The realization of negation in the Syrian Arabic clause, phrase, and word

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M.Phil in Applied Linguistics
Trinity College Dublin
2014

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Abstract

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Syrian Arabic realizes negation in broadly the same way as other dialects of Arabic, but it does so utilizing varied and at times unique means. This dissertation provides a Role and Reference Grammar account of the full spectrum of lexical, morphological, and analytical means employed by Syrian Arabic to encode negation on the layered structures of the verb, the clause, the noun, and the noun phrase. The scope negation takes within the LSC and the LSNP is identified and illustrated. The study found that Syrian Arabic employs separate negative particles to encode wide-scope negation on clauses and narrow-scope negation on constituents, and utilizes varied and interesting means to express emphatic negation. It also found that while Syrian Arabic belongs in most respects to the broader Levantine family of Arabic dialects, its negation strategy is more closely aligned with the Arabic dialects of Iraq and the Arab Gulf states.

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Acknowledgements

The Trinity College Dublin portal opened unexpectedly after I was fully enrolled in another Irish university. It felt as though I slipped into TCD through the back door at the last moment, and I will ever be grateful for the opportunity and welcome afforded me by the CLCS staff. The competence and the care extended by the course administrators and lecturers surpassed my expectations. Dr. Breffni O'Rourke personally saw to it that this sexagenarian's return to academia was as friendly and as painless as possible. A special word of thanks belongs to my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Brian Nolan. His knowledge and love for linguistics is infectious and his personal concern for his students encouraging. He very capably took an old language-lover and taught him many new linguistic tricks. Thanks is also due to me colleagues who not only covered for me in my absence but cheered me on in my studies, even when I repeatedly got carried away talking about RRG. I cannot possibly express enough thanks, however, to my wonderful wife, Noura, who has inspired me to go places and do things I never could have imagined, and we have done it all together for more than four decades.

1. Introduction

The realization of negation in the Syrian Arabic clause, noun phrase, and word is both varied and systematic. This dissertation aims to demonstrate and analyze the variety and systematicity of negation in Syrian Arabic within the theoretical framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG). It also seeks to encourage the development of further accounts of Syrian Arabic and other dialects of Arabic from a Functional Grammar perspective.

Negation is a core element of Syrian Arabic and an existential reality of the Syrian people. This study on negation in Syrian Arabic takes place at a time when the very existence of Syrian speakers of Arabic and of the Syrian nation as a whole is at risk. It would be heartless to write about Syrian Arabic without acknowledging the loss of more than 191,000 speakers of Syrian Arabic in three years of gruesome civil conflict. Nine million speakers of Syrian Arabic have fled their homes, one-third of the population of the country. Starvation stalks millions as ruthlessly as do the snipers and bombers. Syrian communities that once exhibited beautifully nuanced linguistic variations have been forced together into overcrowded refugee locations that threaten to erase the variations should the war continue. The loss of life, the loss of whole villages and sections of cities, and the potential loss of linguistic diversity are negative beyond the explanatory capacity of the most expressive instantiations of negation in any language.

Syrian Arabic (SA) is currently considered the dialect of Arabic spoken in the country of Syria. It is a collage of dialect variations even given the current narrow definition of Syria. Villages near Damascus differ significantly from the prestige language of educated Damascenes. Syrian cities like Aleppo to the north and Deir az-Zur to the east have their own distinctive linguistic variations. It had been hoped that these variations could be demonstrated in this study with recent data, but the war has made such research unfeasible. This is primarily a study of the Syrian Arabic spoken in Damascus, the capital city of Syria. It was not long ago that the Syrian region stretched from Iraq and Turkey to Egypt. The fates and policies of foreign empires have altered the political landscape, and consequentially the linguistic landscape, of ‘the lands Syria’ as it was once known in Arabic. It is now preferable to identify a separate Syrian dialect of Arabic within the larger ‘Levantine’ dialect of Arabic that includes the Arabic spoken in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. The terms ‘Levant’

and ‘Levantine’ are themselves French-based classifications that spring from the altered political landscape.

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) is the linguistic model of choice for this study. RRG is a functional model dedicated to describing a language and the way it is used in communication without imposing on it grammatical concepts and restraints developed from the analysis of other languages. Van Valin (2001: 209) states that RRG is a ‘minimalist theory’ of grammar. It focusses on the morphosyntax, semantics, and discourse-pragmatics of real communication.

RRG intentionally maintains the structural integrity of real language units in what are termed the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC), the Layered Structure of the Noun Phrase (LSNP), and the Layered Structure of the Word (LSW). A monostratal representation of the clause, noun phrase, and word enables both natural clause/phrase representation and bidirectionality. The RRG syntactic representation consists of two vertically aligned projections that identify the constituents and the operators of the language unit under analysis. Both projections are seen to provide important information regarding negative scope in SA. The syntactic representation is directly linked to ‘the semantic representation by means of a bi-directional linking algorithm’ (Nolan, in press: 1). RRG additionally posits means to analyze the function of clausal focus and complex sentential structure.

This study examines the lexical, morphological, and analytical means that Syrian Arabic utilizes to encode negation on the LSW, LSNP, and LSC, and highlights their functional differences. Chapter two presents an overview of linguistic negation ‘in the eyes of the scholars’. It discusses the universality and markedness of negation and highlights a few of the ongoing debates in the field. The typology of linguistic negation is also outlined. The chapter closes with a consideration of negation in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and the spoken varieties, with a special emphasis on the paucity of functional accounts of Syrian Arabic or any other dialect of Arabic. Chapter three provides a broad description of Role and Reference Grammar. Negation touches every aspect of SA, from the word to the clause, and requires an overall introduction to the analytical capabilities of RRG. This discussion focusses on the RRG understanding of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and the structure of complex sentences.

The four research questions of this dissertation are addressed in chapters four through seven. Chapter four considers the means that Syrian Arabic employs to encode negation within the layered structure of the word (verbs). It finds that SA uses lexically negative verbs and analytical negation for this end. It also attempts to cast an initial understanding of the LSW (verbs) within an RRG framework. Chapter five presents the means that Syrian Arabic employs to encode negation within the layered structure of the clause (LSC). It analyzes in detail the scope of negation within the LSC and argues for understanding the Syrian Arabic negative particle *ma:*, normally associated with verbal negation or sentential negation, as taking scope over the clause. Negation within the LSC is seen to be largely analytic and symmetric. It further presents preliminary RRG analyses of the SA clause and of serial verb constructions. Chapter six considers the interesting means that Syrian Arabic employs to encode negation within the layered structure of the word (nouns). Negative particles and lexically negative nouns, adjectives, and prepositions are employed to mark non-verbal elements with negative polarity. Chapter seven explores the means that Syrian Arabic employs to encode negation within the layered structure of the noun phrase (LSNP). Lexically negative nouns are seen to take narrow scope over individual nouns, whereas negative prepositions are capable of taking scope over noun phrases. An initial RRG account of the SA LSNP and construct noun phrases is included. The relationship of SA to other varieties of Arabic is considered at the end of each chapter.

Chapter eight discusses the advantages that a functional account of negation in Syrian Arabic provides to the linguist. The ability of the LSC to measure the scope of negation in Arabic is highlighted. This chapter additionally identifies weaknesses in the study and suggests needs for further research. Chapter nine briefly concludes this study of negation in Syrian Arabic.

2. Negation in the eyes of the scholars

Negation is a core element of human communication. This chapter first provides a broad overview of the research and debates that have informed and complicated an accurate understanding of such a basic concept. It then turns to a brief summary of negation in Arabic and closes with a discussion of the strengths and gaps in current research.

2.1 A brief overview of negation

This section attempts to present a brief overview of the varied and often contradictory literature that exists regarding linguistic negation in general. It is necessarily select because of the sheer magnitude of scholarly positions and publications on the subject. We will proceed from the universal nature of negation to a consideration of specific types of negation attested in cross-linguistic typological literature.

2.1.1 Universally attested, conceptually contested. It is generally agreed that negation is a universal feature of all human languages. Horn (2010: 1) portrays it as the 'sine qua non of every human language'. Horn and Kato (2000: 1) present the universality and uniqueness of linguistic negation in these terms:

> Negative utterances are a core feature of every system of human communication and of no system of animal communication. Negation and its correlates—truth-values, false messages, contradiction, and irony—can thus be seen as defining characteristics of the human species.

de Swart (2010: 2) posits that it is a fact that 'all human languages establish a distinction between affirmative and negative statements'. Miestamo (2007: 553) observes that 'the literature is unanimous about the universal status of negation'. Writing specifically about clausal negation, he indicates that every language has at least one construction 'the function of which is to negate a clause'.

Negation is both universal and multifaceted in the way it is encoded on a language. As Horn (2010: 1) explains, along with 'a plethora of negative adverbs, verbs, copulas, quantifiers, and affixes', negation extends 'to negative concord, negative incorporation, and the widespread occurrence of negative polarity'. Negation touches every element of linguistic theory. It brings to bear complex interactions with morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics.

Negation is situated, according to Horn (2010: 1), 'at the core of the mental faculty of language'. While the universality of negation has made it a major source of linguistic research, its complexity has made it a major source of linguistic contention.

Before turning to the contested nature of negation, it is informative to quickly consider the 'marked' nature of negation. Greenberg (1966: 50) observes that 'the negative always receives overt expression while the positive usually has zero expression', as can be seen in examples (1)-(2) below. Following the markedness theory developed by the Prague school of linguistics, Greenberg sees this as conclusive evidence of 'the marked character of the negative as opposed to the positive'. This form-related markedness of negation is enhanced by Givón's contention that 'negative structures are syntactically more constrained than their affirmative counterparts' (de Swart, 2010: 3).

(1) a. Sam is happy.
b. Sam is **un**happy.

(2) a. Sam ate a hamburger.
b. Sam **didn't eat** a hamburger.

Horn (2001: 154-203) significantly expands the theory of the markedness of negative expressions. He argues that negation is marked semantically in addition to formally and syntactically (2001: 156). Horn's primary contribution to the theory comes from his combination of psycholinguistic research and pragmatics. Horn cites the current research of his day to substantiate the position that 'affirmative statements are easier than the negatives' (2001: 169). Recent psychological theory continues to confirm Horn's contention that negation requires additional mental resources to process (e.g. Khemlani, Orenes, and Johnson-Laird, 2012: 543-544). Horn presents Neo-Gricean pragmatic theory as an explanation for the difficulty of understanding negative statements. He is so bold as to state that 'the markedness of negation' is 'born in the pure pragmatics of conversational implicature' (2001: 201). The real asymmetry of negation, in Horn's thinking, is not to be found in the logical denial of an affirmative proposition, but in relation to a pragmatically motivated denial of an assertion by a speaker. Horn (2001: 382-391), in his seminal study on negation, further develops his pragmatic theory of negation by implementing the notion of scalar and Q-based/R-based implicatures, among others. Negation is a complex phenomenon

as is the nature of its markedness. Horn (2001: 203) accordingly summarizes this point by stating:

> Negatives…are by nature no more false than affirmatives, but prototypically they are psychologically harder and more loaded, epistemologically less specific and hence less valuable, emotively more inhibiting (or at least less highly valued), and pragmatically more difficult to use appropriately within an arbitrary discourse context.

Similar to Horn's thinking, Payne (1997: 282) lists negation under the broader category of 'pragmatically marked structures'. Both Horn and Payne acknowledge the importance of morphology, syntax, and semantics to a proper understanding of negation.

Their diversified yet pragmatically motivated understanding of negation is *not*, however, the understanding presented in the majority of published research on negation. It should be no surprise that a topic as negative as negation produces contention and disagreement. Contention over the nature of negation is as old as Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics, and has continued over the intervening millennia (see Horn, 2001: 1ff.).

The majority of recent published research has come from scholars schooled in Chomsky's syntax-centric Principles and Parameters (P&P). Pollock (1989: 420-421), based on Chomsky's 1955 proposal that 'Tense and Agreement morphemes should be analyzed as separate syntactic entities at an abstract level of representation', posits that negation should be considered one as well. He argues that his study of English and French substantiates an 'inherent barrier' that he terms NegP(hrase). In this 'split inflection hypothesis' which was adopted in 1991 by Chomsky (1995: 136), NegP is a functional category that interacts with tense and agreement. The theory has been developed since then to include a NegP Spec(ifier) (Zeijlstra, 2004: 164) and the importance of c-command (Laka, 1991: 65). NegP is believed to head most aspects of negation, including negative polarity, movement, scope, concord, and word order. Syntax is believed to account for nearly all, if not all, aspects of negation. Semantics is used to confirm the existence of NegP. Pragmatics has played a more relevant role in the discussion in recent years. This is the approach utilized in nearly all published research on negation in Arabic.

A cursory reading of studies on negation from this school of thought reveals at least as much contention as it reveals agreement. A detailed reading of the studies produces complexities that only the highly initiated can mentally navigate. NegP is normally thought to be generated below T(ense)P (Pollock, 1989: 421), but Laka (1991: 66) argues that Basque (Arabic possibly) requires just the opposite. Some believe n-words (see 2.1.2.3) are negative indefinites or quantifiers while others believe them to be 'semantically non-negative' (Penka, 2007: 269-270). Zeilstra (2011: 112) contends that both de Swart's view that negative indefinites (NI) are negative quantifiers and Penka's theory that they are semantically non-negative are inadequate. Zeilstra argues for 'split-scope constructions after Quantifier Raising' (2011: 137). Whether Negative Polarity Items (NPI, see 2.1.2.3) are c-commanded (de Swart, 1998: 175) or not is another area of scholarly contention (Hoeksema, 2000: 26). This list could be greatly expanded. The point is that there is as much contention about negation as there is agreement within the most prominent school of thought, leading one to wonder if it is a viable model for understanding the topic at hand.

Chomsky's Transformational Grammar (TG), as is the case for any major school of linguistics, has experienced its share of external contention. One of the more famous disagreements came from Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 205) who characterized Chomsky's early position as 'objectivist' in the sense that 'grammar is a matter of pure form, independent of meaning or human understanding'. In defense of the importance of metaphor to language, Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 209-210) go so far as to label Chomsky's 'objectivism' a 'myth'. The development and spread of Functional Grammar (FG) has increasingly challenged Chomsky's TG. Dik and Hengeveld (1997: 2) write that FG uses 'the term "communicative competence" rather than "grammatical competence" in the sense of Chomsky (1965)'. Dik and Hengeveld continue:

> we mean that NLU's (*natural language user's*) linguistic capacity comprises not only the ability to construe and interpret linguistic expressions, but also the ability to use these expressions in appropriate and effective ways according to the conventions of verbal interaction prevailing in a linguistic community.

According to Dik and Hengeveld, language is a psychological/social reality that is 'codetermined by the contextual and situational information available to speakers and

addressees'. It is hard to comprehend a feature of language that this is more true of than it is of negation.

Negation is a universal feature of every human language. It is also a highly contested feature of human language. A way forward through all the contention has been opened by scholars who are researching negation cross-linguistically.

2.1.2 Typology of negation. Dahl (2010: 9) defines 'modern language typology' as 'the systematic study of cross-linguistic patterns and cross-linguistic variation'. He argues that typology provides an important and 'secure empirical basis' for theoretical linguistic analysis. Jespersen (1917) lays the groundwork for a typological study of negation. His delineation of the cyclic nature of negative particle weakening, reinforcement, and replacement is now known as Jespersen's Cycle (1917: 4-5). He is also credited with recognizing that the negative particle often precedes that which is being negated (now called the Neg-First principle).

The typological study of negation has blossomed since Dahl (1979) published his study of approximately 240 languages. Dahl (1979: 98) classifies negation as either morphological or syntactic. Payne (1985: 198) is credited with introducing the term 'standard negation'. Kahrel (1996: 35) reviews 'term negation' (negative indefinites) in 40 languages from an FG perspective. Dryer provides a detailed global overview of the order of negative morphemes (2005: 454; 2013a: web page) and the position of negative morphemes (2013b: web page). A combination of these and other studies provides the basic structure of the following general presentation of negation.

2.1.2.1 Standard negation. Payne (1985: 198) defines standard negation as the:

> … type of negation that can apply to the most minimal and basic sentences. Such sentences are characteristically main clauses, and consist of a single predicate with as few noun phrases and adverbial modifiers as possible.

Payne (1985: 198) suggests as examples of standard negation zero-valency weather sentences in English like: '*It does not snow*, *It is not raining*, *It doesn't snow*, *It isn't raining*'. Payne believes these sentences fix *not* and *n't* as the standard negators in English. Dahl (2010: 11)

insightfully questions why this type of sentence has been accepted as the standard by Payne and subsequent scholars without discussion. Dahl mildly laments the implication that other forms of negation are 'nonstandard', but uses the term for lack of a better one. Miestamo (2007: 552) defines standard negation as 'the negation of declarative verbal main clauses' and discusses negative imperatives, existentials, and nonverbal clauses separately. While standard negation is primarily clausal/sentential (Dahl 2010: 11), Payne (1985: 200) is careful to point out that there are exceptions.

Miestamo (2005: 237; 2007: 556), proposes a binary classification of negation that identifies negation as either symmetric or asymmetric. In symmetric negation, the only change made to the affirmative construction is the addition of a negative marker. In asymmetric negation, additional structural differences are evidenced. Miestamo (2007: 558) divides asymmetric negation into four 'subtypes', depending on the nature of the structural adjustment:

> 1) A/Fin: 'the finiteness of the lexical verb is reduced or lost and a new finite element is usually added'.
> 2)A/NonReal: 'negatives are marked for a category that refers to nonrealized states of affairs' (irrealis).
> 3) A/Emph: 'characterized by the presence of marking that denotes emphasis in nonnegatives'.
> 4) A/Cat: 'the marking of grammatical categories differs from their marking in affirmatives in other ways'(e.g. tense, aspect/mood, and person).

Miestamo's general binary concept is informative. Symmetric negation is seen in example (1) and asymmetric A/Fin in example (2) above.

Most typologists concur that there are at least three major types of negation. Payne (1985: 207-231) and Dahl (2010: 12) list these as 'negative verbs', 'morphological negatives' (or affixal negation), and 'negative particles'. Payne (1995: 228) adds 'negative nouns' and 'secondary modifications', the latter including changes in word order or tone that co-occur with the three major types of negation.

Negative verbs, according to Payne (1985: 207), always 'co-occur' with the lexical verb used to express the affirmative. Negative verbs are said to be of two types: 'higher negative verbs' and 'negative auxiliary verbs'. Dahl (2010: 20) states that the uncommon higher negative

verbs are verbs which mark negation and take a clausal complement. Payne (1985: 212) explains that the negative auxiliary verb is ideally 'marked with all the verbal categories' (tense/aspect, person, number, etc.) and 'the lexical verb assumes an invariant, participial form'.

Morphological negatives are formed when a negative morpheme is attached (generally affixed) to a verb or auxiliary. Payne (1985: 226) notes that it 'forms part of the derivational morphology of the verb'. Dahl (1979: 81; 2010: 16) contends that affixal negation is inflectional, not derivational, because it 'interacts rather intimately with tense-aspect, mood and person/number', especially when it is a suffix.

Dryer (2005: 454) lists negative particles as the most common type of negation (used in 477 of 1011 languages). A negative particle is an independent and invariable word that encodes negation on the clause (*not* in English). This is the construction that most exemplifies Miestamo's notion of symmetric negation.

Payne (1985: 223) makes note that variations in negative particles often serve as important syntactic markers. It can mark variation in mood (Hungarian), tense/aspect (Modern Standard Arabic), or 'the grammatical category of the predicate'(Iraqi Arabic, and all other varieties of spoken Arabic). This latter concept, where one negative particle is employed for verbal predicates and another for non-verbal predicates, will be expanded in the data and discussion to follow.

Payne (1997: 282-284) modifies the above tripartite classification of negation. He lists the three major types as 'lexical negation', 'morphological negation', and 'analytical negation'. In lexical negation, 'the concept of negation is part and parcel of the lexical semantics of a particular verb'. He states, as an example, that the English verb *lack* 'can be thought of as the lexical negative of *have*'. Morphological negation mirrors its counterpart in Dahl and others. Analytic negation combines negative verbs and negative particles into one type with two subtypes. The concept of lexical negation is lacking in most typological studies of negation. We will adopt Payne's (1997) classification system because of the comprehensiveness of its

scope. It adds word-internal lexical negation and its classification scheme can be applied to words, noun phrases, and clauses.

All of the typologists indicate that some languages allow what Payne (1997: 284) terms 'multiple expression of negation'. Dahl (2010: 19-20) explains that this doubling of negation is instantiated either as two negative particles (almost exclusively with one positioned on each side of the verb) or as a particle and a change in the form of the verb. Payne (1997: 284) adds 'word order change' accompanied by a particle or affix as a third type.

2.1.2.2 Nonstandard negation. The unfortunate term 'nonstandard negation' simply refers to sentential forms of negation that do not qualify as 'standard negation'. These include negation encoded on imperatives, non-verbal predicates, and existential sentences.

Miestamo (2007: 561) writes, 'It is noteworthy that in a clear majority of languages, imperatives use a negative strategy that differs from standard negation'. The primary 'asymmetries' are, according to Dahl (2010: 27), either 'differences in strategy' between declarative sentences and negative imperatives, or 'differences in verbal construction' between positive and negative imperatives. The latter applies to Arabic.

Non-verbal and existential predicates, according to Miestamo (2007: 561), 'are often negated by non-standard strategies'. As Dahl (2010: 27) explains, many languages do not use copulas with non-verbal predicates and may well use a different strategy for negating copula-less clauses. Dahl also indicates that existential predicates are similar to nonverbal ones in many languages, though they might not share the same strategy of negation. This is certainly true of Arabic.

2.1.2.3 Negative indefinites and quantifiers. The literature is mixed regarding the classification of negative indefinites and negative quantifiers. The majority of typological researchers like Payne (1985) and Dahl (2010) place them within their discussion of sentence/clause level negation. Payne (1987: 293) lists them under 'constituent negation'. Dahl (2010: 29) maintains that negation and quantification often 'show up in combination' together, 'as in *No man is an island*'. Payne (1985: 204 ff.) develops in detail the distinction

between ‘negated’ quantifiers/adverbs (no one, often, always, etc.) and ‘inherently negative’ quantifiers/adverbs (nothing, nobody, never, etc.).

Haspelmath (2013: web page) defines negative indefinite pronouns as ‘nominal or adverbial expressions that directly translate 'nobody', 'nothing', 'nowhere', 'never' (etc.)’. He classifies indefinite pronouns based on how they interact with ‘predicate negation’ (‘ordinary negative clauses’). The vast majority of languages tested employ negative indefinites with predicate negation (170 of 206, 83%). They are termed Negative Concord (NC) languages elsewhere. Roughly 5% preclude the use of negative indefinites with predicate negation (e.g. German) and 6% evidence ‘mixed behaviour’. Kahrel (1996: 35) teases out five distinct types of this phenomenon.

The study of negative indefinites and quantifiers has produced numerous refinements and volumes of published research. Scholars distinguish between n-words used in NC languages and negative polarity items (NPI). van der Wouden and Zwarts (1993: 201) write that NC is the term for ‘where multiple occurrences of morphologically negative constituents express a single semantic negation’, as exemplified in African American English (3a) below. de Swart (2010: 248) posits that the ‘two main classes of languages’ are negative concord languages and double negation languages. The latter, which are far less common and primarily European and Germanic, according to de Swart (2010: 249), ‘value first-order iteration’ (two negatives make a positive). N-words are mostly negative indefinites and their negativeness is a contentious subject. Penka and Zeijlstra (2010: 772) state that NPIs ‘are words or expressions that can only occur in contexts that are in some sense negative’. The constituents *anyone* and *lift a finger* are commonly cited examples of NPIs, seen in (3b) below.

(3) a. *‘I ai**n’t never** had **no** trouble with **none** of ‘em.’* (Muntañá, 2008: 183)
b. *He’s useless. He did**n’t lift a finger** to help.* (NPI)

2.1.2.4 Negation of nouns and noun phrases. Linguistic typologists largely ignore the negation of nouns and noun phrases. Payne (1985: 240) briefly discusses what he calls ‘non-sentential negation’, preferring that over ‘constituent negation’. He includes under this label the observation that many languages use specific ‘devices’ for negating subordinate clauses. He follows this with an even shorter presentation of ‘derivational negation’, by which he

means ‘the use of negative morphemes in the derivation of lexical items’. Payne (1997: 292) follows the same concept and lists the English use of *un-* and *non-* (*unhappy*, *non-smoker*, etc.) as examples. Beyond this, there is very little discussion of negation in nominals and noun phrases.

2.1.2.5 Scope of negation. As is true of the above, the following is only a cursory discussion of the scope of negation. Payne (1997: 293) simplistically defines scope as ‘the variable portions of a clause that can be negated’. Negation can have scope over the clause (clausal negation) or one of the constituents of a clause (constituent negation). Many other scholars refer to sentential scope as well. de Swart (2010: 255) notes that in some languages, like German, ‘there is a strong correspondence between the linear order of constituents…and the scope of negation’. In languages like English that have a ‘less flexible word order’, intonation fixes the scope of negation on the clause (wide scope) or on specific constituents (narrow scope). de Swart pegs ‘contextual information’ as that which focusses the scope of negation in the absence of ‘syntactic or phonological indications’. As seen above, Horn argues that negation, including its scope, is largely pragmatically determined without denying the importance of syntax and semantics. Negation intimately interacts with every aspect of linguistic enquiry, including phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. It should be no wonder that this universal feature of language is so conceptually contested.

2.2 Negation in Arabic

Negation in Arabic has received scholarly attention, but there is still significant work to be done. This section will first briefly outline and compare in the light of current research the strategies employed to encode negation by the different varieties of Arabic, beginning with MSA and ending with Syrian Arabic (SA). It will then analyze this scholarly attention with a view to identifying its strengths and weaknesses.

Scholarly discussion regarding the encoding of negation in Arabic takes two broad forms, which we will label descriptive grammars and linguistic analyses. Descriptive grammars of specific varieties of Arabic generally include a section exemplifying the ways that negation is encoded in their dialect. A recent example for MSA is Ryding (2005: 641-656), who devotes a chapter to negation. The spoken dialects have a number of notable descriptive grammars

that discuss negation. Cowell's (1964: 383-391) presentation of negation in Syrian Arabic is widely quoted. With regard to Egyptian Arabic, Abdel-Massih, Abdel-Malek, and Badawi (1979: 133-141) provide a succinct overview while Woidich's (1968: 1 ff.) Ph.D. dissertation copiously details every construct used to express negation. Harrell and Brunot's (1962: 152-156) treatment of Moroccan Arabic and Ingham's (1994: 44-46) brief discussion of negation in Najdi Arabic are exemplary. Woidich (1968) is the only study to adequately cover the encoding of negation with nominals and noun phrases. The following discussion of the expression of negation in Arabic sets descriptive grammars aside and focusses on specific linguistic analyses of negation. The linguistic analyses are published articles, dedicated sections of books, and university theses/dissertations that analyze Arabic negation in terms of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, typology, or diachrony (alone or in combination).

2.2.1 Negation in Modern Standard Arabic. Ouhalla (1991: 50) and Benmamoun (1992: 68) set the stage for the modern discussion of negation in Arabic and all of its varieties, including MSA. As early adopters of Pollock's (1989: 421) NegP proposal, the majority of all research since then (see 2.2.5 below) has sought to understand Arabic sentential negation using a model of TG. Fassi Fehri (1993: 70 ff.) and Shlonsky (1997: 96 ff.), for example, apply this grammatical framework to MSA. Benmamoun (2000: 69 ff.) presents his TG understanding of negation in both the Arabic spoken varieties and in MSA, showing that while the forms are different, the syntax is similar. This is a prominent theme of recent research, of which Benmamoun, Abunasser, Al-Sabbagh, Bidaoui, and Shalash (2010: 136) is a good example. MSA, like all varieties of Arabic, has verbal and non-verbal predicates. Benmamoun (2013: 1) sums up cross-dialect negation in Arabic in this way:

> Restricting our attention to the frequent patterns, Standard Arabic has the largest set of sentential negative markers (*laa*, *lan*, *lam*, *laysa*, *maa*) while the dialects are restricted to three (*maa*, *muš*/*miš*/*maš*/*maši*/*muu*/*mub*, *laa*) or just two (*maa* and *maš*/*maši*).

MSA is unique in the way that the negative particle *la:* carries tense when negating verbal predicates, as is seen in examples (4)-(7). It is also the only particle used to negate the imperative, see (8). The sentences with *la:* can be either VSA or SVA, but the negative particle must immediately precede the verb it negates (e.g. 3a-3b). The negative particle *ma:*

(9) is less frequently used to negate past tense verbs and *lajsa* (10a-b) is only occasionally employed to negate the present tense. The negative marker *lajsa* (10b) is not required to be adjacent the verb it negates.

Unmarked past tense sentence:

(4) *t-tullaːb-u* *ðahab-uː*
DET-students:N.PL-NOM go:V.PST+3PL.M.
'The students left.' (Alsharif and Sadler, 2009: 2)

Negation of the present using *laː* (*laː* + imperfective verb+IND):

(5) *t-tullaːb-u* ***laː*** *jadrusuːn*
the:DET-students:N.PL-NOM NEG study:V.IPFV+3PL.M
'The students do not study.' (Benmamoun, 2000: 95)

Negation of the future using *laː+n* (*lan* + imperfective verb+SBJV):

(6) a. *t-tullaːb-u* ***lan*** *jaðhabuː*
DET-students:N.PL-NOM NEG.FUT go:V.SBJV+3PL.M
'The students will not go.' (Benmamoun, 2000: 95)
b. ***lan*** *yaðhaba* *t-tullaːb-u*
NEG.FUT go:V.SBJV+3SG.M DET-students:N.PL-NOM
'The students will not go.' (Alsharif and Sadler, 2009: 3)

Negation of the past using *laː+m* (*lam* + imperfective verb+JUSS):

(7) *t-tullaːb-u* ***lam*** *yaðhabuː*
DET-students-N.PL-NOM NEG.PST go:V.JUSS+3PL.M
'The students did not go.' (Benmamoun, 2000: 95)

Negation of the imperative using *laː* (*laː* + imperfective verb+JUSS):

(8) ***laː*** *tadxul*
NEG enter:V.JUSS+2SG
'Do not enter!' (Fassi Fehri,1993: 172)

Negation of the past using *maː*:

(9) ***maː*** *daxala* *r-radʒul-u* *l-qaːʕat-a*
NEG entered:V.PST+3SG.M. DET-man:N.SG-NOM DET-room:N.SG-ACC
'The man did not enter the room.' (Fassi Fehri,1993: 165)

Negation of present using *lajsa*:

(10) *a.* *al-awlad-u* *lajs-uː* *jaktubuːn.*
DET-boys:N.PL-NOM NEG-3PL.M write:V.IPFV+3PL.M
'The boys do not write.' (Alsharif and Sadler, 2009: 6)

b. ***lajs-a*** *l-awlad-u* *jaktubuːn.*
NEG-3SG.M DET-boys:N.PL-NOM write:V.IPFV+3PL.M
'The boys do not write.' (Alsharif and Sadler, 2009: 6)

Non-verbal predicates (N/ADJ/PP) are normally negated in MSA with *lajsa* or with *maː*, as in (11a-c) below. The negative marker *lajsa* is inflected for person like a verb (its form is a matter of debate) as can be seen in (11a-b). Fassi Fehri (1993: 165) termed the negative particle *maː* a 'neutral' NEG because it occurs with both verbal and non-verbal predicates. Neither non-verbal predicate negator need be adjacent the verb.

(11) a. ***lajs-a*** *ʔaxi-i* *muʕallim-an.*
NEG-3SG.M brother:N.SG-1SG teacher:N.SG-ACC
'My brother is not a teacher.' (Alsharif and Sadler, 2009: 5-6)
b. ***lajs-at*** *hind-un* *ʔuxt-a* *l-ʔustaːð-i.*
NEG-SG.F hind:N-NOM sister:N.SG-ACC DET-professor:N.SG-GEN
'Hind is not the professor's sister.' (Fassi Fehri, 1993: 165)
c. ***maː*** *ʔanta mariːḍ-un.*
NEG 2.SG.M sick:N.SG-NOM
'You are not sick.' (Fassi Fehri, 1993: 171)

This 'frequent pattern' overview is sufficient to illustrate that clausal negation in MSA, while complex, primarily divides between verbal and non-verbal predicates. Negation encoded on verbal predicates can convey tense but does not normally agree in person. Non-verbal predicate negation is tense-neutral but can sometimes be marked with person agreement.

2.2.2 Negation across the spoken dialects of Arabic. The encoding of negation in the spoken dialects of Arabic is considerably simpler. It follows the same verbal/non-verbal predicate distinction found in MSA, but the negative particles employed are fewer in number and used more broadly.

Brustad (2000: 282), in her evaluation and comparison of the syntax of Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian, and Kuwaiti dialects of spoken Arabic, finds that 'the syntax and pragmatics' of the negative pairs illustrated in Table 1 below 'correspond closely to one another from dialect to dialect'. The term 'predicate negation' is equivalent to the term 'non-verbal predicate' used in this paper.

Particles of Negation		
	Verbal Negation	Predicate Negation
Moroccan	ma: … ʃ(i)	ma:ʃi
Egyptian	ma: … ʃ(i)	miʃ
Syrian	ma:	mu:
Kuwaiti	ma:	mu:

Table 2-1. *Particles of Negation* (adapted from Brustad, 2000: 282)

Brustad is careful to point out that the table above only illustrates the unmarked uses of these negative particles. Each of the dialects have means to shift the particles for special emphasis. Brustad (2000: 306 ff.) adds to verbal and predicate negation a third type she terms 'categorical negation', a form of emphatic and absolute negation that is also recognized by classical Arab grammarians. All four dialects additionally utilize corresponding forms of negative copulas and negative imperatives. These and more will be developed further in the analysis of Syrian Arabic below. It is sufficient for now to see that the spoken dialects share a common verbal/non-verbal predicate distinction with MSA and implement it in a simpler way. It is also obvious from Table 1 that Moroccan and Egyptian use similar forms to negate clauses while Syrian tracks with Kuwaiti.

The Moroccan-Egyptian strategy of discontinuous affixal negation extends from North Africa up into Lebanon (Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choureiri, 2010: 97) and is even found in the Sana'aani dialect of Yemen (Benmamoun, 2000: 69). Two examples of this split NEG with a proclitic *ma-* and an enclitic *-ʃ* in Morrocan (12) and Egyptian (13) are seen below.

(12) *l-mra* ***ma**-dʒat-**ʃ*** *l-l-ʕers*
DET-woman:N NEG-come:V.PST+3SG.F-NEG to:PREP-DET-wedding:N.SG
'The woman did not come to the wedding.' (Chatar-Moumni, 2012: 3)

(13) *ʔana* ***ma**-ruħt-ᵊ**ʃ*** *el-madrasa*
1SG NEG-went:V.PST+1SG-NEG DET-school:N.SG
'I did not go to school.' (Mughazy, 2008: 91)

This construct, though primarily used in verbal negation, is also employed in non-verbal negation and envelops existential predicates, prepositional phrases, pronouns, nouns, and even conjunctions (Abdel-Massih et al., 1979: 135-137). This construction is worth noting because of the extensive coverage that it receives in the published linguistic analyses. Its application to verbs and interaction with NPIs and negative concord is a subject of concerted discussion among the TG Arabic scholars like Benmamoun (1997; 2000), Ouhalla (1990), Soltan (2011a; 2011b), and many others.

The literature covering the encoding of negation in the Levantine dialects, an area that covers Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, is equally concerned with the discussion of discontinuous affixal negation, but often with a twist. Lucas (2010: 168) explains that speakers of Palestinian Arabic (PA) share with some speakers of Arabic in Cairo a rather unique expression of negation that employs only the final *-ʃ* suffix. He surmises that they were formed independently. Alqassas (2012: 17) contends that in PA this suffixal form of negation is used almost as broadly in verbal and non-verbal predicate negation as its discontinuous cousin. This construction has inspired numerous articles and doctoral dissertations that see it as an Arabic example of Jespersen's Cycle (see Appendix 2).

Negation in Levantine Arabic (LA) is a subject of increased scholarly interest. Al-Momani (2010: 483 ff.) presents the 'syntax of sentential negation in Jordanian Arabic' from a TG perspective. Alsarayreh (2012: 46) uses TG to explain negative concord and the use of NPIs in Jordanian Arabic (JA). Hoyt (2010: vi) broadens the discussion of negative concord to include LA as a whole, but admits that it is 'based in large part' on JA. Syrian Arabic (SA) is only occasionally referenced in these works.

2.2.3 The literature imbalance. This survey of linguistic analyses reveals imbalances in the literature and highlights areas that need attention. Appendix 2 classifies in table form forty of the linguistic analyses consulted for this study. They were chosen for their importance and relevance to Arabic negation without regard to the Arabic dialect examined and the grammatical model employed.

The grammar model specified by the majority (65%, 26 of 40) of analyses is TG in one form

or another. An even higher percentage (91%, 20 of 22) of Arab scholars state their adherence to TG. This is likely a result of the early adoption of TG by Ouhalla (1991: 50) and Benmamoun (1992: 68) and their influence over a generation of Arab linguists. Mughazy's (2003: 1144 ff.; 2008: 91 ff.) pragmatic work on metalinguistic negation in Egyptian Arabic is exceptional. This author was unable to acquire one study of negation in Arabic that uses a Functional Grammar framework. Moutaouakil's (1991) 'Negative constructions in Arabic: towards a functional approach' was unavailable.

It is significant that every study concentrates on clausal negation, and primarily on the negation of verbal predicates. The encoding of negation on non-verbal predicates and the identification and functioning of negative concord and NPIs are also receiving increased attention. There is, however, a complete lack of discussion regarding lexical negation and the negation of nominals and noun phrases, though these topics are sometimes cursorily addressed in the descriptive grammars.

The linguistic analyses of the spoken dialects are heavily tilted toward Western Arabic and the phenomenon of discontinuous affixal negation evidenced from Morocco to Egypt and up into the Levant (especially Palestine). Nearly 74% (25 of 36) of the studies devoted to spoken dialects focus on one construct from one, albeit widespread, area. The literature on Levantine specific features of linguistic negation focusses on the southern Levant, namely Palestine and Jordan.

There does not seem to exist a single scholarly study on negation in the dialect of Arabic spoken by the inhabitants of Syria, even though it is by far the most populous country and traditional heart of 'Greater Syria'. As Cowell (1964: xviii) notes:

> The spoken Arabic of Damascus is much like that of other cities in the western parts of Syria and in Palestine and Lebanon (for instance Beirut, Jerusalem, Aleppo). From a practical standpoint all the urban dialects of "the Syrian area" or "Greater Syria" — as we shall call this region — may be considered variants of one language which we call "Syrian Arabic."

The Arabic of Syria, however, is a stranger in the halls of linguistic academia. While the syntax of the Arabic spoken in Damascus manifests many similarities with the other dialects

of the modern-day Levant, it differs in significant ways from the rest of the region when it comes to the expression of negation. The dialects with which it does show significant similarities, namely Iraqi and Gulf Arabic, are equally underrepresented in the literature.

2.3 Chapter summary

This chapter provides a big-picture view of the study of negation. It has shown that negation is universal, marked, and controversial. Typological research on negation provides useful insights into the structure and function of negation cross-linguistically. Negation in Arabic is seen to function generally the same way in all of its varieties. Current research on negation in Arabic is, however, narrowly biased. The next chapter lays a Functional Grammar foundation for the study of negation in Syrian Arabic.

3. Negation in Role and Reference Grammar (RRG)

Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) is the FG framework chosen for this study of negation in Syrian Arabic. RRG is dedicated to describing a language and the way it is used in communication without imposing on it grammatical concepts and restraints developed from the analysis of other languages. It was conceptualized as an answer to two foundational questions:

> (1) what would linguistic theory look like if it were based on the analysis of languages with diverse structures such as Lakhota, Tagalog and Dyirbal, rather than on the analysis of English?, and (2) how can the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics in different grammatical systems best be captured and explained? (Van Valin, 2005: 1)

The RRG model designed to answer these questions proves to be an effective tool for analyzing the encoding of negation in language. An initial discussion introducing RRG and the expression of negation over clauses is followed by discussions on the way RRG accounts for the negation of noun phrases and words.

3.1 Negation and the clause in RRG

The encoding of negation is triangulated in RRG by means of a principled analysis of syntax, semantics, and discourse-pragmatics. Van Valin (2001: 209) states that RRG

> is in many respects the original 'minimalist' theory, since it has postulated only a single syntactic representation and a single semantic representation from its inception in the late 1970s.

RRG represents syntactic clause structure in the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC). The semantic representation of core predicate elements is called the Logical Structure (LS). 'Discourse-pragmatics', as represented in the Focus Structure (FS) of the sentence, 'plays a role' in the rules-based 'linking algorithm' of the LSC and the LS, as depicted in Figure 3-1. All three representations interact with one another to provide a robust account of the realization of negation over the clause.

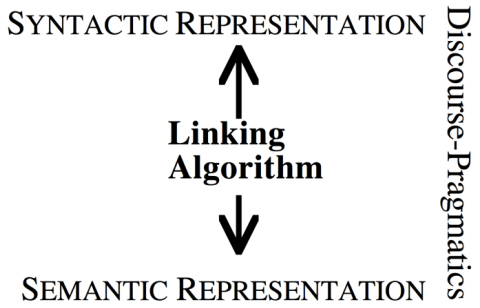

Figure 3-1. *The organization of RRG* (Van Valin, 2005: 2)

3.1.1 Negation and the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC). In contrast to the X-bar syntactical representations that are the standard of modern Arabic linguistic enquiry, RRG intentionally maintains the structural integrity of real language units in what is termed the Layered Structure of the Clause (LSC). A monostratal representation of the clause facilitates both natural clause/phrase representation and bidirectionality. Van Valin (2005: 3) proposes two 'general considerations for a theory of clause structure':

a. A theory of clause structure should capture all of the universal features without imposing features on languages in which there is no evidence for them.
b. A theory should represent comparable structures in different languages in comparable ways.

There are three semantically motivated elements (layers) to clause structure that are essential and universal (Van Valin, 2001: 206). The NUCLEUS (NUC) is comprised of the predicating element. The CORE represents the nucleus plus the predicating element's arguments. The PERIPHERY contains adjunct modifiers (adverbs, participial phrases, etc.). They are depicted in Figure 3-2.

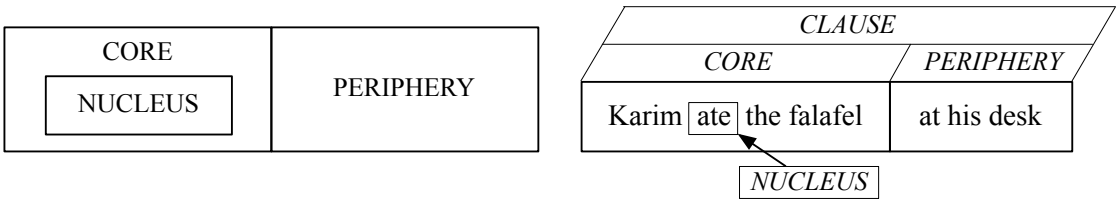

Figure 3-2. *The layered structure of the clause* (based on Van Valin, 2001: 206)

The semantic structures that underpin the identity of the nucleus, core, and periphery are illustrated in Figure 3-3. Van Valin (2001: 205) explains that while grammatical structures

evidence extensive cross-linguistic variation, all languages make structural distinctions between 'predicating and non-predicating elements'. The non-predicating elements are in turn universally divided into semantically motivated arguments and adjunct non-arguments.

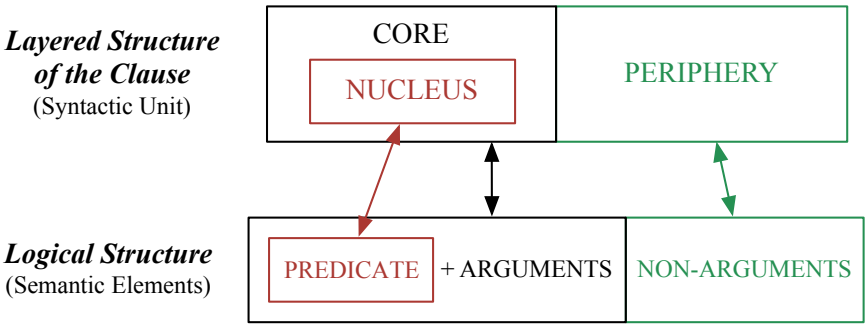

Figure 3-3. *The semantic foundation of the LSC*

3.1.1.1 The constituent projection of the LSC. RRG depicts this semantically motivated layered structure of the clause by means of two vertically aligned syntactic projections. The first one, the constituent projection (CP), emanates upward from the predicate and, as its title implies, marks its relationship to all constituents in the clause (Figure 3-4 below). The CP identifies and classifies constituents while they are naturally situated in the clause. Nolan (2012: 8) observes that the LSC is 'intended to represent the actual form of the sentence, including the linear sequence of the constituent elements and their morphological properties as found in the utterance'.

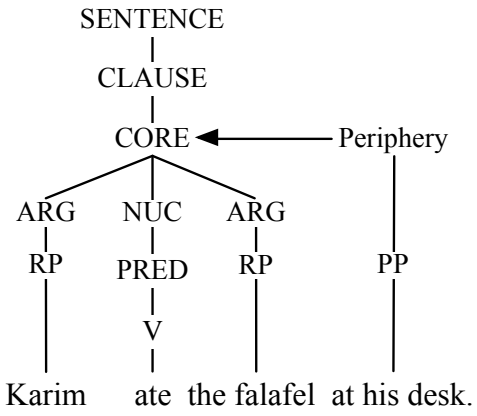

Figure 3-4. *Verbal constituent projection*

Every word/phrase is accounted for and marked as either a core constituent that functions as an argument of the predicate, or as a peripheral non-argument constituent that provides

additional information to the clause. The term *predicate* is used instead of verb phrase because it is not universal. Figure 3-5 depicts two non-verbal English predicate clauses. According to Van Valin (2008: 8), *Reference Phrase* (RP) is 'non-endocentric' and therefore preferable to *Noun Phrase* (NP). Peripheral elements are linked to the core by an arrow to show that they are 'optional' modifiers of the core (Van Valin, 2001: 206). RRG identifies an additional 'pre-core slot' (PrCS) for pre-clause elements like WH-words in English and a left-detached position (LDP) for adverbs and other sentence-initial elements (Van Valin, 2005: 6). There is a post-core slot (PoCS) and a right-detached position (RDP) for languages that have them.

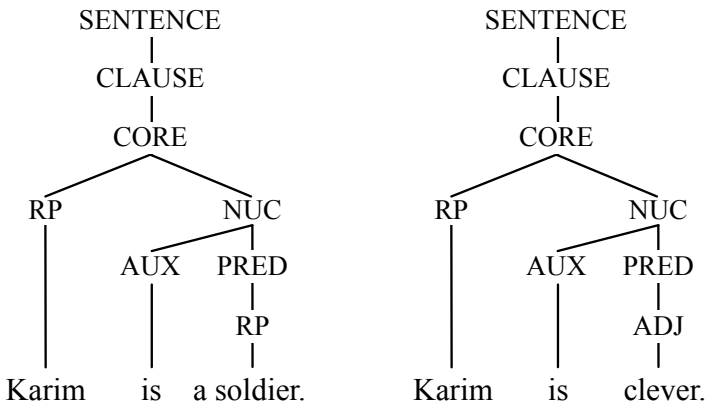

Figure 3-5. *Non-verbal constituent projections*

3.1.1.2 The operator projection of the LSC. The second projection, the operator projection (OP), mirrors below the predicate the same layered linear order utilized in the CP. Van Valin (2010a: 708) defines RRG operators as 'closed-class grammatical categories like aspect, negation, tense, and illocutionary force'. A list of operators and their link to the OP are portrayed in Figure 3-6 below.

The OP is of particular importance to this study. For example, aspect will become very important to understanding the ability of a Syrian Arabic negative particle to take scope over a serial verb construction. Nolan (2012: 21) identifies aspect as a 'common inherent verbal quality'. He further states:

> Its function is to highlight the internal temporal unfolding of the predication. Aspect indicates whether an event, state, process or action denoted by a verb is completed or unfolding.

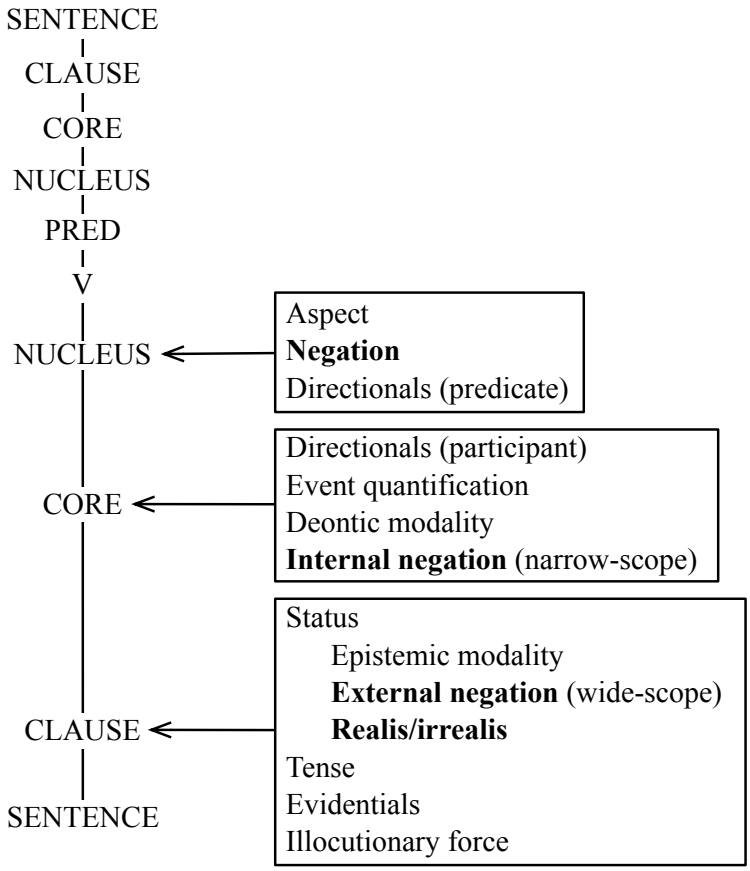

Figure 3-6. *Operators and the operator projection of the LSC*

The perfective/imperfective construction of SA matrix verbs is an inherently aspectual distinction. Tense, a clause level operator, highlights the external temporal relation of the predication to either the time of speaking or another syntactic or contextual element. Aspect and tense interact with negation cross-linguistically, and SA is no exception. The realis/ irrealis clausal operators regularly mix with negation in interesting ways. Realis, according to Pavey (2010: 66), 'is concerned with real (and necessary) events and its opposite **IRREALIS** with hypothetical, conditional, possible or imaginary events'.

Negation and illocutionary force are the only universal operators. Van Valin (2005: 9) observes that negation is the only operator known that can be manifested in the nucleus, the core, or the clause. It is in the OP that the syntactic significance of negation is identified. Nolan (in press: 1) captures its significance for syntax when he writes:

> Nuclear negation has only the nucleus in its scope, core negation has one or more core arguments (and possibly also the nucleus) in its scope, and clausal negation has the entire clause in its scope.

Negation was not initially considered to be an operator (Foley and Van Valin, 1984: 208) and, other than Nolan (in press), it is still largely an unstudied phenomenon within RRG. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 45-46) briefly describe nuclear negation as a 'derivational negative like *un-* in *unhappy* in English'. Core negation, also identified as narrow-scope or internal negation, is illustrated by the sentence '*John did not read a book, he read a magazine.*' They explain that the scope of negation is clearly the 'direct object', *book*, and not *John* nor *read*. External clausal negation is 'propositional negation' because it negates the whole proposition and functions as a 'type of status indicator'. This wide-scope negation can be 'paraphrased' by prefacing the proposition with 'it is not the case that…'. Pavey (2010: 63) explains that propositional negation 'declares that the whole event did not take place'. Pavey (2010: 64) reiterates that negation is unusual because of its ability to operate at the nucleus, the core, and the clause levels. All of the other operators are restricted to one level. Figure 3-7 illustrates a complete LSC projection of a negated English sentence. Nolan (in press: 1) notes that negation is instantiated as an inherent lexical meaning of the word, as a morphological affix, and as an independent element (analytical negation). It remains an operator regardless of the form.

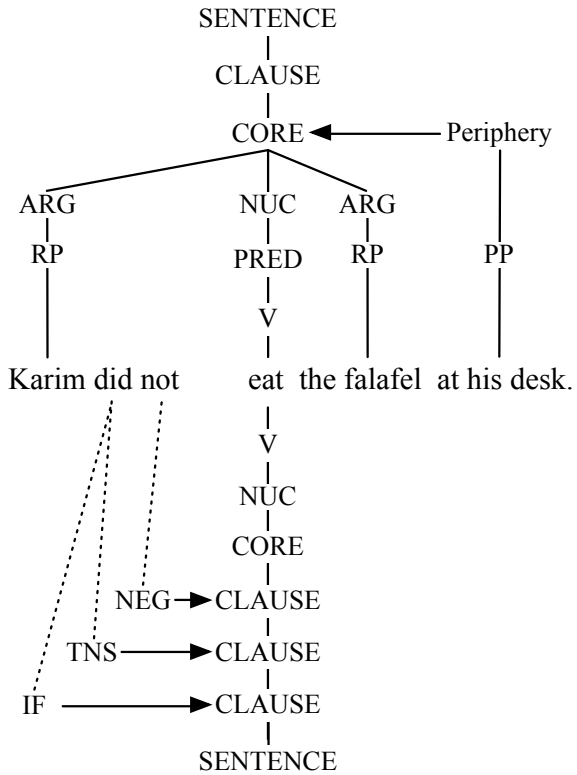

Figure 3-7. *Constituent and operator projections of a negated English sentence*

Syrian Arabic uses lexical derivation, prefixes, and independent modals to mark operators on verbs. Nolan (2012: 22) notes that 'the order of certain affixes in a word' should typologically 'reflect the order of related syntactic operations (cf. the Mirror Principle of Baker 1985: 375)'. It should therefore be expected in SA that the order of operational significance to the verb should radiate outward from the inflected stem to the outermost operator.

3.1.2 Negation and Logical Structure (LS). The RRG theory of semantic representation, according to Nolan (2012: 10), 'is based on a system of lexical representation and semantic roles'. The lexical representation of the sentence used in RRG originates from 'Vendler's (1967) theory of *Aktionsart*' (Van Valin, 2008: 10). The four basic predicate classes Vendler identified are state, achievement, accomplishment and activity. According to Boutin (2011: 7), Vendler's theory classifies predicates based on three semantic features (static, telic, and punctual). Activity has been added as a fourth feature. RRG adds two more classes, semelfactive (punctual, non-telic events) and active accomplishments (telic activity), along with causative variants for all six classes. Van Valin (2008: 10) indicates that the *Aktionsart* of each class is determined by semantic and syntactic tests.

Verbs are analyzed by means of a 'lexical decomposition' system that takes the state and activity predicates as the base from which the other classes are derived (Van Valin, 2005: 42). Boutin (2011: 11) notes that 'the decompositional representations of verbs are called logical structures'. Logical structures 'paraphrase' the semantic relationship between a predicate and its arguments 'in terms of primitive elements in a well-defined semantic meta-language' (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 90). Logical structures express all predicates, whether they be verbs or nominals. Table 3-1, on the next page, summarizes all six *Aktionsart* classes. It provides brief definitions, *Aktionsart* features, logical structure templates, and examples for each class, including their causative counterparts.

States: internal feelings, conditions, or properties (*be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe, have*)
Aktionsart features: [+ static], [− dynamic], [− telic], [− punctual]
Logical structure: **predicate´**(x) or (x, y) or
be´/feel´ (x, [**predicate´**]) nominal or adjectival predicates
Examples: The camel is tired. **tired´** (camel)
The camel is haughty. **be´** (camel, [**haughty´**])
Causative logical structure: α cause β, where α, β are LSs of any type
Causative state example:
The dog startled the camel. [**do´** (dog, Ø)] cause [**feel´** (camel, [**afraid´**])]

A**ctivities:** action + no inherent endpoint (*march, swim, walk* (– goal); *think, eat* (mass N, plural RP)
Aktionsart features: [− static], [+ dynamic], [− telic], [− punctual]
Logical structure: **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x, y)])
Examples: Khalid read the book. **do´** (Khalid, [**read´**(Khalid, book)])
Causative activity example:
Khalid walked the camel. [**do´** (Khalid, Ø)] cause [**do´** (camel, [**walk´** (camel)])]

Achievements (ingr): instantaneous change of state + inherent endpoint (*pop, explode, shatter* (intr))
Aktionsart features: [− static], [− dynamic], [+ telic], [+ punctual]
Logical structure: INGR **predicate´** (x) or (x, y), or
INGR **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x, y)])
Example: The tea cup shattered. ingr **shattered´** (tea cup)
Causative achievement example:
Karim shattered the tea cup. [**do´** (Karim, Ø)] cause [ingr **shattered´** (tea cup)]

Semelfactives (seml): instantaneous event + no change of state (*flash, tap, burst* (intr), *glimpse*)
Aktionsart features: [− static], [± dynamic], [− telic], [+ punctual]
Logical structure: SEML **predicate´** (x, y), or
SEML **do´** (x, [**predicate´**(x, y)])
Example: Karim poked Khalid. seml **poke´** (Karim, Khalid)
Ahmad burped. seml **do´** (Ahmad, [**burp´** (Ahmad)])
Causative semelfactive example:
Karim flashed the light. [**do´** (Karim, Ø)] cause [seml **do´** (light, [**flash´** (light)])]

Accomplishments (become): take time + inherent endpoint (*melt, freeze, dry* (intr), *learn*)
Aktionsart features: [− static], [− dynamic], [+ telic], [− punctual]
Logical structure: become **predicate´** (x) or (x, y), or
become **do´** (x, [**predicate´** (x) or (x, y)])
Example: The paint dried. become **dried´** (paint)
Karim learned English. become **know´** (Karim, English)
Causative accomplishment example:
The sun dried the paint. [**do´** (sun, Ø)] cause [become **dried´** (paint)]

Active accomplishments: action + inherent endpoint (*walk* + goal, *eat* + quantified RP, *devour*)
Aktionsart features: [− static], [+ dynamic], [+ telic], [− punctual]
Logical structure: **do´** (x, [**predicate**$_1$**´** (x, (y))]) & become **predicate**$_2$**´** (z, x) or (y)
Example: Karim ate the falafel. **do´** (Karim, [**eat´** (Karim, falafel)])
& become **eaten´** (falafel)
Causative accomplishment example:
Khalid walked the camel to the stable. [**do´** (Khalid, Ø)] cause [**do´** (camel, [**walk´** (camel)])
& become **be-at´** (stable, camel)]

Adapted from Van Valin (2002: 4; 2006: 9-11; 2008: 10-11) and Pavey (2010: 94-102)

Table 3-1. *Predicate classes and their logical structure*

Semantic macroroles are the key connective components of the RRG linking algorithm. Predicates in the LS are marked in bold type followed by prime, e.g. **dead´**. Their arguments are encased in parentheses, e.g. (x, y, or z) or (Karim). Depending on the valency of the predicates, they have either one, two, or three arguments. Arguments in RRG are believed to express semantic roles. Semantic roles are divided into two types, namely specific thematic relations (agent, effector, location, experiencer, theme, patient, etc.) and the more generalized semantic macroroles (Nolan, 2012: 10). The notion of macroroles is a binary amalgamation of a number of the more specific thematic relations into two macro-roles, actor and undergoer, which Van Valin (2006: 273) identifies as 'the two primary arguments of a transitive predication'. The relationship between actor and undergoer and their relationship with the argument positions in the LS is expressed in the actor-undergoer hierarchy in Figure 3-8 (Nolan, 2012: 12).

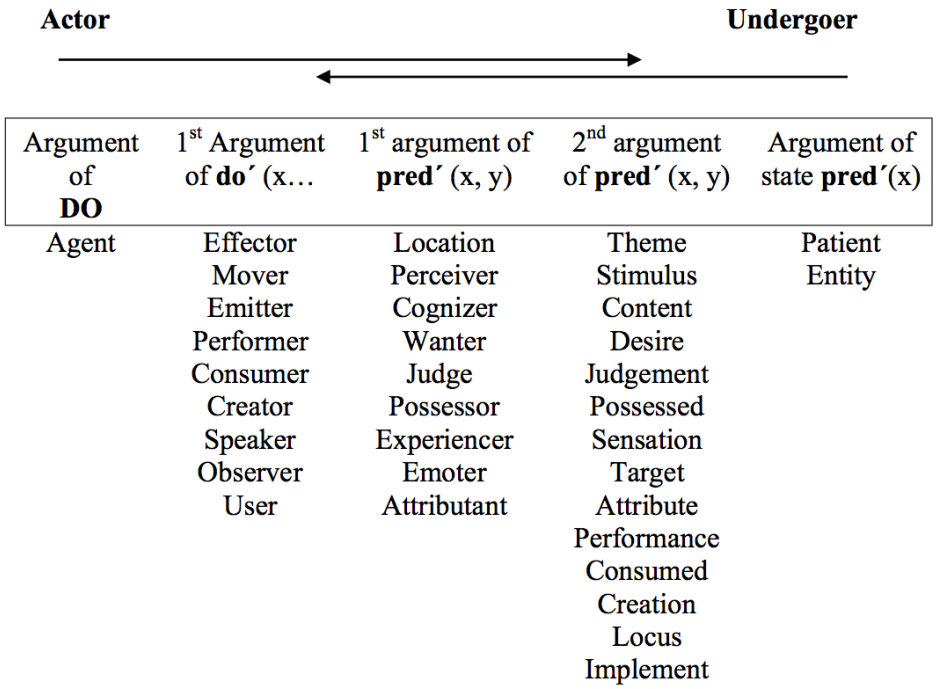

Figure 3-8. *The actor-undergoer hierarchy*

The thematic relations associated with the two macroroles are listed below the hierarchy. The arrows indicate 'increasing markedness of realization of argument as macrorole' (Van Valin 2005: 61). The leftmost argument in the LS, the one that is most agent-like and the doer of verbs with lexicalized agency, e.g. the x of **do´** (x, …), is the most unmarked choice for actor.

In general, 'the leftmost argument in the logical structure will be the actor and the rightmost the undergoer' (Van Valin, 2006: 271).

There are only two macroroles and they determine the transitivity of a verb in RRG. Transitive predicates have two macroroles. Intransitive predicates have only one macrorole and atransitives have none. The third argument of a syntactically ditransitive predicate is not considered a macrorole. It is called a 'non-macrorole direct core argument' (Van Valin, 2001: 212).

The RRG logical structure does not incorporate grammatical categorizations. Van Valin (2005: 94) argues that semantic roles, not grammatical roles, are universal. The concept of grammatical subject is replaced by the syntactic phenomenon termed 'privileged syntactic argument', or PSA (Van Valin, 2006: 271). The PSA is 'privileged', according to Pavey (2010: 143), because it 'has special functions that the other arguments do not have', including frequent control of verb agreement. The PSA is considered a 'restricted neutralization' because it is restricted only to macroroles and it neutralizes 'semantic roles and pragmatic functions for syntactic purposes' (Nolan, 2012: 14). Figure 3-9 lists both the PSA selection hierarchy and its selection principles (adapted from Van Valin, 2008: 17).

Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Hierarchy
Arg of DO > 1st arg of **do´** > 1st arg of **pred´** (x,y) > 2nd arg of **pred´** (x,y) > **pred´** (x)

Privileged Syntactic Argument Selection Principles
a. Accusative constructions: Highest ranking direct core argument is default choice.
b. Ergative constructions: Lowest ranking direct core argument is default choice.
c. Restrictions on PSA in terms of macrorole status:
   1. Languages in which only macrorole arguments can be PSA: German, Italian, Dyirbal, Jakaltek, Sama, ...
   2. Languages in which non-macrorole direct core arguments can be PSA: Icelandic, Georgian, Japanese, Korean, Kinyarwanda, ...

Figure 3-9. *PSA selection hierarchy and principles*

In accusative languages like English and Arabic, the highest ranking (leftmost) macrorole is the PSA and the actor. In passive constructions, an undergoer can possibly function as the PSA. The interrelatedness of the actor-undergoer and PSA hierarchies is obvious.

The RRG bidirectional syntax-semantics linking system is governed by a general constraint

called the 'Completeness Constraint', which can be seen below in Figure 3-10 (Van Valin and LaPolla, 1997: 325).

> **Completeness constraint:**
> All of the arguments explicitly specified in the semantic representation of a sentence must be realized syntactically in the sentence, and all of the referring expressions in the syntactic representation of a sentence must be linked to an argument position in a logical structure in the semantic representation of the sentence.

Figure 3-10. *Completeness constraint*

A simple illustration of the linking between the logical structure and the layered structure of the clause is given in Figure 3-11 (adapted from Van Valin, 2001: 215). The arguments identified as actor, undergoer, and PSA in the LS are linked to the appropriate syntactic elements in the LSA. Since *Karim* is the 1st argument of **do´**, he is the actor and PSA of both the active and passive syntactic instantiations of this single semantic clause. The undergoer is *tea cup*, the 2nd argument of **pred´**. The Completeness Constraint is satisfied in both cases. The RRG bidirectional linking algorithm is, according to Van Valin (2008: 3), 'an idealization of what a speaker does (semantics to syntax) and what a hearer does (syntax to semantics)'.

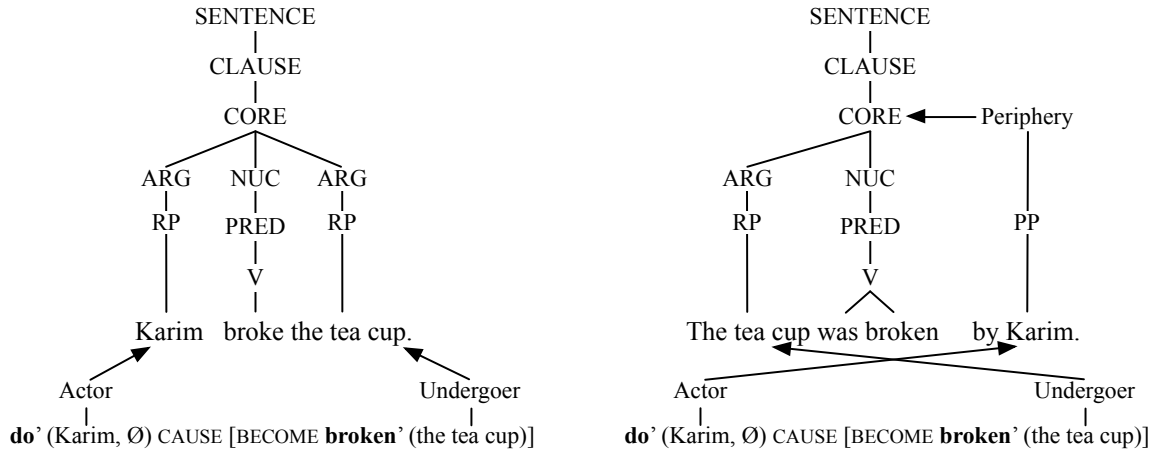

Figure 3-11. *Linking from the LS for active and passive sentences*

The logical structure is an important tool in RRG for determining the scope of negation and for identifying lexical negation. In example (14a) below (Nolan, in press: 6), NEG precedes the brackets enclosing the entire clause (predicate + arguments). This external marking of negation in (14a) represents wide-scope or propositional negation. It would be linked to the

clause in the LSC. Narrow-scope or constituent negation is marked in (14b) by the internal occurrence of NEG, negating only the second half of the sentence, and would be referenced on the core in the LSC (Nolan, in press: 8).

(14) a. I did not buy the small black donkey.
NEG'[**do'**(I, [**buy'**(I, the donkey)])]
b. They said that neither Bríd or Máirtín are here.
<PST<[**say'**(x, [<PRS<**NEG** [**be-at'**(Bríd or Máirtín, [**here'**])]]>>

Negative operators are marked in the LS by NEG. Words that are lexically negative are marked negative in the LS by placing NOT before the predicate. Example (15) contrasts the positive English verb *give* with its lexically negative counterpart *take* (Pavey, 2010: 200).

(15) a. 'I gave my bonsai tree to Bob.'
[**do´** (I, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have´** (Bob, bonsai tree)]
b. 'I took the phone from my sister.'
[**do´** (I, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **have´** (sister, phone)]

The lexical analysis of predicates enhances the identification of those that are lexically negative. In cases like (15b), it additionally marks the scope of the negation as internal (narrow-scope) to the sentence as a whole. The logical structure as a whole provides a second valuable source of information regarding negation and its scope.

3.1.3 Negation and Focus Structure (FS). The focus structure is the primary 'morphosyntactic means for expressing the discourse-pragmatic status of elements in a sentence' in RRG (Van Valin, 2010a: 718). Van Valin states that it is based on Lambrecht's 1994 identification of three different 'focus types': predicate focus, sentence focus, and narrow focus. Pavey (2010: 275) states that predicate focus is the universally 'unmarked (or "default") type of focus structure'. Predicate focus has a topical constituent (he, it, etc.) known to the hearer and its focus domain 'includes everything except the topical constituent'. In sentence focus, every element in the clause is both asserted and falls under the focus domain. The focus domain of narrow focus is a single constituent. Van Valin (2008: 14) illustrates the three focus domains in Figure 3-12 below.

Focus structure in English and Italian (Lambrecht 1994)

a. Q:What happened to your car?	**Predicate Focus**
A: i. My car/It broke DOWN.	English
ii. (La mia macchina) si è ROTTA.	Italian
b. Q:What happened?	**Sentence Focus**
A: i. My CAR broke down.	English
ii. Mi si è rotta la MACCHINA.	Italian
c. Q: I heard your motorcycle broke down.	**Narrow Focus**
A: i. My CAR broke down.	English
ii. Si è rotta la mia MACCHINA./	Italian (Lit: 'broke down
È la mia MACCHINA che si è rotta.	my car'/'it's my car
	which broke down')

Figure 3-12. *The three types of focus domain*

Focus domain has its own projection, as can be seen in Figure 3-13 below (adapted from Van Valin, 2005: 77). This projection has three important components. Van Valin (2010a: 719) defines basic information units as 'the information content captured by a simple WH-word like *who*, *what*, or *where*.' The actual focus domain is the part of the clause that is pragmatically in focus in any given context. The potential focus domain indicates the extent of focus grammatically possible in the language being represented.

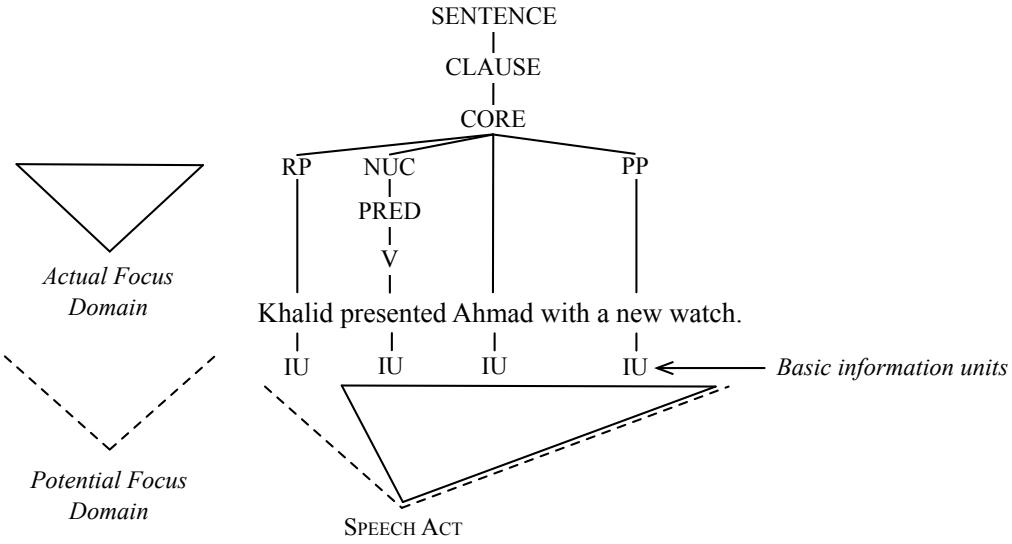

Figure 3-13. *The focus projection*

It is possible to represent all three clausal projections in one diagram. This triple projection is illustrated in Figure 3-14 (adapted from Van Valin, 2005: 80).

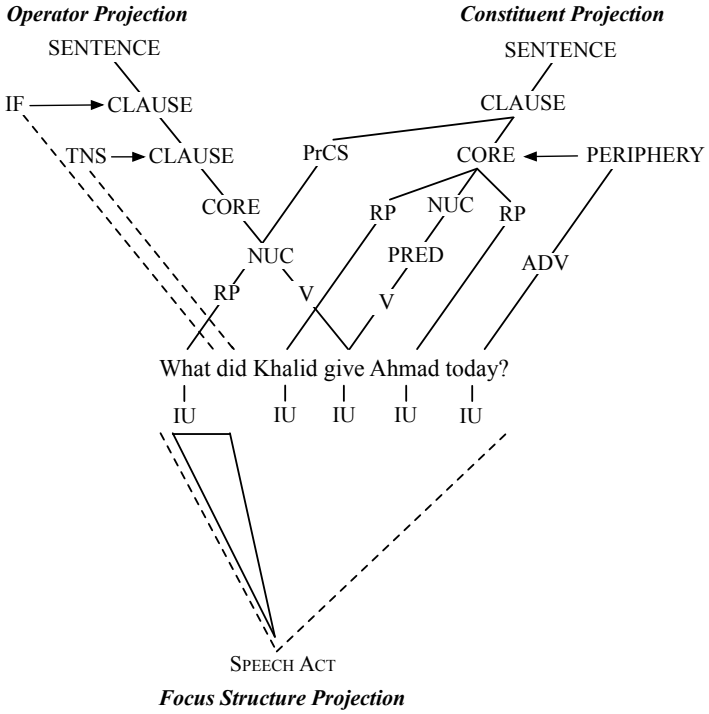

Figure 3-14. *The operator, constituent, and focus structure projections of the clause*

'Focus structure', according to Van Valin and Lapolla (1997: 219), 'is crucially involved in the interpretation of negation and quantification'. Though not synonymous, negative scope and focus structure are closely aligned. They explain that it has long been understood that negation can only scope over asserted parts of a sentence. Presupposed elements cannot be negated. They illustrate the tight linking between scope and focus with the sentence *John didn't talk to Mary*, reproduced in (16) below (Van Valin and Lapolla, 1997: 219).

(16) a. JOHN didn't talk to Mary [Bill did].
b. John didn't TALK to Mary [he sent her e-mail].
c. John didn't talk to MARY [he talked to Susan].
d. John didn't TALK TO MARY [he had no contact with anyone].

They assert that in sentences like the one above, 'the interpretation of what is being negated will be a function of the focus structure of the sentence…'. Examples (16a)-(16c) have a narrow focus on *John*, *talk*, and *Mary*, and 'in each instance the focus constituent is interpreted as being in the scope of negation, the remainder of the sentence being presupposed'. They indicate that the last example has a predicate focus domain. They state later that 'the scope of negation in a sentence is normally the actual focus domain' (Van Valin and Lapolla, 1997: 308). Though it might be better to not so tightly equate the scope of

negation with focus structure, the application of the RRG focus structure model provides further insight into the the encoding of negation, and in particular to its scope.

3.1.4 Negation and complex sentences. All of the sections above have looked at single clauses and simple sentences. Real communication is rarely so simple. The RRG answer to the following three questions forms the outline of this section:

1. *At what level in the LSC are the two clauses related?*
2. *What type of relation do the two clauses have?*
3. *Are the verbs so closely related that together they form a single complex event?*

3.1.4.1 Complex sentence juncture: At what level in the LSC are the two clauses related? Clausal predicates in RRG have nucleus, core, clause, and sentence levels. Van Valin (2008: 18) states that the 'unmarked pattern for the construction of complex sentences involves combining nuclei with nuclei, cores with cores, clauses with clauses, or sentences with sentences'. This level(x)-on-level(x) construction is called 'juncture' in RRG. Nuclear juncture, for example, is where the nuclei of two or more predicates combine to form a sentence. Van Valin (2005: 188) illustrates 'the three primary juncture types' as a schema reproduced in (17).

(17)	a.	[CORE…[NUC…]… +…[NUC…]…]	Nuclear juncture
	b.	[CLAUSE…[COR…]… +…[COR…]…]	Core juncture
	c.	[SENTENCE…[CLAUSE…]… +…[CLAUSE…]…]	Clausal juncture

In sentences with nuclear juncture, as in (18a), the two nuclei together form a complex predication that shares the same arguments. Core juncture sentences, like (18b), have two cores that share the same PSA, but do not share nuclei and other arguments. Sentences with clausal juncture are comprised of independent clauses that have their own arguments and are linked together by clausal connectors, like the conjunction in example (18c).

(18)	a.	Karim pried [NUC] open [NUC] the can of olives.	Nuclear juncture
	b.	Ahmad tried to leave the house.	Core juncture
	c.	Khalid came and Ahmad cooked the chicken.	Clausal juncture

3.1.4.2 Complex sentence nexus relations: What type of relation do the two clauses have? Nexus relations in RRG categorize the interrelations between clauses at each level of

juncture. Van Valin (2005: 183) states that 'traditional, structural and generative grammar have all operated on the assumption that there are two linkage or 'nexus' types, coordination and subordination'. RRG posits a third nexus type called cosubordination.

Coordination is the linking together of 'two or more independent units of the same type' (Pavey, 2010: 223). If the units are clauses, for example, they are fully formed clauses that are able to function as main clauses on their own. The sentence in (19) illustrates nexus coordination. The two coordinated independent clauses do not even share the same tense.

(19) Ahmad wanted to take a taxi but Khalid prefers walking.

Subordination occurs when one unit is embedded inside another. An embedded subordinate clause is syntactically dependent on the main clause and is normally unable to function as a main clause. Pavey (2010: 223) comments that subordinate clauses are usually finite and in a sense 'express an event within another event'. Van Valin (2008: 20) identifies two subtypes of subordination: 'daughter subordination and peripheral subordination'. They are illustrated in example (20).

(20) a. [That Karim arrived late] $_{\text{ARG}}$ [surprised no one.] $_{\text{CORE}}$
b. [Ahmad told Khalid] $_{\text{CORE}}$ [after they got in the car.] $_{\text{PERIPHERY}}$

Coordination is a symmetrical nexus relation between two like units and subordination is an asymmetrical relation between a main unit and an embedded dependent unit. The third nexus type, cosubordination, symmetrically links two like units that are mutually dependent on 'one or more operators at the level of juncture' (Van Valin, 2008: 20). Van Valin describes this as a 'tight, dependent coordination'. At least one operator on one of the predicates takes scope over the other predicate(s) and links them at the level of juncture to which the operator is assigned in the LSC. This is often illustrated with the deontic modality operator taking scope over another predicate in a sentence like (21). The core-level modal operator '*must*' takes scope over the verbal elements '*try*' and '*to reconcile*'.

(21) Karim must *try to reconcile* with Ahmad.

Coordination, subordination, and cosubordination, the three nexus types, combine with the four levels of juncture (nuclear, core, clausal, sentence) to create eleven potential types of

complex sentences. Van Valin (2008: 23) orders the eleven types of complex sentences into a hierarchy based on 'the tightness of the syntactic link', reproduced here in Figure 3-15. Nuclear cosubordination, the most tightly unified form of clausal relations, is a common feature of SA.

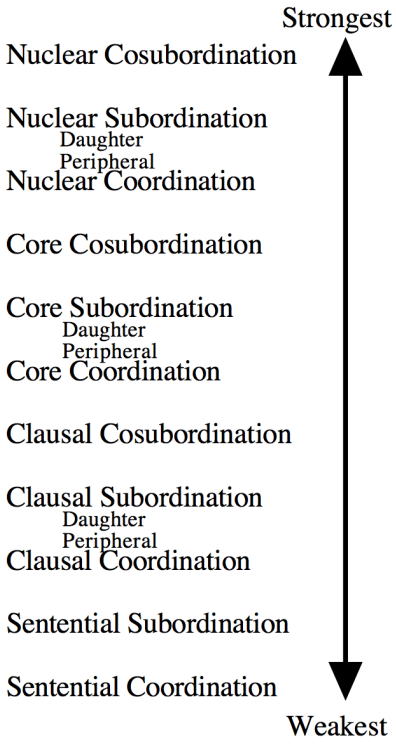

Figure 3-15. *'Interclausal syntactic relations hierarchy'* Van Valin (2008: 23)

3.1.4.3 Serial verb constructions (SVC): Are the verbs so closely related that together they form a single complex event? Serial verb constructions are common in all varieties of Arabic. Pavey (2010: 236) explains that in SVCs, 'two or more verbs are used to express one complex event'. She notes that the meaning of 'one complex event' is culturally defined and varies between cultures. She states further that 'in terms of syntactic form, the serialized verbs share at least one argument and constitute a single syntactic and intonational clause'.

Serial verb constructions, because of their unified event-focus, manifest a nuclear-level or core-level juncture. According to Pavey (2010: 238), they occur in all three types of nexus relations (coordination, subordination, and cosubordination). It is possible for clausal elements to occur between the serial verbs. This is, however, uncommon in Arabic. Pavey (2010: 240) identifies six semantic properties associated with SVCs, listed in (22).

(22) 1. Motion or direction
2. Sequence of events
3. Aspectual
4. Causative and cause-effect
5. Instrumental
6. Simultaneous event(s)

It will be seen in chapter five that Syrian Arabic employs nuclear-level cosubordinate serial verb constructions over which the particle of clausal negation takes scope.

3.2 Negation and the layered structures of the noun phrase (LSNP) and the word (LSW)

The layered structure of the noun phrase is structurally analogous to the layered structure of the clause on the grounds that both are said to have arguments, a periphery, and operators. The same terminology and the same projections (constituent and operator) are used to explain the LSNP's syntactic structure. The layered structure of the word is similarly constructed.

Noun phrases are headed by a noun. Like their LSC counterparts, predicating nouns have a $nuc_{N(OUN)}$ and a $core_{N(OUN)}$ in both the constituent and the operator projections. Adjectives that modify nouns, once considered to be $nuclear_N$ operators, are now treated as $nuclear_N$ peripheral elements (Van Valin, 2005: 26). Van Valin observes that adjectives 'must occur closer to the nominal nucleus than $core_N$- and NP-level operators and modifiers' because of the iconicity principle. The arguments of the predicating noun, normally other nouns marked genitive or prepositional phrases (PP), are assigned to the $core_N$ in the same way that direct core arguments are assigned in the LSC. The LSNP has a periphery as well. Pavey (2010: 183) indicates that '$core_N$-level peripheral elements have functions similar to those that modify the periphery in a clause: they situate the noun phrase in space or time'. Non-argument prepositional phrases and adverbs are assigned to the $core_N$ periphery. Preposed elements such as demonstratives, possessive constructions, and adverbs are assigned to the *noun phrase initial position* (NPIP).

The operator projection of the LSNP mirrors the constituent projection. Nolan (2012: 22) states that the lone nuc_N operator, nominal aspect (NASP), 'concerns whether the referent entity is an individual, parts of an individual, a set of individuals, or a sortal kind'. The $core_N$ operators are number, quantification, and negation. Pavey (2010: 194) explains that nominal

negation ‘marks the absence or lack of a referent’. It is similar to quantification in that it signals a ‘quantity of zero’. Pavey additionally notes that nominal negation ‘serves with’ the negative verbal operator in negative concord languages. The NP level operators ground the LSNP in the real world discourse-pragmatic setting. Figure 3-16 illustrates a basic template of both projections of the LSNP (adapted from Nolan, 2012: 23 and Pavey, 2010: 188).

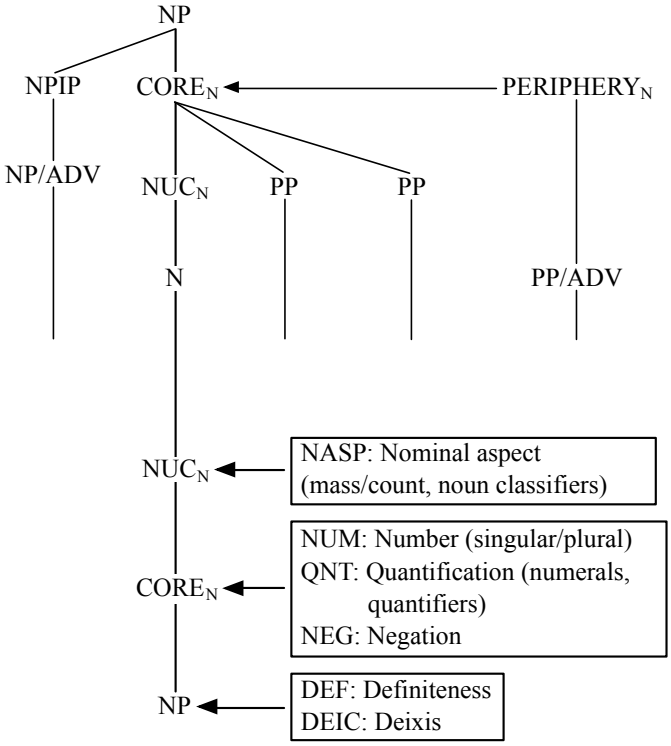

Figure 3-16. *Template of the layered structure of the noun phrase with operators*

The layered structure of the word (LSW) is still under construction. Van Valin (2010b: 18) writes that ‘there is as yet no full-blown RRG theory of morphology’. What has been developed is significant for head-marking languages and double-marking languages like Arabic. The pronominals affixed to the verb are considered to be *the* core arguments (Van Valin, 2010b: 7). All marked independent RPs are in apposition to the affixed pronominal core arguments and linked to the clause (Van Valin, 2005: 19).

The layered structure of the word has a nucleus$_w$ and a core$_w$. The nucleus$_w$ can be ‘internally complex’ (Van Valin, 2005: 18). Inflectional affixes are considered formatives (FRM) and are assigned to the core$_w$. Derivation, therefore, occurs at the nucleus$_w$ level and inflection at the core$_w$ level. Head-marked pronominals are assigned as formatives to the core$_w$. Clitics,

according to Van Valin, 'are formatives which attach to words in detached positions analogous to those in the sentence'. Negation is often morphologically affixed to verbs and nouns. When it is, it functions as an operator in the LSC and the LSNP. A template for the layered structure of the word, adapted from Van Valin (2010b: 19), is provided in Figure 3-17.

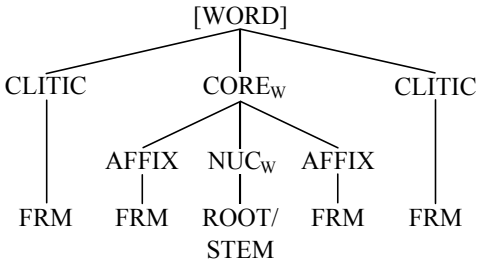

Figure 3-17. *Template of the layered structure of the word*

3.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has presented a general overview of Role and Reference Grammar. RRG is seen as providing an effective framework for evaluating the encoding of negation on the clause and the noun phrase. Negation is a grammatical operator at all levels that can be instantiated lexically, morphologically, and analytically. The scope of negation in particular is triangulated syntactically, semantically, and discourse-pragmatically. This interpretive framework will now be applied to negation in Syrian Arabic.

4. Syrian Arabic negation and the LSW, part 1: verbs and non-verbal predicates

Arabic is a beautiful language in script and in function. Words and clauses blossom from base three-consonant roots according to largely predictable and at times elaborate patterns. It can also be a linguist's headache when trying to force it into western grammatical categories. The borders between basic ideas such as verbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, and the encoding of negation over them, simply do not fit western grammatical rules without syntactic gerrymandering. Arabic is not as difficult as Arabs and non-Arabs think. It is simply unique, along with its other Semitic cousins, as a functional account of the language should reveal.

The next four chapters are dedicated to classifying and analyzing the function of negation within the layered structure of Syrian Arabic clausal predicates, clauses, nouns and adjectives, and noun phrases. The Syrian Arabic negation strategy will additionally be placed within the broader Arabic family of spoken and written dialects. Negation and the layered structure of verbs and non-verbal predicates are the focus of this chapter.

4.1 Brief introduction to Syrian Arabic matrix verbs

Syrian Arabic employs two primary analytic means to encode negation on clausal predicates, depending on the type of predicate and the intended scope of negation. This will be the topic of chapter five. A brief overview of SA matrix verbs is in order to set the syntactic context for this discussion and the ones to come.

Most matrix verbs are based on a root comprised of three consonants (triliteral), though two and four consonant roots are not uncommon. Triliteral roots undergo derivation through affixation or doubling according to what amount to morphological templates, variously called measures, forms, or patterns. While Arabic is known to have ten templates, Cowell (1964: 53-54) identifies twenty-one templates for SA. They are listed in Appendix 3. Most roots only exist in a few of the templates. Each of the morphological templates is nuanced with semantic and syntactic significance. For example, the second listed template is often used for causatives and the seventh one for passives. The meaning of some derived verbs, however, varies significantly from the nuance of their template. The verbal templates are additionally employed to predictably derive participles, both present and past, and verbal nouns.

Matrix verbs are inflected for aspect/realis, person (first, second, and third), number/gender (SG.M, SG.F, and PL), and tense. SA verbs are traditionally classified in terms of tense, as either past and non-past, or perfect and imperfect. Perfect and imperfect combine tense with aspectual features. The citation form of SA verbs normally exhibits both inflected 'tense' stems (*faʕal*, *jəfʕel*, 'to do, make') or notes the internal vowel used in the imperfect (*faʕal*, *e*). There is no infinitive in Arabic. Verbs are cited with masculine singular inflection. The SA perfective verb stem marks person and number agreement with suffixes and the imperfective stem marks person agreement with prefixes and number agreement with suffixes, as is seen in Appendix 4.

It is debated but widely accepted that Arabic verb stems are inflected for tense. This theory is based on the traditional Arabic grammar labeling of the 'perfect' stem as 'the past' (*al-maːḍi*), and is further bolstered by the way X-bar syntax raises tense to be a dominant functional category (cf. Benmamoun, 2000: 5). Tense, however, has no significance in the unmarked 'imperfect' stem, called *al-muḍaːriʕ* ('like, similar') in Arabic. The unmarked 'imperfect' is the subjunctive. It is also used in negative commands and in marked discourse-pragmatic contexts. In its unmarked form, it is always used in imperfective (not complete) and non-temporal irrealis contexts.

The 'imperfect' stem must be specifically inflected with the proclitic *ʕam-*, which Cowell (1964: 320) labels 'the particle of actuality', to be marked with imperfect tense (present progressive) and realis. The future tense is marked on an 'imperfect' verb stem by fronting either the *raħa-* family of proclitics or by a unique use of the *b-* proclitic. Cowell (1964: 324-29) considers the *b-* proclitic to signal the 'indicative mode'. He lists among its grammatical repertoire, along with the future, 'annunciatory', 'generalizing', and 'dispositional' uses. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 42) point out that the indicative mood is a 'declarative realis' combination of status and illocutionary force operators. In RRG terms, the non-future *b-* proclitic is a declarative marker with aspectual (durative or habitual) force. These verbal operators are illustrated in the next chapter.

The true grammatical identity of these two base Arabic verbal forms needs to be functionally analyzed in future research. The functional symmetry of a perfective/imperfective verbal

system has apparent advantages, but that is a topic for another study. The terms perfective and imperfective (not complete) will be utilized in this study.

4.2 Negation and the layered structure of matrix verbs

Negation is not normally morphologically affixed to SA matrix verbs. In its place, SA employs a broad range of lexically negative verbs and a highly productive negative particle. A comprehensive list of lexically negative verbs in SA is beyond the scope of this study. Example (23) below lists only a sample of the SA verbs that are considered to lexically express negative polarity.

(23)

χaras, jəχras	be silent
ʔoʕa (IMP only)	beware, do not
kazzab, jkazzeb	deny
rafaḍ, jərfoḍ	deny, refuse
nakar, jənkor	deny
kəreh, jəkrah	dislike
ʕaṣa, jaʕṣi	disobey
ʔ̈arraf, jʔ̈arref	disgust
χabba, jχabbi	hide
katam, jəktom	hide
dʒaːhal, jdʒaːhal	ignore
ʁallab, jʁalleb	inconvenience
bahdal, jbahdel	insult
ddaːχal, jddaːχal	interfere
ʕawwaʔ̈, jʕawwəʔ̈	interfere
ʕaṭṭal, jʕaṭṭəl	interfere
χawwaf, jχawwəf	intimidate
zaʕaʒ, jəzʕeʒ	irritate
manaʕ, jəmnaʕ	keep from
mtanaʕ, jəmtáneʕ	keep from
ʁalaṭ, jəʁlaṭ	make a mistake
ḍallal, jḍallel	mislead
ʔahmal, jəhmel	neglect
ʕtaraḍ ʕala, jəʕtáreḍ ʕala	object
ʔ̈alab, jəʔ̈leb	overthrow
waʔ̈ʔ̈af, jwaʔ̈ʔ̈ef	stop
zaːl, jziːl	undo
nazzal, jnazzel	unload
fataħ, jəftaħ	unlock
kaʃaf, jəkʃof	unveil, uncover

The negative operator *maː* functions throughout the majority of Syria as an independent particle that immediately precedes the verb it is marking with negation, as exemplified in (24). Because it is an operator on the predicate, it properly belongs to the the LSW.

(24) ***maː*** *zərt-o*
NEG visit:V.PST+1SG-3SG.M
'I did not visit him.'
NEG [**do´** (1SG, [**visit´** (1SG, 3SG.M)])]

The wide-scope preference of *maː* will be discussed in the next chapter. For now it is sufficient to note that the NEG in the logical structure of this clause is outside the predicate brackets indicating its wide scope and that it is similarly assigned to the clause in the LSC of Figure 4-1 below.

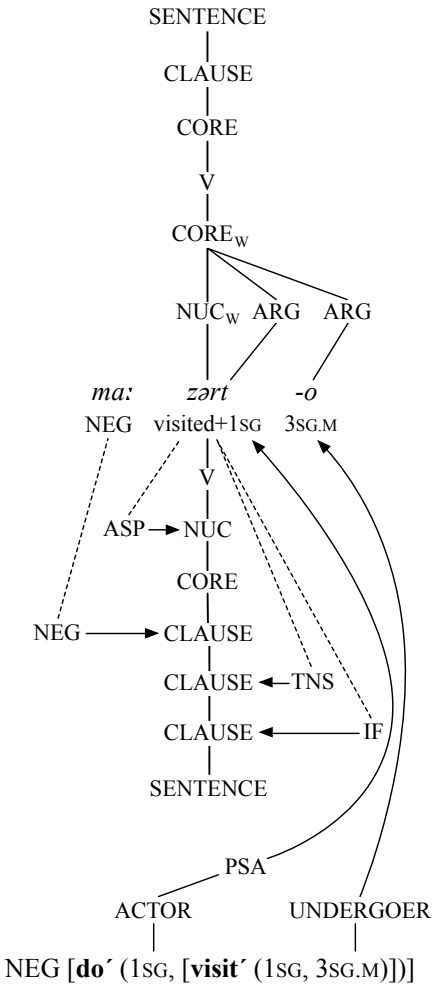

Figure 4-1. *LSW/LSC with independent particle negation*

The example LSC above incorporates the predicate LSW in the operator projection by the addition of NUC_W and $CORE_W$ directly above the predicate. It is important to note that Nichols (1986: 115) categorizes Arabic as a double-marking language, meaning that both the head and its dependent constituents are marked. Van Valin (2005: 19) defines a double-marking language as 'a head-marking language which also has NP case marking.' He indicates that as such, RPs that are marked on the head but are independently present in the clause should be assigned to the clause and not the core. The $core_W$ is understandably reserved for the arguments marked on the head, since the clause makes no sense without them (and conversely makes good sense without independent RPs).

SA, like all varieties of Arabic, cross-references the subject on the verb. Arabic verbal clauses make good sense whether or not an independent subject RP is present. They are undecipherable without subject cross-referencing. This being the case, all independent subject RPs should be assigned to the clause and not the core. This also means that the subject marking on the verb is the privileged syntactic argument (PSA), not the independent subject RP should it be present. Nichols (1986: 77) notes that there is no cross-referencing for object enclitics of the verb. They can only attach to the verb providing there is no corresponding independent RP. Independent object RPs are assigned to the core. For these reasons, the 1SG subject suffix *-t* and the 3SG.M object clitic *-o* are marked as arguments (ARG) of the $CORE_W$ and as actor/PSA and undergoer respectively in Figure 4-1 above.

Damascus essentially functions as the point of no-return for the morphological negation of matrix verbs. From Damascus east and south, *maː* is an independent particle. To the west of Damascus, however, there are a few areas that encode negation on matrix verbs using the discontinuous negative *maː-...-ʃ* operator introduced as the western strategy in chapter two (see 2.2.2). There is no significant difference in scope between the two forms of negation, as can be seen in the identical logical structures of (24) above and (25).

(25) ***ma**-zərt-oː-ʃ*
NEG-visit:V.PST+1SG-3SG.M-NEG
'I did not visit him.'
NEG [**do´** (1SG, [**visit´** (1SG, 3SG.M)])]

The discontinuous form does, however, graphically illustrate the wide scope of its negation by enveloping the predicate and its arguments with its discontinuous clitics. This can be seen in Figure 4-2 below.

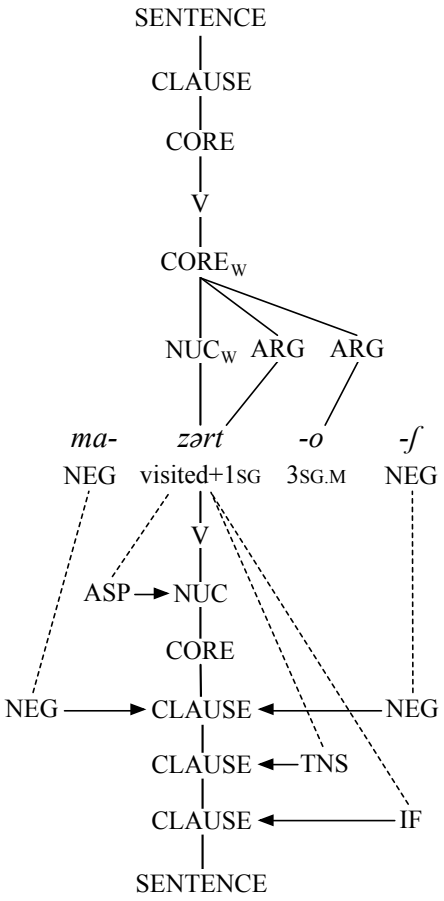

Figure 4-2. *LSW/LSC with discontinuous negation*

The two discontinuous clitics bracket the whole clause and represent what is termed 'sentential negation' (Mughazy, 2008: 91) or 'verbal negation' (Brustad, 2000: 281). The wide-scope negation taken by this construction opens a window of understanding into the scope that the independent negative operator *maː* takes over matrix verbs and, quite possibly, non-verbal predicates as well. This is the only form of morphological negation employed on matrix verbs in SA. Its use is so restricted that it will not be covered in the next chapter.

4.3 Negation and the layered structure of non-verbal predicates

Negation is expressed and encoded on non-verbal predicates primarily by means of the independent negative particle *muː*. Hoyt (2010: 94) considers *muː* to be a negative auxiliary

with the meaning ‘is not’. There is merit to his claim. Holes (2004: 243) states that *muː* is an etymologically ‘reduced composite form’ of *maː* + *hu* (he, it), the copula construction. This particle or negative auxiliary is utilized to mark negation as an operator on nouns, adjectives, prepositions, adverbs, and even whole clauses, as will be shown in the next chapter.

The independent negative particle *maː* also encodes negation on nouns, pronouns, and prepositional phrases. Cowell (1964: 384) calls these constructions ‘verb-like expressions’. Brustad (2000: 288) describes them as ‘pseudo-verbs’. Holes (2004: 244) reasons that they have a ‘quasiverbal function and are treated syntactically as if they were verbs’. These will be examined in chapter five as well. It will be seen that this form has negative scope-related significance in addition to its verbal propensities.

There is a form of this type of negation in SA that is worth highlighting in a discussion on the layered structure of the SA non-verbal (yet very verb-like) predicate. Cowell (1964: 387-388) sets apart what he labels a ‘negative copula’. It is a morphological composite of the negative operator *maː* and pronominal clitics. In Damascus, the ‘negative copula’ *maːli* (‘I am not’) is formed by prefixing a proclitic *maː-* to the ‘dative clitic’ *l-* that is itself hosting ‘a pronoun clitic’ (Hoyt, 2010: 99). Outside of Damascus, and increasingly in Damascus, the negative proclitic *maː-* is directly prefixed to an irregular form of the pronoun. Brustad (2000: 300) identifies a third variant in Aleppo that is only expressed in the 3rd person singular. These can be seen in Table 4-1.

Person	Gender	Location	Singular	Plural
1st		Damascus	*maːli* *maːni*	*maːlna* *maːna*
2nd	Masc	Damascus	*maːlak* *maːnak*	*maːlkon* *maːnkon*
	Fem	Damascus	*maːlek* *maːnek*	*maːlkon* *maːnkon*
3rd	Masc	Damascus Aleppo	*maːlu* *maːnu* *maːhu*	*maːlon* *maːnon*
	Fem	Damascus Aleppo	*maːla* *maːna* *maːhi*	

Table 4-1. *The ‘negative copula’*

There is no difference in meaning between the form used in Damascus and the one used outside of Damascus. They are both highly productive in SA. The layered structure of the Damascene word *maːli* (‘I am not) is represented in Figure 4-3.

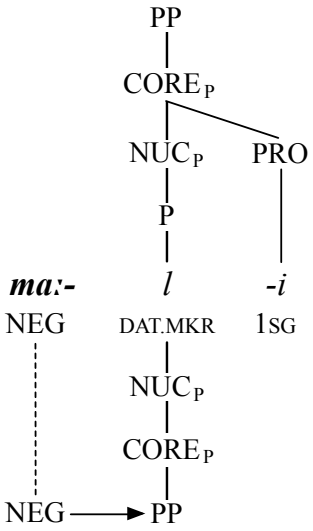

Figure 4-3. *The layered structure of* ***maːli***

The advantage to the non-Damascene *maːni* over *maːli* is the way it differentiates the ‘negative copula’ from the identically pronounced prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *l-* (‘to’). The two forms are identical in Damascus and must be distinguished by context (26).

(26) a. ***maː-l-i*** *maḥṣuːṭ*
NEG-DAT.MKR-1SG happy:ADJ.SG.M
‘I am not happy.’
b. *ʔana* ***maː-l-i*** *waʔˤf* *ʕaleː-k*
1SG NEG-to:PREP-1SG waiting:VN for:PREP-2SG.M
‘I haven’t got time to wait for you.’ (Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 120)

The word *maʕleːf*, a lexical chunk which means ‘never mind’ or ‘it’s nothing’ throughout the Arab-speaking world, was formed using a similar morphological process. The preposition *ʕala* (‘on, upon’) when marked with a second person pronoun clitic, for example, often means ‘(it’s) on you’ or ‘(it’s) your responsibility’. As can be seen in Figure 4-4, *maʕleːf* is a lexicalization of the non-verbal clause ‘NEG-on-it-thing’, or ‘there is nothing on it’ in English. This interesting word is used in SA to dismiss concern or obligation.

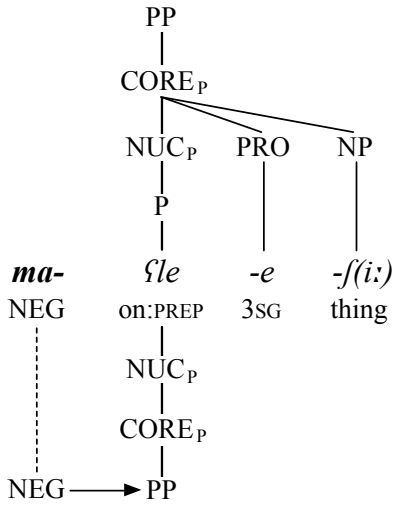

Figure 4-4. *The layered structure of* ***maʕle:ʃ***

Other than the few examples of nuclear negation through prefixation given above, negation expressed by means of a negative operator is always done so analytically in SA.

4.4 Comparison with other varieties of Arabic

This chapter lays preparatory groundwork for a fuller discussion in the next chapter of negation in Syrian Arabic, including SA's place in the broader family of Arabic dialects. It was noted above that a linguistic border is crossed in far western Syria where the discontinuous negative *maː-...-ʃ* operators so common in the western varieties of spoken Arabic cease to be utilized. SA instead favors utilization of the independent negative particle *maː* without the enclitic *-ʃ*, and thereby aligns itself with the dialects of Iraq and the Arab Gulf states.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter introduced Syrian Arabic predicates and discussed important concepts related to their layered structure (LSW). It briefly outlined the derivation and inflection of matrix verbs and advocated a non-temporal understanding of the imperfective stem. It proffered an accurate means to mark inflected arguments in the LSW. The encoding and scope of analytical negation on matrix verbs and non-verbal predicates was presented, along with two less common examples of morphological negation. The next chapter is a detailed overview of the encoding of negation on the layered structure of the clause (LSC).

5. Syrian Arabic negation and the layered structure of the clause

The realization of negation within the layered structure of the Syrian Arabic clause is sensitive to the syntactic form of the clause and its predicate. Wide-scope negative polarity is generally encoded analytically on clauses headed by matrix verbs and select non-verbal predicates by way of the independent particle *maː*. The independent particle *muː* normally expresses narrow-scope negation over non-verbal constituents. The independent particle *laː* is employed to state emphatic negation, along with other interesting strategies for marking negation within the LSC. There are accordingly distinct scope ramifications in both of these realizations.

Figure 5-1 presents an overview of clausal negation. Section 5.2 will discuss wide-scope negation over clauses headed by matrix verbs and non-verbal predicates. The topics under each type of clause are indicated.

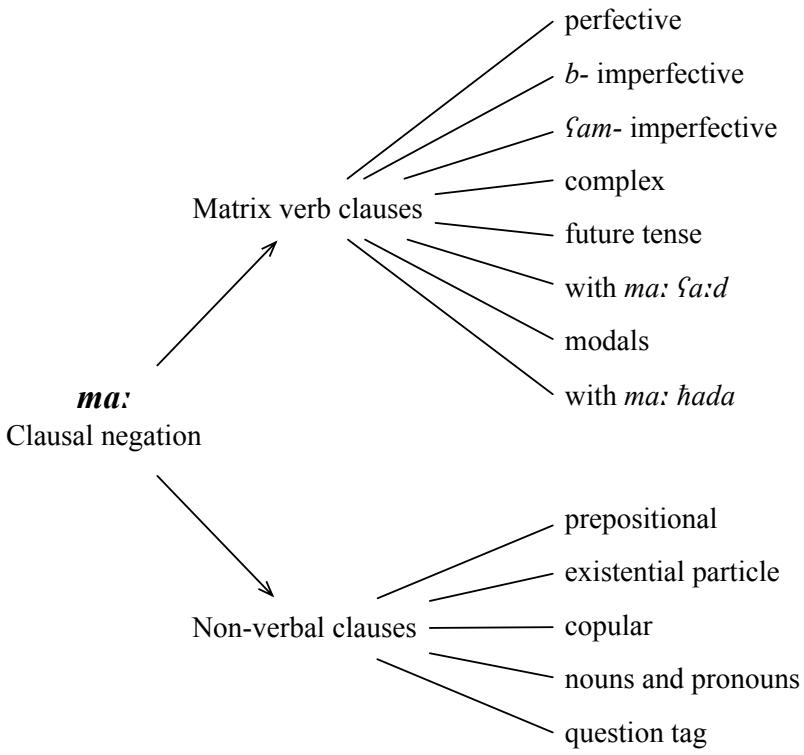

Figure 5-1. *Clausal negation*

Figure 5-2 presents overviews of constituent negation (section 5.3) and emphatic negation (section 5.4).

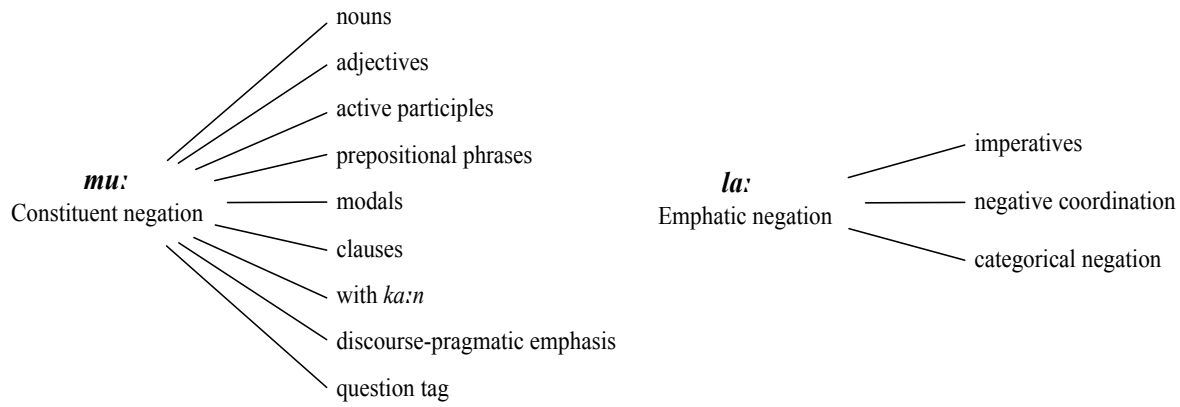

Figure 5-2. *Constituent and emphatic negation*

5.1 Brief introduction to Syrian Arabic clauses

There are two types of sentences according to the traditional Arabic grammarians. The 'verbal sentence' (*adʒ-dʒumla al-fiʕlijja*) is headed by a matrix verb. The typology of verbal clauses is flexible in SA. According to Brustad (2000: 282), VSO is the most unmarked order. SVO is also very common. VOS and OVS are used for discourse-pragmatic emphasis. The second type of Arabic clause is traditionally called 'the nominal sentence' (*adʒ-dʒumla al-ʔismijja*). In nominal sentences, called non-verbal sentences in this study, the non-verbal predicate can be almost any non-verb element. The word order of non-verbal sentences is generally S-Predicate. The VSO paradigm is ill-suited to Arabic. The PSA of verbal sentences is marked on the matrix verb, so any independent appositional RP is not really an S. Furthermore, non-verbal sentences have no V. SA has no equivalent to the English copula. There is a need for the development of a comprehensive syntactic template inventory for the written and spoken varieties of Arabic.

Syrian Arabic clauses range from simple one or two word clauses to complex ones involving as many as six serial verbs functioning like a single predicate. SA manifests most of the juncture-nexus types of syntactic clause relations delineated in RRG. This study will highlight only the strongest form of juncture-nexus relations, nuclear cosubordination, in examples (41)-(45) below.

SA uses perfective verbs to encapsulate the clause that follows, many of them with durative or progressive aspects, in a perfective/past timeframe. Cowell (1964: 340) calls it 'tense subordination'. This is particularly true of the verb *kaːn/jkuːn* ('to be'). Brustad (2000: 149)

remarks that the primary purpose of perfective *kaːn* is to mark 'the time frame of an action relative to the moment of speaking' and nothing more. Cowell (1964: 341) importantly notes that the verb *kaːn* 'stands in construction with the whole predicate', whether the predicate be headed by a verb or a non-verbal element. This use of *kaːn* is illustrated in examples (37), (60), (104), (105), and (108) later in this chapter.

The excellent grammatical/syntactic work of Cowell (1964) and the lexical work of Stowasser and Ani (1964) continue to be the primary sources for raw SA data. Brustad (2000) provided additional data, but there has been little added since then. Most of the examples used in this chapter are new and have been gleaned from a corpus of recent Syrian television programming. Additional contextual data are included in some examples. In order to quickly identify the negative operator under discussion, it is given in bold and the words in its scope are underlined.

5.2 Encoding negation on the clause with the negative particle ***maː***

Negation is analytically encoded on clauses headed by matrix verbs and a few non-verbal predicates with the independent negative polarity particle *maː*. It is thought by many to express 'sentence' or 'sentential negation' (cf. Benmamoun, 2000: 69; Alqassas, 2012: 3). Brustad (2000: 279) classifies *maː* as marking 'verbal negation'. This study provides evidence that *maː* encodes negation on the clause and should be classified as signifying *clausal negation*. The negative polarity expressed by *maː* in SA marks the assertion of the clause as not being the case. It is like a binary switch that asserts the opposite of the positive clause, i.e. the one without the negative operator. Negation in SA is largely symmetric. The positive polarity form of most of the examples below is simply produced by removing the negative particle. Negative particles are chosen in SA based on the speaker's intended scope. Clausal negation takes *maː*. Everything else takes *muː*. Operators on the LSC, like aspect and tense, are able to extend the scope of clausal negation over multiple verbs, but only in a single clause. The sole exception is imperatival illocutionary force which prefers, but does not require, the negative particle *laː*. Finally, Cowell (1964: 383) explains that negative particles always immediately precede the predicates they negate and that they are 'usually accented more strongly than the negated' terms.

5.2.1 Encoding negation with ma: over matrix verb clauses.

Negative polarity is predominantly expressed over clauses with matrix verbs by the particle *ma:*. The few exceptions where *mu:* is employed with matrix verbs for discourse-pragmatic reasons are illustrated in 5.3.8. This section looks at the negation of clauses containing perfective and imperfective matrix verbs, complex cosubordinate verbal clauses, and future tense matrix verbs.

*5.2.1.1 Encoding negation with **ma:** over perfective matrix verb clauses*. The negative particle *ma:* flags negation on perfective/past tense matrix verb clauses, as can be seen in examples (27)-(33). Example (27) is a simple example of the clausal scope of the negative operator. Both the verb and its arguments fall under its scope. This is indicated by the underlining of <u>*kammelt*</u> <u>*dira:st-i*</u> and is corroborated by the fronted NEG in the logical structure and its being assigned to the clause of the LSC in Figure 5-3.

(27) ***ma:*** <u>*kammelt*</u> <u>*dira:st-i*</u>.
NEG finish:V.PFV+1SG study:N-1SG
'I didn't finish my studies.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013c: 21:20)
NEG (**do´** (I, [**complete´** (I, studies)]))

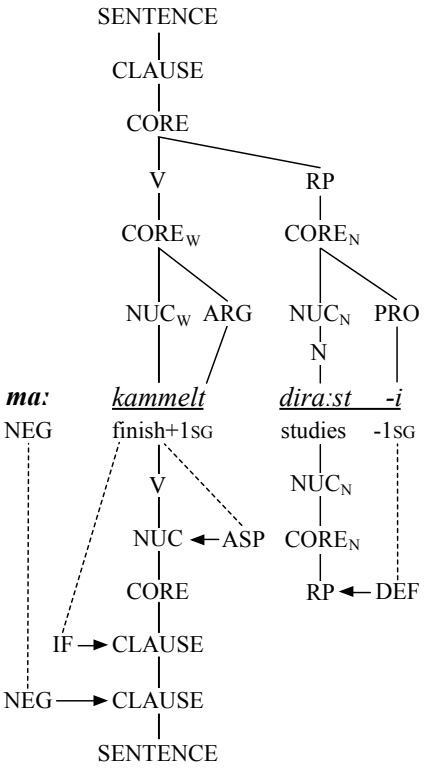

Figure 5-3. *LSC of **ma:** + perfective matrix verb*

(28) ***maː*** *ʃuf^{ə}t* *maʕ* *ʒoːz-i* *joːm* *^{ə}mniːħ.*
NEG see:V.PFV+1SG with:PREP husband:N-1SG day:N good:ADJ
'I didn't see one good day with my husband.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 28:08)

Example (29) illustrates *maː* taking clausal scope over a yes/no question that is formed in SA by adding a rising intonation or extended pronunciation of the last syllable to a normal declarative sentence.

(29) ***maː*** *səmʕt* *^{ə}l-χabar?*
NEG hear:V.PFV+2SG.M DET-news:N
'Haven't you heard the news?' (Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 20:36)
NEG (**do´** (you, [**hear´** (you, news)]))

Examples (30)-(32) demonstrate the fluid word order of SA and the ability of the particle *maː* to include fronted clausal elements within its negative scope. Figure 5-4 provides the LSC of (30) and graphically portrays the inclusion of a fronted peripheral core PP in clausal negation.

(30) *mən* *zamaːn* ***maː*** *ʔakelna* *laħ^{ə}m* *baladi.*
from:PREP time:N NEG eat:V.PFV+1PL meat:N local:ADJ
'We haven't eaten local meat for a long time.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013: 39:22)
NEG (**do´** (we, [**eat´** (we, meat)]))

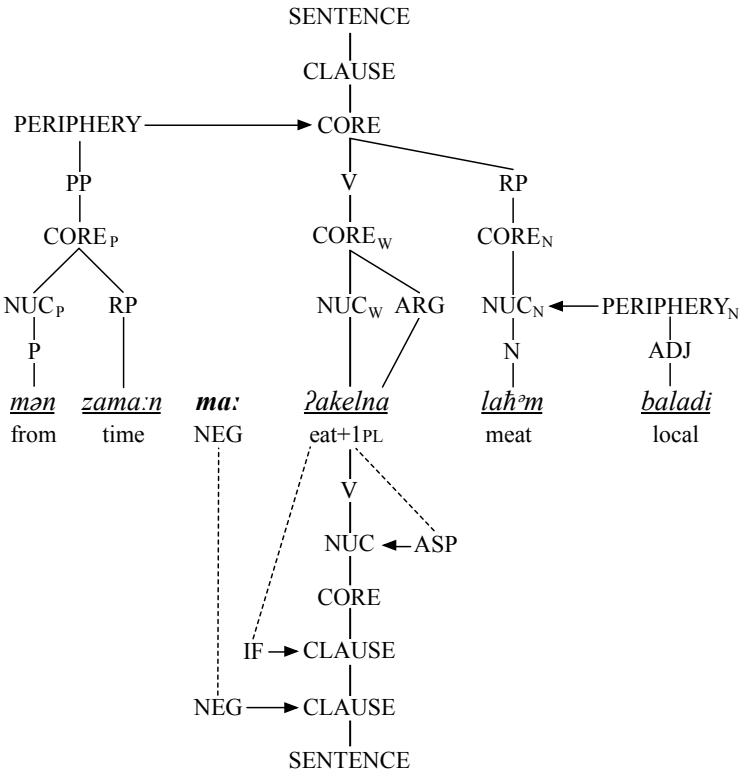

Figure 5-4. *Scope of **maː** over fronted prepositional phrase*

(31) *ʔana ləssa* ***maː*** *waːfaʔ̈ᵊt.*
1SG still:ADV NEG agree:V.PFV+1SG
'I've not agreed yet.' (Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 15:40)
NEG (**do´** (I, [**agree´** (I)]))

(32) *ʔana* ***maː*** *ʔ̈əlt-áll-ek* *laː* *təħki* *maʕ-o.*
1SG NEG say:V.PFV+1SG-to:PREP-2SG.F NEG talk.V:IPFV+2SG.F with:PREP-3SG.M
'Did I not tell you, "Don't talk to him!"?' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 5:43)
NEG (**say´** (I, you))

The negative particle *maː* in (33) only scopes over the subordinated clause headed by the matrix verb that follows it. It does not scope backwards over the main clause. Its scope is clausal, not sentential.

(33) *ṣaːr-l-i* *zamaːn* ***maː*** *marreːt* *la-hniːk.*
be:AUX.PFV+3SG.M-to:PREP-1SG time:N NEG pass:V.PFV+1SG to:PREP-there:DEM
'It's been a long time since I passed by there.' (Hamid and Al-Sayyid, 2013a: 0:45)

5.2.1.2 Encoding negation with ***maː*** *over* ***b-*** *marked imperfective matrix verb clauses*. The particle *maː* takes negative scope over clauses headed by imperfective verbs that bear the proclitic *b-* aspectual and illocutionary operator. Examples are given in (34)-(37). The proclitic *b-* marks the verb as declarative and regularly indicates durative or habitual aspect. It will be seen that its aspectual character plays an important role in the negation of nuclear cosubordinate clauses. There is also a *b-* proclitic that marks future tense on matrix verbs. This will be considered in section 5.2.1.6.

The ability of *maː* to take negative scope over the clause of a *b-* imperfective matrix verb is elucidated in (34). Once again, the NEG of the logical structure precedes the simple clause and it is assigned to the clause on the operator projection of the LSC in Figure 5-5.

(34) ***maː*** *b-aʕref.*
NEG DUR-know:V.IPFV+1SG
'I don't know.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 17:57)
NEG (**know´** (I))

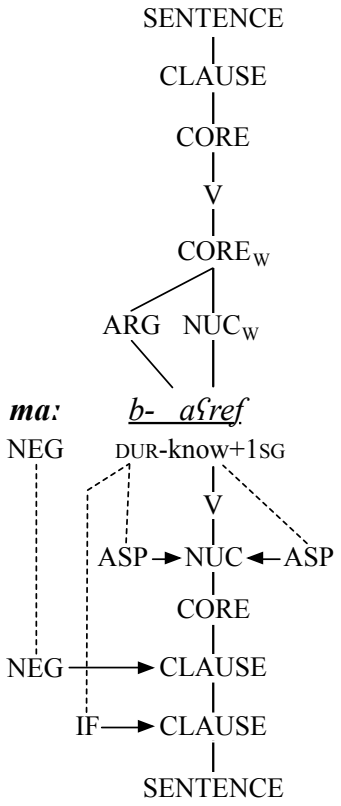

Figure 5-5. *LSC of* ***ma:*** *+ b- imperfective matrix verb*

(35) ***ma:*** *b-əṭlaʕ* *la-barra:t* *be:t-i* *ʔana*.
NEG DEC-go:V.IPFV+1SG to:PREP-outside:PREP house:N-1SG 1SG
'I don't go outside my own house.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013f: 5:32)
NEG (INGR **go´** (I, [**outside´** (house)]))

Example (36) provides further evidence that *ma:* encodes negation on clauses, not on sentences. The noun phrase *bana:t hal-ʔijja:m* ('girls these days') is, according to its IPA rendering, in a sentential level left-detached position outside the clause, as is illustrated in Figure 5-6 below. Its detached position places it outside the scope of the clausal negation encoded by *ma:*. This is confirmed by SA speaker intuition.

(36) *bana:t* *hal-ʔijja:m* ***ma:*** *b-jinχa:f* *ʕale:-hon*.
girl:N.PL.F this:DET-day:N.PL NEG DUR-fear:V.IPFV+3SG.M on:PREP-3PL
'Girls these days, one doesn't worry about them.'
(Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 6:56)

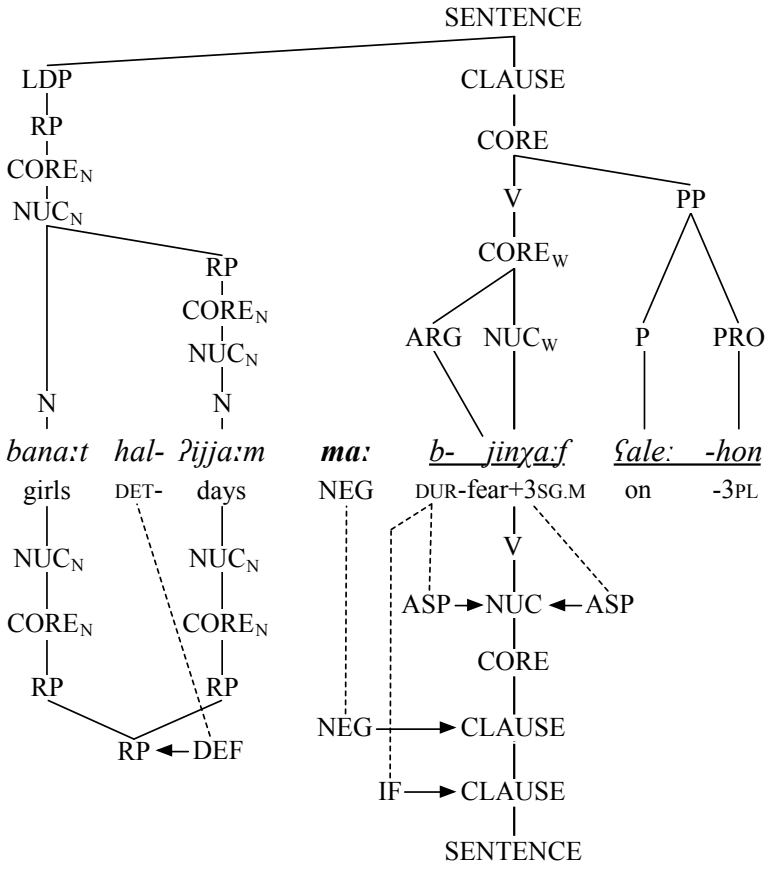

Figure 5-6. *Scope of* ***maː*** *over an LDP*

The perfective/temporal auxiliary verb *kaːn* (‘be’) inflected for 1SG is seen encapsulating a *b-* imperfective matrix verb with durative aspect within a perfective/past tense timeframe in example (37). These two verbs are in a cosubordinate nexus relation.

(37) *ʔana* ***maː*** *kənt* *b-aʕref* *ʃuː*
1SG NEG be:AUX+1SG DUR-know:V.IPFV+1SG what:CONJ
bədd-i *ʔaʕmel* ***mən*** ***duːn-ek.***
want:AUX-1SG do:V.IPFV+1SG with:PREP without:PREP-2SG.F
‘I wasn’t knowing what I would do without you.’ (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999c: 2:53)

5.2.1.3 *Encoding negation with* ***maː*** *over* ***ʕam-*** *marked imperfective matrix verb clauses*. The particle *maː* is seen casting negative scope over clauses with proclitic *ʕam-* imperfective matrix verbs in (38)-(40). The *ʕam-* proclitic encodes progressive aspect, realis status, and present tense on imperfective verbs. The particle *maː* precedes the *ʕam-* proclitic and interacts with it to extend its scope in interesting ways, as will be seen in (41). The use of *maː* to encode negative polarity continues to be symmetric.

Example (38) presents a simple negated *ʕam-* imperfective matrix verb clause. The fronted *ʔana* (1SG) is in apposition to the PSA inflected on the verb. Figure 5-7 classifies *ʔana* as a clausal constituent fully within the scope of clausal negation.

(38) *ʔana* ***maː*** *ʕam-b-ətfalsef!*
1SG NEG PROG.RL-DEC-philosophize:V.IPFV+1SG
'I'm not philosophizing!' (Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 6:16)
NEG (**do´** (I, [**philosophize´** (I)]))

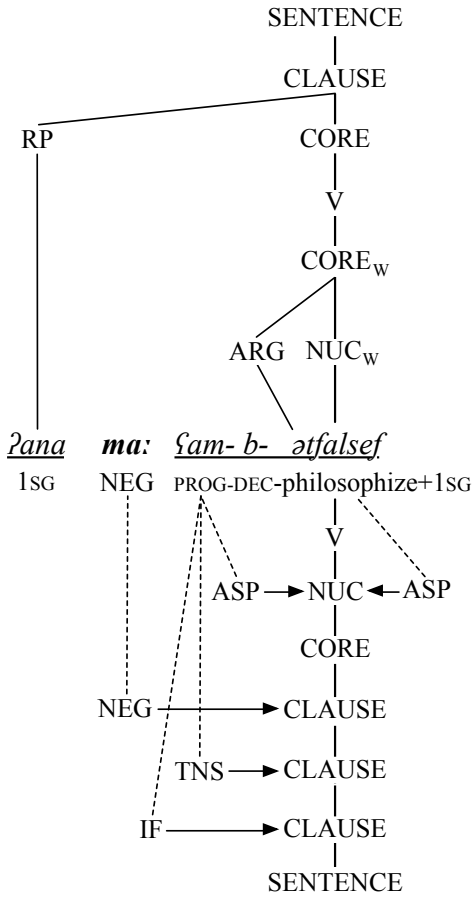

Figure 5-7. *LSC of* ***maː*** *+ ʕam- imperfective matrix verb*

(39) ***maː*** *ʕam-ʕərf-o* *ja naːdija,*
NEG PROG-know:V.IPFV+1SG-3SG.M VOC Nadiya:N
'I don't know him, Nadia,…'
maː *ʕam-ʕərf-o.*
NEG PROG-know:V.IPFV+1SG-3SG.M
'I don't know him.' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 6:20)
NEG (**know´** (I, him))

(40) ***maː*** *ʕam-laːʔ̈i* *ħada* *jsaːʕəd-ni.*
NEG PROG-find:V.IPFV+1SG anyone help:V.IPFV+3SG.M-1SG
'I'm not finding anyone to help me.' (Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 14:56)
NEG (**find´** (I, [**help´** (anyone, me)]))

*5.2.1.4 Encoding negation with **maː** over complex matrix verb clauses*. The clausal scope of the negative particle *maː* is able to span multiple verbs as long as they are within a single clause. RRG recognizes that complex sentences can combine nuclei with nuclei, cores with cores, etc. Two or more combined nuclei are called a nuclear juncture. When the two nuclei share a common operator, they are said to have a cosubordinate nexus relation. The aspectual significance of SA perfective verbs, the *b-* proclitic, and the *ʕam-* proclitic lend themselves to the production of nuclear cosubordinate clauses. RRG additionally recognizes serial verb constructions (SVC). An SVC occurs when two or more verbs are linked together to communicate a single complex event. To qualify as an SVC, they must share one or more arguments. The serial verb construction is highly productive in SA. The negative particle *maː* takes wide scope over the resultant clause as can be seen in examples (41)-(45).

The nuclear cosubordinate clause in (41) exemplifies the perfective aspect of a perfective verb, in this case an auxiliary verb, taking scope over a following imperfective verb. This is a highly productive template for perfectivizing (placing in a past tense-like frame) a wide range of imperfective aspects and tenses. The LS marks the NEG as taking scope over the whole clause.

(41) ***maː*** *ʔ̈dert* *naːm.*
NEG able:AUX.PFV+1SG sleep:V.IPFV+1SG
'I wasn't able to sleep.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 17:45)
NEG (**abl** (I, [**sleep´**]))

The LSC (Figure 5-8) exhibits the nuclear operator-driven cosubordinate structure of example (41). Both predicates share a single PSA (1SG) and express a single complex event, making it an SVC. The wide scope of the negative particle *maː* is assigned, once again, to the clause. This example additionally illustrates the post-perfective and pre-imperfective person inflection of the PSA on the matrix verbs. The two nuclear-related verbs are essentially functioning as one negated predicate.

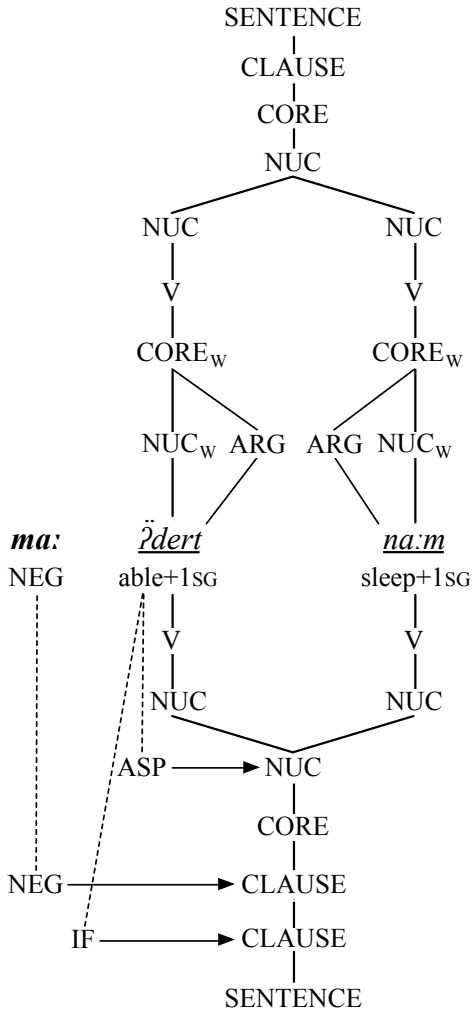

Figure 5-8. *Scope of **ma:** over clause with nuclear cosubordinate perfective-imperfective matrix verbs*

Example (42) presents the same kind of structure, only this time the cosubordinating operator is the durative aspect of the *b-* imperfective proclitic. The logical structure continues to indicate the clausal scope of the negative *ma:* particle.

(42) *ʔana* ***ma:*** *b-əʔder* *ʔaχd-o*.
1SG NEG DUR-able:AUX+1SG take:V.IPFV+1SG-3SG.M
'I'm not able to take him.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013d: 13:42)
NEG (**abl** (I, [**take´** (I, him)]))

The LSC of (42) is given in Figure 5-9. The durative aspect of the first imperfective verb takes scope over the second imperfective verb. The two predicates cooperate to express one complex event. The PSA (1SG) is shared by both predicates. The negative particle is clearly clausal in scope. The undergoer, in this instance, is suffixed to the second verb.

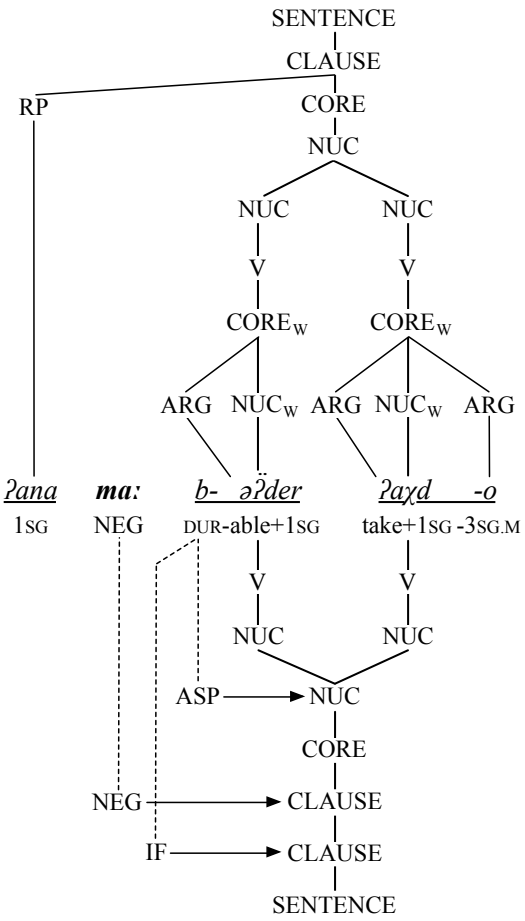

Figure 5-9. *Scope of* ***ma:*** *over clause with two nuclear cosubordinate imperfective matrix verbs*

The ability for the negative particle *ma:* to precede the second verb in a complex sentence is seen in (43). The underlining indicates that, once again, the negative particle only takes scope over the clause predicated by the verb it immediately precedes. The first matrix verb falls outside the scope of negation.

(43) *b-u:ʕed-ek* ***ma:*** *əħki*
DUR-promise:V.IPFV+1SG-2SG.F NEG say:V.IPFV+1SG
'I promise you(f) I won't say…'
wala *kəlme barra:t ʔt-ṭari:ʔ.*
NEG word:N outside:PREP DET-way:N
'(not) a single word outside the way (the bounds of propriety).'
(Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012g: 27:08)

Example (44) is the first part of a longer sentence that expresses the speaker's surprise that a young woman is not allowed by her family to leave the house and live her own life. The durative aspect of the b- imperfective auxiliary verb *b-təʔder* ('be able') takes scope over two

more unmarked imperfective verbs, and the whole negated clause is subordinated to an initial non-verbal clause (not in the LS). The PSA (3SG.F) is shared by all three predicates. As has been seen before, the negative particle *maː* only takes scope over the multi-verb nuclear cosubordinate clause following it, not over the one before it. Figure 5-10 presents the LSC of this complex sentence.

(44) *fiː bənt hal-ʔijjaːm* ***maː*** *b-təʔ̈der*
is:EXIST.PTCL girl:N this:DET-day:N.PL NEG DUR-able:AUX.IPFV+3SG.F
'Is there a girl these days (who is) not able…'
təɬlaʕ ʾddabbər ħaːl-a….
leave:V.IPFV+3SG.F manage:V.IPFV+3SG.F situation:N-3SG.F
'to go out to manage her own life….' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013e: 2:55)
be' (girl, **NEG** (**abl** [**leave´** (girl, [**do´** (girl, Ø)]
CAUSE [BECOME **ordered´** (girl, situation)])]))

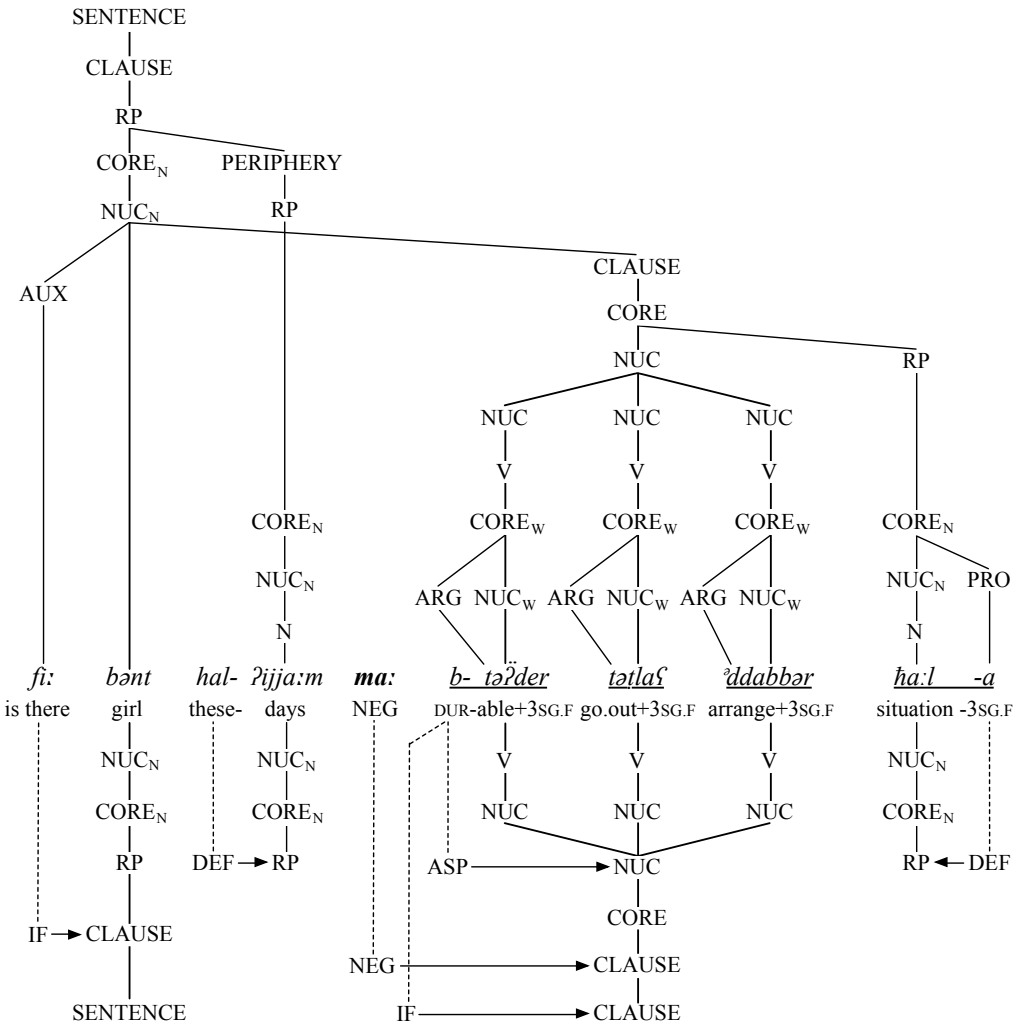

Figure 5-10. *Scope of* ***maː*** *over clause with three nuclear cosubordinate imperfective matrix verbs*

Example (45) presents the ability of the imperfective *ʕam-* proclitic to scope over a conjunction, something the *b-* proclitic and the negative particle *maː* are unable to do by themselves. The negative particle is, however, able to take scope over the *ʕam-* proclitic and participate in its scope over a conjunction. The *ʕam-* proclitic's present tense clausal operator effects clausal cosubordination, as is illustrated in Figure 5-11.

(45) *leːʃ* ***maː*** *ʕam-truːħi* *ʕa-l-waẓiːfe*
why:ADV NEG PROG-go:V.IPFV+2SG.F to:PREP-DET-job:N
'Why aren't you going to the job…'
w-tərʒaʕi *maːʃiʔ*
CONJ-return:V.IPFV+2SG.F walking:PTCP.ACT.SG.M
'and returning (home) walking?' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 18:37)

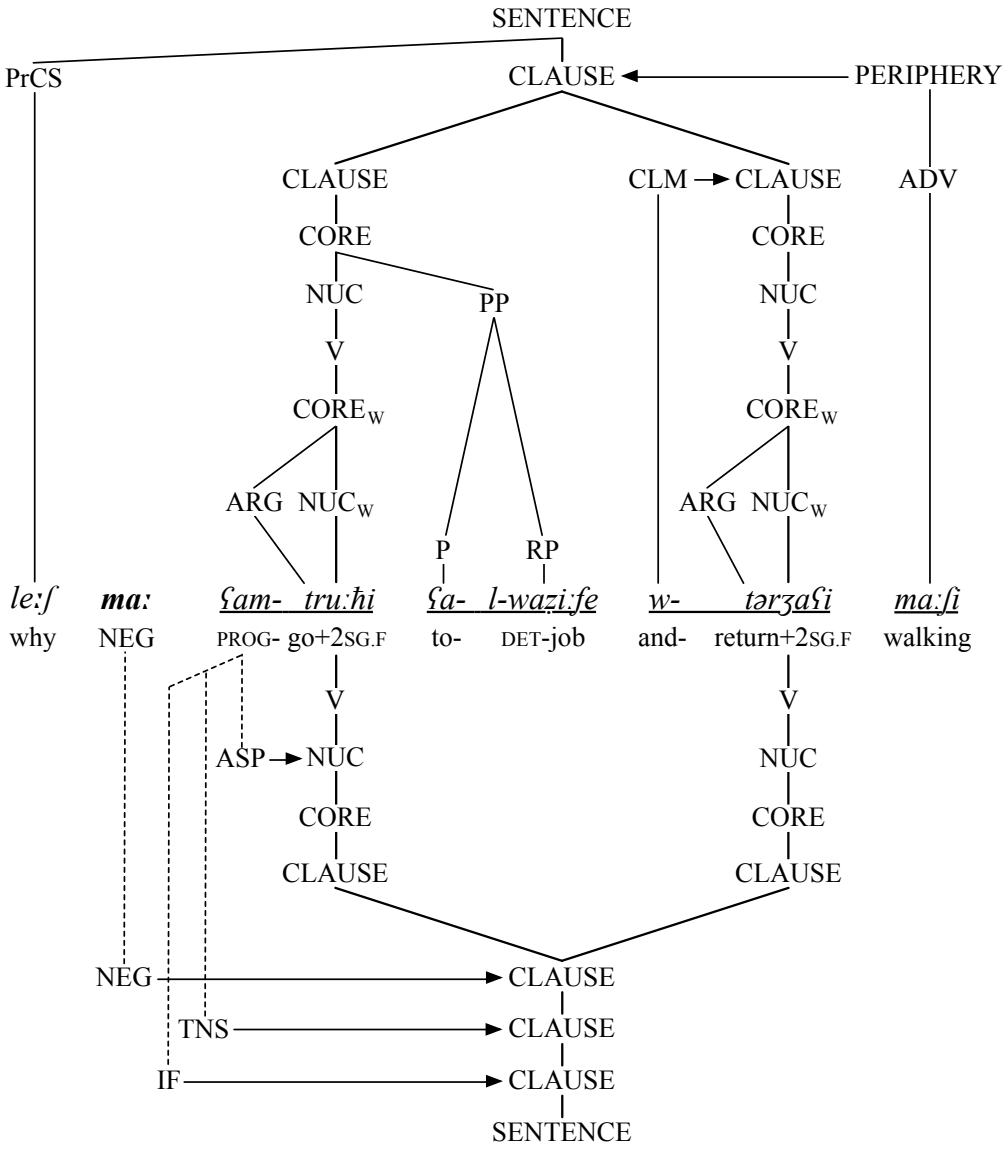

Figure 5-11. *Scope of* ***maː*** *over clause with two clausal cosubordinate imperfective matrix verbs*

5.2.1.5 Encoding negation with ***maː*** *over future tense matrix verb clauses*. Future tense imperfective matrix verbs are normally marked with clausal negation by the negative particle *maː*. Example (46) and the LSC of Figure 5-12 evidence the same clausal scope of negation seen with previous matrix verb clauses. These examples are also symmetric.

(46) ***maː*** *raħ-jtərk-ak*.
NEG FUT-leave:V.IPFV+3SG.M-2SG.M
'He won't leave you.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 24:27)
NEG (**leave´** (him, you))

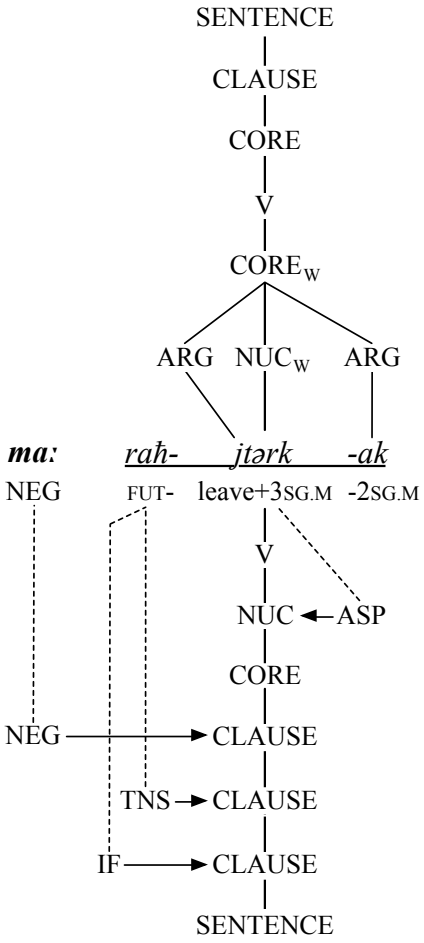

Figure 5-12. *LSC of* ***maː*** *+ future matrix verb clause*

(47) ***laː*** *siːdi.* ***maː*** *raħ-ʔaχraṣ!* *hajj* *ʔəχt-i!*
NEG sir:N NEG FUT-silent:V.IPFV+1SG this:DET sister:N-1SG
'No sir. I will not be silent! This is my sister!' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 8:16)
NEG (**do´** (I, [**NOT speak´** (I)]))

The negative particle is insensitive to the type of future marking proclitic. Both the *raħ-* family of future proclitics (46)-(47) and the *b-* future proclitic (48)-(49) generally take *maː*. It is worth noting that the *b-* future proclitic, according to Jarad (2013: 78), likely has a separate derivational source than the *b-* aspectual (durative and habitual) proclitic.

(48) *waḷḷa* ***maː*** *b-ənsa* *ʕale:-k* *hal-maʕruːf* ***ᵊb-ʕəmr-i***.
by.God NEG FUT-forget:V.IPFV+1SG on:PREP-2SG.M DET-favor:N in:PREP-life:N-1SG
'By God, I will never (in my life) forget you for this favor.'
(Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 8:34)
NEG [**do´** (I, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **NOT remember´** (I, you)]

(49) *inʃaḷḷa* ***maː*** *b-jersob* *fiː-ʔimtiħaːn* *s-swaːʔa* *bukra*.
God.willing NEG FUT-fail:V.IPFV+3SG.M in:PREP-test:N DET-driving:N tomorrow:ADV
'Hopefully, he won't fail the driving test tomorrow.' (Jarad, 2013: 76)
NEG (**do´** (he, [**NOT pass´** (he, test)]))

5.2.1.6 *Encoding negation over imperfective matrix verb clauses with* ***maː ʕaːd***. The negative particle works together with the verbs *ʕaːd* ('to return') and *baʔ̈a* ('to remain') to express the negative ideas 'no longer' and 'anymore'. Cowell (1964: 389) argues that even though they are fully inflected verbs, they function as an 'intrusive adverbial element' between *maː* and the matrix verb it modifies. It does not agree with the gender of the following verb. The negative particle *maː* maintains its clausal scope over *ʕaːd*, *baʔ̈a*, and the verbal clauses they modify.

(50) ***maː ʕaːd*** *fərʔ̈ət* *maʕ-i*.
NEG longer:AUX.PFV+3SG.M make.difference:V.PFV+3SG.F with:PREP-1SG
'It no longer makes any difference to me.' (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005d: 8:05)

(51) *ʔana* ***maː ʕaːd*** *əʔ̈der*
1SG NEG longer:AUX.PFV+3SG.M able:AUX.PFV+1SG
'I'm no longer able to…'
ʔəʒi *la-ʕand-kon*.
come:V.IPFV+1SG to:PREP-at:PREP-2PL
'come to you (your place).' (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005a: 29:52)

Brustad (2000: 225) indicates that example (52) comes from Aleppo, Syria.

(52) ***maː baʔ̈a*** *b-tifriʔ̈* *maʕ-i*
NEG remain:V.PFV+3SG.M DUR-differ:V.IPFV+3SG.F with:PREP-1SG
'It no longer made a difference for me….' (Brustad, 2000: 225)

*5.2.1.7 Encoding negation with **maː** over modal clauses*. Modality is expressed in SA by means of verbs, participles, nouns, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and particles. The modal element normally functions as an auxiliary to subjunctive unmarked imperfective verbs. This section will highlight a participle, two verbs, and a unique word, all of which function as modals and interact with negation.

The modal auxiliary *laːzem* ('must') is a fixed form that was originally an active participle. It normally means 'must' in a positive sentence. In a sentence with negative polarity, however, *maː* positionally interacts with the modal to adjust the meaning of the modal. In every case, *maː* continues to take negative scope over the clause that follows it. In (53) below, *maː* follows *laːzem* and negates the clause formed by the matrix verb it precedes. It does not take reverse scope over the modal. *laːzem* + *maː* means 'must not'.

(53) *laːzem* ***maː*** *m-nxalli* *ħada*
must:AUX NEG DEC-let:V.IPFV+1PL anyone:N
'We must not let anyone...'
jmədd *ʔiːd-o* *ʕala* *maʔäːber-na!*
stretch:V.IPFV+3SG.M hand:N-3SG.M on:PREP cemetery:N-1PL
'stretch out his hand against our cemetery!'
(Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 37:38)

When *maː* precedes *laːzem*, the meaning changes to 'should not' as is seen in (54). Both meanings express deontic modality.

(54) *maja,* *bədd-i* *ʔäuːl-ek* *ʃiː* *bas*
Maya:N want:AUX-1SG say:V.IPFV+1SG-2SG.F thing:N but:CONJ
'Maya, I want to tell you something but…'
χaːjef *kuːn* ***maː*** *laːzəm* *ʔäuːl.*
afraid:PTCP.ADJ be:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M NEG must:AUX say:V.IPFV+1SG
'(I'm) afraid (it) is (something) I shouldn't say.'
(Hamid and Al-Sayyid, 2013b: 22:48)

Examples (55)-(56) illustrate the change in meaning that occurs on the same sentence according to the position of the negative particle *maː*.

(55) ***maː*** *laːzem* *nəʃʕel* *iʁ-ʁaːz* *hallaʔ̈.*
NEG must:AUX light:V.IPFV+1PL DET-gas:N now:ADV
'We shouldn't light the gas stove yet.' (or *muː laːzem*)
(Warda and Ashaan, 2013: 33:45)
[**should´** (we)] **NEG** ([**do´** (we, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **ignite´** (gas stove)])

(56) *laːzem* ***maː*** *nəʃʕel* *iʁ-ʁaːz* *hallaʔ̈.*
must:AUX NEG light:V.IPFV+1PL DET-gas:N now:ADV
'We must not light the gas stove yet.' (or *muː laːzem*)
[**obliged´** (we)] **NEG** ([**do´** (we, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **ignite´** (gas stove)])

The *b-* marked imperfective verbs *jiṣiːr* ('to become') and *jiʒuːz* ('to allow') are used in example (57) to express deontic modality over matrix verbs in cosubordinate constructions. The negative particle *maː*, in both sentences, takes wide scope over the whole clause with the help of scope-extending negative elements.

(57) ***maː*** *b-iṣiːr* *təħlef*
NEG DEC-be:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M swear:V.IPFV+2SG.M
'You are not permitted to swear…'
laː *bi-ħajaːt-ak* ***wala*** *bi-ħajaːt-o*.
NEG by:PREP-life:N-2SG.M nor:CONJ.NEG by:PREP-life:N-3SG.M
'neither by your life nor by his life.'
maː *b-iʒuːz* *təħlef* ***b-ʁeːr*** *əllaːh.*
NEG DEC-allow:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M swear:V.IPFV+2SG.M by:PREP-other:PREP Allah:N
'You are not allowed to swear, except by Allah.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 22:27)

The little word *bədd* + PRO is the primary means of expressing the personal dynamic modality meaning of 'to want' in SA. The origin of *bədd* + PRO is believed to be a prepositional phrase comprised of the preposition *b-* ('with') prefixed to the verbal noun *wudd* ('want, desire') plus a pronominal suffix (Jarrad, 2013: 73). The phrase *bi-wudd-i*, meaning 'by my want/ desire', lost its nominal roots over time and now functions as a verb expressing modality. The pronominal suffix no longer marks possession, but rather functions like the actor of a matrix verb. This development is mirrored in other non-verbal elements that function like verbs in SA. The negative particle *maː* precedes *bədd* + PRO and continues to take negative scope over the clause. Examples (58)-(61) present the use of *bədd* + PRO in SA. Positive and negative polarity remain symmetric.

(58) *ʔəmm-i,* *ʔana* ***maː*** *bədd-i* *ʔəʃtáʁel.*
mother:N-1SG 1SG NEG want:AUX-1SG work:V.IPFV+1SG
'Mum, I don't want to work.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 13:24)
NEG (**want´** (I, [**work´** (I)]))

The LSC of (58) is given in Figure 5-13. The modal operator of the quasi-verb *bədd-i* is presented as scoping over the following unmarked imperfective verb and forming a

cosubordinate clause. The negative particle is assigned to the clause and does not extend to the RP in the left-detached position.

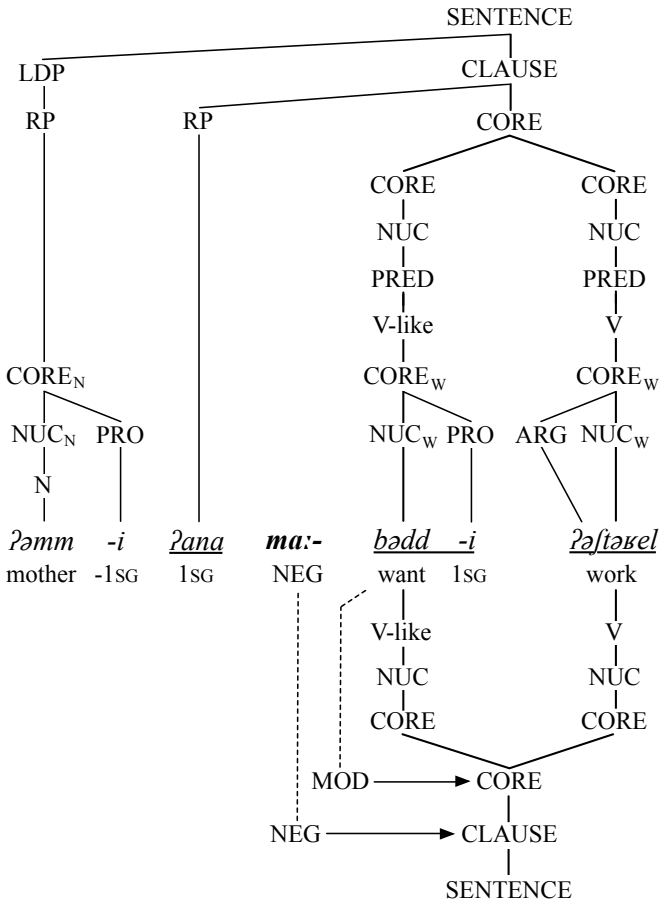

Figure 5-13. *LSC of* ***maː*** *+ non-verbal bedd-i clause*

(59) ***maː*** *bədd-o* *jətʁajjar*.
NEG want:AUX-3SG.M change:V.IPFV+3SG.M
'He doesn't want to change.' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011a: 23:14)
NEG (**want´** (he, [**change´** (he)]))

The quasi-verb *bədd* + PRO is fully capable of taking negation and functioning on its own as a verb, as is seen in (60)-(61). The negative scope of *maː* in (60) only extends to the clausal elements related to the predicate that follows it.

(60) *saddəʔiː-ni* *ʔana* ***maː*** *kaːn* *bədd-i* *heːk*.
believe:V.IMP+2SG.F-1SG 1SG NEG be:AUX.PFV+3SG.M want:AUX-1SG this:DEM
'Believe me, I didn't want it like this.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013f: 3:17)
NEG (**want´** (I, it))

Example (61) shows *bədd* + PRO taking an object RP and the negative operator taking clausal scope.

(61) ***maː*** *badd-i* *sajjara ʕatiːʔ̈a.*
NEG want:AUX-1SG car:N old:ADJ
'I don't want an old car.' (Jarad, 2013: 73)
NEG (**want´** (I, car))

5.2.1.8 *Encoding negation over matrix verbs with* ***maː ħada****.* Nolan (in press: 6) notes that 'typical of languages generally', the Irish 'generic existential quantifier… interacts with negation as <NEG (N)>.' This is exactly the case of *maː* plus *ħad/ħada* ('anyone') in SA. They work together to negate clauses headed by the matrix verbs that immediately follow them. The negative scope does not extend to adjoined clauses or peripheral elements.

(62) ***maː ħad*** *raħ-jəsʔal-ni* *ʃuː* *ʕaːmle?*
NEG anyone:N FUT-ask:V.IPFV+3SG.M-1SG what:PRO doing:PTCP.SG.F
'No one will ask me, "What (are you) doing?"' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013f: 3:54)

(63) ***maː ħada*** *b-jəħki* *maʕ-i* ***wala*** *kəlme!*
NEG anyone:N DEC-talk:V.IPFV+3SG.M with:PREP-1SG NEG word:N
'No one say even a word to me!'
(Abeedu, Shaheen, Deeb, Mardeeny, Mardeeny and Saleem, 2013: 14:07)
NEG (**speak´** (anyone, word))

(64) *ʕazaːb bənt mrabbaːjje w-**maː** **ħada***
Azab girl:N raised:PTCP.ADJ and:CONJ-NEG anyone:N
'Azab's a well-raised girl and no one…'
b-jəṭlaʕ *l-o* *jəħki* *ʕaleː-ha.*
DEC-rise.up:V.IPFV+3SG.M MKR-3SG.M speak:V.IPFV+3SG.M on:PREP-3SG.F
'can speak against her.' (Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012a: 13:08)

5.2.2 Encoding negation with ***maː*** *over non-verbal clauses*. The negative particle *maː* takes clausal scope over non-verbal clauses headed by prepositional phrases and the existential particle, but takes a narrower constituent scope when used with the negative copula and with nouns. This can be seen in examples (65)-(72).

5.2.2.1 Encoding negation with ***maː*** *over prepositional clauses*. Similar to *bədd* + PRO, Syrian Arabic prepositions can take pronouns that function like actors in a quasi-verbal construction. They also take objects/undergoers. When they do so, they often express the idea 'to have', for

which there is no verbal equivalent in SA. The negative particle *maː* continues to takes scope over the clause.

The negative particle encodes symmetric negative polarity over clauses headed by the preposition *maʕ* ('with') in examples (65)-(66). The negative particle's scope encompasses the independent pronoun in (65).

(65) *bas ʔana* ***maː*** *maʕ-i maṣaːri.*
but:CONJ 1SG NEG with:PREP-1SG money:N
'But I don't have any money.' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 9:08)
NEG (**be-at´**(money, I))

The preposition *maʕ* ('with') expresses dynamic modality in (66) and is in construct with a subjunctive imperfective verb. The scope of negation remains clausal.

(66) *ʒaːber waḍᵊʕ-o ṣaʕᵊb.*
Jaber:N situation:N-3SG.M difficult:ADJ
'Jaber's situation is difficult.'
maː *maʕ-o jṭaʕmi mart-o w-bənt-o.*
NEG with:PREP-3SG.M feed:V.IPFV+3SG.M wife:N-3SG.M and:CONJ-girl:N-3SG.M
'He's not able to feed his wife and daughter.' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011a: 37:57)
NEG (**abl** [**do´** (he, Ø)] CAUSE ([INGR **have´** (wife and daughter, food)]
& [**eat´** (wife and daughter, food)]))

The negative particle *maː* takes negative scope over clauses with the preposition *ʕand* + PRO ('at, with') in examples (67)-(68). Example (67) illustrates the ability of a quasi-verb preposition and actor construction to take an object. In line with the RRG position regarding the priority of the inflected person affix in head-marking and dual-marking languages, it is assumed that the independent RP *ħassan* is in apposition to the pronoun/actor suffix on the preposition. This, along with the scope of the negative particle, is appropriately assigned to the clause in the LSC (Figure 5-14).

(67) *ħassan* ***maː*** *ʕand-o sajjarə.*
Hassan NEG by:PREP-3SG.M car:N
'Hassan doesn't have a car.' (Jarad, 2012: 132)
NEG (**be-at´**(car, Hassan))

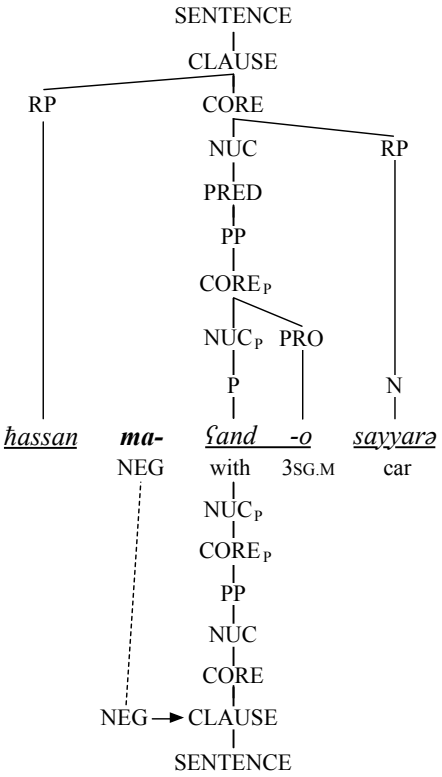

Figure 5-14. *LSC of* ***maː*** *+ non-verbal prepositional clause*

(68) *nəħna* ***maː*** *ʕan-na ʕalaːqa!*
1PL NEG at:PREP-1PL relationship:N
'We have no relationship (to it)!' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011a: 28:22)
NEG (**have´** (we, relationship)

The prepositions *b-* ('with') and *ʕala* ('with, at') also take pronoun suffixes, function like verbs with an actor and undergoer, and take *maː* with clausal negation (69)-(70).

(69) *ᵉl-ʔalwaːn* ***maː*** *ba-ha fiː.*
DET-color:N.PL NEG with:PREP-3SG.F thing:N
'The colors have nothing (going for or against them).'
(Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012f: 3:52)

(70) ***maː*** *ʕaleː-k; ʔana b-ħaːki-i.*
NEG on:PREP-2SG.M 1SG FUT-talk:V.IPFV+1SG-3SG.M
'It's not (on you) your responsibility. I'll talk to him.' (Cowell, 1964: 384)

The prepostion *fiː* + PRO ('in') often indicates ability (71)-(72), a dynamic modality, and functions as a modal modifying a matrix verb in (72). Example (71) includes a negated *ʕand* + PRO clause.

(71) ***laʔ*** ***maː*** *fiː-k* *ṭabʕan!* ***maː*** *fiː-k* ***mnoːb!***
NEG NEG in:PREP-2SG.M naturally:ADV NEG in:PREP-2SG.M entirely:ADV
'No! Of course you can't! You can't at all!…'
ʔənte ***maː*** *ʕand-ak* ***laː*** *ʃaraf* ***wala*** *karam!*
2SG.M NEG at:PREP-2SG.M NEG honor:N NEG dignity:N
'You don't have (n)either honor (n)or dignity.'
(Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 36:42)

(72) ***maː*** *fiː-k* *təṭlaʕ* *ʔabˤlʔ*
NEG in:PREP-2SG.M leave:V.IPFV+2SG.M before:ADV
'Can't you leave early?' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 26:14)
NEG (**do´** (you, [**leave´** (you)]))

5.2.2.2 Encoding negation with ***maː*** *over existential particle clauses*. The existential particle functions in a copular capacity and invariably takes the negative particle *maː* with wide clausal scope (73)-(74). Example (73) offers a simple *fiː* clause and Figure 5-15 presents its LSC. The existential particle is assigned as an AUX to the NUC of a non-verbal sentence.

(73) ***maː*** *fiː* *ʃiː* *waːḍeħ*.
NEG is:EXIST.PTCL thing:N clear:ADJ
'There is nothing clear.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 28:51)
NEG (**be´** (thing, [**clear´**]))

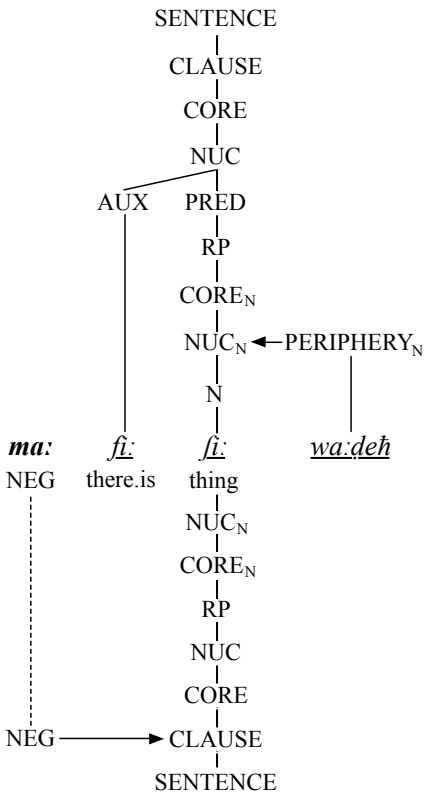

Figure 5-15. *LSC of* ***maː*** *+ non-verbal existential particle clause*

(74) ***maː*** *fiː* *mənn-ek* *ʔənti, ʔəmm* *ṣobħi.*
NEG is:EXIST.PTCL from:PREP-2SG.F 2SG.F mother:N Sobhi:N
'There's no one like you, Umm Sobhi.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 9:30)
NEG (**be-like´** (one, you))

5.2.2.3 *Encoding negation with* ***maː*** *over copular clauses*. The forms, structure, and inflection of the so-called 'negative copula' were discussed in the previous chapter (4.3). The negative copula is highly productive in SA as (75)-(80) illustrate. The negative operator is assigned to the clause in the LSC of (75) given in Figure 5-16. The negative copula takes both a semantic actor (pronominal suffix) and an undergoer. This is one example of polarity asymmetry. The removal of the negative copula does not always render an acceptable positive polarity clause.

(75) *ʔana* ***maːl-i*** *mart-ak.*
1SG NEG.AUX-1SG wife:N-2SG.M
'I am not your wife.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013c: 37:11)
NEG (**be´** (I, wife))

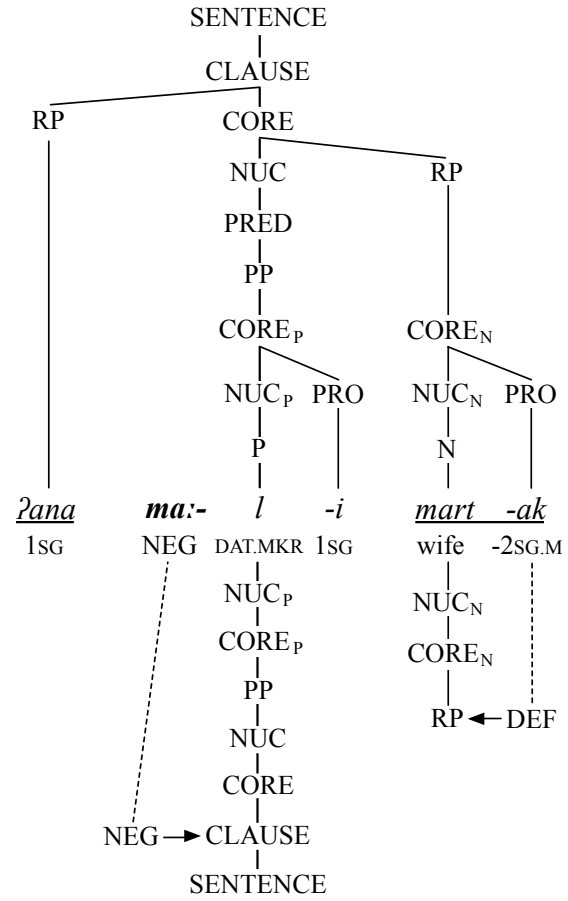

Figure 5-16. *LSC of* ***maː*** *+ non-verbal copular clause*

(76) *ʔana* ***maːl-i*** *χaːṭer ʕand-ek?*
1SG NEG.AUX-1SG regard:N with:PREP-2SG.F
'Do I have no regard from you? (Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012f: 36:06)

(77) *sərr-ak ʿb-biːr* ***maːl-o*** *ʔ̈araːr.*
secret:N-2SG.M in:PREP-well:N NEG.AUX-3SG.M bottom:N
'Your secret is in a well that has no bottom.' (Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012d: 2:00)

(78) ***maːl-ak*** *msaddeʔ̈-ni?*
NEG.AUX-2SG.M believe:PTCP-1SG
'You don't believe me?' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013d: 28:05)
NEG (**believe´** (you, me))

Cowell (1964: 388) states that the *maːl* + PRO form above is 'typically Damascene' and the *maːn* + PRO form below is employed in the rest of Syria. Syrians from Damascus continue to make this claim, but an extensive review of television programming from Damascus indicates a more mixed use of the two. They are synonymous, as can be seen from (78) and (79).

(79) ***maːn-ak*** *msaddeʔ̈-ni.*
NEG.AUX-2SG.M believe:PTCP-1SG
'You don't believe me.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013c: 12:18)
NEG (**believe´** (you, me))

(80) *baba, haːd ʿl-ʔakʿl* ***maːn-o*** *maːleħ.*
father:N this:DET DET-food:N NEG.AUX-3SG.M salty:ADJ
'Father, this food is not salty.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013d: 35:58)
NEG (**be´** (food, [**salty´**]))

5.2.2.4 *Encoding negation with* ***maː*** *on nouns and pronouns*. The negative particle is used with nouns and pronouns in SA. It most often takes a narrower constituent scope in this context, as can be seen from examples (81)-(83).

(81) ***maː*** *χarəʒ ʿl-waːħed jəħki maʕ-o.*
NEG suitable:N DET-one:N speak:V.IPFV+3SG.M with:PREP+3SG.M
'It's not suitable for one to speak with him.' (Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012c: 12:05)

(82) *ʔakiːd ʔana* ***maː*** *ʔ̈aṣd-i ʔànno*
certainly:ADV 1SG NEG intention:N-1SG that:CONJ
'It was certainly not my intention that…'
ʔənti raħ-ʿtruːħi təħki ʕaleː-j.
2SG.F FUT-go:V.IPFV+2SG.F talk:V.IPFV+2SG.F on:PREP-1SG
'you'll go talk about me.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 28:38)

(83) ***maː*** *<u>huwwe</u> l-masʔuːl ʕan ᵊl-ħaːdes.*
NEG 3SG.M DET-responsible:ADJ from:PREP DET-accident:N
'He's not the one responsible for the accident.' (Cowell, 1964: 385)

Cowell (1964: 384) indicates that *maː* is 'sometimes used with active participles'. This construction was not identified in the corpus consulted for this study.

*5.2.2.5 The use of the negative phrase **maː heːk** as a question tag.* The negative particle *maː* combines with the demonstrative *heːk* ('so') to form a highly productive question tag that is roughly translated 'is that not so'. Its actual meaning is context-dependent, but it always takes the opposite polarity of the main clause (84)-(86).

(84) *ja laṭiːf, faːʒaʔt-ak k-ʔənn-i,* ***maː*** *<u>heːk</u>?*
by.kind.one surprise:V.PFV+1SG-2SG.M as:PREP-though:CONJ-1SG NEG so:DEM
'By God, it's like I surprised you, didn't I?' (lit: 'is that not so')
(Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012b: 10:35)
NEG ([**do´** (I, Ø)] CAUSE [INGR **feel´** (you, [**fear´**])])

(85) ***maː*** *<u>laħħaʔ̈t-on</u>,* ***maː*** *<u>heːk</u>?*
NEG catch:V.PFV+2SG.M-3PL NEG so:DEM
'You've not caught them, have you?' (lit: 'is that not so')
(Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011a: 8:28)

(86) *<u>ʔana</u>* ***maː*** *<u>ṭawwalt</u> <u>ʕaleː-kon</u>,* ***maː*** *<u>heːk</u>?*
1SG NEG tarry:V.PFV+1SG on:PREP-2PL NEG so:DEM
'I didn't make you wait too long, did I?' (lit: 'is that not so')
(Warda, Al-Hariri, Al-Za'im and Awaad, 2012: 8:47)

*5.3 Encoding negation on constituents with the negative particle **muː***

The negative particle *muː* is primarily employed to encode negation on constituents such as nouns, adjectives, participles, and prepositional phrases. Hoyt (2010: 94) considers *muː* to be a 'negative auxiliary'. It does indeed largely function as a negative copula for non-verbal constituents. Negative clauses with *muː* are generally symmetric expressions of the positive clauses that exclude it. The particle *muː* occasionally moonlights as a clausal negativizer in restricted contexts. It is also used with matrix verbs to convey negative discourse-pragmatic emphasis.

*5.3.1 Encoding negation with **muː** on nouns*. The particle *muː* encodes a narrow-scope negative polarity on nouns, as is demonstrated in examples (87)-(92). Example (87) and the

LS illustrate the narrow constituent scope of the particle. Negation is accordingly assigned to the core in the LSC pictured in Figure 5-17.

(87) *ˀl-ʕariːṣ* ***muː*** *zalame?*
DET-groom NEG man:N
'Is the groom not a man?' (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005b: 29:42)
be´ (groom, **NEG** [**man´**])

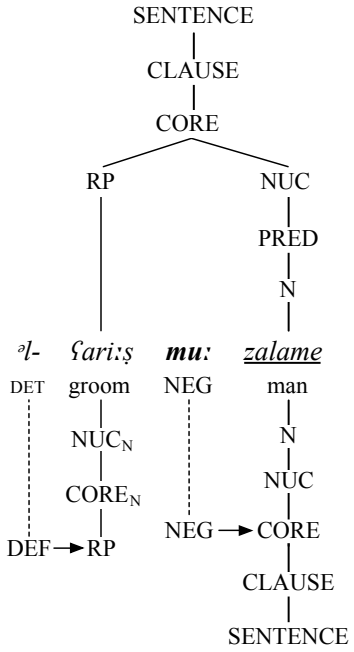

Figure 5-17. *LSC of* ***muː*** *+ nominal predicate*

(88) ***muː*** *məʃkˀle, ʔəmm fajjez,* ***muː*** *məʃkˀle.*
NEG problem:N mother:N Fayez:N NEG problem:N
'(There's) no problem, Umm Fayez, (there's) no problem.'
(Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 10:23)
be´ (Ø, **NEG** [**problem´**])

(89) *iʃ-ʃakˀl* ***muː*** *kəll ʃiː.*
DET-form:N NEG every:DET thing:N
'The look is not everything.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 24:20)
be´ (look, **NEG** [**everything´**])

(90) ***muː*** *ʔaṣḍ-i ʃiː.*
NEG intention:N-1SG thing:N
'I don't mean anything.' (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999b: 8:05)

(91) *ˀf-ʃəʁle* ***muː*** *ʃəʁˀlət-na* ***mnoːb.***
DET-matter:N NEG matter:N-1PL entirely:ADV
'The matter is not our matter at all.' (Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 10:07)

(92) *la,* ***muː*** *suʔaːl-ek* *ʔəlli* *ḍaːjaʔ̈-ni,*
NEG NEG question:N-2SG.F that:CONJ bother:V.PFV+3SG.M-1SG
'No, it wasn't your question that bothered me,…'
taṣarrufaːt-o *huwwe ṣaːret* *ʕam-b-ətḍaːjəʔ̈-ni.*
behavior:N.PL-3SG.M 3SG.M be:AUX.PFV+3SG.F PROG-DEC-bother:V.IPFV+3SG.F-1SG
'it's his behavior that's beginning to bother me.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 28:21)

5.3.2 Encoding negation with ***muː*** *on adjectives*. Adjectives are stamped with negation by the particle *muː*. Examples (93)-(94) reveal the possibility of considering this kind of negation as producing a morphologically negated adjective in English and other languages. The translation can often go either way with basically the same meaning and the same core assignment in the LSC (see Figure 5-18).

(93) *ʕala* *fəkra,* *ʔənte* ***muː*** *maʕʔ̈uːl.*
on:PREP idea:N 2SG.M NEG believable:PTCP.ADJ
'On that thought, you are unbelievable.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013c: 4:52)
be´ (you, **NEG** [**believable´**])

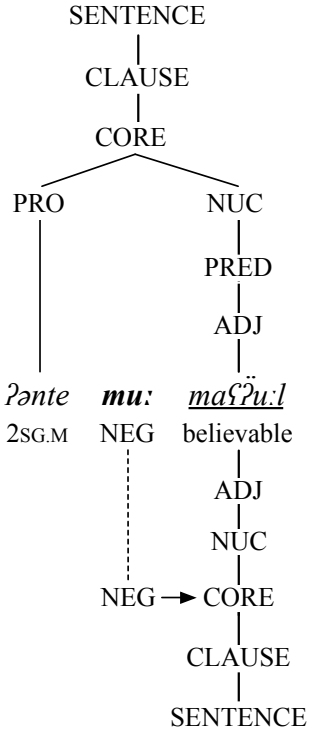

Figure 5-18. *LSC of* ***muː*** *+ adjectival predicate*

(94) ***muː*** *ḍaruːri.*
NEG necessary:ADJ
'It's not necessary.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013c: 19:24)
be´ (it, **NEG** [**necessary´**])

*5.3.3 Encoding negation with **muː** on active participles*. The negative particle *muː* expresses negation on active participles with the same narrow scope, even in complex clauses where the participle is acting as the main predicate. The narrow scope of negation on the participle in example (96) could be translated 'mis-understanding', if there were such a verb in English.

(95) ***muː*** *ʃaːjˤf-o* *ʃloːn* *ʕam-jəstafəzz-ni?*
NEG see:PTCP.ACT-3SG.M how:ADV PROG-provoke:V.IPFV+3SG.M-1SG
'Can't you see him how he is provoking me?' (Hana and Ali, 2004: 13:21)

(96) *ˤn-naːs* ***muː*** *fahmaːn* *ˤl-ʔəṣṣa*
DET-people:N NEG understanding:ADJ DET:story:N
'The people are not understanding the story…'
ʔəlli *ʕam-ətʔuːliː-ha.*
that:CONJ PROG-say:V.IPFV+2SG.F-3SG.F
'that you are telling (it).' (Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 12:33)
[**do´** (you, [**say´** (you, story)])] & [**do´** (you, Ø)]
CAUSE [BECOME **NEG know´** (people, story)]

*5.3.4 Encoding negation with **muː** on prepositional phrases*. The negative particle *muː* is employed to negate prepositional phrases that are functioning as prepositions, i.e. not in a quasi-verbal manner like (65)-(72) above. The negative particle continues to take narrow scope and evidence symmetric polarity.

(97) *ʔəbn-ak* ***muː*** *ʔand-i!*
son:N-2SG.M NEG at:PREP-1SG
'Your son is not at my (place).' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011: 35:14)
NEG (**be-at´** (me, son))

(98) *ˤl-məʃkˤle* *fiː-ni* ***muː*** *fiː-ki.*
DET-problem:N in:PREP-1SG NEG in:PREP-2SG.F
'The problem is in me, not in you.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013d: 29:11)

(99) *ˤl-aʕraːs* ***muː*** *la-ʔəl-na.*
DET-wedding:N.PL NEG MKR-for:PREP-1PL
'Weddings are not for us.' (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005b: 10:55)

*5.3.5 Encoding negation with **muː** on modals*. The negative particle *muː* is often used with non-verbal modals. The particle interacts with *laːzem* ('must') in example (100) the same way *maː* did in examples (54)-(55).

(100) *ʔənti ja bənt-i ja nuːra* ***muː*** *laːzem*
2SG.F VOC daughter:N-1SG VOC Noura:N NEG necessary:ADJ
'You, my daughter, Noura, shouldn't you…'
tkuːni hallaʔ̈ b-ˀṣ-ṣaff ˀl-ʕaːʃer?
be:AUX.IPFV+2SG.F now:ADV in:PREP-DET-class:N DET-tenth:N
'be in the tenth grade now?' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 13:02)

5.3.6 Encoding wide-scope negation on clauses with ***muː***. The negative particle *muː* is sometimes co-opted into functionally encoding negation on a complete clause. The participial roots of the future tense imperatival proclitic *rah-* (101) and the nominal roots of the progressive aspect proclitic *ʕam-* (102) sometimes trigger the use of the negative particle that normally negates participles and nouns. While variable in SA, the negative particle designated for use with constituents in Egyptian Arabic is invariably used with the future tense proclitic (from the same root). When so triggered, the negative particle *muː* takes the same wide clausal scope as *maː*, as can be seen in the LSC of (101) illustrated in Figure 5-19.

(101) ***muː*** *raħ-aʁeːr ʕaleː-a ʔana*.
NEG FUT-envy:V.IPFV+1SG on:PREP-3SG.F 1SG
'I'm not going to be jealous of her.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 30:34)

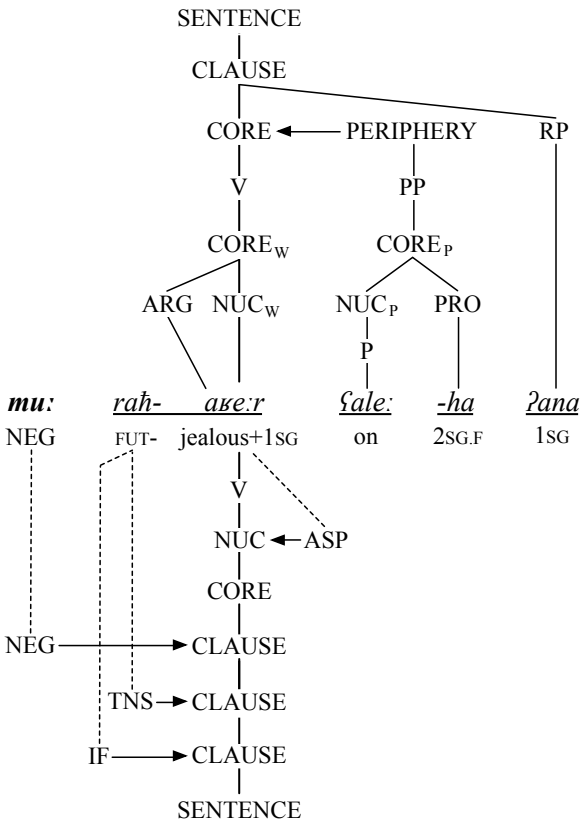

Figure 5-19. *LSC of* ***muː*** *+ future matrix verb clause*

(102) ***muː*** *ʕam-jəʃtəʁel* *hallaʔ̈.*
NEG PROG-work:V.IPFV+3SG.M now:ADV
'He's not working now.' (Cowell, 1964: 387)
NEG (**do´** (he, [**work´** (he)]))

The negative particle *muː* is used in (103) to encode negation on a participle which in turn has scope over the verbal clause. The scope of negation is extended to the whole clause.

(103) *weːn bədd-ek ʾtruːħi, la-ʕand ahl-ek*
where:ADV want:AUX-2SG.F go:V.IPFV+2SG.F to:PREP-with:PREP family:N-2SG.F
Where do you want to go, to your family…'
ʔəlli ***muː*** *mlaːʔ̈iːn jaːklu ləʔ̈me?*
that:CONJ NEG finding:PTCP.PL eat:V.IPFV+3PL.M morsel:N
'who are not finding a bite to eat.' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011a: 24:19)

5.3.7 The interaction of negative particles and scope with perfectivizing ***kaːn****.* It was stated above that the perfective verb *kaːn* ('to be') is mainly used to place a predicate in a perfective/past tense frame. This auxiliary verb is the normal means SA employs to place non-verbal clauses in the past tense. Being a verb, negative polarity is most often marked on *kaːn* by the negative particle *maː*, as is illustrated in (104).

(104) *ʔəhtimaːm-o b-salaːmət-on* ***maː*** *kaːn ḍaruːri.*
concern:N-3SG.M with-PREP-safety:N-3PL NEG be:AUX.PFV.PST+3SG.M necessary:ADJ
'His concern for their safety was not necessary.' (Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 49)
NEG (**be´** (concern, [**necessary´**]))

It is also possible to fine-tune the scope of negation to narrowly mark the $core_N$ of a constituent by placing the negative particle *muː* after the perfective auxiliary. The resultant scope is so narrow in (105) that it is equivalent to morphological negation in English.

(105) *ʔəhtimaːm-o b-salaːmət-on kaːn* ***muː*** *ḍaruːri*
concern:N-3SG.M with-PREP-safety:N-3PL be:AUX.PFV.PST+3SG.M NEG necessary:ADJ
His concern for their safety was un-necessary.'
be´ (concern, **NEG** [**necessary´**])

5.3.8 Encoding negative discourse-pragmatic emphasis on clauses with ***muː****.* Syrian Arabic, like most other varieties of spoken Arabic, utilizes the narrow-scope negative particle in a wide-scope context for discourse-pragmatic reasons. The reasons vary according to the context. In example (106), the speaker is emphasizing the fact that her interlocutor owns the

house and should not be the one to leave it.

(106) *ˀl-beːt ˀb-ʔəsm-ek. jaʕni huwwe ʔəlli*
DET-house:N in:PREP-name:N-2SG.F meaning:CLASSICISM 3SG.M that:CONJ
'The house is in you name. Meaning he is the one who…'
laːzem jətrok-o, ***muː*** *ʔenti tətroki-i!*
must:ADJ leave:V.IPFV+3SG.M-3SG.M NEG 2SG.F leave:V.IPFV+2SG.F-3SG.M
'has to leave it, not you leave it! (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999a: 23:25)
NEG do´ (you, [**leave´** (you, it)])

In example (107), the negative particle ***muː*** is employed with clausal scope in the first sentence to emphatically state how rarely the speaker eats home-grown fresh meat. He switches back to normal clausal negation in the second sentence.

(107) *waḷḷahi, ʔana* ***muː*** *ʔaklˀ mən heːk laħˀm.*
by.God 1SG NEG eat:V.IPFV+1SG from:PREP this:DEM meat:N
'By God, I have in no way eaten from meat like this.'
mən zamaːn ***maː*** *ʔakelna laħˀm baladi.*
from:PREP time:N NEG eat:V.PFV+1PL meat:N local:ADJ
'We haven't eaten local meat for a long time.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013d: 39:20)

In example (108), the speaker comedically asks his dead father if learning a trade would not have been better than his three long years of primary education. The use of *muː* here anticipates a positive answer.

(108) *lo ʕallamt-l-i maṣlaħa ʔəʃtéʁel fiː-ha,*
if:CONJ teach:V.PFV+2SG.M-to:PREP-1SG trade:N work:V.IPFV+1SG in:PREP-3SG.F
'If you (had) taught me a trade to work in (it)…'
muː *kaːn ʔaħsan mən hal-ʕəlˀm kull-o?!*
NEG be:AUX.PFV+3SG.M better:ADJ from:PREP this:DET-knowledge:N all:DET-3SG.M
'would it not have been better than all of this knowledge?!'
(Dawwiyya and Al-Barqawwi, 2011: 4:37)

5.3.9 The use of the negative phrase ***muː heːk*** *as a question tag.* The negative particle *muː* plus the demonstrative *heːk* ('so') function in an identical manner to the same question tag formed with the negativizer *maː* in examples (84)-(86) above. This can be seen in example (109).

(109) *b-iʒuːz* *kəzˤb,* ***muː*** *heːk* *ʔəmm* *nabiːlʔ*
DEC-be.conceivable:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M lie:N NEG so:DEM mother:N Nabil:N
'It could be a lie, isn't that so, Umm Nabil?' (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999a: 21:10)

5.4 Encoding negation on the imperative and use of the emphatic negative particle ***laː***

The negative particle *laː* ('no') is used in multiple contexts to express emphatic negation. In line with its use in MSA, it functions to encode negation in SA on negative imperatives. The particle *laː* can simply mean 'no' in answer to a yes/no question. It also acts as the first element in a chain of coordinated and normally emphatic negatives. SA employs additionally interesting means to express negative imperatives.

5.4.1 Encoding negation with ***laː*** *over imperatival clauses*. Negative polarity is encoded on imperatival clauses by the negative particle *laː* immediately followed by an unmarked imperfective subjunctive verb. A rare asymmetry exists in SA between positive and negative imperatives. Positive imperatives have a special truncated form of the imperfective that is inflected solely for the second person (masculine, feminine, and plural). Negative imperatives, on the other hand, utilize the subjunctive verb. The second clause of (110) and the first clause of (111) provide examples of this construction.

(110) *ʔana* ***maː*** *ʔ̈əlt-áll-ek* ***laː*** *təħki* *maʕ-oʔ*
1SG NEG say:V.PFV+1SG-to:PREP+2SG.F NEG talk.V:IPFV+2SG.F with:PREP-3SG.M
'Did I not tell you, "Don't talk to him!"?' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 5:43)
NEG (**talk´** (you, him))

(111) ***laː*** *tχaːf* *ʕaleː-ha.*
NEG fear:V.IPFV+2SG.M on:PREP-2SG.F
'Don't worry about her!'
banaːt *hal-ʔijjaːm* ***maː*** *b-jinχaːf* *ʕaleː-hon.*
girl:N.PL.F this:DET-day:N.PL NEG DEC-fear:V.IPFV+3SG.M on:PREP-3PL
'Girls these days, one doesn't worry about them.'
bə-tdabbər *ħaːl-a.*
DEC-manage:V.IMPF+3SG.F situation:N-3SG.F
'She can take care of herself.' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011b: 6:55)
NEG (**feel´** (you, [**afraid´**]))

The layered structure of the imperatival clause in (111) is given in Figure 5-20. The negative operator takes the same wide clausal scope as *maː*. It is therefore assigned to the clause in the operator projection.

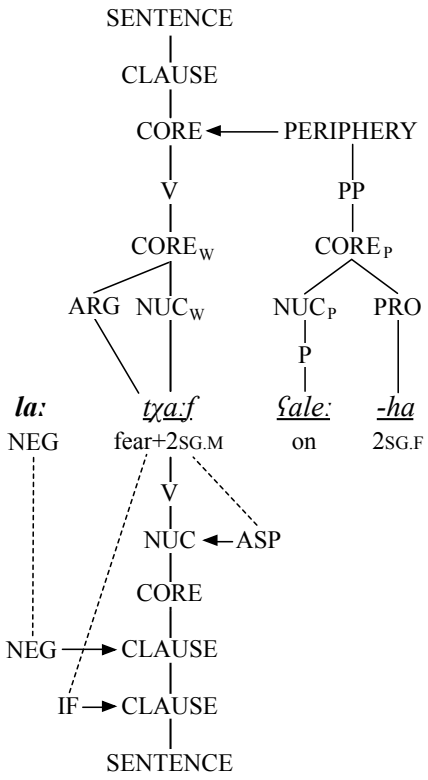

Figure 5-20. *LSC of* ***laː*** *+ subjunctive verb clause* (*imperative*)

While not truly an imperative, the doubly negative construction *laː jkuːn maː* ('it better not be') has imperative-like emphasis, as can be seen in (112). In this instance, the double negation functions as a positive 'you'd better be…'

(112) ***laː*** ***jkuːn*** ***maː*** *taʔṭi-on* *li-ʔəmm-ak!*
NEG be:AUX.IMPF+3SG.M NEG give:V.IPFV+2SG.M-3PL to:PREP-mother:N-2SG.M
'It better not be that you aren't giving them ($$$) to your mother!'
(Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012i: 28:30)

5.4.2 Encoding negation over imperatival clauses by other means. SA uses varied means to express negative imperatives. The negative clausal particle *maː* is used in SA to create a negative imperative in conjunction with a subjunctive verb, as in (113).

(113) *w-mənfaːn ᵊl-maṣaːri, ʔamaːnt-ek ʔaḷḷa,*
and:CONJ-for:PREP DET-money:N guarantee:N-2SG.F God:N
'And about money, God is your guarantee,…'
maː *taːkli* *hamm.*
NEG eat:V.IPFV+2SG.F concern:N
'don't worry about it.' (lit: 'don't eat worry') (Kusa and Kawkish, 2014: 13:23)
NEG (**eat´** (you, concern))

The lexically negative verb *ʔoʕa* (‘to beware’), inflected like a positive imperative, is employed to state emphatic negative prohibition in examples (114)-(116). The verb interacts with the negative particle *maː* in (116) to create a doubly negative emphatic positive command. When used alone, the verb *ʔoʕa* means ‘Don’t you dare!’

(114) ***ʔoʕai*** *teħki* *ʔ̈ədda:m* *əlfa:t!*
NEG talk:V.IPFV+2SG.F before:PREP Elfat:N
‘Don’t talk in front of Elfat!’ (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999c: 16:56)

(115) ***ʔoʕa*** *ħada* *jku:n* *ʃa:f-ek!*
NEG anyone:N be:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M see:V.PFV+3SG.M-3SG.F
‘Make sure no one saw you!’ (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005c: 7:52)

(116) ***ʔoʕa maː*** *téktob* *waẓiːft-ak!*
NEG NEG write:V.IPFV+2SG.M homework:N-2SG.M
‘Do your homework!’ (Liddicoat, Lennane, and Abdul Rahim, 2011 :320)
NEG (**do´** (you, [**NEG** (**write´** (you, homework))]))
the same as: **do´** (you, [**write´** (you, homework)])

Negative prepositions, like *bala* and *biduːn* (both mean ‘without’), can be used with nouns (117) or clauses (118) to express negative imperatives. When used with verbs, the conjunction *ma* always links the preposition to the verb.

(117) ***bala*** *har-roːħa!*
without:PREP this:DET-going:VN
‘Don’t go!’ (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013c: 33:15)

(118) ***biduːn*** ***ma*** *təsʔaliː-ni* *leːʃ!*
without:PREP CONJ ask:V.IPFV+2SG.F-1SG why:ADV
‘Don’t ask me why!’ (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999c: 14:43)

There are many other ways of asserting negative commands in SA. They often contain nuances related to the lexical meaning of the negativizing word, as in (119)-(120).

(119) ***ħaːʒe*** *ˤt-tamsiːl* *w-ʔəsmaʕiː-ni.*
NEG DET-acting:N and:CONJ-listen:V.IMP+2SG.F-1SG
‘Stop the melodramatics and listen to me!’ (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999d: 27:41)

(120) ***ħaːʒe*** *tˤsʔal-ni* *hal-ʔasʔile.*
NEG ask:V.IPFV+2SG.M-1SG this:DET-question:N.PL
‘Stop asking me these questions!’ (Sa’d al-Deen and Dehni, 2012i: 18:21)

5.4.3 Expressing negative coordination and categorical negation. The negative particles *laː* or *maː* work together with the negative particle *wala* to express coordinated negative elements and 'categorical negation' (Brustad, 2000: 309). Brustad states that *wala* is employed to categorically mark negative polarity on the clause, on individual elements in the clause, and on coordinated elements in the clause. This coordinated categorical (emphatic) form of encoding negation on multiple elements is exemplified in (121)-(123).

Example (121) is an emphatic statement asserting that it is not the case that either 'we' or 'he' are from the same cloth. The negative scope envelops the whole clause.

(121) ***laː***-*na* *mən* *toːb-o* ***wala*** *huwwe* *mən* *toːb-na*.
NEG-1PL from:PREP cloth:N-3SG.M NEG 3SG.M from:PREP cloth:N-1PL
'We're not cut from the same cloth.' (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005b: 28:25)

In example (122), the emphatic negative force is further increased by the addition of a fronted *laʔ* with a final glottal stop, itself an emphatic form, and the final indefinite noun *ʃiː* ('thing').

(122) ***laʔ, maː*** *fiː* *ʔəsṣa* ***wala*** *fiː* *ʃiː*.
NEG NEG is:EXIST.PTCL story:N NEG is:EXIST.PTCL thing:N
"No, there's no story nor is there anything else.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 28:43)
NEG (**be´** (story)) & **NEG** (**be´** (thing))

The middle line of (123) illustrates both negative coordination and negative emphasis.

(123) ***maː*** *b-iṣiːr* *təħlef*
NEG DEC-be:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M swear:V.IPFV+2SG.M
'You are not permitted to swear…'
laː *bi-ħajaːt-ak* ***wala*** *bi-ħajaːt-o*.
NEG by:PREP-life:N-2SG.M nor:CONJ.NEG by:PREP-life:N-3SG.M
'neither by your life nor by his life.'
maː *b-iʒuːz* *təħlef* ***b-ʁeːr*** *əllaːh.*
NEG DEC-allow:AUX.IPFV+3SG.M swear:V.IPFV+2SG.M by:PREP-other:PREP Allah:N
'You are not allowed to swear, except by Allah.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 22:27)

Categorical negation is regularly expressed by adding the oath *waḷḷa* ('by God') to a negative clause. This expression, seen in examples (124)-(125), is highly productive in Syrian Arabic.

(124) ***laː,*** *waḷḷa* ***maː*** *ʕarəfᵊt*.
NEG by.God NEG know:V.PFV+1SG
'No, by God, I didn't know.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013a: 12:59)

(125) *waḷḷa* ***maː*** *b-ənsa* *ʕaleː-k* *hal-maʕruːf* ***ᵊb-ʕəmr-i***.
by.God NEG DEC-forget:V.IPFV+1SG on:PREP-2SG.M DET-favor:N in:PREP-life:N-1SG
'By God, I will never (in my life) forget this favor.'
(Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 8:34)

5.5 Negative concord and negative polarity elements

Syrian Arabic is one of the 170 languages that Haspelmath (2013: web page) identifies as employing 'negative indefinites with predicate negation'. SA, as a negative concord language, is able to utilize two or more negative constituents without canceling semantic negation. Like all languages, negative indefinites and quantifiers are utilized in SA to express and to fine-tune negation within the clause.

Negative concord (NC) and what are termed negative polarity items (NPI) in Levantine Arabic have received a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention. Hoyt's (2010) excellent doctoral dissertation on NC in Levantine Arabic is only one case in point. The emphasis of this final section on negation in the SA clause is more one of documentation than explanation. It aims to help alleviate the dearth of recent SA data. In doing so, it will divide the data into those items that can be used in short answers to assert or confirm negation, often called n-words, and those that cannot but still contribute to negation in the clause (NPIs).

5.5.1 Expressing negation in the clause with multiple negative elements. To classify Syrian Arabic as a negative concord language is not to say that it is impossible to express what de Swart (2010: 249) calls 'value first-order iteration'. Double negation is easily stated in SA as is illustrated by the the following interchange with two Syrian interlocutors, one from Damascus and the other from Homs. When asked what example (126) communicates, they understood it to make a negative assertion.

(126) ***maː*** *ħada* *ʃaːf-ni*.
NEG anyone:N see:V.PFV+3SG.M-1SG
'No one saw me.'

When asked about the meaning of (127), they instantly classified it as double negation.

(127) ***maː*** *ħada* ***maː*** *ʃaːf-ni*.
NEG anyone:N NEG see:V.PFV+3SG.M-1SG
'Everyone saw me.'

They were then asked if there is a better way to express double negation in SA. They agreed that (128) is preferable.

(128) ***maː*** *ḍall* *ħada* ***maː*** *ʃaːf-ni*.
NEG remain:V.PFV+3SG.M anyone:N NEG saw:V.PFV+3SG.M-1SG
'There doesn't remain anyone who did not see me.'

This is the construction that was used in the corpus of television programming, as is seen in example (129).

(129) ***maː*** *ḍall* *ħada*
NEG remain:V.PFV+3SG.M anyone:N
'There doesn't remain anyone…'
maː *ddaːyanu* *mənn-o* *maṣaːri*.
NEG borrow:V.PFV+3PL from:PREP-3SG.M money:N
'that they didn't borrow money from.' (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005b: 4:10)

The instantiation of double negation in the examples above is triggered by the negative particle used to mark the negative indefinite. The clausal scope of *maː* occurring twice in close proximity caused the cancellation.

5.5.1.1 Expressing negative concord with the negative particle ***wala***. Changing the negative particle from *maː* to *wala* removes the conflict and allows for negative concord in SA, as can be seen from examples (130)-(131).

(130) ***wala*** *marra* ***maː*** *ʔ̈ʊlt-ɪl-i*
NEG time:N NEG say:V.PFV+3SG.M-to:PREP-1SG
'You have never once told me…'
la-ħœːl-ak *ɪnn-ak* *bɪ-tħɪbb-ni*.
to:PREP-self:N-2SG.M that:CONJ-2SG.M DEC-love:V.IPFV+2SG.M-1SG
'on your own that you love me.' (Hoyt, 2010: 247)

(131) ***wala*** *kɪlmi* ***maː*** *tɪʃrɪf* *maʃnaːt-hœ?*
NEG word:N NEG know:V.IPFV+2SG.M meaning:N-3SG.F
'You don't know the meaning of even one word?' (Hoyt, 2010: 247)
NEG [**know´** (you, meaning)]

Hoyt (2010: 248) notes that while these examples from the Aleppo dialect of SA acceptably express negative concord for Syrians in general, Jordanians and Palestinians were less certain. He also notes that in these cases the negative particle is seen to express emphasis,

which along with focus, seems to be the primary purpose of negative indefinites and quantifiers.

The negative particle *wala*, placed before or after a negated predicate, cooperates in emphasizing and/or focussing negation in the clause. Examples (132)-(134) illustrate *wala* in post-predicate positions. The negative particle can also be used with an indefinite to produce a fragment answer, like *wala marra!* (‘Not once!’).

(132) *χuluːd* ***maː*** *b-taʕref* ***wala*** *ʔajj* *ʃiː*.
Khulud:N NEG DEC-know:V.IPFV+3SG.F NEG any:DET thing:N
‘Khulud doesn’t know anything at all.’ (Sa’d al-Deen and Dehni, 2012h: 4:42)
NEG (**know´** (Khulud, thing))

(133) *χamsiːn səne* *χadmet* *ᵊl-beːt*
fifty:N year:N serve:V.PFV+3SG.F DET-house:N
‘Fifty years she served the house…’
w-maː *ʃtaket* ***wala*** *marra!*
and:CONJ-NEG complain:N.PFV+3SG.F NEG time:N
‘and she did not complain even once!’ (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013d: 37:11)

(134) *w-**laː*** *fiː* *b-ʔ̈alb-ek*
and:CONJ-NEG is:EXIST.PTCL in:PREP-heart:N-2SG.F
‘There is (not) in your heart…’
laː *raħme* ***wala*** *ʃafaʔ̈a*.
NEG mercy:N NEG compassion:N
‘neither mercy nor compassion.’ (Awsu and Najeeb, 2005b: 4:36)

*5.5.1.2 Expressing negative concord with the adverbs **ʔabadan**, **b-ᵊl-marra**, and **niha:ʔijjan**.* These three adverbs all communicate ‘never’ in clauses and in fragment answers. They are essentially interchangeable. The accusative indefinite adverb *ʔabadan* (‘never’) can be seen in (135)-(137).

(135) ***laː laː ʔabadan maːn-i*** *mitḍaːjeʔ̈*, *b-ᵊl-ʕakᵊs*.
NEG NEG never:ADV NEG.AUX-1SG upset:PTCP.ADJ with:PREP-DET-opposite:N
‘No, no, I’m not at all upset, on the contrary.’ (Hamid and Al-Sayyid, 2013: 6:09)
NEG (**be´** (I, [**upset´**]))

(136) *hajj ʾẓ-ẓruːf ʔəlli ʕam-ʾnmərr*
this:DET DET-circumstance:N.PL that:CONJ PROG:V.IPFV+1PL
'These circumstances we are going…'
fiː-a ***maːn-a*** *sahla* ***ʔabadan***.
in:PREP-3SG.F NEG.AUX-3SG.F easy:ADV never:ADV
'through are not easy not at all.' (Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012e: 4:52)

Example (137) is particularly interesting because *ʔabadan* is used in a clause without another negativizing element. Rather than contributing to negation, it is encoding negation on the clause. Hoyt (2010: 163) states unequivocally that *ʔabadan* and the other 'never words' 'cannot express negation by themselves, and instead must be licensed by a negation morpheme, regardless of their positions within the word order of the clause'. This is not the case in (137) below.

(137) *w-ʾl-ħaːl, ʾl-ħaːl* ***ʔabadan*** *ʔənno*
and:CONJ-DET-solution:N DET-solution:N never:ADV that:CONJ
'The solution, the solution never is that…'
nəħna nedfon raːs-na b-ʾl-ramʾl!
1PL bury:V.IPFV.DEO+1PL head:N-1PL in:PREP-DET-sand:N
'we should bury our head in the sand.' (Kawkish and Hussein, 2013f: 8:13)

The invariable prepositional phrase *b-ʾl-marra* ('in the time') has become lexicalized as an adverb meaning 'never, at all'.

(138) ***maː*** *ʕam-tərkab ʾb-raːs-i* ***b-ʾl-marra***.
NEG PROG-mount:V.IPFV+3SG.F in:PREP-head:N-1SG never:ADV
'It's not mounting in my head at all.' ('I can't wrap my mind around it at all.')
(Qawuuq and Najeeb, 2009: 8:04)

Example (139) demonstrates yet another 'never' word used in SA to enhance negation without canceling it. The adverb *nihaːʔijjan* shares the same accusative ending as *ʔabadan*.

(139) *wiʃʃ-ak* ***maː*** *b-ʃuːf-u* ***nihaːʔijjan***.
face:N-2SG.M NEG DEC-see:V.IPFV+1SG-3SG.M never:ADV
'Your face I don't (want to) see (it) at all.' (Brustad, 2000: 349)
NEG [**want´** (I, [**see´** (I, face)])]

5.5.2 Enhancing negation in the clause with indefinites and quantifiers. This section will conclude with a table of indefinites and quantifiers used in SA. The following examples

highlight a few of the semantically non-negative terms that are employed in SA to enhance and focus negation in the clause.

The term *bnoːb* (also pronounced *mnoːb*) is a fixed adverbial that is used extensively in negative contexts and means ‘at all’. Though primarily a Syrian expression, it is also used in Iraq.

(140) ***maː*** *fiː* *natiːʒe*, ***maː*** *fiː* *natiːʒe* ***mnoːb***!
NEG is:EXIST.PTCL result:N NEG is:EXIST.PTCL result:N at all:ADV
‘There is no result, there is no result at all!’ (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011a: 26:58)
NEG [**be´** (result)]

(141) *ʔaḍijjet muṭiːʕ ṣaʕbe ktiːr.* ***muː*** *hajjna* ***bnoːb***.
case:N Mutia:N difficult:ADJ very:ADV NEG easy:ADJ at all:ADV
‘Mutia’s case is very difficult. It’s not easy at all.’ (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999b: 8:24)

(142) *ʔana* ***maː*** *ʕam-b-əfham* *ʕaleː-k* *fiː* ***ᵊbnoːb***.
1SG NEG PROG.RL-DEC-understand:V.IPFV+1SG on:PREP-2SG.M thing:N at all:ADV
‘I don’t understand you at all!’ (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999c: 21:42)

Indefinite nouns like *fiː* (‘thing’) and *ħada* (‘one’) interact with negation to add emphasis, as can be seen with *fiː* in examples (142) and (143). In example (143), the determiner *ʔajj* (‘any’) adds additional emphasis.

(143) *χuluːd* ***maː*** *b-taʕref* ***wala*** *ʔajj* *fiː*.
Khulud:N NEG DEC-know:V.IPFV+3SG.F NEG any:DET thing:N
‘Khulud doesn’t know anything at all.’ (Sa’d al-Deen and Dehni, 2012h: 4:42)
NEG [**know´** (Khulud, thing)]

Syrian Arabic employs two prepositional phrases inflected for person and number as functional adverbs, both with the meaning of ‘never’. The two forms are nearly identical and listed in (144).

(144) a. ***bi-ʕemr-ek***
in:PREP-life:N-2SG.F
‘never’ (lit. ‘in your life’)
b. ***bi-ħajaːt-ek***
in:PREP-life:N-2SG.F
‘never’ (lit. ‘in your life’)

The adverb *bi-ʕemr-ek* (144a) is widely attested in the spoken varieties of Arabic and is illustrated in examples (145)-(147). The second one, *bi-ħajaːt-ek* (144b), is more narrowly confined to the countries bordering Syria. It is very productive in SA and can be found in examples (148)-(149).

(145) *waḷḷa* ***maː*** *b-ənsa* *ʕaleː-k* *hal-maʕruːf* ***ᵊb-ʕəmr-i***.
by.God NEG DEC-forget:V.IPFV+1SG on:PREP-2SG.M DET-favor:N in:PREP-life:N-1SG
'By God, I will never (in my life) forget this favor.'
(Kawkish and Hussein, 2013b: 8:34)
NEG [**do´** (I, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **NOT** **remember´** (I, you)]

(146) ***w-laː*** ***b-ʕəmᵊr-na*** *ʃuːfnaː-hon*
and:CONJ-NEG in:PREP-life:N-1PL see:V.PFV+1PL-3PL
'We never (in our lives) saw them…'
wala *daːsna* *beːt-on*.
and:CONJ-NEG step:V.PFV+1PL house:N-3PL
'nor stepped into their house.' (Warda et al., 2012: 12:22)

(147) ***bi-ʕemr-ek*** ***maː*** *b-təterkiː-ni* *kaffi*
in:PREP-life:N-2SG.F NEG DEC-leave:V.IPFV+2SG.F-1SG finish:V.IPFV+1SG
'You've never (in your life) left me to finish…'
siːr-i *w-mazmaz* *fiːa* *heːk*.
progress:N-1SG and:CONJ-sip:V.IPFV+1SG in:PREP-3SG.F this:DEM
'my progression (of thought) and sip from it like this.' (Al-Baba and Ali, 1999e: 1:35)

(148) ***w-laː*** *raħ-təfhem* *fiːa* ***bi-ħajaːt-ak***.
and:CONJ-NEG FUT-understand:V.IPFV+2SG.M in:PREP-3SG.F in:PREP-life:N-2SG.M
'And you will never (in your life) understand it.'
(Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012j: 28:19)

(149) *ʕaʔ̈ʔ̈li* *la-ʔəbn-ek* *haːd,*
bring.reason:V.IMP+2SG.F to:PREP-son:N-2SG.F this:DET
'Bring your son to reason…'
w-ʔəlla *bə-ʧuːfu* *mənn-i*
and:CONJ-otherwise:ADV DEC-see:V.IPFV+2PL from:PREP-1SG
'otherwise you will see from me…'
fiː ***bi-ħajaːt-kon*** ***maː*** *ʃəftu-u*.
thing:N in:PREP-life:N-2PL NEG see:V.PFV+2PL-3SG.M
'something you have never (in your lives) seen (it).'
(Sa'd al-Deen and Dehni, 2012j: 28:35)

SA has many more words that interact with the negative polarity of the clause or noun phrase to quantify negativity. The following are the most common indefinites and quantifiers.

NEGATIVE/NO!	*laː, laʔ*	No!
TIME	*ʔabadan*	never, at all
	b-ˤl-marra	never, at all
	b-ħajaːt + PRO	never, at all
	b-ʕəmˤr + PRO	never, at all
	nihaːʔijjan	never, at all
	ləssa, *ləssaː* + PRO	still
PLACE	*maː b-maħall*	nowhere
PERSON	*maː* (V) *ħad/ħada*	nobody, no one
THING	*maː (fiː) ʃiː*	nothing
	laː ʃiː	nothing
	muː ʃiː	nothing
NONE	*wala*	*wala* + *ħad/ħada*, *waːħed*, *ʃiː*, etc. = none
ANY	*ħada*	anybody, anyone
	waːħed	anybody, anyone
	ʃiː	anything
	ʔajj ʃiː	anything
SOME	*ħada*	somebody, someone
	waːħed	somebody, someone
	baʕˤḍ naːs	some people
	ʃiː	something
	shwayye	some (things: part of)
	kam	some (part of)
	baʕˤḍ	some (part of)

Table 5-1. *Negative indefinites and quantifiers in SA* (inspired by Nolan, in press: 14)

5.6 Comparison with other varieties of Arabic

It has been noted by many scholars that Arabic in all of its varieties distinguishes between the negation of verbs/sentences and the negation of non-verbal predicates/constituents. The terms vary, but the overall pattern is that of negating groups of words and negating one or a few words. Syrian Arabic is no exception. It is also agreed that all of the varieties employ distinct negative particles to encode what amounts to wide-scope and narrow-scope negation. They all additionally reverse the particles for emphasis. As has been seen and argued in this study, SA relies on the negative particle *maː* to cast negative polarity over clauses and the negative particle *muː* to do so with constituents. Brustad (2000: 282) is correct in associating Syrian Arabic with the basic negation schema of the spoken dialects of Iraq and the Arab Gulf states. They too use *maː* and forms of *muː* in the same manner. The western dialects of Arabic generally use a discontinuous *ma-...-ʃ* for clausal negation and a continuous *mıʃ* with

constituents. The other Levantine dialects, with which SA is closely aligned phonetically and syntactically, lean toward the west in varying degrees. It is impossible to draw a clear boundary line between the two basic systems. The transition moves slowly north and east from Gaza to Damascus. What is clear, however, is that Syrian Arabic parts company with its fellow Levantine dialects over negation from Damascus east and aligns itself with another linguistic clan within the broader Arabic family. Individual links still exist with the Levantine cousins, like the form of the negative copula and specific indefinites, but the general schema of Syrian Arabic negation is distinctly eastern.

5.7 Chapter summary

This chapter states that Syrian Arabic encodes wide-scope negation on clauses with the negative particle *maː* and narrow-scope negation on constituents with the negative particle *muː*. The distinction is presented as primarily one of scope and not the type of predicate being negated. The wide-scope particle *maː* is used to negate verbal and non-verbal predicates alike. It is capable of extending the scope of negation over multiple cosubordinate verbs. The particles can be interchanged for reasons of emphasis. It has also been noted that the negative particle *laː* is instantiated in contexts requiring emphasis. SA manifests consistent symmetry between polarities except with the negative copula and negative imperatives. The chapter concludes with comments on negative concord and the orientation of Syrian Arabic negation within the broader Arabic context. The next chapter will consider the layered structure of nominals and other related elements.

6. Syrian Arabic negation and the LSW, PART 2: nouns and adjectives

Where many languages use morphological means to mark negation on nouns and adjectives, the Arabic negation strategy calls for the use of lexically negative particles, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions. The negating element in Syrian Arabic immediately precedes the word it negates. Since the definiteness operator is a morphological clitic, it too falls under the scope of NEG. Like all other varieties of Arabic, negation is not encoded on SA nouns and adjectives by morphological means. Pronouns and prepositions with suffixed pronominals can be morphologically negated, but they function as negative non-verbal clauses. Nouns and adjectives in SA are analytically marked with negation by means of negative particles, lexically negative nouns, lexically negative adjectives, and negative prepositions, as is summarized in Table 6-1 (adapted from Nolan, in press: 13).

Negative element	**Meaning of NEG**
Negative particles	
muː	NEG
ʁeːr	NEG with underlying sense of ‘other than’
Negative nouns	
ʕadam	Noun with lexical meaning of ‘absence of’/ ‘non-’ / ‘in-’
ʔälle	Noun with lexical meaning of ‘lack of’ / ‘mis-’ / ‘in-’
nəkraːn	Noun with lexical meaning of ‘disavowal’ / ‘un-’
suːʔ	Noun with lexical meaning of ‘bad’ / ‘mis-’ / ‘in-’
Negative adjectives	
ʕadiːm	ADJ with lexical meaning of ‘absence of’/ ‘non-’ / ‘in-’
ʔaliːl	ADJ with lexical meaning of ‘lack of’ / ‘mis-’ / ‘in-’
naːker	ADJ with lexical meaning of ‘disavowal’ / ‘un-’
Negative prepositions	
bala	Prepositional form with the meaning of ‘not=without’
biduːn	Prepositional form with the meaning of ‘not=without’

Table 6-1. *Encoding of negation on the SA noun*

6.1 Brief introduction to Syrian Arabic nominals

The border in Syrian Arabic between verbs and non-verbal elements, such as nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and even prepositional phrases, is semantically trespassed often enough that their fealty to their traditional grammar labels should be regularly questioned. A constituent’s function is normally more informative than its grammatical label. Many Arabic

nouns and adjectives are derived from verbs according to relatively fixed morphological templates and substantively retain their core verbal meaning to one degree or another. A brief overview of Arabic nominals is in order prior to more fully considering negation and the nominal LSW.

6.1.1 Nouns. Syrian Arabic nouns are derived from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Along with a full complement of noun types, all varieties of Arabic have verbal nouns that not only contain a verbal notion, but can also behave in a verb-like manner. A verbal noun derived from a verb is called a *maṣdar* ('source') in Arabic and can be used actively, passively, and can even express the undergoer of the verbal clause it substantively instantiates. Verbal nouns are the most productive source of negated nominals.

Nouns are masculine or feminine in gender. The nouns that are derived from participles are inflected for gender (masculine or feminine). All nouns are inflected for number: singular, plural, and dual (by adding the suffix *-eːn*). The plural takes many forms, some of which follow morphological patterns (templates) dictated by the derivational source of the noun. Many plurals, however, are so inconsistent that they must be learned on a per/word basis. Noun pluralization is accomplished by means of suffixation (*-iːn*, *-e/-a*, and *-aːt*) and/or a variety of word-internal alterations. The basic layered structure of the noun *kəlme* ('word') is illustrated in Figure 6-1 below. Number is assigned to $core_N$. The noun *kəlm-e* bears the common feminine singular marking *-e* and in this plural form the most common plural marking *aːt* (along with minor internal word changes). A noun or adjective is otherwise indefinite unless marked definite by the addition of the proclitic '*ʾl*' which is assigned to the NP.

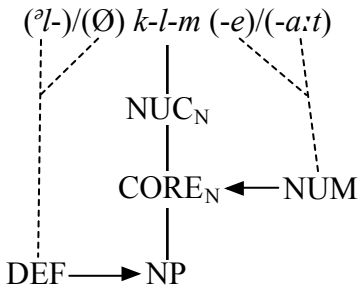

Figure 6-1. *The layered structure of the word: noun*

6.1.2 Adjectives. Syrian Arabic adjectives are derived from verbs, nouns, and prepositions. Participles, the most common type of adjective, are derived from verb forms according to broadly predictable morphological patterns and have both active and passive constructions. Cowell (1964: 262) states that the adjectival participle depicts a 'consequent state' described by 'the kind of event, process, or activity designated by the underlying verb'. The Syrian adjectival active participle is regularly employed like a verb with tense and argument-bearing functions. It is worth noting that all participles are specifically identified as nominals, or **noun** with the pattern *faːʕel* (***ʔəsˤm*** *faːʕel*), in Arabic. The border between nouns and adjectives in SA is equally unclear at times. Adjectives generally agree with the nouns/ pronouns they are describing in gender, number, and definiteness. Adjectives have one plural form for both genders and dual nouns.

6.1.3 Personal pronouns and adverbs. Pronouns exist in independent and bound (suffixal) forms. Independent pronouns function as the PSA of a non-verbal predicate or as an appositional RP that is assigned to the clause in a verbal predicate. Suffixed pronominals function as the second argument of verbs and as an annexed term in a construct relationship with nouns, prepositions, or other sentence elements. The oft-ignored border between verbs and nominals is also reflected in SA adverbs. Adverbials are a functional category made up of nouns and noun phrases, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and verbal clauses. They come from the four corners of SA morphology to perform a single syntactic role.

6.2 Lexical negation in Syrian Arabic

As stated above, SA utilizes lexically negative particles, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions to encode negation on nominals. SA additionally employs a large number of words, both verbs and nominals, that in themselves have lexically negative meanings. Example (150) lists but a few lexically negative SA nouns that are morphologically negated in English (arranged in English alphabetical order to highlight the negative prefixes).

(150) Lexically negative nouns

ʃuzuːz	NM	'abnormality'
χilaːf	NM	'disagreement'
fətne	NF	'discord'
ʕaːr	NM	'disgrace'
kərˤh	NM	'dislike'

ʔəstiħaːle	NF	‘impossibility’
naṣṣaːb	NM	‘impostor’
daʒʒaːl	NM	‘impostor’
ʕawanṭaʒi	NM	‘impostor’
ṭeːʃ	NM	‘imprudence’
waʔäaːħa	NF	‘impudence’
ʔəχtilaːl	NM	‘inconsistency’
ʁalabe	NF	‘inconvenience’
taraddod	NM	‘indecision’
nakira	NF	‘indefinite’
taχme	NF	‘indigestion’
ʁaʃmane	NF	‘inexperience’
kaːfer	NM	‘infidel’
ʔälaʔ	NM	‘insomnia’
ʔihaːne	NF	‘insult’
ʔənqiṭaːʕ	NM	‘interruption’
ʔəzʕaːʒ	NM	‘interruption’
ʔəftiqaːr	NM	‘lack’
ṭərʿħ	NM	‘miscarriage’
mṣiːbe	NF	‘misfortune’
riːbe	NF	‘misgivings’
ʁalaṭ	NM	‘mistake’
maṣχara	NF	‘nonsense’
baṭaːle	NF	‘unemployment’

Lexically negative nouns and adjectives can exhibit scalar qualities which range from positive to extremely negative, as is seen in (151) below. It is interesting to note that *mamnuːʕ* (‘prohibited’) is far more common than *ʁeːr qaːnuːni* (‘illegal’) due to the personal, as opposed to legal, nature of authority in Arabic culture.

(151) *SA scale of legality (mixed ritual and legal)*
ħelaːl - masmuːħ - makruːh - mamnuːʕ - ħaraːm
‘lawful’ - ‘permissible’ - ‘disliked’ - ‘prohibited’ - ‘taboo’

6.3 Analytical negation with negative particles

6.3.1 Analytical negation with ***muː***. The negative particle *muː*, as was seen above, is the primary negative operator for non-verbal predicates, thereby showing its affinity to nominals. The particle is so closely associated with non-verbal copular predicates that Ferguson and Ani (1961: 22) translate *muː* ‘it is not’. The short denial response to a Who? question, *muː ʔana* (‘Not me!’), may simply negate ‘me’ or it may be an ‘incomplete predication’ (Cowell, 1964:

386). Parenthetical statements may illustrate *muː* taking narrow scope over a noun with a non-predicate sense, as can be seen with *muː ʾl-ʾħmaːṛ* (‘not the donkey’) in example (152).

(152) *kariːm rəkeb ʾl-ʾħṣaːn,* ***muː*** *ʾl-ʾħmaːṛ*
Karim:N ride:V.PST.3SG.M DET-horse:N NEG DET:donkey:N
‘Karim rode the horse, not the donkey.’

The form of narrow scope constituent negation illustrated above is marked on the $core_N$ of the LSW (see Figure 6-2 below).

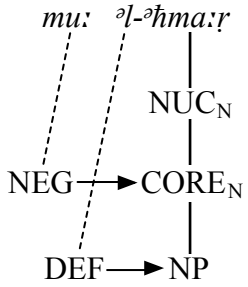

Figure 6-2. *Core$_N$ constituent negation with* ***muː***

There are occasions when *muː* is syntactically isolated with adjectives in a way that it only takes scope over the nouns or adjectives following it (see example 105 above). A selection of adjectives that are negated by *muː* in this way is listed in (153). The format used in this and subsequent lists is adapted from Nolan (in press: 14-17).

(153) ***muː***:NEG ADJ ‘not ADJ’ ➔ /il-/im-/in-/ir-/un- ADJ

muː maṇtiʔ̈i	ADJ	‘illogical’
muː naːḍeʒ	ADJ	‘immature’
muː mətħajjez	ADJ	‘impartial’
muː məmken	ADJ	‘impossible’
muː məħtámal	ADJ	‘improbable’
muː taːm	ADJ	‘incomplete’
muː kaːmel	ADJ	‘incomplete’
muː mnaːseb	ADJ	‘inconvenient’
muː maẓbuːṭ	ADJ	‘incorrect’
muː mħaddad	ADJ	‘indefinite’
muː mʕajjan	ADJ	‘indefinite’
muː mbaːli	ADJ	‘indifferent’
muː məhtamm	ADJ	‘indifferent’
muː samuːħ	ADJ	‘intolerant’
muː mbajjen	ADJ	‘invisible’

muː maʕ̈uːl	ADJ	‘irrational’
muː məntáẓam	ADJ	‘irregular’
muː məthazzeb	ADJ	‘unbiased’
muː məthajjez	ADJ	‘unbiased’
muː mʔakkad	ADJ	‘uncertain’
muː mhaʔ̈aʔ̈	ADJ	‘uncertain’
muː mərjeħ	ADJ	‘uncomfortable’
muː waʕjaːn	ADJ	‘unconscious’
muː mʔ̈arrar	ADJ	‘undecided’
muː mətsaːwi	ADJ	‘uneven’
muː məstə́wi	ADJ	‘uneven’
muː mənṭáẓaṛ	ADJ	‘unexpected’
muː mwaffaʔ̈	ADJ	‘unfortunate’
muː maḅṣuːṭ	ADJ	‘unhappy’
muː mwaffaʔ̈	ADJ	‘unhappy’
muː ṣəħħi	ADJ	‘unhealthy’
muː mhəmm	ADJ	‘unimportant’
muː məħtámal	ADJ	‘unlikely’
muː ḍaruːri	ADJ	‘unnecessary’
muː laːzim	ADJ	‘unnecessary’
muː maʔluːf	ADJ	‘unusual’
muː ħakiːm	ADJ	‘unwise’

6.3.2 Analytical negation with ***ʁeːr***. The negative particle *ʁeːr* differs from the other SA negative particles because it bears a slight ‘other than, different from, unlike’ nuance. As example (154) demonstrates, *ʁeːr* functionally negates adjectives in much the same way as *muː*.

(154) *ʁeːr*:NEG ADJ ‘not ADJ’ ➔ un-/il-/im-/in-/ir- ADJ

ʁeːr ʃarʕi	ADJ	‘illegal’
ʁeːr qaːnuːni	ADJ	‘illegal’
ʁeːr ʃarʕi	ADJ	‘illegitimate’
ʁeːr məthajjez	ADJ	‘impartial’
ʁeːr ʃaχṣi	ADJ	‘impersonal’
ʁeːr ʾmbaːʃar	ADJ	‘indirect’
ʁeːr mətsaːmeħ	ADJ	‘intolerant’
ʁeːr məntáẓam	ADJ	‘irregular’
ʁeːr maʔluːfe	ADJ	‘uncommon’
ʁeːr niẓaːmi	ADJ	‘unofficial’
ʁeːr ʔəʕtijaːdi	ADJ	‘unusual’

6.4 Analytical negation with negative nouns and adjectives

The Arabic syntactic notion of noun construct state, or 'annexion' as Cowell (1964: 455) labels it, is more fully developed in the next chapter. Hoyt (2006a: 5) explains it as 'two nominal expressions grouped together as a constituent'. The construct state links two or more nouns together so tightly that they share one definiteness operator and are sometimes best translated as a single hyphenated constituent. The construct state is therefore ideally suited for encoding 'non-' or 'un-' on nouns. Select negative marking indefinite adjectives, like *ʕadiːm* and *ʔaliːl* below, are used in construct state with definite nouns, and in SA, indefinite nouns. This lexically negative adjective + verbal noun construction produces a broad range of negative adjectives.

6.4.1 Analytical negation with ***ʕadam/ʕadiːm***. The lexically negative noun *ʕadam,* a privative*,* states the 'absence of' or 'lack of' the verbal noun that is in construct state with it. *ʕadam* takes scope over the immediately following noun and its definiteness operator. The *ʕadam* negative construction is exhibited in examples (155)-(157).

(155) ***maː*** *fiː-ni* *ʔəfham* ***ʕadam*** *mbaːlaːt-o.*
NEG there.is:EXPLETIVE-1SG understand:V.IPFV+1SG NEG indifference:N-3SG.M
'I can't understand his indifference.' (Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 124)

(156) *ʔallaʕú-u* *la-**ʕadam*** *kafaːʔt-o* *w-ʔəhmaːl-o.*
fire:V.PST+3PL-3SG.M for:PREP-NEG competence:N-3SG.M CONJ-neglect:N-3SG.M
'They fired him for his incompetence and neglect.' (Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 123)

(157) *ʕadam*:N N 'absence of N' ➔ dis-/im-/in-/ir-/mis-/non-/ N /-less

ʕadam ʔəntibaːh	NM	'carelessness'
ʕadam ᵊmwaːfaʔa	NF	'disagreement'
ʕadam ʔəktiraːs	NM	'disregard'
ʕadam siqa	NF	'distrust'
ʕadam taħajjoz	NM	'impartiality'
ʕadam ṣabᵊr	NM	'impatience'
ʕadam ʔəmkaːnijja	NF	'impossibility'
ʕadam tabaṣṣər	NM	'imprudence'
ʕadam kafaːʔa	NF	'incompetence'
ʕadam mbaːla	NF	'indifference'
ʕadam χəbra	NF	'inexperience'

ʕadam ʔahammijja	NF	'insignificance'
ʕadam ʔəntiẓaːm	NM	'irregularity'
ʕadam niẓaːm	NM	'irregularity'
ʕadam wʒuːd	NM	'non-existence'
ʕadam tawaffor	NM	'unavailability'

Construct state negation encoded by a lexically negative noun is another form of narrow-scope negation that is marked on the $core_N$ of the LSW. Figure 6-3 illustrates the LSW of *ʕadam wʒuːd* ('non-existence').

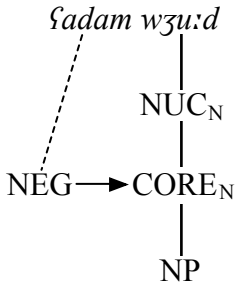

Figure 6-3. *Core$_N$ constituent negation with* ***ʕadam***

The adjective *ʕadiːm* which is derived from *ʕadam* with the same negative meaning, when compounded with a noun, creates a negative adjective, as in example (158).

(158) *huwwe ʃaχᵊṣ* ***ʕadiːm*** *ᵊl-masʔuːlijje.*
3SG.M person:N NEG:COMPOUND.ADJ DET-responsibility:N
'He's an irresponsible person.' (Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 127)

6.4.2 Analytical negation with ***ʔəlle/ʔaliːl****.* The lexical noun *ʔəlle* and its derived adjectival form *ʔaliːl* encode negation on verbal nouns in the same way as *ʕadam* and its related adjective. They express negation with a lexical sense of 'scarcity of', 'lack of', 'small number or amount of', etc., as exemplified in (159)-(162).

(159) ***ʔəllet*** *ʔadab-o* ***maː****-l-ha* *ʕəzər*
NEG manners:N-3SG.M NEG-to:PREP-3SG.F excuse:N
'His rudeness was inexcusable.' (Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 197)

(160) *ʔənte walad* ***ʔaliːl*** *ʔadab*
2SG.M young man:N NEG manners:N
'You are a rude young man!' (Radwaan and Sharabtaji, 2011: 24:50)

(161) *ʔəllet*:N N ‘lack of N’ ➔ in-/ N /-ness

ʔəllet əl-χəbra	NF	‘inexperience’
ʔəllet əl-ʔadab	NM	‘rudeness/impoliteness’
ʔəllet ən-noːm	NM	‘sleeplessness’

(162) *ʔaliːl*:ADJ N ‘lack of N’ ➔ im-/ N /-less

ʔaliːl ʔadab	NM	‘rude/impolite’
ʔaliːl ħaja	NM	‘shameless’
ʔaliːl χaʒal	NM	‘shameless’

6.4.3 Analytical negation with ***nəkraːn/naːker***. This negative noun and adjective pair with the meaning of ‘disavowal’, ‘denial’ are used in a set phrase with the adjective *ʒamiːl* (‘beauty’) to produce the adjective ‘ungrateful’, as is seen in (163).

(163) a. *nəkraːn*:N ADJ ‘disavowal of ADJ’ ➔ un- ADJ

nəkraːn ʒamiːl	ADJ	‘ungrateful’

b. *naːker*:ADJ ADJ ‘disavowing of ADJ’ ➔ un- ADJ

naːkerˀʒ-ʒamiːl	ADJ	‘ungrateful’

6.4.4. Analytical negation with the noun ***suːʔ***. The lexically negative noun *suːʔ* expresses negation in construct state with the following verbal noun just as *ʕadam* does, but does so with the nuance of ‘bad’, ‘evil’, ‘ill’, etc. Four examples can be seen in (164) below.

(164) *suːʔ*:N N ‘absence of N’ ➔ in-/mis-/ N

suːʔ haḍˀm	NM	‘indigestion’
suːʔ ħaẓẓ	NM	‘misfortune’
suːʔ tafaːhom	NM	‘misunderstanding’ (mutual)
suːʔ fəhˀm	NM	‘misunderstanding’

6.5 Analytical negation with negative prepositions

Syrian Arabic employs two negative prepositions, *bala* and *biduːn*, both with the meaning ‘without’, to encode negation on verbal nouns. The next chapter will discuss the resulting negative prepositional phrases. The preposition and the noun are in a construct state as well, so they frequently produce constituent-like compounds that function as adjectives and adverbs. Negation takes scope over the entire construct.

6.5.1 Analytical negation with the preposition ***bala***. The negative preposition *bala* (‘without’) is a composite of the prepositional prefix *b-* (‘with, by’) and the negative particle *laː*. It

encodes negation on its object verbal noun and produces numerous adjectives along with an occasional adverb. A list of adjectives is given in (165).

(165) *bala*:PREP N 'without N' ➔ un-/im-/in-/ir-/ N -less

bala ʔasaːs	NM	'groundless'
bala maʔwa	NM	'homeless'
bala ṣabˤr	NM	'impatient'
bala zoːʔ̈	NM	'impolite'
bala ʕaʔ̈əl	NM	'insane'
bala ħəss	NM	'insensitive'
bala ʔadab	NM	'insolent'
bala ʕaʔ̈əl	NM	'irrational'
bala ħajaːt	NM	'lifeless'
bala ħarake	NF	'motionless'
bala ḍaruːra	NF	'needless'
bala lzuːm	NM	'needless'
bala muːʒeb	NM	'needless'
bala ʃafaʔ̈a	NF	'ruthless'
bala sabale	NF	'seamless'
bala bəzˤr	NM	'seedless'
bala maʕna	NM	'senseless'
bala ħaja	NF	'shameless'
bala χaʒal	NM	'shameless'
bala ṭaʕme	NF	'tasteless'
bala waʕi	NM	'unconscious'
bala ʕamal	NM	'unemployed'
bala ʔ̈iːme	NF	'worthless'

6.5.2 Analytical negation with the preposition ***biduːn***. The preposition *biduːn* is a combination of the prefixal preposition *b-* ('with, by') and the negative preposition *duːn* ('without', 'with the exclusion of', and 'excluding'). It is fascinating that this double preposition predominantly produces adverbs, whereas the single preposition-based *bala* produces adjectives. It is as if (**PREP**+NEG) + verbal noun = adjective and (**PREP**+NEG:**PREP**) + verbal noun = adverb. Example (166) provides a list of *biduːn* + verbal noun adverbs.

(166) *biduːn*:PREP N 'without N' ➔ ADV -ly

biduːn ʔənqiṭaːʕ	NM	'ceaselessly'
biduːn ʃakk	NM	'doubtlessly'
biduːn tarawwi	NM	'impulsively'

biduːn raħme	NF	'mercilessly'
biduːn taṣannaʕ	NM	'naturally'
biduːn sabab	NM	'randomly'
biduːn raħme	NF	'ruthlessly'
biduːn ṣoːṭ	NM	'soundlessly' ('quietly')
biduːn tafkiːr	NM	'thoughtlessly'
biduːn reːb	NM	'undoubtedly'
biduːn ʃakk	NM	'undoubtedly'
biduːn ʔənzaːr	NM	'unexpectedly'
biduːn taħaffoẓ	NM	'unreservedly'
biduːn naʒaːħ	NM	'unsuccessfully'
biduːn faːjde	NF	'uselessly'

6.6 Comparison with other varieties of Arabic

The use of *muː* (NEG) and *maː* (NEG) aligns negation in SA with Iraq and the Gulf, as was highlighted in the last chapter. There is little other in the SA strategy to encode negation on nominals that distinguishes it from all of the other varieties of Arabic, including MSA. There is minor variety in negative prepositions, like the Egyptian Arabic use of *min duːn* ('without'; Badawi and Hinds, 1986: 314) as an equivalent to *biduːn*, but the differences are unremarkable. The lexically negative elements analyzed in this chapter are used to encode negation on nominals in Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Baghdad, Riyadh, and in writing (MSA).

6.7 Chapter Summary

Many nominals in SA are lexically negative without the need of morphological or syntactic augmentation. SA employs negative particles, select lexically negative nouns and adjectives, and negative prepositions to analytically encode negation on nominals at the $core_N$ level. Negative particles and lexically negative nouns do not alter the word-type of the nouns and adjectives they negate. Negative prepositions convert the verbal nouns they take as objects into adjectives and adverbs. Negative adjectives compounded with verbal nouns create negative compound adjectives. The next chapter will discuss the encoding of negation on the layered structure of the noun phrase.

7. Syrian Arabic negation and the layered structure of the noun phrase (LSNP)

Syrian Arabic analytically expresses negative polarity on the noun phrase through the use of lexically negative nouns and negative prepositions. Negative nouns encode a narrow single-word scope of negation on the $core_N$ of the layered structure of the noun phrase (LSNP). Negative prepositions can take scope over the complete noun phrase and are accordingly marked on the NP level of the LSNP operator projection. Arabic has a uniquely Semitic noun phrase construction that is utilized for the encoding of negation on the LSNP.

Negative element	**Scope of NEG in the LSNP**
Negative nouns	
ʕadam (NEG)	Single-word narrow scope marked on the $core_N$
suːʔ (NEG)	Single-word narrow scope marked on the $core_N$
Negative prepositions	
bala (‘without’)	Complete phrase scope marked on the NP
biduːn (‘without’)	Complete phrase scope marked on the NP

Table 7-1. *Encoding of negation on the SA LSNP* (adapted from Nolan, in press: 13)

7.1 Brief introduction to Syrian Arabic noun phrases

Syrian Arabic shares with all other varieties of Arabic productive means for constructing units of words that function as constituents. Simplex noun phrases are indefinite when unmarked and definite when marked with the definiteness operator *ʾl-*. Modifying adjectives follow the head noun and generally agree with it in gender, number, and definiteness. Simple attributive phrases, indefinite and definite, are illustrated in example (167).

(167) a. *ktaːb* *ʾkbiːr*
book:N.INDF.SG.M big:ADJ.INDF.SG.M
‘a big book’

b. *l-ʾktaːb* *l-ʾkbiːr*
DET-book:N.SG.M DET-big:ADJ.SG.M
‘the big book’

SA employs what Hoyt (2006a: 5) calls Arabic’s ‘syntactic construction *par excellence*’. Though writing about MSA, Hoyt’s description of the construct state noun phrase below is largely applicable to SA.

> A construct state consists of two nominal expressions grouped together as a constituent. The first expression, referred to here as the *construct head*, but also known as the possessor, the *annexee*, or in Arabic the **muḍāf** 'that which is added, annexed', is a morphologically 'bare' noun, lacking any definiteness marking…. The second expression, here called the *inner NP* and elsewhere the *possessee*, the *annexor*, or Arabic **muḍāf ḍ'ilay-hi** (*sic*), 'that which is added to, annexed to', is a full noun phrase (which can itself be a construct state) immediately following the construct head and marked in the genitive case.

The construct head is normally a noun or a preposition. All prepositional phrases in Arabic are construct state NPs. The preposition functions as the head element. A limited number of adjectives also function as heads of construct state NPs, seen later in example (172) below. Definiteness (or indefiniteness) is only marked on the final nominal in the construct. Pronominal clitics are added at the end of the phrase. They are themselves in construct and mark the NP as definite. It is not unusual for construct state NPs to be comprised of three, four, or five nominals in a row. Any (non-head) adjectives modifying nominals in the phrase are placed at the end of the construct. A five element construct state NP is illustrated in (168).

(168) a. *baːb beːt ʾbən ʕamm -ak*
b. *baːb ← beːt ← ʾbən ← ʕamm ← -ak*
c. *door of house of son of uncle of you*
d. 'the door of your paternal uncle's son's house'

In example (168), *baːb* ('door') is the head noun and is indefinite in form. In MSA, the head noun is marked with the case appropriate to its function in the sentence, either nominative, accusative, or genitive. All subsequent nouns in the NP are marked as genitives, signifying their subordination to the preceding noun. There is no case marking in SA, but the case is understood to exist and is identifiable from the structure of the clause. The arrows in (168b) indicate that the following noun is in some way qualifying the noun that precedes it. By inserting 'of' as in (168c), it is possible to roughly render what are in actuality numerous types of qualification. In many instances, a hyphen is more appropriate than the preposition 'of'. The logic is clear. The door is of (the) house is of (the) son is of (the) paternal uncle is of 2SG.M, the last of which makes it all definite.

While a proper analysis of construct state NPs is not possible in this study on negation, the above is necessary to explain the scope of negation over such a complex syntactic unit. Hoyt

states above that each nominal in the NP is itself 'a full noun phrase'. Hoyt (2006a: 8) cites a long list of distinguished scholars who have written on the parallel between this unique NP and 'the structure of the clause'. A potential RRG rendering of the construct state NP in Arabic, as illustrated in Figure 7-1 below, maintains the construct as a single NP with multiple cascading nuclear level subordinating NPs. This inner-NP syntactic relationship is similar to the structure of subordinating nexus relations in RRG, only at a nuclear level. The definiteness operator takes reverse scope over the whole NP. The final pronoun is technically a fourth additional subordinated element.

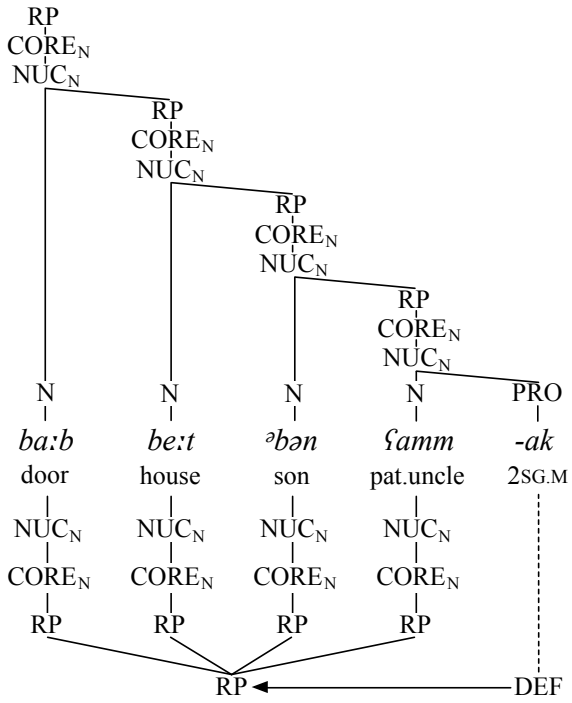

Figure: 7-1. *Model of a multi-core construct state noun phrase (RP)*

The above model is only a proposal, but it will be used throughout the rest of this chapter in the context of the scope of negation over the LSNP.

7.2 The scope of negation in noun phrases headed by lexically negative nouns

Lexically negative nouns (and select adjectives) function syntactically as the head of a construct state NP and analytically negate the nouns immediately following them. Nouns like *ʕadam* (NEG, 'absence of') and *suːʔ* (NEG, 'bad') are used in construct state NPs to encode negation on the subsequent noun. They in essence form a single compound negative noun with narrow single-term scope. Example (169) demonstrates the use of *ʕadam* as the first

nominal element of a construct state core argument-marking PP. The same noun phrase without the preposition could be used as an independent argument.

(169) *hallaʔ̈ badeːt ʔəʃʕor*
now:ADV begin:V.PST+1SG perceive:V.IPFV+1SG
b-ʕadam *ʔəmkaːnijjet χəṭṭət-ak*
PREP.ARG.MKR-NEG possibility:N plan:N-2SG.M
'I'm beginning to realize the impossibility of your plan.'
(Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 122)

The tight integration between *ʕadam* (NEG) and *ʔəmkaːnijjet* ('possibility') restrict the scope of negation within the NP to their syntactic union. This preposition-marked noun phrase is placed within the broader LSC of this sentence in Figure 7-2.

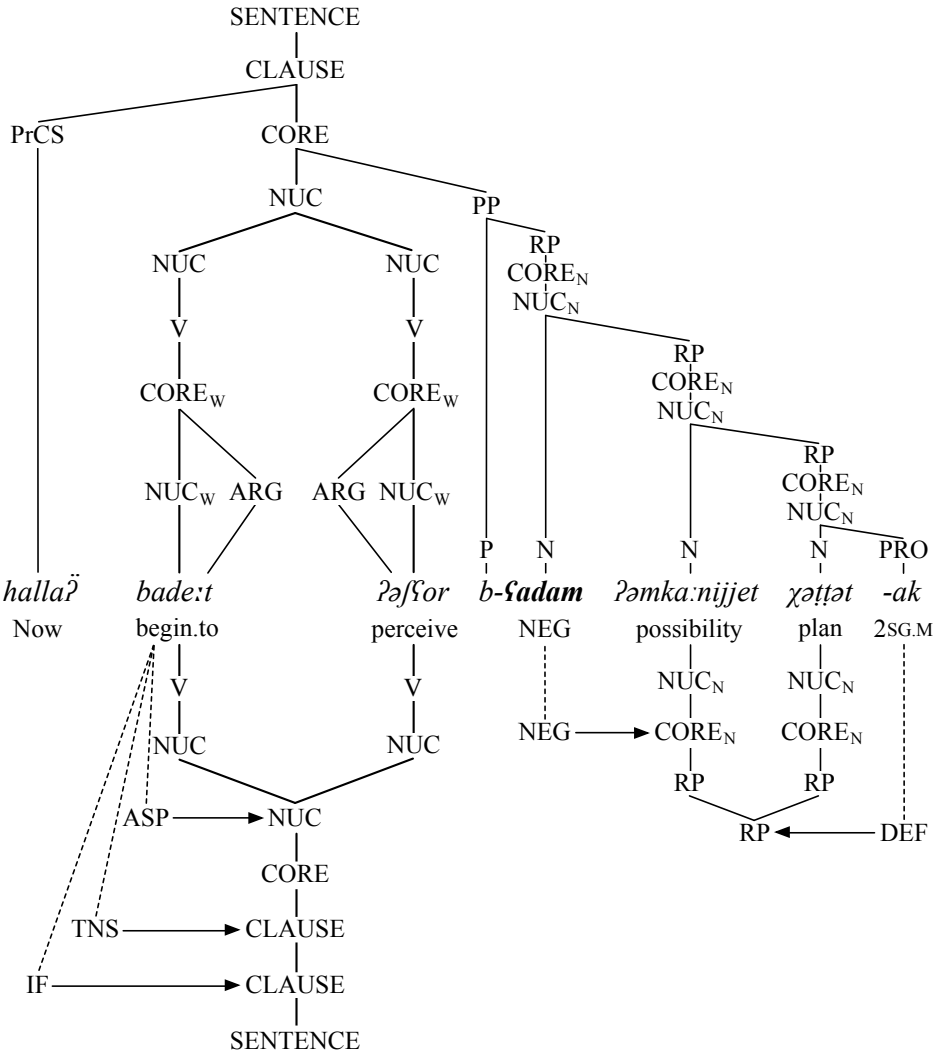

Figure 7-2. *LSC of cosubordinate verbs and subordinate construct noun phrase*

It is clear from Figure 7-2 that *ʕadam* is assigned to the core$_N$ of *ʔəmkaːnijje(t)* resulting in the combined word-scope meaning of 'im-possibility'. Figure 7-2 also graphically illustrates the structural similarity between the nuclear cosubordinate juncture clausal relationship of *badeːt ʔəʃʕor* ('begun to understand') and the RP subordinating noun construct state phrase *ʕadam-ʔəmkaːnijjet χəṭṭət-ak* ('impossibility of your plan'). The negativing noun *ʕadam* always occurs as the first nominal element of a noun phrase. The same is true of *suːʔ* (NEG, 'bad') in (170).

(170) *fəʃel ˀl-muʔtamar b-sabab*
fail:V+3SG.M DET-conference:N by:PREP-reason:N
suːʔ *tafaːhom ʔasaːsi beːn ˀṭ-ṭarafeːn.*
NEG understanding:N basic:ADJ between:PREP DET-parties:N.DU
'The conference failed due to a basic **mis**understanding between the two parties.'
(Stowasser and Ani, 1964: 151)

The lexically negative noun *suːʔ* takes scope over the verbal noun *tafaːhom* ('understanding') and they together are modified as a single compound by the adjective *ʔasaːsi* ('basic'). Lexically negative nouns take narrow single-word scope within a noun phrase and do not take scope over a complete NP.

7.3 The scope of negation in noun phrases headed by negative prepositions

The prepositions *biduːn* ('without') and *bala* ('without') were shown in chapter six to produce numerous adjectives when in construct state with verbal nouns. They can both additionally take scope over complete noun phrases. Example (171) shows *biduːn* taking a wider complete noun phrase scope.

(171) *ʔabu seːf kaːn b-ˀl-χaliːʒ* ***biduːn*** *falazzet kəbd-o*
father:N Seif:N be:AUX.PST in:PREP-DET-Gulf:N without:PREP pleasure:N liver:N-3SG.M
'Abu Seif was in the Gulf without the joy of his heart.' (elicited statement)

It is worth remembering that all prepositional phrases in SA are also construct states with the preposition assuming the role of head noun. The liver is often seen as the seat of emotion in Arabic. The speaker was metaphorically referring to Abu Seif's children - 'the pleasure of his liver'. The layered structure of this negated noun phrase is seen in example Figure 7-3. The NEG is assigned to the NP level.

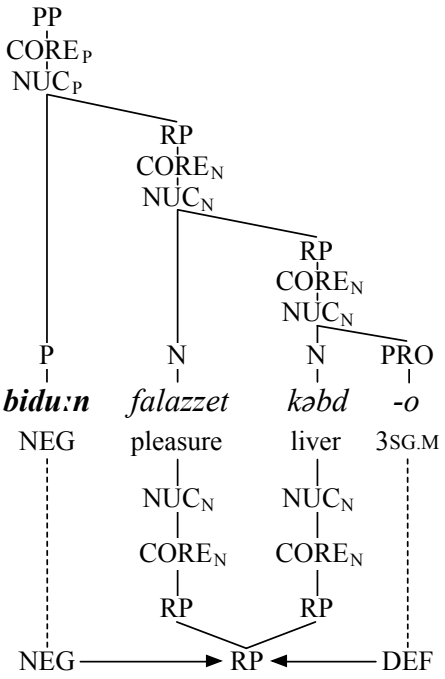

Figure 7-3. *Full phrase negation on the LSNP*

The preposition *bala* is used to mark negation on the entire noun phrase as well. Example (172) additionally illustrates the inclusion of lead adjectives in a construct state noun phrase.

(172) ***bala*** *ʔakbar* *w-ʔaħsan* *ˤl-mawa:red*
NEG biggest:ADJ CONJ-best:ADJ DET-resource:N.PL
'without the biggest and best resources' (elicited statement)

The negative twin-preposition *mən du:n* (with without) is identical in meaning to *bidu:n* above, and though less common, encodes negation on construct state noun phrases as well.

(173) *ʔaḷḷa waki:l-kon, weʔeʕ* ***mən*** ***du:n*** *ʔaṣḍ-i*
God:N witness:N-2PL fall:V.PFV+3SG.M with:PREP without:PREP meaning:N-1SG
'God is your witness, it fell without my meaning (it).'(Awsu and Najeeb, 2005c: 25:30)

7.4 Comparison with other varieties of Arabic

The Syrian Arabic syntactic strategies for analytically encoding negation on noun phrases are shared in common by all varieties of Arabic, including MSA. They all utilize the narrow single-word scope of negation marked by lexically negative nouns and the frequent complete phrase scope that negative prepositions take. The nouns and prepositions themselves are largely shared as well, with minor regional variety.

7.6 Chapter Summary

Negation is encoded on the layered structure of the Syrian Arabic noun phrase by analytic means. Lexically negative nouns, like *ʕadam* (NEG, 'absence of') and *suːʔ* (NEG, 'bad'), are used to mark negation on the nuc_N of the nouns with which they compound in the construct state. The prepositions *biduːn* ('without') and *bala* ('without') frequently mark negation on the nuc_N level of the head noun and the negation takes scope over the complete noun phrase. This chapter has additionally suggested a potential RRG accounting for the layered structure of the Arabic construct state noun phrase.

8. Discussion

The structure of this study has involved continuous discussion throughout the four chapters devoted to the data of negation in Syrian Arabic. It is not the aim of this brief chapter to review these discussions. The aim is rather to call attention to a few significant findings, to touch on the importance of RRG's functional approach to the analysis of Arabic, and to list the needs for further study that have been identified throughout this paper.

8.1 Select significant findings

The significance of this paper's findings ranges in scope from having a narrow-city focus to potentially fine-tuning the understanding of the way negation is encoded on all varieties of spoken Arabic. The mixed use of the 'negative copulas' *maːl*+PRO and *maːn*+PRO in Damascus is a significant narrow-city focussed finding. Cowell (1964: 388) states that *maːl* +PRO is 'typically Damascene' and that *maːn*+PRO is used elsewhere, a division that is still repeated in scholarly literature. Our data, however, show that both forms are frequently used in Damascus-oriented television programming. Personal interaction with residents of Damascus indicates this as well. When asked about the two alternatives, they generally indicate that *maːl*+PRO is the 'proper' or prestige form and that *maːn*+PRO is the term used by 'the common people'. As is often the case in such findings, this observation raises more questions than it answers. Has there been a change? Has it always been there, but it was outside the data sources of the linguists who studied Syrian Arabic in the past? If there has been a change, then what accounts for the current variation? Has the influx of Syrians from outside of Damascus effected it or some other influence (e.g. Lebanese television programming)?

Another unexpected finding was the use of the negative quantifier *ʔabadan* ('never') in example (137) to encode negation on a clause. Hoyt (2010: 163), among others, believes that negative quantifiers like *ʔabadan* cannot express negation in a clause without being licensed by a 'negation morpheme'. Example (137) says otherwise. Is this example a spoken mistake, or does it indicate a possible dialect variation or some other process?

This study provides evidence that the negative operator *maː* normally encodes negation on the clause of the LSC. It should therefore be classified as marking clausal negation, not

sentential or verbal negation. It also argues for understanding the negative operator *muː* to take scope over constituents in all but predictably marked constructions. It appears that negative particles are chosen in SA based on the speaker's intended scope, not the type of predicate being marked with negative polarity. If accurate, this is a significant finding and one that may well apply to all spoken varieties of Arabic.

8.2 The importance of RRG's functional approach to the analysis of negation in Arabic

The syntactic and semantic principles of Role and Reference Grammar supply an evaluative framework in which the scope of negation is accurately assessed. RRG recognizes negative morphemes and particles as operators that encode negative polarity on words, noun phrases, and clauses. In the case of clauses, the scope of these negative operators are represented on the operator projection of the LSC and assigned to either the predicate nucleus, core (predicate + arguments), clause (core + periphery), or sentence. The upper constituent projection of the LSC enhances the identification of the sentential elements that fall within the scope of the negative operator. This structure, in two-way conjunction with the information gained from logical structure, provides the means to accurately determine the scope of negation in Syrian Arabic.

The LSC of Syrian Arabic substantiates the clausal scope of the negative particle *maː*. It is consistently used with clausal predicates that take core arguments and a periphery. Verbs most naturally fit this description, but SA is interestingly flexible enough to assign arguments and other clausal elements to modified nouns and prepositions. It is often argued that *maː* is used with verbs and these verb-like hybrids. It is more likely, however, that these clause-building predicates are used with *maː* because of its ability to encode negative polarity over multiple constituents.

RRG provides a strong case for understanding this wide-scope negation as clausal and not sentential. Speaker intuition regularly identifies core arguments and peripheral elements assigned to the core or the clause as being included in the scope of negation. Speakers of SA just as regularly indicate that elements that RRG assigns to the sentence level outside the clause, like those in the left or right detached positions, fall outside the scope of the negative operator. Operators on the LSC, like aspect and tense, are able to extend the scope of

negation over multiple verbs, but not normally over multiple clauses. The few exceptions are the result of the negative operator preceding another operator that itself is able to take scope over two clauses. This RRG account has additionally ascertained that the particle *maː*, when used in subordinated clauses, only takes scope over the subordinated clause. The main clause retains its positive polarity. The systematic regularity with which *maː* takes clausal and not sentential or verbal scope was unexpected prior to the application of the RRG framework to SA. It is understandable why the negative particle *maː* has been generally identified as encoding verbal or sentential negation, but an RRG account provides the analytical tools needed to accurately assess its scope as clausal.

The RRG representation of the clause accurately confirms in this study that the negative particle *muː* generally takes scope over constituents. The negative particle *muː* and the particles similarly employed in other dialects of Arabic have long been understood to mark constituent negation, as can be seen in Benmamoun (2000: 76) writing about Moroccan Arabic and Alqassas (2012: 3) writing about Jordanian Arabic. Brustad's (2000: 282) choice of the term 'predicate negation' for this construction, though understandable, is inaccurate.

It is not possible to list all of the unique ways in which RRG opened doors to understanding negation in Syrian Arabic. The symmetry of SA between positive and negative polarities is nearly total. The systematicity with which SA employs its negativizers is surprisingly easy to assess and classify. It was hoped that the focus structure of RRG would be a useful tool for analyzing negation in SA, but its negative particles so systematically take full scope (clausal or constituent) that the focus structure was unhelpful. This too provided important diagnostic information. Negation touches nearly every aspect and level of language. The application of the RRG framework to understand negation in SA led to peripheral and preliminary findings in related areas of SA syntax and semantics. A few of these will be mentioned in the next section.

8.3 Needs for further research

Cracking open a door to the study of any language by means of a new linguistic paradigm or framework understandably produces a long list of partially-answered or unanswered questions and needs for further study. The following needs for further RRG study of negation

in Syrian Arabic and beyond are only the few that have been identified during the course of this study.

It would be helpful to develop a means to accurately state the narrow-scope negation of single constituents in the RRG logical structure, preferably one that distinguishes between lexical and non-lexical negative elements. This may exist, but this researcher was unable to locate it.

This study was unable to map the use of negation throughout the country of Syria as was originally planned. This is now an even more pressing issue given the real possibility that interesting dialect variations might soon be lost as a result of the war. Along the same lines, a language variation and change study of the use of the 'negative copulas' *maːl*+PRO and *maːn* +PRO in Damascus is needed.

The two-particle paradigm of clausal and constituent negation in SA identified by the LSC and LS of RRG needs to be applied to other spoken dialects of Arabic. It is expected by this researcher that the continuous eastern *maː* particle and the discontinuous western *maː-...-ʃ* affixes both express a clausal scope of negation, not sentential negation. The same continuity is expected for the particles used in each model to encode narrow-scope constituent negation. A similar study of MSA would be instructive.

Moving beyond negation in SA, there is much that needs to be done in SA and Arabic as a whole. A comprehensive syntactic template inventory for the written and spoken varieties of Arabic needs to be developed. Its value for researchers and students alike cannot be overestimated. A similar morphosyntactic template inventory for the derived forms of the Arabic verb would likely enhance the current understanding of Arabic morphology and syntax. A detailed RRG analysis of Arabic serial verb constructions and Arabic construct noun phrases, with a special emphasis on the semantic ranges of both constructions, could well add interesting insights to these constructions in Arabic and to similar constructions in other languages.

9. Conclusion

The realization of negation in the Syrian Arabic clause, noun phrase, and word is indeed varied and systematic, as this study has shown. Syrian Arabic has few means to morphologically encode negative polarity on words, but evidences a large range of lexically negative verbs, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions in which negation is an inherent part of the semantics of the word. Syrian Arabic systematically distinguishes between clausal and constituent negation through the application of distinct negative particles. The encoding of negation on clauses and noun phrases is largely analytic and symmetric. SA additionally demonstrates interesting means for expressing negative polarity on imperatival clauses and on other emphatically or pragmatically marked constructions.

Syrian Arabic shares its binary wide-scope/narrow-scope strategy of negation with all other varieties of Arabic. They also all share the ability to emphatically mark elements by means of alternative negative particles or by using the constituent-marking negative particle with clauses and the clausal particle with constituents. Spoken Arabic evidences three major dialect families. Western Arabic stretches across North Africa. Levantine Arabic includes Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. Eastern Arabic is spoken in Iraq and the Arab Gulf states. Negation in spoken Arabic, however, has only two major linguistic models. Syrian Arabic interestingly parts company with the other dialects of Levantine Arabic and joins the eastern model of negation. The rest of the Levantine dialects join, in varying degrees, the western model.

Role and Reference Grammar provides an incisive analytical framework for the analysis of negation in SA. The constituent and operator projections of the layered structure of the clause (LSC), in combination with the logical structure (LS), accurately measure the scope of the negative operator. This RRG analysis of the negative particle *ma:* accurately assesses it as encoding clausal negation, not verbal or sentential negation as previously thought. The negative operator *mu:* normally marks constituent negation and is assigned to the core of the LSC. It is only used to encode clausal negation in predictably marked constructions.

This study has also shown that an RRG account of negation on the layered structures of the noun and the noun phrase reveals further systematicity. Negative particles and lexically

negative nouns, adjectives, and prepositions are employed to mark nouns (and adjectives) with negative polarity on the $core_N$ of the LSW. They are often equivalent to morphologically negated terms in English. Lexically negative nouns are seen to take a narrow scope over individual nouns in construct noun phrases. The negative operator is assigned to the $core_N$ of the marked nominal. Negative prepositions, on the other hand, are capable of taking a wide scope over complete noun phrases, requiring the negative operator to be assigned to the RP/ NP.

The variety of negation in Syrian Arabic was predicted, but its systematicity exceeded the expectations of this researcher, even after thirty years of speaking multiple dialects of Arabic. The pervasive symmetry of negation in SA and the regularity of the scope taken by the various negative operators are best identified within a functional model of grammar. This study has attempted to apply such a framework to only one aspect of a complex and beautiful language, and it has done so with definitive results. There is so much more to Syrian Arabic and there are so many other varieties of Arabic that still await analysis. It is hoped that this simple study is somehow able to crack open a door to further accounts of Arabic within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar.

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12. Appendices

Appendix 1. A brief word about transliteration

Syrian Arabic is a spoken language that differs significantly from the written forms of Arabic (Classical and Modern Standard). The phonological and morphological differences are so numerous and problematic that the majority of linguists prefer to render SA in transliteration. Transliteration was therefore chosen for this study.

The IPA is used throughout this paper for consonants. Examples cited by other scholars have been converted for the sake of consistency. This study deviates from the IPA in only three ways:

1) Pharyngealized consonants are marked with a sub-letter dot (*ṭ, ṣ, ḍ, ẓ, ḷ*).
2) Doubled consonants are written twice for ease of reading.
3) The consonant ق, pronounced in SA as a voiceless glottal plosive, is marked by the placement of two dots above the IPA voiceless glottal plosive symbol: ʔ̈.

Since SA is a spoken language and the original spoken material cited by scholars is not accessible, it is impossible to standardize the vowels without influencing the examples. It was therefore decided to leave them as they were. The only exception is in their use of doubled vowels to express long vowels, like *aa* and *ee*. These are replaced with the standard IPA long vowel marker 'ː', as in *aː* and *eː*.

Appendix 2. Comparison table of Arabic studies on negation

Author(s)	Model	VPred	NPred	NP	NC	NPI	JC	MSA	NAFR	MAR	ALG	EGY	LEVT	PAL	JOR	LBN	SYR	IRQ	GULF	KWT	SAU	SAN	Other
Al-Horais (2006)	TG		x					x							X								
Al-Momani (2011)	TG	x	x							x													
Al-Shurafa (2006)	TG	x	x					x						x									
Al-Tamari (2001)	TG	x	x					x		x		x			x		x				x		
Albayaty (1996)	TG	x						x				x						x					
Alqassas (2012)	TG	x	x				x	x		x		x	X		X								
Alsarayreh (2012)	TG	x			x	X									x								
Alsharif & Sadler (2009)	LFG	x						x															
Aoun, Benmamoun, Choureiri (2010)	TG	x	x					x		x		x				x	x		x	x			
Benmamoun (1992)	TG	x	x			x		x		x													
Benmamoun (1997)	TG	x				x				x													
Benmamoun (2000)	TG	x	x			x		X		X		X			x	x						x	Sudanese, Maltese
Benmamoun (2006)	TG	x				x				x													
Benmamoun et al. (2014)	TG	x	X							x		x	x						x	x		x	
Brustad (2000)		x	x							x		x					x			x			
Chatar-Moumni (2012)	TG	x	x																				
Fassi Fehri (1993)	TG	x						x															
Holes (2004)		x	x					x	x	x		x	x						x				
Hoyt (2005a)	TG	x			X	x	x			x				x									
Hoyt (2005b)		x								x				x									
Hoyt (2006b)	TG	x	x											x									
Hoyt (2010)	CCG/DRT	x			x		x						X	x	x	x	x						
Hoyt (2014)		x			x									x	x								
Hoyt (n.d.)		x			x	x		x		x		x	x	x			x						
Lucas (2007)		x					x	x	x	x	x	x		x			x						Berber, Tunisian, Maltese, Cypriot, Spanish
Lucas (2009)		x					x																
Lucas (2010)		x										x		X									
Lucas & Lash (2010)		x					x					x											
Mohammad (2014)	TG	x	x											x									
Mughazy (2003)		x										x											
Mughazy (2008)		x	x																				
Oauli and Soltan (2014)	TG	x			X	x				x		x											
Ouhalla (1993)	TG	x						x															
Ouhalla (2002)	TG	x				x		x		X						x		x					
Shlonsky (1997)	TG	x	x					x															
Soltan (2011a)	TG	x								x		x											
Soltan (2011b)	TG	x				x						x											
Soltan (2012)	TG	x				x											x						
Soltan (2014)	TG	x				x						x											
Tucker (2010)	OT/DM	x										x											
Totals	***TG 26***	39	16	***0***	6	12	6	16	2	18	1	18	5	10	7	4	7	2	3	3	1	2	

KEY:

CCG - Combinatory Categorial Grammar
DM - Distributed Morphology
DRT - Discourse Representation Theory
LFG - Lexical Functional Grammar
OT - Optimality Theory
TG - Transformational Grammar

VPred - verbal predicate
NPred - non-verbal predicate
NP - noun phrase
NC - negative concord
NPI - negative polarity item
JC - Jespersen's cycle

MSA - Modern Standard
NAFR - North African
MAR - Moroccan
ALG - Algerian
EGY - Egyptian

LEVT - Levantine
PAL - Palestinian
JOR - Jordanian
LBN - Lebanese
SYR - Syrian

IRQ - Iraqi
GULF - Gulf dialects
KWT - Kuwaiti
SAU - Saudi
SAN - Sana'ani (Yemen)

X - textual example(s), main emphasis
x - textual example(s)

Appendix 3. Syrian Arabic derived verb templates

	Perfective	Imperfective	Most common semantic/syntactic nuances
Template 1	*faʕal*	*jəfʕel*	Base form, varied
Template 2	*faʕʕal*	*jəfaʕʕel*	Causative, intensive, T1 intransitive > T2 transitive
Template 3	*fa:ʔal*	*jəfa:ʕel*	Associative, reciprocal action
Template 4	*ʔafʕal*	*jəfʕel*	Rare: causative, T1 intransitive > T4 transitive
Template 5	*tfaʕʕal*	*jətfaʕʕal*	Reflexive of T2, passive of T2, resultative of T2
Template 6	*tfa:ʔal*	*jətfa:ʕal*	Reflexive/reciprocal of T3, passive of T3
Template 7	*nfaʕal*	*jənfəʕel*	Reflexive of T1, passive of T1, resultative of T1
Template 8	*ftaʕal*	*jəftəʕel*	Varied
Template 9	*fʕall*	*jəfʕall*	Rare: inchoative, taking a color or trait (ADJ)
Template 10	*stafʕal*	*jəstafʕel*	Requestative, estimative, reflexive of T4
Template 11	*faʕfal*	*jəfaʔfel*	Vividness, emphasis, repetitiveness
Template 12	*tfaʕfal*	*jətfaʕfal*	Passive of T11
Template 13	*faʕwal*	*jəfaʕwel*	Intensive, frequentive
Template 14	*tfaʕwal*	*jətfaʕwal*	Passive of T13
Template 15	*foːʕal*	*jəfoːʕel*	Intensive, frequentive
Template 16	*tfoːʕal*	*jətfoːʕal*	Passive of T15
Template 17	*farʕal*	*jəfarʕel*	Intensive, frequentive
Template 18	*tfarʕal*	*jətfarʕal*	Passive of T17
Template 19	*faʕlan*	*jəfaʕlen*	Causative, ascriptive (derived from nouns, adjectives)
Template 20	*tfaʕlan*	*jətfaʕlan*	Passive of T19
Template 21	*ʔafʕal*	*jəʔafʕel*	Inchoative (derived from adjectives)

Adapted from Cowell (1964: 53-117)

Notes:
1) The vowels in Template 1 verbs vary and must be learned individually
2) The prefixing of *t-* to Templates 5, 6, 10, 14, 16, 18, 20 marks a passive/reflexive nuance.

Appendix 4. Syrian Arabic verb inflection

Perfective				
Person	**Gender**	**Number**	**Verb**	**Simple Gloss**
3rd	Masc	SG	*faʕal*	‘he did’
	Fem	SG	*faʕl-et*	‘she did’
		PL	*faʕal-u*	‘they did’
2nd	Masc	SG	*faʕal-t*	‘you did’
	Fem	SG	*faʕal-t-i*	‘you did’
		PL	*faʕal-t-u*	‘you did’
1st		SG	*faʕal-t*	‘I did’
		PL	*faʕal-na*	‘we did’

Imperfective				
Person	**Gender**	**Number**	**Verb**	**Simple Gloss**
3rd	Masc	SG	*jə-fʕel*	‘(that) he do’
	Fem	SG	*tə-fʕel*	‘(that) she do’
		PL	*jə-fʕel-u*	‘(that) they do’
2nd	Masc	SG	*tə-fʕel*	‘(that) you do’
	Fem	SG	*tə-fʕel-i*	‘(that) you do’
		PL	*tə-fʕel-u*	‘(that) you do’
1st		SG	*ʔə-fʕel*	‘(that) I do’
		PL	*nə-fʕel*	‘(that) we do’

Imperative			
Gender	**Number**	**Verb**	**Simple Gloss**
Masc	SG	*feʕl*	‘do!’
Fem	SG	*feʕl-i*	‘do!’
	PL	*feʕl-u*	‘do!’