

NEGATION IN STANDARD AND KUWAITI ARABIC

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

The investigation of the structure of Arabic, a Semitic language spoken in many Arab countries, has revealed many typologically important linguistic phenomena, particularly related to syntax. The importance is seen in both its standard and dialectal forms. One of the important syntactic aspects of Arabic is negation, a fundamental phenomenon in the study of syntax. Negation has been investigated by many scholars, such as Pollock (1989), Brustad (2000), Benmamoun (2000) and Ouhalla and Shlonsky (2002). Building on previous studies, this thesis provides a description of the morpho-syntax of negation patterns in Kuwaiti Arabic. By incorporating examples from corpora, this thesis sheds light on different types of negative elements which have not been examined in previous Arabic syntactic studies. The Kuwaiti dialect is considered in this thesis as a representative of Arabic dialects as it encompasses different types of negative elements. This study presents a descriptive work on the morpho-syntax of negation in Kuwaiti Arabic and Standard Arabic by examining the syntactic distributions of the negative markers in these two varieties.

To my loving and supportive husband, Dr. Ghanem Alsalem.

This would not have been possible without you.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 SIGNIFICANCE AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This thesis provides a description of the morpho-syntax of negation patterns in Kuwaiti Arabic (KA), and it aims to give a relatively in-depth overview of the negative elements in KA with an emphasis on the various strategies that characterize negation.

Negation in Standard Arabic (SA) and Arabic dialects has been the focus of many studies: Standard Arabic (Benmamoun, 2000; Al-tamari, 2001; Eid, 1991); Jordanian Arabic (Al-momani, 2011); Yemeni Arabic (Qafisheh, 1996); and Tunisian Arabic (Bahloul, 1996)

Negation is expressed differently from one language to another. Some languages, like English, use one element (Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002). A sentence like ‘He is a teacher’ can be negated by using a negative marker ‘not’ as in ‘He is not a teacher’. Languages like French express negation by using two elements, *ne* and *pas* (Pollock, 1989; Ouhalla, 1990). For example: *Mona n'est pas venu* ‘Mona did not come’. Arabic dialects exhibit the use of both one element and two elements to express negation. In some Arabic dialects (Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002) negation can be expressed by using the two-negation elements pattern (example from Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002):

- (1) **ma** m[-af] Omar (Moroccan Arabic)
neg go.3ms-neg Omar
‘Omar did not go’

The use of the two-negation elements pattern *ma* and *-f* is one of the interesting aspects of some Arabic dialects (e.g., Moroccan [Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002]; Egyptian

[Brustad, 2000]; Jordanian [Al-momani, 2011]). Because these Arabic dialects originated from classical Arabic which does not have the use of the two-negation-elements pattern. The two-negation elements pattern *ma* and *-f* does not exist in either SA or KA. Moreover, Moroccan and Egyptian Arabic use *ma-f* (and its variants) as one single discontinuous element in present and future tense with both verbal predicates and non-verbal predicates. Consider example (2) for Moroccan Arabic and (3) for Egyptian Arabic:

(2) *latiifa mafi fii d-dar* (Brustad, 2000, p. 279)
 Latifa **neg** in the-house
 ‘Latifa is not in the house’

(3) *la mij ?adiim* (Brustad, 2000, p. 279)
neg neg old
 ‘No, it’s not old’

Jordanian Arabic negation is similar to that of Moroccan and Egyptian Arabic, but allows more variation. Four negative elements are used for negation: *ma*, *ma-ʃ*, *mi-ʃ* and *laa*. In general, these negative elements are pre-verbal (Al-momani, 2011). Consider the following example:

(4) *l-walad ma-nami-ʃ* (Al-momani, 2011, p. 484)
 the-boy **neg-sleep.3ms-neg**
 ‘The boy did not sleep’

In Syrian Arabic, *maa* or *muu* is used but not *ma-ʃ* (Brustad, 2000), as seen in the following example:

(5) **maa** ha-yzid kti:r (Brustad, 2000, p. 285)

neg fut-add much

‘It is not going to add much’

SA uses different negative elements as explained in (Shlonsky, 1997; Benmamoun, 2000; Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002; Ryding, 2005). In SA, every negative element has its own specificities. The negative elements in SA are *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, *maa*, *laysa* and *yayr*. The specificity of SA negative elements is based on the fact that they vary in their syntactic features. *lam* and *lan*, for instance, carry tense, *laysa* inflects for agreement, *laa*, on the other hand, neither carries tense nor inflects for agreement. Benmamoun (2000) argues that *laa* and *maa* are the main negative elements in SA while the others are simply inflected variants of *laa*. Alternatively, Ryding (2005) states that the negative elements in Arabic are *laa*, *lam*, *maa*, *laysa* and *yayr*.

This diversity in the use of negative elements is also seen in KA, which uses different negators compared to SA and other Arabic dialects. KA has a variety of ways to express and present negative sentences in different contexts. The main negatives in KA are *laa*, *maa*, *muu*, and *yayr*. SA and Arabic dialects differ from KA in the choice of negative elements. Thus, not all the negative elements that exist in SA or other Arabic dialects are found in KA. Consider the following examples:

(6) ?ali-un **laysa** taalib-an (SA)

Ali-nom **neg.3ms** student-acc

‘Ali is not a student’

(7) l-bit **mi]** hilwa (Egyptian Arabic)

the-girl **neg** beautiful

‘The girl is not beautiful’

(8) l-bint **muu** helwa (KA)

the-girl **neg** beautiful

‘The girl is not beautiful’

In (6), we see the negative marker *laysa* used only in SA and not found in any other Arabic dialect. In (7), *miʃ* as a negative marker is used in Egyptian Arabic (Brustad, 2000) and does not exist in SA and KA. In (8), the negative maker *muu* is used instead of *laysa* in KA and does not exist either in SA or in Egyptian Arabic. Though many studies have discussed sentential negation in Arabic (see Shlonsky, 1997; Benmamoun, 2000; Brustad, 2000; Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002), one of the negative elements that has received little attention is *yayr* ‘not’. The negative element *yayr* is unique because it is a noun used to negate only adjectives in SA and KA. Thus, the negative element *yayr* has a particular status. This point will be discussed in detail in sections 3.4 and 4.3.4.

When linguists refer to KA they mean one particular urban dialect. This study provides a description of the morpho-syntax of negation patterns in all the dialects of KA and SA. Thus, data in this study is meant to represent all the dialects of KA. To achieve this goal, the data used in this study are taken from a variety of sources that reflect this diversity: the native Kuwaiti play *We-baʃdean* (Al-muhareb, 2007), the native Kuwaiti play *Wyabqa al-watan* (Al-muhareb, 2011),¹ and the Kuwaiti novel *Rosaasat Manal* (Al-kandary, 2011). Sentences and phrases that possess negative elements were coded and transcribed to investigate the use of negation in KA.

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. Chapter one includes the background and introduction. Chapter two compares sentence structure in SA and KA. Chapter three presents negation in SA. Chapter four discusses negation in KA. Chapter five examines

¹ The play *wyabqa al-watan* has not yet been publicly performed, but the author, Muhammad Al-muhareb

agreement in negation and chapter six summarizes the current study.

CHAPTER 2

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In order to investigate negation in SA and KA, it is important to first present a brief overview of sentence structure in these dialects. This chapter examines and explains the most important grammatical features in SA and KA related to word order and tense.

2.1 WORD ORDER

Word order in Arabic is an essential topic in syntax as well as the focus of many early scholars who wrote about the grammar of Arabic. To start building a syntactic analysis for a sentence in Arabic, one should first know whether it belongs to a nominal or verbal paradigm. In early Arabic grammars there was disagreement about what is called *ʔal-ʔumlatu ʔal-ʔismiātu* ‘the nominal sentence’ (ʕalamah, 1993). Some Arabic scholars argued that a nominal sentence is any that does not have a verb, while others argued that a nominal sentence can be any sentence that starts with a nominal word even if it contains a verb.² In SA, if a verbal sentence has a transitive verb, there are six possible word orders: SVO, VSO, OVS, OSV, VOS and SOV. Consider the following examples:

(9) a. SVO

ḥamad-u	ʔakala	ṭ-ṭaʕaam-a
ḥamad-nom	ate.3ms	the-food-acc
‘Hamad ate the food’		

b. VSO

ʔakala	ḥamad-u	ṭ-ṭaʕaam-a
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² For further discussion see ʕalamah (1993).

ate.3ms ħamad-nom the-food-acc

c. OVS

ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a ʔakala ħamad-u

the-food-acc ate.3ms ħamad-nom

d. OSV

ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a ħamad-u ʔakala

the-food-acc ħamad-nom ate.3ms

e. VOS

ʔakala ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a ħamad-u

ate.3ms the-food-acc ħamad-nom

f. SOV

ħamad-u ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a ʔakala

ħamad-nom the-food-acc ate.3ms

Note that all of the previous sentences do not carry the same pragmatic effects. For instance, in SVO the speaker is attempting to focus on and attract the listener's attention to the subject, *Hamadu*. In contrast, the OVS order highlights the object. The choice of word order in SA can be affected by the overt case that the subject and object carry (the former takes nominative case as in *Hamad-u*, the latter takes accusative case realized overtly as in *ʔ-ʔaʕaam-a*): When the subject and the object cannot carry these overt cases for some phonological reason, they are restricted to VSO order. If an alternative word order is used in these cases, ambiguity will exist. For instance, the following sentence in SA has to be in VSO order and cannot be in SOV:

(10)

a. raʔat Monaa Suhaa

saw.3fs Mona Suha

‘Mona saw Suha.’

b. * Monaa Suhaa raʔat

Mona Suha saw.3fs

The reason behind the ungrammaticality of (10b) is that neither *Monaa* nor *Suhaa* can carry overt case because these words end in vowels. Therefore, the meaning of the sentence will be ambiguous in word orders other than VSO because tone cannot distinguish between the subject and the object. Due to the absence of case marking in KA, the most frequent word order is SVO or VSO. KA also allows other word orders as long as the subject precedes the object. Consider the following examples:

(11)

a. SVO

ʔafnaan ʃaafat Emaan

ʔafnaan saw.3fs Emaan

‘Afnan saw Eman’

b. VSO

ʃaafat ʔafnaan Emaan

saw.3fs ʔafnaan Emaan

‘Afnan saw Eman’

c. OVS

* Emaan ʃaafat ʔafnaan

Emaan saw.3fs ʔafnaan

We can see that even though *Afnan* and *Eman*, as shown in (11c), do not end with vowels, the OVS order in KA is ungrammatical.

2.2 TENSE

In this section I discuss tense in SA and KA. As shown in the previous section, the subject in SA takes a nominative case which is realized overtly, while in KA overt case has disappeared. Nevertheless, we can still see nominative case in the subject in KA through its pronouns. Independent pronouns in KA cannot be used in non-nominative places. Consider the following examples:

(12)

- a. uhwa laʃab maʃaa-h min-zimaan
 he played.1ms with-him for-long time

‘I played with him for a long time.’

- b. * laʃab uhwa maʃaa-h min-zimaan
 played.1ms he with-him for-long time

In SA and KA there are two forms of verbs: perfective and imperfective. The former is used with the past tense while the latter is used with the present tense. Moreover, one can distinguish between perfective and imperfective based on their prefixes or suffixes. Tables (13) and (14) present the perfective forms in SA and KA:

(13) Perfective in SA

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix	Gloss
1	Singular	M/F	-tu	daras-tu	I studied
	Plural	M/F	-naa	daras-naa	We studied
2	Singular	M	-ta	daras-ta	You studied
		F	-ti	daras-ti	

	Dual	M/F	-tumaa	daras-tumaa	
	Plural	M	-tum	daras-tum	
		F	-tunna	daras-tunna	
3	Singular	M	-a	daras-a	He studied
		F	-at	daras-at	She studied
	Dual	M	-aa	daras-aa	They studied
		F	-ataa	daras-ataa	
	Plural	M	-uu	daras-uu	
		F	-na	daras-na	

(14) Perfective in KA

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix	Gloss
1	Singular	M/F	-t	daras-t	I studied
	Plural	M/F	-na	daras-na	We studied
2	Singular	M	-t	daras-t	You studied
		F	-ti	daras-ti	
	Plural	M/F	-taw	daras-taw	
3	Singular	M		Daras	He studied
		F	-at	dris-at	She studied
	Plural	M/F	-aw	dris-aw	They studied

The perfective forms always occur in the past tense and are created with suffixes (no perfective forms have prefixes in both SA and KA). Moreover, we can notice that there are no dual markers or gender plural distinctions in KA as in SA. In addition, the

suffixes in the perfective forms in SA and KA carry agreement. There are three suffixes that KA shares with SA in the perfective form: *na*, *ti*, *at*. Consider the following examples:

(15) KA

a. kitabna risaalah

wrote.1p letter

‘We wrote a letter’

b. kitabti risaalah

wrote.2fs letter

‘You wrote a letter’

c. ektebat risaalah

wrote.3fs letter

‘She wrote a letter’

(16) SA

a. katabna risaalat-an

wrote.1p letter-acc

‘We wrote a letter.’

b. katabti risaalat-an

wrote.2fs letter-acc

‘You wrote a letter’

c. katabat risaalat-an

wrote.3fs letter-acc

‘She wrote a letter.’

We can notice that the only difference between these example sentences in SA and KA is that the object in SA has an overt case while it does not in KA. Moreover, the

affixes *-taw* and *-aw* are used for the plural forms in the second and third persons in KA but do not exist in SA.

(17)

a. *drastaw* ʔams
 studied.2p yesterday
 ‘You studied yesterday’

b. *drisaw* ʔams
 studied.3p yesterday
 ‘They studied yesterday’

The imperfective in SA and KA has different affixes than the perfective form.

Consider the following tables which illustrate these affixes in SA and KA:

(18) Imperfective in SA

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+Affix	Gloss
1	Singular	M/F	ʔa-	ʔa-drusu	I study
	Plural	M/F	na-	na-drusu	We study
2	Singular	M	ta-	ta-drusu	You study
		F	ta-iin	ta-drus-iina	
	Dual	M/F	ta-aani	ta-drus-aani	
	Plural	M	ta-uuna	ta-drus-uuna	
		F	ta-na	ta-drus-na	
3	Singular	M	ya-	ya-drusu	He studies
		F	ta-	ta-drusu	She studies
	Dual	M	ya-aani	ya-drus-aani	They study

		F	ta-aani	ta-drus-aani	
	Plural	M	ya-uun	ya-drus-uuna	
		F	ya-na	ya-drus-na	

(19) Imperfective in KA

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Verb+affix	Gloss
1	Singular	M/F	ʔa-	ʔa-dris	I study
	Plural	M/F	na-	na-dris	We study
2	Singular	M	ta-	ta-dris	You study
		F	ta-iin	ta-dris-iin	
	Plural	M/F	ta-uun	tadrus-uun	
3	Singular	M	ya-	ya-dris	He studies
		F	ta-	ta-dris	She studies
	Plural	M/F	ya-oon	ya-drus-uun	They study

We can again notice that in KA there are no dual markers or gender plural distinction. In addition, imperfective forms in SA and KA can be used in the future tense by adding the future particles *sawfa* or *sa-* in SA and *rah* or *b-* in KA:

(20)

a. hum yadrusuun (SA-Present)

they study.3mp

‘They are studying’

b. hum sawfa yadrusuun (SA-Future)

they fut study.3mp

‘They will study’

c. hum yidrusuun (KA-Present)

they study.3mp

‘They are studying’

d. hum rah yidrusuun (KA-Future)

they fut study.3mp

‘They will study’

While the imperfective form in KA shares all its affixes with SA, the perfective form in KA has two affixes that do not exist in SA. Moreover, the affixes in the perfective and imperfective in both SA and KA can carry agreement.

In verbless sentences, wherein the verbal copula is absent, tense plays an important role. In the present tense, the copula is absent (Neřmat, 1973, Fassi, 1993). As previously mentioned, early Arabic grammarians called this type of verbless sentence *řal-řumlatu řal-řismiati* ‘the nominal sentence’:

(21) Muřammad-u muhandis-un

Muřammad-nom engineer-nom

‘Muhammad is an engineer’

This sentence is in the present tense and does not have a verbal copula. However, in the past and future tense, this sentence would be ungrammatical without the verbal copula (Bakir, 1980; Fassi, 1993; Benmamoun, 2000). Consider the following examples in SA:

(22)

a. Muřammad-un sawfa yakuunu muhandis-an

Muhamimad-nom fut is.3ms engineer-acc

‘Muhammad will be an engineer’

b. Muhammad-un kaana muhandis-an

Muhammad-nom was.3ms engineer-acc

‘Muhammad was an engineer.’

c. * Muhammad-un sawfa mohandis-un

Muhammad-nom fut engineer-nom

Similar situations can be found in KA. In KA, the verbless sentence in the present tense does not have a verbal copula, as in (23a). On the other hand, in the past and future tense the sentence will be ungrammatical without the verbal copula as in (23d):

(23)

a. Maḥammad muhandis

Maḥammad engineer

‘Maḥammad is an engineer’

b. Maḥammad raḥ yukuun muhandis

Maḥammad fut be engineer

‘Maḥammad will be an engineer’

c. Maḥammad kaan muhandis

Maḥammad-nom was.2s engineer

‘Maḥammad was an engineer’

d. *Maḥammad raḥ muhandis

Maḥammad fut engineer

To summarize, this chapter has presented information related to word order in SA and KA. I showed that in SA if the sentence has a transitive verb, there are six possible word orders: SVO, VSO, OVS, OSV, VOS and SOV. In contrast, in KA word order is restricted to SVO or VSO due to the absence of case marking. Examples of perfective and imperfective forms in SA and KA were also presented. The perfective and imperfective forms in KA are less complex than in SA because there are no dual markers or gender plural distinctions. In addition, the imperfective form in SA and KA can be used in the future tense by adding the future particles *sawfa* or *sa-* in SA and *rah* or *b-* in KA. Moreover, I showed that in both SA and KA the verbless sentence in present tense does not have a verbal copula, while in the past and future tense the sentence will be ungrammatical without the verbal copula.

CHAPTER 3

NEGATION IN STANDARD ARABIC

There are several negative elements in SA. Every negative element has its own specific use and structure. The negative elements that are commonly used in SA (Shlonsky, 1997; Benmamoun, 2000; Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002) are *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, *maa*, and *laysa*. *yayr* is an additional negative element that has not received attention in past syntactic studies (Shlonsky, 1997; Benmamoun, 2000; Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002) and will be the focus of further discussion in section 3.4.

The specificity of all negative elements in SA is based on the fact that they vary in their syntactic features. *lam* and *lan* carry tense, *laysa* inflects for agreement, *yayr* neither carries tense nor inflects for agreement. In previous studies (Benmamoun, 2000; Ouhalla & Shlonsky, 2002), the negative elements in SA were divided into three groups. However, in the current study I add a fourth group that contains the negative *yayr*:

1- Negation with *laa*, *lam*, and *lan*.

2- Negation with *maa*

3- Negation with *laysa*

4- Negation with *yayr*

Each group will be discussed separately.

3.1 FIRST GROUP: *laa*, *lam*, and *lan*

The first group consists of *laa*, *lam*, and *lan*. *laa* occurs in the present tense, *lam* carries past tense, and *lan* carries future tense (Neřmat, 1973). In addition, all these elements occur with only the imperfective verb, and their occurrence with the perfective will lead to ungrammatically, as in (25).

(24)

- a. **laa** yafhamu ?al-kitaab-a
neg understand.3ms the-book-acc

‘He does not understand the book’

- b. ?al-bint-u **lam** tanam
the-girl-nom **neg.past** sleep.3fs

‘The girl did not sleep’

- c. hamad-u **lan** yansa
Hamad-nom **neg.fut** forget.3ms

‘Hamad will never forget’

(25)

- a. * **laa** fahima ?al-kitaab-a
neg understood.3ms the-book-acc

- b. * ?al-bint-u **lam** naam-at
the-girl-nom **neg.past** slept.3fs

- c. * hamad-u **lan** yanasa
Hamad-nom **neg.fut** forgot.3ms

Moreover, *laa*, *lam* and *lan* must be adjacent to the imperfective, which explains the ungrammaticality in (26 a, b and c):

(26)

- a. * **laa** ?al-kitaab-a yfhamu
neg the-book-acc understand.3m

b. * **lam** ʔal-bint-u tanam
 neg.past the-girl-nom sleep.3fs

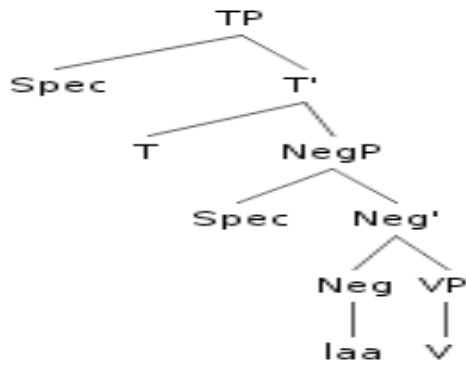
c. * **lan** ʔahmad-u yansa
 Neg.fut Ahmad-nom forgot.3ms

In addition, *laa* negates the subject, which has a special feature in the sense that it negates the existence of something absolute. This explains why it is referred to as an *absolute negation* (Ryding, 2005). Consider the following example:

(27) **laa** ʔahada fii ʔal-bayti
 neg one in the-house
 ‘No one is in the house’

Benmamoun (2000) presented a comprehensive analysis that accounts for sentential negation in Arabic. He argued that negative elements in Arabic head their own functional projections and that the NegP projection occurs between the tense phrase (TP) and verb phrase (VP). Thus, negative elements in SA occupy the head of Neg. In addition, the same syntactic representation will be extended for negative elements in KA in chapter four.

(28)



We can conclude that all the elements in this group (*laa*, *lan*, and *lam*) occur only with imperfective verbs, and their occurrence with the perfective will lead to ungrammaticality. In addition, *laa* is the only negator in this group that can negate a subject.

3.2 SECOND GROUP: *maa*

The second group consists of *maa*. It negates perfective and imperfective verbs and does not carry tense. Consider the following sentences:

- (29) **maa** saafara muhammad-un
 neg traveled.3ms Muhammad-nom
 ‘Muhammad did not travel.’
- (30) **maa** yusaafiru muhammad-un
 neg travel.3ms Muhammad-nom
 ‘Muhammad doesn’t travel’

The above examples show that *maa* differs from the previous negative elements in that it does not carry tense and can occur with both the perfective as in (29) and the imperfective as in (30).³ Moreover, *maa* can negate the subject in a verbless sentence.

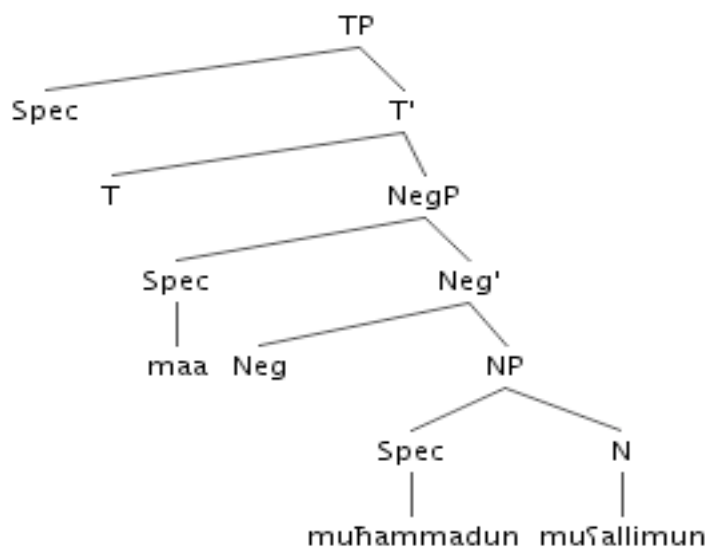
³ The word order of *maa* affects its interpretation. Hence its interpretation when it occurs before the subject differs from its occurrence after the verb as can be seen in the following examples:
 (i) **maa** saafara Muhammad-un

Consider the following:

- (31) **maa** muḥammad-un muṣallim-un
neg Muhammad-nom student-nom
‘Muhammad is not a teacher’

The underlying representation of the sentence in (31) is represented in (32).

(32)



We can conclude that *maa* in SA does not carry tense and can occur with all verb forms. Moreover, *maa* can negate nouns and does not require adjacency to the following verb as do the negative elements in the first group.

3.3 THIRD GROUP: *laysa*

-
- neg** traveled.3ms Muḥammad-nom
‘Mohammad did not travel’
(ii) **maa** Muḥammad-un saafara
neg Muhammad-nom traveled.3ms
‘Mohammad did not travel’

The meanings of the two sentences above are different. Sentence (i) means “Muhammad did not travel (and neither did anyone else)” but sentence (ii) means “Muhammad did not travel but maybe someone else did”.

The third group consists of *laysa*. *laysa* is the only verbal negative element in SA. It is inflected for agreement. *laysa* is a verb and only occurs with imperfective verbs (Ouhalla, 1990).

(33)

- a. **laysat** ʔal-muʕallimaat-u yaʔkulna ʔal-ʔaan
neg.3fs the-teachers-nom eat.3fp the-now

‘The teachers are not eating now’

- b. ʔal-kitaab-u **laysa** ʒadiid-an
the-book-nom **neg** new-acc

‘The book is not new’

We can say that *laysa* is different from other negative elements in two aspects:

1-It is a verb and assigns accusative case to the predicate.

2-It carries subject agreement.

The following table in (34) shows agreement for *laysa* (the table is taken from Benmamoun, 2000):

(34)

Person	Number	Gender	Affix	Neg+affix
1	Singular	M/F	-tu	las-tu
	Plural	M/F	-naa	las-naa
2	Singular	M	-ta	las-ta
		F	-ti	las-ti
	Dual	M/F	-tumaa	las-tumaa
	Plural	M	-tum	las-tum

		F	-tunna	las-tunna
3	Singular	M		Laysa
		F	-at	lays-at
	Dual	M	-aa	lay-saa
		F	-ataa	lays-ataa
	Plural	M	-uu	lays-uu
		F	-na	las-naa

laysa, unlike other negative particles, is a verb that has to agree with its subject; however, it does not have to be adjacent to the verb as is the case with elements in the first group.

- (35) **laysat** ʔal-banaat-u naaʔimaat-in
neg.3pf the-girls-nom sleeping-acc
‘The girls are not sleeping’

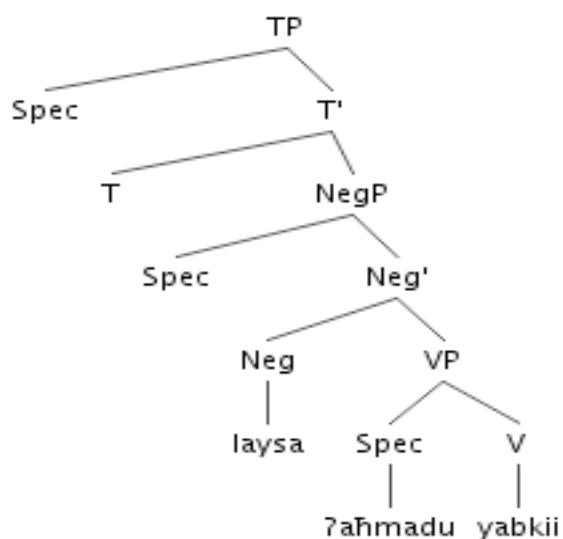
In addition, *laysa* can occur with verbless sentences, as in (36). Furthermore, *laysa* assigns accusative case to its predicate in the verbless sentence, as the case for *maa*.

- (36)
- a. ʔahmad-u ʔaalib-un
Ahmad-nom student-nom
‘Ahmad is a student’
- b. **laysa** ʔahmad-u ʔaalib-an
neg.3m Ahmad-nom student-acc
‘Ahmad is not a student’

The sentence in (37) is represented in (38).

- (37) ʔahmad-u **laysa** yabkii
 Ahmad **neg** cry.3ms
 ‘Ahmad is not crying’

(38)



To conclude, *laysa* is the only verbal negative element in SA; it carries agreement and can occur with imperfective verbs or with verbless sentences.

3.4 FOURTH GROUP: *yayr*

The fourth group consists of the noun *yayr*. As previously mentioned, *yayr* has received little to no attention in prior studies. *yayr* is unique because it is a negative element that does not specify for tense and exclusively negates adjectives. The use of *yayr* gives the meaning of ‘not’ or ‘un-’. The word *yayr* is used in several ways, one of which is negation. I focus on its negation function because other functions are beyond

the scope of this study. *yayr* is different from other negative elements in three aspects:

1-It carries case.

2- It negates only adjectives.

3-It assigns genitive case to the predicate.

In order to express negation with *yayr*, one must negate an adjective phrase and place *yayr* in front of the negated adjective. Having an adjective precede *yayr* will lead to ungrammatically, as in (39b). The following examples come from Ryding (2005):

(39)

a. ?al-bilaad-u **yayu** l-islamiyyat-i
the-countries-nom **neg** the-Islamic-gen

‘The non-Islamic countries’

b. * ?al-bilaad-u l-islamiyyat-i **yayru**
the-countries-nom the-Islamic-gen **neg**

Another constraint on *yayr* is that it has to carry the same case of the noun it modifies as shown in the following examples from Ryding (2005):

(40)

a. bi-fakl-in **yayi** montađim-in
in-design-gen **neg** organize-gen

‘In a disorganized manner’

b. kalb-un **yayru** ?ašiil-in
dog-nom **neg** pedigreed-gen

‘A non-pedigreed dog’

In (40b), *yayr* is in the nominative case, parallel to the subject it modifies. If *yayr* modifies a definite noun, it should be followed by a definite adjective, and if *yayr* modifies an indefinite noun it should be followed by an indefinite adjective. Consider the following examples from Ryding (2005):

(41)

- a. ʔal-ʔawlaad-u **yayru** $\text{ʔal-mu\check{z}tahid-iin}$
the-boys-nom **neg** the-hardworking-gen
‘The non-successful boys’
- b. ʔawlaad-un **yayru** $\text{mu\check{z}tahidiin}$
boys-nom **neg** hardworking-gen
‘Un-successful boys’

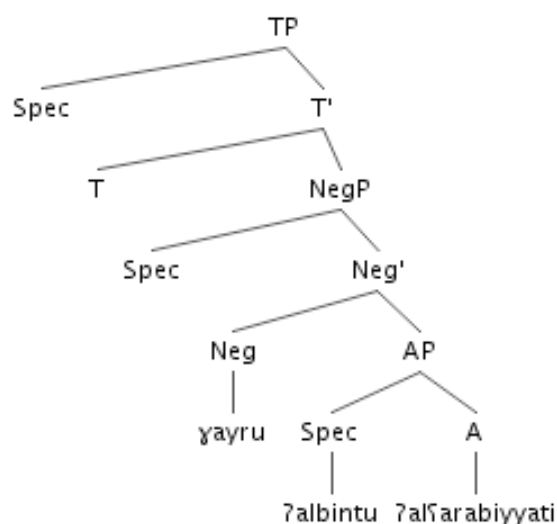
There is strong evidence to believe that *yayr* heads its own negative projection as do other negative elements in SA. This stems from the fact that *yayr* assigns genitive case to its predicate, which cannot precede *yayr*, as illustrated in the following examples:

(42)

- a. ʔal-bint-u ʔal-ʕarabiyyat-u
the-girl-nom the-Arabic-nom
‘The Arabic girl’
- b. ʔal-bint-u **yayru** ʔal-ʕarabiyyat-i
the-girl-nom **neg** the-Arabic-nom
‘The non-Arabic girl’
- c.* ʔal-bint-u **yayru** ʔal-ʕarabiyyat-u
the-girl-nom **neg** the-beautiful-nom

Building on Benmamoun's analyses for the previous negative elements, I assume that *yayr* is generated between TP and AP. The underlying representation of sentence (42b) is represented in (43).

(43)



To conclude, I showed that *yayr* is unique because it is a noun and assigns genitive case to the predicate. Moreover, *yayr* exclusively negates adjectives in SA. I showed that the syntactic representation in Benmamoun (2000) can account for *yayr*.

To summarize, in this chapter I showed that SA has six negative elements: *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, *maa*, *laysa*, and *yayr*. In addition, I examined the syntactic distribution of these negative elements which I placed into four groups. For the first group, I showed that *laa* occurs in the present tense, *lam* carries past tense, and *lan* carries future tense. I also showed that all of the elements occur only with imperfective verbs. For the second group, I showed that *maa* negates the sentence in perfective and imperfective verbs and does not carry any tense. For the third group, I showed that *laysa* is the only negative verbal element in SA. For the fourth group, I demonstrated that *yayr* is the only negative element in SA which exclusively negates adjectives. Moreover, I showed that the same

syntactic representation used in Benmamoun (2000) can be successfully extended to *yayr*. We can conclude from this section that *lam* and *lan* are the only negative elements in SA that do not occur in verbless sentences. Thus, SA uses five negative elements to negate verbal sentences (*laa, lam, lan, maa, laysa*), while it uses four negative elements to negate verbless sentences: (*laa, maa, laysa* and *yayr*).

CHAPTER 4

NEGATION IN KUWAITI ARABIC

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The use of the term Kuwaiti dialect is problematic as it does not do justice to the diversity of dialects within Kuwait. This point has been raised by some researchers who have attempted to make a distinction between Kuwaiti dialects to demonstrate that the Kuwaiti dialect contains sub-dialects. Al-maatoog (1986) identified the features of the Al-Ajmaan dialect, one of the Kuwaiti Bedouin dialects; Al-sebaan (2002) discussed the development of different Kuwaiti dialects; Dashti (2004) studied the dialect of Kuwaiti Ajam families who use both Farsi and a Kuwaiti Arabic dialect; and Al-rashed (2011) produced a valuable encyclopedia of the Hadari Kuwaiti dialect. The studies conducted on Kuwaiti dialects are relatively few compared to other Arabic dialects. In terms of studies conducted on the syntax of Kuwaiti dialects we can include Johnstone (1967), Al-maatoog (1986), Holes (1990), Brustad (2000), and Al-qenaie (2011). These linguists examined negation in Kuwaiti dialects, but their studies did not include a comprehensive investigation of all of the aspects of negation in KA. Johnstone (1967) states that *maa* in KA can negate forms of the personal pronouns. Holes (1990) divided negation in Gulf dialects (which include Kuwaiti dialects) into two categories. The first one is sentence negation, which includes the negative element *maa* for verbs in the perfective and imperfective tense, and *laa* for imperative mood. The second one is constituent negation, which includes *muu*. Brustad (2000) divided negative elements in KA into verbal negation, which consists of the negative marker *maa*, and predicate negation, which consist of *muu*.

4.2 CORPUS

Conducting a corpus study will allow us a more accurate description of negation in KA. The research objective is to examine the syntactic properties of negative elements in KA using data from several different written sources. The first source is a Kuwaiti play by Mohammad Al-muhareb (2007) entitled *we-baadean* ‘and then’ (play1), which was performed at the Kiifaan Kuwaiti Theater. The duration of this play is approximately one hour. The second source is another Kuwaiti play, *wyabqaa al-watan* ‘and the nation remains’ (play2), which has not yet been performed (Al-muhareb, 2011). Using data from these types of sources can facilitate our understanding of the use of negation under a relatively more spontaneous setting. The corpus includes approximately 13,730 words. Microsoft Word was used to track the frequency of negative elements employed in the plays. Because automatic analysis also selects negative elements in the corpus used in functions other than negation, a follow-up manual analysis was used to select only those elements used for negation. *laa*, used as a negative answer to questions in the corpus, was excluded.

The following tables show the frequency of the negative elements used in play1 and play2, respectively:

(44) Negative Elements in play1:

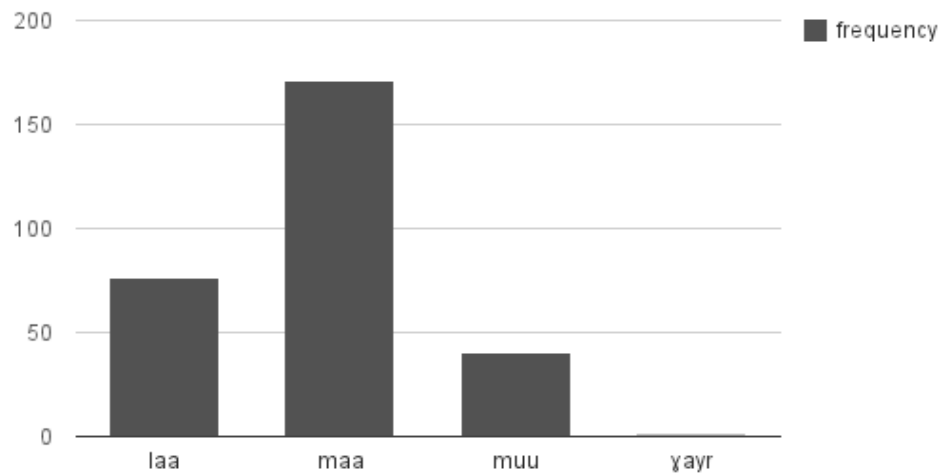
No. of negative elements in the entire play	94
laa	12
maa	71
muu	11
yayr	0

(45) Negative Elements in play2:

No. of negative elements in the entire play	194
laa	64
maa	100
muu	29
γayr	1

The following graph shows the frequency of the negative elements used in the entire corpus.

(46)



The results show that *maa* is used most frequently compared to other negation elements, and *γayr* has the lowest frequency.

4.3 KA NEGATIVE ELEMENTS

KA uses four negative elements: *laa*, *maa*, *muu* and *yayr*. In the following section, I examine each element, investigating its properties and syntactic distribution.

4.3.1 *laa*

One of the common negative elements in KA is *laa*. It is used second most frequently and more than any other negative element to indicate a negative command.

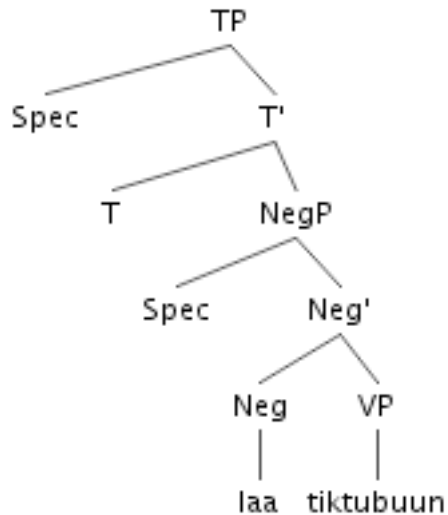
- (47) **laa** tiktubuun
neg write.3mp
 ‘Don’t write’

In addition, *laa* occurs in verbal sentences with imperfective verbs. Consider the following examples:

- (48)
- a. **laa** ti-sʔiluun-ii funuu waḏiif-tii (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 5)
neg ask.3mp-me what job-mine
 ‘Do not ask me what my job is’
- b. **laa** tinsuun ʔinnu-kum ʔiʕyaal diirah waḥdah (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 7)
neg forget.3mp you-are sons country one
 ‘Don’t forget that you all belong to one country’

The same syntactic representation of the negative elements in SA will be extended for KA negative elements. Thus, *laa* in KA heads its own syntactic projection as it does in SA. The underlying representation of sentence (47) is represented in (49).

(49)



To conclude, *laa* in KA is used to indicate a negative command, and it occurs in verbal sentences with imperfective verbs as in SA.

4.3.2 *maa*

maa occurs in verbal sentences with perfective or imperfective verbs.

(50)

a. ?inta **maa** taʕaddeat ħiduud-ik (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 33)

you **neg** crossed.2ms boundaries-yours

‘You didn’t cross the boundaries’

b. ?iʕðir-nii **maa** ʃift-ik (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 33)

forgive-me **neg** saw.3ms-you

‘Forgive me, I didn’t see you’

c. ?il-beat **maa** fii ?akil

the-house **neg** in food

‘There is no food in the house’

Brustad (2000) stated that *maa* in KA is a verbal negative. I argue that *maa* can also negate nouns as in the following example:

- (51) haaða **ma-hu** maʕguul (Al-maatoog, 1986, p. 163)
 this **neg-he** reasonable
 ‘This is not reasonable’

In addition, *maa* can negate a prepositional clause in KA as in (52):

- (52) **maa** fii ʃay ʔismah rimaayah (Al-kandary, 2011, p. 83)
neg in thing called shooting
 ‘There is nothing called shooting’

maa in KA shares most features of *maa* in SA such as its occurrence in verbless sentences. However, the main difference between *maa* in KA and SA is that the former can negate future tense as in (53a) while *maa* in SA cannot (53b). SA uses the element *lan* to negate future tense, but KA does not have this element.

(53)

- a. **maa** raah yaakil ʔahmad ʔayʃay (KA)
neg fut eat.3ms Ahmad anything
 ‘Ahmad will not eat anything’
- b. * **maa** sa-yusaafir ʔali-un (SA)
neg fut-travel.3ms Ali-nom
- c. **lan** yusaafir ʔali-un (SA)
neg.fut travel.3ms Ali-nom
 ‘Ali will not travel’

In KA, negation of future or past tense occurs by using the negative element *maa* with the imperfective verb in the future or past tense. As we saw in section 2.2, the imperfective can be used in past and future tense by adding future particles: *raħ* or *b-* or the past verbal copula *kaan*. The use of *raħ* or *b-* in KA is illustrated in the following examples.

(54)

a. hum **maa** yadrus-uun (KA-Present)

they **neg** study-3mp

‘They are not studying’

b. hum **maa** raħ yadrus-uun (KA-Future)

they **neg** fut study-3mp

‘They will not study’

c. hum **maa** kaanaw yadrus-uun (KA-Past)

they **neg** was.3mp study-3mp

‘They were not studying’

A summary of the strategies for future and past negation in KA is shown in (55).

(55) Neg + *raħ* / *b-* + imperfective = Future negation

Neg + *kaan* + imperfective = Past negation

Because *lam* and *lan* are not used in KA, but are used to negate the past and future in SA, respectively, *maa* in KA is used to negate past (verbal copula) and future tense. The use of other negative elements such as *laa* or *muu* to negate the future or verbal copula will lead to ungrammatically. Consider the following sentences:

(56)

- a. * **laa** rah yadrusuun
neg fut study.3mp
- b. * **muu** rah yadrusuun
neg fut study.3mp
- c. * **laa** kanaw yadrusuun
neg was.3p study.3mp
- d. * **muu** kanaw yadrusuun
neg was.3p study.3mp

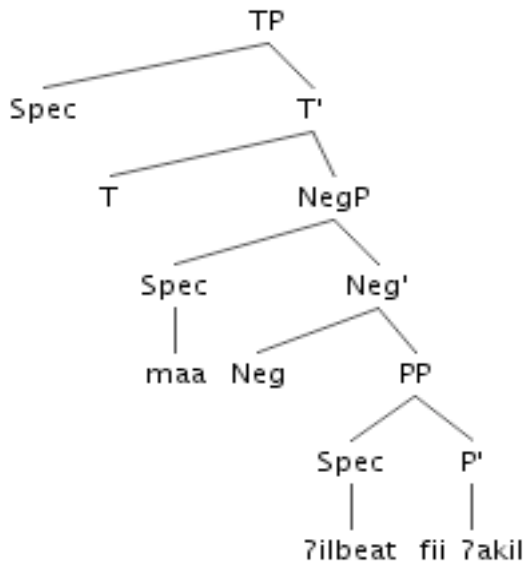
This analysis explains the finding in (46) that *maa* is used most frequently in KA because, unlike SA, KA lacks the future and past elements *lam* and *lan*. *maa* in KA can host subject clitics as shown in table (57) (taken from Johnstone, 1967).

(57)

Singular		Plural	
he+Neg	mahuu	They+Neg	muhum
she+Neg	mhii	you.p+Neg	mintu
you.ms+Neg	mint	he+Neg	mihu
you.fs+Neg	minti		
1+Neg	maani		

The underlying representation of sentence (50c) is represented in (60).

(58)



To conclude, I showed that *maa* in KA occurs in verbal sentence with perfective and imperfective verbs and it can negate verbless sentences. Moreover, *maa* in KA negates the future tense by using the verb in the imperfective with future particles: *rah* or *b-*, and it negates the past tense by using the verb in the imperfective with the past verbal copula *kaan* ‘was’.

4.3.3 *muu*

The negative element *muu* in KA usually negates nominal sentences. It precedes nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and pronouns. Consider the following examples:

(59)

a. (*muu*+noun)

muu muʃkilah (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 31)

neg problem

‘There is no problem’

b. (*muu*+ adjective)

muu muhim ʃunu ʔasawwi (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 5)

neg important what do.1s

‘It is not important what I’m doing’

c. (muu+preposition)

muu ʕalaa ʕesaab ʔil-qaanon (Al-muhareb, 2011, p. 6)

neg on account the-law

‘Do not override the law’

d. (muu+ pronoun)

muu ʔinta tiguul-ly ruuħ (Al-kandary, 2011, p. 160)

neg you say.2ms-me go.2ms

‘You can’t ask me to go out’

Moreover, *muu* can be used to express a warning:

(60) **muu** tegʕuun ʔil-kahribah (Al-muhareb, 2007, p. 53)

neg cut.2mp the-power

‘Don’t cut the power’

muu is the only negative element in KA that does not exist in SA. However, I argue that *laysa* is similar to *muu* in three diverse syntactic aspects. First of all, both *laysa* and *muu* are negative elements that can occur with verbless sentences. Consider examples (36b) and (59a) (repeated here):

(36b) **laysa** ʔahmad-u taalib-an

neg.3ms Ahmad-nom student-acc

‘Ahmad is not a student’

(59a) **muu** muʕkilah

neg problem

‘There is no problem’

Secondly, the negative elements *laysa* and *muu* can carry subject agreement.

Consider the following examples:

- (61) ?al-banaat-u **lasna** mu?allimaat-in
the-girls-nom **neg.3pf** teachers-acc
'The girls are not teachers'.

- (62) **mu-hu** b-zean (Al-maatoog, 1986, p. 165)
neg.he with-nice
'It is not nice'

Thirdly, a proclitic *b-* can be attached to their predicates.

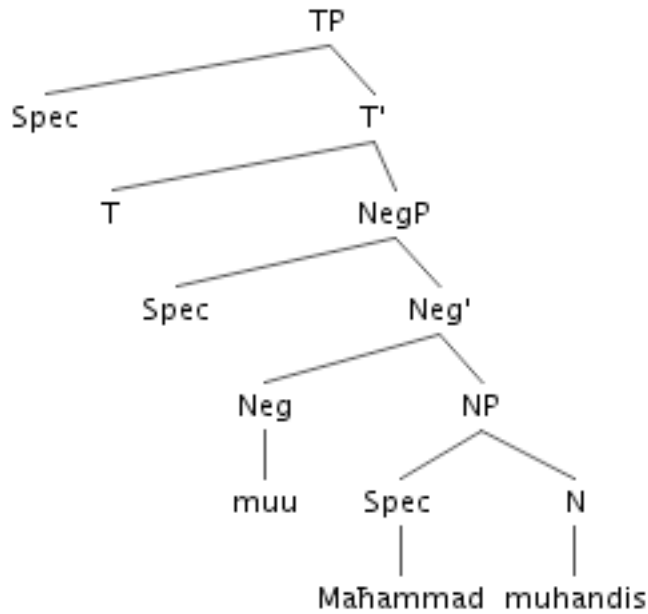
- (63) ?al-faqrū **laysa** bi-?ayb-in (Ne?mat, 1973, p. 152)
Poverty **neg.3sm** with-shame-gen
'Poverty is not shameful'

- (64) ?il-?arab **mu-hum** b-wahid (Al-maatoog, 1986, p. 165)
the-Arab **neg-they** with-one
'The Arabs are not the same'

The same syntactic representation that has applied for *laysa* in SA can be extended to *muu* in KA. Thus, *muu* is a head of the negative projection. The underlying representation of the example in (65) is represented in (66).

- (65) Mahammad **muu** muhandis
Mahammad **neg** engineer
'Muhammad is not an engineer'

(66)



To conclude, I showed that *muu* in KA negates nominal sentences. It precedes nouns, adjectives, prepositions, and pronouns. I also argued that *muu* in KA is similar to *laysa* in SA.

4.3.4 *yayr*

The word *yayr* is used in several ways in KA, and one of them is negation. In this study, I focus on its negation function. *yayr* exclusively negates adjectives in KA, as is also the case in SA. The use of *yayr* gives the meaning of ‘not’ or ‘un-’. The corpus analysis shows that *yayr* is used least frequently compared to the other negative elements. This finding parallels Al-qenaie’s (2011) claim that *yayr* is not as common as other negative elements in KA. Furthermore, *yayr* in KA is different from other negative elements because it negates only adjectives. Consider the following examples:

(67) *latyah fii lisaan-ah tiḏḏal kalaam-ah yayr waaḏih* (Al-maatoog, 1986, p. 212)

lisp in tongue-his make.3fs speech-his neg clear

‘He has a lisp which makes his speech not clear’

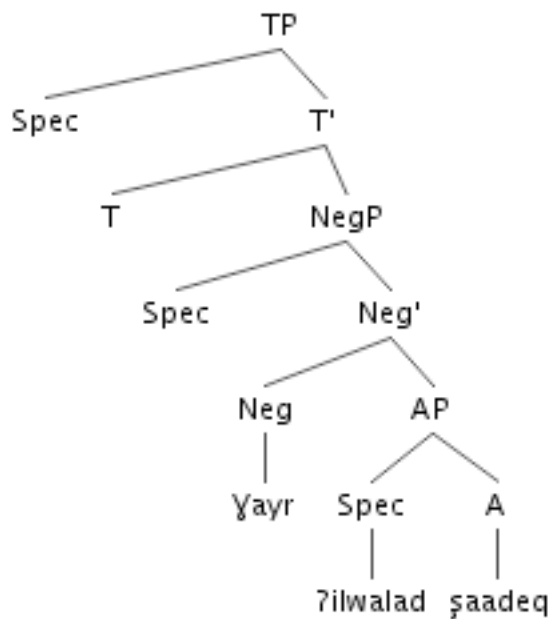
(68) *?il-walad yayr ṣaadeq fii maḡaaṣr-ah*

the-boy **neg** honest in feelings-his

‘The boy is not honest’

Moreover, *ḡayr* in KA does not differ from *ḡayr* in SA. Thus, the same syntactic representation is extended here. The underlying representation of sentence (68) is represented in (69).

(69)



To conclude, the negative element *ḡayr* is unique in both KA and SA because it negates adjectives. Moreover, in KA, *ḡayr* as a negative element is not used as frequently as other negative elements.⁴

⁴ In addition, *ḡayr* in KA can be used in Kuwaiti idioms:

- (i) *ḡayr* hal ḡačiy?
neg this proposed?
 ‘Do you have any other offers other than the one you proposed?’
- (ii) *ḡayr* salfa
neg thing
 ‘This is not a proper thing’

To summarize, in this chapter I showed that KA has four negative elements: *laa*, *maa*, *muu*, and *ɣayr*. I also examined the syntactic properties and distribution of these negative elements. I demonstrated that *laa* in KA behaves as in SA as it occurs in verbal sentences with imperfective verbs. Moreover, I argued that the negative element *maa* in KA can negate future and past tense by using the future particles: *rah* or *b-* or the past verbal copula *kaan*. In addition, I showed that *muu* can negate verbless sentences. I argued that the negative *ɣayr* is unique because it negates only adjectives in KA. Finally, I showed that the same syntactic representation of the negative elements in SA has been extended for all negative elements in KA.

CHAPTER 5

NEGATION AGREEMENT AND CONJUNCT AGREEMENT

Arabic has a rich system of agreement. Several studies have investigated different types of agreement in Arabic (Ayoub, 1981; Mohammad, 1989; Benmamoun, 2000). In this chapter, I examine person agreement in negative verbs and agreement in the conjunct negative sentence.

5.1 PERSON AGREEMENT IN NEGATIVE VERBS

There is a difference between negative imperatives and positive imperatives in SA and KA due to person agreement.⁵ In the positive imperative, person agreement is not required; however, it is required in the negative imperative. In order to understand the difference between the positive imperatives and negative imperatives in SA and KA, the second person plural masculine imperfective verb will be taken as an example. Consider the following paradigms:

(70) SA Imperative 2mp:

SA imperative	SA positive imperative	SA negative imperative
taʒlisuun	ʔiʒlisuu	laa taʒlisuu
sit.2mp	sit.2mp	neg sit.2mp
‘Sit.’	‘Sit.’	‘Do not sit.’

(71) KA Imperative 2mp:

KA imperative	KA positive imperative	KA negative imperative
tigʕiduun	giʕdaw	laa ti-gʕiduun

⁵ Negative imperative and positive imperative verbs in SA take a jussive mood which means the absence of the vowel and nasal ending that are found in indicative forms. For more details see Ryding (2005).

sit.2mp	sit.2mp	neg sit.2mp
‘Sit.’	‘Sit.’	‘Do not sit.’

In SA, the negative imperative verb *laa ta-žlis-uu* ‘Do not sit’ has person agreement (Aoun, Benmamoun & Choueiri, 2010), while it does not have agreement in the positive imperative *ʔižlis-uu* ‘Sit’. The same pattern can be found in KA: the negative imperative verb *laa ti-gʕid-uun* ‘Do not sit’ has person agreement, while it does not have agreement in the positive imperative verb *giʕd-aw* ‘Sit’.

In addition, in SA, the only phonological difference between the 2mp negative imperative verb *laa ta-žlis-uu* and the 2mp imperative verb *ta-žlis-uun* is the lack of the nasal ending, while in KA there is no difference between the 2mp negative imperative verb *laa ti-gʕid-uun* and the 2mp imperative verb *ti-gʕid-uun*. Moreover, in SA, person agreement in the negative imperative verb displays more variation than in KA. Consider the following paradigms (the SA paradigm is taken from Benmamoun, 2000)

(72) SA negative imperative

laa tažlis	laa tažlisii	laa tažlisaa	laa tažlisuu	laa tažlisna
neg sit.2ms	neg sit.3fs	neg sit.2d	neg sit.3mp	neg sit.2fp
‘Do not sit.’	‘Do not sit.’	‘Do not sit.’	‘Do not sit.’	‘Do not sit.’

(73) KA negative imperative

laa tigʕad	laa tigʕidiin	laa tigʕiduun
neg sit.2ms	neg sit.2fs	neg sit.2mp
‘Do not sit.’	‘Do not sit.’	‘Do not sit.’

In KA, person agreement in the negative imperative is less complex than in SA due to the absence of dual markers and gender plural distinctions in KA.

To conclude, in this section I discussed person agreement differences between negative imperative verbs and positive imperative verbs in SA and KA. Person agreement in negative verbs in KA is less complex than in SA due to the absence of dual markers and gender plural distinctions.

4.2 NEGATION AND CONJUNCTION

In SA and KA, negative elements can be joined with *wala*. *wala* consists of *wa* ‘and’ and *laa* (Neg) and is used to negate two clauses:⁶

(74)

a. **laa** yibuug **wa-la** fay (Al-muhareb, 2007,p. 12)

neg steal.3ms **and-neg** thing

‘He does not steal nor does he do anything bad’

b. **maa** fittesal-t fini **wa-la** wisal-nii masig (Al-muhareb, 2007,p. 17)

neg called.2ms with.me **and-neg** receive.1ms-me message

‘You neither called nor sent me a message’

Conjunct agreement in negative sentences in the VS order in SA occurs in gender but not in number. Consider the following SA examples (Fadel, 2012):

(75) **laa** yatahammalu-hu faql-un **wa-la** mantiq-un

neg bear.3m-his mind-nom **and-neg** logic-nom

‘It does not make sense’

⁶ In Kuwaiti dialects, two negative commands can be joined by *wa-la* which means *and-neg* as we can see from the following Kuwaiti idiom (Qafisheh, 1977):

(i) **laa** te-buug **wa-la** taxaaf
neg steal **and-neg** be.afraid
 ‘Don’t steal and don’t be afraid’

KA exhibits the same pattern. In VS order the verb has to agree with the leftmost conjunct in gender but not number. Consider the following examples:

(76)

- a. **maa** ya ʔali **wa-la** ʔahmad
neg came.3ms Ali **and-neg** Ahmad
‘Neither Ali nor Ahmad came’
- b. * **maa** yaw ʔali **wa-la** ʔahmad
neg came.3mp Ali **and-neg** Ahmad

SA and KA have partial conjunct agreement in VS order. Conjunct agreements in SV order in negative sentences do not differ in SA and KA. In SA, the verb in SV order can agree with both conjuncts in full agreement or agree in number with the leftmost conjunct. Consider the following SA examples (Kajlaa, 2012):

- (77) **laa** ʔal-ʕuquubaat-u **wa-la** ʔal-ʔaʕmaal-u ʔal-ʕaskariyyat-i
 sa-yuuqif-u t-taxʕiib
neg the-sanctions-nom **and-neg** the-action-nom the-military-nom
 fut.stop.3ms the-enrichment
‘Neither sanctions nor military action will stop the enrichment’

- (78) **laa** l-ʔab-u **wa-la** al-ʔumm-u yaḏharaan fii ʔal-naʕṣ-i
neg the-father **and-neg** the-mother appear.3m.dual in the-text
‘Neither the father nor the mother appear in the text’

In (77) the verb shows partial agreement in gender but not number. However, in (78) the verb shows full agreement in number and gender.

KA exhibits the same pattern as SA in SV order. Consider the following examples:

(79)

a. **laa** ʔali **wa-la** ʔahmad ya
Neg Ali **and-neg** Ahmad came.3ms
‘Neither Ali nor Ahmad came’

b. **laa** ʔali **wa-la** ʔahmad yaw
neg Ali **and-neg** Ahmad came.3mp
‘Neither Ali nor Ahmad came’

In (79a) the verb shows partial agreement in gender but not number. However, in (79b) the verb shows full agreement in number and gender. The following table summarizes conjunct agreement in negative sentences in SA and KA in VS and SV word order:

(80)

Agreement	SA	KA
VS + Neg + conjunction	Partial Agreement	Partial Agreement
SV + Neg + conjunction	Full / Partial Agreement	Full / Partial Agreement

To conclude, SA and KA share the same pattern of conjunct agreement in negative sentences. In VS order the verb and subject display partial agreement in gender only, while in SV order, where the subject precedes the verb, the verb and subject may display full agreement in gender and number or partial agreement in gender only.

In this chapter I examined person agreement in negative imperatives. I argued that the difference between negative imperative and positive imperative verbs in SA and KA

is due to how person agreement is manifested. Moreover, I showed that person agreement in negative verbs in KA is less complex than SA due to the absence of dual markers and gender plural distinctions. I also discussed conjunct agreement in negative sentences in SA and KA. I argued that SA shares the same agreement patterns with KA. In VS order the verb and subject display partial agreement in gender only, while in SV order, where the subject precedes the verb, the verb and subject may display full agreement in gender, number, or partial agreement in gender only.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study provided a description of the morpho-syntax of negation patterns in SA and KA using data from a corpus. This paper sheds light on negation in KA and SA and introduces new negative elements such as *yayr*. SA has six negative elements: *laa*, *lam*, *lan*, *maa*, *laysa*, and *yayr*, whereas KA has four negative elements: *laa*, *maa*, *muu*, and *yayr*. I demonstrated that negative elements in SA vary in their syntactic features. *lam* carries past tense, *lan* carries future tense, and *laysa* inflects for agreement, whereas *laa*, *maa* and *yayr* carry neither tense nor agreement. For KA, I illustrated that all negative elements carry neither tense nor agreement. I also stated that KA and SA share three negative elements: *laa*, *maa*, and *yayr*. Moreover, I stated that *yayr* in SA and KA is unique because it is used to negate adjectives. I also showed that the SA negative elements *lam*, *lan*, and *laysa* are not found in KA. I provided a corpus analysis showing that *maa* in KA is used more frequently than any other negative element. I showed that *maa* in KA is unique because it is used to negate present, past, and future tenses. In addition, I investigated conjunct agreement in negative sentences in SA and KA. I argued that there is no difference in conjunct agreement between SA and KA in VS order wherein the verb and subject display partial agreement in gender only. As for SV order, where the subject precedes the verb, the verb and subject may display full agreement in gender, number, and person, or partial agreement in gender only.

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