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The Syntax of Negation in Iraqi Arabic

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THE SYNTAX OF NEGATION IN IRAQI ARABIC

by

Saja Albuarabi

A Dissertation Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in Linguistics

at

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May 2021

ABSTRACT

THE SYNTAX OF NEGATION IN IRAQI ARABIC

by

Saja Albuarabi

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2021
Under the Supervision of Professor Hamid Ouali

This dissertation is a study of negation in Iraqi Arabic. It investigates the syntactic properties of negation in this dialect by presenting some previously unnoticed empirical facts about this phenomenon and by analyzing its theoretical significance for Arabic syntax in particular and Human language in general. Iraqi Arabic is a cluster of subdialects that show an interesting systematic microvariation in the use of negative expressions. The first goal of this dissertation is to present the syntactic properties of negation in all these subdialects through a detailed description and comprehensive survey. Based on this survey and description, these subdialects, are divided into two major groups: *ma* group and *ma-f* group. A syntactic analysis is then developed to explain the behavior of negation in each subgroup, challenging some standard and widely accepted analyses in the literature (Benmamoun 2000, 2013, and Soltan 2007, 2014). The second major goal of this dissertation is to examine the interaction between negation and the so-called Negative Sensitive Items (NSIs) namely: Negative Polarity Items (NPIs) and Negative Concord Items (NCIs). NSIs rely on their syntactic distribution and semantic interpretation on negation, and here again, and as expected, the Iraqi dialects show some variation when it comes to what type of NSIs are licensed and how they are licensed.

This dissertation is the first such work to study in detail negation in Iraqi Arabic and to provide a detailed survey and analysis of it. It is a contribution to the syntax of negation in general, and the syntax of Iraqi Arabic in particular.

The locus of sentential negation is discussed in light of previous theories that are primarily based on the distribution of sentential negation in Arabic dialects. The investigation of the locus of sentential negation indicates that the High-Neg hypothesis, where NegP occupies a position higher than Tense Phrase (TP), cannot provide an explanation for the case when the imperfective verb has the option to merge with the negative marker in both the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group; therefore, the High-Neg analysis cannot be extended to Iraqi Arabic.

The examination of NSIs licensing in Iraqi Arabic illustrates that previous NSIs licensing analyses proposed in the literature cannot extend to Iraqi Arabic. Alternatively, a novel account through appealing to both syntax and semantics is proposed which is a modification of Zeijlstra's proposal (2004, 2008). In this study, I argue that NCIs are specified with an uninterpretable [uNeg] feature that needs to be checked against an interpretable [iNeg] feature of a semantic negation that can be either overt or covert in the clause.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1, 2, and 3	First, second, and third person
¬	Negative Operator
∃	Existential Quantifier
∀	Universal Quantifier
ACC	Accusative
COM	Complementizer
CP	Complementizer Phrase
EA	Egyptian Arabic
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
D+	Nominal
DP	Determiner Phrase
F	Feminine
IA	Iraqi Arabi
IMP	Imperafictive
LA	Levantine Arabic
LF	Logical Form
M	Masculine
MA	Moroccan Arabic
NCIs	Negative Concord Items
NOM	Nominative
NPIs	Negative Polarity Items
NSIs	Negative Sensitive Items

NegP	Negation Phrase
Neg	Negation Particle
NP	Noun Phrase
NQ	Negative Quantifier
NS	Negative Spread
Op	Operator
P	Plural
PCL	Particle
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
PF	Phonetic Form
Prep	Preposition
PROG	Progressive
PPIs	Positive Polarity Items
Rel	Relative
S	Singular
T	Tense
TP	Tense Phrase
V	Verb
VP	Verb Phrase

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

This dissertation is a study of negation in two groups of Iraqi Arabic (IA). The first group is what I call the *ma* group, which includes Baghdadi, Najafi, and Moslawi dialects, and which uses the free morpheme negative marker *ma/la* ‘not/no.’ The second group is what I call the *ma-f* group that includes Nasiriya, Amarah, and Basrawi dialects. The *ma-f* group expresses negation by using the two-part negative marker *ma-f*. In this dissertation, I investigate the locus of sentential negation in both the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group with the primary goal to provide an analysis for the structural position of sentential negation in these two dialect groups.

Negation in IA varies in that some dialects have the same pattern of negation that is found in Egyptian Arabic (EA), Moroccan Arabic (MA), Jordanian Arabic (JA), and Sanʿani Arabic, while other dialects pattern with Kuwaiti, Saudi, among other dialects. However, an interesting feature of IA that distinguishes it from other Arabic dialects is the use of the quantifier *koll* ‘every’ combined with the indefinite pronoun *fi* ‘thing’ when expressing negative polarity. The Negative Polarity Item (NPI) *kullfi* ‘anything’ must always co-occur with a negative marker as shown in (1) and (2).

1) *kullfi *(ma) qəll-i.* (Moslawi)

anything Neg told-me-3MS

‘He did not tell me anything.’

2) *kullfi *(ma) gəll-i-f.* (Basrawi)

anything Neg told-me-3MS. Neg

‘He did not tell me anything.’

1.2. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The importance of negation in Arabic and other languages has long been recognized by researchers. However, there has been a wide disagreement among researchers regarding the locus of negation and how Negative Sensitive Items (NSIs) get licensed. To my knowledge, there has not been any research on IA negation and NSIs. Previous research was done by Ingham (2000), Abu-Haidar (2002), and Hassan (2015), have presented general information about negation in IA, but none of these studies have offered a syntactic analysis that explains the distribution of negation and the licensing of the different NSIs in IA. Therefore, the first goal of this dissertation is to examine the syntax of negation in the different IA dialects and how facts from these dialects fit in the overall typology of negation in Arabic dialects.

Question 1: What is the syntactic distribution of negation in Iraqi dialects and what syntactic analysis can be devised to account for this distribution?

The second goal of this dissertation is to describe and analyze the distribution of NSIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups taking into consideration previous analyses of NSI licensing. Data from both groups demonstrates that the language displays both types of NSIs examined in the literature: NPIs and Negative Concord Items (NCIs). Previous studies (Benmamoun, 1996, 1997, 2006; Hoyt, 2010; Alqassas, 2012, 2016, 2019) which only focused on Arabic dialects such as MA, EA, and Levantine Arabic (LA), offer various diagnostic tests to distinguish between NPIs and NCIs and propose different syntactic analyses to explain the licensing conditions for these NSIs. The second goal leads to the second main question of this dissertation:

Question 2: What is the distribution of NPIs and NCIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group, and what syntactic analysis can be devised to account for their licensing?

1.3. The Language of the Study

This study mainly focuses on the distribution of negation in the two groups of IA. The first group I call the *ma* group and it includes: Baghdadi, Najafi, and Moslawi. The second group I call the *ma-f* group and it includes: Amarah, Nasiriyah, and Basrawi. The *ma* group and the *ma-f* group cover different dialects of IA that are spoken in the country of Iraq. These two groups were chosen in this study because they are considered as the main dialects of IA.¹ The *ma* group and the *ma-f* group can be classified into three varieties: urban, rural, and Bedouin. In this dissertation, the data is taken mainly from the urban and rural groups. The classification of these dialects is built on the presence or absence of certain linguistic properties. The *ma* and the *ma-f* groups exhibit systematic phonetic, phonological, morpho-syntactic differences and the purpose of this section is to briefly discuss some of these differences.

The phonemes /q/, /r/, /ʃ/, /dʒ/ and /a/ are examples of the phonetic differences between these dialects.² The phoneme /q/ is realized as [g] in the Baghdadi, Najafi, Amarah, Nasiriyah, and Basrawi dialects but it is realized as [q] in the Moslawi dialect. The phoneme /r/ is realized as [ʁ] in the Moslawi dialect in some cases, but it is realized as [r] in the rest of the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. The phoneme /ʃ/ and /dʒ/ are realized as [j] by the speakers of the *ma-f* group in general. These features can be shown in the following examples:

¹ Baghdadi dialect is mainly spoken in the province of Baghdad and the surrounding area. Najafi is spoken in the province of Najaf. Moslawi is mainly spoken in the province of Mosul. Amarah dialect is spoken in the province of Amarah. Nasiriyah dialect is spoken in the province of Nasiriyah. Finally, Basrawi is spoken in the Basra province.

² One feature of Iraqi Arabic in general is that the phoneme /k/ in most cases is realized as either [ʃ] in some dialects or as [j] in other dialects.

3) a. ...qılıt-u, bəlkən ?ə-qdəx ?ə-bıf həl. (Moslawi)

I.told-him, hope I-could I-sell this

ʕəs^ffuʕ bı-?ə-l-s^fuq.

bird in-the-market

‘I said, I hope I could sell this bird in the market.’

b. ...gılıt-ləh, bəlki ?ə-gdər ?ə-bıf həðə (Najafi)

I.told-him, hope I-could I-sell this

ʕəs^ffuʕ bı-?ə-l-s^fug.

bird in-the-market

‘I said to him, I hope I could sell this bird in the market.’

4) a. wəla waħıd dʒalıs. (Baghdadi)

NCI no one sit-_{3MS}

‘No one is sitting.’

b. ma fʃan-ət bı-?ə-l-məktəbəh. (Najafi)

Neg was-_{3SF} in-the-library

‘She was not in the library.’

5) a. wəla waħıd jalıs-ıf. (Amarah)

NCI no one sit-_{3MS}-Neg

‘No one is sitting.’

b. ma dʒan-ət bı-?ə-l-məktıbıh. (Najafi)

Neg was-_{3SF} in-the-library

‘She was not in the library.’

Finally, the vowel /a/ surfaces as /i/ when it occurs in the middle of the word for Moslawi speakers. See the following examples:

6) $\kappa\text{a}\text{h j}\text{I-dzi } \text{?}\text{al-}\text{f}\text{iti w noq}\text{f}\text{od min } \text{?}\text{al-s}^{\text{c}}\text{ob}\text{h}, \text{b}\text{I}\text{d}\text{i } \text{t}\text{I}\text{d}\text{z.}$ (Moslawi)

will _{3SM}-come the-winter and _{3P}-wake from the-morning cold snow

‘Winter will come and we will wake up in the morning with a very cold weather.’

7) $\text{ra}\text{h j}\text{I}\text{d}\text{zi } \text{?}\text{al-}\text{f}\text{ita w noq}\text{f}\text{od min } \text{?}\text{al-s}^{\text{c}}\text{ob}\text{oh } \text{ba}\text{rd}\text{eh } \text{t}\text{I}\text{d}\text{z.}$ (Najafi)

will come._{3SM} the-winter and _{3P}-wake from the-morning cold snow

‘Winter will come and we will wake up in the morning with a very cold weather.’

8) a. $\text{w}\text{ela } \text{wi}\text{h}\text{id } \text{f}\text{I-j-d}\text{r}\text{os.}$ (Moslawi)

no one _{PROG-3}-study-S

‘No one is studying.’

b. $\text{w}\text{ela } \text{wa}\text{h}\text{id } \text{ga}\text{f-j}\text{U-d}\text{r}\text{os.}$ (Najafi)

no one _{PROG-3}-study.S

‘No one is studying.’

Negation and aspect are two examples of the morpho-syntactic differences between these subdialects. Sentential negation is expressed by using the proclitic negative markers *ma* and the enclitic *-f*, as a discontinuous morpheme in the *ma-f* group while sentential negation is expressed by using only the free morpheme *ma* as the negative marker in the *ma* group. The continuous morpheme *muf* is used in the *ma-f* group, while the negative marker *mu* is used in the *ma* group to express negation. The morpheme [ga-], [da-], [kə-, qi, fi] are used to express aspects (progressive aspect). For example, Najafi and the *ma-f* group use the morpheme [ga-] to express the progressive aspect; Baghdadi dialect uses the morpheme [da-] while Moslawi dialect uses the

morpheme [kə-, qi-, ʕi-] when expressing the progressive aspect as shown in the following examples:

9) ʔəl-tʕalīb ga-j-drus bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbəh. (Najafi dialect)

the-student-3SM PROG-3M.study.S-IMPRF in-the-library

‘The student is studying in the library.’

10) ʔəl-tʕalīb da-j-drus bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbəh. (Baghdadi dialect)

the-student-3SM PROG-3M.study.S-IMP in-the-library

‘The student is studying in the library.’

11) ʔəl-tʕalīb kə/qi/ʕi-j-dʕus bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbi. (Moslawi dialect)

the-student-3SM PROG-3M-study.S-IMPFR in-the-library

‘The student is studying in the library.’

1.4. Significance of the Study

To the best of my knowledge, this dissertation will be the first comprehensive study on negation in the two major dialect groups of IA. It is a contribution to the typology of negation across Arabic dialects since most of the previous studies of negation have focused only on Arabic dialects, such as EA, JA, MA, LA. Besides providing a comprehensive description of the distribution of negation in IA dialects, this dissertation also provides a syntactic analysis explaining this distribution. It sheds some light on the problems in the previous analyses of negation in other Arabic dialects, such as Benmamoun (2000, 2013), Alqassas (2012, 2016, 2019), Hoyt (2010), and Soltan (2007, 2014), and provides an analysis that accounts for IA data. This dissertation is also the first work to provide a detailed description of the syntactic distribution of the NSIs, namely: NPIs and NCIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group and propose an analysis that captures the syntactic behavior of NPIs and NCIs in these two dialect groups.

1.5. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation is organized as follows: chapter two focuses on works that concern sentential negation and NSIs in different languages. In this chapter, I provide an overview of previous research in the field of sentential negation and NSIs. Moreover, this chapter reviews the disagreements in the previous studies about the structure of negative clauses and the structural positions of sentential negation, and how NSIs get licensed in Arabic dialects. For example, some scholars, such as Benmamoun (1997, 2006), Alsarayreh (2012), among others, state that NSI's licensed by three configurations namely: c-command, Spec-head, and Head-complement. Other scholars, such as Hoyt (2010), Soltan (2007, 2014), Alqassas (2012, 2019), among others argue that NSIs can either be licensed by c-command or Spec-head relation.

Chapter three examine sentential negation in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. In this chapter, I present facts about sentential negation in both groups, showing that the *ma* group uses the negative marker *ma* to express sentential negation with verbal sentences while it uses the negative marker *mu* with verbless clauses. The other group, the *ma-f* group, uses the negative marker *ma-f* to express sentential negation with verbal sentences, whereas it uses the negative marker *mu-f* with verbless clauses. This chapter indicates that the High-Neg hypothesis cannot provide an explanation for the case when the imperfective verb has the option to merge with the negative marker in both groups. Therefore, I will argue that sentential negation in both groups occupies a projection which occurs between TP and VP.

Chapter four investigates expressions that function as NPIs in IA. This chapter shows that *ʔaj waḥīd/ī* “anyone/thing,” *ʕomr* “never,” and *kullī* “anything” are considered as NPIs because they cannot pass the tests which are used to differentiate between NPIs and NCIs. First, the NPIs in both groups cannot express negation on their own as they cannot stand alone as a

fragment answer. Second, NPIs cannot occur preverbally. Third, NPIs always require the presence of negation. Finally, NPIs are not sensitive to locality restrictions. In this chapter, I introduce the quantifier *kull/ī* and show that both the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group use it as an NPI which is different from all other Arabic dialects that have been described in the literature, in that none of these dialects use the quantifier *kull/ī* as a nominal NPI. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how NPIs are licensed in consideration of the previous analyses. The previous theories of NPIs licensing are discussed and tested by presenting data from the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. Finally, this chapter presents my proposed analysis supported by data from both groups which shows that NPIs can be mainly licensed by c-command in this language.

Chapter five examines NCIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. The chapter demonstrates that *wāla waḥīd* “even one,” *ʔabād* “never,” and *bāʕd/ʔilḥissāh* “not yet” are considered as NCIs because they can pass the tests which are used to differentiate between NPIs and NCIs. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how NCIs are licensed in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group and whether the enclitic *-f* is in complementary distribution with the NCIs.

Chapter six concludes the dissertation by summarizing the discussion in the previous chapters and proposing future research questions.

Chapter Two

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

Negation has been one of the most important topics of continued theoretical study (Jespersen 1917; Klima 1964; Kitagawa 1986; Lasnik 1972; Pollock 1989; Chomsky 1989, 1992, 1995; Ouhalla 1990, 2002; Zannuttini 1990, Benmamoun 1992; Haegeman 1995; Shlonsky, 1997; Hoyt, 2005; Lucas, 2007; Penka 2011, Benmamoun, Abunasser, Al-Sabbagh, Bidaoui, & Shalash, 2013; Ouali and Soltan, 2014; among other sources), which is not surprising given that negation plays a central role in the theory. In general, there are two fundamental points that every study of negation considers which are the syntactic properties of negative markers and the location of Negative Phrase (NegP) in the structure.

This chapter presents an overview of the discussion of some of the important work on the syntax of negation. First, I briefly review the main theoretical assumptions and frameworks that motivate the analyses of single and multiple negations in different languages and dialects. Second, I provide different analyses about the syntax projection of sentential negation discussed by different scholars regarding Arabic dialects. Furthermore, the chapter presents works that concern NSIs in different languages and different dialects. Previous studies (Benmamoun 1997, 2006; Alsarayreh 2012; Hoyt, 2010; Soltan, 2007, 2014; Ouali and Soltan, 2014; Alqassas, 2012, 2016, 2019) have a disagreement about the structure of NSIs and how they get licensed in Arabic dialects. Some scholars, such as Benmamoun (1997, 2006), Alsarayreh (2012) argue that NSI is licensed by three configurations such as c-command, Spec-head, and Head-complement configuration. Other scholars, such as Hoyt (2010), Soltan (2007, 2014), Alqassas (2012), among

others state that NSIs can either be licensed by c-command, or by Spec-head relation excluding the Head-complement configuration.

2.1. Sentential Negation

Sentential negation is expressed by using particular negative markers in most languages. However, languages differ with respect to “the number, the syntactic position and the syntactic status of these negative markers” (Zeijlstra, 2004). For example, the sentential negation in Italian is expressed by using a preverbal negative marker “*non*” while in Catalan an optional negative adverb “*no*” in addition to the preverbal negative marker “*pas*” is permitted. In contrast, the combination of a preverbal negative marker “*ne*” and a negative adverb “*pas*” is obligatory in Standard French. Finally, a language like German expresses negation by means of a single negative adverb “*nicht*” (Zeijlstra, 2004). This is illustrated in example (1).

- 1) a. Gianni non ha telefonato. (Italian)
Gianni Neg has called
'Gianni did not call.'
- b. No ser. (pas) facil. (Catalan)
Negbe.FUT.3S Neg easy
'It will not be easy.'
- c. Jean ne mange pas. (French)
Jean Neg eats Neg
'Jean does not eat.'

d. Hans kommt nicht. (German)

Hans comes Neg

‘Hans does not come.’

(Adopted from Zeijlstra, 2004: 64)

Sentential negation in languages, such as French (Pollock, 1989), West Flemish (Haegeman, 1995), MA (Benmamoun, 1992), EA (Soltan, 2007, 2014), JA (Alsarayreh, 2012), and LA (Alqassas, 2012, 2016, 2019) is expressed by using a bipartite negation consisting of a proclitic negative and another negative marker. Other languages, like Japanese (Kitagawa, 1986), Italian (Belletti & Stowell, 1997), Standard English (Penka, 2011), express sentential negation by a single negative marker. See the following examples:

2) ma-safr-t-f nadja. (MA)

Neg-traveled-_{3SF}-Neg Nadia

‘Nadia did not travel.’

(Adapted from Benmamoun, 1992)

3) It is not raining. (English)

Klima (1964) following Jespersen (1917) states that sentential negation is a syntax phenomenon, not a semantic notion as some scholars argues. To distinguish sentential negation from constituent negation, Klima presents different tests to analyze sentential negation in English: the *neither* tags, the positive tags, the co-occur with *any*, *ever*, *NPI*, *either* coordination, and *a not even* continuation. If the negated sentence allows the above tests, then the sentence has a sentential negation reading not a constituent negation reading. This is shown in (4):

4) a. Not much rain fell, and *neither* did much snow. (*neither* tags)

b. Jean doesn’t know how to swim, *does she*? (positive tags)

- c. There was not any snow falling anywhere else. (any)
- d. Publishers will not reject suggestions, and writers will not accept them, *either*.
(*either* coordination)
- e. Nobody likes John, *not even* Mary. (*not even* continuation)

Lasnik's (1972) analysis developed Klima's (1964) approach to negation. According to Klima, the Neg *not* has a single source which is "pre-sentential Neg" while according to Lasnik, sentential negation has two positions: the pre-sentential and the auxiliary position. The Neg *not* is generated under Complementizer (Comp) when it triggers inversion. However, following Klima, Lasnik states that in cases where the negative elements do not trigger inversion such as '*not long ago*,' then *not* is not the pre-sentential particle, but is a part of the constituent because its scope is limited to that constituent. See example (5):

- 5) a. Not long ago, John passed a test.
b. Not often does John pass tests.

The derivation of (5) is schematized below:

- 6) [S' [Comp [S [AdvP not long ago [NP John [Aux past [VP pass a test]]]]]]]]
- 7) [S' [Comp [Neg Not [S [AdvP ago [NP John [Aux past [VP pass tests]]]]]]]]]]

(Adopted from Lasnik, 1972: 33)

Haegeman (1995) develops an analysis of the syntax of negation which is contrary to the Principles and Parameters framework introduced by Noam Chomsky. Haegeman's work plays an important role in the syntax of negation. Her work focuses primarily on the earliest version of Chomsky's Minimalist Program (1992) and Brody's Radical Minimalism (1993b). The author did not restrict the discussion to the syntactic analysis of negation aspects; rather, she brought particular attention to the parallelism between negative sentences and interrogative sentences

which can be obtained cross-linguistically. According to the author, negative sentences have similar aspects to interrogative sentences which are as follows:

First, both negative elements and interrogative elements can license polarity items. As the following examples show.

- 8) a. Did you see anyone?
b. I did not see anyone.
c. *I saw anyone.
- 9) a. Who said anything?
b. No one said anything?
c. *I said anything.

Second, they both trigger subject-auxiliary inversion, as shown in (10) and (11):

- 10) a. What did you see?
b. *What you saw.
- 11) a. Not often does Jack attend parties.
*Not often Jack attends parties.
b. Not every day does Jack eat bagels.
*Not every day Jack eats bagels.

Third, both can give rise to inner island effects, as in (12):

- 12) a. Bill is here, which they (don't) know.
b. *Bill is here, as they (*don't) know.

This fact is also true in French as example (13) shows.

- 13) a. Pierre est ici, ce qu'ils savent/ne savent pas.
'Pierre is here, which they know/don't know.'

b. Pierre est ici, comme ils le savent/*ne le savent pas.

‘Pierre is here, as they it know/don't know.’

(Haegeman, 1995, adopted from Rizzi, 1990)

Fourth, both negative elements and interrogative elements bring out the syntactic phenomenon called “absorption.”³

14) a. Qui disait quoi?

who said what

‘Who said what?’

For which x, y [x: a person; y: a thing] [x said y]

b. Personne ne disait rien.

no one ne said nothing

‘No one said anything.’

No x, y [x: a person; y: a thing] [x said y]

Fifth, they are subject to that-trace filter effects and Logical Form (LF) movement, as illustrated by example (15) and (16):

15) a. Non pretendo che tu dica niente.

(LF movement)

non I-ask that you say (subj) nothing

‘I don't ask that you say anything.’

b. Non pretendo che nessuno dica questo.

non I ask that no one say (subj) that

*‘I don't ask that anyone say that.’

16) a. *Who did you think that t would arrive first?

(that-trace)

³ Absorption refers to a sentence that has one single reading even when it has more than one negative element.

b. Who did you think would arrive first?

Finally, both give rise to connectedness effects where the subject negative phrases are licensed by LF movement of an object negative phrase as illustrated in (17):

17) a. *Non fa questo lavoro [per aiutare nessuno].

non does this work to help no one

b. Non fa niente [per aiutare nessuno].

(Examples adopted from Haegeman, 1995)

Zeijlstra (2004) examines sentential negation and negative concord. The author shows that negative markers have different forms; for example, as preverbal particles such as Italian *non* (18), or affixal elements such as Czech *ne* (19) or as negative adverbs such as Dutch *niet* (20):

18) Gianni ha arrivato non oggi. (Italian)

Gianni has arrived Negtoday

‘Not today Gianni arrived.’

19) Milan nevidi. (Czech)

Milan neg.sees

‘Milan doesn’t see.’

20) Jan hoeft niet schoon te maken. (Dutch)

Jan needs Negclean to make

‘John doesn’t need to clean.’

(Zeijlstra, 2004)

Zeijlstra (2004) proposes that sentential negative markers have an uninterpretable [uNeg] feature which causes the projection of NegP. The author states that Spec-NegP has a null

negative operator which has an interpretable [iNeg] feature. Therefore, the negative markers which have [uNeg] feature enter in an *Agree* relation with the negative operator that has the [iNeg] feature. According to Zeijlstra, the locus of negation in the sentence is determined by the semantic properties of negation. NegP can be located below TP in some languages, or it can dominate TP in other languages. The structure of negation is the result of the semantic properties of the negative operator, not the syntactical properties. The author assumes that when NegP occupies a projection higher than TP, “the negative operator binds temporal variables which yields a logical form that is understood as sentential negation. In contrast, when NegP is below TP the negative operator binds event variables, yielding a logical form, which is also interpreted as sentential negation” (Zeijlstra, 2004). The syntactic distribution of NegP, according to the author, proposes that every NegP in the syntactic clause presents one semantic negation. Therefore, it is not necessary for the multiple positions for NegP. In this dissertation, I will follow Zeijlstra’s analysis which illustrates that there is a null negative operator “ Op^{-} ” that carries [iNeg] feature; however, I will depart from his analysis and argue that the negative marker *ma* in the two groups of IA, *ma* group and *ma-f* group, has the [iNeg] feature instead of either the [iNeg] or [uNeg] feature. More details are presented in the next chapters.

So far, I have presented and discussed how sentential negation is expressed in different languages. In the rest of the chapter, I will present previous analytical approaches that discuss sentential negation in Arabic dialects. Arabic dialects differ in how they express sentential negation (Benmamoun 1992, 2000; Ouhalla 1992, 1993, 1994; Shlonsky 1997; Watson 1993, Benmamoun et al., 2013; Soltan 2007, 2014; among others). Some dialects such as MA, PA, EA, Sanʿani (Yemeni) Arabic, and Lebanese Arabic, use the bipartite *ma-f* to express sentential negation while others like Kuwaiti, Sudanese Arabic, and IA use the negative marker *ma* only.

Here, I will argue against the argument which claims that IA only uses the free morpheme *ma* when negating a statement and illustrate that some dialects of IA use the bipartite *ma-f* alongside the free morpheme *ma* when expressing sentential negation.

Arabic scholars (Brustad 2000; Benmamoun 2000; Aoun, Benmamoun, Choueiri, 2010; Alsarayreh, 2012; Alqassas, 2012, 2016, 2019; among others) state that sentential negation is realized differently in the context of verbal predicates and non-verbal predicates. In verbal predicates, the discontinuous morpheme *ma-f* is obligatory in MA, EA, PA, and Sanʿani (Yemeni) Arabic (21). While the enclitic *-f*, in the discontinuous morpheme *ma-f*, is optional in Lebanese Arabic as in (22):

21) *ma-qra-f ʔəl-wəld.* (MA)

Neg-read.PAST.3MS-Neg the-boy

‘The boy did not read.’

22) *ʔəl-wələd ma-ʔara-(f) ʔəl-ktab.* (Lebanese Arabic)

the-boy Neg-read.PAST.3MS.(Neg) the book

‘The boy did not read the book.’

(Adopted from Brustad 2000; Benmamoun 2000)

In non-verbal predicates, the non-discontinuous morpheme *mif* is used in EA (24), LA, PA, and MA (23). In Syrian Arabic, on the other hand, the negative *mu* is used as in (25):

23) *huwa maʔi hna.* (MA)

he Neg here

‘He is not here.’

24) huwa mɪf hon. (EA)

he Neg here

‘He is not here.’

25) ʔana mu məbsʕutʕ ʔəlyum. (Syrian Arabic)

I Neg well_{3SM} today

‘I am not feeling well today.’

(Adopted from Aoun et al. 2010)

Benmamoun (1992, 1997, 2000) investigates negation in MA. The author states that sentential negation in MA is achieved by two combined morphemes: the proclitic morpheme *ma-* and the enclitic morpheme *-f*. The proclitic morpheme *ma-* is the head of NegP. According to the author, Arabic dialects are classified into three categories based on how they express negation. The first category includes dialects that have two negative morphemes, the proclitic *ma-* and the enclitic *-f* (26) such as MA, EA, PA, and Sanʔani (Yemeni) Arabic.⁴

26) a. ma-dʒa-t-f nadja. (MA)

Neg-come.PAST.3SF-Neg Nadia

‘Nadia did not come.’

b. nadja ma-dʒa-t-f.

Nadia Neg-come.PAST.3SF-Neg

‘Nadia did not come.’

The second category contains dialects that have one negative marker *ma* (27), such as Sudanese Arabic and Hassaniyya dialect.

⁴ Example (26) - (28) are adopted from Benmamoun (1992, 1997, 2000).

27) a. ʕomar ma dʒa.

(Sudanese Arabic)

Omar Neg come.PAST.3SM

‘Omar didn’t come.’

b. ma ʃtəxəl-t.

(Hassaniyya)

Neg work.PAST-1S

‘I didn’t work.’

The third category includes dialects that express negation with the negative morpheme *-ʃ* only (28) as in some Lebanese and Jordanian dialects.

28) a. bɪ-t-ħɪb-ʃ ʃɪχl ʔɪl-bəjt.

(Lebanese)

ASP-3F-likes-Neg work the-house

‘She does not like housework.’

b. bædd-i-ʃ.

(Jordanian)

want-my-Neg

‘I do not want.’

Benmamoun states that Neg projects a head below TP, Low-Neg-hypothesis.⁵ The main reason for this hypothesis is that it can explain the fact that the negative marker ends up as a prefix on the verb. According to Benmamoun, the proclitic *ma* and the enclitic *-ʃ* occupy the head position of negation. The author shows that Neg blocks the verb movement to T. As the examples above display, the perfective verb (27) must move to T to check the [+V] and [+D] features. Benmamoun (2000), Benmamoun and Al-Asbahi (2014), following Chomsky’s (1995) Minimalist Program, hypothesizes that negation in Arabic is specified for an uninterpretable [-D] feature that needs to be checked against an applicable interpretable [+D] feature. The author

⁵ In chapter 3, I provide a full explanation for both hypotheses regarding the position of the negative marker in the clausal hierarchy in Arabic dialects. These hypotheses are known as High-Neg-hypothesis and Low-Neg-hypothesis.

states that in verbal negation, the merger takes place either via head movement or incorporation.⁶ Therefore, the verb movement in example (27) cannot occur unless the verb merges with Neg on its way to T to avoid minimality violation. In contrast, the imperfective verb (28) does not require to check [+V] feature. Hence, the verb only needs to merge with Neg to check [+D] feature. In this dissertation, I will follow Benmamoun’s (1997) analysis and show that the Low-Neg analysis will provide the correct rationale for the merger of the negative marker and the verbal predicate, or the verbless predicate in IA.

In his recent work, Benmamoun, co-authored with Abunasser, Al-Sabbagh, Bidaoui, & Shalash (2013) argues that the NegP occurs higher than TP, High-Neg-hypothesis. In their paper titled “The Location of Sentential Negation in Arabic Varieties,” the authors present pieces of evidence to support the High-Neg-hypothesis which is proposed by Fassi Fehri (1993), Shlonsky (1997), and Soltan (2007). The first piece of evidence is that the negative marker in MA (29), EA (30), LA (31), and Gulf (32) dialects merges with the future tense markers *ħa-*, *raħ*, *ta-* “will.” The authors treat the future tense as a head occupies T. In this dissertation, I treat what is referred to as a future tense marker as a light verb that occupies a projection head under *vp*. See chapter 3 for more details.

29) ma-γadi-f nγruʒ. (MA)

Neg-Fut-Neg exit.1P

‘I will not go out.’

⁶ According to Benmamoun (2000), as cited in Alsarayreh (2012), the head movement can be expected to happen with main verbs, auxiliaries, and inflected prepositions because these are treated as heads which can attach to negation by head movement. Incorporation happens with existential particles, indefinite pronouns, and inflected adverbs as these are not considered to be heads but rather are XPs; therefore, assuming movement to a head position with these disobeys construction perpetuation.

30) mɪf ɦa-jɪskut-u ʕala kɪda ʔəbədən. (EA)

Neg Fut-silent-3P on this ever

‘They will never remain silent about it.’

31) ʔəna ma-raɦ ʔəɣud-ha. (LA)

I Neg-Fut take.1S-it

‘I will not take it.’

32) ma-raɦ ʔəɣul lək ʔəna min. (Gulf)

Neg-Fut say.1S to.you me who

‘I will not tell you who I am.’

(Adopted from Benmamoun et al., 2013: 92)

Another piece of evidence that the authors use to support their analysis for the locus of Neg is NPIs. The NPIs, in MA, consist of *ɦatta*+*N* can occur preverbal (33) and postverbal (34).

33) ɦəttə wəld ma-qra lə-ktab. (MA)

any boy Neg-read.3SM the-book

‘No boy read the book.’

34) ma-qra ɦəttə wəld lə-ktab.

Neg-read. 3SM any boy the-boy

‘No boy read the book.’

(Adopted from Benmamoun, 1997: 297)

In example (33) the authors argue that the NPI *ɦatta* occupies the specifier of NegP which occurs higher than the tense and must be licensed in a Spec-bead relation with negation in the preverbal position.

Moreover, the head NPI *ʕəmmər* “never” enter into a Head-complement relationship with the negative marker in MA and LA. According to the authors the NPI must be adjoining to NegP which cannot be achieved unless negation is higher than TP. Furthermore, in LA, the NPI *ʕumr* can merge with negation instead of the perfective verb. See the following examples:

35) *ʕəmmər ma-ʒa.* (MA)

never Neg-came.3SM

‘He never came.’

36) *ma-ʕumri-ʃ sməʕna-ha.* (LA)

Neg-never-Neg heard.1S-it

‘I never heard it.’

(Benmamoun et al., 2013)

Later in this dissertation, we will see that data from the *ma-ʃ* group shows that example (36) is ungrammatical in IA. There is no merger between the negative marker and the NPI *ʕumr* in the *ma-ʃ* group or even the *ma* group which I will use as a piece of evidence when I argue against the High-Neg-hypothesis. Furthermore, I will show that the data from the *ma* and the *ma-ʃ* groups does not show any examples when the NPIs or the NCIs must be licensed by Spec-head or Head-complement relationship. In this dissertation, I will argue that NSIs are mainly licensed by c-command.

Finally, Benmamoun et al., (2013) claim that the progressive aspect (37), existential particles (38), and possessive particles (39) occupy the head of T which requires negation to merge with them. In chapter 3, I argue against this analysis and propose that the progressive aspect occupies the head of AspP instead of T which occurs below TP. Similarly, I will show that the existential and the possessive particles occupy a head that occurs below TP.

37) mə-tə-jqra-f. (MA)

Neg-PROG-read.3SM-Neg

‘He is not reading/does not read.’

38) mə-fi-f wəla ʕəjjil hna. (EA)

Neg-there-Neg none child here

‘There is no one child here.’

39) mə-ʕəndi-f əl-ktab. (MA)

Neg-POSS.1S-Neg the-book

‘I don't have the book.’

(Adopted from Benmamoun et al., 2013:99)

Hoyt (2005, 2010) discusses sentential negation marking in LA. Similar to Benmamoun’s analysis (1992, 1997, 2000), Hoyt displays that Arabic dialects have three strategies to express sentential negation. The first strategy is the use of a proclitic *ma-*. This marker is used in clauses ruled by verbal categories and occurs at the left edge of the clausal nucleus which follows topicalized elements, so *ma-* can be used with a finite verb (40), an auxiliary (41), a pseudo-verb (42) and an existential particle (43):⁷

40) Verb:

əmberih fillil mə-ʕirift ʔənəm.

yesterday in-the-night Neg-knew.1S sleep.1S

‘Last night, I was not able to sleep.’

⁷ Examples (40)45) are adopted from Hoyt (2005, 2010).

41) Auxiliary:

tʰəbʃən, ma-kæn fi ʔəj ʔəlag ʔilha.

naturally Neg-was exist any treatment to-her

‘Of course, there was no way to treat her.’

42) Pseudo-Verb:

maʃindi ʔiʃi mumkæn ʔəhki ʃənnu.

Neg-at-me thing possible speak._{1S} about-him

‘I do not have anything I can talk about.’

43) Existential Particle:

mə-fi həda ʔsmu bihərf ʔssin.

Neg-exist one._{SM} name- with-letter the-s

‘There is not anyone whose name has an ‘s’.’

The second strategy is the use of *mif/mifi*, or *mu* which are considered as independent morphemes. Hoyt (2005) treats the non-discontinuous *mif* as a negative auxiliary. This is illustrated in (44):

44) a. ʔəna mif ʔostæð.

I Neg professor.

‘I am not a professor.’

b. ʔəna mu dʒuʃæn.

I Neg hungry

‘I am not hungry.’

The negative marker *ma-* can occur with the enclitic *-f*. The negative particle *ma-f* can appear with the main verb or an auxiliary verb. This is seen in the following examples:

45) a. ?inta ma-nimti-f ?əmbariħ.

you Neg-slept._{3SM}-Neg yesterday

‘Did not you sleep yesterday?’

b. ma-konti-f ?əʕrif ?aʕnu ?əfi.

Neg-was._{1S}-Neg know._{1S} about._{3SM} thing

‘I did not know a thing about him.’

Finally, some dialects (i.e., PA) express negation with the negative morpheme *-f* or *ma-* only.⁸ Either the proclitic *ma-* or the enclitic *-f* is omitted in some cases. This is shown in the following examples:

46) kal-?ilbadwi wəllahi ma bintam fi baladzim.

(*ma-* only)

say._{3SM}-the-bedu._{SM} by-God Neg sleep._{3SM} in village._{2PM}

‘The Bedu said ‘By God, your village cannot be slept in.’

47) kalət ?əna bihun-lif fik.

(*-f* only)

say._{3SF} I neglect._{1S}-Neg. in._{2SM}

‘She said ‘I will not neglect you.’

(Adopted from Hoyt, 2005)

In addition to the non-discontinuous *mif*. Hoyt shows that LA has what is called “the pronouns of negation” which is another kind of negative auxiliary that has a similar feature of the non-discontinuous *mif*. These pronouns of negation express more emphasis or polarity contrast compared with *mif*. According to the author, the pronouns of negation are a combination of a pronoun that is sandwiched by the proclitic *ma* and the enclitic *-f* (48). Similarly, Brustad (2000)

⁸ Similarly, Lebanese dialects and JA show the same phenomenon. (Abu-Haidar, 1979; Aoun et al., 2010).

1. bi-t-ħib-f fiyl ?əl-bijt.
Asp-_{3F}-like-Neg work the-house
‘She does not like housework.’

demonstrates that the pronouns of negation also exist in MA, as shown in table 1. Based on the observed data from the *ma-f* group and unlike LA, this group does not have the pronouns of negation.

48) ʔəna maniʃ zəʃlæn.

Neg-I-Neg angry

‘I am not angry.’

Table 1: The pronouns of negation in MA (Brustad, 2000)

Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
1 st		maniʃ “I am not”	mahnaj “we are not”
2 nd	Masc.	mantaj “you are not”	mantumaj “you are not”
	Fem.	mantif “you are not”	
3 rd	Masc.	mahuwaj “he is not”	mahumaj “the are not”
	Fem.	mahjaj “she is not”	

According to Benmamoun (2000) and Aoun et al. (2010), the negative marker *ma-* heads its own projection. The first reason for this is because *ma* and its variant form *ma-f* can host subject clitics as in (49):

49)

a. Moroccan Arabic	b. Egyptian Arabic	c. Kuwaiti Arabic	Gloss
ma-nta-f	ma-nta-f	mint/mant	you.ms + Neg
ma-nti-f	ma-nti-f	ma-nti-f	you.fs + Neg
huwa-f	huwa-f	huwa-f	he + Neg
ma-hija-f	ma-hija-f	ma-hija-f	she + Neg
ma-ħna-f	ma-ħna-f	ma-ħna-f	we + Neg

ma-ntuma-f	ma-ntuma-f	ma-ntuma-f	you.p + Neg
ma-huma-f	ma-huma-f	ma-huma-f	they + Neg

Second, in some dialects, it can carry agreement which is a property of a head (50). In the example below *ma* becomes *mi* when it agrees with the object *zudʒti* “my wife.”

50) haði mi zudʒti.

this Neg wife-my

‘This is not my wife.’

(Aoun et al., 2010, adopted from Matar, 1976)

Finally, the authors state that sentential negation is generated between TP and VP, as shown in (51). This is because, in the verbal clauses, the perfective verb must move to T to check the [+V] and [+D] features, but it cannot cross over Neg. To avoid minimality violation the verb must move to Neg then to T. The result is that the verb hosts *ma-f* on its way to T (52).

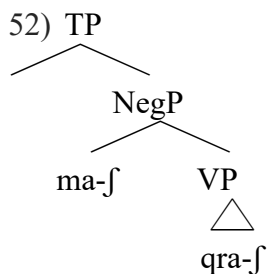
51) a. ma-qra-f l-wəld.

(MA)

Neg-read_{.past.3MS}-Neg the-boy

‘The boy did not read.’

(Aoun et al., 2010: 96)



According to Aoun et al., the adjective and the imperfective verb (53) do not need to move to T because they do not require checking the [+V] feature like the perfective verb. Therefore, there is no need to merge with negation. The author indicates that the optional merger between the verb and negation may have to do with focus and scope.

53) a. maʃi ʃarfa bæzzaf. (MA)

Neg old a-lot

‘She is not very old.’

b. miʃ bərʔusʕ. (EA)

Neg I.dance

‘I do not dance.’

(Aoun et al., 2010)

In the next chapter, I will show that even though the negative marker *ma* and the bipartite *ma-f* in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group do not host subject clitics or carry agreement inflection; the negative marker *ma* is still treated as a head because it disallows what is known as the “*why not*” constructions proposed by Merchant (2001). Instead, the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group allow “*why no*” constructions, as shown in the following examples:

54) *liʃ ma?

why Neg

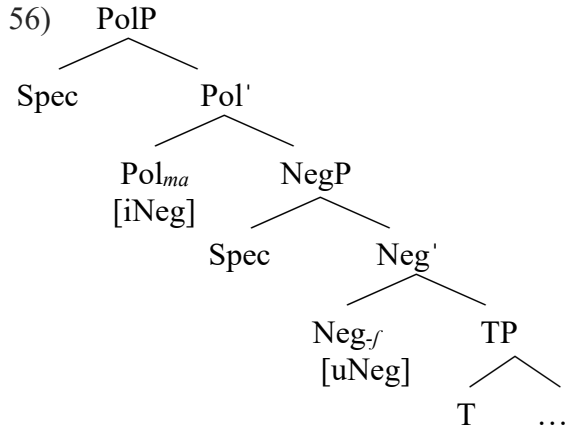
‘Why not?’

55) liʃ la?

why no

‘Why no?’

Soltan (2007, 2014), on the other hand, claims that negation occupies a projection higher than TP. The author argues that sentential negation in Cairene Egyptian Arabic is higher than TP and that the NegP in this dialect is split into two separate heads, one which shows formal negativity, and another expressing semantic negation as shown in (56):



The author presents two problems with the Low-Neg analysis. The first problem is that Low-Neg analysis does not provide an explanation for dialects where the non-discontinuous negation marker *mif* appears with a past verb as shown in (57):

57) ?əna mif liʕəb-t.

(Sharqiyyah)

I Neg play.PERF-1S

‘I did not play.’

(Soltan, 2014:119)

Soltan (2007, 2014) argues that the structure in (57) cannot be derived if Neg were between TP and VP without the verb skipping over Neg when moving to T. If this were to happen, then the negative marker must move to the head above T to form the word order in (57). Both movements will violate the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). Therefore, the structure in (57) is simply underivable if Neg were located below T. The structure is allowed if Neg is above TP, and if the past tense is not required to merge with Neg.

The second problem is that the structure of negation shown in (57) is used in Egyptian children’s speech in an early stage of acquiring negation in this dialect. According to the author, if Neg were below TP by default then it would be very difficult to explain this issue. However,

the High-Neg analysis explains that the children assume that T does not need to raise to Neg; therefore, they use the negation marker *mif* in the early stage.

Soltan provides a morphological algorithm to derive the distribution of negation structures in EA and claims that this algorithm can be expanded to other Arabic dialects.

- a. In contexts where Neg is adjacent to a hosting head H, H moves to Neg and then to Pol, and the discontinuous *ma-H-f* pattern arises.
- b. Otherwise, Neg incorporates into Pol, giving rise to the *mif* pattern

This algorithm shows that if a hosting head is present then it gives us discontinuous negation. Otherwise, a non-discontinuous pattern occurs.

It is worth mentioning that Soltan's analysis does not provide an explanation for the structure where the imperfective verb has the option to merge with the bipartite negative *ma-f* (58). In chapter 3, I argue that Soltan's analysis cannot apply to the *ma-f* group in IA because this group of dialects, as we will see later in this dissertation, does not allow the structure in (57). Furthermore, the imperfective verb has the option to merge with negation.

58) ?əhməd ma-jə-lʕib-f. (Basrawi)

Ahmed Neg-3M-play.IMP.S-Neg

'Ahmed does not play.'

Finally, the author argues that the splitting analysis provides an explanation for formulating a rule to why *-f* is deleted in certain NPI contexts (59), but not in others. See Soltan (2014) for more details.

59) a. ma-dʒa(*-f) hətta waħid. (MA)

Neg-came.3SM (-Neg) even one

'No one came.'

b. hətta wəhīd ma-dʒa(*-f). (MA)

even one Neg-came._{3SM}(-Neg)

‘No one came.’

c. nādja ʕummər-ha ma-dʒat(*-f). (MA)

Nadya ever-her Neg-came._{3SF}(-Neg)

‘Nadya never came.’

(Adopted from Soltan, 2014)

According to Alsarayreh (2012), JA expresses sentential negation in two ways: first by using the proclitic *ma-* in the context of verbal predicates (60) and the pronouns of negation in the context of non-verbal predicates (61).

60) a. jazan ma-laʕīb football. (JA: Imperfective)

Yazan Neg-played._{3SM} soccer

‘Yazan did not play soccer.’

b. jazan ma-bilʕab football.

Yazan Neg-play._{3SM} soccer

‘Yazan does not play soccer.’

61) a. marjam m-i məʕalmīh. (JA: Perfective)

Maryam Neg-she teacher

‘Maryam is not a teacher.’

b. əl-wlad ma-humah fi-əl-dar.

the-boys Neg-they in-the-house

‘The boys are not in the house.’

(Adopted from Alsarayreh, 2012: 42-43)

Alsarayreh discusses the two hypotheses, Low-Neg- hypothesis and High-Neg- hypothesis, and shows that the negative marker surfaces as a prefix on an element such as auxiliary verbs (62), prepositions hosting a pronoun clitic (63), indefinite pronouns (64), existential particles (65), and adverbials hosting a pronoun clitic (66). According to the author, these elements are argued to be base-generated in a position in TP or even above TP which cannot be explained by the Low-Neg-analysis.

62) ma-kan bihib t-tuffaḥ.

Neg-was._{3SM} like._{3SM} the-apples

‘He did not like apples.’

63) ma-ʕind-i sajjarah.

Neg-at-me car

‘I do not have a car.’

64) ma-ḥəda ʒa.

Neg-one came._{3SM}

‘No one came.’

65) ma-fi ḥəda ʒa.

Neg-there one came._{3SM}

‘No one came.’

66) ma-ʕumr-u ḥadʕir l-ʒtimʕ.

Neg-ever-him attended._{3SM} the-meeting

‘He has not ever attended the meeting.’

Alsarayreh argues that the High-Neg-hypothesis can provide an explanation for example (63) above where the expletive particle which occupies Spec-TP merges with the negative

marker. Therefore, the Low-Neg-hypothesis cannot clearly account for example (63) in JA. Here, I will argue that the Low-Neg-hypothesis can still account for example (63) as I will argue that the expletive particle occupies the head of the Prepositional Projection (PP) and not base-generated in TP or above TP. See chapter 3 for more information.

Alqassas (2012, 2016, 2019), who investigates the locus of Arabic negation, states that it is not necessary for the negative markers to be adjacent to the verb as previous studies argued. Instead, he argues that they can be separated by adverbs (67) or definite subjects (68):⁹

67) ma-ḥada fiʔlan bi-safir kul yom. (JA)

Neg-one really ASP-travel.3SM every day

‘No one really travels every day.’

68) ma-ḥada bi-safir kul yom. (JA)

Neg-one ASP-travel.3SM every day

‘No one travels every day.’

In the above examples, negative markers scope over the whole sentence, even the quantifier *koll* “all.” However, *ma*, *mif*, and *mub* in JA, Qatari Arabic (QA), and Standard Arabic are considered as constituent negation and cannot scope over the whole sentence or the NPI *hada* “anyone” as the ungrammaticality of (69):

69) mif kul yom bi-safir (*ḥada) (JA)

Neg every day ASP-travel.3SM NPI-one

‘*Not every day anyone travels.’

⁹ Example (67) - (75) are adopted from (Alqassas, 2012, 2016, 2019).

The negative marker *la* is used in JA, QA, and Standard Arabic to negate imperatives. In this case, it precedes the imperfective verb as illustrated in (70):

70) *la t-safir.* (QA)

Neg IMP-travel.3SM-IMP

‘do not travel.’

Furthermore, the negative marker *ma* can precede or follow the copula *kan* ‘was’ as examples (71) and (72) show.

71) *ma kan ji-lʔab.* (JA)

Neg was 3-play.SM

‘He was not playing.’

72) *kan ma ji-lʔab.* (JA)

was Neg 3-play.SM

‘He was not playing.’

The author shows that NegP can occur above (71) or below TP (72). Alqassas proposes that weak *ma-/la-* (74) is a head of a Neg projection below TP, while strong *ma/la* (73) is a head of a Neg projection on top of TP. See the following examples:

73) *ma kan ji-lʔab.* (QA)

Neg was M-play.3S

‘He was not playing.’

74) *ma-ʔuft-ijf.* (JA)

Neg-saw.I

‘I did not see.’

According to the author, the difference between locating Neg above or below TP is motivated by syntactic and semantic/pragmatic reasons. His analysis is somehow similar to Zeijlstra's (2004) regarding the multi-locus of the negative marks. One reason why the single negative marker *ma* occurs above TP is that this marker allows for adverbs, subjects, and the auxiliary verb *kan* to intervene between the negative marker and the verb. Bipartite negation *ma-f*, on the other hand, does not (75). Therefore, Neg can occur above or below TP.

75) a. ʔəhmad ma-b-ʕɪarf-ɪʃ. (LA)

Ahmad Neg_{PRT-I}.know-Neg

'Ahmad does not know.'

b. *ma ʔəhmad b-aʕɪrf-ɪʃ.

Neg Ahmad_{PRT-I}.know-Neg

'Ahmad does not know.'

Here, I will argue that Alqassas' analysis has two problems. The first problem is that his analysis cannot apply to IA. As I will argue in the next chapter, that adverbs, subjects, or other arguments cannot intervene between the negative marker and the verb. Moreover, I will argue that the Determiner Phrase (DP) in both the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group are treated as subject, not as Topic. More details are provided in chapter 3. Therefore, Neg cannot occur above TP in both groups. The second problem is that his analysis cannot provide an explanation for example (57), repeated here as (76). Alqassas claims that the bipartite negation *ma-f* occurs below TP, then how can we explain the phenomenon found in Sharqiyyah Arabic or similar dialects that allow such structure? I will provide an answer to this question in chapter 3.

76) ʔəna mɪf safir-t.

(Sharqiyyah)

I Neg traveled.PERF.IS

‘I did not travel.’

2.2. Negative Sensitive Items

Negative Sensitive Items, in natural languages, are divided into two categories: NPIs and NCIs. This section reviews expressions that function as NSIs in Arabic and present previous analytical approaches to licensing NSI negation in different languages and Arabic. Arabic exhibits two types of NSIs: NPIs and NCIs. Previous studies have used some tests to differentiate NPIs from NCIs. I present these tests in the next sub-sections.

2.2.1. Negative Polarity Items

The study of NPIs can be traced back to the beginning of generative grammar ever since Klima (1964). NPIs refer to the lexical items that require the presence of negation markers which are licensed by negation (Ladusaw, 1980). According to Haegeman (1995), NPIs must be c-commanded by a negative marker, as shown in (78). C-command configuration is defined as follows:

77) C-command: A node X c-commands a node Y iff:

- a) X does not dominate Y;
- b) Y does not dominate X;
- c) The first branching node Z dominating X dominates Y.

(Adopted from Haegeman, 1995)

78) I did not see anyone.

According to Progovac (1994), Haegeman (1995), Roberts and Roussou (2003), among others, if either the NPI *any* does not have a licenser or if it occupies the subject position then the

negative marker *not* cannot license the NPI *anyone* because it does not c-command it. The result then is ungrammatical sentences:

79) *I saw anyone.

80) *Anyone did not go there.

Previous studies Klima (1964), Ross (1967), Baker (1970), Zanuttini (1991), Progovac (1988, 1993, 1994), Benmamoun (1997, 2000, 2013), Giannakidou (1998), Brown, (1999), Zeijlstra (2004), Alqassas (2012, 2016, 2019), Ouali and Soltan (2014), among others show that NPIs differ from NCIs in that NPIs cannot stand alone (81) and cannot pass the fragment answers (82).

81) *I said anything. (English)

82) Chi hai visto? *Alcuno. (Italian)

who have._{2S} seen anybody

‘Who have you seen?’ ‘Anybody.’

Benmamoun (1997, 2006), Alqassas (2012, 2016), Hoyt (2010), Alsarayreh (2012), Ouali and Soltan (2014) state that NPIs and NCIs can be licensed either by c-command, or Spec-head relation. Moreover, Benmamoun (1997, 2006) and Alsarayreh (2012) argue that NPIs and NCIs can also be licensed by Head-complement configuration along with the other two configurations. There was a debate about whether the language allows all the three requirements or only some. For example, Alqassas (2016) illustrates that JA does not allow Head-complement configuration. The author states that the NPIs cannot enter into Head-complement relationship with negation as the NPI *šumr* “never” cannot precede the negative *māḥad* or the NCI *wāla waḥid*. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

83) *ʕomr-u maḥəda-ʃ zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

*ever-him no one visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

84) *ʕomr-u wəla ḥəda zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

*ever-him NCI one visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

(Alqassas, 2016)

According to Aoun et al (2010), MA has two different classes of NPIs. One class which can precede sentential negation (85) and another class that cannot precede sentential negation (87). The former can both follow and precede sentential negation (86) which the authors use as a piece of evidence for Spec-head configuration.

85) ḥətta waḥid ma-dʒa.

even one Neg-come._{3MS}

‘No one came.’

86) ma-dʒa ḥətta waḥid.

Neg-come._{3MS} even one

‘No one came.’

87) ma-dʒa ḥədd.

Neg-come._{3MS} one

‘No one came.’

(Aoun et al, 2010:123)

In addition to the NPI *ḥətta*, MA has another class which is the adverbial NPI *ʕəmmər*. Benmamoun (2006) shows that the NPI *ʕəmmər* in example (88) cannot be licensed by neither c-

command nor by Spec-head configuration. Therefore, the author proposes another relationship which is Head-complement configuration.

88) *nadja ʕəmmər-hə ma-dʒa.*

nadja never-her Neg-came.3MS

‘Nadia never came.’

Benmamoun (1992, 1997, 2000, 2006) investigates negation in MA. The author states that NSIs in MA is licensed under c-command, Spec-head, and Head-complement relation. The author states that the enclitic marker *-ʃ* is in complementary distribution with the NPI *həttə*+NP in MA which is similar to the distribution of the negative marker *pas* used in French, as in (89). The author shows that the licensing of NPIs must take place overtly when they are c-commanded by or in a Spec-head relation with the negative marker *ma*, as seen by the ungrammaticality of (90):

89) a. *ma qrit həttə ktab.*

Neg read.1S even book

‘I did not read any book.’

b. **ma-qrit-ʃ həttə ktab.*

Neg read.1S-Neg even book

‘I did not read any book.’

90) a. **həttə ktab səlwa ma qrat.*

even book Salwa Neg read.3SF

‘Salwa did not read any book.’

b. ma-tlaqit ʕəamm hətta waħid.

Neg-met._{1S} uncle even one

‘I did not meet with the uncle of anyone.’

(Adopted from Benmamoun, 1992)

NPIs in MA can occur preverbally or post-verbally. When they occur in a preverbal position they must be licensed in a Spec-head relation with negation as shown in (85) repeated here as (91). When they occur in a postverbal position they are licensed by c-command, as shown in (89) above.

91) hətta waħid ma-ɖʒa.

even one Neg-come._{3MS}

‘No one came.’

Like *wh*-movement, NPIs does not obtain across a complex NP (92) or an adjunct clause (93). However, NPIs differ from *wh*-movement in that licensing NPIs within an NP or PP is possible as long as it is in the c-command domain of negation, as in (87) above and that NPIs are not allowed in context from which *wh*-phrases can easily be extracted. For example, an NPI within a tense clause cannot be licensed by negation in the higher clause (94). However, an NPI in a non-finite embedded clause or a small clause can be licensed by a mixed negative (95):

92) *ma-qrit-ʃ li-kitab lli ʕʔa-ni hətta waħid.

Neg-read._{1S}-Neg the-book that gave-me even one

‘I did not read the book that anyone gave me.’

93) *ma-ɖʒa baʃ jətlaqa hətta waħid.

Neg-came._{3MS} in order meet even one

‘He did not come in order to meet anyone.’

94) *ma-qult bəli qriti hətta ketab.

Neg-said._{1S} that read._{2S} even book

‘I did not say that he read any book.’

95) ma-byit hətta waħid jɔɟi.

Neg-wanted._{1S} even come

‘I did not want anyone to come.’

(Adopted from Benmamoun, 1992)

Moreover, Benmamoun treats the NPIs as heads since they have the properties of the head in Arabic. Hence, the author shows that the head NPIs in MA can occur higher than negation (96). Neither c-command nor in Spec-head configuration can license them. Only Head-complement can license the head NPIs. In this dissertation, I will argue that the NPI is based-generated postverbally and moved pre-verbally. More details are provided in chapter 4.

96) ʕəmmr-u ma-kan tajbyi nadja.

NPI-him Neg-was love Nadia

‘He never loved Nadia.’

Hoyt (2014) discusses NPIs in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Arabic dialects. The author discusses the theories that are argued to license NPIs which are downward monotonicity (Fauconnier 1975; Ladusaw 1980, von Stechow 1999), pragmatic strengthening (Krifka 1995a-b, Lahiri 1998), or non-veridicality (Giannikadou 1998, 1999, 2000). JA has many different types of NPIs. First, Nominal NPIs which include *ifi* “thing”, *ħadd* “one,” and *ʔəj* “any.”

97) a. ma-ʕuft-ij ifi bass ʕəla kəll ħal sʕawar haifa ħalwat ktir.

Neg-saw._{1S}-Neg thin but on every case pictures Haifa beautiful._{PF} much

‘I did not see anything but, in any case, the pictures of Haifa are very nice.’

b. ma-bayit ḥadd jruḥ məʕa-k.

Neg-wanted.1S one go.3SM with.2S

‘I did not want anyone to go with you.’

(Adopted from Hoyt, 2014)

Second, Adverbial NPIs such as *bi-l-marra* “once, ever”, *ʕumr* “ever”, *ʔaḥad* “one” and *ʕejjʔ* “thing.” According to Hoyt, *bi-l-marra* is ambiguous between an NPI and non-negative interpretations, as shown in (98). The adverb *ʕumr* must co-occur with a licenser. See example (99):

98) ʔənta lam tuwdʕiḥ ʕejjʔ-an bi-l-marra.

you.SM Neg.past clarify.2SM thing-Acc in-the-once

‘You did not ever clarify anything.’

99) a. ʔəna ʕumr-i ma-ʕuft waḥad miḥl-u.

(LA)

I ever-my not-saw.1S one like-him

‘I have never seen anyone like him.’

b. bba ʕammar-u ma-ka-jʕreb.

(MA)

father-my every.3SM Neg-Asp-drink.3SM

‘My father, he never drinks.’

(Harrel and Sobelman, 1964)

The last two types of NPIs in JA are the NPI auxiliaries, and the NPI idioms. Examples of the NPI auxiliaries are *qam* “rise, stand” and *ʕad*, *ʕawad*, *rajaʕ* “return” which are developed from the motion verbs. NPI auxiliaries include *tʕallaq ʕəla rijl-u* “hang from someone’s shoe”, *rafaʕ l-u qaʕə* “lift a match for someone.” This is shown in the following examples:

100) a. ma-bitʿallaq ʕala rijl-i ʃu bjaʕtaqəd huwwə.

Neg-hang._{3SM} upon foot-my what thinks._{3SM} he

‘What he says doesn’t hang from my shoe.’

b. wəlla ma-barfaʕ-l-u qaʕə.

by-God Neg-lift._{1S-to.3SM} match

‘I will not lift a match for him.’

(Hoyt, 2014)

It is worth mentioning that Hoyt only provides a descriptive analysis of the NPIs categories in LA without discussing how these types get licensed.

Alsarayreh (2012) presents the NPIs types that are used in JA. These types are nominal NPIs (101), Determiner NPIs (102), adverbial NPIs (103), and idiomatic NPIs (104). The author indicates that some of the NPIs such as *iʕi* does not exclusively appear in negative contexts. The NPI *iʕi* can sometimes occur in affirmative declarative sentences, as shown in (105):

101) a. *(ma)-ʕa həda.

Neg-came._{3S} one

‘No one came.’

b. məɾjəm *(ma)-ʕafat həda.

Mary Neg-saw._{3SF} one

‘Mary did not see anyone.’

102) a. *(ma)-ħall ʔəjj tʕlib s-suʔal.

Neg-answered._{3S} which student the-question

‘No student answered the question.’

b. mərjəm *(ma)-ħallat ʔəjj suʔal.

Mary Neg-answered._{3SF} which question

‘Mary did answer the question.’

103) mərjəm *(ma)-ʕumr-ha ħallat l-waʕib.

Mary Neg-ever-her answered._{3SF} the-assignment

‘Mary has not ever answered her assignment.’

104) mərja *(ma)-sʕarafat fils ʔāħmer.

Mary Neg-spent._{3SF} cent red

‘Mary did not spend a red cent.’

105) mərjəm ʃafat ʃi ʕala-tʕwlih.

Mary saw._{3SF} thing on the-table

‘Mary saw something on the table.’

(Adopted from Alsarayreh, 2012)

Alqassas (2012, 2019) examines NSIs in JA. The author presents the categories of the NPIs and their distribution. JA like other Arabic dialects exhibits the four categories of the NPIs i.e., nominal NPIs (106), Determiner NPIs (107), adverbial NPIs (108), and idiomatic NPIs (109):

106) ma-ʔəʒa-ʃ ʔəjj ħada.

Neg-came._{3SM}-Neg. any one

‘No one came.’

107) ma-ʃaf-ʃ iʃi.

Neg-saw._{3SM} thing

‘I did not see anything.’

108) *ʕomr-u ma-zar ʔəl-batra.*

ever-him Neg-visited._{3SM} the-Petra

‘He has never visited Petra.’

109) *ma-maʕ-hu-ʃ griʃ/fils ʔəhmər.*

Neg-with-him-Neg. penny/cent red

‘He does not have a penny/red cent.’

(Adopted from Alsarayreh, 2012)

According to Alqassas, all the NPIs in JA can occur both postverbally and preverbally with the presence of the negative marker *ma*. The preverbal NPIs can be licensed under Spec-head relation with the negative marker while the post-verbal NPIs can be licensed under c-command by the negative marker. Moreover, Alqassas states that NPIs in JA can only be licensed by c-command or by Spec-head relation. The author illustrates that the NPI *ʕomər* cannot be licensed under Head-complement configuration, claimed by Benmamoun (2006), as *ʕomər* cannot precede the negative compound *məħəd-ʃ* (110) and the NCI *wəla ħəda* (111). However, Alqassas’ argument is only limited to JA. It would be more accurate if his argument was supported by other Arabic dialects. Moreover, his argument cannot provide an explanation for dialects that allow the NPI *ʕomər* to precede *məħəd-ʃ* and the NCI *wəla*. In this paper, I argue that the NPI *ʕomər* can precede *məħəd-ʃ* and the NCI *wəla* by showing some evidence from the *ma* group and *ma-ʃ* group. However, data from both groups illustrates that NSIs in IA can only be licensed by c-command. I will argue that even though the NPI *ʕomər* can precede *məħəd-ʃ* and the NCI *wəla*; yet it cannot be licensed under Head-complement configuration. Finally, I will demonstrate that the preverbal NPIs and NCIs are licensed by c-command and not by Spec-head relation as the previous authors argued. More details are provided in the next chapters.

110) (*ʕumr-u) maḥəda-ʃ (ʕumr-u) zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

(*ever-him) no one (ever-him) visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

111) (*ʕumr-u) wəla ḥəda (ʕumr-u) zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

(*ever-him) NCI one (ever-him) visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

(Alqassas, 2016)

Scholars such as Benmamoun (2006), Soltan (2012), Alqassas (2015, 2019) argue that the enclitic *-ʃ* is in complementary distribution with the preverbal NPI such as the NPI *ʕumr*, or the NPI *ḥəta* as shown in (112) and (113). In this dissertation, data from the *ma-ʃ* group will be used to argue against their claims and illustrates that the enclitic *-ʃ* is not in complementary distribution with the preverbal NPI *ʕumr* or any preverbal NSIs in the *ma-ʃ* group which distinguishes this group from other Arabic dialects.

112) ləjla ʕumr-ha ma-safart (*-ʃ).

Laila never-her Neg-traveled._{3FS-Neg}

‘Laila never traveled.’

113) *ma-qrit-ʃ ḥəta ktab.

Neg read._{1S-Neg} even book

‘I did not read any book.’

(Adopted from Benmamoun, 2006)

2.2.2. Negative Concord Items

NC refers to using two or more negative elements that do not cancel each other out but they still express a single negation (Zeijlstra, 2004). Unlike NPIs, NCIs can stand alone (114) and can occur in the fragment answers (115).

114) Nessuno ha telefonato a nessuno. (Italian)

N-body has telephoned to n-body

‘Nobody called anybody’

115) ¿A ui n viste? A Nadie. (Spanish)

to who saw._{2S} to nobody

‘Who i you see?’ ‘Nobody.’

(Zeijlstra, 2004: 62; 270)

Generally speaking, Languages are divided into either a Strict-NC or a Non-Strict NC.¹⁰ Languages, such as Japanese, Creek, Slavic languages are known as a Strict-NC which means that the NCIs require the presence of a negative marker. Other languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, are referred to as a Non-Strict NC which means that the NCIs are allowed to occupy a subject position and to occur without a negative marker (Zeijlstra 2004). NCIs have three different constructions which are Negative Doubling (116), Negative Spread (117), and Negative Doubling and Spread (118) (Den Besten, 1989; Van der Wouden & Zwarts, 1993; Van der Wouden, 1994a; Zeijlstra, 2004). Zeijlstra (2004) argues that all NC languages

¹⁰ According to Den Besten, 1989; Van der Wouden, 1994, Giannakidou, 2000; Zeijlstra, 2004, NC has many different types in addition to Strict-NC and a Non-Strict there is a Paratactic Negation and an Emphatic Negation.

1) J'ai peur qu'il ne vient. (French: Paratactic Negation)

I am afraid that he Neg comes

‘I am afraid that he comes.’

2) Hij gaat nooit niet naar school. (Dutch: Emphatic Negation)

He goes n-ever Neg to school

‘He never ever goes to school.’

exhibit both Negative Spread and Negative Doubling. However, in this dissertation, I will show that this fact is not true and cannot be applied in IA. These constructions are defined as follows:

- a. Negative Spread: the distribution of the negative feature over any number of indefinite examples that occur within its scope.
- b. Negative Doubling: sentences that include a negative phrase with a marked negative component.
- c. Negative Spread and Doubling: sentences that include more than one negative expression with a marked negative constituent.

116) T ee niemand niets gezeid. (West Flemish)

it has n-body n-thing said

‘Nobody said anything.’

117) Jean ne dit rien. (French)

John Neg says n-thing

‘John doesn’t say anything.’

118) Nikdo nedá nikomu nic. (Czech)

N-body.NOM Neg gives n-body.ACC n-thing.DAT

‘Nobody gives anything to anybody.’

(Zeijlestra, 2004:62)

Hoyt (2005) compares two Arabic dialects PA and MA which exhibit NC. His study shows that PA and MA have some similarities in several aspects of NC but they differ in terms of the interpretations of available for the n-words and with the positions in the sentence.¹¹ Hoyt

¹¹ N-words which were first introduced by Laka (1990) refer to a nominal and an adverbial component that occurs with NC construction. According to Giannakidou (2002), an n-word is different from other negative elements in that it is defined as “An expression *a* is an n-word iff: (a) *a* can be used in structures containing sentential negation or

claims that the n-word *wəla* “not.even” in PA expresses negation when it occurs preverbally while it is treated as an NPI when it occurs post-verbally. The n-word *ħətta* “even one” in MA is interpreted as an NPI when it occurs both preverbally and post-verbally. This is shown in the following examples:¹²

119) a. *ma-ʃaf-ni-ʃ wəla ħədda fi-hum.* (PA)

Neg-see.3MS-1S-Neg not.even one in-them.3MP

‘Not even one of them saw me.’

b. *wəla ħədda fi-hum ma-ʃaf-ni-ʃ.*

not.even one in-them.3MP Neg-see.3MS-1S-Neg

‘Not even ONE of them did not see me.’

120) a. *ma-ʃaf-ni-ʃ ħətta ħədd.* (MA)

Neg-see.3MS-1S-Neg even. one.MS

‘Not even one person saw me.’

b. *ħətta ħədd ma-ʃaf-ni-ʃ.*

even. one.MS Neg-see.3MS-1S-Neg

‘Not even one person saw me.’

The reason why example (119) differs from example (120) according to Hoyt is because the n-word *wəla* in PA is ambiguous between an NPI interpretation (119) and a negative quantifier (NQ) interpretation (120). Therefore, *wəla* has the value [pol -] (119) and the negative marker *ma* is specified as [pol +] but assigns its complement a [pol -] value. The NQ-*wəla* has an unmatched polarity feature with a positive value [\uparrow pol +]) which enters into Accord under a

another *a*-expression yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation; and (b) a can provide a negative fragment answer.” See Giannakidou (2002) for more details.

¹² Examples (119) – (129) are taken from Hoyt (2005, 2012).

specifier-head relation with the [pol +] feature on *ma*.¹³ Therefore, the example has a double negation reading.

- 121) a. NQ-*wəla* → N [\uparrow pol +]
b. NPI-*wəla* → N [\uparrow pol -]

The author concludes that both dialects have two respects when it comes to expressing negation i.e., (a.) Palestinian n-words are ambiguous between a negative quantifier and existential reading, (b.) N-words are not licensed inside construct state nominals. (a.) Moroccan n-words are uniformly existential quantifiers, and (b.) N-words are licensed inside construct state nominals. In this dissertation, I will argue against Hoyt’s analysis and show that example (119) has a double negation reading because there is a negative operator which occurs higher in the structure which has the interpretable feature [iNeg]. More details are presented in chapter 4.

Hoyt (2010) discusses the NCIs in LA. The author states that NCIs are licensed semantically not syntactically. When *wəla*-phrases are interpreted with new information status, they are required to be licensed (122); otherwise, they would have a different meaning. The NCIs *ʔəbadan* (123) and *bilmarra* (124), on the other hand, are required to be licensed in all locations which are licensed morpho-syntactically.

- 122) *wəla waħid ʕərəfət.*
not.even one knew.1S
‘Not one [of them] did I know.’

¹³ According to Hoyt (2005), Accord is a variation on the Agree relation which permits either “top-down” or “bottom-up” matching and to take place under either c-command or specifier-head relation (Chomsky 2000, Chomsky 2001). See Hoyt (2005) for further details.

123) ma-fi ʔəjj muʃkila ʔəbadan.

not-exist which problem never

‘There is not a problem ever.’

124) əlbəsina, ma-baħəb-hæ-ʃ bilmarra.

the-pool, Neg-1S.like-her-Neg never

‘The swimming pool, I do not like it at all.’

Alsarayreh (2012) shows that JA exhibits all three types of NC-constructions found in other languages: Negative Doubling (125), Negative Spread (126), and Negative Doubling and Spread (127).

125) məryəm *(ma)-ħakat wala kilmih.

Mary Neg-said._{3SF} NCI-DET word

‘Mary did not say any word.’

126) wəla tʔalib ħall wəla suʔal.

NCI student answered._{3SM} NCI question

‘No student answered any question.’

127) məryəm *(ma)-kɪtbət wəla baħəθ laħassa.

Mary Neg-wrote._{3SF} NCI paper NCI-time.

‘Mary has not written any paper yet.’

(Alsarayreh, 2012: 150-1)

According to the author, JA is the first language that displays both types of NC which are strict NC and non-strict NC. The former indicated that the NCIs must always co-occur with a negative marker both preverbally and postverbally without yields a double negation reading whereas the latter indicates that only the postverbal NCIs must co-occur with a negative marker.

If the preverbal NCI co-occurred with a negative marker the result is a double negation reading not a concordant reading. See the following example:

128) a. məryəm *(ma)-btakil tuffaḥ bilmarraḥ.

Mary Neg-eat._{3SF} apples NCI-time

‘Mary does not eat apples at all.’

b. bilmarraḥ məryəm *(ma)-btakil tuffaḥ.

NCI-time Mary Neg-eat._{3SF}

‘Mary does not eat apples at all.’

129) a. *(ma)-za wəla waḥid.

Neg-came._{3SM} NCI one.

‘No one came.’

b. wəla waḥid ma-za.

NCI one Neg-came._{3SM}

‘No one did not come.’

Following Zeijlstra and Penka’s proposal, Alsarayreh treats the NCIs as non-negative indefinites specified with an [uNeg] feature which requires to be checked against a semantic negation that has an [iNeg] feature. Moreover, the author adopts the assumption that there is an abstract negative operator that can license the NCIs. Following Benmamoun, on the other hand, the author treats the NCIs as heads projects their own projections. Alsarayreh argues that an NCI can check its [uNeg] feature either under c-command, Spec-head agreement, or Head-complement agreement. Finally, the author states that the strict NCIs in JA are licensed at LF, while the non-strict NCIs in JA are licensed in the surface syntax. Data from the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups of IA will show some similarities to the NCIs structure in JA.

According to Ouali & Soltan (2014), *ħatta* is treated as NCI, not as NPIs which was claimed by Aoun, Benmamoun, and Choueiri (2010). This is because the NCI *ħatta* can pass the fragment answer (130) and can occur in a preverbal position (131). In this dissertation, I agree with the authors in regard to the fact the previous analyses cannot be extended to Arabic dialects; however, I depart from their analysis regarding the feature of NCI *wəla*. I will show that the NCI *wəla* can only carry an uninterpretable feature [uNeg] and it is not ambiguous between the interpretable [iNeg] or the uninterpretable [uNeg] feature.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|------|
| 130) a. Question: | Answer: | |
| ʔinta ʃuf-t min? | wəla waħid. | (EA) |
| you saw-2SM who | no one | |
| ‘Who did you see?’ | ‘Nobody.’ | |
| b. Question: Answer: | | |
| ʃkun ʃaf-ti? | ħatta waħəd. | (MA) |
| who saw-2SM | not-even one | |
| ‘Who did you see?’ | ‘Nobody.’ | |
| 131) a. wəla waħid ɡih. | | (EA) |
| no one came.3SM | | |
| ‘Nobody came.’ | | |
| b. ħatta waħəd ma-za. | | (MA) |
| not-even one Neg-came. 3SM | | |
| ‘Nobody came.’ | | |

Ouali & Soltan show that NCIs in MA and EA can only be licensed locally by negation; however, these two dialects are not similar to negation requirement when licensing NCIs. While

the NCI *ḥatta* in MA always requires the presence of negation which behaves as a strict NC language NCI *wəla* in EA only requires negation when it follows the verb which behaves as a non-strict NC language. See the following examples:¹⁴

132) a. *wəla waḥīd giḥ.* (EA)

no one came._{3SM}

‘Nobody came.’

b. *wəla waḥīd ma-ga-ḥ.* (EA)

no one Neg-came._{3SM-Neg}

‘Nobody did not come.’ #‘Nobody came.’

133) *ma -ḥaf-t ḥatta waḥəd.* (MA)

Neg-saw-_{1S} not-even one

‘I did not see anyone.’

(Adopted from Ouali & Soltan, 2014)

Furthermore, the authors present and discuss previous analyses (i.e., NPI analysis, NQ analysis, Lexical ambiguity, and Syntactic agreement) and proposed a hybrid analysis of NC which is a mixture of the syntactic agreement and the lexical ambiguity approaches to NC. Under their analysis, the NCIs enter into a licensing relation with the overt negative marker by *Agree* to check the required features. Moreover, under their analysis, the NCI *wəla* in EA is either specified for the [uNeg] or [iNeg] feature while the NCI *ḥatta* in MA is specified for the [uNeg] feature as shown in example (132) above.

Finally, the authors show that economic principle plays a role here. However, it does not affect the distribution of the NCI *wəla* post-verbally. The authors show that example (132)b is

¹⁴ Data from the *ma* and *ma-f* groups indicates that Iraqi Arabic similar to JA behaves as both a strict NC language NCI and as a non-strict NC language.

b. wəla-ħada ma-ʔəʒa-f.
no-one Neg-came.3SM-Neg
'Nobody did not come.'

(Alqassas, 2019)

138)a. wəla waħid gih.

(EA)

no one came.3SM
'No one came.'

b. wəla waħid ma-ga-f.

no one Neg-came.3SM-Neg
'Nobody did not come.'

(Ouali and Soltan, 2014)

Moreover, Alqassas states that similar to the NPIs, the NCIs in JA can only be licensed by c-command or by Spec-head relation. The postverbal determiner and adverbial NCIs are licensed by c-command while the preverbal determiner NCIs are licensed by Spec-head relation. According to Alqassas, the preverbal *wəla ħada* in JA and EA cannot occur with negation is because there is no dependency relation with negation. Arguing against Alqassas analysis, I will show later that the reason why the preverbal *wəla* cannot co-occur with negation can be better explained by the existence of the negative operator which has the [iNeg] feature.

In his recent work, Alqassas argues that the multi-locus analysis provides an explanation for the phenomenon when the enclitic *-f* disappears in the presence of the NSIs. Alqassas (2015, 2019) argues that the enclitic *-f* in MA is in complementary distribution with some of the NCIs, such as *ħatta waħid*, as shown in (139).

139) ma-dʒa(*-f) hətta waħid.

(MA)

Neg-came._{3SM} (Neg) even one

‘No one came.’

(Alqassas, 2019: 116)

According to the author, the free negative marker *ma* occurs above TP while the bipartite negative marker *ma-f* occurs below TP. Therefore, when the NPI *ʕumr* occurs preverbally the enclitic *-f* does not surface. This is because the bipartite negative marker *ma-f* which occupies a head lower than TP cannot license the adverbial *ʕumr* NPI which merges above TP and requires to be licensed either by c-command or Spec-head relation. This fact is supported by the ability of the preverbal *ʕumr* to co-occur with the bipartite negative marker *ma-f* where the latter can c-command it.

140) a. ʕumr-u ma-zar ʔəl-batra.

(JA)

ever-him Neg-visited._{3SM} the-Petra

‘He has never visited Petra.’

b. *ʕumr-u ma-zar-f ʔəl-batra.

ever-him Neg-visited._{3SM}-Neg the-Petra

‘He has never visited Petra.’

(Alqassas, 2019: 118)

Finally, Alqassas claim that the NPI *ʕumr* is base-generated preverbally and postverbally while the NCI *bəʕd* is base-generated postverbally and moved pre-verbally. In this dissertation, I argue that both the NPI and the NCI are base-generated postverbally and moved pre-verbally. More details are provided in chapter 4 and 5.

2.3. Summary

In this chapter, I have provided previous analyses about sentential negation. I started with general cross-linguistic analyses, then focused on previous analyses about sentential negation in Arabic dialects. As shown in this section, different scholars have different analyses for the locus of sentential negation. Some scholars argue that NegP is higher than TP, and other scholars argue that NegP is between TP and VP. However, all scholars have agreed that the negative marker in Arabic heads its own projection and that it is associated with an uninterpretable [-D] feature that needs to be checked against an interpretable [+D] feature.

This chapter also presents previous work on the NSI in different languages and Arabic dialects. As shown from the discussion above, there is a disagreement about how the NSIs get licensed in Arabic. Some scholars have argued that the three configurations c-command, Spec-head, and Head-complement configuration can be applied to license the NCIs while other scholars have claimed that the NSIs can only be licensed by c-command or Spec-head relation. Additionally, some scholars have treated some of the NSIs as heads that project their own projections while others have treated them as adverbs that are either base-generated preverbally and postverbally or are base-generated postverbally and moved pre-verbally.

In the next chapter, I will argue that the High-Neg analysis, which is proposed by Soltan (2007, 2014), Hoyt (2010), Benmamoun et al. (2013), does not adequately predict negation in IA. The High-Neg analysis cannot provide an explanation for the merger of the imperfective verb with the negative marker in the *ma-f* group or the merger between the negative marker and the progressive, prospective, existential and possessive particles in both groups. Therefore, I will argue that the Low-Neg analysis, which is proposed by Benmamoun (1993, 2000), and Aoun et al. (2010) is consistent with what is found in IA because the Low-Neg analysis can give an

explanation for the merger of the imperfective verb with the negative among other problems. The next chapter presents evidence showing that Neg occupies a projection between TP and VP in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group.

Chapter Three

THE SYNTAX OF SENTENTIAL NEGATION IN IRAQI ARABIC DIALECTS

3. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the discussion and analysis of the syntax of sentential negation in the two groups of IA. It discusses the syntactic properties of sentential negation and focuses on the negative particles that are used to express sentential negation in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group, which captures most of the variation in the syntax of negation in these groups. Moreover, in this chapter, I argue against the claim that IA only uses the free morpheme *ma* to negate a statement and present data which shows that some dialects of IA use other negative markers beside the negative marker *ma*, such as *ma-f*.

The research questions I would like to pose and answer in this chapter are:

- I. Does Iraqi Arabic require a single element, two elements, or both to form negation?
- II. What is the structure of negation in Iraqi Arabic? Does NegP occur above or below TP?
- III. What is the structural status of the enclitic *-f* in the bipartite negation *ma-f*?

In this chapter, I present data from the aforementioned groups of dialects to support my proposed analysis for the structures of sentential negation. To illustrate certain central themes of this chapter, consider the following examples:

1) Verbal Predicates:

ma group:

a. ʕəli ma dırəs.

(Baghdadi)

Ali Neg studied.PAST.3SM

‘Ali did not study.’

b. ʕəli ma jʊ-drʊs kul yum. (Baghdadi)

Ali Neg _{3SM}-study every day

‘Ali does not study every day.’

c. ʕəli ma raḥ jʊ-drʊs. (Najafi)

Ali Neg will _{3SM}-study

‘Ali will not study.’

2) Verbal Predicates:

ma-f group:

a. ʕəli ma-dərəs-ijf. (Basrawi)

Ali Neg studied._{PAST.3SM}-Neg

‘Ali did not study.’

b. ʕəli ma-jʊ-drʊs-ijf kul yum. (Basrawi)

Ali Neg _{3SM}-study-Neg every day

‘Ali does not study every day.’

c. ʕəli ma-raḥ-f jʊ-drʊs. (Amarah)

Ali Neg-will-Neg _{3SM}-study.

‘Ali will not study.’

3) Verbless Predicates:

a. ʔəḥməd mu tʕabib. (Najafi)

Ahmed Neg doctor._{3MS}

‘Ahmed is not a doctor.’

- b. ʔəl-bnəjəh mu hɪlw-ah. (Baghdadi)
the-girl Neg beautiful-3FS
‘The girl is not beautiful.’
- c. ʔəhməd mu bi-ʔəl-bijət. (Najafi)
Ahmed Neg in-the-house
‘Ahmed is not in the house.’
- d. ʔəhməd muʃ tʻabib. (Amarah)
Ahmed Neg doctor.3MS
‘Ahmed is not a doctor.’
- e. ʔəl-bnəjəh muʃ hɪlw-əh (Nasiriyah)
the-girl neg beautiful-3FS
‘The girl is not beautiful.’
- f. ʔəhmed muʃ bi-ʔəl-bijət. (Basrawi)
Ahmed Neg in-the-house
‘Ahmed is not in the house.’

The data from the two groups demonstrates that there are two main systems of negation in IA: the one-part negative marker, free morpheme, and the two-part, bipartite, negative marker. I will argue that the facts from the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups call for an analysis that captures the variation among these dialects; and departs from the previous analyses that, I believe, fail do to so, e.g., the analyses proposed by Alqassas (2012, 2019), Soltan (2014), Hoyt (2010), Alsarayreh (2012), among others. Here, I argue that NegP is positioned below TP, not above TP. This chapter is organized as follows. In section (3.3.1), I introduce the facts of sentential negation in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. In this section, I show that IA uses *ma*, *mu*, *ma-f*, and *muʃ*

among other particles to express sentential negation. The *ma* group uses the negative markers *ma* and *mu* to express sentential negation, while the *ma-f* group uses the negative markers *ma-f* and *muf*. From the data presented in this section, it is clear that *ma* has similar feature to the negative marker *ma* in Standard Arabic, while the enclitic marker *-f* is not. In section (3.1.1), I introduce the features of sentential negation in the *ma* group. The section provides an overview of the diachronic development of the negative markers in this group and compares them with the negative markers used in standard Arabic. Similar to section (3.1.1), section (3.1.2), present the features of sentential negation in the *ma-f* group. In this section, I argue that this group uses the bipartite negative marker *ma-f* among other negative markers that are not found in other Arabic dialects, such as *mamif* “there is not” and *fib* “shame.”

In section (3.2), I provide previous analyses about the locus of sentential negation. This section discusses the two disagreements regarding the location of sentential negation. The first claim is that the negative morpheme is the head of a NegP located above TP (Shlonsky 1997; Soltan, 2007, 2014; and Alqassas, 2012, among others). The second claim is that Neg occupies a position lower than T (Benmamoun 2000, Ouhalla 2002, and Aoun et al. 2010). Section (3.3) provides a detailed discussion of the position of NegP. I argue that the negative particle is basically positioned in the negative head between TP and VP. In this section, I argue that Neg must merge with the progressive, the existential, and the possessive particles in both groups. Moreover, the imperfective verb has the option to merge with the negation marker *ma-f* in the *ma-f* group. Section (3.4) concludes the discussion.

3.1. Facts about Sentential Negation in Iraqi Arabic

This section discusses the facts of sentential negation in IA and tries to answer the question of how IA expresses sentential negation. The section presents two groups of IA, the *ma*

group and the *ma-f* group. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Arabic dialects differ in at least two ways with respect to the expression of sentential negation. Some dialects, like MA, JA, and EA, have a bipartite negation consisting of a pre-verbal negative clitic and another negative marker (4); in other dialects, like Kuwaiti Arabic, and Syrian Arabic sentential negation is expressed by a single negative marker (Benmamoun 2000; Aoun et al., 2010), as shown in (5):

4) a. ma-ħdʕrti-f f-lwaqt. (MA)

Neg-arrive._{3MS}-Neg in-time

‘You did not arrive on time.’

b. ma-tismaʕ-f kalam-hum. (EA)

Neg-listen._{2S}-Neg talk-their

‘Don't listen to them!’

(Adopted from Benmamoun, 2013)

5) a. ʔəl-li, baʕəd ma zərt ʔasarat ləbnan. (Syrian Arabic)

tell-me, yet Neg visited._{2MS} ruins Lebanon

‘Tell me, have not you visited the ruins of Lebanon yet?’

b. ma ʕallaw fay ma ʕadu. (Kuwaiti Arabic)

Neg left._{3P} thing Neg took._{3P}

‘They did not leave anything they did not take.’

(Adopted from Aoun et al., 2010)

IA is no exception. Iraqi dialects can be classified into two categories based on how they express negation. Dialects that use a single element *ma* ‘not’ to express sentential negation include Moslawi, Baghdadi, and Najafi dialects, among others (6).

6) a. ʕəli ma dīrəs.

(Baghdadi)

Ali Neg studied._{PAST.3SM}

‘Ali did not study.’

b. ʕəli ma jʊ-drʊs kul yum.

Ali Neg _{3SM}-study every day

‘Ali does not study every day.’

c. Ali ma raḥ jʊ-drʊs.

Ali Neg will _{3SM}-study

‘Ali will not study.’

In other dialects, such as Nasiriya, Amarah, and Basrawi, sentential negation is expressed by using two negative morphemes, the proclitic *ma-* and the enclitic *-f*, or the discontinuous negative marker *muf*, as illustrated in (7):

7) a. ma-ʔəḥib-hu-f.

(Basrawi)

Neg-like._{1S}-Neg

‘I do not like it.’

b. ʔəl-montəzəh muf nədʕif.

the-park Neg clean._{3SM}

‘The park is not clean.’

The data show that the system of negation in the two groups demonstrates several comparable features. In what follows, I will provide a descriptive overview of the system of negation in the two groups.

3.1.1. Sentential Negation in *ma* Group

This section discusses sentential negation in the *ma* group that includes Moslawi, Baghdadi, and Najafi dialects which use the free morpheme negative marker *ma/la* “not.” It presents the facts of sentential negation in this group and discusses how the *ma* group negates verbal and non-verbal predicates.

As the examples in (6) above show, the negative marker *ma* has neutral properties. It is used with the present, past, and future tenses. One feature of the *ma* group is that the negative marker *ma* can be used either as proclitic *ma-* when it has a short vowel and when it is adjacent to the predicate it negates, as illustrates in (8) and (9), or it can be used as an independent morpheme *ma*, as shown in example (6) above.

8) ʔəl-səna al-madʕja ma-ʕirefət ʔə-suq. (finite verbs)

the-year the-last Neg-1-knew-s 1s-drive

‘Last year, I was not able to drive.’

9) qəbıl ma-tʃan ʔəku zlazıl bı-ʔəl-ʕıraq. (auxiliary)

before Neg-was exist earthquake in the Iraq

‘Before, there was not any earthquake in Iraq.’

10) ʔılli ʕafəh ʔəl- ʕıraqın məħəd ʕafə. (indefinite pronoun)

Rel saw.3P Iraqi not-one saw-him.

‘What Iraqi people saw, no one has seen it.’

Furthermore, *ma* unlike *la* can negate an active participle (11) or a passive participle (12).

11) ʔəħməd ma sakın ʔəb-mədinət baydəd.

Ahmed Neg live.3SM in-city Baghdad

‘Ahmed does not live in Baghdad.’

12) haða haži ma məsqul.

this talk neg proper

‘This is not a proper talk.’

So far, all the examples of negation mentioned above show that the particle Neg occurs with the main predicate. Additionally, the negative marker *ma* can precede aspect particles, such as “*da/ga/qa*”¹⁵ “-ing” (13), “*raħ*” “will” (14). It can co-occur with the quantifier “*wahid*” “one” to form a negative quantifier (15), and can precede the auxiliary “*fan*” “was” (16).

13) a. fəd tʰalīb ma da-j-drus. (Baghdadi)

a student_{3SM} Neg PROG-3M.study.S-IMP

‘A student is not studying.’

b. fəd tʰalīb ma ga-j-drus. (Najafi)

a student_{3SM} Neg PROG-3M-study.S-IMP

‘A student is not studying.’

c. tʰalīb wiħid ma qa-j-drus. (Moslawi)

student_{3SM} one Neg PROG-3M-study.S-IMP

‘A student is not studying.’

14) ʔəħməd ma raħ ʔiruħ li-ʔəl-dʒamiʔəh. (Najafi)

Ahmed Neg will GO.PAST.3MS the college

‘Ahmed will not go to the college.’

¹⁵ The three main dialect Baghdad, Najafi and Moslawi use different prefixes/particles to express present progressive aspect. This is shown in (13) above.

15) məhəd nɪzəh bɪ-ʔəl-əmtħan.

no one passed in-the-exam

‘No one passed the exam.’

16) ʔəl-tʻalɪb ma ʃan da-j-drus. (Baghdadi)

the-student_{3SM} Neg was PROG-3M.study.S-IMP

‘The student was not studying.’

Standard Arabic uses the negative markers *lan*, *laysa*, and *lam* to express sentential negation, but these markers are not used in Modern Arabic dialects, while *ma* is one of the markers that has been saved from extinction. The particle *ma* has similar properties to the negative marker *ma* in Standard Arabic; however, it does not negate nominal predicates in the *ma* group as noted in the ungrammatical examples of (17), (18), and (19) when we use the particle *ma*. Instead, *mu* is used which can negate nominal (17), adjectival (18), and prepositional predicates (19).

17) ʔəhməd *ma/mu tʻabib.

Ahmed Neg doctor_{3MS}

‘Ahmed is not a doctor.’

18) ʔəl-bnəjəh *ma/mu ħɪlw-ah.

the-girl Neg beautiful_{3FS}

‘The girl is not beautiful.’

19) ʕəli *ma/mu bɪ-ʔəl-bɪjət.

Ali Neg in-the-house

‘Ali is not in the house.’

The negative marker *mu* does not exist in Standard Arabic, but the negative particle *mu* shares the same syntactic aspects of the Standard Arabic *laysa* “not” (18). One syntactic aspect is that both *laysa* and *mu* are negative elements that occur with verbless sentences. However, *mu*, unlike *laysa* does not inflect for agreement or gender. See the following examples:

20) a. ʔal-walad-u laysa tʕælib-an. (Standard Arabic)

the boy-NOM.3S Neg.3MS student.3MS-Acc

‘The boy is not a student.’

b. ʔal-bint-u laysat tælib-tan.

the girl-NOM.3S Neg.3SF student.3SF-Acc

‘The girl is not a student.’

21) a. ʕæli mu tʕæləb. (*ma* group)

Ali Neg student.3MS

‘Ali is not a student.’

b. sarəh mu tʕælib-əh.

Sarah Neg student-3SF

‘Sarah is not a student.’

Furthermore, these negative markers can occur in various clause structures. For example, the negative marker *ma* can occur with the existential particle *ʔəku* “there is” to become *maku* “there is not” in the *ma* group. This is illustrated in the following examples:

22) a. ʔəku ʔəkɪl bɪ-ʔəl-θɪlæzəh.

there food in-the-fridge

‘There is food in the fridge.’

b. maku ʔəkɪl bɪ-ʔəl-θɪlæzəh.

Neg-there food in-the-fridge

‘There is no food in the fridge.’

The negative marker *maku* is a combination of *ma+ʔəku*. The existential particle *maku* has two different functions, serving as either a simple negative particle when it negates non-verbal (22) or as a command when it negates verbs (Abu-Haider, 2002). This is shown in (23):

23) maku tʃabrɪni kul nʊs^s saʕa. (Baghdadi)

Neg call.1FS very half hour

‘Don't call me every half hour!’

In addition to the negative particle *ma*, the *ma* group has other negative markers such as *la*, and *wela*¹⁶, as shown in the following examples:

24) la nɪd^sʃal fajt wakɪt hal-ləla. (Baghdadi)

Neg stay.3P late this-night

‘Don't let us stay late tonight!’

(Adopted from Abu-Haider, 2002)

25) Question:	ʃɪft ʔəli?	Answer:	la.
	saw.you.3SM Ali		no
	‘Did you see Ali?’		‘No.’

¹⁶ The negative marker *wela* has different usages. It can be used as Negative Concord Items (NCIs) as we will see in chapter 6 and it can be used as negative disjunction or additive particle “nor”. *la . . . wela* “neither . . . nor,” as shown in the following example:

1. *wela wahɪd ʃaf ʕəhməd.*
NCI one saw.3SM Ahmed
‘No one saw Ahmed.’
2. *ʕəli ma ʃaf la ʕəhməd wela sarah.*
Ali Neg saw.3SM Neg Ahmed and not Sarah
‘Ali did not see neither Ahmed nor Sarah.’

26) wela riḥət lil-ḥəfləh.

Neg go.PAST.1S to-the-party

‘I did not go to the party.’

The negative particle *la* as example (24) shows occurs with imperfective verbs to express negative imperative and discourse negation. Imperatives in the *ma* group are recognized in three ways.

27) a. ma truḥ-in lil-ḥəfləh.

(Najafi)

Neg go-IMP.3SF to-the-party

‘Do not go to the party.’

b. la truḥ-in lil-ḥəfləh.

Neg go-IMP.3SF to-the-party

‘Do not go to the party.’

c. mu truḥ-in lil-ḥəfləh.

Neg go-IMP.3SF to-the-party

‘Do not go to the party.’

Example (27)a states prohibition without any argument, example (27)b expresses prohibition while (27)c states warning or suggestion. These three ways of expressing negative imperatives are similar to Kuwaiti Arabic imperfective structure reported by Aljenaie (2008).

In addition, it occurs in verbal sentences with the perfect verbs preceded by the auxiliary verb *tʃan* (Abu-Haider, 2002). This is shown in (28):

28) la tʃan dələl-t-ha hal-gad.

(Baghdadi)

Neg was spoil-Past.3SF to this extent

‘You should not have spoiled her to this extent!’

Example (26) shows that the particle *wela* “not” has the same feature of the negative marker *ma* when expressing sentential negation.

3.1.2. Sentential Negation in *ma-f* Group

In this section, I provide a descriptive overview of the system of sentential negation in the *ma-f* group. As has been discussed in chapter two, previous studies state that sentential negation in some Arabic dialects, such as PA, JA, LA, EA, MA, Algerian, Tunisia, and Libyan, contains two negative elements which appear as a discontinuous morpheme, as in (4), repeated here as (29).

29) a. ma-ħd^srti-f f-twaqt. (MA)

Neg-arrive._{3MS}-Neg in-time

‘You did not arrive on time.’

b. ma-tismaʕ-f kalam-hom. (EA)

Neg-listen._{2S}-Neg talk-their

‘Don't listen to them!’

Other studies (Cowell, 1964; Brustad, 2000; Abu-Haidar, 2002; Holes, 2004), on the other hand, argue that dialects such as Syrian, Iraqi, the Gulf, and Saudi Arabic use only the free morpheme *ma*. In this section, I will argue against these studies which claim that IA only uses the free morpheme when negating a statement. This section presents the facts of sentential negation in the *ma-f* group which contains dialects such as Nasiriya, Amarah, and Basrawi. As it has been mentioned before, the *ma-f* group expresses sentential negation by using the two-part negative marker *ma-f*. Moreover, the section discusses the features of the negative marker when negating verbal and non-verbal predicates.

In the verbal sentences, the negative marker *ma* precedes the lexical verb while the enclitic *-f* occurs after the lexical verb (30), in the *ma-f* group. In contrast, the proclitic *ma* and the enclitic *-f* are either discontinuous *ma-f* or non-discontinuous *muf* in verbless sentences (31).

30) a. ma-ʔəħib-hu-f.

Neg-_{1S}-like-it-Neg

‘I do not like it.’

31) a. sʕəħ fuqrəh ma-ʕidna-f bəs nımlık ʔəħsas.

true poor Neg-have._{3P}-Neg but have feeling

‘True we are poor; we do not have anything, but we have feeling.’

(Adopted from a Basrawi poem)

b. ʔəl-montəzəh muf nədʕif.

the park Neg clean._{SM}

‘The park is not clean.’

Similar to the negative marker *ma*, the bipartite negative *ma-f*, is used with the present, past, and future tenses. It is worth mentioning that speakers of the *ma-f* group vary when pronouncing the proclitic *ma-*. Some speakers pronounce it with a short vowel or with a long vowel, as illustrates in the following examples:

32) a. ʕəli mə-j-safr-f li-ʔl-mosol.

(Basrawi)

Ali Neg-_{3SM}-travel-Neg to-the-Mosul

‘Ali does not go to Mosul.’

b. ʕəli ma-safr-f li-ʔl-mosol.

Ali Neg-traveled-Neg to-the-Mosul

‘Ali did not go to Mosul.’

33) ʕəli ma raħ-f j-safr li-ʔl-Mosul. (Basrawi)

Ali Neg-will-Neg travel to-the-Mosul

‘Ali will not go to Mosul.’

Similar to the negative marker *ma*, the negative marker *ma-f* can negate an active participle (34) or a passive participle (35).

34) sarəh ma-to-dros-f ʔəb-ʒamifət baydæd. (Amarah)

Sara Neg study.3SF at-university Baghdad

‘Sarah does not study at Baghdad University.’

35) haða ħaʒi muʃ məʃqul. (Amarah)

this talk Neg proper

‘This is not a proper talk.’

Moreover, these negative markers can occur in various clause structures. First, the two-part negative circumfix *ma-f* can occur with a pronoun in addition to verbless sentences, as illustrated in (36), (37).¹⁷

36) ma-hu-f ʔəhna. (Basrawi)

Neg-he.3SM-Neg here

‘He is not here.’

37) ʔəl-muʃlim-əh muʃ ləʔifəh. (Basrawi)

the-teacher-3SF Neg nice-3SF

‘The teacher is not nice.’

Second, the negative marker *ma* can occur with the existential particle *ʔəku* to become *makuf* or *mamif* ‘‘there is not’’ in the *ma-f* group. This is illustrated in the following examples:

¹⁷ It is worth mentioning that previous studies state that the enclitic *-f* developed from the noun *faiʔ* ‘‘thing’’ when expressing sentential negation see (Lucas 2007, Aoun et al 2010) for more details.

38) ma-ku-f ʔəkɪl bi-ʔəl-θɪlæzəh.

(Amarah)

Neg-there-Neg food in-the-fridge

‘There is no food in the fridge.’

39) mamɪʃ mələhi ʔəb-zənub ʔəl-ʃɪraq.

Neg-there clubs in-South the-Iraq

‘There are no clubs in south Iraq.’

Like the negative marker *mu*, the negative marker *muf* has similar features of *laysa* which is negating verbless sentences, as shown in (40):

40) ʔanə muf tʔælib.

I Neg student._{3MS}

‘I am not a student.’

Similar to the *ma* group, the *ma-f* group uses the negative marker *la*, and *wela* in addition to the negative marker *ma-f*. The negative particle *la* as shown in (41) occurs with the imperfective verbs to express imperative while the particle *wela* has a similar feature to the negative marker *ma* when expressing sentential negation. However, the negative marker *wəla*, unlike the negative marker *ma*, allows the subject to intervene between them. More information about this distribution is discussed later in this chapter. This fact is true for *ma* group too, as stated in the following examples:

41) la tɪʃəb-ɪʃ bɪ-ʔəl-mæjj.

(Prohibition: Basrawi)

Neg play._{3P}-Neg in-the-water

‘Do not play with the water!’

42) wəla həbit təmθil-hə. (Amarah)

Neg liked.PAST.IS acting-her

‘I did not like her acting.’

43) wəla wahīd/bəfər/wələd ʃaf-ni. (Amarah and Najafi)

Neg one/human/a boy saw-me

‘No one/ human/a boy saw me’

Moreover, the *ma-f* group uses the negative particle *ʃib* “not” which is a feature of the Marshland dialect, as stated in Ingham (2000) and Hassan (2015).¹⁸ The negative marker *ʃib*, which is developed from the word *ʃib* “shame,” lost its semantic feature and became a general negative.¹⁹ See examples (44), and (45) of the negative marker *ʃib*.

44) ʃib jɪtʕlʃ-ən bərəh. (Basrawi)

Neg go-3FP1 out

‘They do not go out.’

45) ʃib nɪdri. (Amarah)

Neg know.3MP

‘We do not know.’

(Ingham, 2000: 128)

46) tʕilib ʔəl-ruħ ʃib ʔədri ʔə-ʃamal-ha. (Amarah)

worries.3M the-soul neg knowPRS.IS Q-wrong-3SF

‘I do not know why my soul does not feel well.’

(Adopted from Hassan, 2015)

¹⁸ Marshland dialect is spoken in the South of Iraq like Amarah, Nasiriya, and Basra.

¹⁹ I will not discuss this type of negation in my analysis. See (Ingham, 2000; and Hassan, 2015) for more details.

Finally, the negative marker *ma-f* can occur with, the light verb *rah* “will” (47), with the quantifier *wahid* “one” to form a negative quantifier (48), and with the auxiliary *fan* “was” (49).

47) ʔəhməd ma-rah ʔiruh-f lɪ-ʔəl-dʒamɪfəh. (Basrawi)

Ahmed Neg will go.PAST.3MS-Neg the college

‘Ahmed will not go to the college.’

48) məhəd nɪʒəh bɪ-ʔəl-əmtɪhan. (Basrawi)

no one passed.PAST.3S in-the-exam

‘No one passed the exam.’

49) ʔəl-tʰalɪb ma-ʔan-f gaʕɪd j-dros. (Amarah)

the-student.3SM Neg-was-Neg PROG. 3M 3M-study.S-IMP

‘The student was not studying.’

To sum up this section, I have presented sentential negation in two groups in IA and argued that some dialects in IA express sentential negation by using the bipartite negation *ma-f* similar to other Arabic dialects. I have also discussed the facts of sentential negation in each group. In the next section, I discuss and present the two well know hypotheses that examined the locus of sentential negation in Arabic dialects.

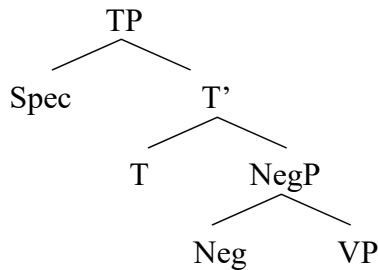
3.2. Previous Hypotheses

In this section, I discuss previous arguments regarding the locus of NegP in the syntactic structure. Zeijlstra (2004), who examines sentential negation in different languages, states that the locus of negation in the sentence is determined by the semantic properties of negation. NegP can be located below TP in some languages, or it can dominate TP in other languages. The structure of negation is the result of the semantic properties of the negative operator, not the syntactical properties. The author assumes that when NegP occupies a projection higher than TP,

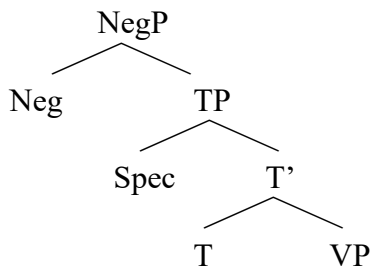
the negative operator binds temporal variables which yields a logical form that is understood as sentential negation. In contrast, when the negative operator binds event variables, yielding a logical form, the NegP occurs below TP. The syntactic distribution of NegP, according to the author, proposes that every NegP in the syntactic clause presents one semantic negation. Therefore, it is not necessary for multiple positions for NegP.

Moreover, this section presents different analyses of sentential negation structures in Arabic dialects. According to one discussion (Benmamoun (2000), Ouhalla (2002), and Aoun et al. (2010), the NegP occurs between TP and VP, as illustrated in (50); while other studies (Shlonsky 1997; Soltan, 2007, 2014; and Alqassas, 2012, among others) argue that NegP occupies a head above TP. This is shown in (51):

50) Low-Neg Analysis



51) High-Neg Analysis



3.2.1. Low-Neg-Hypothesis

This hypothesis states that Neg occupies a position lower than T. Arabic scholars such as (Ouhalla 1990, 1993, Benmamoun 2000, and Aoun et al 2010) adopt a similar analysis of the

negation pattern in French proposed by Pollock (1989). French uses the two negative markers *ne... pas* as a way of expressing sentential negation which is also argued to be located between TP and VP. See example (52):

52) Nadia n'est pas venu. (French)

Nadia ne-is-Neg come

'Nadia didn't come.'

Another similarity with French is that the bound morpheme *-f* in Arabic dialects does not surface in the context of negative quantifiers. This can be seen in French (53), and MA (54):

53) J'ai vu personne. (French)

I have seen no one

'I haven't seen anyone.'

54) ma-za ḥætta waḥəd. (MA)

Neg-came.3SM any one

'Nobody came.'

(Adopted from Benmamoun, 2000)

According to the Low-Neg analysis, example (55) from IA has the representation in (56):

55) a. ma qrah ʔəl-məʔələh. (Najafi)

Neg read.3SM the-journal.SF

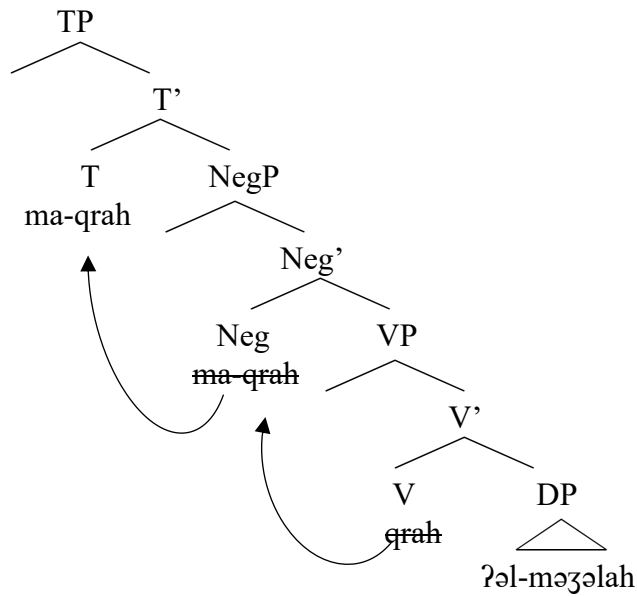
'He did not read the journal.'

b. ma-qra-f ʔəl-məʔələh. (Basrawi)

Neg-read.3SM-Neg the-journal.SF

'He did not read the journal.'

56)



The past tense in Arabic has [+V] and [+D] features which attract verb movement. In order for the verb to raise to T and check the [+V] feature, it has to move through negation to avoid violating the Relativized Minimality (Rizzi, 1990) or the HMC (Travis, 1984). The result is that the verb hosts both tense and negation. Finally, negation is realized as a circumfix on the verb when the verb moves through negation, as shown in (57) (Benmamoun, 1992, 2000).

57) ma-qra-ʃ l-wəld.

(MA)

Neg-read.PAST.3SM-Neg the-boy

‘The boy did not read.’

The main reason for proposing the Low-Neg analysis in Arabic is to explain the fact that the negative marker can occur as a prefix to the verbal predicate. In Arabic, the verb moves to T to check [+V] and [+D] features. However, it has to move to Neg then to T to avoid minimality violation which indicates that movement of a head across another head is not allowed.

3.2.2. High-Neg-Hypothesis

This hypothesis is proposed by Shlonsky (1997); Soltan, (2007, 2014); and Alqassas, (2012), who claim that the negative morpheme is the head of a NegP located above TP. In this section, I will present previous studies that discuss High-Neg-hypothesis. Moreover, I will discuss the evidence that previous scholars use to support this hypothesis.

Scholars such as (Hoyt 2010, Soltan 2007, 2014, Alqassas 2012, and Benmamoun et al., 2013) claim that NegP occurs higher than TP. This is because the first approach does not provide an explanation for the examples when the negative markers appear with auxiliary verbs (58), indefinite pronouns (59), and existential particles (60):

58) Auxiliary: (Levantine Arabic)

tʰabʕan, ma-kæn fi: ʔaiy ʕilag ilha.

naturally not-was exist any treatment to-her

‘Of course, there was no way to treat her.’

59) Indefinite Pronouns: (Levantine Arabic)

illi ʃif-na ma-ħæda ʃæfu.

rel saw._{1P} Neg-one saw-him

‘What we saw, no one has seen [it].’

60) Existential Particle: (Levantine Arabic)

ma-fi ħæda ʔismu biħarf issin.

not-exist one._{SM} name with-letter the-s

‘There isn’t anyone whose name has an [s].’

(Adopted from Hoyt, 2010)

In the following two subsections, I present evidence showing that Neg in the two groups of IA occupies a projection between TP and VP. Following Benmamoun's (2000) analysis I argue that the two-part negative markers *ma-f* are one discontinuous morpheme that shares the same Neg projection. Furthermore, I will argue that *muf* is located between TP and VP because this marker does not occur with the past tense.

Finally, Soltan (2007, 2014), as has been discussed in chapter 2, presents some problems with the Low-Neg analysis. One of the problems is that Low-Neg analysis does not provide an explanation for dialects where the non-discontinuous negation marker *mif* appears with a past verb as shown in (61):

61) ?ana mif liʕib-t. (Sharqiyyah)

I Neg play.PERF.IS

'I did not play.'

Soltan (2007, 2014) argues that the structure in (61) cannot be derived if Neg were between TP and VP without the verb skipping over Neg when moving to T. If this were to happen, then the negative marker must move to the head above T to form the word order in (61). Both movements will violate the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). Therefore, the structure in (61) is simply underivable if Neg were actually located below T. The structure is allowed if Neg is above TP, and if the past tense is not required to merge with Neg.

3.3. The Locus of Sentential Negation in *ma* Group and *ma-f* Group

This section presents the analysis of the system of sentential negation in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Then, it discusses my proposed analysis for the locus of sentential negation in both groups trying to answer the following questions:

- a. Where is NegP located in the Iraqi Arabic clause structure? Is it above or below TP?

b. What is the structural status of the enclitic *-f* in the bipartite negation *ma-f*?

Cross-linguistically, negative markers are treated as either adverbial elements or functional heads. This is based on how these markers behave with respect to the other elements in the sentence. According to Ouhalla (1990, 1993), Benmamoun (2000), Aoun et al (2010), Soltan (2007, 2014), and Alqassas (2012), among others, negation in Arabic projects a NegP. However, as we have seen above, there are various arguments about the locus of sentential negation in Arabic.

As the data presented in section (3.1.1) and (3.1.2) demonstrates, the negative markers *ma*, *muf* and *ma-f* in the two groups do not host temporal information in the past and future tense sentences. The information about temporal placement, instead, is found in the verb or the modal as illustrated in (62):

62) a. *ma dərəs ʔəli.* (Baghdadi)

Neg studied.PAST.3SM Ali

‘Ali did not study.’

b. *ʔəli ma raḥ jū-drəs.* (Najafi)

Ali Neg will study.

‘Ali will not study.’

c. *ʔəli muf jū-drəs.* (Amarah)

Ali Neg study.3SM

‘Ali does not study.’

d. *ʔəli ma-dərəs-ijf.* (Basrawi)

Ali Neg-studied.PAST.3SM-Neg

‘Ali did not study.’

In the rest of the chapter, I present and discuss my analysis and provide evidence that supports my hypothesis showing that Neg occupies a projection between TP and VP in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups.

3.3.1. Distribution of the single negative morpheme *ma* and other negative markers

In this subsection, I present evidence that supports my proposed analysis which illustrates that NegP occupies a projection between TP and VP. Assuming that sentential negation occurs between TP and VP provides an explanation of the merger between the negative marker and the imperfective verb when the latter moves through NegP to T. This merger is considered as a piece of evidence from the fact that in the *ma* group nothing can intervene between them.

Sentential negation *ma*, in the *ma* group, can be pronounced in two ways: short vowel *mə-/lə-* (64) and long vowel *ma/la* (63). In the former case, *mə-* or *lə-* is treated as a proclitic because it is always adjacent to the predicate it negates, and it cannot be separated from the verb.²⁰

63) ʔəl-wələd ma safər.

the-boy Neg travel.PAST.3SM

‘The boy did not travel.’

64) ʔəhməd mə-jü-drūs.

Ahmed Neg-3M-study.Present.S

‘Ahmed does not study.’

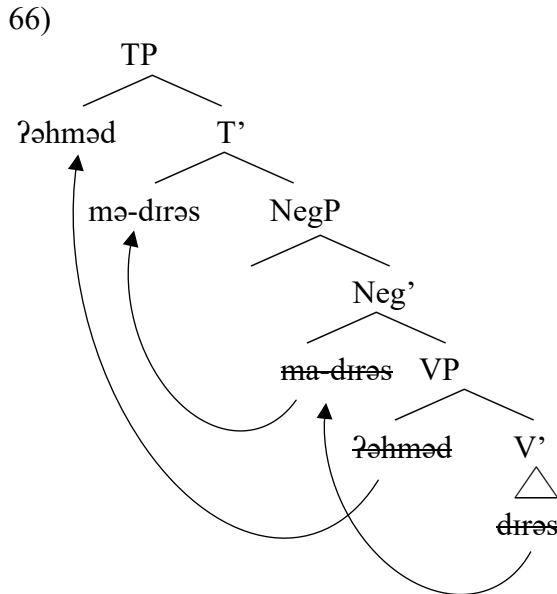
65) *ma- ʔəhməd dırəs.

Neg-Ahmed study.PAST3SM

‘Ahmed did not study.’

²⁰ Because the focus here is to present the syntactic feature of negation, I am not going to dwell into detail about the phonological differences between the two forms of negation.

In (64), *mə-* is merged with the verb because the latter should move through the negative projection to T or to a projection higher than TP when checking [+V] and [+D] features to avoid violating HMC. Therefore, sentence (64) has the following derivation:



For the latter case and as we have seen above, nothing can intervene between the negative marker *ma* and the verb, as shown in (67):

67) a. ʕəli/ʔəl-wələd ma safər.

Ali/the-boy Neg travel.PAST.3SM

‘Ali/the boy did not travel.’

b. ma *ʕəli/ *ʔəl-wələd safər.

Neg Ali/ the-boy travel.PAST.3SM

‘Ali/the boy did not travel.’

In the *ma* group, definite or indefinite Noun Phrases (NP) cannot intervene between the negative markers and the verb (69) which differentiate this group from other Arabic dialects. According to Alqassas (2012), preverbal NP can intervene between the negative marker and the

verb when they are treated as subjects in Spec-TP but not when they are treated as a topic in Spec-TP. See the following examples:

68) a. *ma həda/ waħıd/ məχlug/ ʔnsan/ wələd saʔad-ni.* (LA)

Neg anyone/ one/ a creature/ human/ a boy helped-me

‘No one/... helped me’

b. **həda/ *waħıd/ *məχlug/ *ʔnsan/ *wələd ma saʔad-ni.*

anyone/ one/ a creature/ human/ a boy Neg helped-me

(Alqassas, 2012)

As the data shows, the facts in LA cannot extend to the *ma* group; therefore, I will argue that the preverbal definite/indefinite NP, in this group as well as the *ma-f* group, is a subject in Spec-TP. Hence, the negative markers *ma/la* occur between TP and VP.

69) a. **ma/*mə-wələd saʔər.*

Neg boy travel.PAST.3SM

‘No boy came.’

One reason for treating the preverbal definite/indefinite as a subject here is the interaction between the quantified DPs, such as *koll* ‘‘all’’ and sentential negation. It is worth mentioning that the interaction between negation and quantifiers has not been examined in IA in general. From the data presented below, we can see that in the *ma* group there is an ambiguity in the scope of sentential negation and the quantifier when the negative particle *ma* and the verb precede the quantifier *kull*. It is not possible for example (70) to have multiple interpretations while example (71) has two interpretations.²¹ Their structures are clarified in (72) and (73):

70) *koll ʔəl-tʕulab ma nıʒħ-u bı-ʔəl-ʔəmtıhan.* (Najafi)

²¹ For some speakers of the Najafi dialect, example (71) has one reading which is ‘Not all the students passed the exam.’

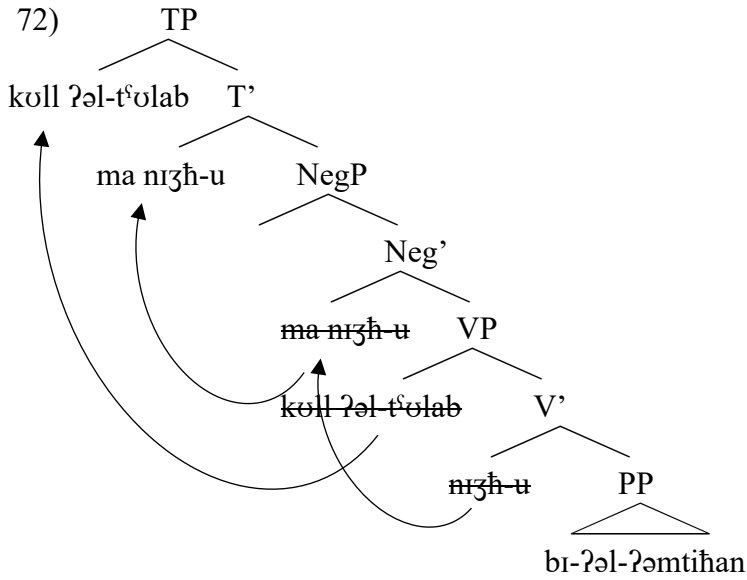
all the-students Neg pass.PAST.3PM in-the-exam

‘All the students did not pass the exam.’

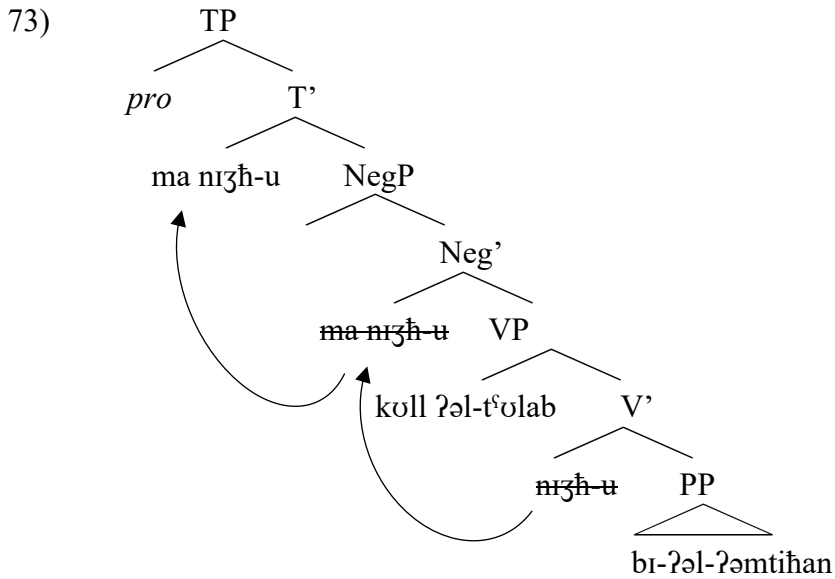
71) ma nɪʒh-u kɔll ʔəl-tʰɔlab bɪ-ʔəl-ʔəmtiħan.

Neg pass.PAST.3PM all the-students in-the-exam

‘Not all the students passed the exam.’



$Q + \text{NegP} = \forall > \neg, * \neg > \forall$



$\text{NegP} + Q = \neg > \forall, \forall > \neg$

Example (70) has only one semantic interpretation which cannot have an ambiguous reading. The only reading possible is “*None of the students passed the exam*” which has a narrow scope negation and a wide scope universal quantifier. The only available LF in the *ma* group for this sentence is $\forall x (T(x) \rightarrow \sim P(x))$. Therefore, there is no ambiguity of scope in this example. Example (71), on the other hand, has two semantic interpretations. The first reading is “*some of the students passed the exam and some did not.*” The second reading is “*None of the students passed the exam.*”

Now we want to look at the relationship between the quantifier and the negative marker *mu*. As it has been mentioned before, when the negative particle *ma* precedes the subject it becomes *mu* in the *ma* group. The question now is how many interpretations do we have when the negative marker *mu* occur before or after the quantifier *koll*? To answer this question, we need to look at the following examples:

74) ?əl-tʰələb mu koll-hum nɪʒh-u bɪ-?əl-?əmtiħan.

the-students Neg all-them pass-3PM in-the-exam

‘Not all the students passed the exam.’ = ‘Some passed and some not.’

75) mu koll ?əl-tʰələb nɪʒh-u bɪ-?əl-?əmtiħan.

Neg all the-students pass-3PM in-the-exam

‘Not all the students passed the exam.’ = ‘Some passed and some not.’

Here and as the data above show both examples have the interpretation that “*some of the students passed and some did not pass*” which have the LF $\sim \forall x (T(x) \rightarrow P(x))$.²²

Another reason for why I treat the preverbal definite/indefinite NP as a subject is because, in the *ma* group, the preverbal definite NP does not occur higher than TP (i.e., Topic

²² The semantic interpretation for example (74) and (75) is $\sim \forall x (T(x) \rightarrow P(x))$ which means that (not for all x, if x is a student, then x passed).

Projection (TopP)) this is because the *wh*-phrases can occur in different positions as shown in (76) and (77):

76) a. ʔəhməd wəjən raħ?

Ahmed where go-PAST.3SM

‘Ahmed, where did he go?’

b. wəjən ʔəhməd raħ?

what Ahmed do-PAST.3SM

‘Where did Ahmed go?’

77) a. ʔəl-wələd ʃino səwəh?

the-boy.3SM what do-PAST.3SM

‘The boy what did he do?’

b. ʃino ʔəl- wələd səwəh?

what the-boy.3SM do-PAST.3SM

‘What did the boy do?’

According to Rizzi’s (1997), TopP should precede FocP/*wh*-phrases. As the examples above show, in the *ma* group *wh*-phrase can precede or follow the preverbal definite NP; thus, I argue that the preverbal definite NP along with the indefinite NP is located in Spec-TP.

78) ... Force ... (Topic) ... (Focus) ... Fin IP

(Rizzi, 1997, p. 288)

To my knowledge, the only word that can separate the negative marker and the verb is the indefinite pronoun *waħid* ‘one’ which changes its form depending on the negative marker to

which it attaches. The result of this merging between the negative marker *ma* and *wahid* is a negative quantifier that is treated as NPI.²³ This can be seen in (79), (80):

79) *la-həd j-lfəb bɪ-ʔəl-farʕ.*

Neg-one_{3SM}-play in-the street

‘No one plays in the street!’

80) *ma-həd safər.*

Neg-one travel.PAST-3SM

‘No one traveled.’

As mentioned above, Hoyt (2010), Soltan (2007, 2014), and Benmamoun et al. (2013), argue that NegP occurs higher than TP because the first approach, Low-Neg-analysis, does not provide an explanation for when the negative markers appear with auxiliary verbs, indefinite pronouns, and existential particles. I will argue that auxiliary verbs (82),²⁴ indefinite pronouns (83), and existential particles (84), occur below NegP which are located between TP and VP.

This is represented in the following structure:

81) [TP [T [NegP [Neg [AuxP [Aux [VP [V]]]]]]]]

82) *ma tʃan-ət tu-qra bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbəh.*

(Najafi)

Neg was-3SF 3SF-read the-library

‘She was not reading at the library.’

²³ The focus of this chapter is sentential negation; therefore, I am not going to discuss NPI here. I will discuss NPI in chapter 4.

²⁴ In Iraqi Arabic, the auxiliary verb *tʃan* “was” carries tense, aspect and agreement feature with the subject, as shown in the following examples:

1. a. *ma tʃan j-qra bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbəh.*

Neg was-3SM 3-read.SM the-library

‘He was not reading at the library.’

b. *ma tʃan-u j-qr-un bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbəh.*

Neg were-3PM 3-read.PM the-library

‘They were not reading at the library.’

83) ʔəlli ʃaf-əh ʔəlʃiraqin məħəd ʃaf-əh

(Baghdadi)

Rel saw-3S Iraqi not-one saw-him.

‘What Iraqi people saw, no one has seen it.’

84) a. ʔəku ʔəkɪl bɪ-ʔəl-θɪlæzəh.

(Baghdadi)

there food in-the-fridge

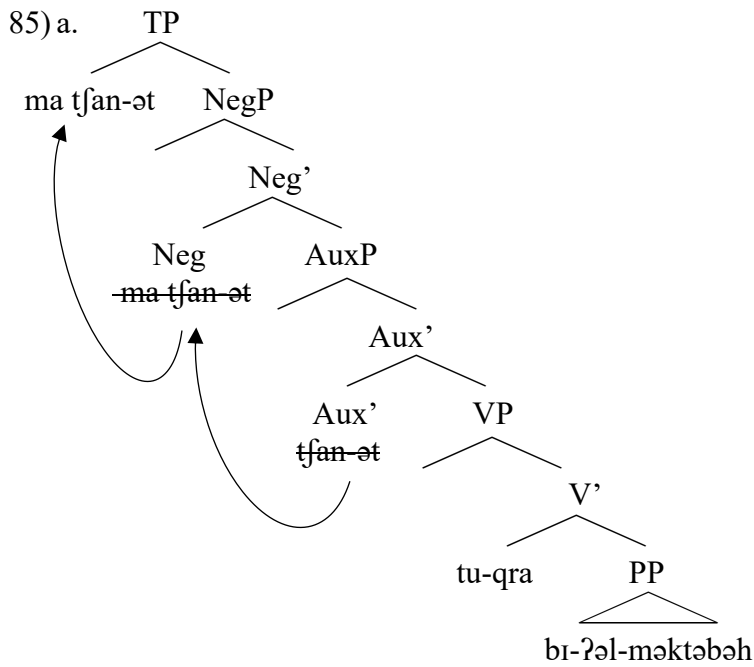
‘There is food in the fridge.’

b. maku ʔəkɪl bɪ-ʔəl-θɪlæzəh.

Neg-there food in-the-fridge

‘There is no food in the fridge.’

The derivation of example (82) and (84) are as follow:



Another reason for arguing against the High-Neg-analysis is that if it is assumed that NegP occupies a position higher than TP, then it can be predicted that the preverbal definite/indefinite NP is allowed to intervene between the negative marker and the progressive or the tense marker because they occupy Spec-TP. This prediction is born out:

87) a. ʔəhməd ma raḥ ʔiruḥ lɪ-ʔəl-dʒamʕəh.

Ahmed Neg will go.PAST.3MS the college

‘Ahmed will not go to the college.’

b. *ma ʔəhməd raḥ ʔiruḥ lɪ-ʔəl-dʒamʕəh

Neg Ahmed will go.PAST.3MS the college

‘Ahmed will not go to the college.’

88) a. fəd tʕalɪb ma gaʕɪd j-drus bɪ- ʔəl-məktəbəh.

a student.3SM Neg PROG.3MS 3M-study.S in-the-library

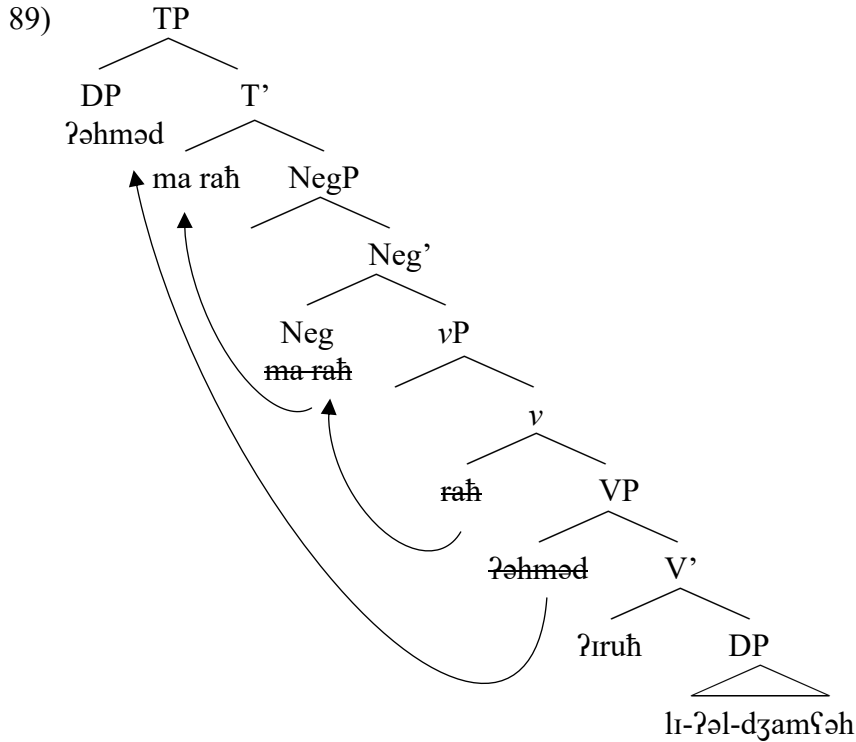
‘A student is not studying in the library.’

b. *ma fəd tʕalɪb gaʕɪd j-drus bɪ- ʔəl-məktəbəh.

Neg a student.3SM PROG.3MS 3M-study.S in-the-library

‘A student is not studying in the library.’

The derivation of (87) is as follows:



In cases where the progressive particle *gaʃid* occurs with the auxiliary *ʃan* the tense then occurs on the auxiliary *ʃan*. Similar to the perfective verb the auxiliary *ʃan* must move to T to check the [+V] and [+D] features, but it cannot cross over Neg. To avoid minimality violation the auxiliary *ʃan* must move to Neg first then to T, as illustrated in the following example:

90) a. ?əl-tʃalɪb ma ʃan gaʃid j-drus bɪ-?əl-məktəbəh.

the-student.3SM Neg was PROG.3MS 3M.study.S in-the-library

‘The student was not studying in the library.’

b. *ma ?əl-tʃalɪb ʃan gaʃid j-drus bɪ-?əl-məktəbəh.

Neg the-student.3SM was PROG.3MS 3M-study.S-IMP in-the-library

‘The student was not studying in the library.’

As has been mentioned in the previous sections, the negative marker *ma* becomes *mu* when it occurs in non-verbal predicates in the *ma* group. This is shown in the following examples.

91) ʔəhməd mu tʕabib.

Ahmed Neg doctor._{3MS}

‘Ahmed is not a doctor.’

92) ʔəl-bijət mu ʔədʒbir.

the-house Neg big

‘The house is not big.’

93) ʔəl-bnəjəh mu bi-ʔəl-bijət.

the-girl Neg in-the-house

‘The girl is not in the house.’

The structure of the verbless sentences in the *ma* group is [Sub+Neg+Predicate] (92), (93). Other structures such as [Neg+Sub+ Predicate] (94) will give us a rhetorical reading. However, it is worth mentioning that the structure [Neg+Sub+ Predicate] is allowed only with ellipsis to give us a negative reading. This is shown in (95):

94) mu ʔəl-bijət ʔədʒbir?

(*ma* group)

Neg the-house big

‘Isn’t the house big?’

95) mu ʕəli ʔədʒbir, ʔəhməd.

Neg Ali old, Ahmed

‘Ali is not old, Ahmed is.’

Benmamoun et al., (2013) support his argument, High-Neg-analysis by arguing that the non-verbal heads, such as existential (52) and possessive particles (97) may require negation to merge with them. However, the authors do not argue that the NegP must be higher than TP as they only emphasize that Neg must merge with the non-verbal heads regardless of position and

this merger cannot be driven by syntax but could be a result of a PF process. Arguing against their analysis, I will show that the negative marker, in the *ma* group must merge with the existential, and the possessive particles. As I have argued above that the existential particle is located below TP, I will argue that the possessive particle is located below TP as well. See the following examples:

96) Existential

a. ʔəku ʔəkɪl bɪ-ʔəl- θɪlæzəh?

there food in-the-fridge

‘There is food in the fridge.’

b. maku ʔəkɪl bɪ-ʔəl-θɪlæzəh.

Neg food in-the-fridge

‘There is no food in the fridge.’

According to Eid (1993), the existential particle *fi* “there” must raise to T to check empty person features because Spec-TP is occupied by *pro* which needs checking the default [_{3MS}] features in T. Therefore, the existential *fi* must move to T to check the empty person features. Following Eid’s analysis, I argue that the existential *ʔəku*, in the *ma* group is the head of the VP. The existential particle has to move to T to check the empty person features. In order for the existential *ʔəku* to move to T it needs to merge with Neg first then moves to T. Therefore, the existential *ʔəku* ends up hosting *ma-* as a proclitic.

The possessive *ʕindi* “have,” on the other hand, is the head of the Prepositional Projection (PP). The possessive *ʕindi* has to move to T to share agreement feature with T. Thus, *ʕindi* must move to Neg before moving to T to avoid minimality violation. This is shown in the following example:

97) Possessive

ma-ʕindi bijət.

Neg-have house

‘I do not have a house.’

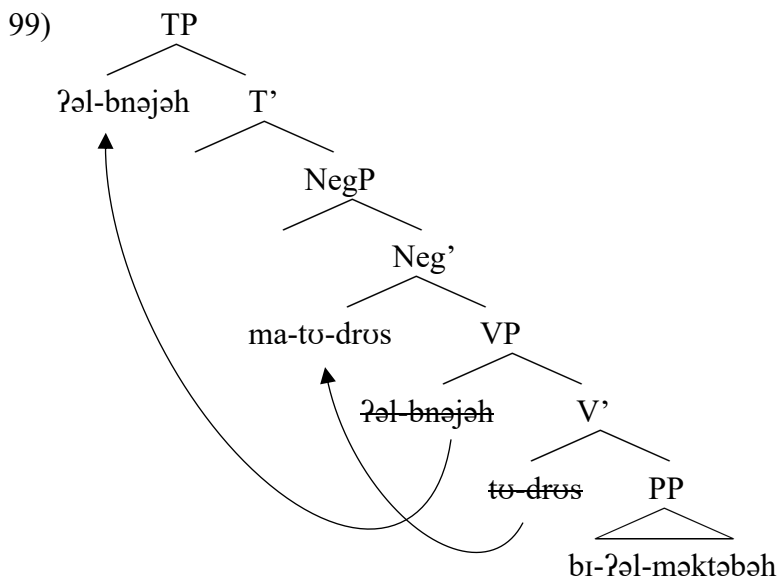
Finally, the last piece of evidence I use against the High-Neg-analysis is the imperfective verb. The imperfective verb, according to Benmamoun (1992, 2000), is not required to move to T because it does not need checking the [+V] feature but it must check [+D] feature which Benmamoun proposes that negation in Arabic is specified for an uninterpretable [+D] feature that needs to be checked against an interpretable [+D] feature. Therefore, the imperfective verb will only move to Neg to give us the structure in (98) because Neg has [+D] that the present verb needs to check.

98) ʔəl-bnəjəh ma-tu-dros bi-ʔəl-məktəbəh.

the-girl_{3SF} Neg-3F-study_S in-the-library

‘The girl does not study in the library.’

The derivation of (98) is as follows:



Hence, if it is assumed that Neg is higher than TP, then it is not clear how we get the structure in (98). The High-Neg analysis does not provide an explanation of such a problem. Therefore, I argue that NegP occupies a projection below TP.

In sum, I have argued that the free morphemes *ma/la* and the bound morphemes *mə-/lə-* which are used as sentential negative markers occupy the head of NegP which is located between TP and VP. I have also shown that in the *ma* group the preverbal definite NP does not occur higher than TP. Finally, I have presented evidence from the *ma* group to support my argument against the High-Neg-analysis. In the next subsection, I will present more evidence from the *ma-f* group to support my argument for the Low-Neg-analysis.

3.3.2. Distribution of the two negative morphemes *ma-* and *-f*

In this section, I analyze the locus of discontinuous *ma-f* and non-discontinuous *muf* in the syntactic structure of the *ma-f* group. Dialects such as Nasiriya, Amarah, and Basra have two negative morphemes, the proclitic *ma*, and the enclitic *-f* in addition to the negative marker *ma/la* to express sentential negation. The negative marker *ma-* occurs as the left-most morpheme while the enclitic *-f* occurs as the right-most morpheme even when the verb has the suffix agreement for the subject. This is seen in the following examples:

100) ʔəl-bnejeh ma-lɪʕb-ət-f. (Basrawi)

the-girl Neg-play.PAST.3SF-Neg

‘The girl did not play.’

101) ʔəl-bnejeh ma-tɪ-lʕb-f. (Basrawi)

the-girl Neg-3SF-play-Neg

‘The girl does not play.’

The merger between *ma-f* and the past tense is obligatory. In order for the verb to move to T to check [+V] and [+D] features it needs to move to Neg first then moves to T avoiding minimality violation and HMC. Therefore, the verb ends up hosting *ma-* as a proclitic and *-f* as an enclitic. The merger between *ma-f* and the present tense, on the other hand, is optional. The result of merging the verb and the negative marker *ma-f* is shown in (101). If there is no merging between the negative marker *ma-f* and the present verb, the result is the negative marker *muf*. This is illustrated in (102):

102) ?əl-bnejeh muf tɪ-lʃb. (Basrawi)

the-girl Neg _{3SF}-play

‘The girl does not play.’

As mentioned above, there is a debate about the locus of sentential negation in the Arabic dialects and whether Neg is above or below TP. Another concern regarding sentential negation with dialects that allow bipartite negation is the status of the enclitic *-f* and if it is generated in the Spec of NegP (Benmamoun 1992, Shlonsky 1997, Ouhalla, 2002), or whether the two-part marker *ma-f* forms one complex head (Benmamoun 2000). In this dissertation, I will adopt Benmamoun’s (2000) analysis and argue that *ma-f* forms one complex head. Because the enclitic *-f* in the *ma-f* group does not appear alone when expressing negation as noted in the ungrammaticality of (103):

103) *safr-it-f.

travel.PAST-3SF-Neg

‘She did not travel.’

Similar to the *ma* group, the NPs cannot intervene between the negative markers and the verb in the *ma-f* group (104); therefore, they are treated as subjects, not topics which occupies Spec-TP. Hence, the negative markers *ma-/la-* occur between TP and VP.

104) a. **ma-wələd safər-ijf*.

Neg boy travel.PAST.3SM-Neg

‘No boy came.’

The first piece of evidence I use to show that Neg occupies a projection between TP and VP in the *ma-f* group is the merger of negation and the past tense verb. Neg blocks the movement of the perfective verb to T. Therefore, in order for the verb to raise to T to check the [+V] and [+D] feature, it must move to NegP first to avoid minimality violation. Hence, the verb ends up hosting *ma-* as a proclitic and *-f* as an enclitic. If we assume that NegP is above TP, then it is not clear how we got the structure of (105) when the past verb must merge with negation when it moves to T to check [+V] and [+D] features.

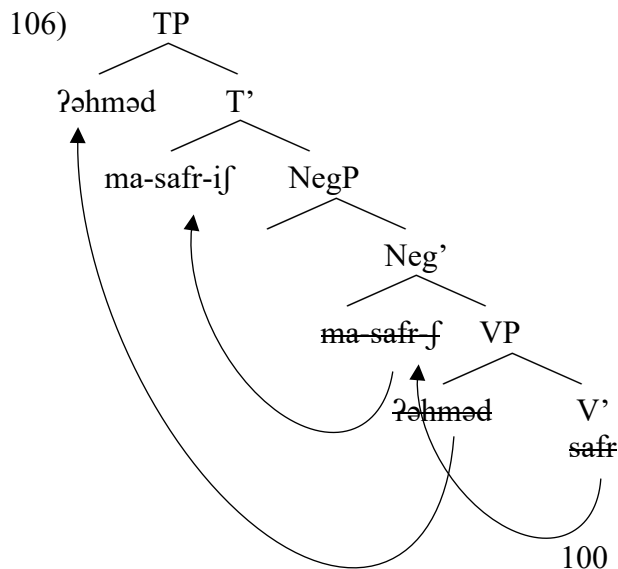
105) *ʔəhməd ma-safr-ijf*.

(Amarah)

Ahmed Neg-go.PAST.3MS-Neg

‘Ahmed did not travel.’

The derivation of (105) is as follows:



It is worth mentioning that even if we applied Soltan’s morphological algorithm to derive the distribution of negation structures which indicate that “in contexts where Neg is adjacent to a hosting head H, H moves to Neg and then to Pol, and the discontinuous *ma-H-f* pattern arises,” we still have a problem as the definite NP in the *ma-f* group occupies Spec-TP. The definite NP starts in Spec-VP and moves to Spec-TP to check the Extended Projection Principle (EPP). Therefore, we end up with the following structure: [ma-safr-*f*+Ahmed] instead of [Ahmed+ma-safr-*f*].

The second piece of evidence is that the negative marker *ma* and *-f* can appear as a non-discontinuous morpheme when it occurs with a verbless predicate the result is the negative marker *muf*. Again, in both groups, the preverbal definite NP occupies the Spec-TP. Therefore, NegP should be below TP to give us the structure in (107), and (108):

107) ʕəli muʃ tʔælib. (Basrawi)

Ali Neg student._{3MS}

‘Ali is not a student.’

108) ʔəl-bijət muʃ ʔəʃbir. (Basrawi)

the-house Neg big

‘The house is not big.’

If it is assumed that Neg occupies a head higher than TP, then we would expect that the *ma-f* group would allow the structure in (109) when expressing negation; however, this prediction is not born out.

109) *muʃ ʔəl-bijət ʔəʃbir. (Basrawi)

Neg the-house big

‘The house is not big.’

Like the *ma* group, the structure in (110) will give us a rhetorical reading instead of negation. This is shown in the following example:

110) *muf* ʔəl-bit ʔəʃbir? (Basrawi)

Neg the-house big

‘Isn’t the house big?’

The third piece of evidence comes from the fact that the negative marker *muf* in the *ma-f* group does not occur with verbs in the past tense (111), unlike the Sharqiyyah dialect. The negative marker *muf* in Sharqiyyah can precede the perfective verb. This is illustrated in (111):

111) a. ʔana miʃ liʃib-t. (EA)

I Neg play.PERF.IS

‘I did not play.’

b. *sarəh *muf* safre-t. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg travel-1S

‘Sarah did not travel.’

Soltan (2014) argues that the structure in (111) cannot be derived if Neg were between TP and VP, without the verb skipping over Neg when moving to T. If this were to happen, then the negative marker must move to the head above T to form the word order in (111). Both movements will violate the HMC. Therefore, the structure in (111) is simply underivable if Neg were actually located below T. The structure is allowed if Neg is above TP, and if the past tense is not required to merge with Neg. In contrast, the *ma-f* group in IA does not allow this structure; therefore, I argue that Neg occupies a projection lower than TP because the perfective verb has to merge with Neg to give us the structure in (112):

112) sarəh ma-safərə-t-f.

(Amarah)

Sarah Neg-travel-_{1S}-Neg

‘Sarah did not travel.’

The fourth piece of evidence is that the negative marker must merge with the existential (113) and possessive particles (115) in the *ma-f* group. I have argued in the previous subsections that the existential particle is located below TP. I will also argue that the possessive particle is located below TP. As it has been mentioned above, the *ma-f* group unlike other Arabic dialects uses two forms to express existential negation. The first form is *maku-f* which is derived from *ma+aku+f*. The second form is *mami-f*. This is shown in the following examples:

113) Existential

a. ʔəku ʔəkɪl bi-ʔəl-θiladzəh.

there food in-the-fridge

‘There is food in the fridge.’

b. maku-f ʔəkɪl bi-ʔəl-θiladzəh.

Neg food in-the-fridge

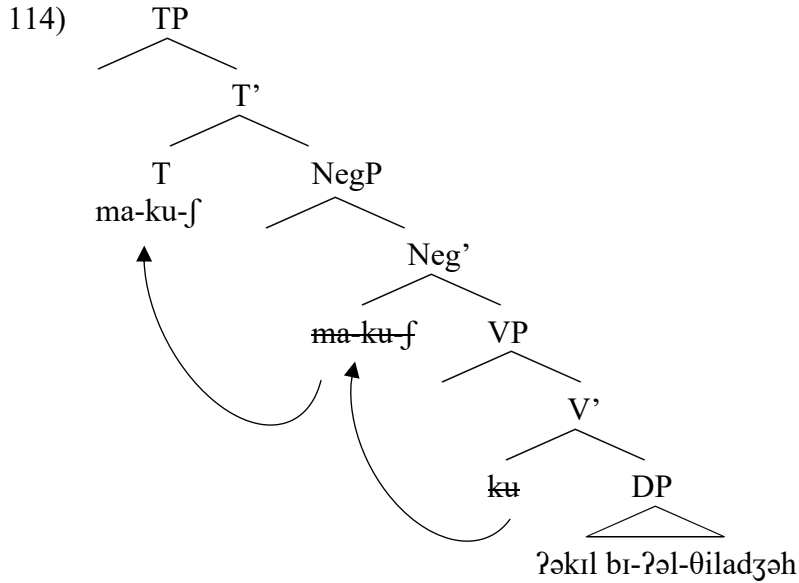
‘There is no food in the fridge.’

c. mami-f mələhi ʔəb- dzənub ʔəl-ʕiræq

Neg clubs in-South the-Iraq

‘There are no clubs in south Iraq.’

The derivation of (113) is as follows:



As I have argued in (3.3.1), I treat the existential *ʔəku* as the head of the VP. The existential particle has to move to T to check the empty person features. In order for the existential *ʔəku* to move to T it needs to merge with Neg first then moves to T. Therefore, the existential *ʔəku* ends up hosting *ma-* as a proclitic and *-f* as an enclitic.

The possessive *ʕindi* occupies the head of the PP. The possessive *ʕindi* has to move to T to share agreement feature with T. Thus, *ʕindi* must move to Neg before moving to T to avoid minimality violation. This is shown in the following example:

115) Possessive

ma-ʕindi-f bijət.

Neg-have-Neg house

‘I do not have a house.’

The last piece of evidence I use to argue against the High-Neg-hypothesis is that the negative marker must merge with the auxiliary verb *tʃan* (116), tense marker *raħ* (117), and the progressive *gaʕid* (118) which I argue to occur below TP.

116) ma-tʃan-ət-ʃ tu-qra bɪ-ʔəl-məktəbəh.

Neg-was-_{3SF}-Neg _{3SF}-read in-the-library

‘She was not reading at the library.’

Like the *ma* group, the definite/indefinite NP, adverbs, and other arguments in the *ma-f* group are not allowed to intervene between the negative marker and the auxiliary verb, the progressive, or future marker because they occupy Spec-TP. Hence, the ungrammaticality of (117) and (118) if it is assumed that NegP occupies a position higher than TP.

117) a. ʔəhmed ma-ħə-ʔiruħ-ʃ lɪ-ʔəl-dʒamʕəh.

Ahmed Neg-will-go._{3MS}-Neg the college

‘Ahmed will not go to the college.’

b. *ma- ʔəhmed ħə-ʔiruħi-ʃ lɪ-ʔəl-dʒamʕəh.

Neg Ahmed will go._{3MS}-Neg the college

‘Ahmed will not go to the college.’

118) a. ʔəl-tʕalɪb muʃ gaʕɪd j-drus bɪ-ʔəl-maktabəh.

the-student._{3SM} Neg PROG._{3MS} 3M-study._{S-IMP} in-the-library

‘The student is not studying in the library.’

b. * muʃ ʔəl- tʕalɪb gaʕɪd j-drus bɪ-ʔəl-maktabəh

Neg the-student._{3SM} PROG._{3MS} 3M-study._{S-IMP} in-the-library

‘The student is not studying in the library.’

It is not clear how Soltan’s analysis would provide an explanation for the structure in the above examples. I will leave the discussion about this issue for future research.

To conclude, evidence from the *ma-f* group shows that NegP occurs between TP and VP, as indicated by the merger between the past verb and the negative marker *ma-f* to avoid

minimality violation, the fact that the negative marker *muf* cannot appear with a verb in the past, and the fact that existential and possessive particles occupy a head below TP.

3.4. Summary

This chapter investigates the locus of sentential negation in IA with the primary goal being to provide an analysis for the location of sentential negation within that dialect. The answer to the questions is that first: IA requires both a single element which is used by the *ma* group and two elements which are used by the *ma-f* group when forming negation. The answer to the second question is that: NegP is located between TP and VP as the data from both the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups indicated. Finally, the answer to the last question is that following Benmamoun's analysis (2000), I argue that the proclitic and the enclitic *-f* in the *ma-f* group projects one head in the structure.

In this chapter, I have discussed the two groups of IA, the *ma* and the *ma-f* group. In section (3.1), I have presented some facts about sentential negation in the *ma* and the *ma-f* group, showing that the *ma* group uses the negative marker *ma* to express sentential negation with verbal sentences while it uses the negative marker *mu* with verbless clauses. The other group, the *ma-f* group, uses the negative marker *ma-f* to express sentential negation with verbal sentences whereas it uses the negative marker *muf* with verbless clauses. The data presented in section (3.1.2) demonstrates that the negative marker *muf* in the *ma-f* group does not occur with the perfective verb which is evidence consistent with the proposal that NegP occurs below TP. The section also has shown that the indefinite/definite NP cannot intervene between the verb and the negative marker. Moreover, the chapter has indicated that the High-Neg hypothesis cannot provide an explanation for the case when the imperfective verb has the option to merge with the

negative marker in both groups. Therefore, I argue that sentential negation in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups occupies a projection which occurs between TP and VP.

From the data presented above, we can conclude that the system of negation in IA exhibits a variety of similar aspects to the two groups but does reveal some variation. The main results of the discussion can be summarized as follows:

- a. Sentential negation is expressed by the independent morpheme *ma* and by the discontinuous negative marker *ma-f*.
- b. The negative bound morphemes *mə-* and *lə-* are always adjacent to the verb.
- c. Sentential negation can be expressed by the use of *wəla* when it occurs preverbally.
- d. The distribution of negating verbless and verbal predicates can be summarized as follows:

Table 1 The distribution of sentential negation in verbal and verbless predicates

Dialects	Verbal Predicates				Verbless Predicates		
	past	Present	future	imperative	possessive	existential	nominal/adjectival
<i>ma</i> group	ma	ma	ma	la	ma ʕindi	maku	mu
<i>ma-f</i> group	ma-f	ma-f	ma-f	ma-f	ma-ʕindi-f	makuʃ/ mamif	muʃ

In the next two chapters, I examine Negative Polarity Items and Negative Concord Items. The two chapters will provide other pieces of evidence supporting my analysis.

Chapter Four

NEGATIVE POLARITY ITEMS

4.1. Introduction

The aims of this chapter are first to review the first category of NSIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups which is NPIs. Both the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups exhibit four types of NPIs: nominal, determiner, adverbial, and idiomatic NPIs. The second aim of this chapter is to examine the interaction between negation and NPIs. The importance of negation in Arabic and other languages has long been recognized by researchers. However, there has been a wide disagreement among researchers regarding the locus of negation and how NPIs get licensed. The third goal of the chapter is to describe and analyze the distribution and the categorical properties of NPIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups taking into consideration previous analyses of NPIs licensing. Previous studies (Benmamoun, 1996, 1997, 2006; Hoyt, 2010; Alqassas, 2012, 2016, 2019) which only focused on Arabic dialects such as MA, EA, and LA, offer various diagnostic tests to distinguish between NPIs and NCIs and propose different syntactic analyses to explain the licensing conditions for these NSIs. This leads to the main question of this chapter: Question: What is the distribution of NPIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups and what syntactic analysis captures best their licensing can be devised to account for this distribution?

This chapter is organized as follows. Section (4.2) and its subsections (4.2.1) & (4.2.2) introduce some facts about NPIs and discuss the distribution of NPIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. In this section, I highlight the contexts that function as proper environments of NPIs in both groups. Section (4.3) discusses the licensing conditions of NPIs in both groups. Furthermore, previous semantic, and syntactic approaches proposed by Ladusaw (1980, 1983);

Linebarger (1981, 1987); and Giannakidou (1998) are examined and applied to the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. Section (4.4) concludes the discussion.

4.2. Negation and NPIs in *ma* and *ma-f* Groups

4.2.1. Negation and NPIs in *ma* Group

The NPIs, in the *ma* group, have four different types namely: nominal, determiner, adverbial, and idiomatic. The nominal NPIs include the indefinite pronoun *waḥīd* ‘one’ and *fī* ‘thing,’ as shown in example (1):

1) *ma fīfət waḥīd/fī.* (Baghdadi)

Neg saw._{1S} one/thing

‘I did not see anyone/anything.’

If the indefinite pronouns *waḥīd* and *fī* occur in affirmative declarative sentences, they would have the interpretation of Positive Polarity Items (PPIs). This is indicated in (2):

2) *ʕāḥməd ʃaf waḥīd/fī.* (Baghdadi)

Ahmed saw._{1S} one/thing

‘Ahmed saw someone/something.’

The fact that the expressions *waḥīd* and *fī* can appear in affirmative declarative sentences does not deteriorate their status as NPIs. According to Hoeksema (1994), these NPIs have gone through a process of grammaticalization by which they become restricted to negative contexts; therefore, they change from regular expressions to NSIs. These expressions are referred to as semi-NPIs instead of strict NPIs because the latter can only appear in negative contexts.

In addition to the indefinite pronouns *waḥīd* and *fī*, the *ma* group uses the quantifier *kollfi*²⁶ ‘everything’ to express a nominal NPI. The nominal NPI *kollfi* can occur preverbally and post-verbally; however, postverbally is limited with verbs of senses in this group. The NPI *kollfi* carries the meaning of “anything” in this context. The NPI *kollfi*, like the NPIs *waḥīd* and *fī*, always requires the presence of negation. See the following examples:

3) *la wəlla, kollfi *(ma) ʕindi.*

no by-God, anything Neg have.1S

‘I do not have anything.’

(Adopted from Erwin, 1969)

4) a. *kollfi *(ma) gəlli.*

(Najafi)

anything Neg told-me.3MS

‘He did not tell me anything.’

b. **(ma) sıməʕt kollfi.*

Neg hear-me anything

‘I did not hear anything.’

The second type of the NPIs is the determiner NPIs which are formed by the combination of *ʔaj* + indefinite pronoun *waḥīd* and *fī*, such as *ʔaj* + *waḥīd* (5) or *ʔaj* + *fī* (6), to create the negative polarity interpretation in a negative sentence.

²⁶ The quantifier *kollfi* is a combination of *koll* ‘every’ and *fī* ‘thing’. The quantifier *kollfi* loses its semantic meaning and behaves as an NPI when it occurs with a negative marker. This is shown in the following examples:

1) *kollfi ʕindi.*

everything have.1S

‘I have everything.’

2) *kollfi *(ma) ʕindi.*

NPI anything Neg have.1S

‘I do not have anything.’

5) ma ʃaf-ət ʔəj waħıd. (Baghdadi)

Neg saw-3FS any one

‘She did not see anyone.’

6) ma ʒab-ət ʔəj ʃı. (Baghdadi)

Neg brought-3FS any thing

‘She did not bring anything.’

Similar to the indefinite pronouns, the determiner NPI *ʔəj* is not restricted to negative sentences, henceforth it can occur in positive contexts where it can have a *wh*-reading but not a nominal indefinite reading. This is shown in (7):

7) ʕəħməd ʃaf ʔəj waħıd?

Ahmed saw.1S which one

‘Which one did Ahmed see?’

Following Ladusaw (1980); Progovac (1994); and Giannakidou (1998) in their analysis of NPIs licensing, I will treat the determiner NPI *ʔəj* as NPIs because it is sensitive to the presence of negation. Moreover, if the determiner NPI *ʔəj* occurs in negative-like contexts, such as contexts that can license NPIs (i.e., questions and conditionals) only the indefinite nominal reading is available but never the *wh*-reading. See the following examples:

8) minu ʃaf ʔəj waħıd? (Najafi)

who saw.1S any one

‘Who saw anyone?’

9) ʕıðə ʔəj waħıd jı-ɖʒawəb haða ʕəl-suʕal, raħ jı-fuz.

if any one 3M-answer.S this question, will 3M-win.S

‘If anyone answers this question, he will win.’

The third type of NPIs is the adverbial NPI *ʕumr* ‘ever.’²⁷ The NPI *ʕumr* can occur preverbally (10) and postverbally (10) in the *ma* group. The postverbal *ʕumr* is a marked option, while the preverbal *ʕumr* is unmarked.

10) a. *ʕumr-əh ma dīrəs.* (unmarked)

NPI ever-3MS Neg studied.3MS

‘He has never studied.’

b. *ma dīrəs ʕumr-əh.* (marked)

Neg studied.3MS NPI.ever-3MS

‘He has never studied.’

Like the indefinite pronouns and the determiner NPIs, the NPI *ʕumr* can occur in non-negative contexts such as yes/no questions (11) and conditionals (12) which is a feature that is shared with other Arabic dialects (i.e., JA, EA).

11) Question: Answer (Najafi)

ʕumr-əh safər lī-ʔəl-musʕl?

la.

ever-3MS traveled.3MS to-the-Mosul

no

‘Has he ever traveled to Mosul?’

‘No.’

12) *ʔiða ʕumr-əh safər lī-l-musʕl, gul-li.* (Najafi)

if ever-3MS traveled.3MS to-the-Mosul, tell-me

‘If he ever traveled to Mosul, tell me.’

²⁷ In most cases the adverbial *ʕumr* is replaced by *həjat* ‘life’ which agrees with the subject in person, number, and gender. This is shown in the following example:

1) *ʔəb-həjat-hə ma safər-ət lī-l-musʕl.*
NPI never-3FS Neg traveled-3FS to-the-Mosul
‘She never traveled to Mosul.’

One feature that distinguishes the adverbial NPI *ʕomr*, in the *ma* group, from other Arabic dialects is that this NPI cannot host negation like EA. This is shown in the ungrammaticality of (13):

13) a. **ma ʕomr-i dīrəs-t.* (Najafi)

Neg NPI ever-1MS studied-1MS

‘I have never studied.’

b. *ma ʕomr-i-ʃ dīrəs-t.* (EA)

Neg NPI ever.1MS-Neg studied-1MS

‘I have never studied.’

Another feature that the *ma* group has which is different from other Arabic dialects is that the adverbial NPI *ʕomr* can either precede or follow the negative *məħəd* (14) or the NCI *wəla waħid* (15). This feature is not allowed in JA. Alqassas (2016) argues that the NPI *ʕomr* in JA cannot precede the negative *maħədaf* (16) or the NCI *wəla ħəda* (17) which is a piece of evidence the author uses to argue against Head-compliment configuration. Later in this dissertation, I will show that even though that the adverbial NPI *ʕomr* in both groups of IA can precede the negative *məħəd* or the NCI *wəla waħid*, however, it still cannot be licensed by the Head-compliment configuration as argued by Benmamoun (2006) and Alsarayreh (2012).

14) (*ʕomr-əh*) *məħəd* (*ʕomr-əh*) *safər lī-l-musʕl.* (Baghdadi)

(ever-3MS) no one (ever-3MS) traveled.3MS to-the-Mosul

‘No one has ever traveled to Mosul.’

15) (*ʕomr-əh*) *wəla waħid* (*ʕomr-əh*) *safər lī-l-musʕl.* (Baghdadi)

(ever-3MS) NCI one (ever-3MS) to-the-Mosul

‘No one has ever traveled to Mosul.’

16) (*ʕʊmr-u) maħəda-ʃ (ʕʊmr-u) zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

(*ever-him) no one (ever-him) visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

17) (*ʕʊmr-u) wəla ħəda (ʕʊmr-uu) zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

(*ever-him) NCI one (ever-him) visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

The last type of the NPIs is the idiomatic NPIs which are formed by using the expression *filəs ʔəħməṛ* ‘red cent.’ These NPIs can occur preverbally and post-verbally, as shown in the following examples:

18) ʕəli ma sʕʊrəf filəs ʔəħməṛ. (Moslawi)

Ali Neg spent._{3MS} cent red

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

19) filəs ʔəħməṛ ʕəli ma sʕʊrəf. (Moslawi)

cent red Ali Neg spent._{3MS}

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

Another type that is similar to NSI is Negative Quantifiers (NQs) which contain negative words that express universal quantifications, such as *məħəd* ‘no one.’ NQ can express negation in the absence of a negative particle (20)a while it expresses double negation when it occurs with a negative marker (20)b.

20) a. məħəd ʔiɖzəh lɪ-l-ħəfləh. (Najafi)

no-one came._{3MS} to-the-party

‘No one came to the party.’

b. məhəd ma-ʔıdʒəh ɪ-l-həfləh. (Najafi)

no-one Neg-came._{3MS} to-the-party

‘No one did not come to the party.’

The expression *wahid*, *fi*, *kollfi*, and *ʕomr* among others are considered as NPIs and not as NCIs in the *ma* group because these elements cannot pass the diagnostic tests that are used to distinguish between NPIs and NCIs. First, they cannot occur preverbally to give us the negative reading as displayed by the ungrammaticality of (21). Second, they cannot pass the fragment answer test (22). Finally, they always require the presence of negation (23).

21)

a. *ʔəj wahid ʔıdʒa. (Najafi)

any one came._{3MS}

‘Anyone came.’

b. *kollfi sʕar.

everything happened

‘Nothing happened.’

c. *ʔəj fi ʃıfət.

thing saw._{1S}

‘I did not see anything.’

d. *ʕomr-k dırəs-ıt.

NPI ever-_{2MS} studied-_{2MS}

‘You have never studied.’

22) Question:	Answer:	(Najafi)
a. minu safər?	*waḥīd.	
who traveled. _{3SM}	one	
‘Who did travel?’	‘One.’	
b. minu safər?	*ʔəj waḥīd.	
who traveled. _{3SM}	any one	
‘Who did travel?’	‘Anyone.’	
c. ʕōmr-əh safər lī-l-musʕī?	*ʕōmr-əh.	
NPI ever- _{3MS} traveled. _{3MS} to-the-Mosul	NPI ever- _{3MS}	
‘Has he ever traveled to Mosul?’	‘Ever.’	
d. ʔīʕkəd sʕōrəfit?	*filəs ʔəḥmər.	
how much spent. _{2SM}	red cent	
‘How much did you spend?’	‘A red cent.’	

23)

a. *safər ʔəj waḥīd.	(Najafi)
traveled. _{3MS} any one	
‘No one traveled.’	
b. *safər ʕōmr-əh.	(Baghdadi)
traveled. _{3MS} NPI.ever- _{3MS}	
‘He has never traveled.’	
c. *kollʕī sʕar.	(Najafi)
nothing happened	
‘Nothing happened.’	

d. *ʕəli sʕərəf filəs ʔəħməɾ.

(Baghdadi)

Ali spent._{3MS} cent red

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

4.2.2. Negation and NPIs in *ma-f* Group

This section discusses the syntactic properties of NPIs that are used in the *ma-f* group. As has been shown in the previous chapters, similar to some Arabic dialects, the *ma-f* group uses the proclitic *ma-* and the enclitic *-f* to negate a sentence (24):

24) ma safərt-ɪʃ.

Neg traveled._{1MS}-Neg

‘I did not travel.’

The questions that I answer in this section are:

- Are the NPIs in complementary distribution with the enclitic negative marker *-f* in the *ma-f* group, similar to some Arabic dialects?
- How do NPIs interact with the negative marker?

Before discussing those questions, it is important to look at some essential facts about the NPIs in the *ma-f* group which will help us answer these questions.

Like the *ma* group, the *ma-f* group has four different types of NPIs (nominal, determiner, adverbial, and idiomatic). The nominal NPI is expressed by using the indefinite pronouns *ʔəħəd* and *ʃi* (25) which also can appear in affirmative declarative sentences to give us the interpretation of PPIs (26).

25) ma-ʃifət-ʃ ʔəħəd/ʃi.

(NPI: Amarah)

Neg-saw._{1S}-Neg one/thing

‘I did not see anyone/anything.’

26) ʕəħməð ʃaf waħıd/ʃi.

(PPI: Amarah)

Ahmed saw._{1S} one/thing

‘Ahmed saw someone/something.’

Similar to the *ma* group, the *ma-f* group also uses the quantifier *kollfi* to express nominal NPI. However, the nominal NPI *kollfi* in the *ma-f* group does not occur postverbally even with the verbs of senses. This is shown in the following examples:

27) a. kollfi ma-jab-t-ıf.

(Nasiriyah)

anything Neg brought-_{3FS}-Neg

‘She did not bring anything.’

b. *ma jab-t-ıf kollfi.

Neg brought-_{3FS}-Neg anything

‘She did not bring anything.’

c. *ma ʃaf-t-ıf kollfi.

Neg saw-_{3FS}-Neg anything

‘She did not see anything.’

As the examples in (27) display, the NPI *kollfi* in the *ma-f* group is different from the other dialects that have been described in the literature (EA, JA, and MA) in that none of these dialects use the quantifier *kollfi* as a nominal NPI.

The second type, the determiner NPI, is formed by combining the expression *ʔəj* with the indefinite pronoun *waħıd/ʃi* (28). This expression is not restricted to negative sentences because it can occur in positive contexts where it can have a *wh*-reading but not a nominal indefinite reading (29). However, if the determiner NPI *ʔəj* occurs in the questions (30), and conditionals

contexts (31) which can license NPIs only the indefinite nominal reading is available but never the *wh*-reading.

28) *ma fift-ijʔəj waħid/ʃi.* (Basrawi)

Neg saw._{1S}-Neg any one/thing

‘I did not see anyone/anything.’

29) *ʔəj waħid ʕəħməd ʃafʔ*

which one Ahmed saw._{1S}

‘Which one did Ahmed see?’

30) *mīnu ʃaf ʔəj waħidʔ*

who saw._{1S} any one

‘Who saw anyone?’

31) *ʕiða ʔəj waħid jə-dʒawəb haða ʕəl-suʕal, raħ ʔəjʃuzʔ*

if any one _{3M}-answer.s this question, will _{3M}.win.s

‘If anyone answers this question, he will win.’

The third type of the NPIs in the *ma-f* group is the adverbial NPI *ʕumr* which can precede (32)a and follow the verb (32)b in this group. The postverbal *ʕumr* is a marked option, while the preverbal *ʕumr* is unmarked.

32) a. *ʕumr-əh ma dīrəs-ijʃ.* (Basrawi)

NPI.ever-_{3MS} Neg studied._{3MS}-Neg

‘He has never studied.’

b. *ma dīrəs-ijʃ ʕumr-əh.*

Neg studied._{3MS}-Neg NPI.ever-_{3MS}

‘He has never studied.’

Moreover, the NPI *ʕomr* can occur in non-negative contexts such as yes/no questions (33) and conditionals (34).

33) Question:	Answer	
ʕomr-əh safər lɪ-ʔəl-musʕl?	la.	(Nasiriyah)
ever-him traveled. _{3MS} to-the-Mosul	no	
‘Has he ever traveled to Mosul?’	‘No.’	

34) ʔiða ʕomr-əh safər lɪ-l-musʕl, gul-li.		(Nasiriyah)
if ever- _{3MS} traveled. _{3MS} to-the-Mosul, tell-me		
‘If he ever traveled to Mosul, tell me.’		

Similar to the *ma* group, the adverbial NPI *ʕomr* cannot host negation in the *ma-f* group.

This is shown in the ungrammaticality of (35):

35) a. *ma ʕomr-i-ʔ dɪrəs-t.		(Basrawi)
Neg NPI. ever- _{1MS} -I-Neg studied- _{1MS}		
‘I have never studied.’		
b. ma ʕomr-h-iʔ dɪrəs.		(EA)
Neg NPI. ever- _{2MS} -he-Neg studied. _{2MS}		
‘He has never studied.’		

From the data above we can see that the *ma-f* group differs from other Arabic dialects regarding the surface of the enclitic *-f* with the NPIs. As seen in chapter two, previous studies (Benmamoun, 1997; Soltan, 2012; & Alqassas, 2012,2019) state that the enclitic *-f* is not allowed to surface when the specific NPIs precedes the verb and when negation is only expressed by the negative marker (36) (37). In contrast, the enclitic *-f* is allowed to surface when the NPIs occur preverbally. For example, the adverbial NPI *ʕomr* is not in complementary distribution with the

enclitic *-f*. The speakers of the *ma-f* group, have the option to keep or to drop the enclitic *-f* when it occurs with the adverbial NPI *ʕumr*. This is shown in example (38):

36) ʕumr-i ma-safərt-i-(*f) məsʕr. (EA)

ever-my Neg-traveled._{1S}-Neg Masr

‘I have never traveled to Egypt.’

37) ma-ʕa-(*f) hətta waħəd. (MA)

Neg-came._{3MS}-Neg even one

‘Anyone did not come.’

38) ʕumr-əh ma safər(-if) lɪ-l-musʕl. (Amarah)

NPI ever-_{3MS} Neg traveled._{3MS}(-Neg) to-the-Mosul

‘He has never traveled to Mosul.’

Finally, unlike JA, and similar to the *ma* group, the adverbial NPI *ʕumr* can follow or precede the negative *məħəd* (39) or the NCI *wəla waħəd* (40). Interestingly, the enclitic morpheme *-f*, in the *ma-f* group, does not occur with the quantifier *waħəd*, unlike JA (42) when forming the negative quantifier *məħəd* as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (41).

39) (ʕumr-əh) məħəd (ʕumr-əh) safər-i-f lɪ-l-musʕl. (Basrawi)

(ever-_{3MS}) no one (ever-_{3MS}) traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘No one has ever traveled to Mosul.’

40) (ʕumr-əh) wəla waħəd (ʕumr-əh) safər- i-f lɪ-l-musʕl.

(ever-him_{3MS} NCI one (ever-_{3MS}) to-the-Mosul

‘No one has ever traveled to Mosul.’

41) məħəd-ʃ safər lɪ-l-musʕl. (Basrawi)

no one traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘No one traveled to Mosul.’

42) maħəda-ʃ ʕəmr-u zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

no one ever-him visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

(Alqassas, 2012)

The last type of the NPIs is the idiomatic NPIs which are formed by using the expression *filəs ʔəħmər* ‘red cent.’ These NPIs can occur preverbally (43) and postverbally (44)

43) ʕəli ma sʕərəf-ijʃ filəs ʔəħmər.

Ali Neg spent._{3MS}-Neg cent red

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

44) filəs ʔəħmər ʕəli ma sʕərəf-ijʃ.

cent red Ali Neg spent._{3MS}-Neg

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

The aforementioned elements are treated as NPIs because they cannot pass the test that distinguishes between the NPIs and the NCIs as they cannot occur preverbally (45), they need to co-occur with negation (46), and they cannot pass the fragment answer test (47):

45)

a. *ʔəj waħid ʔidʒa.

(Basrawi)

any one came._{3MS}

‘Anyone came.’

b. *ʃi ʃifət.

thing saw._{1S}

‘I did not see anything.’

c. *ʕomr-i dɪrəs-t.

NPI ever-_{1MS} studied-_{1MS}

‘I have never studied.’

46)

a. *(ma) jab-t-(iʃ) ʔəj ʃi.

(Amarah)

Neg brought-_{3FS}-Neg any thing

‘She did not bring anything.’

b. *(ma) dɪrəs-*(iʃ) ʕomr-əh.

Neg studied._{3MS}-Neg NPI.ever-_{3MS}

‘He has never studied.’

47) Question:

Answer: (Basrawi)

a. ʃinu jab?

*ʔəj ʃi.

what brought._{3MS}

any thing

‘What did he bring?’

‘*anything.’

b. ʕomr-əh safər lɪ-l-musʕI?

*ʕomr.

NPI-_{3MS} traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

never

‘Has he ever traveled to Mosul?’

‘Never.’

c. ʔɪʃkəd sʕorəʃit?

*ʃiləs ʔəhmər.

how much spent._{2SM}

red cent

‘How much did you spend?’

‘A red cent.’

d. \int inu s ^ʕ ar?	*kollfi.
what happened	nothing
‘What happened?’	‘Nothing.’

To conclude, in this section I have discussed the syntactic features of NPIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group and I have shown how each group forms NPIs. Moreover, I have indicated why the expressions, such as *wahid*, *fi*, *kollfi*, and *ʕomr* are considered as NPIs through some tests, such as fragment answer test, the presence of negative marker, and whether they can occur in a preverbal position or not. In the next section, I discuss the licensing of NPIs in both groups.

4.3. NPI Licensing in *ma* Group and *ma-f* Group

In this section, I discuss the licensing of NPIs in both groups. This section examines whether negation is required to license NPIs in all environments. Furthermore, previous semantic, and syntactic approaches proposed by Ladusaw, 1980, 1983; Linebarger, 1981, 1987; Giannakidou, 1998 are examined in this section. Thenceforth, I discuss my proposed analysis of NPIs that is used in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Finally, I show which of the previous analyses could be applied to these two groups when licensing NPIs. The main question that this section tries to answer is:

- How do NPIs get licensed in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups?

According to the semantic approach, which was proposed by Ladusaw (1980, 1983), the NPIs are licensed in Downward Entailing (DE) contexts. The author argues that the DE allows inferences from supersets to subsets (48) and (49). The DE is defined as follows:

- α is a trigger for NPIs if and only if α is downward entailing.

(Ladusaw, 1980)

48) Sarah never eats meats for supper ~ Sarah never eats fish for supper.

49) No women run ~ no mothers run.

Example (48) shows that meat is a superset that entails the subset of fish and example (49) demonstrates that the superset *women* entails the subset *mothers*. The focus of the entailment does not continue from the subset to the superset but vice versa. For example, *no mothers run* does not entail *no women run* but *no women run* entails *no mothers run*. Hence, the inference is claimed to be downward entailing.

Moreover, the author claims that expressions such as *few*, and restriction of universal quantifiers (e.g., *everyone*) are considered as DE even though these contexts are not negative, but they can license NPIs within their scope. This is shown in the following examples:

50) Few women run.

51) Everyone who owns a phone will go to the party.

While the DE is claimed to work cross-linguistically; however, this approach has some problems. As we have seen above questions, and conditionals contexts can license NPIs, yet they are not considered as DE. Moreover, some NPIs can precede their licenser. This is shown in the following examples:

52) minu ʃaf ʔəj waħɪd? (Najafi)

who saw._{1S} any one

‘Who saw anyone?’

53) ʕəðə ʔəj waħɪd jə-ɟawəb haða ʕəl-suʕal, raħ jɪfuz? (Baghdadi)

if any one _{3M}-answer._S this question, will _{3M}-win._S

‘If anyone answers this question, he will win.’

54) filəs ʔəhmər sarəh ma s^ʕorəf-ij. (Amarah)

cent red Sarah Neg spent._{3FS-Neg}

‘Sarah did not spend a red cent.’

55) ʕomr-əh ma safər lɪ-l-mus^ʕl. (Moslawi)

NPI ever-_{3SM} Neg traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘He has never traveled to Mosul.’

A study by Giannakidou (1998, 1999, 2006) examines the NPIs in Greek argues against Ladusaw’s proposal. The author states that Polarity Items (PIs) sensitivity cannot be accounted for under the DE hypothesis and assumes that the licensing of the NPIs is instead based on non-veridicality. Non-veridicality is defined as follows:

- Let Op be a monadic propositional operator. The following statements hold:
 - (i) Op is *veridical* just in case $Op p \rightarrow p$ is logically valid. Otherwise, Op is *nonveridical*.
 - (ii) A nonveridical operator Op is *antiveridical* just in case $Op p \rightarrow \neg p$ is logically valid.

(Adopted from Giannakidou, 1998)

According to the author, non-veridicality has three operators which are: *veridical*, *non-veridical*, and *anti-veridical*. Giannakidou argues that the operator Op is veridical iff whenever $Op p$ is true, p is true too. While an Op is nonveridical iff whenever $Op p$ is true, p may or may not be true. This is because the nonveridical operators do not entail the falsity of p while the antiveridical operators can entail the falsity of p . See example (56), (57), and (58):

56) I Theodora efije xthes. → I Theodora efije. (Veridical)

the Theodora left._{3S} yesterday

‘Theodora left yesterday.’ → ‘Theodora left.’

According to the definition of ISC, the NPIs should occur in a proposition that is within the entire scope of *not* and there should not be any logical elements that intervene between them. The logical elements are identified as elements that can enter into scope ambiguities. Consider the following example:

59) *He did not budge an inch any more often than he stood his ground.

Example (59) shows that the immediate scope constraint is violated because the logical elements intervene between negation and the NPIs *budge an inch* and *NOT* at LF.

The author also stated that the NPIs can be licensed by the negative pragmatic. The negative pragmatic examines NPIs in cases where the negation is not present. Linebarger (1987) defines negative implicature as follows:

- Negative Implicature (NI):
 - (i) Expectation of negative implicature is itself a conventional implicature. A negative polarity item contributes to a sentence *S* expressing a proposition *P* the conventional implicature that the following two conditions are satisfied.
 - (ii) Availability of negative implicature. There is some proposition NI (which may be identical to *P*) which is implicated or entailed by *S* and which is part of what the speaker is attempting to convey in uttering *S*. In the LF of some sentence *S'* expressing NI, the lexical representation of the NPI occurs in the immediate scope of negation. In the event that *S* is distinct from *S'*, we may say that in uttering *S* the speaker is making an allusion to *S'*.
 - (iii) NI strengthens *P*. The truth of NI, in the context of the utterance, virtually guarantees the truth of *P*.

(Linebarger 1987: 346)

Linebarger's analysis, states that NPIs can occur in affirmative sentences which can license them. Consider the following example:

60) I was surprised that she contributed a red cent.

According to the author, example (60) is considered as negative because *surprised* can have the pragmatic negative implicature. Moreover, the NPI *a red cent* is in the immediate scope of the negative marker *NOT*. The example has the following interpretation:

61) I had expected her not to contribute a red cent. (Negative Implicature)

(Adopted from Linebarger, 1980)

Giannakidou's proposal (1998, 1999, 2006), in contrast, states that nonveridicality can license NPIs either when the NPIs occur in a non-veridical environment or when the NPI is c-commanded by the non-veridical licenser at LF. According to the author, NPIs in Greek are divided into emphatics (*KANENAS* 'no one, nobody') and non-emphatics (*kanenas* 'anyone, anybody'). The two differ in that first non-emphatics NPIs never occur to the left of their licenser (an exception is when they are embedded in constituents in this case they can). Second, non-emphatics NPIs are not sensitive to islands and can freely be licensed by non-local negation. Third, they can be licensed long distance (i.e., by superordinate negation in embedded clauses). Emphatics NPIs, on the other hand, can appear to the left of negation, they are sensitive to islands, and they cannot be licensed long distance. Their licensing is more local than non-emphatics NPIs. The differences between the emphatics and non-emphatics NPIs are related to the claim that the latter is treated as existential quantifiers; therefore, they are licit inside islands, licit with superordinate negation, and not licit to the left of their licensers. The former, in contrast, is treated as universal quantifiers; therefore, they are not licit inside islands, they are not

licit with superordinate negation, and they are licit to the left of their licensors See the following examples:

62) *Kanenan/KANENAN dhen idha.

any not saw._{1S}

‘I saw nobody.’

63) Dhen itan isixi [epidhi fovithike kanenan/*KANENAN].

not was._{3S} quiet because was-scared-_{3S} anyone

‘S/he was not quiet because s/he was scare of anybody.’

64) I Ilectra dhen ipe oti idhe tipota/*TIPOTA.

the Electra not said._{3S} that saw._{3S} anything

‘Electra did not say ha she saw anything.’

(Adopted from Giannakidou, 1998)

Similar to the DE approach, both Linebarger and Giannakidou’s proposals have some problems if we apply them to the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Like JA examined by Alsarayreh (2012), the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups allow some NPIs to occur before the negative marker. For example, some of the NPIs, such as *ʕomr* “never” and *filəs ʔəħmər* “red cent” can precede negation as example (54) and (55) above show. However, the data from the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups shows that nonveridicality approach is the only approach that can account for the distribution of NPIs in both groups compared to the other approaches discussed in this section.

Turning to Arabic, Benmamoun (1997, 2006), Alqassas (2012, 2016, 2019), Hoyt (2010), Alsarayreh (2012), Ouali and Soltan (2014) state that NPIs can be licensed either by c-command, or Spec-head relation. Moreover, Benmamoun (1997, 2006) and Alsarayreh (2012) argue that NPIs can also be licensed by Head-complement configuration along with the other two

configurations. As we have seen in chapter two, there is a debate on whether the language allows all three requirements or only some. For example, Alqassas (2016) illustrates that JA does not allow Head-complement configuration. The author states that the NPIs cannot enter into Head-complement relationship with negation as the NPI *ʕumr* ‘never’ cannot precede the negative *məħəd* ‘no one’ or the NCI *wəla həda* ‘no one/nobody’. This is shown by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

65) *ʕumr-u məħəda-ʃ zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

ever-him no one visited.3MS the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

66) *ʕumr-u wəla həda zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

ever-him NCI one visited.3MS the-Petra

‘No one has ever visited Petra.’

In contrast, Benmamoun (1997, 2006) argues that NPIs are licensed either by c-command (67), a specifier-head relation (68), or Head-complement relation (69).

67) ma-qrit hətta ktab.

Neg-read.1S NPI even book

‘I did not read any book.’

68) hətta waħəd ma-za.

NPI even one Neg-came.3MS

‘Anyone did not come.’

69) ʕəmmr-u ma-kan tajbyi nadja.

NPI-him Neg-Neg love Nadia

‘He never loved Nadia.’

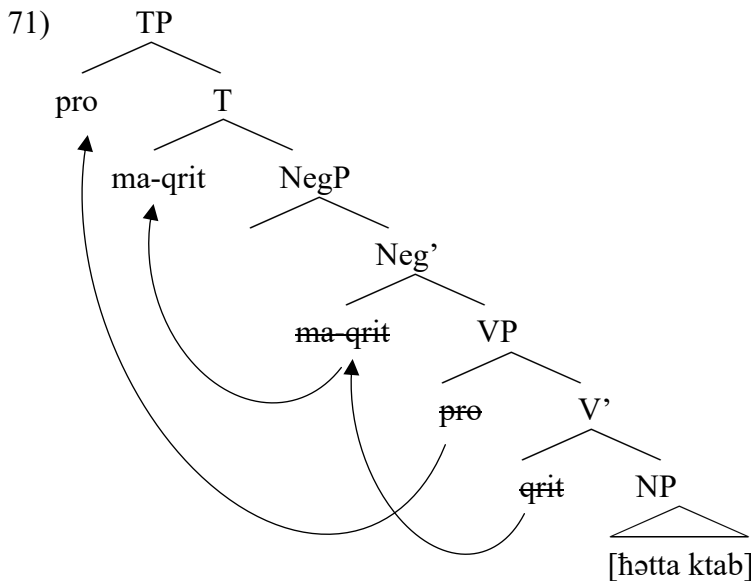
(Benmamoun, 2006)

In example (67) the NPI *ħætta ktab* is licensed by the c-command mechanism which is defined as:

70) Node A c-commands node B if neither A nor B dominates the other and the first branching node dominating A dominates B.

(Reinhart, 1976)

The derivation of example (67) is as follow:



As we have seen in chapter 2, MA has two different classes of NPIs. One class which can precede sentential negation (72) and another class that cannot precede sentential negation (74).

The former can both follow (73) and precede sentential negation (72) which the authors use as a piece of evidence for Spec-head configuration (Aoun et al., 2010).

72) *ħætta wahəd ma-dʒa.* (MA)

even one Neg-come.3MS

‘No one came.’

73) *ma-dʒa hətta waħəd.* (MA)

Neg-come._{3MS} even one

‘No one came.’

74) *ma-dʒa hədd.* (MA)

Neg-come._{3MS} one

‘No one came.’

In addition to the NPI *hətta* ‘even,’ MA has another class which is the adverbial NPI *ʕəmmər* ‘never.’ Benmamoun (2006) demonstrates that the NPI *ʕəmmər* in example (75) cannot be licensed by either c-command or by Spec-head configuration. Therefore, he proposes another relationship which is Head-complement configuration.

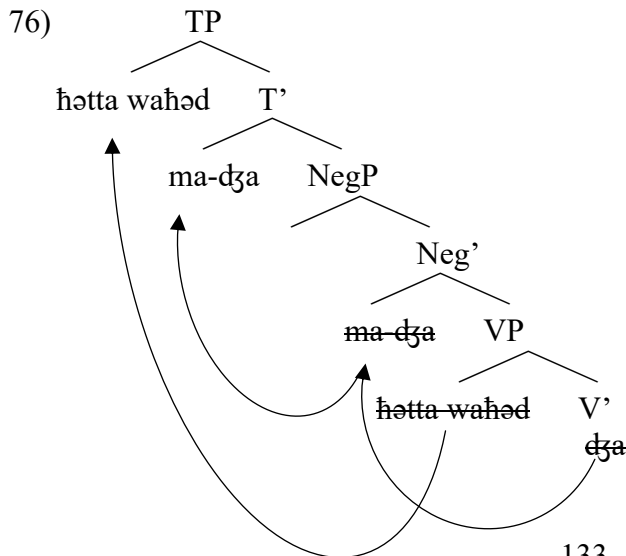
75) *nadja ʕəmmər-hə ma-dʒat.*

Nadja never-her Neg-came._{3FS}

‘Nadia never came.’

The NPI *hətta waħəd* in (68), on the other hand, is located in Spec-Neg which is headed by the negative marker *ma-*. Therefore, the NPI *hətta waħəd* is licensed by the Spec-head relation with the negation head *ma*.

Therefore, sentence (68) has the following derivation:



Finally, the NPI *ʕammər* in (75), is located higher than negation and it takes the phrase containing the sentential negation *ma* as a complement. Hence, the NPI *ʕammər* is licensed by the Head-complement configuration.

Following Alqassas (2016, 2019), I will argue that NPIs in both groups cannot get licensed by Head-complement configuration; however, I will depart from his argument regarding two issues. First, I will show that NPIs in both groups are mainly licensed by c-command, excluding the specifier-head relation. Second, I will show that the locus of the adverbial NPI *ʕomr* is different in IA from JA. As the data in the previous sections shows, the NPIs can occur in different environments. When the NPIs occur postverbally they get licensed by c-command as shown in (77):

77) *ma safər ʔəj waħıd.* (Najafi)

Neg traveled._{3MS} NPI any one

‘No one traveled.’

The structure of (77) is an example of NPIs that are licensed by an overt negative marker *ma*. It shows that the negative marker *ma* occupies the head of NegP and the NPI *ʔəj waħıd* functions as a subject which occurs in Spec-VP; therefore, the NPI is c-commanded by the negative marker. The data also shows that the NPIs can be licensed by c-commanded covertly at LF. For example, the idiomatic NPIs can occur both preverbally and post-verbally. This is shown in the following examples:

78) *ʕəli ma sʕurəf-ıf filəs ʔəħmə.* (Baghdadi)

Ali Neg spent._{3MS}-Neg cent red

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

79) *filəs ʔəhmər ʕəli ma sʕurəf.*

(Baghdadi)

cent red Ali Neg spent._{3MS}

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

As we can see in example (79), the subject *Ali* can intervene between the NPI *filəs ʔəhmər* and the negative marker *ma*; thus, the NPIs is not in a Spec-head relationship with the negation and it is not c-commanded by the negative marker *ma* overtly. The only way for the NPIs to get licensed is to be c-commanded covertly at LF. Similar to that, the data in section (4.2.1) and (4.2.2) shows that the adverbial NPI *ʕəmr* can precede or follow the negative marker in both groups. This is shown in the examples of (14), repeated here as (80) and (81):

80) *ʕəmr-əh məhəd safər lɪ-l-musʕl.*

ever-_{3MS} no one traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘No one has ever traveled to Mosul.’

81) *məhəd ʕəmr-əh safər lɪ-l-musʕl.*

no one ever-_{3MS} traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘No one has ever traveled to Mosul.’

Alqassas (2016) argues that example (80) and (81) are ungrammatical when *ʕəmr* precedes a negative indefinite in JA. This is because the adverbial NPI *ʕəmr* cannot be licensed by negation under c-command. This fact cannot apply to the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups as they allow the adverbial NPI *ʕəmr* to occur before or after the negative marker. Therefore, I will argue that the adverbial NPI *ʕəmr* is base-generated postverbally and moved pre-verbally. Its licensing can take place when they merge in Spec-VP under c-command by negation before it moves from VP. This is indicated in the following structures:

82) [TP ζomr T [NegP Neg ma-(f) [VP ... ~~ζomr~~]]]

As section (4.2.1) and (4.2.2) shows, the NPI *kollfi* in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups, as example (4), and (27) repeated here as (83) and (84) demonstrate, can co-occur preverbally. The data from the *ma-f* group shows that the NPI *kollfi* unlike other arguments can only occur preverbally. In this case, the preverbal NPI *kollfi* must precede negation. The preverbal NPI *kollfi* starts as an object and gets licensed by c-command before moving to Focus Phrase (FocP). This structure is illustrated in (85):

83) *kollfi ma gəll-i.* (Najafi)

anything Neg told-me._{3MS}

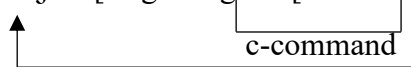
‘He did not tell me anything.’

84) *kollfi ma-jab-t-ijf.* (Nasiriyah)

anything Neg brought-_{3FS}-Neg

‘She did not bring anything.’

85) [TP *kollfi* T [NegP Neg ma [VP ... *kollfi*]]]



Finally, similar to JA, the NPIs, such as *ʔəj waħid*, *ʔəj fi*, and *ʔomr* in both groups are not sensitive to locality restriction unlike NCIs as we will see in the next chapter. They can be licensed by distant negation either by the embedded clause that is in the indicative (86) or by the subjunctive mood (87). However, the NPI *kollfi* is an exception from this rule as it is sensitive to locality and needs to be licensed locally (88).

86) a. *sarəh ma gal-ət (bɪ)- ʔən ʔəli jaf ʔəj waħid.* (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-_{3FS} (Prop) that Ali saw-_{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. sarəh ma gal-ət-ijf (b1)- ?ən ʕəli ʃaf ?əj waħid. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-_{3FS}-Neg (Prop) that Ali saw-_{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

c. ʕəhməd ma gal (b1)- ?ən ləjla ʕumr-hə safr-ət l1-l-musʕl. (Baghdadi)

Ahmed Neg said-_{3MS} (Prop) that Layla ever-_{3FS} traveled-_{3FS} to-the-Mosul

‘Ahmed did not say that Layla ever traveled to Musol.’

d. ʕəhməd ma gal-ət-ijf (b1)- ?ən ləjla ʕumr-hə safr-ət l1-l-musʕl. (Amarah)

Ahmed Neg said-_{3FS}-Neg (Prop) that Layla ever-_{3FS} traveled-_{3FS} to-the-Mosul

‘Ahmed did not say that Layla ever traveled to Mosul.’

87) a. ʕəli mə-jrid j1-ʃt1ri ?əj ʃ1. (Baghdadi)

Ali neg-want-_{3MS} 3M-buy-_S any thing

‘Ali does not want to buy anything.’

b. ʕəli mə-j-rid-ijf j1-ʃt1ri ?əj ʃ1. (Amarah)

Ali Neg-_{3M}-want-_S-Neg 3M-buy-_S any thing

‘Ali does not want to buy anything.’

88) a. suzan ma gal-ət (b1)- ?ən ʕəhməd ʕəkəl kullʃ1. (Baghdadi)

suzan Neg said-_{3FS} (Prop) that Ahmed ate-_{3MS} everything

‘Suzan did not say that Ahmed ate everything.’

b. suzan ma gal-ət-ijf (b1)- ?ən ʕəhməd ʕəkəl kullʃ1. (Amarah)

suzan neg said-_{3FS}-Neg (Prop) that Ahmed ate-_{3MS} everything

‘Suzan did not say that Ahmed ate everything.’

To conclude, I have followed Giannakidou (2006) and Alqassas (2019) analyses’ and stated that the licensing of the NPIs is better captured under the semantic notion of non-

veridicality and the syntactic notion of c-command in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Furthermore, I have argued that NPIs are licensed by c-command only in both groups. I have also demonstrated that the adverbial NPI *ʕumr* is base-generated postverbally and moved preverbally. The data in this chapter indicates that, unlike other Arabic dialects, the NPI *ʕumr* can precede or follow the negative quantifier *məħəd* in both groups. Finally, I have concluded that the NPIs are not sensitive to locality restriction as they allow long-distance licensing; however, *koll/i* is an exception to such fact.

4.4. Summary

The present chapter investigates the properties of a set of NSIs that function as NPIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group with the primary goal being to provide an analysis for how NPIs get licensed within these two groups. In this chapter, I have delineated which expressions are treated as NPIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* group. For example, *ʔəj waħid* is treated as an NPI because it must co-occur with negation and it cannot stand alone as a fragment answer in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. I have also introduced a new NPI *koll/i* which is found in both groups and can occur preverbally except with the verbs of senses when it can occur post-verbally. Then, I presented different approaches such as semantics, and syntactic approaches. I have shown that some of the previous approaches presented in this chapter cannot be applied in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups as the data from both groups show some challenges toward specific approaches. Moreover, I explained how NPIs get licensed and which analysis works better for licensing NSIs in these two groups. The data presented in section (4.3) demonstrates that NPIs can only be licensed by c-command. Finally, the discussion in this chapter has demonstrated that the NPI *ʕumr* is base-generated postverbally and moved preverbally.

Chapter Five

NEGATIVE CONCORD ITEMS

5.1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to present the syntactic properties of Negative Concord Items (NCIs) in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. It also aims to provide a syntactic analysis that will explain the interaction between negation and NCIs in each group, as well as ultimately explaining the microvariation in IA. NCIs refer to the multiple negative components which occur in a negative sentence without yielding a double negative interpretation. For example, JA, MA, EA, and LA among others are NC dialects, and when two negative elements occur within a sentence the result is a single negative reading as shown in the following example:

1) *ma-ʃafni-ɪʃ wəla-ħəda* (JA)

Neg-saw.me-Neg no-one

‘No one saw me.’

(Adopted from Alqassas, 2012)

Example (1) includes the NCI *wəla-ħəda* co-occurring with the sentential negative marker *ma*; however, there is only a single reading of negation. This is because only the negative marker *ma* is semantically negative, whereas the NCI *wəla-ħəda* is not semantically negative.

As seen in chapter 2, NCIs have three different constructions such as Negative Doubling (2), Negative Spread (3), and Negative Doubling and Spread (4) (Den Besten, 1989; Van der Wouden & Zwarts, 1993; Van der Wouden, 1994a; Zeijlestra, 2004). These constructions are defined as follows:

- a) Negative Spread: the distribution of the negative feature over any number of indefinite examples that occur within its scope.

- b) Negative Doubling: sentences that include a negative phrase with a marked negative component.
- c) Negative Spread and Doubling: sentences that include more than one negative expression with a marked negative constituent.

2) Tee niemand niets gezeid. (West Flemish)

it has n-body n-thing said

‘Nobody said anything’

3) Jean ne dit rien. (French)

John Neg says n-thing

‘John does not say anything’

4) Nikdo nedá nikomu nic. (Czech)

N-body.NOM Neg gives n-body.ACC n-thing.DAT

‘Nobody gives anything to anybody’

(Zeijlestra, 2004)

Finally, this chapter discusses the licensing of NCIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups by presenting previous analyses that have been proposed in past literature to discuss the NCIs licensing in different languages, specifically in Arabic dialects. Data from both groups illustrates that not one of the previous analyses that have been proposed for NC can account for the distribution of NCIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Therefore, I will show that the alternative analysis I propose can explain the distribution and licensing of NCIs in both groups of IA.

5.2. Negation and NCIs in *ma* and *ma-f* Groups

5.2.1. Negation and NCIs in *ma* Group

This subsection discusses the syntactic properties of NCIs that are used in the *ma* group by presenting the distribution of NCIs and showing how NCIs interact with the negative marker *ma*. In this subsection, I will answer the following questions:

- Is the *ma* group a strict NC or a non-strict NC dialect?
- How do NCIs interact with the negative marker?

There are two types of NCIs in the *ma* group. The first type includes the determiner NCIs, such as *wəla* ‘no’ and the second type includes the adverbial NCIs, such as *ʔəbəd/nihəʔiən* ‘at all/never,’ *bəʕəd/lissəh* ‘yet.’ The NCIs *wəla* is a combination of the conjunction particle *wə* ‘and’ and the negative marker *la* which can never occur in affirmative context. Therefore, it was assumed that *wəla* is semantically and formally negative. This can be shown in the following examples:

5) *wəla waħıd ʔıdʒəh.* (Baghdadi)

no one came.3MS

‘No one came.’

6) **ʕıfıt wəla waħıd.* (Baghdadi)

saw.1S no one

‘I saw someone.’

Moreover, the negative *wəla* can be used as negative disjunction *la . . . wəla* ‘neither . . . nor,’ as illustrated in example (7):

7) *Ɔəli ma ɤɪʃəʃ la Ɔəħməd wela sarəh.* (Moslawi)

Ali Neg saw._{3SM} Neg Ahmed and Neg Sarah

‘Ali did not see neither Ahmed nor Sarah.’

The adverbial NCIs *ʔəbədən/nuhaʔjən* is a combination of the adjective *ʔəbəd/nuhaʔj* ‘never/final’ and the adverbial marker *-ən* (8).²⁸ Other adverbial NCI types are the NCIs *bəʃəd* and *lissəh* which are used interchangeably in this group. The NCI *lissəh* is a grammaticalized form of the prepositional phrase *li-həssəh* ‘to-now’ (9). Similar to the NCI *wela*, the adverbial NCIs *bəʃəd* and *lissəh* cannot occur in affirmative contexts, as examples (10)a and (10)b show:

8) a. *sarəh ma ɤɪsb-ət ʔəbəd.* (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg failed-_{3FS} at all

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

b. *ʔəbəd sarəh ma ɤɪsb-ət.*

at all Sarah Neg failed-_{3FS}

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

9) a. *Ɔəli ma safər lissəh.* (Najafi)

Ali Neg traveled._{3MS} yet

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

b. *lissəh Ɔəli ma safər.*

yet Ali Neg traveled._{3MS}

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

²⁸ The speakers of the *ma* group use the short form of *ʔəbədən* which is *ʔəbəd* in most cases. The expression *ʔəbədən* is used when the speaker wants emphasizes on something.

10) a. *sarəh rɪsb-ət ʔəbəd.

(Baghdadi)

Sarah failed-_{3FS} at all

‘*Sarah failed at all.’

b. *ʕəli safər lɪssəh.

(Najafi)

Ali traveled._{3MS} yet

‘Ali has traveled yet.’

Unlike the NPIs discussed in the previous chapter, the expression *wəla waħɪd* is treated as NCI and not as NPI because it can occur as a fragment answer to a question, and it can occur preverbally without the presence of negation, as indicated in the following examples:

11) Question:

Answer:

mɪnu ʔɪdʒəh?

wəla waħɪd.

who came._{3MS}

no one

‘Who did come?’

‘No one.’

12) wəla waħɪd ʔɪdʒəh.

no one came._{3MS}

‘No one came.’

According to the data presented in this chapter, some NCIs are similar to the NPIs in regard to the requirement of the presence of negation. For example, the adverbial NCIs *ʔəbədən*, *nɪhaʔjən*, *bəʕəd*, and *lɪssəh* must always co-occur with negation regardless of whether they appear postverbally or preverbally such as listed in examples (13) (14). However, they are treated as NCIs and not as NPIs because they can pass the fragment answer test, as shown in (15):

13) a. ləjla ma safr-ət lɪ-l-mosʕul ʔəbəd.

(Moslawi)

Layla Neg traveled-_{3FS} to-the-Mosul at all

‘Layla did not travel to Mosul at all.’

b. ʔəbəd ləjla ma safr-ət lɪ-l-mosʕul.

at all Layla Neg traveled-_{3FS} to-the-Mosul

‘Layla did not travel to Mosul at all.’

14) a. ʕəhməd ma ʔɪdʒa lɪssəh.

(Baghdadi)

Ahmed Neg came._{3MS} yet

‘Ahmed has not come yet.’

b. lɪssəh ʕəhməd ma ʔɪdʒa.

yet Ahmed Neg came._{3MS}

‘Ahmed has not come yet.’

15) Question:

Answer:

a. suzan safrət lu lɪssəh?

lɪssəh.

Suzan traveled._{3FS} or not yet

not yet

‘Has Suzan travel or not?’

‘Not yet.’

b. ləjla zɪrɪt ʔə-l-mosʕul?

ʔəbədən.

Layla visited._{3SM} the- Mosul

Never

‘Did Layla visit Mosul?’

‘Never.’

The NCI *wəla waħid*, by contrast, can only occur postverbally with the presence of a negative marker (16). It cannot co-occur with negation preverbally as it yields a double negative reading (17) and never a concord reading.

16) *(ma) ʔidʒəh wəla waħid. (Baghdadi)

Neg came._{3MS} no one

‘No one came.’

17) wəla waħid ma ʔidʒəh. (Baghdadi)

no one Neg came._{3MS}

‘No one did not come.’

As seen in chapter 4, the NPIs in IA similar to other Arabic dialects (i.e., JA) can be licensed long distance (i.e., by superordinate negation in embedded clauses). Contrarily, long-distance licensing is not possible for NCIs. The contrast between NPIs and NCIs is shown in the following examples:

18) a. sarəh ma gal-ət (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf ʔəj waħid. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-_{3FS} (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. sarəh ma gal-ət-ɪʃ (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf ʔəj waħid. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-_{3FS}-Neg (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

19) a. *sarəh ma gal-ət (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf wəla waħid. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF} (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} NCI-no one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. *sarəh ma gal-ət-ɪʃ (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf wəla waħid. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF}-Neg (Prep) that Ali saw._{3MS} NCI-no one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

Generally speaking, languages are divided into either a strict-NC or a non-strict NC. Languages such as Japanese, Greek, Catalan, and Slavic languages are known to have Strict-NC which means that the NCIs always require the presence of a negative marker. However, in other languages such as Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian they are referred to as a non-strict NCs which means that the NCIs are allowed to occupy a subject position, and to occur without a negative marker (Giannakidou, 1998; Zeijstra, 2004). From the data presented in this subsection, it is clear that the *ma* group can be considered as either a strict-NC or a non-strict NC because the NCI *wəla waħid* requires the presence of the negative marker *ma*, and only when it occurs in a postverbal position in which it is an example of a non-strict NC (20). On the other hand, the Adverbial NCIs always require the presence of the negative marker *ma* whether they occur in a postverbal (21) or a preverbal position which is an example of a strict-NC (22) (23).

20) *(ma) nıdʒəħ wəla waħid bı-l-ʔəmtiħan. (Najafi)

Neg passed.3MS no one in-the-exam

‘No one passed the exam.’

21) wəla waħid ma nıdʒəħ bı-l-ʔəmtiħan. (Najafi)

no one Neg passed.3MS in-the-exam

‘No one did not pass the exam.’

22) a. sarəħ *(ma) rısb-ət ʔəbəd. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg failed-3FS at all

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

b. ʔəbəd sarəħ *(ma) rısb-ət.

at all Sarah Neg failed-3FS

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

23) a. ʕəli *(ma) safər lissəh.

(Baghdadi)

Ali Neg traveled._{3MS} yet

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

b. lissəh ʕəli *(ma) safər.

yet Ali Neg traveled._{3MS}

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

It is worth mentioning that the Negative Spread (NS) is restricted in the *ma* group. In the NS construction, two NCIs are morpho-phonologically marked for negation in the absence of a negative marker. Unlike other Arabic dialects (i.e., EA, JA) (24) (26), and similar to MA (25), the *ma* group does not allow NS structures of the same NCIs to occur in the same clause as demonstrated in the ungrammaticality of examples (27) (28). However, the NS construction is allowed in this group if the NCIs are not identical such as listed in example (29).

24) wəla tʕalib gawəb ʕəla wəla suʔal.

(EA)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered_{3MS} on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

25) *hətta tʕalib ʔawəb ʕəla hətta suʔaal.

(MA)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered_{3MS} on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

(Adopted from Ouali and Soltan, 2014:164)

26) wəla tʕalib hall wəla suʔal.

(JA)

NCI no student answered._{3MS} NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

(Alsarayreh, 2012:150)

27) *wəla tʕalib dʒawəb ʕəla wəla suʔal. (Najafi)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered._{3MS} on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

28) *bəʕəd/lissəh tʕalib dʒawəb ʕəla bəʕəd/lissəh suʔal. (Baghdadi)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered_{3MS} on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

29) wəla tʕalib ʔiftira səjarəh lissəh. (Najaf)

NCI student._{3MS} bought._{3MS} car NCI

‘No students bought a car yet.’

Examples (27) and (28) display that the same NCI types cannot co-occur in the same clause without the presence of the negative marker. Nonetheless, the *ma* group allows Negative Spread and Doubling. See example (30):

30) ʔəmhəd *(ma) həl wəla suʔal lissəh.

Ahmed Neg answer._{3SM} NCI question NCI.

‘Ahmed has not answered any question yet.’

Another feature of the adverbial NCI *bəʕəd* which is similar to the adverbial NPI *ʕumr* is that the adverbial NCI *bəʕəd* can precede and follow the negative quantifier *məhəd* (31) or the NCI *wəla waħid* (32). This feature is similar to JA; yet it differs in that the *ma* group allows the adverbial NPI *ʕumr* to precede and follow the negative quantifier *məhəd*, or when the former NCI *wəla waħid* is not allowed according to Alqassas (2016). The adverbial NCI *bəʕəd* that precedes the negative quantifier *məhəd* or the NCI *wəla waħid* is a marked option in the *ma* group, while the adverbial NCI *bəʕəd* that follows the negative quantifier *məhəd*, or the NCI *wəla waħid* is unmarked in this group.

31) (bəʕəd-əh) məħəd (bəʕəd-əh) safər lɪ-l-mosʕul. (Baghdadi)

(yet-_{3SM}) no one (yet-_{3SM}) traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘No one has traveled to Mosul yet.’

32) (bəʕəd-əh) wəla waħid (bəʕəd-əh) safər lɪ-l-mosʕul. (Baghdadi)

(yet-_{3SM}) NCI one (yet-_{3SM}) to-the-Mosul

‘No one has traveled to Mosul yet.’

In this subsection, I have analyzed the syntactic distribution of NCIs in the *ma* group. I have shown that *wəla*, *ʔəbədən*, *nihəʔjən*, *bəʕəd*, and *lissəh* are considered as NCIs and not NPIs because they can pass the fragment answer test as well as the presence of negative marker tests. Data from the *ma* group demonstrates that this group exhibits both varieties of NC: strict NC and non-strict NC. For the next subsection, I will examine the syntactic properties of NCIs in the *ma-f* group.

5.2.2. Negation and NCIs in *ma-f* Group

This subsection discusses the syntactic properties of NCIs that are used in the *ma-f* group. The central questions that I answer in this subsection are:

- Is the *ma-f* group a strict NC or a non-strict NC dialect?
- Are the NCIs in complementary distribution with the enclitic negative marker *-f* in the *ma-f* group?
- How do NCIs interact with the negative marker?

The *ma-f* group exhibits two types of NCIs which are: the determiner *wəla*, and the adverbial NCIs *ʔəbəd* ‘at all,’ and *bəʕəd/ʔilhissəh* ‘yet.’ The NCI *ʔilhissəh*, as is the case in the *ma* group, is grammaticalized from the prepositional *lɪ-* ‘to’ and the adverb *ħəssəh* ‘now’. The

adverbial NCIs *bəfəd* and *ʔilhissəh* can only occur in negative contexts as shown by (33) and (34), but not in affirmative contexts as shown by (35):

33) a. sarəh ma rɪsb-ət-ɪf ʔəbəd. (Basrawi)

Sarah Neg failed-_{3FS}-Neg at all

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

b. ʔəbəd sarəh ma rɪsb-ət-ɪf.

at all Sarah Neg failed-_{3FS}-Neg

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

34) a. ʕəli ma safər-ɪf ʔilhissəh. (Basrawi)

Ali Neg traveled._{3MS}-Neg yet

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

b. ʔilhissəh ʕəli ma safər-ɪf.

yet Ali Neg traveled._{3MS}-Neg

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

35) a. *sarəh rɪsb-ət ʔəbəd. (Basrawi)

Sarah failed-_{3FS} at all

‘*Sarah failed at all.’

b. *ʕəli safər ʔilhissəh.

Ali traveled._{3MS} yet

‘Ali has traveled yet.’

The NCI *wəla waħid* can occur both preverbally and post-verbally. However, when the NCI *wəla waħid* precedes the verb, it cannot co-occur with negation as it will yield a double

negation reading (36). In contrast, when the NCI *wəla waḥīd* follows the verb, it requires the presence of negative marker (37).

36) *wəla waḥīd ma safər-(i)ʃ*. (Nasiriyah)

no one Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg}

‘No one did not travel.’

37) **(ma) safər-iʃ wəla waḥīd*. (Nasiriyah)

Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg} no one

‘No one traveled.’

Nevertheless, the adverbial NCIs *ʔəbəd* and *bəʕəd/ʔilhiṣṣəh* always require the presence of negation whether they occur preverbally or post-verbally. See the following examples:

38) a. *sarəh *(mə-)t-ḥib-iʃ ʔəl-səfər ʔəbəd*. (Basrawi)

Sarah Neg-_{3F}-like. _S-Neg the-travel at all

‘Sarah does not like to travel at all.’

b. *ʔəbəd sarəh *(mə-)t-ḥib-iʃ ʔəl-səfər*.

at all Sarah Neg-_{3F}-like._S-Neg the-travel

‘Sarah does not like to travel at all.’

39) a. *ʕəli *(ma) safər-iʃ ʔilhiṣṣəh*. (Nasiriyah)

Ali Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg} yet

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

b. *ʔilhiṣṣəh ʕəli *(ma) safər-iʃ*.

yet Ali Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg}

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

Similar to the *ma* group, the expression *wəla waḥid* in the *ma-f* group is treated as NCIs because it can occur preverbally and it can pass the fragment answer test, as shown in the following examples:

40) *wəla waḥid dīrs-ijf.* (Amarah)
 NCI no one studied._{3MS-Neg.}
 ‘No one studied.’

41) Question: Answer: (Amarah)
minu ʃif-it? *wəla waḥid.*
 who saw._{3MS-you} no one
 ‘Who did you see?’ ‘No one.’

Furthermore, the NCI *wəla waḥid* cannot occur in affirmative contexts to give a negative reading as shown by the ungrammaticality of (42).

42) **safər wəla waḥid.*
 traveled._{3MS} no one
 ‘No one traveled.’

As example (42) shows, the adverbial NCIs *ʔəbəd* and *bəʕəd/ʔilhissəh* in the *ma-f* groups always require the presence of negation like NPIs; however, they are treated as NCIs because they can occur as a fragment answer. This is shown in example (43):

43) Question: Answer:
 a. *ʕəli safər lu lissəh?* *ʔilhissəh.*
 Ali traveled._{3FS} or not yet not yet
 ‘Has Ali traveled or not?’ ‘Not yet.’

b. həm zırrıt ʔəl-mosʕul? ʔəbədən.

ø visited._{3SM} the-Mosul Never

‘Did you visit Mosul?’ ‘Never.’

Like the *ma* group, the *ma-f* group is treated as both a strict-NC and a non-strict NC because the NCI *wəla waḥid* requires the presence of the negative marker *ma* only when it occurs in a postverbal position, which is an example of a non-strict NC (47). In contrast, the Adverbial NCIs always require the presence of the negative marker *ma* whether they occur in a postverbal or a preverbal position which is an example of a strict-NC. This is shown in examples (33) and (34), as well as repeated here in examples (44) and (45):

44) a. sarəh ma rısb-ət-ıf ʔəbəd. (Basrawi)

Sarah Neg failed-_{3FS}-Neg at all

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

b. ʔəbəd sarəh ma rısb-ət-ıf.

at all Sarah Neg failed-_{3FS}-Neg

‘Sarah did not fail at all.’

45) a. ʕəli ma safər-ıf ʔılhıssəh. (Basrawi)

Ali Neg traveled._{3MS}-Neg yet

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

b. ʔılhıssəh ʕəli ma safər-ıf.

yet Ali Neg traveled._{3MS}-Neg

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

46) *wəla waḥid ma safər-(if)*. (Nasiriyah)

no one Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg}

‘No one did not travel.’

47) **(ma) safər-if wəla waḥid*. (Nasiriyah)

Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg} no one

‘No one traveled.’

Additionally, the NS structure in the *ma-f* group is restricted. This group, like MA, does not allow NS structures of the same NC to occur in the same clause without the presence of negative marker *ma*, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

48) **wəla tʿalib dʒawəb fəla wəla suʔal*. (Amarah)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

49) ** bəfəd/ʔilhissəh tʿalib dʒawəb fəla bəfəd/ʔilhissəh suʔal*. (Basrawi)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’

50) **ḥətta tʿalib ʒawəb fəla ḥətta suʔal*. (MA)

NCI no student._{3MS} answered on NCI no question

‘No students answered any question.’ (Ouali and Soltan, 2014:164)

As the data shows, the same NCI types cannot co-occur in the same clause without the presence of the negative marker; however, NS is allowed when the NCI *wəla waḥid*, co-occurs with the adverbial NCIs *ʔəbəd* and *bəfəd/ʔilhissəh*. See the following examples:

51) wəla ʕamɪl ʔɪʃtɪra səʒarəh ʔɪlhissəh. (Basrawi)

NCI worker._{3MS} bought._{3MS} car NCI

‘No worker bought a car yet.’

On the contrary, Negative Spread and Negative Doubling are allowed in the *ma-f* group.

Such can be seen when two NCIs can occur with the negative marker *ma* as shown in example

(52):

52) ʔəmħəd *(ma) ħəl-ɪʃ wəla suʔal ʔɪlhissəh. (Amarah)

Ahmed Neg answer._{3SM}-Neg NCI question NCI.

‘Ahmed has not answered any question yet.’

As the data demonstrates, the enclitic *-f* in the *ma-f* group is allowed to surface when the NCIs occur preverbally and post-verbally. For example, the adverbial NCIs *wəla waħɪd* and *ʔɪlhissəh* are not in complementary distribution with the enclitic *-f*. The speakers of the *ma-f* group have the option to keep or to drop the enclitic *-f* when it occurs with the adverbial NCIs. Finally, similar to JA and as it was stated by Alqassas (2012, 2019), the adverbial *bəʕəd* can precede or follow the negative quantifier *məħəd* (53) and the NCI *wəla waħɪd* (54):

53) (bəʕəd-əh) məħəd (bəʕəd-əh) safər ɪ-l-mosʕul. (Nasiriyah)

(yet-_{3MS}) no one (yet-_{3MS}) traveled._{3MS} to-the-Mosul

‘No one has traveled to Mosul yet.’

54) (bəʕəd-əh) wəla waħɪd (bəʕəd-əh) safər ɪ-l-mosʕul. (Nasiriyah)

(yet-_{3MS}) NCI one (yet-_{3MS}) to-the-Mosul

‘No one has traveled to Mosul yet.’

55) (bəʕəd-o) maħəda-ʃ (bəʕəd-o) zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

(yet-him) no one (yet-him) visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has visited Petra yet.’

56) (bəʕəd-o) wəla-ħəda (bəʕəd-o) zar ʔəl-batra. (JA)

(yet-him) NCI-one (yet-him) visited._{3MS} the-Petra

‘No one has visited Petra yet.’

(Examples (55) & (56) are adopted from Alqassas, 2016)

In conclusion for this subsection, I have discussed the syntactic features of NCIs in the *ma-ʃ* group. I have shown how the *ma-ʃ* group contains NCIs. Moreover, I have indicated which NSIs are considered as NCIs through several tests such as with the fragment answer test, the presence of a negative marker, and whether they can occur in a preverbal position or not. Therefore, the answer to the first question I proposed and as the data shows, the structure of the *ma-ʃ* group is similar to French and JA as these languages are treated as strict NC and non-strict NC languages. The *ma-ʃ* group behaves as a non-strict NC language because only the postverbal NCI *wəla waħid* requires the presence of a negative marker under a concordant reading. Furthermore, the *ma-ʃ* group behaves as a strict NC language because both the preverbal and the postverbal adverbial NCIs require negation under a concordant reading. The answer to the second question I had proposed is that the NCIs in the *ma-ʃ* group are not in complementary distribution with the enclitic negative marker *-ʃ*. As the data demonstrates, the enclitic negative marker *-ʃ* can co-occur with the NCIs. Finally, some of the NCIs always require the negative marker while others only require the presence of negation preverbally which answers the final question. In the next section, I will explore the licensing of NCIs in both groups and discuss the previous analyses.

5.3. NCIs Licensing in both *ma* Group and *ma-f* Group

This section discusses the licensing of NCIs in both groups. It examines whether negation is required to license NCIs in all environments, and whether NCIs can license another NCI or another NPI. Later, I discuss my proposed analysis of NCIs that are used in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Finally, I show which of the previous analyses could be extended to the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group when licensing NCIs. This section tries to answer two main questions:

- How do NCIs get licensed in both groups?
- Which of the previous analyses can explain the licensing of NC in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups?

Licensing NCIs has been the center of attention for many decades. Previous analyses like (Benmamoun, 1997, 2006; Alqassas, 2012, 2016; Hoyt, 2010; and Alsarayreh, 2012; among others) try to answer the main question which is whether NCIs are inherently negative or not. As we have seen in the previous subsections (5.2.1), (5.2.2) some NCIs can occur without the presence of negation while others always require negation. This is illustrated in the following examples:

57) a. wəla waħid (*ma) safər-(i)ʃ. (Nasiriyah)

no one Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg}

‘No one traveled.’

b. *(ma) safər-iʃ wəla waħid. (Nasiriyah)

Neg traveled._{3MS-Neg} no one

‘No one traveled.’

58) a. *(ma) ʔidʒ-əh wəla waħid.

(Baghdadi)

Neg came-3MS no one

‘No one came.’

b. wəla waħid (*ma) ʔidʒəh.

no one Neg came.3MS

‘No one came.’

59) a. sarəh *(mə-)t-ħib-ijf ʔəl-səfər ʔəbəd.

(Basrawi)

Sarah Neg-like-3FS-Neg the-travel at all

‘Sarah does not like to travel at all.’

b. ʔəbəd sarəh *(mə-)t-ħib-ijf ʔəl-səfər.

at all Sarah Neg-like-3FS-Neg the-travel

‘Sarah does not like to travel at all.’

60) a. ʕəli *(ma) safər lissəh.

(Najafi)

Ali Neg traveled.3MS yet

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

b. lissəh ʕəli *(ma) safər.

yet Ali Neg traveled.3MS

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

As seen in the preceding chapter, previous studies such as Benmamoun (1997, 2006), Alqassas (2012, 2016), Hoyt (2010), and Alsarayreh (2012) state that NPIs can be licensed either by c-command, or Spec-head relation. Additionally, Benmamoun (1997, 2006) and Alsarayreh (2012) argue that NPIs can also be licensed by Head-complement configuration along with the

other two configurations. Similar to NPIs, NCIs can be licensed either by c-command, Spec-head relation, or Head-complement configuration.

On one hand, Aoun et al. (2010) treat *hætta waḥid* in MA as an NPI. The NPI *hætta waḥid* can precede (61) and follow (62) sentential negation, which the authors use as a piece of evidence for Spec-head configuration. Alqassas (2012, 2016), Ouali and Soltan (2014), on the other hand, treat *hætta waḥid* as NCI and not as an NPI. This is because the NCI *hætta waḥid* can pass the fragment answer test (63) and can occur in preverbal position (64):

61) *hætta waḥəd ma-dʒa.* (MA)

even one Neg-come._{3MS}

‘No one came.’

62) *ma-dʒa hætta waḥəd.* (MA)

Neg-come._{3MS} even one

‘No one came.’

(Aoun et al., 2010:123)

63) Question Answer (MA)

ʃkun ʃəf-ti?

hætta waḥəd.

who saw._{2S}

not-even one

‘Who did you see.’

‘Nobody.’

64) *hætta waḥəd ma-ʒa.* (EA)

not-even one Neg-came._{3SM}

‘Nobody came.’

(Ouali and Soltan, 2014: 162)

According to Hoyt (2010), the NCI *wəla* generally does not require licensing, and can express negative meaning when it occurs in sentence-initial topic positions (65), causal adjuncts (66), and predicate nominals (67):

65) *wəla ktab ʕirifit min kan ʔilli katab-u.* (JA)

not-even book knew._{1S} who was that wrote-him

‘Not even one book [was such that] I knew who it was who wrote it.’

66) *ʔinta zaʕlan ʕəla wəla iʕi.* (JA)

you._{2SM} angry upon not-even thing

‘You are angry for nothing at all.’

67) *ʔəna wəla iʕi ilmudir illi mumkin ʔisaʕd-ək.* (JA)

I not-even thing the-director who can ₃help-you

‘I am nothing. [It is] the director who can help you.’

(Adopted from Hoyt, 2010)

In contrast, *wəla* needs to be licensed when it occurs in positions that correspond to existential entailments of a predicate and is interpreted with new informational focus. This can be seen in the following examples:

68) a. *wəla həda biddu j-itʕaʕa məʕi.* (JA)

not.even one want._{3SM} ₃-dine with-me

‘Not even one person wants to have dinner with me.’

b. *maʕuft wəla waħəd minhum*

not.saw._{1S} not.even.one from-them

‘I did not see even one of them.’

(Adopted from Hoyt, 2010)

Another study that focuses on negation in JA by Alqassas (2016, 2019), shows that LA is a non-strict NC language because the postverbal NCIs always require the presence of the negative marker *ma* (69) while the preverbal NCIs do not (70). The postverbal NCI *wəla-ħəda* in (69) is licensed by the negative marker *ma*. Therefore, the NCI *wəla-ħəda* is licensed under c-command.

69) a. *ma-ʃafni-ij wəla-ħəda.*

Neg-saw.me-Neg no-one

‘No one saw me.’

b. **ʃafni wəla-ħəda.*

saw.me no-one

‘No one saw me.’

70) a. *wəla-ħəda ʃafni.*

no-one saw.me

‘No one saw me.’

b. **wəla-ħəda ma-ʃafni-ij.*

no-one Neg-saw.me-Neg

‘No one saw me.’

In the previous chapter, I had discussed the distributions of NPIs. From the data presented in this chapter and from the previous chapter, we can summarize the differences between NPIs and NCIs distributions. One difference between NPIs and NCIs is the ability for the former to occur and be licensed in negative-like contexts (i.e., without-clauses, before-clauses, *wh*-questions, yes/no questions, as-if-clauses,). The latter, in contrast, can only occur with without-clause. See the following examples:

71) ʕumər safər bɪdun ma ʔəjɡulʔ əj/wəla hərəf. (without-clauses: Baghdadi)

Umar traveled._{3SM} without saying._{3SM} NPI/NCI letter.

‘Umar traveled without saying any word.’

72) ʔəhməd tʕʊləf gəbəl ma ʔədʒawub ʔəjj/*wəla suʔal. (before-clauses: Najaf)

Ahmed left._{3SM} before answer._{3SM} NPI/NCI question

‘Ahmed left before answering any question.’

73) mɪnu ɪfʕəf ʔəjj/*wəla fi? (wh-questions: Moslawi)

who said._{3S} NPI/NCI thing

‘Who saw anything?’

74) ʕəli hədʒa ʔəjj/*wəla kɪlməh? (yes/no questions: Basrawi)

Ali said._{3SM} NPI/NCI word

‘Did Ali say any word?’

Another difference between NPIs and NCIs is locality restriction. The data from chapter four shows that the NPIs are not sensitive to locality restrictions. They can be licensed by distant negation, either by the embedded clause, which is in the indicative, or by the subjunctive mood.

This is illustrated in example (18); (19) repeated here as (75); (76):

75) a. sarəh ma gal-ət (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf ʔəj wəhɪd. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF} (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. sarəh ma gal-ət-ɪf (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf ʔəj wəhɪd. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF}-Neg (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

76) a. ʕəli mə-j-rid jI-ftiri ʔəj fi. (Baghdadi)

Ali Neg-3M-want.S 3M-buy.3 any thing

‘Ali does not want to buy anything.’

b. ʕəli mə-j-rid-ijf jI-ftiri ʔəj fi. (Amarah)

Ali Neg-3M-want.S-Neg 3M-buy.3 any thing

‘Ali does not want to buy anything.’

NCIs, on the other hand, are sensitive to locality restriction. They do not allow long-distance licensing as shown by the ungrammaticality of (77). However, they can only allow long-distance licensing when the embedded clause is in the subjunctive mood (78).

77) a. *sarəh ma gal-ət (bI)- ʔən ʕəli jaf wəla waħid. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-3SF (Prop) that Ali saw.3MS NCI-no one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. *sarəh ma gal-ət-ijf (bI)- ʔən ʕəli jaf wəla waħid. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-3SF-Neg (Prep) that Ali saw.3MS NCI-no one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

78) a. ʕəli mə-j-rid jI-ftiri wəla fi. (Baghdadi)

Ali Neg-3M-want.S 3M-buy.S NCI-no thing

‘Ali does not want to buy anything.’

b. ʕəli mə-j-rid-ijf jI-ftiri wəla fi. (Amarah)

Ali Neg-3M-want.S-Neg 3M-buy.3 NCI-no thing

‘Ali does not want to buy anything.’

Example (77) shows that NC is clause-bound, whereas NPIs are not. This fact is only accurate when the NCIs are taken to be syntactically marked for negation, as NPI’s are not

(Zeijlstra, 2004, 2008). According to Giorgi (2004), movement out of the clause is not blocked in the subjunctive clauses. For example, long distance anaphora in embedded clauses cannot refer to main clause antecedents when they are in an indicative clause (79); however, they can when they are in a subjunctive clause (80). This fact is supported by Rizzi's (1997) proposal, whereas indicative clauses have a full CP layer which contains ForceP and FinP, while subjunctive clauses lack ForceP.

79) *Quel **dittatorei** ha detto che i notiziari televisivi parleranno (Italian)

That dictator said that news programs TV will (IND) talk
 a lungo delle **propriei** gesta.
 a lot about self's deeds

'That dictator said that the TV news programs will talk a lot about self's deeds.'

80) Quel **dittatorei** spera che i notiziari televisivi parlino

That dictator hopes that news programs TV will talk (SUBJ)
 a lungo delle **propriei** gesta
 for long-time about self's deed

'That dictator hopes that TV news programs will talk for a long time about self's deed.'

(Adopted from Giorgi, 2004: 4-5)

NCIs licensing has been the main focus in linguistic research for decades. Many analyses have been proposed to answer the main question which is how NCIs get licensed. These analyses are known as: NPI analysis, Negative Quantifier analysis, Lexical Ambiguity analysis, and Syntactic Agreement analysis. (Laka, 1990; Zanuttini, 1991, 2004, 2008; Haegeman and Zanuttini, 1991, 1996; Ladusaw, 1992; Haegeman, 1995; Watanabe, 2004; Penka, 2007, 2011; Alqassas 2012, 2016, 2019; Hoyt, 2010; Alsarayreh, 2012; Ouali and Soltan, 2014).

According to the NPI analysis proposed by (Laka, 1990; Ladusaw, 1992), the NCIs are treated as non-negative NPIs. Under this analysis, the non-negative NPIs need to be licensed either by overt or covert negation. Laka (1990) argues that postverbal NCIs are licensed by an overt negative marker, while preverbal NCIs are licensed by a covert negative operator that heads a Σ P, and therefore the Σ P hosts an operator such as sentential negation. According to the author, preverbal NCIs occupy the Spec- Σ P; hence they are licensed under Spec-head agreement while postverbal NCIs get licensed by a covert negative operator in the head of Σ P. This is shown in the following examples:

81) a. *(No) vino nadie. (Spanish)

Neg came NCI-person

‘Nobody came.’

b. Nadie (*no) vino.

NCI-person Neg came

‘Nobody came.’

(Laka, 1990:104)

As shown in (81)a, in order for the postverbal NCI *nadie* to be licensed, the negative head needs to be overt because there is no element in Spec- Σ P. In (81)b, the preverbal NCI *nadie*, in contrast, which occupies the Spec- Σ P gets licensed by the covert negative head.

This analysis faces a few challenges in regard to NCIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. First, it assumes that preverbal NCIs must always occur with a covert negative operator. This fact is true with the preverbal NCI *wəla waħid* as it cannot occur with the overt negative marker *ma* when it appears in the preverbal position without yielding a double negative, and never a

concord interpretation (82); (83). Data from both groups shows that the NCI *wəla waḥīd* must be accompanied by the overt negative marker *ma* only when it appears in a postverbal position.

82) *wəla waḥīd *ma dīrs* (Baghdadi)

NCI no one Neg studied._{3MS}

‘No one studied.’

83) *wəla waḥīd *ma dīrs-ijf* (Amarah)

NCI no one Neg studied._{3MS-neg.}

‘No one studied.’

However, as the data from the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups shows, the NCIs like *lissəh*, *ʔilhissəh* among others must always occur with the overt negative marker *ma*, whether it occurs in a preverbal or a postverbal position. Therefore, when the preverbal NCIs occur with a covert negative operator, the result is ungrammatical sentences as shown in examples (84) and (85).

84) **lissəh ʕəli safər.* (Najafi)

yet Ali traveled._{3MS}

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

85) **ʔilhissəh ʕəli safər-ijf.* (Basrawi)

yet Ali traveled._{3MS-Neg}

‘Ali has not traveled yet.’

The second challenge of the NPI analysis is that it does not provide an explanation of why NPIs can be licensed by long distance, while NCIs cannot. This is demonstrated in examples (18) and (19), as well as repeated in (86) and (87):

86) a. sarəh ma gal-ət (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf ʔəj waħɪd. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF} (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. sarəh ma gal-ət-ɪʃ (bi)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf ʔəj waħɪd. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF}-Neg (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} any one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

87) a. *sarəh ma gal-ət (bɪ)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf wəla waħɪd. (Baghdadi)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF} (Prop) that Ali saw._{3MS} NCI-no one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

b. *sarəh ma gal-ət-ɪʃ (bi)- ʔən ʕəli ʃaf wəla waħɪd. (Amarah)

Sarah Neg said-_{3SF}-Neg (Prep) that Ali saw._{3MS} NCI-no one

‘Sarah did not say that Ali saw anyone.’

The Negative Quantifier analysis which was proposed by (Zanuttini,1991; Haegeman and Zanuttini, 1991, 1996; and Haegeman, 1995) treats NCIs as negative quantifiers rather than non-negative NPIs; therefore, they are inherently negative. Under this analysis, we can provide an explanation of why NCIs can function as fragment answers and why they can occur without the presence of the negative marker in preverbal position. To solve the co-occurrence of multiple NCIs and the co-occurrence of postverbal NCIs with the negative marker without yielding a double negative reading, Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) proposed a rule of negative absorption for the latter and a rule of negative factorization for the former which are defined as follows:

- Neg-absorption:

$$[\forall x^{-}] [\forall y^{-}] ([\forall z^{-}]) = [\forall x, y, z]^{-}$$

- Neg-factorization:

$$[\forall x \neg] [\neg] = [\forall x]$$

However, the negative quantifiers' analysis has some problems. The first problem is that this analysis fails to explain why postverbal NCIs must always co-occur with a negative marker, but the presence of the negative marker is not required with preverbal NCIs. The second problem that faces this analysis is that it assumes that all postverbal NCIs can express negation without the presence of the negative marker. This is not true in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups as illustrated in examples (88) and (89):

88) *dīrs wəla waħīd. (Baghdadi)

studied._{3MS} NCI no one

'No one studied.'

89) *jaf wəla waħīd. (Basrawi)

came._{3MS} NCI no one

'No one came.'

Lexical Ambiguity analysis, instead, indicates that NCIs in non-strict NC-languages are lexically ambiguous (Herburger, 2001). Postverbal NCIs are considered as NPIs because they always require the negative marker, whereas preverbal NCIs are considered as negative quantifiers because they do not require the negative marker. This analysis is supported by the fact that preverbal NCIs can license postverbal NCIs without yielding a double negation reading (90):

90) Nadie miraba a nadie. (Spanish)

n-body looked at n-body

'Nobody looked at anybody.'

The author treats the preverbal NCI *nadie* as a negative quantifier, while the postverbal NCI *nadie* is treated as an NPI. Therefore, the postverbal NPI *nadie* is licensed by the preverbal quantifier *nadie*.

Similar to the other two aforementioned analyses, this analysis faces a few problems. First, the lexical ambiguity analysis fails to provide an explanation for the distribution of NCIs in contexts where negation is not present. The previous chapter shows that NPIs in both groups can be licensed in different contexts, such as yes-no questions and conditional sentences. Under this analysis, we expect that the preverbal NCIs can be licensed in contexts like yes-no questions and conditional sentences; however, this is not true for the NCIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group as illustrated in the following examples:

- | | | |
|--|--------|---------------------|
| 91) Question: | Answer | |
| *wəla/lissəh/?ilhissəh/?əbəd safər lɪ-l-musʕl? | la. | (Nasiriyah; Najafi) |
| NCIs traveled. _{3MS} to-the-Mosul | no | |
| ‘Has he ever traveled to Mosul?’ | ‘No.’ | |
| 92) *?iða wəla/lissəh/?ilhissəh/?əbəd safər lɪ-l-musʕl, gul-li. | | (Nasiriyah; Najafi) |
| if NCIs traveled. _{3MS} to-the-Mosul, tell-me | | |
| ‘If he ever traveled to Mosul, tell me.’ | | |

Second, this analysis predicts that the preverbal NCI *wəla waħid* can license the postverbal NCI *wəla waħid* in both groups. According to this analysis, the preverbal NCI *wəla waħid* should be treated as a negative quantifier while the postverbal NCI *wəla waħid* should be treated as an NPI. This prediction is born out as shown in the following examples:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 93) *wəla waħid faf wəla waħid. | (Baghdadi) |
| no one saw. _{3MS} NCI no one | |

‘No one looked at anyone.’

94) *wəla waħıd ʃaf wəla waħıd.

(Basrawi)

no one saw._{3MS} NCI no one

‘No one looked at anyone.’

As seen from the data presented in subsection (5.2.1) and (5.2.2), both groups do not allow NS structures of the same NCIs, hence examples (93) and (94) are considered as ungrammatical sentences.

The third challenge proposed is that this analysis assumes that the preverbal of non-strict NCIs only have a non-negative NPI reading. According to Herburger (2001), the preverbal NCIs in non-strict languages (i.e., Spanish) cannot have an NPI reading because NCIs cannot be licensed preverbally. This assumption cannot be extended to the *ma* and *ma-f* groups because NPIs can be licensed in preverbal position as was shown in the previous chapter. See the following examples:

95) filəs ʔəhmər ʕəli *(ma) s^ʕurəf.

(Amarah; Najafi)

cent red Ali Neg spent._{3MS}

‘Ali did not spend a red cent.’

96) a. ʕumr-əh *(ma) dırəs.

(Moslawi)

NPI ever-_{3MS} Neg studied._{3MS}

‘He has never studied.’

b. ʕumr-əh *(ma) dırəs-ıʃ.

(Basrawi)

NPI ever-_{3MS} Neg studied._{3MS}-Neg

‘He has never studied.’

97) a. *kollfi *(ma) gəll-i.* (Najafi)

anything Neg told-me._{3MS}

‘He did not tell me anything.’

b. *kollfi *(ma-)jab-t-ijf* (Nasiriyah)

anything Neg brought-_{3FS}-Neg

‘She did not bring anything.’

According to the examples listed, NPIs can be licensed in the preverbal position by c-command with the negative marker *ma*. Additionally, and similar to JA, the preverbal non-strict NCI *wəla waḥid* in both groups cannot have a non-negative NPI reading as was assumed by the lexically ambiguous analysis, whether the negative marker *ma* is present or not as shown in examples (98) and (99):

98) a. *wəla wiḥid niḏʒiḥ.* (Moslawi)

no one passed._{3MS}

‘No one passed.’

b. *wəla waḥid niḏʒiḥ.* (Amarah)

no one passed._{3MS}

‘No one passed.’

99) a. *wəla wiḥid ma niḏʒiḥ.* (Moslawi)

no one Neg passed._{3MS}

‘No one did not pass.’

b. *wəla wiḥid ma- niḏʒiḥ-ijf.* (Basrawi)

no one Neg passed._{3MS}-Neg

‘No one did not pass.’

Finally, the Syntactic Agreement analysis proposed by (Zanuttini, 2004, 2008; Watanabe, 2004; Penka, 2007, 2011) treats NCIs as non-negative indefinites. NC has an uninterpretable negative feature [uNeg] which needs to be checked by an interpretable negative feature [iNeg] (i.e., elements that are semantically negative) under Agree relation which was introduced first by (Chomsky 1995, 2000, 2001). According to Zeijlstra and Penka, NCIs licensing in strict NC language always requires an overt Neg which carries the [iNeg], whereas in non-strict NC language, NCIs can be licensed by an abstract negative operator Op^{-} carries the [iNeg]. The Op^{-} only emerges when an element with a [uNeg] feature occurs in a clause that needs to be checked. This is illustrated in the following examples:

100) a. Jean ne mange pas (strict NC-language: French)

Jean neg eats neg

‘Jean does not eat’

b. [_{NegP} pas_[iNEG]_i [_{Neg} ne mange_[uNEG]]_j [_{VP} ti Jean]]

101) a. Nessuno telefona a Gianni. (non-strict NC-language: Italian)

NCI-person call to Gianni

‘Nobody calls Gianni.’

b. Op^{-} _[iNEG] Nessuno_[uNEG] telefona a Gianni

(Adopted from Penka, 2011:49)

This analysis however faces a few major problems. First, it does not explain why only the NCI *wāla waḥid* can occur preverbal (102)a without the presence of the negative marker *ma*, while other NCIs like *ʔabəd/nīhaʔiən* or *bəʕəd/lissəh* cannot (102)b (102)c.

102) a. wəla waħid ʔidʒəh.

(Baghdadi)

no one came._{3MS}

‘No one came.’

b. *lissəh ʕəħməd ʔidʒa.

yet Ahmed came._{3MS}

‘Ahmed has not come yet.’

c. *ʔəbəd ləjla safr-ət lɪ-l-mosʕul .

at all Layla traveled-_{3FS} to-the-Mosul

‘Layla did not travel to Mosul at all.’

Second, part of Zeijlstra’s analysis cannot be extended to the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups.

According to Zeijlstra’s analysis, the overt negative marker carries the [iNeg] feature only in non-strict NC languages, while it has the [uNeg] feature in strict NC language. Previous sections have shown that the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups display both strict NC and non-strict NC. The NCIs *ʔəbəd/nɪhaʔiən* or *bəʕəd/lissəh* must always occur with the presence of the negative marker *ma*, despite appearing in a preverbal position or a postverbal position as shown in (103). The NCI *wəla waħid*, by contrast, can only occur with the negative marker *ma* postverbally (104). However, the negative marker *ma* is semantically active in both strict NC and non-strict NC in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Moreover, both strict and non-strict NCIs can occur in the same clause (105).

103) a. ləjla ma safr-ət-ɪʃ lɪ-l-mosʕul ʔəbəd.

(Basrawi)

Layla Neg traveled._{3FS,past}-Neg to Mosul at all

‘Layla did not travel to Mosul at all.’

b. ʔəbəd ləjla ma safr-ət-ijf lɪ-l-mosʕul.

at all Layla Neg traveled-3FS-Neg to-the-Mosul

‘Layla did not travel to Mosul at all.’

104) a. wəla wiħɪd rɪsəb.

(Moslawi)

no one failed.3MS

‘No one failed.’

b. wəla wiħɪd ma rɪsəb.

no one Neg failed.3MS

‘No one did not fail.’ = ‘everyone failed.’

105) a. ma dʒawb-ət wəla suʔal nɪħaʔiən.

(Najafi)

Neg answered-3FS NCI question NCI

‘She did not answer any question at all.’

b. ma jawb-ət -ijf wəla suʔal nɪħaʔiən.

(Basrawi)

Neg answered-3FS -Neg NCI question NCI

‘She did not answer any question at all.’

As example (105) shows, the non-strict NCI *wəla waħɪd* and the strict NCI *nɪħaʔiən* allow both the negative marker *ma* to appear. Hence, when applying the syntactic agreement analysis here, it is not clear whether we need to assign an [iNeg] or a [uNeg] feature to the negative marker *ma*.

It is clear that regardless of the problems that face the syntactic agreement analysis, it provides an explanation of NCIs licensing compared to the other analyses. In what follows, I will present an alternative analysis to NCIs licensing in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. Following Zeijlstra (2004, 2008), I will argue that NCIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups are specified for an

uninterpretable negation feature [uNeg] which needs to be licensed by an interpretable negation feature [iNeg]. However, I will depart from his analysis and argue that the negative marker *ma* in the *ma* group and the *ma-f-* group always carries the [iNeg] feature instead of the [uNeg] feature. Furthermore, I will argue that the NCIs in both groups get licensed only by c-command.

Departing from Zeijlstra’s analysis, I am proposing that the negative marker *ma* is semantically negative, hence it always carries an [iNeg] feature which can license NCIs. As the data presented in subsection (5.2.1) and (5.2.2) shows, strict NCIs such as *ʔəbəd/nihəʔiən* or *bəʕəd/lissəh* always require the presence of the negative marker *ma*, whether in a preverbal or a postverbal position. It is clear that the preverbal NCIs are not c-commanded by the negative marker, and they are not in Spec-head relation, hence they cannot get licensed. I have argued in the previous chapters that preverbal NPIs are not based-generated preverbally as it was argued by Alqassas (2012, 2019), but they are the result of a movement. This fact is true for the preverbal NCIs; therefore, their licensing can take place when they merge in Spec-VP under c-command by negation before they move to TP. This is illustrated in (106):

106) a. *ma-kən ʔɪʕəʕ-na hakəð bəʔɪd ʔəbəd.* (Moslawi)

Neg-was saw-3P-US such cold at all

‘We did not see such cold at all.’

b. *ʔəbəd ma-kən ʔɪʕəʕ-na hakəð bəʔɪd.*

at all Neg-was saw-3P-US such cold

‘We did not see such cold at all.’

c. [TP ʔəbəd [T ma ʔɪʕəʕ [NegP [Neg ma_[iNeg] ʔɪʕəʕ [VP ʔɪʕəʕ [NCI ʔəbəd_[uNeg]]]]]

The non-strict NCI *wəla waħid* only requires the presence of the negative marker *ma* post-verbally. When the NCIs occur post-verbally, they get licensed by c-command as shown in (107):

107) a. *ma safər wəla waħid* (Najafi)

Neg traveled._{3MS} no one

‘No one traveled.’

b. *ma safər-ijf wəla waħid.* (Nasiriyah)

Neg traveled._{3MS}-Neg NCI no one

‘No one traveled.’

The examples in (107) show that the NCI *wəla waħid* is licensed by an overt negative marker *ma*. It shows that the negative marker *ma* occupies the head of NegP and the NCI *wəla waħid* functions as a subject which occurs in Spec-VP; therefore, the NCI is c-commanded by the negative marker. This is shown in the following structure:

108) [TP [T *ma safər-ijf*] [NegP [Neg *ma*_[uNeg]] *safər-ijf* [VP *safər* [NCI *wəla waħid*]_[uNeg]]]]

The preverbal NCI *wəla waħid* in both groups are licensed by an abstract negative operator ‘ Op^{-} ’ which occurs higher in the structure than the NCI *wəla waħid* and c-command it (109). The abstract negative operator Op^{-} is only inserted when the negative marker is not presented and when the NCIs with a [uNeg] feature cannot be unchecked. Consequently, the insertion of Op^{-} in sentences that already contain a negative marker will violate the economy condition proposed by Zeijlstra (2004, 2008). Here, I will justify that the abstract negative operator Op^{-} only surface with the preverbal NCI *wəla waħid*, and when the negative marker is not presented.

109) a. wəla wiħid safər.

(Moslawi)

no one traveled._{3MS}

‘No one traveled.’

b. [Op^{-} [_{iNeg}] [NCI wəla wiħid [_{uNeg}] [VP safər]]]

Therefore, when the preverbal NCI *wəla wiħid* co-occurs with the negative marker *ma*,

the result is a double negation reading. This is because both the abstract negative operator Op^{-} and the negative marker *ma* contain two semantics negation as shown in (110):

110) a. wəla waħid ma safər.

no one neg traveled._{3MS}

‘No one did not travel.’

b. [Op^{-} [_{iNeg}] [NCI wəla waħid [_{uNeg}] [Neg ma [_{iNeg}] safər]]]

The abstract negative operator Op^{-} can also apply to the structure where the preverbally NCI *wəla waħid* co-occurs with the NPI *ʔəj* without the presence of the negative marker *ma*. Since abstract negative operator Op^{-} is inserted in the structure, it can license both the NCI and the NPI. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

111) a. wəla waħid ʔəkəl ʔəj fī.

NCI no one ate._{3MS} NPI any thing

‘No one ate anything.’

b. [Op^{-} [_{iNeg}] [TP NCI wəla waħid [_{uNeg}] [VP ʔəkəl [NPI ʔəj fī]]]]

Moreover, the data in this chapter displays that similar to JA, the adverbial NCI *bəʕəd* can precede or follow the negative marker in both groups. This is shown in example (112) and (113):

112) (bəʕəd-əh) məħəd (bəʕəd-əh) safər lɪ-l-mosʕul.

(yet-3MS) no one (yet-3MS) traveled.3MS to-the-Mosul

‘No one has traveled to Mosul yet.’

113) (bəʕəd-əh) wəla waħid (bəʕəd-əh) safər lɪ-l-mosʕul.

(yet-3MS) NCI one (yet-3MS) to-the-Mosul

‘No one has traveled to Mosul yet.’

Following Alqassas (2016), I argue that the adverbial NCI *bəʕəd* are base-generated postverbally and moved pre-verbally as shown in example (112) and (113). Their licensing can take place when they merge in Spec-VP under c-command by negation before it moves from VP. This is indicated in the following structure:

114) [FP bəʕəd [TP T [NegP Neg ma (j) [VP ... bəʕəd]]]]

To conclude, the discussion presented in this subsection shows that both the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups can exhibit strict NCs and non-strict NCs. The NCIs *ʔəbəd* and *bəʕəd/ʔilħissəh* always require the presence of negation preverbally and postverbally which occurs under the definition of strict NCs, while the NCI *wəla* occurs under the definition of non-strict NCs because the presence of negation is only obligatory when the NCI *wəla waħid* occurs post-verbally. Additionally, I have argued that NCIs are licensed only by c-command. I have also demonstrated that the adverbial NPI *bəʕəd* and the Adverbial NCI *ʕomr* are base-generated postverbally and moved preverbally. This subsection has also indicated that the NCIs are subject to locality as they cannot form an agreement relation with negation in a higher clause. This is because *Agree* is clause-bounded when it functions as a syntactic operation. Therefore, they do not allow long-distance licensing. Furthermore, I have presented evidence that the NCIs are specified for [uNeg]; therefore, they get licensed by c-command before they move from the VP.

The NCI *wəla waḥīd*, on the other hand, gets licensed by the abstract negative Op^{-1} when it occurs preverbally.

5.4. Summary

The present chapter investigates the properties of NCIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups with the primary goal being to provide an analysis of how NCIs get licensed within that dialect. In this chapter, I have delineated which expressions are treated as NCIs in the *ma* and the *ma-f* group. For example, *wəla waḥīd* is treated as an NCI because it does not have to co-occur with negation, and it can stand alone as a fragment answer in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. I have also demonstrated that even the NCIs *bəḥəd*, *lissəh*, *ḡilhissəh*, and *ḡəbəd* require the presence of negation in both positions, however, they are treated as NCIs because they can pass the fragment answer test. Furthermore, this chapter has indicated that the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group can be considered as both a strict NC and a non-strict NC. Data from both groups illustrates that these two groups display both types of NC, strict NC and a non-strict NC. The NCIs *bəḥəd*, *lissəh*, *ḡilhissəh*, and *ḡəbəd* are examples of non-strict NC, whereas the NCI *wəla waḥīd* is treated as strict NC. This is because the former cannot occur preverbally and postverbally without the presence of the negative marker *ma*, which is the feature of non-strict NC languages. The latter, in contrast, only requires the presence of the negative marker *ma* when it occurs in the post-verbally.

Furthermore, I have presented the previous approaches of NC and how they were tested against data from both groups. According to the first approach, NPI analysis, the non-negative NPIs need to be licensed either by overt or covert negation. The second approach, Negative Quantifier analysis, treats NCIs as negative quantifiers rather than non-negative NPI. The third approach, Lexical Ambiguity analysis, indicates that the NCIs are lexically ambiguous between

NPIs and negative quantifiers. The postverbal NCIs are considered as NPIs because they always require the negative marker; whereas preverbal NCIs are considered as negative quantifiers because they do not require the negative marker. The last approach, Syntactic Agreement analysis, treats NCIs as non-negative indefinites which have an uninterpretable negative feature [uNeg] that needs to be checked by an interpretable negative feature [iNeg] under *Agree* relation. In addition, I have shown that each of these four analyses faces some challenges if we applied them to the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups. Afterward, I presented my alternative analysis and explained how NCIs get licensed in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. The data presented in section (5.3) demonstrates that NCIs can only be licensed by c-command. I have further argued that the negative marker *ma* always carries the [iNeg] feature while NCIs always have the [uNeg] feature.

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

6.1. Summary and Conclusion

This dissertation has investigated the locus of negation in IA and the licensing of NSIs with the primary goals being to first provide an analysis for the distribution of sentential negation within IA dialects and second to provide an analysis for how NPIs and NCIs get licensed in these dialects. In this study, I have discussed sentential negation in two groups in IA, the *ma* and the *ma-f* group. I have shown that the *ma* group uses the negative marker *ma* to express sentential negation with verbal sentences while it uses the negative marker *mu* with verbless clauses. The other group, the *ma-f* group, uses the negative marker *ma-f* to express sentential negation with verbal sentences whereas it uses the negative marker *muf* with verbless clauses. The data presented in this study has demonstrated that the negative marker *muf* in the *ma-f* group does not occur with the perfective verb which is evidence consistent with the proposal that NegP occurs below TP. Furthermore, I have argued that indefinite/definite NPs are subjects and not topics. This argument is supported by the fact that indefinite/definite NP cannot intervene between the verb and the negative marker.

Regarding the locus of the sentential negation, this study has indicated that the High-Neg hypothesis cannot provide an explanation for the case when the imperfective verb has the option to merge with the negative marker in both groups. I have argued that sentential negation in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group is generated between TP and VP. My proposed analysis is supported with empirical evidence. For instance, and as the examples in chapter three have indicated, the perfective verb must merge with Neg when it moves to T to check [+V] and [+D] features because Neg blocks the verb movement which avoids minimality violation, and which explains why the verb ends up hosting Neg, [*ma-v-f*]. Therefore, I have argued that Neg occurs

below TP because the Low-Neg hypothesis provides an explanation for the structure of negation and the imperfective verb among other problems that cannot be explained by the High-Neg hypothesis

Regarding the NSIs, I have delineated which expressions are treated as NPIs or NCIs and investigated their distribution in the *ma* and the *ma-f* group. For example, I have shown that *ʔaj waħid* is treated as an NPI because it must co-occur with negation and it cannot stand alone as a fragment answer in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. In contrast, *wəla waħid* is treated as an NCI because it does not have to co-occur with negation, and it can stand alone as fragment answer in these two groups. Then, I have shown that the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group use the quantifier *kullfi* as NPI which is different from all other dialects that have been described in the literature; for example, EA, JA, and MA, in that none of these dialects use the quantifier *kullfi* as a nominal NPI.

Furthermore, I have explained how NPIs and NCIs get licensed and which analysis works better for licensing NSIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. The previous approaches and analyses (i.e., semantic approach, syntactic approach, NPI analysis, Negative Quantifier analysis, Lexical Ambiguity analysis, and Syntactic Agreement analysis) have been examined in both groups. The data presented from the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups has shown that the previous analyses cannot be applied to these two groups. Therefore, I have proposed an alternative analysis which better captures the licensing of NSIs in the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group. I have followed Zeijlstra's (2004) analysis and argued that NCIs are not semantically negative, and they are specified with a [uNeg] feature that needs to be checked against an [iNeg] feature that is semantically negative. I have also indicated that their licensing can occur either overtly by the negative marker *ma* or covertly by the abstract operator Op^{\neg} under *Agree* relation. Moreover, I

have shown that c-command is the only licensing configurations for NSIs, and I have excluded the Spec-head agreement and Head-complement configurations. Additionally, the discussion in this dissertation has suggested that the NPI *ʕomr* and the NCI *bəʕd* are base-generated postverbally and move preverbally which is contrary to JA. Likewise, the data has indicated that the *ma* group and the *ma-f* group in IA can be considered as both a strict NC and a non-strict NC language. I have also argued that the NPI *ʕomr* can precede or follow the negative *məħəd* and the NCI *wəla waħid*.

To conclude, the current study has contributed to the theory of sentential negation and NSIs in that it has provided further evidence that the Head-complement agreement cannot be extended to other Arabic dialects (i.e., IA) as was argued by (Benmamoun 2006; Alsarayreh, 2012). The data from the *ma* and the *ma-f* groups has shown that the Spec-head relation also cannot be extended to both groups when licensing NSIs and only c-command can be applied as the data in this study showed.

6.2. Directions for Future Work

This dissertation lays the groundwork for further research on sentential negation and NSIs in other IA dialects. One of my future goals is to extend the study of NCIs to include Jewish IA where the preverbal NCI *wəla waħid* does not yield a double negative reading when it co-occurs with the negative marker *ma* but instead, it has a concord reading. Furthermore, I would like to investigate NC in Najafi dialect spoken in the rural areas. Some speakers of this dialect, for instance, use the expression *ħəttə waħid* instead of *wəla waħid*. The expression *ħəttə waħid* has some similar features to the NPI *ħəttə waħəd* in MA. Finally, the preverbal NCI *wəla waħid* in elder population, has a concord reading when it co-occurs with negation and never a double negative reading. This is shown in the following examples:

1) wəla waḥid ma-safr lɪ-l-mosul. (Jewish & Najafi)

NCI Neg-traveled to-the-Mosul

‘No one traveled to Mosul.’

2) ḥəṭṭa waḥid ma-safr lɪ-l-mosul. (Najafi: rural)

NCI Neg-traveled to-the-Mosul

‘No one traveled to Mosul.’

The data from the above-mentioned dialects raises interesting questions. The first question is: is the term *ḥəṭṭa waḥid* considered as an NCI or an NPI in the Iraqi dialects? The second question is: how can we account for example (1) and (2) under Zeijlstra (2004), and Alqassas’s (2019) licensing analyses? These types of questions I leave for future research.

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