not stay up tonight!'   (Ahmed, 2012: 46)

The same case applies to Adeni Arabic but here *lā* co-occurs with …-*š*, e.g.:

(338) Adeni Arabic

la-tisharū-š   al-līlah

NEG-stay.up.IMPF.2MPL-NEG   DEF-tonight

'Do not stay up late tonight!'   (Ahmed, 2012: 67)

In contrast, *mā……-š* beside *lā……-š* can be used in Taiz Arabic and Sana'a Arabic. In addition, *mā* can also be used for the same purpose in Sana'a Arabic only. The following are examples of *mā……-š* and *mā,* respectively:

(339) Taiz Arabic

la-tismarun-š   al-līlah

NEG-stay.up.IMPF.2MPL-NEG   DEF-tonight

'Do not stay up late tonight!'   (Ahmed, 2012: 67)

(340)   Sana'a Arabic

    mā   tilʕab   al-kurā   hānā

    NEG   play.IMPF.2MSG   DEF-ball   here

    'Do not play ball here!'   (Watson, 1993: 262)

5.4.4   General remarks on the geographical categorization

In the previous sub-sections, we have seen the variations in negative imperatives among varieties of each region. In this sub-section, however, we explore the same variations but among regions. In terms of the type of negative imperatives, we find that all of the observed three types of negative imperatives can be found in the Maghrebi, Levantine and Mesopotamian regions. That is to say, in these regions, there is, at least, one modern Arabic variety where the type of negative imperatives is III, at least one where the type is IV, and at least, one where the type is III~IV. In the Arabian Peninsula and Yemeni regions, varieties are either type III or type III~IV. In the Sudanic region, varieties are either type III or type IV. And finally, in the Egyptian region, only type III is observed.[67]

In terms of the type of the negator used with imperatives, we find more interesting variations. Although we can find that in modern Arabic varieties, imperatives can be negated by many negators (*mā, lā, mā......-š, lā......-š, ʔa……-š, ...-š* and *yā*), the variations can be explained based on two negators only (*mā* and *lā*). That is to say, for the negator *...-š,* it seems sufficient to say that it occurs in as-Salṭ Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, Aley Arabic (Levantine varieties), Ṣaʕīdī Arabic (an Egyptian variety) and Standard Maltese (a Maghrebi variety). For *ʔa……-š,* it is sufficient to say that it is found in as-Salṭ Arabic only (Levantine variety). And for *yā,* it seems also sufficient to say that it is used in Western Nigeria Arabic only (a Sudanic variety). This leave us with *mā, lā,*

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[67] Bearing in mind, in the Mesopotamian and the Egyptian regions, this conclusion is based on data found from two varieties only in each region.

mā......-š and *lā......-š*. However, the presence or the absence of *...-š,* with *mā* or *lā,* seems to depend only on whether the variety is a *š*-variety or not. In other words, in a *š*-variety where *mā* or *lā* is used, *...-š* may co-occur with the used negator and the result would be *mā......-š* or *lā......-š*. Therefore, including *mā......-š* and *lā......-š* in our discussion here will only tell us which varieties are *š*-varieties and which are not, a fact already established in section 3.4.1.2.[68]

With this in mind, we now turn to the geographical distribution of *mā* and *lā*. In Table 47 below, the seven Arabic regions in this study are listed. The symbols (+) and (−) are used to indicate the use of *mā* and *lā*, in which (+) means the negator is attested in the region, at least in one variety, and (−) means it is not attested.

Table 47: Negative imperatives in the seven regions

No.	The name of the region	*mā*	*lā*
1.	Maghrebi	+	+
2.	Egyptian	+	−
3.	Sudanic	+	−
4.	Levantine	+	+
5.	Mesopotamian	+	+
6.	Arabian Peninsula	+	+
7.	Yemeni	+	+

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[68] Nevertheless, it seems worth noting here that the *š*-varieties included in this section (negative imperatives) are Moroccan Arabic, Sousse Arabic, Standard Maltese, Western Libyan Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Ṣaʕīdī Arabic, Cairene Arabic, Northern Jordanian Arabic, Aley Arabic, Baskinta Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, Adeni Arabic, Taiz Arabic and Sana'a Arabic. In all of them *...-š* seems to be mandatorily used with either *mā* or *lā*. In as-Salṭ Arabic only, beside this use of *...-š* with the negator *lā* as in *lā......-š,* *lā* alone is possible with negative imperatives, and in Sana'a Arabic only beside *mā......-š,* *mā* alone is also possible. It is also worth noting here that in both (as-Salṭ Arabic and Sana'a Arabic), *...-š* is also optionally used in standard negation (cf. 3.4.1.1.3).

As seen from the table, the use of *mā* with negative imperatives is attested in every region. However, in every region, the use of this *mā* seems to be reasonably common, except in the Arabian Peninsula region where this use seems to be very rare. Out of the 12 Arabian Peninsula varieties considered in this section, *mā* as an imperative negator is observed in one of them only, Coastal Dhofārī Arabic. Accordingly, the following can be proposed:

Generalization 24: mā *can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Arabian Peninsula where this is extremely rare.*

The table also shows that *lā* appears to be common across the Arabic-speaking world, except among the Egyptian and the Sudanic varieties. Therefore,

Generalization 25: lā *can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Egyptian and the Sudanic ones.*

Finally, it is worth noting in this context that in some modern Arabic varieties, negative imperatives can be expressed by other means. Data in this regard is available in five varieties: Baskinta Arabic, Damascus Arabic, Urban Hijazi Arabic, Madinah Arabic and al-Bāḥa Arabic. In Baskinta Arabic and Damascus Arabic (Levantine varieties), *ʔūʕa* can function as an imperative negator, whereas in Urban Hijazi Arabic, Madinah Arabic and al-Bāḥa Arabic (Arabian Peninsula varieties), *ʔiṣḥ-* can be used. The following exemplify both, respectively:

(341) Baskinta Arabic

ʔūʕa   tχabbri   ḥadin   ʔinni ʕtayt-ik   ihdiyy

NEG   tell.IMPF.2FSG anyone   that   give.PRF.1SG-you(F) present

'Do not tell anyone that I gave you a present!'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 114)

(342) Urban Hijazi Arabic

ʔiṣḥ-u   tigʕdu   sāktīn

NEG-2PL   stay.IMPF.2PL quiet

'Do not stay quiet!'   (Sieny, 1978: 170)

Interestingly, however, both *ʔūʕa* and *ʔiṣḥ-* have a relatively similar meaning. They can be translated as 'wake up', 'be conscious', or 'beware'. Similar items are doubtless found in other modern Arabic varieties; unfortunately, such items have received less attention in the literature.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we examined negative imperatives. We have seen how they are expressed cross-linguistically in order to approach how they are expressed in modern Arabic varieties. We have seen that cross-linguistically negative imperatives can be categorized into four types: I, II, III and IV. In modern Arabic varieties, only type III and IV are found. In some of them, both types are found which makes the type in such varieties III~IV.

In terms of the negators used with imperatives, we have seen that *lā* is commonly used as a negator that occurs with imperatives only. In some varieties, it is used as a sole negator, whereas in others as a possible one that used beside other standard negation markers in these varieties.

Finally, this chapter results in five generalizations which are repeated below.

Generalization 21: In modern Arabic varieties, the verbal construction in affirmative imperatives is always different from the one used in negative imperatives.

Generalization 22: Unlike the case with non-verbal negation, if the negative …-š occurs in negative imperatives in a variety, it always means this variety is a š-variety in the first place.

Generalization 23: In modern Arabic varieties, the use of the negator lā *always entails classifying negative imperatives as type IV, either totally or partially.*

Generalization 24: mā *can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Arabian Peninsula where this is extremely rare.*

Generalization 25: lā *can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Egyptian and the Sudanic ones.*

In the next chapter, two types of negative constructions are addressed: negative existential clauses and negation of pseudo-verb clauses. Each type is defined and the way it is expressed in modern Arabic varieties is explained.

6. Negative existential clauses and negation of pseudo-verbs

Two types of negation are discussed in this chapter: negative existential and negation of pseudo-verbs. The variations among modern Arabic varieties regarding the two types are not significant enough to treat them in separate chapters. Nevertheless, as with the other chapters, the four necessary steps (or stages) in any typological study are conducted. Section 6.1 is on negative existential clauses. Under this theme, the definition of these clauses is provided in 6.1.1, followed by section 6.1.2 on how such clauses are expressed in the world's languages (step I). In 6.1.3, how this phenomenon manifests itself in Standard Arabic is illustrated, followed by how it is found in modern Arabic varieties (6.1.4). In the latter sub-section, step II, III and IV of typological studies are performed, varieties are categorized in order to propose generalizations, which are, in turn, explained where possible.

The second part of this chapter (6.2) is on negation of pseudo-verbs. They are defined in 6.2.1, negation of their corresponding clauses in Standard Arabic is discussed in 6.2.2, and finally section 6.2.3 is on the way they are negated in modern Arabic varieties. Unlike negative existential clauses, no typological framework on negation of pseudo-verbs is found in the literature. Thus, this section contains no such information.

6.1 Negative existentials

6.1.1   What are negative existentials?

Existential clauses are those which explicitly assert the existence of some entity. An English example of such clauses is *There is a pen*. By negative existential, then, we mean negation of these types of clauses (*There is no pen*). Note that the noun phrase, such as *a pen,* in existential clauses is mostly, if not always, indefinite. Consider, for example, the following existential clause from Madinah Arabic:

(343) Madinah Arabic

       fī   bēt

       EX   house

       'There is a house.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

The existential item *fī* in the previous example should not be confused with the preposition *fi* 'in' in the same variety, e.g.:

(344) Madinah Arabic

       ar-raǧǧāl   fi   l-bēt

       DEF-man   in   DEF-house

       'The man is in the house.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

In addition to the semantic meaning and the phonological differences (the vowel in the existential *fī* is long but short in the prepositional *fi*), the existential *fī* clause and the prepositional *fi* clause are structurally different. In (343), the *fī* and the noun *bēt* 'house' together forms a clause (complete thought), the same combination of the morphemes *fi* and *l-bēt* in (344) do not as the omission of the subject *ar-raǧǧāl* 'the man' here would result in ungrammaticality.[69] Therefore, by existential clauses in Arabic, we refer to clauses that can form a complete thought regarding the existence of an entity by means only of the use of the existential item and the entity referred to. This is, however, not to be confused with the possibility of adding extra information to the existential clause. For example, in the existential clause *there is a pen on the table,* the constituent

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[69] This noun phrase can function to express a complete thought, however, if the subject is understood from the context. For example, an answer to the question, 'where is he?' could be 'in the house', meaning 'he is in the house'.

on the table is a piece extra information whose omission would not affect the grammaticality of this clause.

6.1.2   Typology of negative existentials

The major typological investigation of existential clauses is by Croft (1991). In his study, Croft found that languages negate existential clauses according to three different strategies:

Type (A): In the same way they form standard negation.

Type (B): By using a specific negative existential item.

Type (C): By using of a specific negative existential item that is identical to the ordinary verbal negator. In other words, the negator used in standard negation also functions as a negative existential item.

Eastern Libyan Arabic is an example of type (A), as the same negator *mā......-š* is used in standard negation (345)(a) and to negate existential clauses, compare (345)(b) and (345)(c).

(345)   Eastern Libyan Arabic

    a. ma   šifna-k-š

        NEG   see.PRF.1PL-2MSG-NEG

        'We did not see you.'   (Owens, 1984: 157)

    b. fīh   ṣubāya

        EX   woman.PL

        'There are women.'   (Owens, 1984: 97)

c. ma   fi-š   sayyāra   inrīd-ha   ɣādi

    NEG   EX-NEG   car   want.PRF.1SG-3FSG   there

    'There is no car which I want there.'   (Owens, 1984: 97)

Turkish (346), on the other hand, is a language of type (B) because here there is a special negative existential item *yok* (346)(c) which is different from the verbal negator -*me* (346)(a) and the positive existential item *var* (346)(b).

(346)   Turkish (Turkic)

  a. gel-me-yecek

    come-NEG-FUT

    '(S)he will not come.'

  b. su   var

    water   EX

    'There is water'

  c. su   yok

    water   EX.NEG

    'There is no water.'   (Schaaik, 1996: 22- 25)

Finally, Tongan is an example of type (C); it has a special negative existential item (347)(c) that is identical to the ordinary negator (347)(a):

(347)   Tongan (Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian)

  a. na'e   'ikai   ke   kata   'a   pita

    PST   NEG   SUB   laugh   ABS   Pita

    'Pita did not laugh.'

b. ’oku   ’i   ai   ha   me ’a

     PRES   LOC   EX   NSP   thing

     ‘There is something/someone.’

c. ’oku   ’ikai   ha   me ’a

     PRES   EX.NEG   NSP   thing

     ‘There is not anything.’   (Veselinova, 2014; 1342)

Some languages, however, have more than one type, e.g. A and B or B and C, etc. Croft (1991) explains such a phenomenon by proposing what he refers to as the *Negative existential cycle*. That is to say, negative existentials change over time from type A to type B, from B to C, from C to A and so on. During the changing process from A to B, a special negative existential form comes to light and is used alongside the ordinary negator. The new form mostly, but not always, arises as a result of a contraction or a fusion between the verbal negator and the positive existential morpheme (Croft, 1991). In Balinese (348), for example, the verbal negator is *tan* and can be used to negate the existential *hana* as in (348)(a). However, a contraction between the two forms results in *tanana,* the new negative existential item as in (348)(b).

(348)   Balinese (Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian)

a. asepi   tan   hana   wong   liwating   awan

    deserted   NEG   EX   person   pass.by   street

    ‘It was deserted and there was no one passing on the street.’

b. tanana   seraya

    NEG.EX   substitute

    ‘There was no substitute’   (Croft, 1991:7)

From B to C, the negative existential predicate begins to be used in standard negation. This can occur as: (a) a form of competition wherein the negative existential competes with the original negator to the extent of being used sometimes alternatively; (b) reinforcement to support the verbal negator; or (c) gradual substitution for the ordinary negator in part of the verbal grammatical system (Croft, 1991: 9–10). The latter, for example, can be observed in Kanuri (349) as the negative existential *bâ* is used to negate imperfect verbs only:

(349)   Kanuri (Saharan)

    a. cídà   bâ

        work   NEG.EX

        'There is no work.'

    b. búkín-bâ

        eat.1SG.IMPF-NEG.EX

        'I do not eat.'   (Croft, 1991: 10–11)

Finally, from C to A, the negative existential starts to be reanalyzed as the only negator and a positive existential predicate begins to be optionally uttered (Croft, 1991). In Marathi (350), as an example, *nahi* can function as a negative existential or as a negator to negate a positives:

(350)   Marathi (Indo-Iranian, Indo-European)

    tithə   koni   nahi   (ahe)

    there   anyone   NEG (OR NEG.EX)   (EX)

    'There is not anyone there.'   (Croft, 1991: 12)

Croft's cycle can be summarized as follows:

Type A: One marker negates both verbal (standard negation) and existential clauses

Type A-B: A negative existential item is created and used occasionally

Type B: The new negative existential item is used obligatorily with negative existentials

Type B-C: The new negative existential item is used to some extent in standard negation

Type C: The new negative existential item can be used to express standard negation

Type C-A: The new negative existential predicate starts to be reanalyzed as a negative marker and a positive existential comes to light

Wilmsen (2014, 2015) suggests that the aforementioned cycle can be observed in Arabic. That is, the verbal negator in most Arabic varieties is the marker *ma* which may negate existential clauses as in Omani Arabic (type A):

(351)   Omani Arabic (Semitic, Afro-Asiatic)

    a. lō   šē   ṣaḥḥa al-ḥamdu   li-llāh

        if   EX   health DEF-praise   to-God

        'If there is health, thank God.'

    b. mā   šē   ḥmīr   maʕ-nā

        NEG EX   donkeys   with-us

        'There are no donkeys with us.'   (Wilmsen, 2015: 1)

Wilmsen claims that evidence of Type B can be found in Arabic in the shape of *miš,* which he argues functions as a negative existential and whose form is a result of a contraction or a fusion of the verbal negator *ma* and the positive existential *šē.* Wilmsen, however, does not support his claim by any example.

In 1.4 above, we saw that the post-verbal negative morpheme ...-*š* is derived from *šayʔ* and occurs in Arabic as a result of Jespersen's cycle. Wilmsen (2014), however, argues that, it is the morpheme *šayʔ* 'thing' that is derived from ...-*š*, not vice versa. That is, "grammatical *ši* has been always grammatical whereas the substantive *šayʔ* is a later development. Its original function as an existential particle, itself derived from a Proto-Semitic presentative/ demonstrative/ 3rd person pronoun, remains within the language, giving rise to its other functions" (Wilmsen, 2014: 209). Consequently, according to Wilmsen, the development in Arabic negation should not be explained by Jespersen's cycle but by the one proposed by Croft. However, several studies have argued against Wilmsen's proposal and favoured the commonly held analysis based on Jespersen's cycle, see, for instance, Al-Jallad (2015), Lucas (2018) and Souag (2016). In addition, the synchronic point of view of this study, shows that what Wilmsen considers to be result of a contraction or a fusion of the verbal negator *ma* and the positive existential *šē* (*miš*) seems, in fact, to be the result of an attachment between the verbal negator and a personal pronoun. In this vein, *miš*, and similar items found among *š*-varieties such as *muš,* is probably a contraction of the NEG+PRO construction *ma-hu-š* 'he is not'. As Diem puts it "a further development in Cairene Arabic and other dialects was the generalization of *māhūšī* in certain functions, especially as the unmarked negation of nominal clauses, and its contraction to *muš*, which in modern Cairene Arabic developed to *miš*" (Diem, 2014: 67). This construction is parallel to one found among the non-*š*-varieties. As we saw in 4.4.3, in these varieties, *mū* corresponds to *miš* (or *muš*) in the *š*-varieties, and is also formed from a similar NEG+PRO construction, *ma-hu* 'he is not'.

6.1.3 Negative existential in Standard Arabic

In Standard Arabic, the existence of an entity can be indicated by the item *θamma(ta)* or the demonstratives *hunā* 'here' and *hunāka* 'there'. All are exemplified respectively below:

(352) Standard Arabic

  a. θamma(ta)   rağul-un

     EX   man.NOM

     'There is a man'

  b. hunā   rağul-un

     EX   man.NOM

     'There is a man' (Lit. 'here is a man.')

  c. hunāka   rağul-un

     EX   man.NOM

     'There is a man'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

As can be noticed, these are non-verbal clauses as they contain no overt verb; thus, they are negated by the non-verbal negative strategies in Standard Arabic (cf. 4.2). And because the negator *mā*, for example, can negate verbal and non-verbal clauses in Standard Arabic, *mā* can also negate existential clauses, which makes Standard Arabic type (A) in this regard. In the following, the first clause is to show the use of *mā* in standard negation, and the rest are the negative counterparts of the affirmative existential clauses in (352).

(353) Standard Arabic

    a. mā   saʔala   ʔaḥmad-u   xālid-an

        NEG   ask.PRF.3MSG   Ahmad-NOM   Khaled-ACC

        'Ahmad did not ask Khaled'

    b. mā   θamma(ta)   raǧul-un

        NEG   EX.   man.NOM

        'There is no a man'

    c. mā   hunā   raǧul-un

        NEG   EX.   man.NOM

        'There is no a man' (Lit. 'here is a man.')

    d. mā   hunāka   raǧul-un

        NEG   EX.   man.NOM

        'There is no a man'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

6.1.4 Negative existentials in modern Arabic varieties

The information in this section is based on 31 modern Arabic varieties. 23 varieties are excluded due to the lack of data in this regard.[70] The included varieties are categorized based on Croft's framework only. No geographical categorization is proposed here since, as we will see, the modern varieties of Arabic mostly fall into one type. In contrast, the items used to express the existential notion are discussed from the geographical point of view since these items differ significantly based on the region of the variety.

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[70] The excluded varieties are Annaba Arabic, Sousse Arabic, Muzēnah and Banī Waṣil Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic, Northwestern Sinai Arabic, Biyyāḏī and Axrasī Arabic, Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic, Ṭuwara Arabic, Ṣaʕīdī Arabic, Egyptian western desert Arabic, al-ʕArīš Arabic, Largeau Arabic, Abeche Arabic, al-Karak Arabic, Baskinta Arabic, Baskinta Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, Urban Hijazi Arabic, Dubai Arabic, Hadhrami Arabic, Zinǧibār Arabic, Adeni Arabic and Taiz Arabic.

6.1.4.1 Categorization by types

6.1.4.1.1 Type A

This type is found in 28 out of the 31 modern Arabic varieties considered in this section.
That is, in these varieties, existential clauses and declarative verbal main clauses (standard
negation) are negated in the same fashion. As an example, in each variety in the following,
standard negation is exemplified first, followed by an affirmative existential clause and a
negative existential one.

(354)   Ḥassāniyya Arabic

    a. ma   tkallamt

        NEG   speak.PRF.1SG

        'I did not speak.'   (Francis, 1979: 111)

    b. χālig   māru   fi   l-marṣa   il-yawm

        EX   rice   in   DEF-market   DEF-today

        'There is rice in the market today.'   (Francis, 1979: 36)

    c. ma   χālig   māru   fi   l-marṣa

        NEG   EX   rice   in   DEF-market

        'There is no rice in the market.'   (Francis, 1979: 36)

(355)   Sahel/Tunis Arabic

    a. nawāl   ma-žāt-š   l-bārḥ

        Nawal   NEG-come.PRF.3FSG-NEG   DEF-yesterday

        'Nawal did not come yesterday.'   (Halila, 1992: 30)

    b. famma   ktāb   fūq   ṭ-ṭāwala

        EX   book   on   DEF-table

        'There is a book on the table.'   (Halila, 1992: 265)

c. ma-famma-š   ktāb   fūq   ṭ-ṭāwala

    NEG-EX-NEG   book   on   DEF-table

    'There is no a book on the table.'   (Halila, 1992: 263)

(356) Yanbuʕ Arabic

a. mḥammad   mā   yašrab   l-ḥalīb

    Mohammed   NEG   drink.IMPF.3MSG   DEF-milk

    'Mohammed drinks the milk.'

b. fīh   muya

    EX   water

    'There is water.'

c. mā   fīh   muya

    NEG   EX   water

    'There is no water.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

As can be noticed from the above examples, the existential item differs considerably from variety to another, a fact that will be addressed further in section 6.1.4.2. For now, consider the following table where all varieties of type A are listed with their existential item:

Table 48: Negative existential (type A varieties)

No.	Region	Arabic variety	The existential item
1.		Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*xālig*
2.		Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic	*xālg*
3.	Maghrebi	Moroccan Arabic	*kay(i)n*
4.		Sfax Arabic	*θamma*

5.		Eastern Libyan Arabic	*fīh*
6.		Standard Maltese	*hemm* and *hawn*
7.		Western Libyan Arabic	*fīh*
8.		Sahel/Tunis Arabic	*famma*
9.	Egyptian	Cairene Arabic	*fī*
10.		Eastern Nigeria Arabic	*fī*
11.	Sudanic	Western Nigeria Arabic	*fī*
12.		Sudanese Arabic	*fī*
13.		ʕAtīž Arabic	*bū*
14.		Damascus Arabic	*fī*
15.		Northern Jordanian Arabic	*fīh*
16.	Levantine	as-Salṭ Arabic	*bī*
17.		Aley Arabic	*fī*
18.		Palestinian Arabic	*fī*
19.	Mesopotamian	Muslim Baghdadi Arabic	*aku*
20.		Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	*(ʔ)akū*
21.		al-Bāḥa Arabic	*fīh* and *šī*
22.		al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic	*fī*
23.		Ḥagil Arabic	*fī*
24.	Arabian Peninsula	Yanbuʕ Arabic	*fīh*
25.		ʔAbha Arabic	*fīh*
26.		ʕUnayzah Arabic	*fī* and *buh*
27.		Abu Dhabi Arabic	*fī*
28.	Yemeni	Sana'a Arabic	*bih*

As can be seen from the table, in some modern Arabic varieties, more than one existential item is found. These are Standard Maltese, al-Bāḥa Arabic and ʕUnayzah Arabic. Nevertheless, this has no impact on the type of their negative existential clauses (type A), nor on the way these clauses are negated. For instance, both *fīh* and *šī* are existential items in al-Bāḥa Arabic, e.g.:

(357)   al-Bāḥa Arabic

    a. šī   muya

        EX   water

        'There is water.'

    b. fīh   muya

        EX   water

        'There is water.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

Both *fīh* and *šī* are negated by the standard negation strategy as in (358).

(358)   al-Bāḥa Arabic

    a. mḥammad   mā   ǧa

        Mohammed   NEG   come.PRF.3MSG

        'Mohammed did not come.'

    b. mā   šī   muya

        NEG   EX   water

        'There is no water.'

    c. mā   fīh   muya

        NEG   EX   water

        'There is no water.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

Finally, the fact that type A is extremely common among modern Arabic varieties imposes the following generalization:

Generalization 26: In modern Arabic varieties, existential clauses in a variety are almost always negated by the same strategy used in standard negation in that variety.

This is unlike the case in Standard Arabic, where such clauses are considered to be non-verbal and therefore the non-verbal negative strategies are used to negate them. In modern Arabic varieties, existential items could be considered pseudo-verbs; consequently, they are not negated by the non-verbal negative strategies but by the verbal ones (standard negation).

6.1.4.1.2   Type B

This type is observed in one Arabic variety only among those considered in this thesis, Coastal Dhofārī Arabic (an Arabian Peninsula variety). That is, in this variety the negative existential item is either *hinnāk* or *fī* as exemplified below:

(359)   Coastal Dhofārī Arabic

a. hinnāk   qarūra   fi   š-šanṭa

    EX   bottle   in   DEF-bag

    'There is a bottle in the bag.'

b. fī   ṣūra   fõg   il-kurfāya

    EX   picture   above   DEF-bed

    'There is a picture above the bed.'   (Davey, 2013: 170)

However, unlike most of the modern Arabic varieties where these items are negated by the standard negation strategy, this variety has a special negative existential morpheme to express such a notion, namely *māšē* as in (360):

(360) Coastal Dhofārī Arabic

māšē   kirāsī   biǧinb-ak

NEG.EX   chairs   next to-you

'There are no seats next to you.'   (Davey, 2013: 153)

Accordingly, negative existential clauses in Coastal Dhofārī Arabic are type (B), in which they are expressed by a specific morpheme that is different from the positive existential one.

It is worth noting in this context that in his study of the Arabic Omani dialects in the 19th century, Reinhardt (1894) reported the use of *šiši* as a negative existential marker in Oman, e.g.:

(361) Omani Arabic

hāḏi šiši   byūt

these NEG.EX   house.PL

'There were no houses at all.'   (Holes, 2015: 28)

The ancient use of such a morpheme is discussed in several studies (e.g., Holes, 2015; Lucas, 2018; Wilmsen, 2014). However, the use of this morpheme is not observed in the modern Arabic varieties, neither in Coastal Dhofārī Arabic (an Arabic variety spoken in Oman) nor in any other modern Arabic variety. As Holes puts it, "*šiši* 'nothing at all', an emphatic form, is now an unusual usage in Oman, though it occurs in Reinhardt's 19th

century material gathered in Zanzibar" (Holes, 2015: 28). And because the present study is synchronic, this old use of *šiši* is not investigated further here.

6.1.4.1.3 Type A~B

As explained in 6.1.2, this type arises when there is a mix between type (A) and type (B). In other words, negative existential clauses are expressed by the same negative strategy found in standard negation (type A); in addition, a specific morpheme can be used to express negative existential clauses. This is observed in two varieties only; one from the Arabian Peninsula region and the other from the Maghrebi region. The Arabian Peninsula variety is Madinah Arabic. In this variety, affirmative existential clauses are expressed by the item *fī(h)*, for example:

(362)   Madinah Arabic

      fī(h)   muya

      EX   water

      'There is water.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

Such clauses can be negated by *mā* (the standard negation morpheme in this variety), for example:

(363)   Madinah Arabic

      mā   fī(h)   muya

      NEG   EX   water

      'There is no water.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

In addition to the previous mention method, negative existential clauses in Madinah Arabic can be expressed by the item *māš,* e.g.:

(364)   Madinah Arabic

māš   muya

NEG.EX   water

'There is no water.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

This possibility of expressing negative existential by the standard negation strategy or by the use of the item *māš* is what makes Madinah Arabic type A~B.

The other variety is Dellys Arabic (a Maghrebi variety). The affirmative existential item in this variety is *kayən,* e.g.:

(365)   Dellys Arabic

kayən   ḥlib?

EX   milk?

'Is there milk?'   (Souag, 2016: 507)

Note that *kayən* is found in another Maghrebi variety, namely Moroccan Arabic (one of the type A varieties). In Moroccan Arabic, the item is *kayen* and when it is negated by the verbal negator *ma……-š,* the result is *ma-kayen-š.* "The expected negative existential marker [in Dellys Arabic] would therefore be **ma kayən-ši,* as attested in Morocco. What is actually used, however, is *ma ka(n)-š,* with the *n* almost always absent" (Souag, 2016: 508). Consider the following:

(366)   Dellys Arabic

    makaš   ktab

    NEG.EX   book

    'There is no book.'   (Souag, 2016: 508)

To analyse this situation in Dellys Arabic, let us first recall some of Croft's observations from section 6.1.2. In Croft's cycle, type (A) means negating the affirmative existential item by the ordinary verbal negator. Type (A~B) means a new morpheme is coined, mostly but not always, as a result of a contraction or a fusion between the verbal negator and the positive existential morpheme, which, in turn will be used occasionally with negative existential clauses. Type (B) means the new morpheme in type (A~B) becomes the only way to form negative existential clauses. In Madinah Arabic, we have seen that *māš* is a new negative existential item, but it is not a result of a contraction or a fusion between the verbal negator because in this variety the existential item is *fī(h)* and the verbal negator is *mā*. It could be, though, a result of dialect contact since in al-Bāḥa Arabic (one of the Arabian Peninsula varieties spoken relatively in an area close to Madinah Arabic) *mā ši* is an alternative way to express negative existentials (see 6.1.4.1.1 above). Madinah Arabic, therefore, is clearly type (A~B); *fī(h)* can be negated by *mā* and the new morpheme *māš* is occasionally used. In Dellys Arabic, on the other hand, the case is not as straightforward as in Madinah Arabic. If *makaš* (366) in Dellys Arabic was used beside **ma kayən-ši* to express negative existentials, one could clearly assumed that this is type (A~B) where a new negative existential morpheme is used occasionally. However, according to Souag, **ma kayən-ši* is not used (Souag, 2016: 508). One could assume, then, that Dellys Arabic is type (B), in which only the new morpheme is used with negative existentials. I argue, however, otherwise. Dellys Arabic is type (A~B), despite the fact **ma kayən-ši* is not observed.

Dellys Arabic is identified in this study as a *š*-variety. It is also listed among others where information on the omission of the post-verbal …-*š* is observed in the presence of NSIs (cf. section 3.4.1.2). With this in mind, we turn now to the new Dellys negative existential morpheme *makaš*. If the process of coining this morpheme was finalized as in Madinah Arabic where *māš* is inseparable, the morpheme …-*š* in *makaš* would no longer be perceived as a post-verbal negative morpheme. In other words, unlike *māš* in Madinah Arabic, *makaš* is in Dellys Arabic has not been consoidered as an item that can unconditionally express negative existentials. That is, in Dellys Arabic, when the negative existential clause contains an NSI item, …-*š* is omitted similarly to the case in standard negation. In such cases, the verbal negator *mā……-š* is no longer fused to the affirmative existential item *kayən,* or to be more specific, it is no longer fused to *kan*. *kan* is the alternative existential predicator used in non-positive contexts (Souag, 2016: 511). Consider in the following:

(367)   Dellys Arabic

ma-kan   walu

NEG.EX   nothing

'There is nothing.'   (Souag, 2016: 508)

Dellys Arabic, then, cannot be considered as type (A), where the affirmative existential item is negated by the addition of the verbal negator only, nor as type (B), where the new coined morpheme is unconditionally generalized. It is type (A~B), where a new negative existential morpheme is coined, but still used beside type (A) strategy, where the ordinary verbal negator is simply used to negate affirmative existential. This is despite the fact that the latter is used in certain cases only such as in the presence of an NSI item.

6.1.4.2 The positive existential items

In Table 48 above, we saw that in modern Arabic varieties, different items can be used to express the existential notion. These items are *xālig*-type (*xālig* and *xālg*)*, kayin*-type (*kay(i)n* and *kay(e)n)*, *θamma*-type (*θamma, famma*), *fī*-type (*fī(h)* and *fī*), *bū*-type (*bū/buh* and *bī/bih*), *aku*-type (*aku* and *(ʔ)aku*) and *hemm, hawn* and *šī*.[71] The geographical distribution of these items reveals some interesting variations, but before this is discussed, let us exclude the ones that occur in specific varieties only. These are *hemm, hawn* and *šī*. The first two (*hemm* and *hawn*) occur in Standard Maltese only, and *šī* occurs in al-Bāḥa Arabic. This limits us to the six *item*-types only.

The geographical distribution of these six *item*-types will be addressed on a region-by-region. First, in the Maghrebi region, four types out of the six are found: the *xālig*-type*, kayin*-type*, θamma*-type and *fī*-type. In fact, three of these (*xālig*-type*, kayin*-type and *θamma*-type) are not found anywhere other than the Maghrebi region. The *xālig*-type is observed in the Ḥassāniyya region only, with Ḥassāniyya Arabic and Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic. The *kayin*-type is found in Morocco and Algeria only, with Moroccan Arabic and Dellys Arabic. The *θamma*-type is found in Tunisia only with Sfax Arabic and Sahel/Tunis Arabic. Finally, the *fī*-type is found, within the Maghrebi region, in Libya only with Eastern Libyan Arabic and Western Libyan Arabic.

Second, in the Egyptian region and the Sudanic region, only the *fī*-type is found, and this is based on one Egyptian variety (Cairene Arabic) and three Sudanic varieties (Sudanese Arabic, Eastern Nigeria Arabic and Western Nigeria Arabic).

Third, in the Levantine region, the *fī*-type and the *bū*-type are observed. With ʕAtīž Arabic and as-Salṭ Arabic, the *bū*-type is used, and with the others (Damascus

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[71] Different classification is also possible based on the source meanings (e.g. locative adverb, prepositional phrase, participle, etc.). In this vein, for example, *xālig*-type and *kayin*-type can be grouped under participle; *fī*-type and *bū*-type grouped under preposition; and *θamma*-type, *hemm* and *hawn* grouped under locative adverb.

Arabic, Northern Jordanian Arabic, Aley Arabic and Palestinian Arabic), the *fī*-type is used.

Fourth, in the Mesopotamian region, only the *aku*-type is found. This is according to the two Mesopotamian varieties considered in this section (Muslim Baghdadi Arabic and Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic). Note also that *aku*-type existentials are found nowhere outside of the Mesopotamian region.

Fifth, in the Arabian Peninsula region, the *fī*-type and the *bū*-type are used. However, the latter is found in one variety only in this region (ʕUnayzah Arabic), while the *fī*-type is found in the rest (al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic, ʔAbha Arabic and Abu Dhabi Arabic).

Finally, in the Yemeni region, based on one variety only (Sana'a Arabic), the *bū*-type is the only one used here.[72]

The following table summarizes the previous geographical distribution of the six existential item-types and the individual use of the items *hemm, hawn* and *ši*. In this table, not only regions are specified but also countries, as they seem to play a significant role in this distribution, especially in the Maghrebi region. Note, however, that although Ḥassāniyya is not a name for a country, it is listed, exceptionally, as if it was one. That is, the name Ḥassāniyya is conventionally used to refer to a specific area (see Map 1).

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[72] According to Behnstedt, many other forms are used in Yemen such as *fī(h)* and *šī* (Behnstedt, 2016: 346).

Table 49: Existential items arranged by countries

Region	Country	The existential item
Maghrebi	Ḥassāniyya	*xālig*-type
	Morocco	*kayin*-type
	Algeria	
	Tunisia	*θamma*-type
	Libyan	*fī*-type
	Malta	*hemm* and *hawn*
Egyptian	Egypt	*fī*-type
Sudanic	Sudan	*fī*-type
	Nigeria	
Levantine	Lebanon	*fī*-type and *bū*-type
	Jordan	
	Syria	*fī*-type
	Palestine	
Mesopotamian	Iraq	*aku*-type
Arabian Peninsula	Saudi Arabia	*fī*-type, *bū*-type and *ši*
Yemeni	Yemen	*bū*-type

The same summary represented in Table 49 is given again in Table 50 below. In this table, however, data is looked at from a different perspective. That is, the existential items are listed first, followed by the countries where they can be found.

Table 50: Existential items arranged by items

The existential item	Country
xālig-type	Ḥassāniyya
kayin-type	Morocco and Algeria
θamma-type	Tunisia
fī-type	Libyan, Egypt, Sudan, Nigeria, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Palestine and Saudi Arabia
aku-type	Iraq
bū-type	Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Yemen
hemm and *hawn*	Malta
ši	Saudi Arabia

In the next part of this chapter we explore pseudo-verb clauses. The term is first defined, followed by an explanation on how such clauses are negated in Arabic.

6.2 Negation with pseudo-verbs

This section is on the negation of pseudo-verbs. The phenomenon is defined in 6.2.1. The way it is done in Standard Arabic is explained in 6.2.2, and in 6.2.3, we explore the same thing but in the modern varieties of Arabic. No categorization is proposed here as most of the varieties tend to behave in the same way in this regard. The section, however, is

based on 33 varieties where information is available. The excluded ones are Malian Ḥassāniyya Arabic, Annaba Arabic, Sousse Arabic, Sahel/Tunis Arabic, Muzēnah and Baniy Waṣil Arabic, Southern Sinai Arabic, Northwestern Sinai Arabic, Smēʕnī and ʕGēlī Arabic, Ṭuwara Arabic, Ṣaʕīdī Arabic, Egyptian western desert Arabic, al-ʕArīš Arabic, Eastern Nigeria Arabic, Western Nigeria Arabic, Abeche Arabic, ʕAtīž Arabic, Christian Baghdadi Arabic, Kuwaiti Arabic, ʔAbha Arabic, Dubai Arabic and Hadhrami Arabic.

6.2.1   What does negation with pseudo-verbs mean?

In section 1.3.1, we introduced the term *pseudo-verb*. Pseudo-verbs are a small class of predicates in Arabic dialects whose morphosyntactic behaviour distinguishes them from the prepositional phrases from which they derive. In the following sub-section, we will introduce some of these criteria when we explain how Standard Arabic lacks them. For now, it is sufficient to say that in the majority of modern Arabic varieties negation with pseudo-verb is done by the same strategies used in standard negation. In a few varieties, however, negation with pseudo-verb clauses seems to require further details, and these details are the topic of this section.

6.2.2   Standard Arabic and pseudo-verbs

It may seem accurate to say that there are no pseudo-verbs in Standard Arabic, and what might appear as pseudo-verb clauses are, in fact, non-verbal clauses. The most important morphosyntactic criterion is lack of agreement of past auxiliary *kān* 'was' with what would have to be the subject if the pseudo-verb was a prepositional phrase. Let us apply this criterion on the item *ʕind-* 'have' in the following clauses from Standard Arabic and Madinah Arabic:

(368) Standard Arabic

   a. ʕind-ī   sayyārat-un

      have-1SG   car-NOM

      'I have a car.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

(369) Madinah Arabic

     ʕind-i   sayyārah

     have-1SG   car

     'I have a car.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

If we add the past auxiliary *kān* 'was' to the previous clauses, the result would be the following:

(370) Standard Arabic

   a. kān-at   ʕind-ī   sayyārat-un

      was-3FSG   have-3MSG   car-NOM

      'I had a car.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

(371) Madinah Arabic

     kān   ʕind-i   sayyārah

     was   have-1SG   car

     'I had a car.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

Note that *sayyārah* 'car' in Arabic is feminine and the past auxiliary *kān* agrees with in Standard Arabic. In Madinah Arabic, in contrast, there is no such agreement. This shows that if the item *ʕind* in Madinah Arabic was a preposition, not a pseudo-verb, the past auxiliary *kān* would appear in the previous example as *kān-at*, similarly to the case in Standard Arabic. Items such as *ʕind* in Standard Arabic always appear as prepositions.

Thus, they are always negated by the non-verbal negative strategies (cf. section 4.2) as in the following:

(372)   Standard Arabic

   mā   ʕinda-hu   qalam-un

   NEG   at-3MSG   pen-NOM.

   'He does not have a pen.'   *(Personal Knowledge)*

In Madinah Arabic, on the other hand, *ʕind* can appear as preposition or as a pseudo-verb. In the first case, it is negated by the non-verbal negative strategy, whereas in the second one, it is negated by the verbal one. Consider the following and note that in the first example *ʕind* is a preposition; thus, the non-verbal negator *mu* is used, but in the second one, it is a pseudo-verb; thus, the verbal negator *ma* is used:

(373)   Madinah Arabic

   a.   sayyārt-i   mu   ʕind   il-bēt

        car-my   NEG   LOC   DEF-house

        'My car is not outside of the house.'

   b.   ma   ʕind-i   sayyārah

        NEG   have-1SG   car

        'I do not have a car.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

Accordingly, negation might be considered as one of the criteria that distinguish pseudo-verbs. That is to say, when the used negative strategy is the verbal one, the item is pseudo-verb, and when the used negative strategy is the non-verbal one, the item is preposition. In the following section, we explain that in some modern Arabic varieties

only certain types of the possible verbal negative strategies seem to be usable with certain types of pseudo-verbs.

6.2.3 Negating pseudo-verbs in modern Arabic varieties

In modern Arabic varieties, pseudo-verb clauses in a variety are negated by the strategies used with verbal clauses (standard negation strategies) in that variety. In each of the following, an example of standard negation is given, followed by a negative pseudo-verb clause.

(374) Moroccan Arabic

    a. ma-nemšiw-š

        NEG-go.IMPF.1PL-NEG

        'We will not go.'   (Harrell, 2004: 152)

    b. ma-ʕend-i-š

        NEG-have-1SG-NEG

        'I do not have (it).'   (Harrell, 2004: 156)

(375) Largeau Arabic

    a.

rafīg-na	mā	ʔakal	halāwa
friend-our	NEG	eat.PRF.3MSG	candy

        'Our friend did not eat candy.'

    b.

fātima	mā	ʕind-a	kitāb
Fatimah	NEG	have-3FSG	book

        'Fatima does not have a book.'   (Abu Absi, 1995: 33)

In a few varieties, more data on different types of pseudo-verbs is available, which shows some variations in the way they are negated. This is not to say different types of

pseudo-verbs are negated in differently from standard negation, it is just that in some modern Arabic varieties, different strategies may be used in standard negation and not all of these strategies are possible with every pseudo-verb type. For example, in Palestinian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic and Baskinta Arabic (all are Levantine varieties), the use of the post-verbal negator *...-š* only is possible with *b*-imperfect verbs (cf. section 3.4.3.4), e.g.:

(376)   Aley Arabic

baʕrif-š   bayy-ak

know.PRF.1SG-NEG   father-your

'I do not know your father.'   (Bishr,1956: 46)

In all of these varieties as well, this post-verbal negative morpheme can negate bilabial initial pseudo-verbs only; other pseudo-verbs cannot be negated this way. Consider the following from Palestinian Arabic and note that the bilabial pseudo-verb *maʕ-* 'have' or 'with' is once negated by *mā……-š* and once by *...-š* alone, whereas the non-bilabial one (*ʕind-*) is negated by *mā……-š* only.

(377)   Palestinian Arabic

a.   mā   maʕ-ī-š

NEG   have-1SG-NEG

'I do not have.'

b.   maʕ-ī-š

have-1SG-NEG

'I do not have.'

c. mā   ʕind-ī-š

    NEG   have-1SG-NEG

    'I do not have.'   (Lucas, 2010: 174)

    In Biyyāḏī and Aχrasī Arabic (an Egyptian variety), there is no example available to demonstrate the use of *...-š* alone in standard negation, nor there is any to demonstrate how non-bilabial pseudo-verbs are negated. However, data shows that bilabial pseudo-verbs can possibly be negated by either the bipartite ordinary verbal negator *mā……-š* or by *...-š* alone as in the following:

(378)   Biyyāḏī and Aχrasī Arabic

  a. ma   bidd-ī-š

    NEG   want-me-NEG

    'I do not want.'

  b. bidd-ī-š

    want-me-NEG

    'I do not want.'   (de Jong, 2000: 393)

    Note that all of the previous four varieties are *š*-varieties; information on bilabial pseudo-verbs in the other *š*-varieties is not available. Perhaps, bilabial initial pseudo-verbs in these varieties are negated similarly to any other pseudo-verb which makes their mentioning in the consulted sources not necessary. In the non-*š*-varieties, in contrast, *…-š* is not a possible negator in the first place, which makes the question, whether bilabial pseudo-verbs in these varieties are negated by *…-š* alone or not, invalid.

    As a result, based on the previous data from the 33 varieties considered in this section, one can propose that:

Generalization 27: In modern Arabic varieties, negation of pseudo-verbs is similar to standard negation, but in varieties where …-š alone is a possible negator, only bilabial pseudo-verbs seem to be able to make use of this negator.

6.3 Summary

In this chapter, we discussed negation of existential clauses and pseudo-verbs. We have seen that most modern Arabic varieties implement the negative strategy they use in standard negation to negate existential clauses. Thus, most of them are classified as type (A) in Croft's cycle. Type (B) and (A~B) are also found, but rarely. That is, (B) is observed in Coastal Dhofārī Arabic only, and (A~B) is observed in Madinah Arabic and Dellys Arabic only.

As is the case with negative existentials, most modern Arabic varieties use the negative strategy, or one of a few possible strategies that they have in standard negation to negate pseudo-verb clauses. In four *š*-varieties (Palestinian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Baskinta Arabic and Biyyāḏ̣ī and Aχrasī Arabic) data shows that bilabial initial pseudo-verbs only can potentially be negated by the post-verbal negative morpheme …-*š*.

This chapter results in two generalizations which are repeated below.

Generalization 26: In modern Arabic varieties, existential clauses in a variety are almost always negated by the same strategy used in standard negation in that variety.

Generalization 27: In modern Arabic varieties, negation of pseudo-verbs is similar to standard negation, but in varieties where …-š alone is a possible negator, only bilabial pseudo-verbs seem to be able to make use of this negator.

In the next chapter, we consider negative-sensitive items. We define each type of these items and then we focus more on two types of them only: negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items.

7. Negative-sensitive items (NSIs)

This chapter is on negative-sensitive items. This term refers to three different types of items. In accordance with the first step of the four ones needed in any typological study, all of the three types of these items are defined in 7.1. However, only two of them (negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items) are discussed further in this chapter. As we will shortly explain in detail, a discussion of negative polarity items (the third type) is less interesting in the context of the present investigation.

For the purpose of this chapter, the second step in the four steps of typological studies, where varieties are categorized, has been skipped, but the third one, where generalizations are proposed, and the fourth, where they are explained where possible, are conducted. That is, modern Arabic varieties in this chapter will not be categorized based on their similarities and differences regarding the phenomenon in question, but according to the amount of available data. That is, a discussion where more information is available would be more comprehensive than one where not the same amount of information is accessible. Varieties where more data is found are the Saudi Arabian varieties since special attention during the fieldwork trip to this region was given to negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items. Therefore, negative indefinite pronouns among the Saudi Arabian varieties are discussed first (section 7.2.2), followed by a discussion on the same phenomenon in other modern Arabic varieties (section 7.2.3). In the same manner, negative concord items are considered first among the Saudi Arabian varieties (7.3.1), followed by a discussion on the same phenomenon in other modern Arabic varieties (section 7.3.2). Neither of the two sub-sections (negative indefinite

pronouns and negative concord items), however, includes a section on how they are found

in Standard Arabic, as both seem not to be found in this variety.[73]

7.1 What are negative-sensitive items?

In section 3.4.1.2, we introduced the term *negative-sensitive items* (NSIs). In the same

section, we explained that these items tend to occur in certain non-affirmative contexts

such as negation, interrogatives and conditionals. We also mentioned that NSIs can be

divided further into three categories: negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns

and negative concord items. In the literature, the definition of these items seems to be

under debate (e.g., Alsarayreh, 2012; Giannakidou, 2007; Laka, 1990; Lucas, 2009;

Szabolcsi, 2004). Perhaps, for one thing, this is due to the fact that these items do not

necessarily occur in all human languages. For another, among languages that have them,

the behaviour of these items seems to be different from one language to another. Because

of this debatable situation, a few words on what we exactly mean by each term are in

order.

The first term is *negative polarity items*. In his study, Lucas defines these as items

which, "while not themselves negative, are restricted to appearing in certain non-

affirmative contexts such as negation, interrogatives and conditionals. Clear examples of

these are provided by standard English *anyone*, *anything*" (Lucas, 2009: 188). In this

thesis, we adopt the same definition, which seems to already imply that these items cannot

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[73] In Standard Arabic, notions like *I did not see anything* are expressed by simply negating the
affirmative counterparts of these clauses. Compare the following and note that the only structural
difference between the first and the second clause is the negative marker *mā*:

raʔaytu   šayʔ-an
see.PRF.1SG   thing-ACC
'I saw something.'

mā   raʔaytu   šayʔ-an
NEG   see.PRF.1SG   thing-ACC
'I did not see anything.'

occur as a grammatical fragment answer to a question such as *Who came* since the answer to this question cannot be **anyone*. This technique will be referred to as *the grammatical fragment answer*, and will be used as a diagnostic test to distinguish these items from the other NSIs (negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items).

A typical example of a negative polarity item in the modern Arabic varieties is *ʕumr-* '(n)ever'. The occurrence of this item in questions, conditionals and negative clauses is exemplified, respectively below.

(379)   Madinah Arabic

a. ʕumr-ak   šufta-ha

    ever-you.2MSG   see.PRF.2MSG-it

    'Have you ever seen it?'

b. ʔiðā   ʕumr-ak   šufta-ha   gull-ī

    if   ever-2MSG   see.PRF.2MSG-3FSG   tell.IMP-1SG

    'If you ever saw it, tell me.'

c. mā   ʕumr-ī   šufta-ha

    NEG   ever-1SG   see.PRF.1SG-3FSG

    'I have never seen it.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

Items such as *ʕumr-* are not possible in affirmative declarative clauses and cannot be a grammatical fragment answer. The ungrammaticality of such uses is demonstrated by the ungrammatical examples below:

(380)   Madinah Arabic

   a.   *ʕumr-ī   šufta-ha

       ever-me   see.PRF.2MSG-3FSG

       '* I ever saw it.'

   b.   šufta-ha

       see.PRF.2MSG-3FSG

       *ʕumr-ī

       ever

       'Did you see it?'

       'Ever'   *(Personal knowledge)*

The second term is *negative indefinite pronouns*. Unlike negative polarity items, these items can occur as a grammatical fragment answer to a question like *Who came*? as the answer can be *nobody*. Note this answer is not only grammatical but also conveys a negative meaning. In fact, these items can be used in questions, without predicate negation, and yet those clauses are interpreted as negatives. Take English *nobody* as an example. This item not only can be used as a fragment answer conveying negative meaning, but also in a question like *did nobody come?* And in the latter, the question is interpreted negatively.

maḥad in Yanbuʕ Arabic, would be a clear example of this phenomenon as in the following:

(381)   Yanbuʕ Arabic

     maḥad   ǧa   l-yōm

     noone   come.PRF.3MSG   DEF-today

     'No one came today.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

This item can occur as a grammatical fragment answer. It can also be used in a question, without predicate negation, and results in negative interpretation. Both facts are exemplified below:

(382)   Yanbuʕ Arabic

a.   mīn   ǧa

who   come.PRF.3MSG

maḥad

no one

'Who came?'

'No one.'

b.   maḥad   ǧa   l-yōm

no one   come.PRF.3MSG   DEF-today

'Did nobody come today?'   *(Fieldwork data)*

The last term is *negative concord items*. These items are named after the *negative concord* phenomenon, which means that two negative elements occur in the same clause and fail to cancel each other out. This is exactly the opposite of what is called *double negation*. In the latter, the presence of the two negative elements in the same clause results in an affirmative reading as they do cancel each other out.

An example of these items is what we will be referring to in this study as *wala-*items such as *wala-ktāb* 'not (even) a book'. Shortly such phrases will be addressed in detail. For now, it is important to point out that a negative concord item is an item that can occur in a negative concord construction. For instance, *wala-ktāb* in al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic can co-occur with the verbal negator *mā* in the same clause, and the resulting construction would be a negative concord structure (negative reading still in place), whereas the co-

occurrence of the negator *mā* with the negative indefinite pronoun *maḥad* 'no one' would

result in double negation (affirmative reading).[74] The following clause illustrates the co-

occurrence of *wala-ktāb* and the negator *mā* in the same clause:

(383) al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

　　　　mā　　　　　garēt　　　　　　　wala-ktāb

　　　　NEG　　　　　read.PRF.1SG　　　NEG-book

　　　　'I did not read any book.'　　　　　　　　　　　　*(Fieldwork data)*

Similarly to negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items can be used as

a grammatical fragment answer conveying a negative meaning, e.g.:

(384) al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

　　　　kam　　　　　ktāb　　　　　garēt

　　　　how.many　　book　　　　　read.PRF.3MSG

　　　　wala-ktāb

　　　　NEG.book

　　　　'How many books did you read?'

　　　　'Not (even) a book.'　　　　　　　　　　　　　*(Fieldwork data)*

---

[74] This is not to say that negative indefinite pronouns can normally co-occur with predicate
negation in modern Arabic varieties. In fact, this might not be the case. In Madinah Arabic, for
example, the negative indefinite pronoun *maḥad* does not normally co-occur with the verbal
negator *mā* in the same clause. However, if someone is being sarcastic about an embarrassing
situation he or she has faced in a formal occasion, then, if someone asked him or her *did anyone
notice that?*, a sarcastic reply to such a question could be:

maḥad　　　　mā　　lāḥaḏ̣
noone　　　　 NEG　notice.PRF.3MSG
'Everyone noticed.' (Lit. 'No one did not notice')　　　　*(Personal knowledge)*

Note in this example, *maḥad* and *mā* cancel each other out, and the result is an affirmative reading.

Unlike negative indefinite pronouns, however, negative concord items cannot occur in a question, without predicate negation.

To sum up, then, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items can all be labeled as negative-sensitive items. Negative polarity items cannot be used as a grammatical fragment answer, while the other two can. Out of these two, however, only negative indefinite pronouns can be used in a question without predicate negation, while negative concord items cannot. On the other hand, only negative concord items can potentially occur with predicate negation in the same clause and not cancel the negative meaning out.

In this chapter, only negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items are considered. That is, the available data on negative polarity items are, first, not sufficiently plentiful to be investigated from a comparative point of view. Second, in varieties where some data is available, often no information is found on whether what might appear to be a negative polarity item can occur as a fragment answer or not. Finally, the behaviour of what might look like items of this category seem not to reveal any interesting information about their interaction with negation other than the most likely omission of the post-verbal negative *...-š* from negative clauses they appear in, a fact already addressed in 3.4.1.2. Note that the same omission is also found with negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items, but since data reveals more interesting information on these two types other than this omission, they will be discussed further here. Note, however, that unlike the case in the other chapters in this thesis where any negative phenomenon is first explained in Standard Arabic, this section does not include such a part. That is because Standard Arabic seems to lack both lexicalized negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions.

7.2 Negative indefinite pronouns

Based on our definition of the term, an item is identified as a negative indefinite pronoun if it is restricted to occur in non-affirmative contexts, able to function as a grammatical fragment answer conveying a negative meaning, and results in negative interpretation when used in a question without predicate negation. However, in large-scale cross-linguistic studies, these narrow criteria may not be effective as there will always be some missing data. For instance, in some varieties, it might be possible to check if an item can occur as a grammatical fragment answer, but it might not be possible to check if the same item can be used in questions without predicate negation. Nevertheless, these narrow criteria were checked in six varieties in Saudi Arabia, the place where my fieldwork trip was conducted for the purpose of this study. Therefore, the behaviour of negative indefinite pronouns in these varieties will be discussed first, followed by a discussion on the behaviour of what appear to be similar items in other varieties. Both, discussions, however, will come after we briefly see in the following section how negative indefinite pronouns behave cross-linguistically. In total, though, this section is based on 21 modern Arabic varieties out of the 54 considered in this study. These varieties are al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic, Madinah Arabic, Western Libyan Arabic, Cairene Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, Baskinta Arabic, Damascus Arabic, al-Karak Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Northern Jordanian Arabic, Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic, Abu Dhabi Arabic, Coastal Dhofārī Arabic, Zinǧibār Arabic, Adeni Arabic, Hadhrami Arabic and Ṣana'a Arabic.

7.2.1   Typology of negative indefinite pronouns

Before this framework is explained, it should be pointed out that the definition Haspelmath (2013) adopts for negative indefinites in his study discussed below is different from the one we adopt here and explained above. As he puts it, "all nominal

expressions that correspond to 'nobody' and 'nothing' are regarded as "negative indefinite pronouns", even though in many or most languages the negative sense is contributed exclusively by the predicate negation" (Haspelmath, 2013). Nevertheless, a reference to his typological framework will be made occasionally.

Haspelmath (2013) investigates a 206-language pilot sample, and notes that in 170 languages negative indefinites may co-occur with the negator used in standard negation and the omission of the latter would result in an ungrammatical structure (Type A), for example:

(385) Russian (Slavic, Indo-European)

ja   ne   videla   ničego

1SG   NEG   saw   nothing

'I saw nothing.'   (Haspelmath, 2013)

In 11 languages, the negator used in standard negation never occurs with negative indefinites (Type B):

(386) German (Germanic, Indo-European)

Niemand   kam

Nobody   come.PST.3SG

'Nobody came.'   (Haspelmath, 2013)

13 languages, however, show an overlap between the two previous types (Type C); the ordinary negator may or may not co-occur with negative indefinites. This is the case in Spanish where the negative morpheme is required when the negative pronoun occurs after the verb and prevented when the negative pronoun occurs before the verb:

(387)   Spanish (Italic, Indo-European)

   d. Nadie   vino

       nobody   come.PST.3SG

       'Nobody came.'

   e. No   vi   nada

       NEG   see.PST.1SG   nothing

       'I saw nothing.'

Finally, in 12 languages, the negative existential construction is used to express negative indefinite pronouns (Type D). Nelemwa is an example of this type as the following demonstrates:

(388)   Nelemwa, also known as Kumak (Malayo-Polynesian, Austronesian)

       kia   agu   i   uya

       NEG.EX   person   3SG   arrive

       'Nobody came.' (Lit. 'There is not a person who came.')   (Haspelmath, 2013)

        Arabic varieties actually resist straightforward classification as one or other of these varieties, but rather have items that behave like the items of type B languages, and other items that behave like the items of type C languages. As we will see below, what we define in this study as negative indefinite pronouns behave as items of type B languages, whereas what we define as negative concord items behave as items of type C languages.

7.2.2   Negative indefinite pronouns in Saudi Arabia

In this study, eight varieties from Saudi Arabia are considered, but only six are included in this section: al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic and Madinah Arabic.[75] In all of these varieties, the criteria we have for negative indefinite pronouns are found to be met with one item only, *maḥad.* This item literally means 'no one', and its behaviour and its phonological shape are found to be identical in all of the considered varieties here.

maḥad in all of the six varieties in this section never co-occurs with predicate negation; thus, according to Haspelmath's study (2013), these varieties are type (B). Consider the following and note that *maḥad* must always be in the subject position:

(389)   Ḥagil Arabic

maḥad   ligā   hadiyyah

no one   get.PRF.3MSG   gift

'No one got a gift.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

(390)   al-Bāḥa Arabic

maḥad   ǧa

no one   come.PRF.3MSG

'No one came.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

maḥad in all of the six varieties can be used as a fragment answer to a question and conveys a negative meaning, e.g.:

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[75] Data in all of them are collected through fieldwork (cf. section 2.6), except in Madinah Arabic as data in this one is based on my personal knowledge of the variety (I speak it natively).

(391)   Madinah Arabic

    a.   mīn   ǧa

        who   come.PRF.3MSG

        maḥad

        no one

        'Who came?'

        'No one.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(392)   al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

    a.   mīn   šift

        who   see.PRF.1SG

        maḥad

        no one

        'Who did you see?'

        'No one.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

    In all of the six varieties also, *maḥad* can occur in a question, without predicate

negation, and the question will have negative interpretation, e.g.:

(393)   Yanbuʕ Arabic

        maḥad   ʕazam-kum

        no one   invite.PRF.2PL

        'Did no one invite you?'   *(Fieldwork data)*

(394)   ʕUnayzah Arabic

        maḥad   ǧa   l-yōm

        no one   come.PRF.3MSG   DEF-today

        'Did no one come today?'   *(Fieldwork data)*

maḥad in these varieties is a result of a lexicalization process, in which the negative polarity item *aḥad* 'one' is fused to the verbal negator *mā*. A similar item, which presumably underwent the same process, is observed in other modern Arabic varieties. However, the shortage in the availability of data prevents us from checking whether these similar items meet all the criteria we adopt in this study for negative indefinite pronouns or not. Therefore, unlike the case with the six Saudi Arabian varieties where *maḥad* is referred to as a negative indefinite pronoun, these similar items will be referred to as *maḥad*-items, and their behaviours will be discussed in the next section.

7.2.3   *maḥad*-items in modern Arabic varieties

maḥad-items are those which look phonologically and semantically similar to the negative indefinite pronoun *maḥad* found in Saudi Arabia. From the semantic point of view, these items are all nominal expressions correspond to the meaning 'no one'. From the phonological point of view, these items seem to be a result of a lexicalization process in which the verbal negator in a variety is fused to the item *aḥad* 'one'. In Table 51 below, all varieties where such items are found are listed with the phonological shapes of these items.

Table 51: *maḥad*-items items in modern Arabic varieties

No.	Arabic variety	The *maḥad*-item
1.	Western Libyan Arabic	*maḥad*
2.	Cairene Arabic	*maḥaddiš*
3.	Palestinian Arabic	*maḥaddeš* (or *māḥadāš*)
4.	Baskinta Arabic	*maḥada*
5.	Damascus Arabic	*māḥada*
6.	al-Karak Arabic	*maḥada*
7.	as-Salṭ Arabic	*māḥadāš*
8.	Northern Jordanian Arabic	*maḥadāš*
9.	Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic	*maḥad*
10.	Abu Dhabi Arabic	*maḥḥad*
11.	Coastal Dhofārī Arabic	*māḥad*
12.	Zinǧibār Arabic	*maḥḥad*
13.	Adeni Arabic	*maḥḥad*
14.	Hadhrami Arabic	*maḥḥad*
15.	Ṣana'a Arabic	*māḥad*

We have seen that among the Saudi Arabian varieties, the *maḥad*-item is *maḥad* in all of them, but here we find different phonological shapes of these items. Some are similar to the Saudi Arabian *maḥad*, some with a geminated [ḥ] as in *maḥḥad*, some with a geminated [d] as in *maḥaddiš*, some with a final -*a* as in *maḥada,* and finally some contain the negative ...-*š*. First, *maḥad* as observed in Saudi Arabia is found in Western Libyan Arabic, Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic, Coastal Dhofārī Arabic and Ṣana'a Arabic. These four varieties are from different geographical areas (Western Libyan Arabic is from the

Maghrebi region; Širqāṭ (Assur) Arabic is from the Mesopotamian region; Coastal Dhofārī Arabic is from the Arabian Peninsula region; and Ṣana'a Arabic is from the Yemeni region. Therefore, it seems that the phonological form *maḥad* has no specific region.

Second, the gemination of [ḥ] is found in Abu Dhabi Arabic, Zinǧibār Arabic, Adeni Arabic and Hadhrami Arabic. All of them are Yemeni varieties, except Abu Dhabi Arabic is an Arabian Peninsula one. Thus, one might assume that the gemination of [ḥ] occurs in the Arabian Peninsula and the Yemeni region only, which are adjacent to each other. This is not to say, though, other forms where [ḥ] is not geminated is not found; it is just to say that when this gemination occurs, it is probably in these two regions.

Third, the gemination of [d] is found in Palestinian Arabic and Cairene Arabic. Although we have classified these two varieties as belonging to different areas for the purposes of this study (Egyptian and Levantine), the proximity of Palestine to Egypt results in a number of similarities between the two varieties in different areas of grammar and lexicon, and it is likely that the gemination of [d] in the *maḥad*-item in Palestinian Arabic is a borrowing from Cairene Arabic.

Fourth, the presence of the final *-a* is found in Baskinta Arabic, Damascus Arabic, al-Karak Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, Palestinian Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic. All of them are Levantine varieties. Note, however, that this final *-a* is followed in some varieties by the negative …*-š* as in *māḥadāš,* a fact that will be discussed in detail next. For now, it is important to note that unlike the gemination of [ḥ] in the Arabian Peninsula and the Yemeni region where it occurs beside other forms, all of the Levantine varieties seem to have always this final *-a*, except Palestinian Arabic where this form is found as in *māḥadāš* beside *maḥaddeš* with no final *-a*.[76]

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[76] This [a] could be a relic of the accusative case marker *-a* in Arabic. See section 1.3.2.2 for case marking system in Arabic.

Finally, the presence of ...-*š* is found in Cairene Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic. All of them are Levantine varieties, except Cairene Arabic, which is an Egyptian one. Therefore, one might expect a *maḥad*-item with a final [š] to be found in the Levantine and the Egyptian region. This, however, must be restricted to the fact that whether the variety is a *š*-variety or not. That is, Damascus Arabic, for example, is a Levantine non-*š*-variety; thus, no final [š] is found with the *maḥad*-item in this variety. There is one exception found for this, however. Baskinta Arabic is *š*-variety; yet, the *maḥad*-item here is *maḥada* with no [š]. The question is why, but before we answer this, we should ask another question, namely does [š] occur in *maḥad*-items in *š*-varieties of other regions? The answer to this question is no. The available data reveals that if the *š*-variety is not spoken in the Levantine or the Egyptian regions, *maḥad*-items do not contain [š]. This is based on four *š*-varieties spoken in other regions: Western Libyan Arabic, Zinǧibār Arabic, Adeni Arabic and Ṣana'a Arabic. All of them are Yemeni varieties, except Western Libyan Arabic is a Maghrebi one. Having said that, we return now to the question of why Baskinta Arabic and other non-Levantine/non-Egyptian *š*-varieties do not have final [š]. In section 7.3.1, we explained that *maḥad*-items appear to be a result of a lexicalization process, in which the negative polarity item *aḥad* 'one' is fused to the verbal negator. Therefore, in varieties where ...-*š* is not part of the verbal negator, the resulting *maḥad*-item is not expected to have [š], but in varieties where ...-*š* is part of the verbal negator, the resulting *maḥad*-item should be expected to have [š]. However, the reason why *maḥad*-items do not have a final [š] in some of the *š*-varieties where ...-*š* is part of the verbal negator could be that *maḥad*-items in such varieties have been lexicalized before …-*š* became part of the verbal negator in these varieties. Accordingly, if we consider the fact that both having …-*š* as part of the negative morpheme and lexicalizing a *maḥad*-item are innovations in the modern Arabic varieties, one can assume that having …-*š* is an older development than lexicalizing a

maḥad-item in the Levantine and the Egyptian region, whereas in other regions, in contrast, the lexicalization of a *maḥad*-item is the older one.

After this discussion on the different phonological shapes of the *maḥad*-items, we turn now to their behaviour in the clause. In all of the 15 varieties considered in this section, these items seem to behave similarly to the negative indefinite pronoun *maḥad* found in the Saudi Arabian varieties. That is, they always appear in the subject position and never co-occur with predicate negation in the same clause. Thus, if we classify these items as negative indefinite pronouns, these varieties will be categorized as type (B) according to the aforementioned framework proposed by Haspelmath (cf. 7.2.1). The following are representitive examples:

(395) Baskinta Arabic

maḥada   χabbar-ni   ʔinn-ak   hawn

no one   tell.PRF.3MSG-me   that-2MSG   here

'No one told me that you were here.'   (Abu-Haidar, 1979: 110)

(396) Palestinian Arabic

māḥaddeš   biʔdar   yisiriʔ-o

no one   can.IMPF.3MSG   steal.IMPF.3MSG-3MSG

'No one can steal from him.'   (Seeger, 1996: 2)

(397) Abu Dhabi Arabic

maḥḥad   yidišš   hini

No one   enter.IMPF.3MSG here

'No one enters here.'   (Qafisheh, 1977: 243)

Accordingly, the following generalization is meant to capture not only the behaviour of the *maḥad*-items, but also the corresponding ones attested in Saudi Arabia:

Generalization 28: In a full sentence, maḥad-*items always occur in the subject position and never co-occur with predicate negation.*

Finally, less data is found to show the expected double negation (as explained in 7.1) that results from the co-occurrence of a *maḥad*-item with predicate negation in the same clause. Examples demonstrating this are found in Cairene Arabic and Damascus as in the following:

(398)   Cairene Arabic

maḥaddiš   min   al-bašar   ma-lū-š   maḥāsin

no one   from   DEF-mankind   NEG-have-NEG   good.qualities

'Everyone has some good qualities'   (Woidich, 1968: 73)

(399)   Damascus Arabic

māḥada   mā   šāf-ni

no one   NEG   see.PRF.3MSG-1SG

'Everyone saw me.'   (Murphy, 2014: 94)

In the next section, we explore another type of negative-sensitive items, negative concord items. As in this section, these items are first explored among the Saudi Arabian varieties, then we explore how what appear to be similar items behave in other modern Arabic varieties.

7.3 Negative concord items

Negative concord items are those which can be used with predicate negation in the same clause and yet the resulting clause would still be interpreted as negative. However, as we will shortly see, similarly to negative indefinite pronouns, in certain constructions, these

items cannot co-occur with predicate negation. Moreover, in some cases, their behaviour is different from negative indefinites. More data was collected during the fieldwork trip to Saudi Arabia to identify such differences, but the same amount of data is not accessible in other varieties to do the same. Therefore, these items among the Saudi Arabian varieties will be addressed in section 7.3.1, and the behaviour of what appear to be similar items in other varieties will be addressed in section 7.3.2. The total number of varieties included in these two sections is 15. These varieties are al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic, Madinah Arabic, Palestinian Arabic, Damascus Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, al-Karak Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and Western Libyan Arabic. Note, however, that unlike the previous section on negative indefinites, there is no typological framework found for these items in the literature; thus, no sub-section is included here for this purpose.

7.3.1   Negative concord items in Saudi Arabia

In the six Arabic varieties from Saudi Arabia (al-Bāḥa Arabic, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic, ʕUnayzah Arabic and Madinah Arabic), there does not appear to be any lexicalized negative concord item. However, with the exception of ʕUnayzah Arabic and al-Bāḥa Arabic, such morphemes can be constructed by adding the emphatic morpheme *wa-* 'and' to the negator *lā* and following them by any indefinite noun as in *walā-kitāb* 'not (even) a book'. There seem to be no restrictions on what noun can follow *walā* as long as this noun is indefinite and singular. In al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic and Madinah Arabic, when these items occur before the verb, predicate negation is not possible in the clause, but when they occur after the verb, predicate negation is required. Consider the following:

(400) Ḥagil Arabic

  a. wala-wāḥad   ğā

      NEG-one   come.PRF.3MSG

      'No one came.' (Lit. 'Not even one person came.')

  b. mā   ğā   wala-wāḥad

      NEG   come.PRF.3MSG   NEG-one

      'No one came.' (Lit. 'Not even one person came.')   *(Fieldwork data)*

(401) al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

  a. wala-šay   šift

      NEG-thing   see.PRF.1SG

      'I did not see anything.' (Lit. 'I did not even see one thing.')

  b. mā   šift   wala-šay

      NEG   see.PRF.1SG   NEG-thing

      'I did not see anything.' (Lit. 'I did not even see one thing.') *(Fieldwork data)*

Note that in these examples the two indefinite nouns following *wala* are *wāḥad* as in *wala-wāḥad* and *šay* as in *wala-šay*. This is to illustrate that if we analyze these two items based on the criteria Haspelmath (2013) adopts in his typological study on negative indefinites, they would be considered as negative indefinite pronouns since both items correspond, respectively, to 'no one' and 'nothing'. Accordingly, al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, Yanbuʕ Arabic and Madinah Arabic would be type (C) since the case in them is similar to Spanish where the verbal negator is used when *wala-wāḥad* and *wala-šay* occur after the verb and prevented when they occur before the verb (cf. section 7.2.1). It might, however, be worth noting here that the first assumption that was made about this phenomenon is that *wala*-items are not possible with the verbal negator if they occur in the subject position (before the verb), and they are possible if they occur in the object

position (after the verb). However, the following examples challenge such an assumption as in both clauses here the item *wala-ktāb* occurs in the object position. The grammatical function of these items therefore appears to be less important than their position relative to the verb.

(402)   Madinah Arabic

a.   wala-ktāb   garēt

NEG-book   read.PRF.1MSG

'I did not read any book'

b.   mā   garēt   wala-ktāb

NEG   read.PRF.1MSG   NEG-book

'I did not read any book'   *(Personal knowledge)*

The fact that these *wala*-items can co-occur with predicate negation, even if this is restricted by having them after the verb only, make us classify the four varieties (al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic, Ḥagil Arabic, YanbuՕ Arabic and Madinah Arabic) as varieties where the negative concord phenomenon is possible.

Like the negative indefinite *maḥad, wala*-items can occur as a fragment answer, e.g.:

(403)   Madinah Arabic

kam   ktāb   garēt

how.many   book   read.PRF.2MSG

wala-ktāb

NEG-book

'How many books have you read?

'Not (even) one book.'   *(Personal knowledge)*

(404)   Yanbuʕ Arabic

ʔēš   gāl

what   say.PRF.3MSG

wala-kilmah

NEG-word

'What did he say?'

'Not (even) a word'   *(Fieldwork data)*

Unlike the negative indefinite *maḥad,* however, *wala*-items cannot occur in questions without predicate negation. Compare the following and note that, in the first question, the *wala*-item comes before the verb, and, as illustrated above, the verbal negator is not used; thus, the question is not grammatical, whereas, in the second question, the *wala*-item comes after the verb, and, as illustrated, the verbal negator is used; thus, the question is grammatical:

(405)   al-ʔAḥsāʔ Arabic

   a. *wala-šay   šift

       NEG-thing   see.PRF.2MSG

       'Did you see nothing?'

b. mā   šift   wala-šay

    NEG   see.PRF.2MSG   NEG-thing

'Did you see nothing?'   *(Fieldwork data)*

In ʕUnayzah Arabic and al-Bāḥa Arabic, the case is different from the one explained above. First, in al-Bāḥa Arabic, *wala*-items are only possible after the verb and the verbal negator must be used. This indicates that negative concord constructions are also possible in this variety, e.g.:

(406) al-Bāḥa Arabic

       mā   ṣār   walā-šay

       NEG   happen.PRF.3MSG   NEG-thing

       'Nothing happened.' (Lit. 'Not even a thing happened')   *(Fieldwork data)*

In al-Bāḥa Arabic also, *wala*-items can occur as fragment answers to a question and convey negative meaning, for example:

(407) al-Bāḥa Arabic

       wiš   šift

       what   see.PRF.3MSG

       walā-šay

       NEG-thing

       'What did you see?'

       'Nothing.' (Lit. 'Not even a thing)   *(Fieldwork data)*

Based on this al-Bāḥa Arabic is type A in Haspelmath's typological study since predicate negation is always required with nouns corresponding to 'no one' and 'nothing' in this variety (cf. section 7.2.1).

Out of the six Saudi Arabian varieties, ʕUnayzah Arabic is the only variety where negative concord is not possible. This does not mean *wala*-items are not attested here; they are, but they never occur in a complete clause, whether they occur after or before the verb. The only possible context for these items is fragment answers, for example:[77]

(408) ʕUnayzah Arabic

wiš   šift

what   see.PRF.3MSG

walā-šay

NEG-thing

'What did you see?'

'Nothing.' (Lit. 'Not even a thing)   *(Fieldwork data)*

Finally, in his description of Damascus Arabic, Cowell states that "*lā* is used with the "emphatic *w-*" in the sense 'not even'" (Cowell, 2005: 390), e.g.:

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[77] The question then is how to say clauses like 'I did not see anything' or 'I did not see anyone' in this variety. Such clauses are expressed similar to English; by using the negative polarity items *šay* 'thing' and *aḥad* 'one' in a negative context, for example:

mā   šift   šay
NEG   see.PRF.1SG   thing
'I did not see anything.'

mā   ǧā   aḥad
NEG   come.PRF.3MSG   one
'No one came.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

(409) Damascus Arabic

wlā-wāḥed   mn   əd-dakātra   ʔəder   išaχχeṣ   əl-maraḍ

NEG-one   from   DEF-doctors could   diagnose.IMPF.3MSG DEF-disease

'Not even one of the doctors could diagnose the disease.'   (Cowell, 2005: 390)

This sense of the presence of 'even' with *wala*-items was tested in the six Saudi Arabian varieties by intercalating the morpheme *ḥattā* 'even' between *wala* and the indefinite noun. For instance, the item *walā-šay* 'not a thing' would appear after this intercalation as *walā-ḥatta-šay* 'not even a thing'. Consider, as an example:

(410) al-Bāḥa Arabic

mā   šift   walā-ḥatta-šay

NEG   see.PRF.1SG   NEG-even-thing

'I did not even see a thing.'   *(Fieldwork data)*

Participants in this study all agreed on that this construction is possible when extra emphasis is intended. As we will see in the next section, this sense of having 'even' with *wala*-items seems to play a significant role in the way such items appear in some modern Arabic varieties.

7.3.2 *wala*-items in modern Arabic varieties

By *wala*-items, we mean items that look similar to the ones discussed previously among the Saudi varieties in which *wala* is followed by an indefinite singular noun. Information on these items is available for Palestinian Arabic, Damascus Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, al-Karak Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic. In all of them, if the *wala*-item occurs before the verb, the verbal negator cannot be used, but if the item occurs after the verb,

the verbal negator seems required. Thus, based on the definition of the typological framework proposed by Haspelmath (2013), these five varieties are type (C) where the morphemes 'no one' and 'nothing' may or may not co-occur with the verbal negator. Consider, for example:

(411) Palestinian Arabic

a. wala-ḥada   fī-hum   šāf-ni

   NEG-one   in-them   see.PRF.3MSG-1SG

   'No one saw me.'

b. ma-šāf-nī-š   wala-ḥada

NEG-see.PRF.3MSG-1SG-NEG   NEG-one

'No one saw me.'   (Hoyt, 2005: 1)

(412) as-Salṭ Arabic

a. wala-wāḥad   ʔaǧa

   NEG-one   come.PRF.3MSG

   'No one came.'   (Palva, 2004: 226)

b. maʕ-hummu-šš   walā-girš

with-they-NEG   NEG-piaster

'They did not have a piaster [in their pockets].'   (Palva, 2004: 232)

(413) Damascus Arabic

a. wlā-wāḥed   mn   əd-dakātra   ʔəder išaχχeṣ   əl-maraḍ

   NEG-one   from   DEF-doctors   could diagnose.IMPF.3MSG DEF-disease

   'No one from the doctors could diagnose the disease.'   (Cowell, 2005: 390)

b. būʕed-ek   mā əḥki   wala-kəlme barrāt   ṭ-ṭarīʔ

promise.IMPF.1SG-2FSG   NEG   say.IMPF.1SG   NEG-word   outside   DEF-way

'I promise you I will not say a single word outside the way [bounds of propriety]'

                                                      (Murphy, 2014: 69)

In al-Karak Arabic and Northern Jordanian Arabic only, further data also shows that *wala*-items in these varieties can also occur as fragment answers, e.g.:

(414)   al-Karak Arabic

      mīn   ğa

      who   come.PRF.3MSG

      wala-wāḥad

      NEG-one

      'Who came?'

      'No one'   (Alsarayreh, 2012: 73)

(415)   Northern Jordanian Arabic

      mīn   šuft

      who   see.PRF.2MSG

      wala-ḥada

      NEG-one

      'Who did you see?'

      'No one'   (Alqassas, 2015: 123)

Based on the previous, then, one can see that the negative concord phenomenon occurs in all of these five varieties. Note that all of these five varieties could be considered as Eastern Arabic varieties as they are spoken in the eastern part of the Arabic-world

(Egypt eastwards). A similar phenomenon, but with different morphemes, is observed in some of the Western Arabic varieties spoken in the west of the Arabic-speaking world (Libya westwards). Information on this is available in three Western Arabic varieties: Moroccan Arabic, Western Libyan Arabic and Standard Maltese.

In the previous section, we explained that *wala*-items deliver the sense of 'not even'. In this vein, the item *wala-wāḥid* 'not one' may be realized, to add an extra emphasis, as *wala ḥattā wāḥid* 'not even one'. This has been confirmed among the Saudi varieties by asking participants to judge the grammaticality of such phrases. Also, in the same section, we have seen that Cowell (2005) reports the same sense of *ḥattā* 'even' with *wala*-items in Damascus Arabic. With this in mind regarding some of the Eastern Arabic varieties, we turn now to the case in the Western Arabic ones.

In Moroccan Arabic, Western Libyan Arabic and Sfax Arabic, we find what we will refer to as *ḥattā*-items such as *ḥattā-wāḥid* 'no one'. These items function similarly to the *wala*-items found in the Eastern varieties of Arabic. That is to say, the full phrase *wala* + *ḥattā* + an indefinite is usually shortened to *wala* + an indefinite noun in Eastern Arabic, and to *ḥattā* + an indefinite in Western Arabic. However, it seems that in the east *wala* can be followed by any indefinite singular noun, whereas in the west the available data shows that the item *ḥattā* is commonly followed by *wāḥid* 'one' as in *ḥattā-wāḥid* 'no one' (or *ḥad* as in *ḥattā-ḥad* 'no one') and *ḥaža* 'thing' as in *ḥattā-ḥaža* 'nothing'.[78] The latter (*ḥattā-ḥaža* 'nothing'), however, is found to have an allomorph in Moroccan Arabic, namely *walu* 'nothing'. Compare the following:

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[78] It can also be followed by any indefinite noun expressing a minimal quantity such 'gram', 'centime', etc. (Adila, 1996).

(416)   Moroccan Arabic

  a. ma-rbəḥt   walu

       NEG-earn.PRF.1SG   nothing

       'I earned nothing.'

  b. ma-iddiw   ḥətta-ḥaža

       NEG-take.PRF.3PL   nothing

       'They are not going to take nothing.'   (Harrell, 2004: 154)

In addition to the sense of having *ḥattā* 'even', the above examples may provide another evidence that favours the assumption that *ḥattā*-items and *wala*-items are alike. In other words, this western item *walu* 'nothing' could be a trace of the eastern *wala* in which the realization of the phrase *wala ḥattā ḥaža* results in two variants *ḥətta-ḥaža* and *walu*, a morpheme that would appear as *wala-ḥāǧa* 'nothing' in the east.[79]

The differences between *ḥattā*-items and *wala*-items go beyond the phonological form. In the eastern varieties of Arabic, we have seen that the verbal negator co-occurs with *wala*-items if they come after the verb, and it is omitted it when they come before the verb. We have also seen, based on the availability of data in some eastern varieties, that *wala*-items can occur as fragment answers to a question and convey a negative meaning. This is not always the case with *ḥattā*-items, at least, not based on the western Arabic varieties considered here.

In Western Libyan Arabic and Moroccan Arabic, the verbal negator with *ḥattā*-items seems to be required whether these items come before or after the verb, e.g.:

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[79] Although *wala-šay* would be more common in Saudi Arabia, for example, to mean 'nothing', *wala-ḥāǧa* can also be possibly used.

(417)   Western Libyan Arabic

    a.   ḥatta-waḥad   ma-žā

        no one   NEG-come.PRF.3MSG

        'No one came.'   (Krer, 2013: 91)

    b.   ma-žā   ḥatta-waḥad

        NEG-come.PRF.3MSG   no one

        'No one came.'   (Krer, 2013: 90)

(418)   Moroccan Arabic

    a.   ḥətta-waḥəd   ma-ža

        no one   NEG-come.PRF.3MSG

        'No one came.'   (Benmamoun, 1997: 272)

    b.   ma-iddiw   ḥətta-ḥaža

        NEG-take.PRF.3PL   nothing

        'They are not going to take nothing.'   (Harrell, 2004: 154)

In Sfax Arabic, data is only available on the use of *ḥattā*-items after the verb only, e.g.:

(419)   Sfax Arabic

      ma-qābilti (-š)   ḥatta   ḥad   l-yūm

      NEG-meet.PRF.1SG (-NEG)   any   body   DEF-today

      'I did not meet anybody today.'   (Bahloul, 1996: 79)

     In Western Libyan Arabic, the available data shows that *ḥattā*-items cannot occur as fragment answers to a question and in Sfax Arabic no data are found to either confirm or deny such a fact, but in Moroccan Arabic, *ḥattā*-items can be used as fragment answers, e.g.:

(420)   Moroccan Arabic

škun   šəft

who   see.PRF.3MSG

ḥətta-ḥadd

no one

'Who did you see?

'no one'   (Hoyt, 2005: 6)

This means that, according to our definition of the two terms (section 7.1), *ḥattā*-items in Moroccan Arabic are negative concord items because they can occur as fragment answers and convey a negative meaning, but these items in Western Libyan Arabic are negative polarity items since they cannot be used as fragment answers. In Sfax Arabic, the case of *ḥattā*-items is not clear; no data are found to see whether *ḥattā*-items can occur as fragment answers or not.

In Western Libyan Arabic, negative concord items are found, but they are not *ḥattā*-items (expressed with an initial *ḥattā*). These items are *ḥad* 'no one' and *šay* 'nothing'. Both items are mostly found to function as negative polarity items in other modern Arabic varieties in which they cannot be used as fragment answer.[80] Consider the following where the use of these two items are exemplified. Note here that the first two examples show the use of these two items in negative concord constructions, whereas the other examples show how these two items can occur as fragment answers:

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[80] This is the case in Standard Arabic, but there is no available data in every modern Arabic variety to confirm the this, except among the Saudi Arabian varieties. In these varieties, the similar items (*ʔaḥad* and *šay*) mean, respectively 'one' and 'thing', and they are negative polarity items as they cannot be fragment answers and tend to appear in non-affirmative contexts only.

(421) Western Libyan Arabic

   a. ma-mšā   ḥad   li-lmadrsa

      NEG-go.PRF.3MSG   no one   DEF-school

      'No one went to the school'

   b. ma-šuft   šay

      NEG-see.PRF.1SG   thing

      'I saw nothing'

   c. min   šuft

      who   see.PRF.2MSG

      ḥad

      no one

      'Who did you see?'

      'No one.'

   d. šini   dirit

      what   do.PRF.2MSG

      šay

      'What did you do?'

      'Nothing.'   (Krer, 2013: 86)

Standard Maltese is another variety where the observed negative concord items are similar to the ones found in Western Libyan Arabic (Lucas, 2014). The morphemes in this variety are *ħadd* 'no one' and *xejn* 'nothing'. The following are representative examples for their use in negative concord clauses and their use as fragment answers.

(422)   Standard Maltese

    a.   ħadd   ma   mar

       no one   NEG   go.PRF.3MSG

       'No one went.'   (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 90)

    b.   xejn   ma   waqa

       nothing   NEG   fall.PRF.3MSG

       'Nothing fell.'   (Borg & Azzopardi-Alexander, 1997: 91)

    c.   x'rat

       what-see.PRF.3FSG

       xejn

       nothing

       'What did she see?'

       'Nothing'   (Lucas, 2014: 226)

The remaining question is that if the five considered eastern varieties in this section (Palestinian Arabic, Damascus Arabic, as-Salṭ Arabic, al-Karak Arabic and Northern Jordanian) are Type C based on the typological framework proposed by Haspelmath (2013) since in these five varieties the items correspond to 'no one' and 'nothing' may or may not co-occur with the verbal negator, what is then the type of the four considered western varieties (Moroccan Arabic, Western Libyan Arabic, Sfax Arabic and Standard Maltese) based on the same typological framework. The types of these four western varieties is (A) as the predicate negation seems to be required in these varieties with items that correspond to 'no one' and 'nothing'.

To sum up, then, this section (negative concord items) answers two important questions. First, do negative concord constructions occur in modern Arabic varieties? The answer is they do occur, and this is based on 15 modern Arabic varieties. In 14 out of

these varieties, negative concord constructions are attested, only in one variety (ʕUnayzah Arabic, a Saudi Arabian variety) this phenomenon is not attested. Therefore,

> *Generalization 29: Unlike the case in Standard Arabic, negative concord constructions are observed in modern Arabic varieties.*

The second question is what are the negative concord items in these 14 modern Arabic varieties? The answer is that among the eastern modern Arabic varieties (10 out of the 14), the items that seem to be functioning this way are what we referred to as *wala-*items. Thus,

> *Generalization 30: In the eastern modern Arabic varieties, negative concord constructions are mostly done by the use of* wala-*items.*

In the western modern Arabic varieties (4 out of the 14), there seems to be no specific class of items functioning this way. In Moroccan Arabic, the negative concord items are what we referred to as *ḥattā*-items. In Western Libyan Arabic, these items are *ḥad* 'no one' and *šay* 'nothing'. In Standard Maltese, the items are *ḥadd* 'no one' and *xejn* 'nothing'. In Sfax Arabic, the case is not clear due to the limitation of the available data. Because of this diversity between these types of items in western Arabic varieties, and because moreover the number of these varieties considered here is four only, no generalization regarding their negative concord items is proposed.

7.4 Summary

In this chapter, we considered negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord items. Due to some similar aspects between the two phenomena, more restricted definitions were

used to distinguish them from each other. As a result, the Saudi Arabian varieties, for which it was possible to apply these restricted definitions precisely, were discussed first. Then, we discussed the use of what appear to be similar items found in different modern Arabic varieties.

maḥad is the negative indefinite pronoun among the Saudi varieties. The same item is found in other varieties, which seems to be used in the same manner, i.e., it appears in the subject position only. *wala*-items can be used in negative concord constructions among the majority of the Saudi varieties (found in 5 out of 6 Saudi varieties). Similar items are found to function in the same fashion in other Arabic varieties. These items, however, appear to be constructed with *wala,* as in *wala-wāḥid* 'no one', in the eastern part of the Arabic world and with *ḥattā,* as in *ḥattā-ḥad* 'no one', in the western part. Finally, this chapter results in three generalizations which are repeated below.

Generalization 28: In a full sentence, maḥad-*items always occur in the subject position and never co-occur with predicate negation.*

Generalization 29: Unlike the case in Standard Arabic, negative concord constructions are observed in modern Arabic varieties.

Generalization 30: In the eastern modern Arabic varieties, negative concord constructions are mostly done by the use of wala-*items.*

This is the last chapter where results of this study are presented. The next chapter is the conclusion, in which the results of the present study are summarized and possible avenues for future research are touched upon.

8. Conclusion

8.1 Summary

In this thesis, different types of negation are considered from 54 modern Arabic varieties. If we include Standard Arabic, the total number of the considered varieties in this study would be then 55, not 54. However, in this study, Standard Arabic has not been considered as a modern variety. It is perceived, instead, as a variety that is relatively similar to the mother of the considered modern varieties; thus, occasional reference to it has been made to explain some of the found negative phenomena among the contemporary varieties of Arabic.

The investigated negative types in this study are considered from a typological point of view. Thus, as explained by Song (2001), the four steps (or stages) that should be followed in any typological study are also followed here where possible. In this vein, any considered negative phenomenon is first defined (step I). Then, the considered sample of Arabic varieties is categorized (step II). Then, generalizations are proposed (step III) and explained where possible (step IV). These four steps have been followed in most cases. More specifically, they have been followed with standard negation, non-verbal negation, negative imperatives and negative existential clauses. In three cases only (negation of pseudo-verbs, negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions), the steps have been modified such that no categorization has been proposed. In the negation of pseudo-verbs, varieties tend to behave in the same manner; thus, a categorization in this regard would not reveal any interesting information. In contrast, with negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions, there was more data available for Saudi varieties than most others, thanks to the fieldwork I conducted on these varieties (e.g., unlike the other Saudi varieties, negative concord constructions are not possible in ʕUnayzah Arabic). Thus, the Saudi varieties were investigated first, and then an investigation of other varieties where data is available on

what appear to be similar items to the Saudi negative indefinite pronouns and the Saudi negative concord items was conducted.

One of the most interesting results the study shows is that negation in Arabic is going through a cycle other than the one proposed by Jespersen (1917) and identified by several studies (e.g., Lucas, 2009 and Diem, 2014). In this Arabic negative cycle, negation goes through five different stages in which verbal negation (standard negation) and non-verbal negation start from being similarly expressed by the same morpheme and return to being also similarly expressed but by a morpheme that is different from the one they have started with. The change occurs first in non-verbal negation in which this type of negation would first entail an attachment of a personal pronoun to the verbal negator. The personal pronoun here must agree with the subject of the negated non-verbal clause in number, person and gender. Then, a new morpheme is coined, containing a frozen form of the 3MSG pronoun, and used to negate any non-verbal clause regardless of the type of the subject in that clause. This new coined morpheme will, in turn, be used in standard negation initially with future and progressive clauses only, and finally, generalized to negate any verbal clause.

The study also reveals other results, and these are captured by 30 generalizations. 27 of these generalizations are non-implicational. That is, the described phenomenon in the proposed generalization is not restricted (does not depend on the existence of another generalization). The remaining three generalizations are implicational. That is, the described phenomenon is restricted (depends on the existence of another one, e.g., X is only found in region Y).

10 out of the 27 non-implicational generalizations are absolute, i.e., the described phenomenon is always true, while the other 17 are non-absolute, i.e., the described phenomenon is mostly, but not always, true. On the other hand, two out of the three implicational generalizations are absolute, and only one is non-absolute. However,

because implicational generalizations may take the form X means Y, they can be either bidirectional or unidirectional. In the first one, the relationship between X and Y is symmetrical, meaning if X entails Y, Y also entails X. In the second one, the relationship is asymmetrical, meaning X entails Y but not vice versa. In this regard, two out of the three implicational generalizations are unidirectional, and one is bidirectional.

All of the 30 generalizations are repeated below and organized based on their types. Implicational generalizations are followed by an explanation to illustrate whether these generalizations are bidirectional or unidirectional. Such a characteristic is not applicable to non-implicational generalizations; thus, no such explanation follows them.

First, the non-implicational absolute generalizations are:

Generalization 6: There is no š-*variety where …*-š *is not, at least optionally, omitted in emphatic negation.*

Generalization 8: The use of lammā, lan, lā *and* ʔin *in standard negation is unattested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 11: Jespersen's cycle is observed in the Maghrebi, Egyptian, Levantine and Yemeni regions only.

Generalization 12: Jespersen's cycle is not observed in the Sudanic, Mesopotamian and Arabian Peninsula regions.

Generalization 13: The use of ʔin *in non-verbal negation is unattested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 16: In non-verbal negation, the NEG+PRO and the mū~miš *morpheme are always placed before the negated predicate.*

Generalization 17: b-*varieties seem to be found in the Arabian Peninsula region only.*

Generalization 21: In modern Arabic varieties, the verbal construction in affirmative imperatives is always different from the one used in negative imperatives.

Generalization 28: In a full sentence, maḥad-*items always occur in the subject position and never co-occur with predicate negation.*

Generalization 29: Unlike the case in Standard Arabic, negative concord constructions are observed in modern Arabic varieties.

Second, the non-implicational non-absolute generalizations are:

Generalization 1: In standard negation, the pre-verbal single negative strategy is the most common one observed among the modern Arabic varieties.

Generalization 3: The optionality between using single and bipartite negation is rarely found in modern Arabic varieties.

Generalization 4: In standard negation, bipartite negation almost always entails the use of ma……-š.

Generalization 5: In the š-*varieties, …-*š *is mostly omitted in emphatic negation.*

Generalization 7: In modern Arabic varieties, the negative construction in standard negation is almost always symmetric.

Generalization 9: Reflexes of lam *and* laysa *in standard negation is extremely rare in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 10: In standard negation, the negative morpheme(s) mostly occur(s) adjacent to the verb.

Generalization 14: The use of a reflex of laysa *and* ɣayr *in non-verbal negation is rarely attested in modern Arabic varieties.*

Generalization 15: *In modern Arabic varieties, non-verbal negation is commonly expressed by either the use of the NEG+PRO construction or the* mū~miš *morpheme.*

Generalization 18: In the š-*varieties, …-š is mostly the final suffix when the NEG+PRO strategy is used.*

Generalization 19: The use of the NEG+PRO construction for 1SG subject almost always means the dependent pronoun -nī is attached to the verbal negator.

Generalization 20: The use of the NEG+PRO construction for 1PL, 2MSG, 2FSG, 2MPL and 2FPL subjects mostly means the relevant dependent pronoun, not the independent one, is attached to the verbal negators in the Maghrebi and the Sudanic region and the relevant independent one is attached instead in the Levantine and the Arabian Peninsula region.

Generalization 24: mā *can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Arabian Peninsula where this is extremely rare.*

Generalization 25: lā *can commonly negate imperatives in every Arabic region, except in the Egyptian and the Sudanic ones.*

Generalization 26: In modern Arabic varieties, existential clauses in a variety are almost always negated by the same strategy used in standard negation in that variety.

Generalization 27: In modern Arabic varieties, negation of pseudo-verbs is similar to standard negation, but in varieties where …-š alone is a possible negator, only bilabial pseudo-verbs seem to be able to make use of this negator.

Generalization 30: In the eastern modern Arabic varieties, negative concord constructions are mostly done by the use of wala-*items.*

Third, the implicational absolute generalizations are (note that the unidirectional vs. bidirectional relationship is stated between two brackets at the end of each generalization):

Generalization 22: Unlike the case with non-verbal negation, if the negative …-š occurs in negative imperatives in a variety, it always means this variety is a š-variety in the first place.

(Unidirectional)

Generalization 23: In modern Arabic varieties, the use of the negator lā *always entails classifying negative imperatives as type IV, either totally or partially.*

(Bidirectional)

Generalization 22 is unidirectional. That is, the use of *...-š* in negative imperatives always means this variety is a *š*-variety, but not every *š*-variety would necessarily use *...-š* with negative imperatives; some of them, such as as-Salṭ Arabic for instance, would simply use *lā*. Generalization 23, on the other hand, is bidirectional because the use of *lā* in a variety with negative imperatives always entails that this variety is either totally or partially type IV (the negator of declarative verbal main clauses is different form the negator of negative imperatives). The opposite is also true: the classification, either totally or partially, of negative imperatives in a variety as type IV almost always means *lā* is used with negative imperatives in this variety.

Fourth, the only implicational non-absolute generalization in this study is:

Generalization 2: In modern Arabic varieties where the negative strategy is single, the negator used is almost always mā.

(Unidirectional)

This generalization is unidirectional. That is, when the negative strategy in a variety is classified as single, it almost always means the negator used in this variety is *mā*, but the use of the negator *mā* does not necessarily mean the negative strategy in this variety is single; it could be single~bipartite.

8.2 Limitations and potential for further research

There are some limitations in this study. First, the study relies on English and Arabic sources only; a consideration of sources written in other languages would definitely result in more extensive discussions. The second limitation concerns the lack of data. That is, data on the seven negative types included in this study (standard negation, non-verbal negation, negative imperatives, negative existential clauses, negation with pseudo-verbs, negative indefinite pronouns and negative concord constructions) is not available for every modern Arabic variety considered here. The analysis of negative concord constructions, for example, is based on 15 varieties out of the 54 ones considered in this study. Therefore, these two limitations could be viewed as potential research areas in the future. More sources and more data would definitely result in more solid investigation. In terms of the data, however, it should be pointed out that the amount of the available data on certain types of negation is significantly less than the available amount on others. For example, the available data on negative indefinite pronouns such as *maḥad*-items and negative concord items such as *wala*-items are considerably less than the available data on standard negation. Thus, carrying future investigations in these two areas seems interesting. Future research could also be conducted in the same vein of this study. For example, other aspects such as the phonological variations in phonemic consonants in all the modern varieties of Arabic could be studied from a typological point of view.

Finally, typological studies conventionally imply a sample of languages from different language families and different geographical areas. In this study, the considered sample consists of varieties of the same language which are spoken in relatively adjacent areas. The implementation of the typological approach in this unconventional way shows that typology is a field of study that is not limited to explain cross-linguistic phenomena only. In this study, it is applied to varieties of the same language and reveals some interesting results in terms of how these varieties behave with respect to negation. In the same vein, the development of negation in languages should not be studied from a cross-linguistic perspective only. In this study, for example, we have seen negation in Arabic is going through a unique cycle that might not be observed elsewhere. All that we know then is that languages definitely evolve over time and typological studies could be an effective way to investigate their evolution. The evolution could be a cross-linguistic tendency among many human languages, or an individual aspect found only in a specific group of languages or language varieties.

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Appendices

<div dir="rtl">

ملحق أ: أنموذج الموافقة
</div>

Appendix A: Consent form

<div dir="rtl">

أولاً، أود أن أشكرك على مساعدتك لي في هذا البحث.

هذا البحث يتعلق بتنوع اللهجات العربية في السعودية وبخصائصها، والذي قد يساعدنا على فهم تطور اللغة العربية عبر الزمن. وعليه فإن المقصود بهذا العمل هو معرفة الطريقة التي تعبر بها عن نفسك بلهجتك الخاصة وليس باللغة العربية الفصحى.

إن كل معلومة تدلي بها في هذه الدراسة ـبما في ذلك معلوماتك الشخصية كالمستوى التعليمي والمدينة التي تسكن بهاـ ستستخدم في هذا البحث فقط. قد يتم اقتباس أجزاء من مشاركتك في البحث ولكن لن يشار إلى اسمك أبدا بل سيرمز للمشاركين بأرقام مثل مشارك رقم واحد، اثنين، ثلاثة، إلخ. إذا كنت موافق على تسجيل مشاركتك صوتيا لمساعدتي على تذكر مشاركتك، فكن على يقين أن هذا التسجيل لن يظهر للعلن أبدا.
</div>

First, I would like to thank you for your help in this research.

This research is on the varieties of modern Arabic varieties and their peculiarities in Saudi Arabia which may help us to understand the way Arabic evolves over time. Accordingly, the purpose of this work is to learn how you express yourself in your own dialect, not in standard Arabic.

Every piece of information you give in this study, including your personal information such as your level of education and the city you live in, will be used in this research only. I may use some part of your participation in this research, but I will not state your name; instead, I will refer to participants by numbers such as participant number one, two, three, etc. If you agree to be recorded to help me remember your participation, be sure your recording will never be public.

<div dir="rtl">

إذا كنت موافق على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة، أرجو منكم التوقيع.
</div>

If you agree to participate in this study, please sign.

<div dir="rtl">

☐ أوافق مع التسجيل   ☐ أوافق بدون التسجيل
</div>

☐ I agree with recording   ☐ I agree without recording

<div dir="rtl">

الاسم الأول: التوقيع: التاريخ:
</div>

First name: Signature: Date:

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Preliminaries	مقدمة

Preliminaries

This questionnaire consists of three parts: in the first one, a hypothetical situation is described. Please try to imagine how you would you respond in such an event. In the second and the third one, you will be asked to reformulate affirmative sentences. Please remember to reply in your own dialect.

هذا الاستبيان ينقسم إلى ثلاثة أقسام: في الجزء الأول، سيتم وصف حالة افتراضية، أرجو منك توقع اجابتك في مثل هذه الحالة، وفي الجزء الثاني والثالث، أرجو منك إعادة صياغة الجمل المثبتة. أرجوك تتذكر ان تجيب بلهجتك.

a) Name:

أ) الاسم:

b) Age:

ب) العمر:

d) Level of education:

ج) المستوى التعليمي:

c) The city you currently live in:

د) المدينة التي تعيش بها الآن:

d) Have you lived in any other place for more than six months?

ح) هل سبق أن عشت في مدينة أخرى أكثر من ستة أشهر؟

e) The city your parents currently live in:

ج) المدينة التي يعيش بها والديك الآن؟

f) Has any of your parents lived in any other city for more than six months?

د) هل سبق أن عاش أحد والديك في مدينة أخرى أكثر من ستة أشهر؟

Questions (Part 1)	الأسئلة (الجزء ١)

1- If you ask someone named Mohammed to attend an occasion, but he missed it, how would you describe his missing?

Would you say it differently? (Perfect verbs, past)

١ـ إذا دعوت شخص يدعى محمد لمناسبة ولكنه غاب عنها، كيف تصف غيابه؟

هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

2- If you plan to do an occasion and you asked Mohammed to come, but you know he is most likely will miss it, how would you describe his missing?

Would you say it differently? (Imperfect verbs, future)

٢ـ إذا كنت تنوي عمل مناسبة وطلبت من محمد الحضور، ولكن تعلم أنه غالبا سيتغيب عنها، كيف تصف غيابه؟

هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

3- Mohammed works as a manager, but he always misses work. And if someone asked, is Mohammed coming to work, what would you say?

Would you say it differently?

(Imperfect verbs, present)

٣ـ محمد يعمل مديرا لكنه يغيب دائما عن العمل وسأل شخص: هل محمد يحضر للعمل، فماذا ستجيب؟

هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

4- If someone said Mohammed is nice, but you disagree with this, what would you say?
Would you say it differently? (Nominal sentence)

٤- إذا قال شخص: محمد جيد لكنك تختلف مع هذا، فماذا ستقول؟
هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

5- If you know Mohammed is working and someone thinks Mohammed is playing, how would you correct this?
Would you say it differently?

٥- إذا علمت أن محمد يعمل ولكن شخصا يعتقد أن محمد يلعب، ماذا تقول لتصحيح هذه الفكرة؟
هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

6- If you want tea but someone gave you milk, what would you say to him?
Would you say it differently? (Pseudo-verbs)

٦- إذا كنت تريد شاي ولكن أحدهم أعطاك حليبا، فماذا ستقول له؟
هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

7- If you have a car only but someone thinks you have a car and a house, how do you correct this?
Would you say it differently? (Pseudo-verbs)

٧- إذا كنت تملك سيارة فقط، وهناك شخص يعتقد أن لديك سيارة ومنزل، ماذا تقول لتصحيح هذا؟
هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

8- If the water is cut off in your place, how would describe the nonexistence of the water? (Negative existential)

Would you say it differently?

Would you say *māš māʔ* "There is no water"

٨- إذا انقطع الماء عن مكان سكنك، فكيف ستصف عدم وجود الماء؟

هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

هل يمكن أن تقول "ماش ماء"؟

9- If many people were invited to attend an occasion, but all of them missed it, how would you tell someone about this?

Would you say it differently? (Negative pronouns)

٩- إذا دعي مجموعة من الناس لحضور مناسبة ما لكنهم غابوا عنها جميعا، فكيف تصف ذلك؟

هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

10- If your friend is smoking and you hate the smell, what would you say to him to stop?

Would you say it differently? (Imperatives)

١٠- إذا كان صديقك يدخن وأنت تكره هذه الرائحة، فماذا ستقول له ليتوقف؟

هل هناك طريقة أخرى؟

Questions (Part 2)	**الأسئلة (الجزء الثاني)**

In this part, you will be given sentences and you should reformulate them. For example, if the sentence is *I saw Mohammed,* the answer should be *I did not see Mohammed.*	في هذا الجزء ستعطى مجموعة من الجمل وفي كل مرة ينبغي عليك إعادة صياغة الجملة. مثلا: جملة رأيت محمد نفيها يكون لم أرى محمدا.

- Mohammed came.	• جاء محمد.

محمد جاء.

- Mohammed drinks milk every day.	• يشرب محمد الحليب كل يوم.

• محمد يشرب الحليب كل يوم.

- The house is nice.	• البيت جميل.
- I am student.	• أنا طالب.
- We are students.	• نحن طلاب.
- You (MSG) student.	• أنت طالب.
- You (FSG) are student.	• أنت طالبة.
- You (MPL) are students.	• أنتم طلاب.
- You (FPL) are students.	• أنتم طالبات.
- Kaled is a student.	• خالد طالب.
- He is a student.	• هو طالب.
- Hind is a student.	• هند طالبة.
- She is a student.	• هي طالبة.
- The boys are students.	• الأولاد طلاب.
- They (M) are students.	• هم طلاب.
- The girls are students.	• البنات طالبات.
- They (F) are students.	• هن طالبات.

- Go. • اذهب.

- Go (Plural) • اذهبوا

- I have a car. • عندي سيارة.

- I want coffee. • أريد قهوة.

- Mohammed was eating. • كان محمد يأكل.

- If you go, I will sleep. • إذا ذهبت، فسوف أنام.

- Why do you go? • لماذا تذهب؟

- Everyone got a gift. • كل شخص حصل على هدية.

- Have you ever used š in negation? • هل سبق أن استخدمت ش في النفي؟

Questions (Part 3)	الأسئلة (الجزء الثالث)

In this part, you will be given sentences. Please reproduce them in your own dialect.

في هذا الجزء ستعطى مجموعة من الجمل. أرجو منك قولها بلهجتك الأصلية.

1- Who came?	١- من جاء؟
- Nobody.	- لا أحد.
- Would you please use "use the answer above" in a sentence?	- هل ممكن أن تضع "الإجابة السابقة في جملة؟
2- Nobody comes to visit us.	٢- لا أحد يأتي لزيارتنا.
3- What did you see?	٣- ماذا رأيت؟
- Nothing.	- لا شيء.
4- Nothing happened.	٤- لا شيء حصل.

Appendix C: Acceptability Judgement for ʕUnayzah

1- You (MSG) are not their sponsor.

١ ـ منتب وكيل عليهم.

2- You (MSG) are not their sponsor.

٢ ـ منتب عليهم وكيل.

3- You (MSG) are not the same student.

٣ ـ منتب نفس الطالب.

4- We are not the same students.

٤ ـ محناب نفس الطلاب.

5- It is not the same mobile.

٥ ـ موب نفس الجوال.

6- Did nobody come today?

٦ ـ محد جاكم اليوم؟

7- I saw nothing.

٧ ـ ما شفت ولا شيء.

8- I did not even see anything.

٨ ـ ولا حتى شيء شفت.

Appendix D: Acceptability Judgement for Yanbuʕ

1- The girl is not smart.

2- The students are not smart.

3- Quit smoking!

4- Quit smoking!

5- Stop smoking!

6- Stop smoking!

7- There is no water.

8- We saw nothing today.

9- We saw nothing today.

10- Nothing happened.

11- Nothing happened.

12- Not even a thing happened.

13- What did he say? Not even a

word.

14- Did nobody come today?

15- Did you see nothing?

16- Did you see nothing?

1 - البنت مي ذكية.

2 - الطلاب مو أذكياء.

3 - بطل دخان.

4 - بطل الدخان.

5 - أترك دخان.

6 - أترك الدخان.

7 - مويه ما فيه.

8 - ولا شيء شفنا اليوم.

9 - ولا شيء ما شفنا اليوم.

1 0 -   ولا شيء حصل.

1 1 -   ولا شيء ما حصل.

1 2 -   ولا حتى شيء حصل.

1 3 -   ايش قال؟ ولا كلمة.

1 4 -   محد جا اليوم؟

1 5 -   ولا شيء شفت؟

1 6 -   ما شفت ولا شيء؟

Appendix E: Acceptability Judgement for al-Bāḥa

1- You (MSG) are not the same
   student.

١ - إنت منتب نفس الطالب.

2- You (MPL) are not even students
   here.

٢ - إنتم منتم حتى طلاب عندنا.

3- You (MSG) are not the same student
   who is here.

٣ - منتب نفس الطالب إلي هنيه.

4- You (MPL) are not the same
   students who are here.

٤ - منتب نفس الطلاب إلي هنيه.

5- We are not the same students.

٥ - منحن نفس الطلاب.

6- I did not see anything.

٦ - ما شفت ولا حتى حاجة.

7- I did not even see one.

٧ - ما شفت ولا حتى واحد.

8- I did not see anything.

٨ - ولا شيء شفت.

9- No one came.

٩ - ولا واحد جا.

10- Do not go!

١٠ - أصحك تفلح!

11- Did nobody come?

١١ - ولا واحد جا؟

12- Did no body come?

١٢ - محد جا؟

Appendix F: Acceptability Judgement for al-ʔAḥsāʔ

1- The house is not nice.   1 ـ البيت مو زين.

2- The house is not nice.   2 ـ البيت موب زين.

3- The house is not nice.   3 ـ البيت مش زين.

4- I did not see anything.   4 ـ ما شفت شيء.

5- I did not see anything.   5 ـ ما شفت ولا شيء.

6- I did not see anything.   6 ـ ولا شيء ما شفت.

7- I did not see anything.   7 ـ ولا شيء شفت.

8- He is not their sponsor.   8 ـ أهو موب مسؤول عنهم.

9- He is not their sponsor   9 ـ أهو موب عنهم مسؤول.

10- Did you (MSG) see nothing?   1 0 - ولا شيء شفت؟

11- Did you (MSG) see nothing?   1 1 - ما شفت ولا شيئ؟

12- Did no body come?   1 2 - محد جاكم اليوم؟

13- I did not read any book.   1 3 - ما قريت ولا كتاب.

14- He did not tell me any word.   1 4 - ما قالي ولا كلمة.

15- How many books did you read?   1 5 - كم كتاب قريت؟

       Not book   ولا كتاب.

       Not even a book.   - ولا حتى كتاب

16- Mohammed was not eating.   1 6 - محمد كان ما ياكل.

17- Mohammed was not eating.   1 7 - محمد ما كان ياكل.

Appendix G: Acceptability Judgement for Ḥagil

1- We found nothing.   1 - ولا شيء لقيت.

2- I did not like anything.   2 - ما عجبني ولا شيء.

3- I did not say anything.   3 - ما هرجت (قلت) ولا كلمة.

4- How many books you read?   4 - كم كتاب قريت؟

      Not a book   ولا كتاب.

      Not even a book.   ولا حتى كتاب.

5- Did you see nothing?   5 - ولا شيء شفت؟

6- Did nobody come today?   6 - محد جاكم اليوم؟

7- Did you like nothing?   7 - ما أعجبك ولا شيء؟