Existential and Negative Existential Constructions in Arabic:

Typology and Syntax

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the copular/locative and existential predications in Arabic. The main focus is on the typology and syntax of the existential predications. The negation of such predications reveals interesting results. The Negative Existential Cycle (Croft, 1991) is a model that describes the process by which verbal negators arise from existential negators. I discuss data of existentials and negative existentials from Standard Arabic, Saudi Arabic dialect, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

I argue for canonical vs. non-canonical word orders in copular/locative and existential sentences, respectively. I examine the grammaticalization path of the existentials from their locative content in each language form. Then, I investigate the syntactic word order of the copular/locative and existential constructions in each variety.

I investigate the negation of the existential construction in each variety. First, Standard Arabic is shown to be at stage A in the Negative Existential Cycle. The Hijazi and Najdi Arabic spoken by elders show further developments. Hijazi Arabic appears to be at stage B, while Najdi Arabic appears to be at stage B and an intermediate stage B ~ C. Second, I show that in Saudi Arabic the negative existential has been extended to the verbal domain. Saudi Arabic is at stages A, B, and B ~ C, while Qassimi Arabic is at stages A and B. Third, I show that the existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is only negated by the negative existential predicate, while the verbal sentences are negated by the negative existential and the verbal negator. Therefore, Gulf Pidgin Arabic is at stages B and C in the Negative Existential Cycle.

Finally, I discuss the syntax of copular/locative and existential predications in each variety. I propose a unified syntactic structure. Existential and possessive

predications are analyzed as inverse copular sentences (Moro, 1997) as opposed to the canonical copular/locative sentences. The unified structure accounts for the agreement facts, such as partial vs. full agreement in existential and copular/locative predications, respectively.

The data investigated here will contribute to Arabic comparative and historical linguistics. More Arabic dialects' data is needed to determine their stages in the Negative Existential Cycle.

DEDICATION

To my mom and dad,

To my wife and kids

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person	GENR	generic TA
2	second person	GER	gerund
3	third person	INDF	indefinite
*	ungrammatical	INE	inessive
ABS	absolutive	IPFV/IMPF	imperfective
ACC	accusative case	IRR	irrealis
ART	article	LOC	locative
AS	agent subject	M	masculine
CLASS	classifier	NEG	negative
CNEG	connegative	NEG.EX	negative existential
COP	copula	NEG.COP	negative copula
COP.PST	past copula	NEG.POSS	negative possessive
DAT	dative	NOM	nominative
DEF	definite	NONPST	non-past
DEPR	derehensative	ns	non-singular
DET	determiner	PFV/PERF	perfective
EMPH	emphatic	PL/P	plural
EX	existential	POSS/POS	possessive
F	feminine	PREP	preposition
FUT	future	PRS/PRES	present tense
GEN	genitive case	PRF	perfect

PRT	particle	SG	singular
PST/PAST	past tense	TA	tense-aspect
Q	question particle		

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION[1]

In this chapter, I introduce the purpose of the study and the scope of the research. Then, I present each of the investigated languages in a few details. Then, I discuss the methodology and some methodological challenges to the dissertation. Finally, I summarize the organization of the dissertation's chapters.

Purpose of the Study

The Negative Existential Cycle is widely known as Croft's Cycle. Croft (1991) introduced a new source of negative markers that evolved from negative existentials, i.e., words that mean 'not exist.' The negative markers develop through three different stages, labeled A, B, and C, as seen in Figure 1 below. This process is considered to be part of the evolution of negation. There has been work done on the Negative Existential Cycle since Croft (1991) in different languages (e.g., van Gelderen 2004, 2008, 2009, 2011; Veselinova 2013, 2014, 2016), where additional transitional stages are discussed, i.e., A ~ B, B ~ C, and C ~ A.

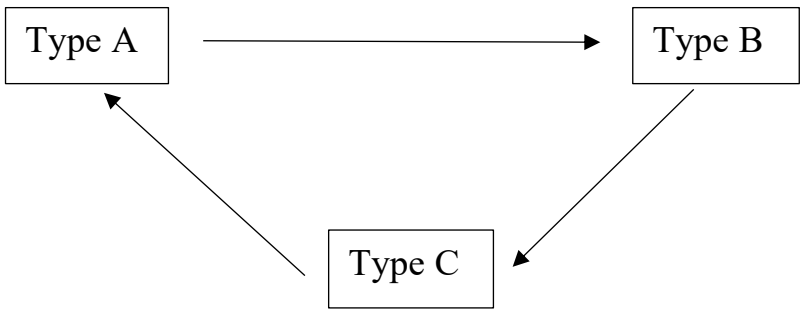


Figure 1. The Negative Existential Cycle (Adapted from Croft, 1991, p. 6).

[1] Some of the examples in this dissertation are from Alsaeedi (forthcoming). Many thanks to Prof. Veselinova, Prof. Hamari, and an anonymous reviewer for their valuable comments. Chapters 1 and 2 are partially adapted from Alsaeedi (2015).

Not much work has been done on the Negative Existential Cycle in Arabic in general. This dissertation is focused on Negative Existential Cycle in three varieties of Arabic (i.e., Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic). These varieties of Arabic display great differences in their representation in Negative Existential Cycle, which is why I chose to study them.

Scope of the Study

The purpose of this study is to critically investigate and explore the progress of the Negative Existential Cycle in Croft's evolution of negation in each variety of the three Arabic varieties above. What are the existential particles in each variety? How did these existential particles develop? and what stages are they at in the Negative Existential Cycle? What is the underlying syntactic structure for existential sentences? Is there a hierarchy in their syntactic structure? And is there a functional category in such syntactic structure?

The data on Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic used in this dissertation are from the literature, BYU corpora, WhatsApp, and Twitter. The latter two are well-known instant messaging social media, and are valuable for the text being reasonably close to natural oral/spoken data (Versteegh, 2014). I only used the search bar in WhatsApp and Twitter to look for the relavant words and constructions. I did not have any specific set of items counted in either data source. In the next section, I introduce the language varieties investigated in this dissertation.

The Varieties of Arabic

Arabic belongs to the Semitic language family. In this section, I introduce the varieties of Arabic that are the focus of this dissertation.

Standard Arabic

Standard Arabic emerged in the 19th century as an official language in the Arab world (Suleiman, 2003). See Figure 2 for a visualization of the countries that use Standard Arabic as an official language. Even a few decades ago, Arabic was considered to be a dead language in most Western universities, according to Versteegh (2014, p. 8). Standard Arabic was developed in order to revive Arabic, to some degree, using the syntax, phonology, and morphology of Classical Arabic and Old Arabic. Modernizing Standard Arabic started in the early 20th century, with Arab academies emphasizing the role of preserving Arabic from the corruption of "dialectal and foreign influence" (Aoun, Benmamoun, & Choueiri, 2010, pp. 1-2). It is considered to be a symbol of unity and identity in the Arab world.

Figure 2. Arabic in The Modern World.

Today, as far as I know, there are no native speakers of Standard Arabic. Standard Arabic has a greater degree of simplicity in its structure than Classical Arabic, perhaps because Standard Arabic is mostly used to translate English structures in official television news. Standard Arabic is only taught in schools and is the language of media and politics. Standard Arabic is less synthetic (i.e., has fewer endings that represent more analytic language) than Classical Arabic and is richer in morphology than the spoken dialects. Standard Arabic has VSO word order as its basic word order and exhibits an SVO word order as a marked one, similar to Classical Arabic. However, in modern text, such as newspapers, SVO word order is frequently used in headlines and in the text body (Abdelfattah, 1996).

Saudi Arabic

Saudi Arabic is, by definition, the variety of Arabic spoken in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in the Arabian Peninsula. This variety is itself composed of many dialects, including Hijazi Arabic, Najdi Arabic, and many others. The dialects of Saudi Arabic exhibit many variations; however, such variations do not affect the purpose of this study in investigating existentials, as existentials are essentially the same across the dialects of Saudi Arabia, unless in certain old varieties or in the imitation of those old varieties by the younger generation.

The varieties of the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula (i.e., the Bedouin) are arguably the most conservative varieties of Arabic (Versteegh, 2014). By conservative, Versteegh means that these varieties do not show much changes or innovations that were adopted or developed in urban areas (see also Blau, 1963, and Suleiman, 2003). The dialects of Saudi Arabic show a high level of intelligibility among each other, regardless

of whether they are urban or rural. Any point of divergence will be specified and explained.

Saudi Arabic is an analytic variety of Arabic: that is, it has many grammaticalized words to serve grammatical functions in sentences with less inflectional morphology. Its basic word order is SVO; however, VSO word order is also attested for stylistic reasons (similar to other Arabic dialects; see Versteegh, 2014, p. 136). VSO word order indicates that the speaker is elevating her/his status or that s/he is being more serious; in some cases, s/he is imitating Standard Arabic for its official status. Otherwise, the basic word order is SVO, where neither order show case endings. This fixed hierarchy differentiates between agents and themes without using case endings (see the Thematic Hierarchy in van Gelderen, 2013, p. 103).

Gulf Pidgin Arabic

Gulf Pidgin Arabic is the variety spoken by southern and southeastern Asians working in the Arabian Peninsula and the Arabian Gulf (i.e., Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar, and Oman; henceforth the Gulf) for the purpose of communicating with the native speakers of non-standard Arabic varieties in these countries. Smart (1990) coined the term Gulf Pidgin Arabic. This term is adopted from the lexifier Gulf Arabic, which is a cover term for the Arabic varieties spoken by native speakers in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia. According to Bakir (2014), the varieties spoken by speakers in the Gulf and Saudi Arabia show many similarities and are mutually intelligible. Moreover, the Gulf Pidgin Arabic variety is similar across speakers who work in these countries and others from other countries of the Arabian Peninsula. Therefore, I adopt the term Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

Gulf Pidgin Arabic exhibits the basic word order of SVO and is highly analytic. More grammatical words are introduced in this variety than those found in Gulf Arabic and other grammatical words have expanded their scope to more grammatical environments. It is a highly innovative variety with a lot of grammaticalization, which may have resulted in highly complex variations. The phonology of this variety might exhibit some variations that do not affect the validity of the data that are investigated, since the focus of this study is on one grammatical category: the existential construction.

Methodology and Challenges

The main goal of this study is to determine what stages Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic are classified in the diachronic evolution of negation, as labeled by Croft (1991). Is there any overlap between stages? Are there any variations in the data to be discussed? In order to address these questions, I investigate many examples for each language variety. There is no attempt to undertake a statistic analysis of the data. I used simple search and selection of words and phrases from the corpora, WhatsApp, Twitter, and the literature. Some of the investigated grammatical words are homophonous with their lexical sources, which made it harder to classify them quantitatively. Therefore, all the searches remained simple.

The data for Standard Arabic was taken from the Brigham Young University (BYU) Arabic Corpus, or (arabiCorpus). It is a free web-based corpus. The total number of words in this corpus is 173,600,000. It only consists of uncategorized and unannotated texts in an untagged and unlemmatized corpus.

Most of the data for Saudi Arabic is from WhatsApp, an application that facilitates social media instant messaging. There is no exact number of words used in this

application, which has been with me since 2013 until the writing of this dissertation. I also searched Twitter for more data. Throughout the data, I ensured that all sentences taken from WhatsApp or Twitter were from Saudi Arabic speakers, either by identifiers or through my personal experience of the dialect. I do not use any names or provide identifiers for privacy reasons. I have received an exemption letter from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Arizona State University (ASU) to utilize the data from WhatsApp and Twitter.

As for the data for Gulf Pidgin Arabic, they were only found in the literature. Specifically, I ensured that I only included sentences from papers that use clear and full sentences of this dialect and have a clear definition of Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

One of the methodological challenges that faced this research is the lack of sufficient historical data for any of the language forms in this dissertation, with the exception of Standard Arabic. Thus, it makes it difficult to argue for a gradual diachronic change between them. However, this challenge should not prevent us from moving forward with an analysis. The lack of documented records for certain language forms does not mean they cannot be studied diachronically. Owens (2006, p. 8), as cited in Behnstedt and Woidich (2013, p. 305), states that "The modern dialects have an indispensable role in an account of Arabic language history." Behnstedt and Woidich (2013) followed this statement with a strong argument that:

> We would even say that the modern Arabic dialects, their development, and their relation to Classical Arabic (or Old Arabic, whatever one may call it) are the central object of research for Arabic historical linguistics. This gives TAD [Traditional Arabic Dialectology] fundamental importance for any research in

> Arabic historical linguistics. TAD, therefore, is heavily and primarily fieldwork oriented, not theory driven. (p. 305)

In other words, one cannot simply ignore the importance of Arabic dialects and their role in historical linguistics through comparative linguistics. It should also be stated that the Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, or Saudi Arabia, are the closest dialects to Standard and Classical Arabic because they are more conservative than modern dialects of Arabic (Blau, 1963, and Suleiman, 2003).

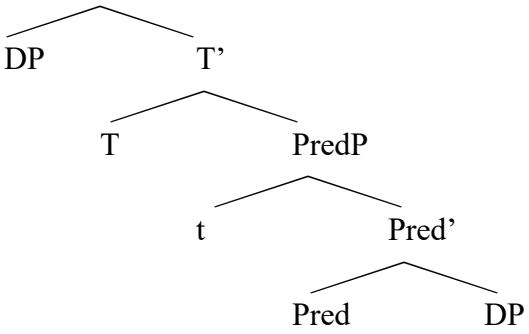
Another challenge is that Saudi Arabic is the collective name covering many dialects in Saudi Arabia. However, the degree of intelligibility between all the dialects of Saudi Arabia is unquestionably very high. Aoun et al. (2010) state that modern Arabic dialects' "mutual intelligibility decreas[es] as the geographical distance between them increases" (p. 2). These dialects include the dialects of Arabic from the Arabian Gulf to northwest Africa, while the dialects discussed in this dissertation are found in a single country: Saudi Arabia. The dialects of Saudi Arabia are considered to be very conservative in the course of language change in comparison to those of the Levantine or North Africa, for instance. Finally, for the purpose of this study, there is no distinction between any of the dialects in Saudi Arabia in regard to the existential and negative existential construction, except for some variations in Qassimi Arabic, which is discussed in Chapter 4.

The Syntax of Copular Sentences in Arabic

The syntax of copular clauses in Arabic has received a lot of work in the literature. It was discussed in Alsaeedi (2015), following Bowers (1993), Baker (2004), and van Gelderen (2015), by using Pred(ication)P(hrase). In this syntactic structure, the

subject is base-generated in SpecPredP. The subject is generated by Pred'. Pred' assigns the theme role to the subject. There is not verb phrase. The copula may be realized in the head Pred if triggered by T, or C. as in (1).

(1)



The structure in (1) is assumed for nominal/verbless sentences in Standard and Hijazi Arabic. The head Pred can either be empty, in the present tense, or be filled with the past tense copula. The copula can later be raised to T^{o} to check tense features. I adopt this syntactic structure for the copular clauses in this dissertation, with some derivational differences, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Organization

In this chapter, I presented the purpose and scope of research. In addition, I introduced the languages that are investigated in this dissertation. I also discussed the methodology of this dissertation, along with some challenges to this study.

The organization of the rest of this dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 2, I discuss grammaticalization as the driving force behind Linguistic Cycles. I review the literature on Linguistic Cycles and Jespersen's Cycle and the Negative Existential Cycle (e.g., Meillet (1958) [1912]; Jespersen, 1917; Givón, 1976; Lehmann, (1995) [1982];

Croft, 1991; Harris & Campbell, 1995; van Gelderen, 2004, 2011, 2013; Veselinova, 2013, 2014, 2016; van der Auwera & Vossen, 2016). This review focuses on the Negative Existential Cycle, including its various stages, in order to address the research questions of this study.

In Chapter 3, I discuss data of Standard Arabic. I begin by introducing the difference between copular/locative, canonical topic-comment word order, and existential, non-canonical comment-topic word order, constructions in Standard Arabic. I then discuss the special existential construction and the grammaticalized existential elements and their locative sources. As there are only two grammaticalized existential elements, I search the Brigham Young University BYU Arabic corpus and the literature for the most negated form of the existential elements, to see which one is a possible candidate to be negated and identify which negative element is used most frequently in this context, in order to detect any possible changes in their structures over time that may be involved in the Negative Existential Cycle. I also discuss some of the dialects of elders in rural Najdi and Hijazi Arabic, since they are somewhat close to Standard Arabic (Blau, 1963, and Suleiman, 2003), and show that while Standard Arabic is at a stage A, elders' Najdi Arabic is at stages B and B ~ C and elders' Hijazi Arabic is at stage B.

In Chapter 4, I argue that also in Saudi Arabic, a canonical topic-comment word order is used for copular/locative constructions, while a non-canonical comment-topic word order is used for existential construction in the juxtaposed strategy. Then, I introduce a new existential particle formed by the grammaticalization of the prepositional phrase *fih*, meaning 'in it,' in Saudi Arabic. I investigate the negative existential construction formed by the verbal negator *maa* and the grammaticalized existential

particle *fih*. In addition, I investigate data from WhatsApp and Twitter, carefully selected from Saudi Arabic, that show that the negative existential form has extended its scope to other constructions, such as possessiveness and lack of permission, before imperfective verbs. This is evidence that the negative existential is taking over parts of the verbal domain and is becoming impossible for any element to separate the negator *maa* and the positive existential *fih*. The extended use of the negative existential suggests that Saudi Arabic occupies stages A, B, and B ~ C in the Negative Existential Cycle.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the generalization of the grammaticalized existential particle from the Saudi Arabic dialect, and, more generally Gulf Arabic, to the Gulf Pidgin Arabic. In Gulf Pidgin Arabic, the grammaticalized existential predicate is used in copulative, possessive, and verbal sentences. Then, I investigate the negative existential, where it is always used as one element in copulative, possessiveness, and verbal sentences. The negative existential in Gulf Pidgin Arabic generalizes to be used as a constituent negator, like the English form *non*-. The generalization of the negative existential form to be used in verbal sentences as a standard negator and as a constituent negator indicates that Gulf Pidgin Arabic is a stage C language. Finally, I argue that Gulf Pidgin Arabic is also at stage B.

In Chapter 6, I argue for a unified syntactic structure for copular/locative and existential predications. The syntactic structure proposed is PredP, following Alsaeedi (2015) Bowers (1993), and using an inverse copular derivation for the existential sentences, following Moro (1997) and Mikkelsen (2005). The unified structure accounts for the data and the agreement facts discussed in the chapter (full vs. partial). The

existential and possessive syntactic structures are identical, where the difference between the two predications is interpretive.

In Chapter 7, I summarize the findings of the three varieties of Arabic and represent them in the Negative Existential Cycle with their syntactic analyses. I also provide a discussion of future work and the limitations of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss some of the literature on grammaticalization and Linguistic Cycles. Then I review the evolution of negation, especially Jespersen's Cycle and the Negative Existential Cycle, focusing on the Negative Existential Cycle. The discussion is mainly, built on work done by its pioneer Croft (1991) and the work done twenty-five years later by Veselinova (2016), as well as some of her earlier work. Veselinova's work reveals more in-depth details about the cycle and the nature of each stage from a worldwide sample of language families and their stages in the Negative Existential Cycle.

Grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is a unidirectional and gradual change in the syntactic and semantic properties of lexical words in order to function in a grammatical position. This change underlies the loss of the (lexical) semantic content of a given word and, not necessarily its phonetic characteristics, that results in the gain of grammatical characteristics. Hopper and Traugott (2003, p. 7) termed this process as the "cline of grammaticality," as shown in (1) below, where lexical items can slowly turn into inflectional affixes over time.

(1) Content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

In this cline, a lexical, or content item, on the left in (1), loses its semantic content and becomes grammaticalized as a grammatical word. As a result, it may also lose some of its phonological realization, later becoming a clitic and then an inflectional affix.

Morphosyntactically, this process also indicates that the independent word, on the left in (1), tends to be dependent on other words, on the right in (1). Van Gelderen (2011, p. 6) postulates a model for morphosyntactic changes, as shown in (2a), and changes in argument status, as shown in (2b).

(2) a. phrase > word/head > clitic > affix > 0

b. adjunct > argument > (argument) > agreement > 0

The model in (2) shows the stages of grammaticalization of an independent phrase, which starts as an adjunct in a syntactic tree model, changing to a single word occupying a head position as an argument in the syntactic structure. This argument can then be reduced phonologically, becoming a clitic. Being a clitic means it is dependent on another word in the sentence. This clitic may or may not be an argument, but this may be irrelevant to the discussion. Then, the clitic can be changed to an obligatory affix as an agreement marker. Speakers eventually may lose interest in the affix and it becomes optional in the sentence, finally it gets deleted. Once the last step is reached (i.e., zero), a renewal might be required, depending on the speech community and the semantic content of the affix.

The process reveals an interesting phenomenon, i.e., the change from being an adjunct phrase to a head argument in the syntactic structure, as shown in (2). This change is called reanalysis. Harris and Campbell (1995) define reanalysis as a "mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation" (p. 61). In other words, the change is not usually noticeable, since it does not appear as a movement, like question formation or *do*-inversion. Van Gelderen (2011) explains that reanalysis can be

seen “to emphasize the role of the child in acquiring the language” (p. 6). In other words, the child makes the most economical choice in analyzing the data and comes up with a grammar that may be different from the earlier generation’s grammar. This view of language change explains why newer generations have different grammars than the older generations in most of speech communities.

A clear example of reanalysis of grammaticalized words from English is in (3), from van Gelderen (2011, p. 7).

(3)

V > AUX	P > AUX	P > C
‘go’ motion > future	‘to’ direction > mood	‘for’ location > time > cause
‘have’ possession > perfect	‘on’ location > aspect	‘after’ location > time

In English, as shown in (3), (V)erbs such as *go* and *have* have grammaticalized from motion and possession verbs to future and perfect (AUX)uliaries. The verb *go* in (3), for instance, is grammaticalized from motion verb in “I’m going to Tucson” to a future marker in “I’m going to send you an email”. (P)repositions such as *to* and *on* have grammaticalized from direction and location prepositions to mood and aspect auxiliaries. Finally, prepositions such as *for* and *after* have grammaticalized from location prepositions to complementizers denoting time and cause.

There are a lot of examples of grammaticalization in the literature; see Heine and Kuteva (2002) for more examples in the world’s languages. Grammaticalization and reanalysis have proven not only to affect word-level and sentence-level elements, as we saw in (1-3) above, but also in language change as a whole, especially in what is called Linguistic Cycle as in the next section.

The Linguistic Cycle

Most of the recent studies in grammaticalization and language change must at least discuss the term *linguistic cycle*. For example, van Gelderen (2011, p. 3) explains that language change is cyclical. The cyclicity of language change is similar to grammaticalization and reanalysis, with an additional stage called renewal. Example (2) above shows a unidirectional cline of grammaticalization towards "zero," but nothing comes after the stage "zero". In the linguistic cycle, a renewal is expected after the "zero" stage.

According to van Gelderen (2011), in addition to the grammaticalization of lexical items, such as in (3) above, "there are also grammatical elements that are reanalyzed into more grammatical ones. These changes necessitate renewal and the entire process is sometimes referred to as a *linguistic cycle*" (pp. 5-6.) In a linguistic cycle, the emphasis is on the renewal, or the new lexical item. The new lexical item may itself be grammaticalized and take the path in (1) and (2) and become lost. Then another renewal, perhaps, will arise. Van Gelderen (2011) also clarifies that "languages do not reverse earlier change but may end up in a stage typologically similar to an earlier one" (pp. 7-8). In other words, the cycle does not end with the same lexical item that was lost, but rather in a stage, which has a similar item to the first one. Therefore, the renewal is not identical to the original lexical word at the leftmost in (1) and (2) above. This change accounts for the unidirectionality of language change, but also its spiral nature. Van Gelderen (2011, p. 8; 2013, p. 238) presents full cycles, where renewals would be similar to the leftmost stage, as shown in (4) below.

(4) *Subject Agreement Cycle*
Demonstrative/emphatic > pronoun > agreement > zero

Object Agreement Cycle
Demonstrative/pronoun > agreement >zero

Copula Cycle
Demonstrative > copula > zero
Verb/adposition > copula > zero

Case or Definiteness or DP Cycle
Demonstrative > definite article > "Case" > zero

Future and Aspect Auxiliary Cycle
A/P > M > T > C

Negative Cycle
Negative argument > negative adverb > negative particle > zero
Negative verb > auxiliary > negative > zero

In the subject agreement cycle, a demonstrative or emphatic element is reanalyzed as a pronoun, which later becomes an agreement marker. In the following step, the agreement marker becomes weak and gets lost. This process is found, for example, in Colloquial French and Arabic-French codeswitching. In the object agreement cycle, a demonstrative or pronoun is reanalyzed as agreement marker, which weakens and gets deleted, as in Egyptian Arabic and Colloquial Persian.

In the copula cycle, a demonstrative, verb, or adposition grammaticalizes into a copula and later weakens and gets lost. Eid (1983) shows that the copula arose from a demonstrative in Egyptian Arabic. In Alsaeedi (2015), I also examine the same copula cycle in Hijazi Arabic, and found some differences. This pattern is also attested in Maltese, Kenya Luo, Lango, and many other languages (van Gelderen, 2011, p 128).

In the case, definiteness, or DP cycle, a demonstrative is reanalyzed as a definite article, then a case marker before it weakens and gets dropped by the language users. This cycle is attested in Finnish, Turkish, and Japanese (van Gelderen, 2011, p. 146).

In the future and aspect auxiliary cycle, adverbials are reanalyzed as mood markers, then as tense markers, and later move to the higher layer CP (van Gelderen, 2011). Some examples of these cycles are found in chapter seven of van Gelderen (2011).

Finally, there are two grammaticalization paths for the negative cycle (4). In the first grammaticalization path, a negative argument is reanalyzed as a negative adverb, then becomes a negative particle, then weakens, and becomes lost. This kind of negative cycle arises from indefinite adverbs and is widely known as *Jespersen's Cycle*, dubbed by Dahl (1979, p. 88) since Jespersen (1917) was allegedly the first to describe this process. However, there was an earlier paper by Meillet (1958) [1912] that describes the same process in even more detail (see van der Auwera & Vossen, 2016). The process starts with the use of an indefinite adverb to add emphasis to the original negative marker (see Lehmann, 1995 [1982], pp. 23-24 for more detail). In French for example, when the original negative marker weakens and gets dropped, the indefinite adverb, *pas* meaning 'step,' is reanalyzed as a negative marker after entering the negative sentence with the original negator *ne* in *ne … pas* in Colloquial French (van der Auwera & Vossen, 2016, p. 189).

In the second grammaticalization path, in the negative cycle in (4), a negative verb grammaticalizes to an auxiliary before it becomes a negative marker, and then gets lost. This negative cycle arises from negative verbs, such as *fail* in English. This kind of negative cycle was identified by Givón (1976, p. 89) with English examples such as

refuse, *deny*, *reject*, *avoid*, *fail*, and *lack*. Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 283) also present examples of verbs such as *cease* or *stop* in Welsh, which are grammaticalized as negative markers, though they use the term prohibitive instead. A final example is the negative *mei* in Chinese. This negative is reanalyzed from the verb *mei* meaning 'die' and 'not exist' as in (5) (van Gelderen, 2011, p. 297).

(5) a. wo **mei** you shu (Chinese)
1SG NEG exist book
'I don't have a book.'

b. Yao Shun ji **mo**… (Old Chinese)
Yao Shun since died
'Since Yao and Shun died …'

c. yu de wang ren **mei** kunan, … (Early Mandarin)
wish PRT died person NEG-be suffering
'If you wish that the deceased one has no suffering, …'

According to van Gelderen (2011), the negative meaning of *mei* in (5a) developed from the verbal meanings 'die' in (5b) and 'not exist' in (5c). Another negative that developed from a unit consisting of a verb and a negative marker is examined by Croft (1991) as will be seen later.

The next section deals with affirmative existential sentences cross-linguistically before I turn to the Negative Existential Cycle, or what has been famously called Croft's cycle.

Existential Sentences

Before discussing negative existential sentences, some definitions are needed. First, what is an existential sentence? The term *existential sentence* refers to a sentence that states the existence of an entity. According to Veselinova (2013), cross-linguistically

existential sentences have at least one of the following characteristics: a non-referential subject, usually marked with non-prototypical subject marking word order, that differs from dominant word orders in language X; special subject agreement or no agreement between subject and predicate (whenever agreement is relevant); a predicate (item) with a special morphology" (p. 108). Though she stated that this definition is not meant to exhaust the characteristics of existential sentences.

Aside from the non-canonical word order and the expression of existence, McNally (2011) adds, following Francez (2007), the possible expletive subject in languages such as English and French. In addition, only in languages that incorporate verbs in existential sentences, such verbs are often homophonous with verbs 'to be' or 'to have' such as the sentences in (6), from McNally (2011, p. 1830).

(6) a. There **are** bugs eating the corn.

b. Il y **a** eu une reunion (French)
it LOC has been a meeting
'There has been a meeting.'

In (6), we find both are existential sentences expressing the existence of *bugs* and *meeting*. Both nouns are non-referential. Both have required expletives: *there* in (6a) and *il y* in (6b). However, we see that (6a) exhibits the verb *be*, which is homophonous with 'to be' in English; and (6b) exhibits the verb *avoir*, which is homophonous with *avoir* 'to have' in French.

McNally also notes that other verbs are homophonous with 'bleached' verbs denoting possession and special lexical items such as the ones in (7), from McNally (2011, p. 1831).

(7) a. Es **gab** ein Kind in dem Garten (German)
it gave a child in the garden
'There was a child in the garden.'

b. **yeS** harbe tisot ad xacot (Hebrew)
EX many flights until midnight
'There are many flights until midnight.' (Francez, 2007, p. 59)

In the existential sentence in (7a), the verb *gab* homophonous with *geben* in German meaning 'give'. According to McNally (2011, p. 1831), when the verb *geben* is bleached of its content and is phonologically reduced to *gab*, it is used in existential sentences. In (7b), the verb *yeS* in Hebrew, which might have been bleached from an older meaning 'to exist,' is used to denote existence.

McNally adds more characteristic of existential sentences. She specified that there is a pivot nominal in all existential sentences in all languages. This pivot nominal refers to the non-referential subject in Veselinova (2013). It is the thing whose existence is being expressed in existential sentences, such as *bugs* in (6a), *meeting* in (6b), *a child* in (7a), and *many flights* in (7b). A coda phrase may also be contained in existential sentences, which according to McNally (2011) is external to the pivot nominal, such as *eating the corn* in (6a).

The last characteristic, according to McNally (2011), is that bleached locatives, such as *there* in English, may be involved in many languages. According to McNally (2011, p. 1831), this characteristic has caused many linguists, such as Lyons (1967), Kuno (1971), Kimball (1973), Clark (1978), Freeze (1992), Rigau (1997), and Zeitoun, Huang, Yeh, and Chang (1999), to group existential sentences with locative ones. However, Veselinova (2013, p. 109) presents two examples from Bulgarian to show the

difference between a grammaticalized existential construction and an intransitive sentence, as in (8).

(8) a. Ima **tri** **butilk-i** vino v xladilnik-a
have.3.SG.PRS three bottle-PL.F.INDF wine in fridge-DEF.M.SG
'There are three bottles of wine in the fridge.'

b. **Tri-te** **butilk-i** vino sa v xladilnik-a
three-DEF.F.PL bottle-PL.F.INDF wine be.3.PL.PRS in fridge-DEF.M.SG
'The three bottles of wine are in the fridge.'

As shown in the existential sentence (8a), *tri butilki* is an indefinite noun phrase and is the syntactic object of the sentence and there is no number or gender agreement between *tri* and *butilki*. On the other hand, in the intransitive sentence in (8b), the noun phrase *trite butilki* is marked definite on *tri*, while *butilki* is marked indefinite, and the noun phrase is the syntactic subject. *Trite* agrees with the noun in terms of gender and number, marked with feminine and plural features.

So far, the discussion has been on languages that use verbs in existential sentences. What about languages that do not use verbs in existential sentences? Veselinova (2013, p. 110) cites languages, such Māori and other languages in Australia and Oceania, that express existential sentences by the use of nominal predication (i.e., without any verb in the sentences). In Māori, for instance, verbs usually occupy sentence-initial position in verbal sentences, while the subjects, with their relevant location in the proposition, are 'simply juxtaposed' in existential sentences as in (9), from Veselinova (2013, p. 110), cited from Harlow (2007, pp. 151-153).

(9) a. E tangi ana te tamaiti
GENR[2] weep TA DET child
'The child is/was crying.'

b. He whare wānanga kei Kirikiriroa
DET house learning PREP Hamilton
'There is a university in Hamilton.'

The sentence in (9a) is verbal and the verb *tangi* occupies sentence-initial position. On the other hand, existential sentences in Māori do not involve verbs, such as (9b). In this sentence, the subject noun phrase *he whare wananaga* 'a university' is juxtaposed with the prepositional phrase *kei kirikiriroa* 'in Hamilton' without a verb, tense, or aspect, unlike the verbal sentence in (9a). This scenario is similar to some sentences in Standard Arabic, which is discussed in Chapter 3.

For more details on existential sentences, I refer the reader to Ross (1974) and Aissen (1975) on verbs that are involved with presentational-*there*, to Milsark (1974, 1977) on the differences between existential and locative sentences and discussions of definiteness restriction in existential sentences, Clark (1978) for the use of a survey on verbs in existential sentences, and Francez (2007) for characteristics of existential sentences. For more recent investigation, see McNally (2011, 2016).

So far the discussion has been focused on affirmative existential sentences. Negation of existential sentences and the negative existential cycle has not received much attention until recently (e.g., Veselinova, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016). This topic will be discussed in the next section.

[2] General tense-aspect mood particle (Veselinova, 2013).

The Negative Existential Cycle

The Negative Existential Cycle was first introduced by Croft (1991). In his manuscript, he first discusses language typology and the theoretical background of his framework. The typological method Croft (1991) employs involve:

> [E]xtrapolation of diachronic processes from synchronic states, the dynamicization of synchronic typologies (Greenberg, 1966, 1969, 1978), in order to propose a hitherto unobserved historical source for markers of verbal negation, namely irregular negative existential predicate forms, and propose explanations for the occurrence of the attested processes in this grammatical domain. (p. 2)

Croft introduces three main assumptions in his framework. First, "languages do not stand still, and the ways that they change are constrained whether the change occurs externally through contact or internally via 'drift'" (Croft, 1991, p. 2). The second assumption, following Jakobson (1958), is what Croft (1991) calls "a diachronic null hypothesis," which states "uniformity over time is hypothesized until proven otherwise" (p. 2). By the diachronic null hypothesis, he refers to consistent constraints on diachronic and deduced synchronic processes. The third assumption is that "the network of hypothesized processes that link together attested language types or states will be 'strongly connected'" (Croft, 1991, p. 2). According to Croft (1991), these language types or states include intermediate or transitional states showing some grammatical variations.

The main argument in the literature for the source of verbal negation is the first grammaticalization path in the negative cycle in (4), or Jespersen's cycle. In this cycle, an emphatic particle, such as *pas*, is involved in the evolution of negation of French. Its job is to add emphasis to the negative proposition made by the original verbal negator *ne*.

Later on, this verbal negator drops out. The particle *pas*, as in (10) from Croft (1991, p. 5), took over the verbal negative domain and can stand alone in Colloquial French.

(10) J'- sais **pas**
1SG- know.PRES NEG
'I don't know'

Croft (1991) first introduces another source of verbal negation: existential negative predicates. In this model of the evolution of negation, Croft lists six Types: three stable Types A, B, and C, where there are "little or no synchronic variations", and three transitional Types A ~ B, B ~ C, and C ~ A, where there is synchronic variation. See Figure 3 for a visualization of the negative existential cycle with additional transitional Types compared to Figure 1 in Chapter 1. (Note that linguists use the terms *stages* interchangeably with *Types*. The same applies to this dissertation; I use stages and Types interchangeably.)

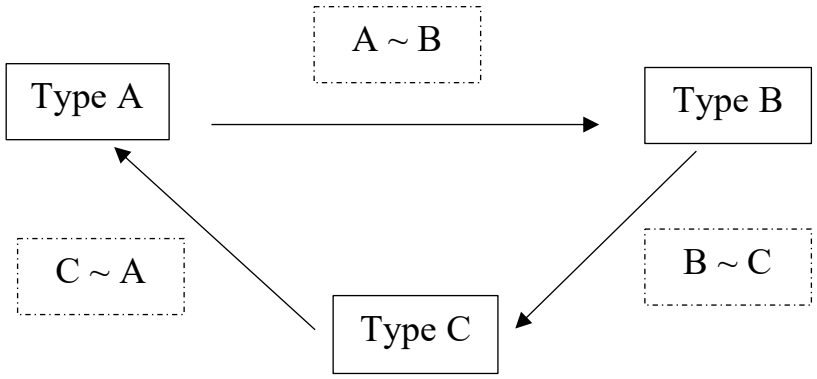


Figure 3. The Negative Existential Cycle (Adapted from Veselinova, 2016, p. 146).

The Types in Figure 3 can be explained individually. According to Croft (1991), Type A languages use verbal negator to negate both verbal and existential predications. In Type

A ~ B languages, a special negator for existential predication arises, with some variation between the verbal and a new special negators in existential predications. In Type B languages, existential predication is only negated by a special existential negator, which is different from the verbal negator. In Type B ~ C languages, the special negative existential expands its domain to parts of the verbal sentences, with variations in the verbal negator in verbal sentences. In Type C languages, the special negative existential is used interchangeably with the verbal negator in both verbal and existential predications. In Type C ~ A, the special existential negator starts to negate positive existential predicates in existential sentences (i.e., the special existential negator loses its existential content, therefore requiring an existential predicate for existential semantics). This brings us back to Type A, where the earlier verbal negator drops out and the special existential negator is used to negate verbal and existential predications exclusively. This represents the cyclicity, from A ~ B to A clockwise, where a verbal negator arises from an existential one.

Examples of stage/Type A, where the verbal negator exclusively negates both verbal and existential predication, are in (11), from Tzutujil. In Tzutujil, according to Croft, the verbal negator *ma ... ta* incorporates the existential predicate *ko* in existential sentences. The examples are from Dayley (1985, pp. 242, 245), as cited by Croft (1991, p. 7).

(11) a. **m**-ix utz **ta**
NEG-2PL.ABS good IRR
'You all aren't good.'

b. **ma** ko **ta** jay
NEG EX IRR house

‘There aren’t any houses.’

Another example of stage A is from Syrian Arabic. The negative marker *maa*, which negates verbal and existential sentences can precedes the existential predicate *fi*, as in (12) from Cowell (2005 [1964], pp. 383-384), cited by Croft (1991, p. 7). Some phonological transcriptions and glosses are changed for consistency.

(12) a. **maa** baʕref
NEG 1SG.know
‘I don’t know.’

b. ʃu **maa** fi ħada bəl-bet
Q NEG EX someone home
‘Isn’t there anyone home?’

In (12a), *maa* negates a verbal predication, while, in (12b), it negates an existential predicate/particle, which is why he concludes that Syrian Arabic is in stage A stands correct. Although, I agree with this conclusion, (12b) is not the best example. If the existential predicate *fi* is dropped from the sentence, the negative *maa* can still negate the indefinite *ħada*, meaning ‘one’ or ‘someone’ and the existential reading will be changed to an indefinite negation, as in (13)[3].

(13) ʃu **maa** ħada bəl-bet
Q NEG someone at.DEF-home
‘What, is no one at home?’

[3] Unless specified, all examples are mine and mostly confirmed by native speakers and language experts.

This indicates that *maa* is not exclusively used as verbal negator. In addition, the question particle *ʃu*,[4] meaning 'what,' is external to the proposition and is not necessary for the question reading of (12b) as it is phonologically, by intonation, marked as a question. However, if *ħada* in (12b) is changed for instance to *mayy*, meaning 'water,' the sentence would be a clearer evident for stage A in Syrian Arabic, since the negation would be sentential rather than indefinite one. Though more examples might reveal different results.

At stage A ~ B is the birth of a special negative existential that is in variation with the verbal negator only in the existential predications. In this stage, the special negative existential gradually takes over the domain of existential predication. Croft (1991, p. 7) provides an example of such a situation from Balinese in (14).

(14) a. Asepi **tan** hana wong liwating awan
deserted NEG EX person pass.by street
'It was deserted and there was no one passing on the street.'

b. **Tanana** seraya
NEG.EX substitute
'There was no substitute.'

In (14), two existential predications are provided. In (14a), the negative *tan* (also used in verbal sentences) is used with the positive existential *hana*, while in (14b), there is a negative existential *tanana*. Thus, there are two negative forms in synchronic variation. Croft argues that the origin of the negative existential is a contraction/fusion between the verbal negator *tan* and the positive existential *hana* forming *tanana*, which shows an

[4] I agree with Wilmsen (2016, p. 328, citing Cowell 2005 [1964], p. 570), who states on a footnote that this question particle is an exclamative rather than a polar question. Notice that I translated *ʃu* in (13) as separate clause as indicated by the comma after it.

eroded version of the positive existential *hana*. This formation is also found in three varieties of Arabic, as shown in Chapters 3-5.

Croft also gives interesting examples of Hungarian showing a restriction on the use of its negative existential. He shows that there is an alternation between the negative existential and the verbal negator only with specific tenses. For example, the negative existential *nincs* is found in addition to the negated past tense existential *nem volt*, from Whitney (1944, pp. 12, 31-32), cited by Croft (1991, p. 8), in (15).

(15) a. **nem** ertem
NEG understand.1SG
'I don't understand.'

b. van jo vanat
EX good train
'Is there a good train?'

c. itt **nincs** taxi
here NEG.EX.PRES taxi
'There's no taxi here.'

d. **nem** volt sok haiz a kis ucca-ban
NEG EX.PAST.INDEF many house ART little street-LOC
'There weren't many houses on the little street.'

The verbal negator *nem* is used to negate the verb *eretem*, meaning 'understand,' in (15a). Example (15b) provides a present tense positive existential *van*. In (15c), the negative existential *nincs* is used in the present tense, instead of forming **nem van*. However, in (15d), the negation of the past existential sentence is formed regularly by the verbal negator *nem* followed by the past tense positive existential form *volt*. Notice, according to Croft, *nincs* does not seem to be related to the positive existential, which suggests a

different historical path than that in Balinese. Further, negative existentials might only be used in certain tenses in stage A ~ B.

Another example of this kind of split is given by Veselinova (2015, p. 565) in (16) from Zyryan Komi.

(16) a. tatin mort-jas **abu**-es
there human.being-PL NEG.EX-PL
'There are no people there'

b. mijan Mamant kod mort-is vojvil-in
1PL.GEN Mamant like person-POSS.3SG north-INE
e-z na vev i **o**-z lo
NEG.PST-3 yet be.PST.CNEG.SG and NEG.PRS-3 be.FUT.CNEG.SG
'So far, there was no person like our Mamant in the north and there will not be…'

As can be seen in (16a), the negative existential *abu* is used in the present tense only, similar to (15c) above. However, in (16b), according to Veselinova (2016, p. 142), the verbal negators are used: *e-* in past and *o-* in future agreeing with the verb 'be' in the connegative form *lo*. Notice that here too there is no possible historical connection between the negative existential *abu* and the verbal negators *e-* and *o-*.

It may be that if the verbal negator and the positive existential fuse to become a (regular) negative existential, then there will be no tense-aspect restrictions on the negative existential, while if the negative existential is irregular (i.e., has different historical path), then there may be a restriction on it. Before going further with this hypothesis, Chapter 4 shows that a fusion between the verbal negator and the positive existential predicate does not exhibit the same restriction between present and past tenses in the negative existential sentences as in (15) and (16).

In stage B, there is a clear distinction between verbal and existential negators. In this stage, the negative existential is solely responsible for the negation of existential predication, while the verbal predications are negated by the verbal negator. Croft (1991, p. 9, citing Sohn, 1975, pp. 218, 243) provides an example of stage B in Woleaian (17).

(17) a. Ye **tai** mil igeiy
3SG NEG live here
'He doesn't live here.'

b. Yoor yaa-i buk
EX CLASS-1SG book
'I have books.'

c. Ye **toar**
3SG NEG.EX
'There is none.'

Woleaian is clearly stage B, with a regular negative existential formed by fusion of the verbal negator and the positive existential predicate. In (17a), the verbal negator *tai* negates a verbal sentence. In (17b), the existential *yoor* is used to express the existence of books. In (17c), the verbal negator *tai* and the positive existential *yoor* fuse/combine together, forming the special negative existential *toar*. It should be noted here that Croft (1991) states that stage B is "extremely common" and "if a language has any irregular negative predicate form, it will be the existential and/or copula form" (p. 9).

Let us see an irregular negative existential from Turkish in Veselinova (2016, pp. 140, 143, citing van Schaaik, 1994, pp. 38, 44) in (18).

(18) a. su var/var-di
water exist/exist-PST
'There is/was water.'

b. su **yok**/**yok**-tu
water NEG.EX/NEG.EX-PST
'There is/was no water.'

c. gel-me-yecek
come-NEG-FUT
'(S)he will not come.'

The positive existential predicate and the special negative existentials are clearly in contrast with each other. There is no possible historical path between *var*, in (18a), *yok*, in (18b), and *mA* in (18c), the verbal negator in Turkish, according to Veselinova (2016, p. 143).

According to Croft (1991), stage B ~ C is "the most important step in support of our hypothesis … in which a special negative existential form begins to be used for ordinary verbal negation" (p. 9). He lists three ways for the special negative existential to be used as a verbal negator. First, simply the special negative existential competes with the verbal negator, as in "Indonesian *tiada* 'NEG.EX' vs. *tidak* 'NEG'…" (p. 10). Second, the special negative existential reinforces the verbal negator in the same sentence, by a process similar to Jespersen's cycle, in that the new element reinforces the older one; i.e., negative doubling. Finally, the special negative existential gradually takes over the verbal domain by parts of its grammatical system, such as with specific tenses or aspects. This case is similar to stage A ~ B, where the special negative existential in (15) and (16) gradually takes over the existential predication, entering via, for instance, the present tense of existential predication. An example of the "gradual substitution" of the special negative existential for parts of the grammatical system of the verbal predication is provided by Croft (1991, p. 10, citing Hutchison (1981, pp. 172, 127) in Kanuri (19).

(19) a. Cid'a **ba**
work NEG.EX
'There is no work.'

b. bu'ke-**nyi'**
eat.1SG.PERF-NEG
'I didn't eat/haven't eaten.'

c. bu'kin-**ba**
eat.1SG.IMPF-NEG.EX
'I don't eat.'

The special negative existential *ba* in (19a) is only used with the imperfective aspect. At first sight, the imperfective aspect seems like the first window for the special negative existentials to enter existential and verbal predications, as in (15), (16), and (19a, c). In (19b), the negative suffix *-nyi* is only used in the perfective aspect. However, Croft (1991) asserts that there is no priority of entry between perfective and imperfective aspect into the verbal domain, since the Mandarin Chinese examples in (20) show that the special negative existential *mei you* is used in "completed action," while the "normal" negator *bu* is used in declarative sentences (p. 11). The examples are from Li & Thompson (1981, pp. 416, 422, 425).

(20) a. **mei** [**you**] ren z'ai wimian
NEG.EX person at outside
'There's no one outside.'

b. ta **bu** congming
3SG NEG intelligent
'S/He isn't intelligent.'

c. ta **bu** si
3SG NEG die
'S/He refuses to die/won't die.'

d. ta **mei** [**you**] si
3SG NEG.EX die
'S/He hasn't died/didn't die.'

The data in (20) show that the perfective/imperfective distinction is not enough to explain that the special negative existential can expand its domain from existential negation towards verbal negation or entry of the existential predication in the first place. However, more data is needed to properly investigate whether the perfective/imperfective distinction determines the entry to the verbal domain.

Zyryan Komi in (16) above is at stage A ~ B. The special negative existential *abu* in (16a) is restricted to the present tense. According to Veselinova (2016), this same negative existential also "negates verbs in perfect and pluperfect" aspect and tense (p. 143). However, Zyryan Komi is also considered to be at stage B ~ C. Veselinova (2016, pp. 153-154) observed many overlaps between different stages in different language families, Apparently, the overlap between two or more stages in Polynesian languages is very common, especially A ~ B and B ~ C, skipping stage B. Compare A ~ B in (16) to B ~ C in (21), both from Zyryan Komi, from Veselinova (2016, pp. 143-144, citing Hamari, 2011).

(21) a. mun-em-a
go-PRF-1SG
'I have gone'

b. **abu** mun-em-a
NEG.PRF go-PRF-1SG
'I have not gone'

c. me vel-i mun-a
1SG be-PST1 go-1SG
'I was going'

d. me vel-i **o**-g mun
1SG be-PST1 NEG-1 go.CNEG.SG
'I was not going'

The perfect verb 'gone,' in (21a), is negated in (21b) by the special negative existential *abu*. The special negative existential *abu* in (21b) when used in verbal negation is not inflected for agreement and the perfect aspect is invariable. The sentences in (21c, d) show the regular verbal negation by *o*- inflected with first person agreement with the subject. We can conclude that Zyryan Komi is at stages A ~ B and B ~ C. Such overlap between stages should not be taken without further historical investigation. For example, Veselinova (2016) is very cautious in examples where a negative existential is used in the verbal domain in Bulgarian and Old Church Slavonic, as they are "simply inherited from previous stages of the language" (p. 156).

At stage C, the negative existential is used as the verbal negator. Veselinova (2016) explains that, although the special negative existential is used as a verbal negator, there are some morphological and syntactic differences between the verbal and the existential constructions in this stage.[5] She provides examples for spoken Kannada, where -*illa* is used in verbal negation, while *illa* is used in existential constructions, as in (22) from Veselinova (2016, p. 144, citing Sridhar, 1990, pp. 111-112).

(22) a. anil kalejige hogu-vud-**illa**
name college-DAT go-NONPST.GER-NEG
'Anil won't/doesn't go to college'

b. Khajanyalli haNa **illa**
Treasury.LOC money NEG.EX

[5] Such morphological and syntactic differences between verbal and existential constructions are the defining features of stage C.

‘There is no money in the treasury’

In (22a), the morpheme -*illa* is bound to the verb in verbal negation construction and in (22b), the free word *illa* negates the existential construction. The syntactic difference is also clear in Māori, as in (23) from Veselinova (2016, p. 144, 145, citing Harlow, 2007, p. 161).

(23) a. He whare wānanga kei Kirikiriroa
DET house learning PREP Hamilton
‘There is a university in Hamilton.’

b. **kaore** whare wānanga i Taihape
NEG house learning PREP Taihape
‘There is no university in Taihape.’

c. E tangi ana te tamaiti
GENER weep TA DET child
‘The child is/was crying.’

d. **kaore** te tamaiti e tangi ana
NEG DET child TA weep TA
‘The child is/was not crying.’

The existential (non-verbal) construction in (9b), repeated here as (23a), is formed by juxtaposition of the noun phrase followed by the prepositional phrase without a verb. The same existential construction is negated in (23b) by *Kaore* in sentence-initial position followed by the same word order in the affirmative structure. The verbal construction in (23c) is in the unmarked VS word order. In (23d), the existential negator *Kaore* is used to negate the verbal sentence in sentence-initial position, and the word order of the verb and subject is reversed. Even if we consider *Kaore* as a verb forming VS order, the word order of the following verb-subject is reversed to subject-verb order. The sentence in (23d), according to Veselinova (2016, p. 144), is “literally translated as ‘There is no child

[who] is crying'." This translation reveals that the verbal construction, when negated by the negative existential, exhibits clefting.

Finally, at stage C ~ A, "the negative existential… begins to be reanalyzed as only a negator, and a regular positive existential verb comes to be used with it in the negative existential construction" (Croft, 1991, p. 12). Thus, the negative existential loses its existential semantic content and is only understood as a general negator for verbal and existential predications. Croft (1991, p. 12) presents examples from Marathi, which is at stage C ~ A (24).

(24) a. tithe koni ahe
there anyone EX
'Is anyone there?'

b. koni tithe dzat [ets] **nahi**
anyone there goes [EMPH] NEG
'Nobody goes there.'

c. tithe koni **nahi** [ahe]
there anyone NEG [EX]
'There isn't anyone there.'

The positive existential predicate in (24a) is *ahe*. The special negative existential *nahi* is used in the verbal construction in (24b) as a general negator. The special negative existential can be emphasized by the positive *ahe* in (24c), indicating that *ahe* is the new, or "more recent," positive existential predicate and that *nahi* is beginning to be reanalyzed as a general negator. Croft (1991) states that "When the reanalysis is complete, the negative existential construction will be regular, and the language will be of Type A, the beginning of the cycle" (p. 12).

A very important observation made by Veselinova (2016) is that in contrast to the other linguistic cycles in (4) (i.e., from van Gelderen, 2008, 2009, 2011; Willis, Lucas, & Breitbarth, 2013), the Negative Existential Cycle "appears to be consistently of a lengthier time" and "rarely completed" (p. 141). Veselinova (2016, p. 174) differentiates between Jespersen's cycle and the Negative Existential Cycle using the French example for Jespersen's cycle of *pas*. She explains that *pas* entered the negation domain from a different domain, and its meaning is still 'step' alongside the negative function it has. While in the Negative Existential Cycle, the special negator does belong to the negation domain. However, Veselinova (2013, p. 136-139) argues that most of the languages in her sample shared a similar negative existential source via reanalysis of certain lexical items in an appropriate sense, such as 'lack,' 'die,' 'empty,' and 'absent.'

Veselinova (2013, p. 137-138) categorizes the origins of the negative existentials in her macro-sample data into three categories. The first origin of the negative existential involves the process univerbation of verbal negator and a second word, which is found in 17 languages, or 27% of all negative existentials in the sample. The second word is usually part of the positive existential construction, as in (25) from Veselinova (2013, p. 136).[6]

(25) a. Ket (Yeniseian, Russia)
bən's'aŋ < bənj 'SN' + us'aŋ 'there'[7]

b. Samoan (Austronesian, […] Polynesian Outlier, Samoa)
lēai < lē 'SN' + ai 'exist'

[6] Note that Veselinova uses standard negator (SN) rather than verbal negator; I use the term verbal negator for consistency.
[7] By consulting the Ket dictionary (Kotorova & Nefedov 2015), van Gelderen (forthcoming) argues that us'aŋ is a copula and bən's'aŋ is a negative copula.

c. Ukrainian (Indo-European, East Slavic, Ukraina)
nema / nemae < ne ‘SN’ + mae ‘have.3SG.PRS’

In Ket, (25a), the verbal negator has been merged with a word equivalent to ‘there’ from the existential construction, forming a new negative existential. In Samoan, (25b), the verbal negator has been merged with a lexical word equivalent to ‘exist,’ forming a new negative existential. In Ukrainian, (25c), the verbal negator has been merged with the inflected lexical word equivalent to ‘have,’ forming a new negative existential.

The second origin of negative existentials, as reported in Veselinova’s (2013) macro-sample data, is the aforementioned reanalysis of a lexical word that is separate from the verbal negator, and is found in 25 languages, or 39.7% of all negative existentials in the sample. Such lexical words are reported to have special lexical meanings, as in (26) from Veselinova (2013, p. 137).

(26)	a.	Bagirmi	(e)li ‘SN’	g^{w}oto ‘NEG.EX’ meaning ‘absent’
	b.	Turkana	ŋi- ‘SN’	a-mamaka-ὺ ‘NEG.EX’ meaning ‘lack’
	c.	Nez Perce	wéeʔu ‘SN’	cáʔya ‘NEG.EX’ meaning ‘absent’
	d.	Kewa	na- ‘SN’	dia ‘NEG.EX’ meaning ‘there is not’

The languages in (26) have reanalyzed the lexical words ‘absent,’ ‘lack,’ or ‘there is not’ as negative existentials; these negative existentials have no relation to their verbal negators. This is a very common origin in the macro-sample. Veselinova (2013) argues that this origin is “a matter of lexicalization rather than any other process” (p. 137).

The third origin is unknown; in this case, the negative existentials are identical with the verbal negators. Veselinova (2016, p. 137) gave an example from Kannada, (22), where the negative existential *illa*, according to Burrow & Emeneau (1984), is derived from the word 'die' in Darvidian.

Fusion is the most cited source of negative existentials in the literature (see Croft, 1991; van Gelderen, 2004; van der Auwera, 2010; Veselinova, 2013, and references therein). According to Veselinova (2013), a negative existential may arise "via the fusion of SN and a collocate, typically, the copula or the affirmative existential particle" (p. 138). This process is confirmed by the fusion of the verbal negator with the affirmative existential particle in some examples in Arabic discussed in Chapters 3-5, as in the negative existentials *mahna*/*mahnɛh* and *maafi*.

Veselinova's (2013, p. 137) micro-sample data shows that some negative existentials were actually borrowed from other languages. For example, Mari borrowed its negative existential *uke* from the Turkish negative existential *yok*, Hausa may have borrowed its negative existential *ba* from Kanuri, and Russian may also have its negative existential *net* used in Forest Enets as an alternative negative existential from. However, the latter is argued by Croft (1991) to be identical to the negative interjection in Russian. In this example, Croft argues also for the presence of "a close diachronic association between negative existentials, negative interjections, and the development of verbal negators" (1991, p. 9). Negative interjections are not of importance in this dissertation; I therefore will not go into further details in them. However, I refer the reader to Croft (1991) and the references therein for more details about negative interjections.

Finally, Veselinova (2014, p. 1330, 2016, p. 147) classified the worldwide language sample into Negative Existential Cycle types, as in Figure 4.

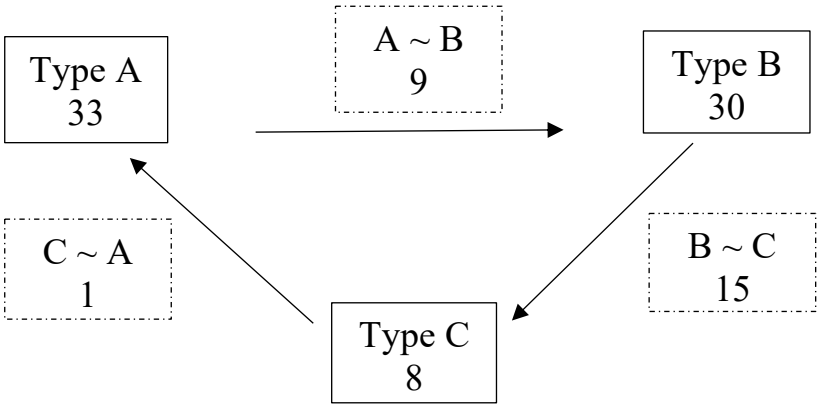


Figure 4. The worldwide Sample Classified According to Their Stage(s) in The Negative Existential Cycle (Adapted from Veselinova, 2014, p. 1330, 2016, p. 147).

Type A languages are the most common in Veselinova's (2014) sample, followed by Type B, then Type B ~ C. This confirms Croft (1991), who claims that Types A and B are the most common. However, it should be noted that such Types/stages can overlap in the same language, as seen above in (16) & (21) from Zyryan Komi, which is at stages A ~ B and B ~ C stages, but not stage B. The Negative Existential Cycle is therefore not sequential and can occur in variations.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the existential and negative existential constructions in Standard Arabic and the grammaticalized existential particles. I then classify it in the Negative Existential Cycle with its variations (i.e., the conservative dialects).

CHAPTER 3: EXISTENTIAL AND NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN STANDARD ARABIC

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the existential construction in Standard Arabic. The construction of the existential sentences and the grammaticalized existential particles have not yet been properly investigated in the literature and have been mostly ignored by Arab grammarians. Here I argue for the existence of a special existential construction in Standard Arabic; I further argue that this existential construction sometimes involves innovated grammaticalized particles. I discuss the sources of these particles. I also explore the negation of the existential sentences, using data from the BYU Arabic Corpora. Finally, I discuss the stages of Standard Arabic within the Negative Existential Cycle as well as possible changes in some rural dialects in Saudi Arabia that are very close to Standard Arabic. I begin with a discussion of the existential construction in Standard Arabic.

The Existential Construction in Standard Arabic

Existential predication can be expressed by three strategies in Standard Arabic. First, Standard Arabic is a zero copula language, which means that the structure of canonical/regular copular sentences is topic-comment, with a simple juxtaposition of the definite noun and its complement. This structure can be inversed in a non-canonical word order, i.e., to comment-topic word order, if the meaning is preserved (see Alharbi, 2017 for more details about copular clauses in Arabic).

However, in order to express existential predication, speakers must use the inversed structure, or non-canonical word order, by simple juxtaposition of the

prepositional phrase followed by the indefinite noun and no existential particle is involved. By juxtaposition strategy, I mean no verb or existential particle is used. The structure and interpretation of this existential predication is adopted from older stages of Arabic, i.e., Classical Arabic. This strategy is similar (to some degree) to that of Māori, as in example (9b) from Chapter 2, repeated here as (1a). See examples (1b and c) for locative and existential readings, respectively, of an indefinite noun juxtaposed with a prepositional phrase using different word orders in Standard Arabic.[8]

(1)[9] a. He whare wānanga kei Kirikiriroa
DET house learning PREP Hamilton
'There is a university in Hamilton.' (Harlow, 2007, pp. 151-153)

b. ʔar-raʒul-u fi-d-daar-i
DEF-man-NOM in-DEF-house-GEN
'The man is in the house.'

c. fi-d-daar-i raʒul-un
in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
'There is a man in the house.' (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 33)

d. raʒul-un fi-d-daar-i
man-NOM.INDF in-DEF-house-GEN
'A man is in the house.' (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 33)

The existential sentence in (1a), from Māori, has been shown to simply have a subject adjacent to a prepositional phrase without a verb or existential particle. In the canonical copular/locative sentence in (1b), form Standard Arabic, the definite noun 'the man' precedes the prepositional phrase 'in the house'. This sentence is interpreted as a locative predication. Note that this word order is the canonical topic-comment word order in

[8] I modified some of the glosses to make them consistent with this dissertation, but kept the original translations from Fassi Fehri (1993).
[9] As stated before, unless specified, all examples are mine and mostly confirmed by native speakers and language experts.

Standard Arabic. On the other hand, the existential predication is in the non-canonical comment-topic word order in (1c), i.e., the word order is inversed, where the indefinite noun is preceded by the prepositional phrase without an existential particle. This sentence is interpreted as an existential rather than as locative. This means that the difference between copular/locative sentences and existential sentences, when the two phrases are simply juxtaposed, is that the locative sentences are in the canonical topic-comment word order as in (1b), while the existential construction in Standard Arabic is always in the non-canonical comment-topic word order, as in (1c).

Prescriptively, as in Jubouri[10] (2010, p. 538), example (1d) should not be grammatical,[11] because topics must be definite or at least specific indefinite, since in the Arab Grammarian literature copular sentences in Arabic are analyzed as topic-comment constructions. However, the sentences in (1c and d) are both grammatical according to Fassi Fehri (1993, p. 33), with the translation distinction between the existential and locative readings due to word order, as in (1c) and (1d), respectively.

Naturally, new speakers/learners of Standard Arabic may find it difficult to distinguish or disambiguate between locative and existential constructions. Therefore, such speakers may employ the other two strategies for existential constructions. The second strategy is to use the passive voice verb *yu/tu-ʒad* literally means 'M/F-there is,' to the beginning of the existential sentences, such as (1c, d). This forms a verbal sentence without any special word order. This strategy, according to Newman (2013, p. 481), is a

[10] Jubouri (2010) extensively reviews the literature on Arab grammarians' discussions on Arabic copular clauses and when it is permissible to have an indefinite noun as the topic of the sentence. Indefinite nouns can be the topic when they are preceded by the comment, i.e. in the comment-topic word order (p. 538).
[11] The sentence in (1d) is unexpectedly found in the 9th century's Al-Mubarrad (1994, p. 359). The only explanation I could think of is that it is a typo and that it should be preceded by a question particle ʔa- and followed by a question mark because such a sentence is rejected by all Arab grammarians, as far as I know.

syntactic calque, or a word-for-word loan translation, that may "started life in the 19th century" as a translation of French sentences "to render 'there is/ Fr. *il y a*,'" for instance. I do not discuss *yu/tu-ʒad* any further since it forms a verbal rather than an existential sentence.

The third strategy is another innovation to disambiguate between existential and locative sentences. In this strategy, the speakers employ two new grammaticalized existential particles from locative ones to express existence. These existential particles are still used as locative particles. The use of the two senses of the same words is called layering,[12] where the original and grammaticalized particles are used, for example, in their locative and existential senses, respectively (see Alsaeedi, 2015 for another example of layering in Hijazi Arabic; see also Hopper, 1991, pp. 22-31; Bybee et al., 1994, pp. 19-22 for more details on layering). The two particles are *hunaka* and *θammata*, both meaning 'there is.' Newman (2013, p. 481) dates *hunaka* use around the 19th century, and claims that is a syntactic calque. I did not find any details about the start of the use of *θammata*.

First, I discuss the original meanings of these particles, namely the locative. The first locative particle *hunaka* etymologically is broken into *huna* + *k*, where *huna* means 'here' and *-k* is a distal deictic morpheme. *Hunaka* is found in the Holy Qur'an where it is emphasized by *-l-* morpheme embedded inside the particle in *hunalika*, where the *-i-* is added for pronunciation. This *-l-* morpheme is embedded before the deictic morpheme *-k* for emphasis on the distal meaning, when *-k* was a separate word before merging with *huna*. Although we only have the complete forms *huna* meaning 'here' and *huna(li)ka*

[12] See example (2) below for locative senses and (5) and (6) for existential senses of the two particles.

meaning ‘there,’ Unfortunately, I could not find older texts that use *-l-* or *-k* that would allow us to determine their earlier functions. As for the second particle *θammata*, it is found in many verses of the Holy Qur’an (e.g., 2:115 & 26:64) and is used as a locative particle.

The examples in (2) show the original lexical meanings and forms of the two particles in the Holy Qur’an.[13]

(2) a. fa-ɣulib-u **hunalika** wa-nqalab-u χasir-in
then-defeated-3.PL there.LOC and-turned-3.PL loser.3-PL.ACC.INDF
‘Pharaoh and his men were defeated there and put to shame.’
Holy Qur’an (7:119)

b. wa ʔzlaf-na **θamma** l-ʔaχar-in
and led-1.PL there.LOC DEF-other.3-PL.ACC
‘And we led to the same place the other host, too.’
Holy Qur’an (26:64)

c. rafaʕ rayata-hu **hunak**
raised.3SGM.PFV flag-his there.LOC
‘He raised his flag there.’ (arabiCorpus)

d. salat-un ha-huna χair-un men
prayer-NOM.INDF DEM-here better-NOM.INDF than
ʔalf-i salat-in **θamma**
thousand-GEN prayer-GEN.INDF there.LOC
‘A prayer here is better than a thousand prayer there.’
(Al-Tabarani, 1983, pp. 306-307)

Example (2a) from the Holy Qur’an includes the locative particle *hunalika*. As mentioned above, the *-l-* morpheme always occurs in *huna(li)ka* in the Holy Qur’an. In (2b), the original form of locative particle *θamma* is given, without the addition of sentence-final *-ta*. Example (2c) provides a sentence-final use of the locative particle *hunak*, where the

[13] I have transliterated the Qur’anic texts from the Arabic version from a free online source offered by King Saud University and used their English translations as well.

final short vowel -*a* in *hunaka* is phonologically reduced. In (2d), the particle *θammata* is attested as a locative particle between the 9th and 10th centuries citing a hadith of the Prophet Mohammad, peace be upon him, around 600 C.E.. Orthographically, *θamma* in (2d) is *θammata* but the final -*ta* is phonologically reduced in sentence-final position. Arabic dictionaries introduce *θamma* not only as a locative particle, but also as a verb meaning "an animal mouthing a big load of grass." If this is the source of *θamma*, then it might have been originally grammaticalized from mouth/"lip (body part) > location" (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 195). Further investigation of earlier attestations of *θamma* might help determine its first use. The two locative particles have been grammaticalized to existential particles by the path in (3).

(3) Locative > Exist Heine & Kuteva (2002, p. 203)

Examples of such grammaticalization path are in (4a-c) of Limbu from van Driem (1987, pp. 64-65), in (4d-e) of English and in (4f-g) of Swahili both from Heine and Kuteva (2002, p. 203).

(4) a. lɔkkhum-ʔo. mɔna-haʔ mɛ-**ya.k** (Limbu)
Farmyard-LOC man-P nsAS-be
'The men are in the farmyard.'

b. lɔkkhum-ʔo. mɔna-haʔ mɛ-**wa·** (Limbu)
farmyard-LOC man-P nsAS-be
'There are men in the farmyard.'

c. a-hadziʔ kule.n **ya.k** ləcə (Limbu)
my-tooth.bites much be DEPR
'There is gook stuck between my teeth.'

d. **Thére** is my beer. (spatial)

e. **There** is beer at home. (existential)

f.	pombe	yangu	**iko**	nyumba-ni	(Swahili)
	beer	my	be:at	home-LOC	
	'my beer is at home.'				
g.	pombe	**iko**			(Swahili)
	beer	be:at			
	'There is bear.'/'Beer exists.'				

The Limbu examples in (4a-c) show that *ya.kmaʔ* is used in (4a) as a locative, and *wa.maʔ* in (4b) as an existential. However, *ya.kmaʔ* is used in (4c) as an existential "when referring to body parts," as stated in van Driem (1987, p. 65). The English examples in (4d-e) show that when *there* is stressed, the interpretation is spatial/locational as in (4d), otherwise the interpretation is existential as in (4e). The Swahili examples in (4f-g) show the use of *iko* in (4f) as a locative, while as an existential in (4g). The examples in (4a, c, f, g) show a grammaticalization process from "a locative copula > existential copula" (Heine & Kuteva, 2002, p. 203), while, in (4d-e), the grammaticalization path is spatial > existential. Note that all of the non-existential sentences (4a, d, f) have either a pronoun or definite noun as their subject, but all of the existential sentences (4b, c, e, g) have indefinite nouns as their subject.

Now, let's return to Standard Arabic existential particles. Newman (2013, p. 481) argues that the sentence-initial grammaticalized existential *hunaka* is a recent syntactic calque, from around the 19th century, similar to *yuʒad* above. It is not clear when the first introduction of the sentence-initial grammaticalized existential *θammata* was. I argue

here that both existential particles are recent[14] innovations. See (5) for examples of the existential *hunaka* in Standard Arabic.

(5) a. **hunaka** muʃkilat-un fi-l-balad
there.EX problem-NOM.INDF in-DEF-country
'There is a problem in the country.' (arabiCorpus)

b. **hunaka** fi-l-ʕalam-i miliar-un wa-rubʕ-u
there.EX in-DEF-world-GEN billion-NOM.INDF and-quarter-NOM
miliar-i muslim
billion-GEN Muslim
'There are one and a quarter billion Muslims in the world.' (arabiCorpus)

c. **hunaka** turuq-un kaθirah
there.EX ways-NOM.INDF a lot
'There are a lot of ways.' (arabiCorpus)

In (5a), the grammaticalized existential particle is in sentence-initial position and is followed by an indefinite noun phrase and a prepositional phrase. Notice that the indefinite noun phrase and the prepositional phrase are in the canonical word order, which is permissible here due to the sentence-initial occurrence of the grammaticalized existential particle *hunaka*. The same existential particle in (5b) is followed by the prepositional phrase and the indefinite noun phrase in non-canonical word order, which would be interpreted as an existential predication, even without the existential particle. As mentioned before, this could be due to an attempt to disambiguate between locative and existential predication structures, whereby the existential particle is added to either word order to express existence. The sentence in (5c) shows only the pivot *turuqun kaθirah* without a coda, which is allowed in existential constructions because the pivot,

[14] The question here is how recent are these particles? I do not attempt to answer such question here for the lack of evidence. Though, I did not find any indication of their presence in the Arab grammarians' traditions as existential particles.

i.e., which its existence is being expressed, is the most important part of the existential sentence.

We now turn to the other grammaticalized existential particle in Standard Arabic, *θammata* in (6).

(6) a. **θammata** ʔzmat-un ħaqiqiat-un fi-l-ʕamaliat-i
there.EX crisis-NOM.INDF true-NOM.INDF in-DEF-process-GEN
at-taʕlimiah
DEF-educational
'There is a true crisis in the educational process.' (arabiCorpus)

b. **θammata** fi-r-ruaiat-i ʒauanib-un kaθirah
there.EX in-DEF-novel-GEN sides-NOM.INDF a lot
'There are a lot of sides in the novel.' (arabiCorpus)

c. **θammata** ħaqiqat-un uχra
there.EX reality-NOM.INDF another
'There is another reality.' (arabiCorpus)

The examples in (6) are similar to the examples in (5). Example (6a) shows the sentence-initial existential particle *θammata* followed by an indefinite noun phrase and a prepositional phrase in the canonical word order. The canonical word order of the indefinite noun phrase and prepositional phrase is allowed, since the grammaticalized existential particle *θammata* precedes them. Example (6b) shows the same existential particle followed by a prepositional phrase and an indefinite noun phrase in the non-canonical word order. Finally, the sentence in (6c) does not include a coda in the existential construction, which is similar to all existential constructions cross-linguistically.

Quantitative analysis is extremely difficult to apply to the BYU Arabic Corpus, especially for existential particles. I argued for the structure of the non-canonical word

order for existential sentences in Standard Arabic and the forms and nature of the existential particles as well. To the best of my knowledge, these existential particles and their structures have not been addressed before in a comprehensive study. Moreover, they have not been accepted as such in the Arabic literature and Arabic teaching classrooms.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the BYU Arabic Corpus is an untagged and unlemmatized corpus. However, it is very helpful in investigating the context of the searched words. This would be sufficient if the words of interest in this dissertation did not have homophones. In fact, all words of interest, such as *huna(li)ka* and *θammata*, are homophonous with their original, pre-grammaticalization, locative counterparts. The older, locative form *θamma* is homophonous with the sequential adverbial *θumma*. (The corpus does not mark short vowels, so it is impossible to distinguish between the locative *θamma* 'there' and the sequential adverbial *θumma* meaning 'then'). The negative *maa* is homophonous with the relative pronoun *maa* and the question particle *maa*. Therefore, I will limit my analysis to simple searches and report them.

The word *hunaka* was found 189,155 times and *hunalika* 10,812 times. We can group them, but we will still face the dilemma of their identical original locative adverbial forms. There is no clear indication of sentence-final vs. sentence-initial position in this corpus, but by using the search classification 'word before/after,' I found an empty, or one space, entry after *hunaka* 449 times and after *hunalika* only 17 times. If these are indeed sentence-final entries, they can be excluded to reduce the number of adverbial of locations, since existentials are sentence-initial particles. However, the empty entries cannot be fully viewed, so they could be tabs or double space typos. The occurrences of the collocation *hunaka fi*, as in (5b), occurs 2,622 times and the

occurrences of the collocation *hunalika fi* occurs 107 times. However, some of these instances might be locatives.

The word *θammata* was found 24,967 times and *θamma* 214,346 times. However, these entries might be examples of their homophonous locatives and sequential adverbials, respectively. The latter was much more obvious when I skimmed the results; therefore, it may be confusing the results because of the lack of markings of the short vowels. I would not rely on the number of hits for *θamma*, as I found a lot of uses of *θumma* (i.e., the sequential adverbial). Excluding sentence-final position locatives, where I found empty entries only 18 times after *θammata* and 169 after *θamma*. The occurrences of the collocation *θammata fi* occurs 151 times and *θamma fi/θumma fi* occurs 1990 times, almost none of which were existentials.

An interesting phenomenon that I found is the co-occurrence of both existential particles as collocations in sentences. I found *hunaka θammata* 201 times, e.g., *hunaka θammata muʃkilatun ʔuχra* meaning 'there is another problem' and *hunalika θammata* 15 times, e.g., *hunalika θammata ʔiʒraʔaatun qaanunyah* meaning 'there are legal procedures.' I only found *θammata hunaka* roughly six times, e.g., *θammata hunaka muʃkilatun* meaning 'there is a problem.' These repetitions can be interpreted as emphasis on the existential proposition by using both existential particles.

Another interesting finding is the co-occurrence of the verb *tu/yu-ʒad* (F-/M-exist) with the existential particles, e.g., *tu/yu-ʒad hunaka*; I found 360 such co-occurrences, such as *yuʒad hunaka diraasah liʔqleem dimaʃq* meaning 'there is a study about Damascus territory.' The sequence *tu/yu-ʒad hunalika* was found 30 times, e.g., *yuʒad hunalika taʔθeeraatun salbyah* 'there are negative effects.' Finally, *tu/yu-ʒad θammata*

was found 32 times, e.g., *yuʒad θammata χataʔ* meaning ‘there is a mistake.’ The grammaticalized existential particles are reinforcing the existential proposition in verbal sentences with *tu/yu-ʒad*. However, they could be locatives as they are used after the verb ‘exist,’ e.g., *yuʒad hunaka ʒabal* meaning ‘there is a mountain/a mountain is there.’ A more in-depth investigation might reveal a clearer preference of one over the others.

The existential *hunaka*/*hunalika* is the most used existential particle, but it is hard to construct a conclusion from the homophony challenges until there is a tagged corpus that also distinguishes short vowels.

Before continuing to the negative existential section, it should be noted that in some of the Bedouin/rural dialects in Saudi Arabia, *hunaka* is used as an existential particle in the eroded version *hnaʔ*/*hnɛh* in (7).

(7) a. **hnaʔ** ɣada
there.EX lunch
‘There is lunch.’ (Badr Alharbi, p.c.)

b. **hnɛh** ʔakl
there.EX food
‘Is there food?’ (FuToom Alsaeedi, p.c.)

Example (7a) comes from elders who speak Najdi Arabic, in the central region of Saudi Arabia. It has an existential particle *hnaʔ*, which has *ʔ* instead of *k* in *hunaka* in Standard Arabic. This phonological reduction is expected in grammaticalization. Example (7b) comes from elders who speak Hijazi Arabic, in the western region of Saudi Arabia. It has an existential particle *hnɛh*, which is reduced from the locative *huna* meaning ‘here’ in Standard Arabic. The first two consonants are clustered in both (7a, b) and the final vowel is shortened and aspirated only in (7b) (the aspiration process is also attested in the

same dialect in the demonstrative *haða* > *həðɛh*). To the best of my knowledge, there is no restriction on the deictic features of the Locative > Exist grammaticalization path in the theory of grammaticalization in regard to proximal vs. distal features of the locative source.

Another possibility is that *hnɛh* in (7b) is derived from *hunaka* but is now homophonous with *hnɛh* meaning 'here' in Hijazi Arabic of elders. Example (7b) can also be interpreted as locative, unless further investigation proves that it is existential. It should be noted that, in the appropriate intonation, both examples in (7) can be interpreted as either a statement or question regarding the existence of 'lunch' in (7a) and/or 'food' in (7b). The sentences in (7) show that, in these elders' conservative dialects, the surviving existential particle is *hunaka*. These conservative dialects are considered valuable sources for comparative linguistic studies and historical linguistics, especially when they share a lot of linguistic features, such as elders' Najdi, elders' Hijazi, and Standard Arabic. The younger generations of these dialects is discussed in Chapter 4 on Saudi Arabic. The following section will address the negation of the existential construction in Standard Arabic.

The Negative Existential Construction in Standard Arabic

Standard Arabic has many markers of negation. Some negative elements are verbal, some are non-verbal, and others are both. In this section, I discuss the negative elements *maa*, *laa*, and *laysa* as they are the ones usually associated with existential constructions. These negative elements are used in verbal and non-verbal sentences. The first two are never inflected for tense or agreement. The last one, *laysa*, can be inflected

for agreement and is always in the present tense. Now, let's turn to the first negative existential construction: the juxtaposed structure, as in (8).

(8) a. **laa** ʔilah-a ʔilla ʔallah
NEG god-ACC but Allah
'There is no god but Allah.' (arabiCorpus)

b. **laa** raʒul-a fi-d-daar
NEG man-ACC.INDF in-DEF-house
'No MAN is in the house.' (Al-Mubarrad, 1994, p. 357)

c. fa-**laysa** fi-Lebnan hai ʔat-un niqaabyah
and-NEG(.EX).3.SG.PRS in-Lebanon unions-NOM.INDF trade
'And there are no trade unions in Lebanon.' (arabiCorpus)

d. **maa** raʒul-un fi-d-daar
NEG man-NOM.INDF in-DEF-house
'No MAN is in the house.' (arabiCorpus)

e. fa-**maa** fi-l-ʕaalam-i ʔunθa miθl-i
and-NEG in-DEF-world-GEN female like-me
'And there is no woman in the world like me.' (arabiCorpus)

In the well-known Classical Arabic existential sentence (8a), the negative *laa* occurs before the indefinite noun *ʔilah* '(, meaning a nonspecific) god.' This sentence is interpreted as existential sentence. The existential interpretation comes from the earlier use of the negative *laa* before the indefinite noun, which is followed by *illa* 'but/except.' According to Al-Mubarrad (1994, p. 357) from the 9th century, the sentence in (8b) is an answer to a question such as *hal min raʒulin fiddaar*? "Is there any man in the house?" where *min raʒulin* 'any man' is used as a generic term. Although, the word order seems as a canonical one but the sentence is interpreted as existential because this word order is a marked word order, where the negative forces the indefinite noun to be moved before the moved prepositional phrase. The word 'man' is focused in the translation to show its

important interpretation. (Both translations of the question and answer, in (8b), are mine.) Note that in (8b), the noun is marked with accusative case, which means that *laa* can assign accusative case, like a verb.

In (8c), the negative *laysa* precedes the prepositional phrase and the indefinite noun, in the non-canonical, existential word order. However, I am unsure if the existential interpretation is due to the non-canonical word order here, since *laysa* itself has been argued to be a negative existential beside being a negative element for verbal and non-verbal sentences (Wilmsen, 2016). Wilmsen (2016), following Măcelaru (2003, 2004), argues that *laysa* is a negative existential particle composed of two fused elements: the negative particle *laa* + the existential particle *-ays*. The nature of this negative particle will not be discussed in this dissertation and I refer the reader to Wilmsen (2016) and Măcelaru (2003, 2004) for further details. The existential interpretation might be a result of the negative existential *laysa* and not the non-canonical word order. Unfortunately, I have not found any occurrence of *laysa* before an indefinite noun by itself.

The sentences in (8d-e) show the use of the negative *maa* before an indefinite noun in (8d) and before the prepositional phrase in (8e). Both sentences are interpreted as existential. The negative element in (8d), similar to (8b), forces the indefinite nouns in (8d) to precede the prepositional phrase. The word ‘man’ is also focused in the translation for its important interpretation. More on this is discussed in Chapter 6. It should be noted here that the negative particle *maa* has become a general negator that can be used in negating verbal, non-verbal, copular, possessive, and existential sentences (see Veselinova, 2013, p. 111 for more details on specific negation terms in general).

Before I discuss the negation of existential constructions using existential particles in Standard Arabic, I report the search hits for the negation of these existential particles. The existential particle *hunaka* was negated by *laysa* 8,985 times (of the total 189,155 occurrences of *hunaka*) and *hunalika* was negated by *laysa* 344 times (of the total 10,812 occurrences of *hunalika*). *Maa* is found 176 times before *hunaka* and 338 times before *hunalika*. However, the negative *maa* is homophonous with the sequential adverbial *maa*, the relative pronoun *maa*, and the question particle *maa*. This is problematic in quantitative analysis and no conclusive statistics can be drawn from them, using this corpus. The existential particle *hunaka* is negated by *laa* in 27 times and *hunalika* is negated by *laa* only twice. The same problem is found here as some of these sentences are instances of negated locative construction (most of which are *laa huna wa-laa hunaka* meaning 'not here nor there') and there is no way to separate them except manually because of the homophony between the locative and existential particles. However, I found that the most acceptable examples of negative existential sentences are the ones with the collocation *laysa hunalika* (344 times), perhaps due to the rarity of the presence of locative *hunalika* or that *laysa* is, as argued by Wilmsen (2016) and in (8c) above, a negative existential that needs to be reinforced by *hunalika*. In this case, most, if not all, of the examples of *laysa hunalika* are existential.

The existential particle *θammata* is negated by *laysa* in 1161 times (of the total 24,967 occurrences of *θammata*). It was negated by *maa* only six times in the corpus. It was negated by *laa* only once in the corpus. Thus, *laysa* is the most used negative particle in *θammata* sentences. This is interesting since the discussion of (8c) above argues that *laysa* appears to be a negative existential particle, having existential meaning by itself. If

the discussion in Wilmsen (2016) and Măcelaru (2003, 2004) is correct, *laysa θammata* is evidence that *laysa* is too weak to express an existential proposition and must be reinforced by *θammata*. The negative *maa* occurred before *θamma* 157 times in clear examples of negative existential sentences.

In order to discuss the Negative Existential Cycle in Standard Arabic, I provide examples of the negation of verbal sentences and of existential particles in existential sentences in (9) (since the negative *laa* is very low, I do not include it further).

(9) a. **laysa** ya-dri aina amsai-na
NEG.3.M.SG 3.M.SG-know where spent.night-1.PL
'He does not know where we spent the night.' (arabiCorpus)

b. … **maa** kan-at bada?-at ba$\S$d
NEG COP.PST-3.F.SG started-3.F.SG yet
'(Her dreams) that did not start yet.' (arabiCorpus)

c. **laysa** hunaka mubarir-un wa$\hbar$id
NEG there.EX excuse-NOM.INDF one
'There is no single excuse.' (arabiCorpus)

d. **maa** hunaka ?emra?t-un $\int$aqra?
NEG there.EX woman-NOM.INDF blond
'There is no blond woman.' (arabiCorpus)

e. **laysa** θammata mu?amarat-un min ?a$\hbar$ad
NEG there.EX conspiracy-NOM.INDF from one
'There is no conspiracy from any one.' (arabiCorpus)

f. wa-**maa** θammata dalil-un $\S$ala-r-ruju$\S$
and-NEG there.EX evidence-NOM.INDF on-DEF-backing
'There is no evidence on withdrawing.' (arabiCorpus)

Examples (9a-b) are verbal sentences negated by *laysa* and *maa*. The same negative particles are used to negating the existential particles *hunaka* and *θammata* in (9c-f). As argued by Croft (1991) and Veselinova (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016), this type of negation is

evidence that a language is at stage A in the Negative Existential Cycle, as there is no special negative existential (excluding *laysa*, which could be a negative existential, as argued in Wilmsen, 2016, p. 349; Măcelaru, 2003, 2004). The stages of Standard Arabic in the Negative Existential Cycle are provided in Figure 5 below.

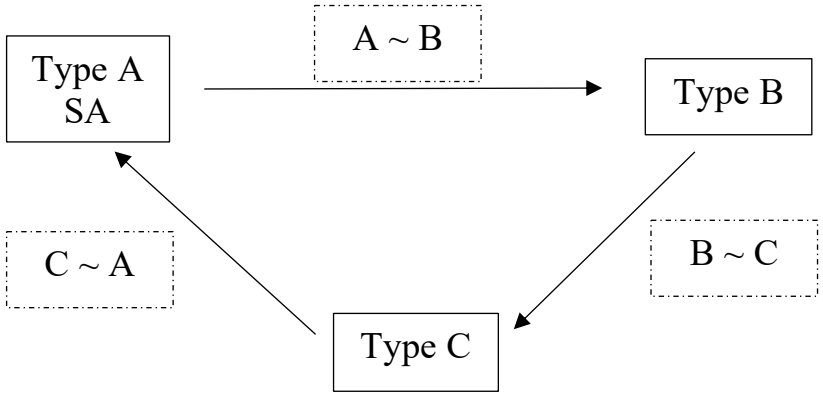


Figure 5. The Stage of The Negative Existential Cycle of Standard Arabic (SA).

As *laysa* in (9c, e) might be interpreted as a negative existential, I excluded it from Figure 5. Therefore, we are left with the negative *maa* as the negator of verbal sentences (9b) and the juxtaposed existential sentences (8a, b, e, d) and before the grammaticalized existential particles in (9d, f).

I argued that the Najdi and Hijazi Arabic dialects of the elders share a lot of features with Standard Arabic and can be useful in comparative linguistic studies. An interesting change happened in the elders' dialects in Najdi and Hijazi Arabic in the negation of existential sentences, such as (7) above. New negative existentials were formed by merging the negative *maa* and the grammaticalized existential particles, resulting in single forms for negative existentials for the Najdi and Hijazi Arabic dialects.

The formation is *maa+hnaʔ* 'not + there' > *mahna* 'there is not' and *maa+hnɛh* 'not + there' > *mahnɛh* 'there is not' in Najdi and Hijazi Arabic, respectively, as in (10).

(10) a. **mahna** ħaʒz
NEG.EX reservation
'There is no reservation.' (Badr Alharbi, p.c.)

b. **mahnɛh** maʔ
NEG.EX water
'There is no water.' (FuToom Alsaeedi, p.c.)

Example (10a) clearly shows a truncated version of both the negative and the existential particle fused into one word. A similar process has taken place in elders' Hijazi in (10b). Both of the Arabic dialects are at stage B in the Negative Existential Cycle. Furthermore, the negative existential *mahna* in elders' Najdi Arabic has widened its scope to parts of the verbal domain, i.e., possessive constructions, in (11).

(11) a. **mahna** ʕaqel
NEG brain
'He does not have a brain.' (Badr Alharbi, p.c.)

b. **maʃ** flus
NEG.COP/.EX money
'I do not have money.'/ 'There is no money.' (FuToom Alsaeedi, p.c.)

Mahna is glossed as a regular negation, rather than as a negative existential in (11a) because it has been generalized to more grammatical constructions, indicating a change toward the transitional stage B ~ C. As for the elders' Hijazi dialect, the negative existential is not used in possessive constructions, perhaps because of the already formed and extensively used negative copula/existential *maʃ* < *maa+ʃai*, where *ʃai* means 'thing,' as in (11b). (However, see Wilmsen, 2014, and subsequent work, for a possible

alternative source of *-ʃ*.) It is not clear to me whether *maʃ* is a negative copula or a negative existential; it remains to be explored in future research. The stages of elders' Najdi Arabic and Hijazi Arabic dialects within the Negative Existential Cycle are shown in Figure 6.

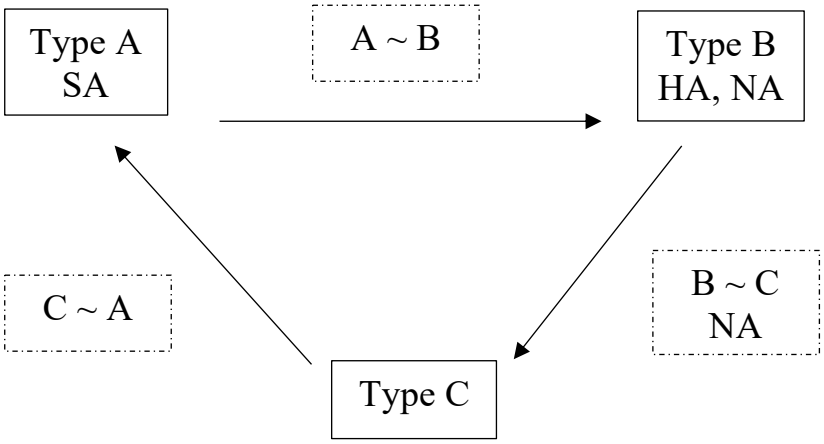


Figure 6. The Stages of The Negative Existential Cycle of Standard Arabic (SA), Hijazi Arabic (HA), and Najdi Arabic (NA).

As shown in Figure 6, the elders' Hijazi Arabic is at stage B. It is possible that elders' Hijazi Arabic is a stage B ~ C too, but I leave that for further research. The elders' Najdi Arabic is at stages B and B ~ C. As noted in Chapter 2, some languages are at overlapping Types/stages, which do not have to be sequential stages.

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the three existential construction strategies in Standard Arabic: (i) juxtaposition of the indefinite noun phrase with a prepositional phrase, (ii) the use of the verb *yuʒad* forming a verbal predication, and (iii) the employment of two grammaticalized existential particles. I specified that juxtaposition means the sentence

lack: (i) a verb, (ii) an existential particle. I argued for the special structure of existential sentences, namely their non-canonical word order in the juxtaposed existential structure. The last strategy was discussed in detail, including their origins and grammaticalization path (i.e., Locative > Exist). I reported the number of occurrences of *hunaka* and *θammata* and their variants. I also showed that *hunaka* was used more often, though its homophony with the locative particle does not help in any statistical analysis. There were also interesting instances of both existentials occurring in a single sentence. I included examples from elder's Najdi and Hijazi Arabic, two major regions in central and west Saudi Arabia, respectively. I argued that these dialects are two of the closest dialects to Standard Arabic and are therefore helpful in comparative and historical linguistics, assuming sufficient data.

I discussed the negation of the existential construction in Standard Arabic. I introduced many examples from the BYU corpora and analyzed them. I accounted for the structure of negative existential sentences with both word orders, where the negative element can force the indefinite noun to be fronted. I claimed that the negative particle *laysa* also probably has an existential meaning. Though, I did not find evidence for the negative particle *laysa* before an indefinite noun, which raise too many questions about its nature. I did not include *laysa* in my investigation here, but it has been extensively discussed in Wilmsen (2016) and Măcelaru (2003, 2004).

I reported the number of occurrences of the three negative particles, *maa*, *laa*, and *laysa*, with the two existential particles and their variants, which revealed more instances of *hunaka* and *θammata* negated by *laysa*. The latter may indicate that the existential meaning in *laysa*, if however existential, is weakening and needs an extra existential

particle to reinforce its predication. Finally, I argued that the negated verbal and existential sentences in (9) accounted for the representation of Standard Arabic at stage A in the Negative Existential Cycle in Figure 5, while the examples from the elders' Najdi Arabic dialect is at overlapping stages B, B ~ C and the elders' Hijazi Arabic dialect is at stage B for Hijazi in Figure 6.

CHAPTER 4: EXISTENTIAL AND NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN SAUDI ARABIC

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that there is a non-canonical word order for the juxtaposed existential construction in Saudi Arabic, similar to that in the previous chapter. Then, I discuss the existential construction in Saudi Arabic by analyzing the grammaticalized existential particle and its sources. In addition, I investigate the negation of the existential construction using real data from the WhatsApp application and Twitter. I show that the negative existential extends to the verbal domain. Now, I introduce the existential construction in Saudi Arabic.

The Existential Construction in Saudi Arabic

The basic word order of Saudi Arabic for verbal sentences is SVO, which is similar to most, if not all, other Arabic dialects. The non-canonical word order is VSO, which is considered in the literature as a stylistic order to match the basic word order of Standard Arabic. However, the basic word order for nominal/copular sentences in Saudi Arabic is topic-comment, similar to Standard Arabic. Also similar to Standard Arabic, Saudi Arabic has a zero copula in the present tense. However, there is a new present tense copula that is in complementary distribution with the past tense copula *kana* in modern Hijazi Arabic, for instance. This new present tense copula is grammaticalized from the third personal singular masculine demonstrative/pronoun *huwa*. This pronoun is well-known in the literature as the pronoun of separation, i.e., a pronoun that separates nouns from the following adjectives in copular sentences or nouns from other nouns in nominal predication. In fact, not only does it separate words in nominal sentences, but it also

disambiguates phrasal readings from sentential readings of the nominal predication (see Eid, 1983, 1991; Alsaeedi, 2015, for more discussion on this separation). The grammaticalization of demonstrative/(pronoun) > copula is attested in many languages (see van Gelderen, 2015 for specific references on this topic).

The younger generation[15] of Saudi Arabic employs two strategies for existential constructions: (i) juxtaposition of the prepositional phrase and the indefinite noun phrase, similar to Standard Arabic and (ii) a new (obligatory) existential particle that has been grammaticalized from a construction of two words that collocate most of the time. The words are the preposition *fi* meaning 'in' and the object suffix form of the demonstrative pronoun *huwa* (*-h*). The grammaticalization source of this existential predicate is misunderstood by many linguists today, e.g., see Wilmsen, 2016, p. (328), who argues that the source is the preposition *fi*.[16]

I argue that the source of this existential particle is the collocation of *fi+h*, where the *-h* is reanalyzed (or bleached) as a more generic relation from an anaphoric relation. The reanalysis of the demonstrative pronoun may lead to the phonological erosion of *-h*, and the final vowel of the preposition *fi* may also be lengthened. This lengthened vowel is apparent when differentiating between the original preposition and the new existential particle. The emergence of the combination of the preposition and the pronoun leads to a new meaning of existence for the grammaticalized *fi*. The preposition *fi* usually cliticizes to the determiner of the following noun phrase, while the existential particle is not a clitic. The pronunciation of the *-h* in the existential particle is variable, depending on

[15] By younger generation, I mean 50 years old or younger.
[16] Except for example Freeze (1992) and Rubin (2004, p. 92) who indicated that "the existential particle … is built on a locative preposition + pronominal suffix… *fi* (< *fihi*) 'there is'."

emphatic vs. fast speech and rural vs. urban speech, where it is pronounced in the first counterparts. Therefore, the existential particle may appear in the examples of this chapter as *fi* or *fih* depending on its written form in the data sources, with no meaning difference.

The first existential construction of Saudi Arabic is the juxtaposed structure, i.e., using the indefinite noun and the prepositional phrase with no existential particle. This existential structure is always in the non-canonical comment-topic word order as opposed to the copular/locational canonical topic-comment word order. The sentences in (1) show copular/locational and existential sentences in Saudi Arabic. Note that *fi-* in (1a-c) is a preposition.

(1) a. al-banzin fi-s-sayyarah
DEF-gas in-DEF-car
'The gas is in the car.'

b. *banzin fi-s-sayyarah
gas.INDF in-DEF-car
'There is gas in the car.'

c. fi-s-sayyarah banzin
in-DEF-car gas.INDF
'There is gas in the car.'

Example (1a) shows a copular/locative sentence in the canonical word order, where the definite subject precedes the prepositional phrase.[17] The sentence in (1b) is ungrammatical because the subject *banzin* 'gas' is indefinite and in the canonical topic-comment word order. Example (1c) is interpreted as an existential sentence in the non-

[17] Note that the word order of the copular/locative predication can appear in the non-canonical comment-topic word order if the focus is in the prepositional phrase. However, focus of the noun in juxtaposed existential sentences cannot change its word order, perhaps due to the presence of focus on the prepositional phrase and, therefore, there can be no two focus phrases in the sentence.

canonical word order, where the structure is the inverse counterpart of the locative sentence. This evidence that existential juxtaposed structures in Saudi Arabic must be in the non-canonical comment-topic word order.

The second existential construction in Saudi Arabic has an obligatory existential particle in sentence-initial position, as in (2). Note that sometimes the *-h* is pronounced.

(2) a. al-ʔafukadu, fi-h duhun kaθira
DEF-avocado in-it fat a lot
'The avocado, in it [there is] a lot of fat.' (WhatsApp data)

b. **fih** duktur fi qism al-ʔaħiaʔ
there.EX professor.INDF in department DEF-biology
'There is a professor in the Biology department.' (WhatsApp data)

c. **fih** fi-l-fasl talib
there.EX in-DEF-class student.INDF
'There is a student in the class.'

d. **fi** riʒal fi-ʃ-ʃarɛʕ
there.EX man.INDF in-DEF-street
'There is a man in the street.' (WhatsApp data)

e. ʔas-sayyarah **fih**/mawʒudah
DEF-car EXIST
'The car is here.'

In (2a), there is an example of a non-grammaticalized prepositional phrase *fi-h*, i.e., the source of the grammaticalized existential, where the *-h* is in an anaphoric relation with the definite noun phrase *al-ʔafukadu* meaning 'the avocado.' In (2b) the grammaticalized existential particle occupies sentence-initial position before an indefinite noun phrase. There is no fixed word order in sentences in the presence of the grammaticalized existential particle, as indicated in (2c). Notice that in (2c), there is special focus on the

prepositional phrase. In (2d), the existential predicate lacks *-h*. The existential predicate is likely a renewal after the loss of the Standard Arabic existential particles *hunaka* and *θammata* in Saudi Arabic. Finally, (2e) is an example of the same existential particle being used interchangeably with the lexical word *mawʒud(ah)* meaning 'existed.' This could be an example of lexicalization of the grammaticalized form.

So far, I have shown two different existential elements in Saudi Arabic. One is older and not present in the younger generations' speech (i.e., *hnaʔ* in the elders' Najdi Arabic dialect), which I grouped with Standard Arabic in the previous chapter. The other is used by younger generations (i.e., *fi/fih* in Saudi Arabic in general). There is a third existential element only found in the Qassimi Arabic dialect, one of the dialects in Saudi Arabia. Qassimi Arabic is considered an exception in Saudi Arabic due to its exclusive use of *buh* (i.e., *buh* < preposition *bi* 'in' + the demonstrative pronoun *-h*) in (3).

(3)	**buh**	waħdah	ʕind	l-bab
	there.EX	one.INDF.SG.F	at	DEF-door
	'There is a girl/woman at the door.'			(Mohammed AlMutlaq, p.c.)

As shown in (3), the existential *buh* is in sentence-initial position, appearing before an indefinite noun in an existential sentence. I now turn to the negation of the existential construction in Saudi Arabic.

The Negative Existential Construction in Saudi Arabic

The negation of the existential construction in Saudi Arabic is made by the negative *maa*. In Saudi Arabic, *maa* negates verbs and prepositions and used as an indefinite negative *maahad* meaning 'no one.' Other negatives, such as *laa* and *mu*, are not used to negate the existential *fi/fih*. The negative *laa* is only used in imperatives,

while *mu* is a grammaticalized negative copula used in non-verbal sentences (Alsaeedi, 2015). These negation facts show that the grammaticalized existential particle *fi*/*fih* is treated as being a verbal rather than non-verbal element. This can be seen in (4) with verbal and existential predications in Saudi Arabic.

(4) a. hi **maa** bi-t-safir
she NEG FUT-3.SG.F.travel
'She will not travel.' (WhatsApp data)

b. **maa** fi-s-sayyarah banzin
NEG in-DEF-car gas.INDF
'There is no gas in the car.'

c. **maa** fih fatur ʔl-yaum
NEG EX breakfast.INDF DEF-today
'There is no breakfast today.' (WhatsApp data)

d. ʔal-ʕaʒuz **maahi** fih/mawʒudah
DEF-old.lady NEG.COP(.F) EXIST
'The old lady does not exist (here).' (WhatsApp data)

As seen in (4), the negative *maa* is used in verbal sentences like (4a). The juxtaposed existential sentence in (4b) is negated by the verbal *maa*. The existential sentence in (4c) shows the existential particle *fih* negated by the verbal *maa* too. Finally, the lexical interpretation of the existential particle in (4d) is negated by the negative copula *maahi*, a variant of *mu*.

Sentences such as (4a, c) have led many linguists, such as Croft, as discussed in the Syrian Arabic sentence (12) in Chapter 2, to postulate that Arabic dialects are at stage A in the Negative Existential Cycle. However, the examples in (5) lead us to a different conclusion.

(5) a. **maafih** ʃak
NEG.POSS doubt
'I have no doubt.' (WhatsApp data)

b. **maafih** fulus
NEG.POSS money
'I have no money.' (WhatsApp data)

c. *ana **maafih** fulus
I NEG.POSS money
'I have no money.' (made up sentence)

d. ***maafih** ana fulus
NEG.POSS I money
'I have no money.' (made up sentence)

The sentences in (5a, b) can receive negative existential interpretations. In these examples, the negative existential has extended its domain to negate possession predication with no pronounced subject, because the subject is understood as the first person, perhaps due to the pro-drop nature of Arabic. We can test these sentences by substituting *maafih* by *maa ʕindi* meaning 'I don't have,' resulting in the same interpretation; see (6) for more examples of *maa ʕindi*. Notice (5c, d) are ungrammatical because the subject is pronounced and/or the lack of the possessive *ʕindi*, in which the interpretation is going to be something like "there is no money that I have."

Negative existentials often involve possession cross-linguistically (Veselinova, p.c.). A more common possession negation is provided in (6).

(6) a. maa **ʕind**-ah waqt
NEG POSS-3M.SG time.INDF
'He does not have time.' (WhatsApp data)

b. maa **ʕind**-i snab
NEG POSS-1SG Snap.INDF
'I do not have a Snapchat (account).' (WhatsApp data)

The examples in (6) show that *ʕind-ah/-i*, which originally meant 'at him/me,' has been grammaticalized into a possessive marker. The sentences in (5) and (6) show that the negative existential *maafih* competes with the more common expression of the possession's negation *maa ʕind* 'not have'.

The negative existential is also used as a short answer 'no,' or as a rejection in some sense, as in (7).

(7) a. ʒaien-ik …
coming.to-you.SG.F
'We are coming to you.' (Wojood Alsaeedi, p.c.)

b. **maafi** … ta-ʔaχarti
NEG.EX 2.SG.F-late
'No! you are (too) late.' (Wojood Alsaeedi, p.c.)

c. **maafih** mansib
NEG.EX position.INDF
'No job position for…' (WhatsApp data)

d. **maabuh** rawħah
NEG.EX getting.out.INDF
'No getting out.' (Mohammed AlMutlaq, p.c.)

The examples in (7) are parts of a conversation between two people. The sentences in (7a, b) are parts of one conversation. The sentence in (7a) is from an invited person who has shown up late and (7b) is a reply to the invited person, using the negative existential as 'no,' expressing rejection for being late. The sentence in (7c) is another situation that indicates a rejection rather than the unavailability of job position. As a result of the grammaticalization process, *-h* of *maafih* is sometimes pronounced as *maafi* in (7b), while in others as *maafih* in (7c) is present. Similarly, the Qassimi Arabic nominal

sentence in (7d) shows a rejection. The 'getting-out' is a noun phrase and should not be understood as a verb.

Further expressions of rejection by the negative existential involved verbal sentences are provided in (8).

(8) a. ti-gdar ta-laʕb kora alħin
2SG.IPFV-can 2SG.IPFV-play soccer now
'You can play soccer now.' (Twitter data)

b. **maafih** ta-ftaħ niqaaʃ
NEG.EX 2SG.IPFV-open discussion.INDF
'You cannot open a discussion.' (WhatsApp data)

a. **maa** ti-gdar ta-laʕb kora alħin
NEG 2SG.IPFV-can 2SG.IPFV-play soccer now
'You cannot play soccer now.'

The verbal sentence in (8a) is an example of affirmative permission using the modal verb *tigdar* meaning 'you can' before the main verb. However, the negation of this type of proposition is expressed by negating the main verb itself without the modal verb. This expression is known as a 'lack of permission.' It should be noted here that the negative existential, *maafih*, in lack of permission propositions, such as (8b), cannot precede future or perfective verbs. Note that this sentence cannot be expressed with the Qassimi negative existential *buh* (Mohammed AlMutlaq, p.c.). Commonly, the sentence in (8a) can be also negated by adding the verbal negator *maa* before the modal verb *tigdar*. As in (8c). Negative existentials only occurring before imperfective verbs indicates that the negative existential is taking over some parts of the verbal domain and is in competition with the verbal negator *maa*.

The developments, or extensions, of the negative existential to the other domains, as in (7), are crucial to determining the stages of the Negative Existential Cycle for Saudi Arabic: stages A and B ~ C, as in Figure 7.

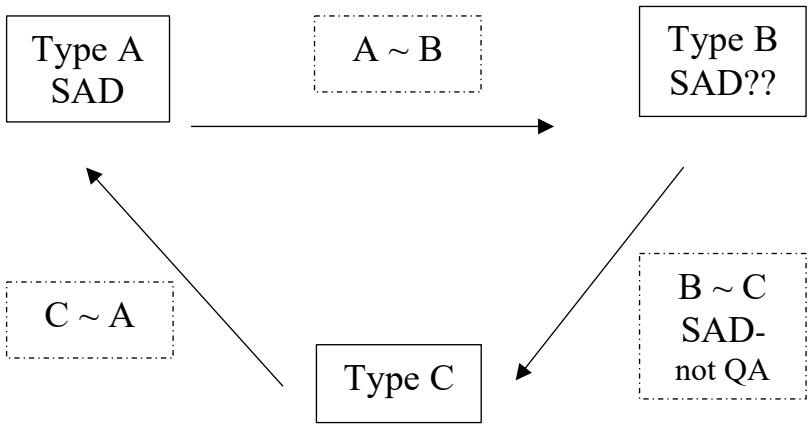


Figure 7. The Stages of The Negative Existential Cycle of The Saudi Arabic Dialect (SAD) and Qassimi Arabic (QA).

The model in Figure 7 indicates that Saudi Arabic is at stage A and at the transitional stage B ~ C, due to sentences like (8b), where *maafih* negates a verb. The negative existential *maafih* is competing with the verbal negator *maa* in part of the verbal domain in Saudi Arabic; Qassimi Arabic does not allow such sentences as in (8b) and is therefore not at the same stages. However, stage B does not seem to be fully established in Saudi Arabic, if we consider sentences like (9).

(9)	**maa**	kan	**fi**	ʔaħad
	NEG	COP.PST	EX	one

'There was no one.' (WhatsApp data)

In (9), the verbal negator *maa* and the existential particle are separated by the past tense copula *kan*. This may be a problem unless we adopt Croft's and Veselinova's definition of construction, as cited in Veselinova (2016, p. 140):

> I follow Croft (2001: 18), whereby constructions are defined as symbolic units of form and meaning linked by symbolic correspondence. Constructions can be *atomic*, that is consisting of a single lexical item, or they can cover collocational schemas such as *be going to* INF, which expresses future time reference for the verb in the infinitive slot.

This definition allows us to consider *maafih* to be a single unit of meaning, even if it were separated by an element, such as the past tense copula in (9). If this definition is adopted, then Saudi Arabic is at stage B, too. Further evidence to support this definition comes from the Null Hypothesis of Language Acquisition principle by Faarlund (2008), as cited in van Gelderen (2011, p. 19), that states the principle whereby "[a] string is a word with lexical content." Faarlund (2008) argues that "[i]n terms of acquisition and reanalysis, this means that the child misses some of the boundary cues and interprets the input string as having a weaker boundary (fewer slashes, stronger coherence) at a certain point" (p. 236). It is more plausible to me, in terms of acquisition and reanalysis, that children acquiring the Saudi Arabic dialect reanalyze the construction *maafih* as one word with no boundaries in spite of the example in (9) above.[18]

Some young children in Saudi Arabic produce sentences like (10) in the developmental stages of their first language acquisition.

(10) a. mama **maafi** flus
mother NEG.POSS money
'My mother, doesn't she have money?' (girl, 4.5 years old)

b. **maafi** ʒa-t
NEG come-SG.F

[18] This does not mean they don't use sentences like (9). They may have *maafih* as a separate word from *maa … fih* construction.

‘She did not come.’ (boy, 6 years old)

The girl that uttered (10a) reanalyzed *maafi* as a possessive negative (with the subject *mama*), while the boy in (10b) negated the verb using *maafi*. It is clear to me that the negative existential is pronounced without -*h* in their speech. The only mysterious part is why (10a) is acceptable with subjects in a possessive construction, when it is unacceptable in (5c) above? Finally, such sentences appear in present tense but more data is needed to investigate first language acquisition in Saudi Arabic.

In addition, sentences such as (8b) and probably (10) would sound awkward if a past tense copula were added to these sentences. This is further evidence that *maafih* cannot be separated into *maa … fih* and has been reanalyzed as one word, if one adopts Veselinova’s in the definition of construction and Faarlund’s argument in terms of language acquisition and reanalysis. This calls for revisiting Figure 7 above. I argue for stages A, B, and B ~ C for the Saudi Arabic dialect, as in Figure 8. Qassimi Arabic is excluded from stage B ~ C.

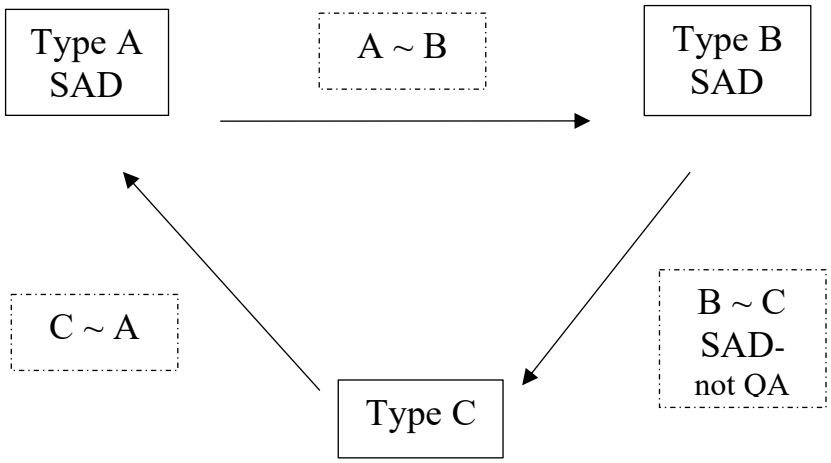


Figure 8. The Stages of The Negative Existential Cycle of The Saudi Arabic Dialect (SAD) and Qassimi Arabic (QA).

Summary

In this chapter, I argued for the non-canonical comment-topic word order for the existential construction and for the canonical topic-comment word order in the locative construction. I discussed the rise of the new existential particles in Saudi Arabic, namely *fih* and *buh* (only found in Qassimi Arabic). I presented the grammaticalization path for both existential particles and argued for the presence of the demonstrative pronoun *-h* in their constructions. I presented data from WhatsApp and Twitter to show that the existential particles occupy sentence-initial position and to show the variations in the pronunciation of *fi*/*fih*.

I discussed the negation of the existential construction in Saudi Arabic in detail. I accounted for stage A of Saudi Arabic in the Negative Existential Cycle by comparing negation in verbal and existential sentences. Then, I presented new data accounting for the expansion of the negative existential to other domains. I presented sentences where the negative existential competes with the verbal negator *maa* in possession predications in Saudi Arabic, including Qassimi Arabic. Then, I presented data accounting for the use of the negative existential in 'lack of permission' sentences and for short answer 'no.' The interpretation of the negative existential as a short answer 'no' is not present in Qassimi Arabic.

Finally, I presented evidence that the negative existential *maafih* is in complementary distribution with the affirmative modal *tigdar* 'can' in Saudi Arabic before verbs. This evidence is crucial in positing that Saudi Arabic, excluding Qassimi Arabic, in at the transitional stage B ~ C. I also discussed the fact that the negative existential particle is sometimes separated by the past tense copula and argued that

maafih has been reanalyzed by children in Saudi Arabic as one word. Therefore, Saudi Arabic, including Qassimi Arabic, is at stage B as well.

CHAPTER 5: EXISTENTIAL AND NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN GULF PIDGIN ARABIC

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic and the development of a grammaticalized existential predicate. Then, I discuss the negative existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, using data from the literature, and argue for the extended use of the negative existential.

The Existential Construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic

Gulf Pidgin Arabic's basic word order is SVO. It is an analytic language (i.e., it has few inflectional morphemes). The tense-mood-aspect system is marked via adverbials. The grammaticalized existential predicate *fi* in Saudi Arabic is the only existential predicate in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. The existential predicate also appears in sentence-initial position in existential sentences, with some variations between initial vs. final position in highly contextualized sentences. Examples of verbal sentences and the use of *fi* in existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic are in (1). Note that Bakir (2014) transcribes the existential predicate and the preposition as *fii*; I transcribe it as *fi* to be consistent with the previous chapter, and some of the glosses are also changed here.

(1) a. ana ruh waddi batʃa medrisa
I go take child school
'I'll take the children to school.' (Bakir, 2010, p. 221)

b. **fi** nafar masri iʒlis daχil maχbaz
EX person Egyptian sit inside bakery
'There was an Egyptian who used to sit inside the bakery.'
(Bakir, 2014, p. 418)

c. **fi** har zyadah **fi** doha
EX heat much in Doha
'There is much heat in Doha.' (Bakir, 2014, p. 418)

Example (1a) is a verbal sentence with SVO word order. The existential predication is expressed in (1b) with an existential predicate in sentence-initial position followed by an indefinite noun. The existential sentence in (1c) has two *fi* forms, but the first is an existential predicate while the second is a preposition. Notice that the *-h* is absent in the existential predicate *fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

Further development or generalization of the existential predicate to domains other than existential construction is attested in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, as in copular sentences from Bakir (2014, pp. 420-421) in (2).

(2) a. inta **fi** maʒnuun, leesh sawwi haadi karaab
2SG COP crazy why make this ruined
'Are you crazy? Why did you break this?'

b. ana **fi** maskin sah walla laa
1SG COP poor right or no
'I am a poor fellow, right?'

c. wahid nafar ikaama alhin **fi** alf khamsa-miya
one person residency now COP thousand five-hundred
riyaal
Riyal
'Residency for one person is 1500 Riyals.'

d. ana beet **fi** wara dukkaan
1.SG home COP behind shop
'My home is behind the shop.'

Bakir argues that the sentences in (2a-b) are predicational and use the existential predicate as a predicate copula between pronouns and adjectives. He also argues that the

sentence in (2c) is specificational and the sentence in (2d) is a copular sentence, linking the noun phrase with the spatial adverbial (Bakir, 2014, p. 420-421). Furthermore, the existential predicate has expanded to possessive contexts, such as in the sentences from Bakir (2014, pp. 418-419) in (3).

(3) a. alhin walla ana **fi** talata arba batʃa
now by.God I POSS three four children
'I swear I have three, four children.'

b. inta **fi** mazraa
2.SG POSS farm
'Do you have a farm?'

The sentences in (3) contain the existential predicate functioning as a possessive marker. It should be noted that these innovations are not possible in Gulf Arabic.

In addition to the copular and possessive functions of the existential predicate in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, there is another important extension. The existential predicate extends to the verbal domain as an auxiliary in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, as in the sentences from Bakir (2014, pp. 422, 424) in (4).

(4) a. ana **fi** gul inti ʃinu haadi muganni gul
I COP say 2.SG.F what this singer say
'I am asking you what this singer is singing.'

b. ana **fi** yigdar alhin kulla tʃeeng
I COP can now all change
'I can change it all now.'

In the verbal sentence in (4a), the existential predicate precedes the verb *gul* and expresses progressive aspect (Bakir, 2014, p. 422). In (4b), the existential predicate precedes the modal of ability *yigdar* 'can,' where yi- '3.SG' does not mean agreement as

in Gulf Arabic. Compare (4b) to (8a, c) in the previous chapter, where the modal in Saudi Arabic does not need a predicate, unlike Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

The use of the existential predicate *fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic in functions like existential predication, copulative, possessive, and as an auxiliary means that *fi* is changing frequently and is therefore salient in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. In fact, Bakir (2014, pp. 422-424) lists other functions of *fi*, such as habitual, past temporal and future references (using temporal adverbials and in contexts referring to a sequence of events), obligation, possibility, and imperative and irrealis moods.

However, the use of the existential predicate *fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is subject to variations in some degree. Some sentences in Gulf Pidgin Arabic completely lack *fi*. The examples in (5) both lack the existential predicate.

(5) a. ana tabaan
I tired
'I am tired.' (Bakir, 2010, p. 218)

b. bukra ana saafir
tomorrow I travel
'I will travel tomorrow.' (Bakir, 2014, p. 427)

There is no *fi* preceding the adjective in the copulative sentence in (5a) or preceding the verb in the verbal sentence in (5b). This may be attributed to speakers mastering the lexifier Gulf Arabic, since Gulf Arabic does not use *fi* in copulative or verbal sentences.

After introducing the existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, I now turn to the negation of the existential construction and the copulative, possessive, and verbal constructions in Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

The Negative Existential Construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic

The negation strategy in the existential constructions in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is *maafi*, which "appears as a single unit" (Bakir, 2014, p. 429). The sentence in (6) is an example of existential predication negated by *maafi*.

(6) lakin dukkan tani fi, fi moni, **maafi** muʃkila
but shop second EX EX money NEG.EX problem
'But there is another shop. If there is money, there is no problem.'
(Bakir, 2014, p. 418)

The negative existential *maafi* appears before the indefinite noun 'problem' in the last clause in (6).[19] Further functions of *maafi* are given in (7) from Bakir (2010, pp. 216-217).

(7) a. **maafi** uyun inti
NEG.POS eyes 2.SG.F
'Don't you have eyes?'

b. laa, **maafi** zaruri
no NEG.COP necessary
'No, it is not necessary.'

The negative existential in (7a) negates the existence of the referent of the indefinite noun *uyun* 'eyes,' and functions as possessive negator. The second negative existential form in (7b) negates the adjective *zaruri* 'necessary' in a copulative sentence, and is therefore used as a negative copula.[20]

[19] I add commas to sentences to indicate clausal boundaries. I also glossed *maafi* as NEG.EX because it is used here as a negative existential rather than as a negative particle. Bakir (2014, p. 418) glossed it as plain negative because he argues that *maafi* is a negative particle. I do not think *maafi* should be glossed as NEG in all sentences since it has many functions and each function should be specified in the glosses.
[20] I have glossed *maafi* as NEG.POSS in (7a) and as NEG.COP in (7b). However, as stated before, Bakir (2014) glosses them all as NEG.

Another use of the negative existential is in constituent negation, as in (8).

(8) fi muslim fi **maafi** muslim
EX Muslim EX NEG Muslim
'There are Muslims and there are non-Muslims.' (Næss, 2008, p. 77)

The negative existential *maafi* in (8) is used before a noun but to mean *non-*, as in English *non-* or Standard Arabic *ɣair* 'non-.' This would not be clear without the presence of the existential predicate *fi* before the negative existential *maafi* in (8). Otherwise, the interpretation would be ill (no meaning of having affirmative and negative existential adjacent to each other before a noun in the same sentence).[21] More functions of *maafi* are given in (9) from Bakir (2014, pp. 429-430).

(9) a. **maafi** kastemar, **maafi** hassil
NEG.EX customer NEG get
'If there is no customer, you won't benefit.'

b. ana **maafi** yarif
I NEG know
'I don't know.'

c. yalla guum **maafi** sawi mascara
come.on rise NEG make joking
'Come on, rise. Don't do anything stupid.'

The negative existential *maafi* in (9a) appears twice; the first appears before an indefinite noun, as existential negator, and the other before a verb, as a verbal negator.[22] The negative existential in (9b) also precedes a verb. The negative existential in (9c) is used

[21] For consistency's sake, I changed the gloss of *fi* to EX instead of EXPL, meaning expletive, in the original text. Some linguists, such as Næss (2008), argue that *fi* is an expletive, but in this dissertation, I argue that it is an existential predicate.
[22] I gloss *maafi* as NEG.EX in the first clause before an indefinite noun and gloss *maafi* as NEG in the second clause, since it precedes a verb.

before the light verb ‘make’ in an imperative sense. It is tempting to posit Gulf Pidgin Arabic at stage A in the Negative Existential Cycle, since the negation of verbal and existential sentences is performed by one element. However, further data show that the negative existential predicate competes with the verbal negator *maa*, the negative copula *muu*/*mub,* and the imperative *laa*, as in the sentences in (10).

(10) a. ana **maa** yabi ʃugul matam
I NEG want work restaurant
‘I don’t want to work in a restaurant.’ (Bakir, 2014, p. 430)

b. haadi **mub** ʃugul iid bas
this NEG.COP work hand only
‘This is not only handwork.’ (Bakir, 2014, p. 431)

c. inta **muu** arbaab
2.SG.M NEG.COP master
‘You are not a master.’ (Smart, 1999, p. 97)

d. **laa** ruuh barra
NEG go outside
‘Don’t go out.’ (Bakir, 2014, p. 431)

The verbal sentence in (10a) is negated with the verbal negator *maa*. The nominal sentences in (10b-c) are negated with the negative copula *mub*/*mub*.[23] The sentence in (10d) is in the imperative mood and is negated with *laa*, which is adopted from the lexifier Gulf Arabic. The sentences in (9) and (10) are evidence that Gulf Pidgin Arabic is in stages B and C in the Negative Existential Cycle, since the negative existential predicate is used solely in existential constructions (i.e., the existential construction is never negated by the verbal negator, while the verbal construction can be negated by both *maa* and the negative existential *maafi*) and competes with the verbal negator in the

[23] I changed the glosses from NEG to NEG.COP in (10b-c).

verbal domains (i.e., the negative existential *maafi* is used interchangeably with the verbal negator *maa* in negating verbal sentences in Gulf Pidgin Arabic.). The definition of stage C in Chapter 2 specified that the negative existential is used interchangeably with the verbal negator in both verbal and existential constructions. Note that since the negative existential predicate is used in all the syntactic environments above functioning in copulative, possessive, and verbal sentences in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, the negative existential predicate can be termed a *general negator*, which negates all sentence types mentioned. Figure 9 represents Gulf Pidgin Arabic in the Negative Existential Cycle.

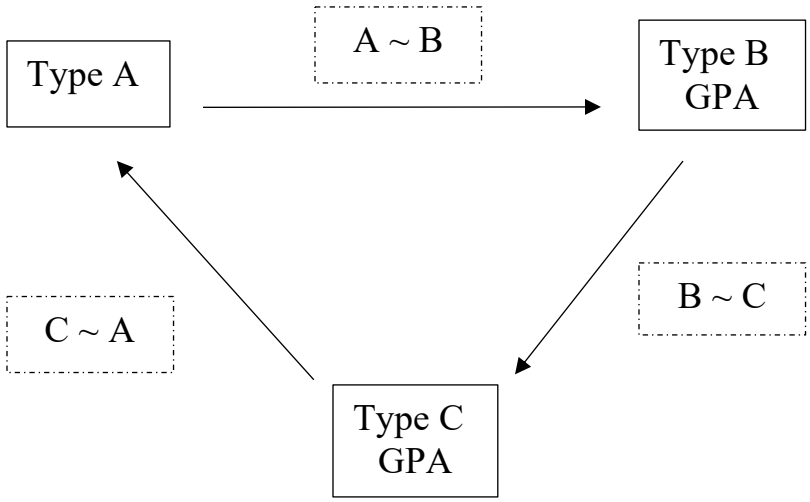


Figure 9. The Stages of The Negative Existential Cycle of Gulf Pidgin Arabic (GPA).

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic and its obligatory existential predicate. The existential predicate *fi* is borrowed from the lexifier Gulf Arabic. The basic word order of this dialect is SVO. The position of the

existential predicate in the existential construction is usually sentence-initial; in highly contextualized structure, the predicate may occur sentence-finally.

I presented data from the literature to show the multiple functions of the existential predicate in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. The existential predicate has been generalized to copulative sentences, appearing between the subject and the complement of the copular sentence. In addition, the existential predicate is generalized to possessive constructions and verbal sentences in positions similar to the copulative one. It has also been generalized to function in the habitual and progressive, with past and future references (using temporal adverbials and in contexts referring to a sequence of events), as obligation, possibility, and with imperative and irrealis moods.

The generalized existential predicate in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is sometimes missing. It appears that the copulative, possessive, and auxiliary functions of *fi* are not obligatory. This can be attributed to mastering the goal lexifier[24], Gulf Arabic, where the workers who speak Gulf Pidgin Arabic live and communicate for long periods of time (Bakir, 2014, p. 428). Gulf Arabic does not generalize the existential predicate to copulative, possessive, and auxiliary in verbal sentences; therefore, speakers of Gulf Pidgin Arabic may adhere to such restrictions. However, the existential construction in both Gulf Arabic and Gulf Pidgin Arabic employ the same existential predicate *fi*.

In the negation of the existential construction section, I presented data showing that the negation of the existential construction is attained by the negative existential element *maafi*, which is one word. This negative existential is also generalized to copulative, possessive, and verbal sentences. Further generalization of the negative

[24] Or it could be because it is a pidgin with more flexible rules.

existential is found in sentences expressing constituent negation, such as *non-* in English and *gair* in Arabic. This interpretation is reached by the presence of the existential predicate *fi* before the negative existential and the noun phrase.

So far, any conclusion about Gulf Pidgin Arabic stage in the Negative Existential Cycle might be misleading. Further data show that speakers of this dialect sometimes choose to adhere to the negation system of Gulf Arabic by using the verbal negator *maa* in verbal sentences, the copular negator *muu*/*mub* in nominal sentences, and the imperative negator *laa* before verbs interchangeably with the negative existential in those syntactic structures. I argued that this variation can be understood as the negative existential competing with the regular negators *maa*, *muu*/*mub*, and *laa* from Gulf Arabic in their environments. In fact, this is the definition of stage C in the Negative Existential Cycle.

Finally, Gulf Pidgin Arabic is at stages B and C in the Negative Existential Cycle. I argued that stage B is exemplified by the negation of the existential construction solely by the negative existential *maafi*. There is no evidence that *maa* is ever used in an existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. On the other hand, I argued for stage C because the negation of verbal sentences can be filled by both negators interchangeably (i.e., the verbal negator *maa* and the negative existential *maafi*). The negation of verbal sentences by *maafi* is considered by Bakir (2014) (and other linguists) to be unstable, or as a "salient feature of pidgin languages, especially those which have not yet stabilized" (p. 428). Therefore, the instability in the use of the negative existential *maafi* and the verbal negator *maa* in verbal sentences can be seen as competition between *maafi* and *maa* in the verbal domain. Thus, stage C is reached.

CHAPTER 6: THE SYNTAX OF EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature on the syntactic structures of existential sentences. I show that existential and copular/locative sentences share the same underlying structure. A unified structure is proposed for and tested in Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

Literature Review

The syntactic structure of existential sentences has received a lot of attention. First, I review Freeze (1992), who assigns an IP clause selecting a PP to existential sentences. Second, I review Moro (1997), who assumes a small clause, which is selected by a VP dominated by IP/TP, to all copular clauses, including existential ones. Third, I review Bowers (1993) and Alsaeedi (2015) for copular clauses; they argue that copular clauses have PredPs,[25] which are selected directly by TP. Fourth, I discuss case and agreement in Rizzi (2001). Finally, I provide a discussion for the syntactic framework to be followed in the rest of the chapter.

Freeze (1992)

Freeze (1992) argues that copular and existential constructions have the same underlying structure. This analysis goes against the more traditional analysis of Milsark (1974) and Chomsky (1981) in that the difference between the two structures is not derivational. Freeze's (1992) analysis deals with sentences like the Russian examples in (1) in terms of syntactic movements of either the noun, in copular/locative predications,

[25] Note that Bowers (1993) refers to it as PrP, but I stick to PredP here.

or the prepositional phrase, in existential and possessive predications, to the subject position (example from Freeze, 1992, pp. 553-554).

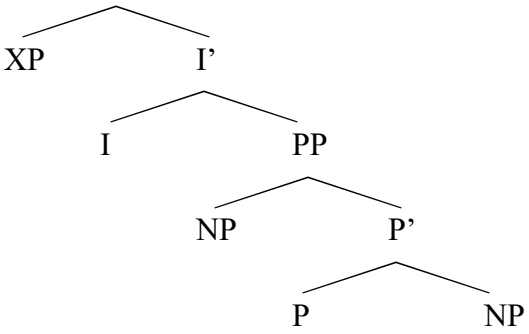
(1) a. kniga byla na stole
book.NOM was on table.LOC
'The book was on the table.'

b. na stole byla kniga
on table.LOC was book.NOM
'There was a book on the table.'

c. u menja byla sestra
at 1SG.GEN was sister.NOM
'I had a sister.'

Freeze (1992, p. 558) proposes a unified syntactic structure for copular/locative predications, juxtaposed existential predications, existential predications involving existential particles, and possessive constructions, as in (2).

(2)



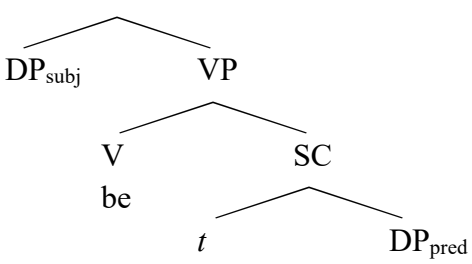
In (2), the subject position XP in (I)nflectional (P)hrase, or sometimes called (T)emporal (P)hrase, is empty. The head I^o selects a prepositional phrase. The theme argument occupies the specifier of the prepositional phrase and the location occupies its complement. Freeze (1992, p. 559) argues that such unification can be captured via movement of either NP, theme or location, from within the PP. The movement is

"governed by [+/- definite] feature on the theme" (p. 559). If the theme is definite, it may move to SpecIP, i.e., XP, resulting in a copular/locative predication, while if the theme is indefinite, the location moves to SpecIP, resulting in an existential predication. The existential particle in all of the languages studied in Freeze (1992) is lexically locative and treated as a realization of the head I^o. Possessive predication is syntactically identical to existential predication, but may differ in the [+/- human] feature of the locative argument.

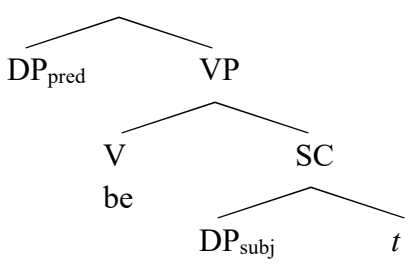
Moro (1997)

Similarly, Moro (1988, 1997, 2006), following Milsark (1974, 1977), argues for the existence of what he termed "inverse copular" predications. In this construction, the DP moves to SpecS(entence) in copular clauses; this captures many anomalies, such as subject-object asymmetries, movement, and extraction from the object position, among other language-specific phenomena. Moro (1997, pp. 94-95) assumes a small clause (SC), selected by the VP. The small clause includes two sister DPs, but no functional head, as in (3).

(3) a.



b.



The tree in (3a) shows that the theme, the left adjoined DP_{subj}, moves to SpecS. The tree in (3b) shows that the predicate, the right adjoined DP_{pred}, moves to SpecS. Interestingly, this analysis would fit Freeze's (1992) data perfectly if we assume that the DP_{pred} position

is filled with PP_{pred}. This phrase can then move to SpecS and yield a juxtaposed existential construction; however, Moro's analysis does not consider juxtaposted existential construction.

Moro (1997) indicates that existential predication involving expletives can provide empirical data for the inverse copular construction. He discussed *there*-insertion in English and *ci*-insertion in Italian. First, he analyzes *there* as a predicate in existential sentences like (4) below (from Moro, 1997, p. 119), as opposed to copular ones.

(4) a. Many copies of the book were in the studio.

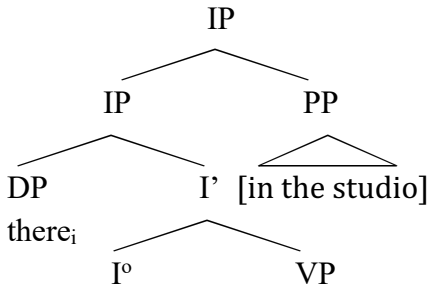
b. *Many copies of the book were.

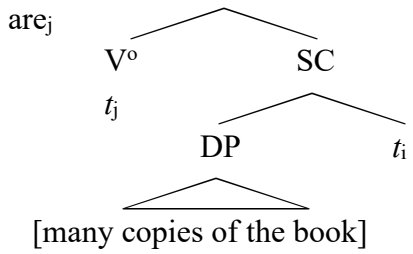
c. There were many copies of the book in the studio.

d. There were many copies of the book.

The sentences in (4a, b) show that, in a copular/locative predication, the PP *in the studio* is a required argument for the copula *be*; therefore, (4b) is ungrammatical. The sentences in (4c, d) show that the PP *in the studio* is an adjunct. This raises the question: What is the predicate in (4d)? The only plausible answer is that *there* is a predicate base-generated in the small clause. Moro (1997, p. 121) assigns the syntactic tree structure in (5) to (4c).

(5)

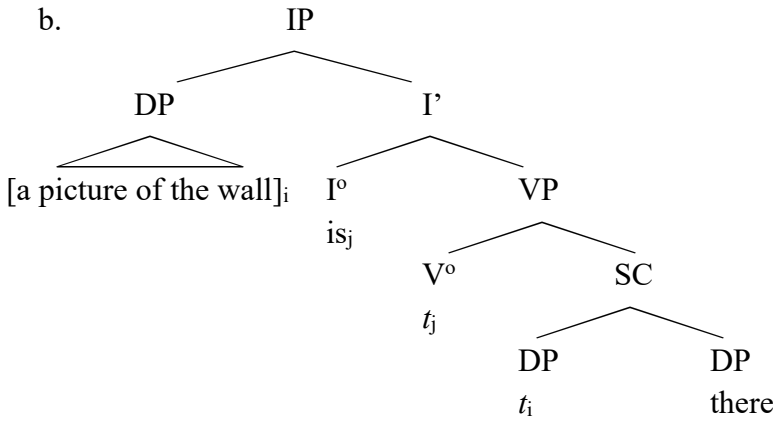




The structure in (5) indicates that the PP is an adjunct to IP and that *there* is the predicate of the small clause. The movement of *there* to SpecIP provides evidence for inverse copular structures. Notice that the subject DP occupies its underlying position, within the small clause. The reverse provides an interesting result, as in (6a), with its corresponding syntactic tree structure in (6b) (from Moro, 1997, p. 137).

(6) a. A picture of the wall is there.

b.



Arguably, the sentence in (6) is an instance of copular/locative predication and cannot be interpreted as existential predication. Moro (1997) assumes that the DP *there* can be

distinguished only by its location in the sentence, rather than assuming a lexicalist view with two separate entries of *there* in the lexicon.[26]

I adopt Moro's (1997) analysis of the inverse copular construction in this dissertation. Inverse copular constructions are found in Standard Arabic, as discussed in Fassi Fehri (1993, p. 40), and provided in (7).

(7) a. hum l-ʒunuud-u
they.M DEF-soldiers-NOM
'It is the soldiers.'/'That's soldiers.'

b. hunna n-nisaaʔ-u
they.F DEF-women.NOM
'It is the women.'/'That's women.'

Fassi Fehri (1993) argues that, while the pronouns in (7) appear to function as expletive subjects, they "may have originated as a predicate at D[eep]-structure, as in Moro's (1991) analysis of *There* constructions in English" (p. 40).

The focus in this chapter is on canonical vs. inverse copular structures in relation to copular/locative and existential sentences, respectively.

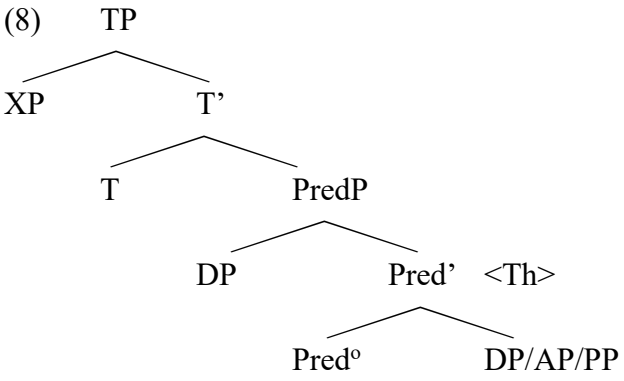
Bowers (1993) and Alsaeedi (2015)

Before moving to the analysis of the data from the previous chapters, the status of the small clause needs to be addressed here. Two questions arise: Is there a hierarchy within small clauses? And what functional head projects the subject of the small clause, on par with Chomsky's (1995) *v* or Kratzer's (1996) Voice? Bowers (1993) hypothesizes a functional head that unifies verbal and non-verbal predications: Pred(ication)P(hrase). As discussed in Alsaeedi (2015), there are three advantages of this PredP: (i) it provides a

[26] I will not address this issue further since I have provided many examples of grammaticalized existential particles in previous chapters and will leave the nature of *there* in the lexicon for further studies.

unified structure for small clauses and verbal clauses, (ii) Pred^{o}, i.e., the head of Pred, accounts for the internal subject hypothesis, by generating the thematic subject of the sentence, and (iii) it is in accordance with X-bar theory. However, Baker (2004) indicates that Pred^{o} does not assign the thematic role of the subject of the small clause. “Rather, the head Pred takes an NP or DP and makes a theta-marking category out of it” (Baker, 2004, p. 36). He represents this by annotating the <Th[eme]> role on Pred’. I depart from Bowers (1993) in applying this structure to only small clauses, not to verbal ones, as in (8).

(8)



As seen in (8), Pred^{o} takes a DP, AP, or PP (as I argue in this dissertation) and makes a theta-marking argument out of it in its specifier position. Note that I use <Th> to represent this for purely notational reasons here, and I do not reproduce it in every tree below. The PredP is selected for by T^{o}. This statement about tense needs further explanation.

Tense (Bahloul, 2008)

In Mikkelsen (2005), the copula in languages like English and Danish is generated in an extra layer between PredP and TP, called v_bP. The head “v_b is a subtype

of unaccusative *v*: it does not assign a [theta]-role … and it does not assign accusative case" (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 167). The second criterion does not apply to Arabic copulas since they assign accusative case to the predicate; see Alsaeedi (2015) for further examples of the present tense copula in Arabic that can be generated in v_b because it is compatible with these two criteria. Furthermore, Roy (2013) assigns a VP for the copula in Arabic, only in past and future tenses, since in these tenses the copula is needed to carry the relevant morphology and move to T^o in order to check tense features.

There is a misconception about Arabic copulas in nominal sentences in general. While the past tense copula is obligatory in every past tense interpretation, the present tense copula is not obligatory in *every* present tense sentence. The present tense copula ya/ta/na-kuun "3SG.M/(3/2)SG.(F.M)/1PL-be" is obligatory when T^o inherits certain features from C^o. This is explained in Bahloul (2008, p. 176-179)[27] and shown in (9).

(9) a. **qad** **yakuunu** al-walad-u fi l-bayt-i
may be DEF-boy-NOM in DEF-house-GEN
'The boy may be at home.'

b. **kayfa** **yakuunu** al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
how be DEF-matter-NOM easy-ACC
'How is the situation easy?'

c. **ʔin** **yakun** al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
if be DEF-matter-NOM easy-ACC
'If the situation be easy…'

d. **ħiina** **yakuunu** al-ʔamr-u sahl-an
while be DEF-matter-NOM easy-ACC
'Whenever the situation is easy.'

[27] Note that Bahloul (2008, p. 179) grouped the particles in the beginning of each sentence in (9) in separate sentence to show that they are in complementary distribution, but I unpacked them and provided the relevant translations.

The sentences in (9) show that, under the right interpretation, the presence of the present tense copula is obligatory. The particles *qad/kayfa/ʔin/ħiina* in (9) carry mood, question, and tense features above TP that forces the copula to be realized. Note the presence of accusative case on the AP predicate in (9b-d), but not in (9a), because in that case, the predicate is a PP. If, however, such particles were absent, the present tense copula would yield ungrammatical sentences.

Mikkelsen (2005) notes that, unlike English and Danish, languages like "(Hebrew, Irish, Scots Gaelic, Polish, Russian, Arabic, and Zapotec) allow copular clauses without any verbal element" (p. 167). Therefore, T^o in these languages can directly select PredP. I thus follow Mikkelsen (2005) and Alsaeedi (2015) in adopting the structure in (8) for copular clauses in Arabic.

An important task is to account for the realization of the copula in present, past, and future tenses alike under one construction, such as (8), without additional functional layers that do not account for case markings on the predicates in (9b-d). Thus, I argue that the tense, mood, and question features inherited in T^o trigger the presence of the copula in $Pred^o$ without any semantic addition from the copula. Since $Pred^o$ and its non-verbal complement are responsible for the theta-marking of the subject, $Pred^o$ ensures a connection between the subject and predicate in one (universal) underlying structure. As discussed in Alsaeedi (2015, p. 14), this analysis attempts "to link Syntax and Semantics at the L[ogical]F[orm] representation."

Case and Agreement

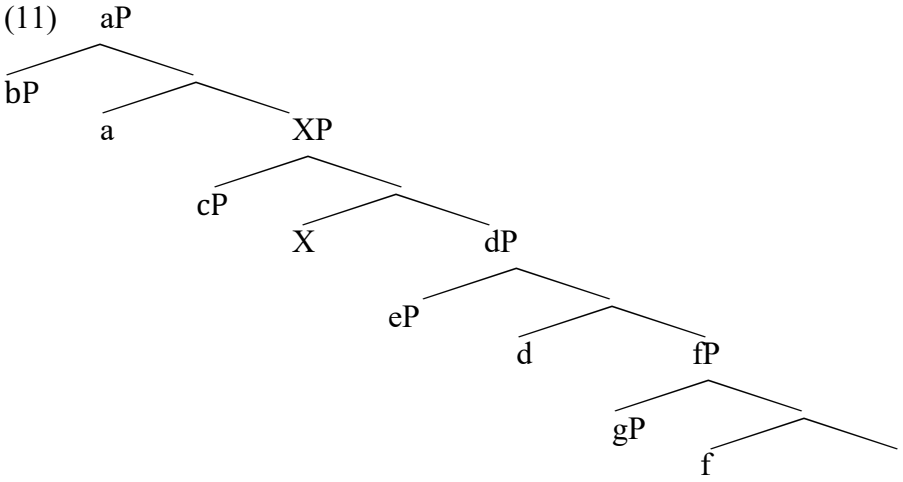
Using traditional terminology, Rizzi (2001) calls *agreement* "the configuration in which the phrase minimally c[onstituent]-commands the head" and *government* "the

configuration in which the head minimally c-commands the phrase" (p. 107). According to Rizzi (2001), although government and agreement configurations "are made by the same elementary ingrediants, minimality and c-command," the only difference between them is the directionality of c-command, upward or downward in the tree (p. 107). Rizzi (2001, p. 90) updates his Relativized Minimality (RM) Principle from Rizzi (1990) (10).

(10) Y is in Minimal Configuration with X iff
There is no Z such that
(i) Z is of the same structural type as X, and
(ii) Z intervenes between X and Y

To illustrate this relationship syntactically, see (11) (from Rizzi, 2001, p. 106). Note that X-bar notation has been omitted and their positions are left empty.

(11)



In this structure, X is the case-licenser. X can govern its complement dP and its complement's specifier eP, but not its complement's complement fP, due to the presence of the intervening head d. Any relation between X and fP would violate the RM Principle in (10). X can case-license its specifier cP, but not bP, because of the intervening head a.

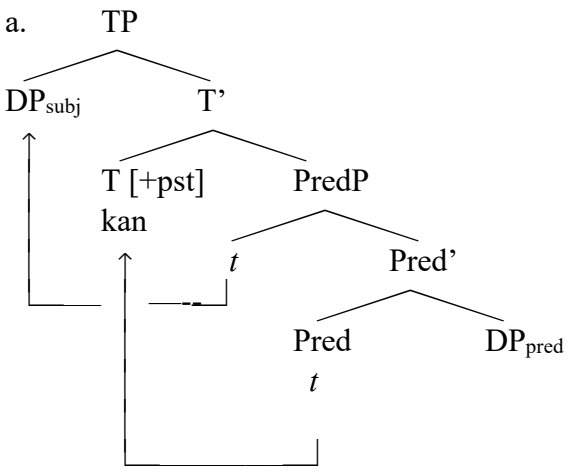
Rizzi (2001) concludes that "a head cannot license a case across an intervening head, either upward or downward" (p. 106).

Discussion

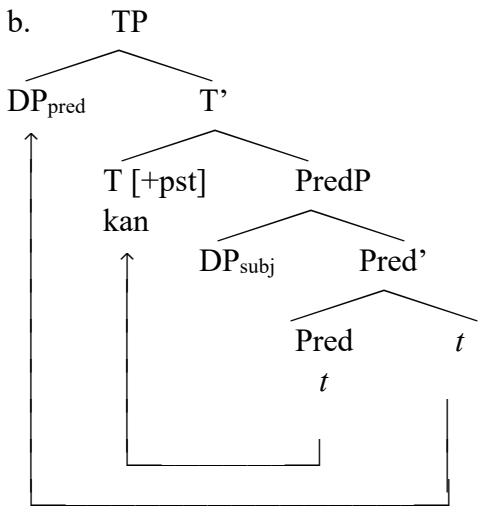
In this subsection, I discuss the structure of the copular/locative and existential predications, following Moro (1997), using a unified structure distinguished by movement of the subject or predicate. I depart from Moro's analysis by adopting Bowers (1993) and Mikkelsen (2005) in a slightly different manner (i.e., no v_bP). I adopt Rizzi's (2001) analysis for case and agreement. Finally, I defend the proposed structure against raising the predicate to TopP.

Let us see how this system generates Arabic copular/locative and existential clauses (12).

(12) a.



b.



The syntactic structure in (12a) is an example of a copular/locative predication, where the DP_{subj} is base-generated in SpecPredP. The subject DP receives nominative case from T^o through a government relation, with no RM violation since no head intervenes between T^o, the case assigner, and the subject DP, the case-assigned. I include a [+pst] feature in

the T^o node to show that this feature is responsible for the realization of the copula in $Pred^o$. This copula then enters a government relation with the DP_{pred} and assigns accusative case to it. The copula is then attracted to T^o in order to support the tense morphology on T^o; there is no intervening head between T^o and $Pred^o$ and therefore there is no RM violation. The subject DP is attracted to SpecTP by the EPP feature on T^o. Then, the DP_{subj} checks the phi-features on T^o. In the absence of a past tense copula, the predicate DP receives default nominative case. The principle in (10) captures all of the structural relations in (12a) and the syntax converges.

The syntactic structure in (12b), on the other hand, is interesting. It is an example of an existential (inverse copular) predication. Just like (12a), the subject DP in (12b) receives nominative case from T^o. The head T^o has a past tense feature that is responsible for the copula realization on the head $Pred^o$. The copula assigns accusative case to its predicate. However, it is not the DP_{subj} that raises to SpecTP, but rather the DP_{pred}. This movement violates RM since the movement of the DP_{pred} passes the DP_{subj}, which is closer to SpecTP.

Several linguists attempt to solve this problem by suggesting a topic feature [top] on DP_{pred} (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 171), claiming that the DP_{pred} is discourse-linked (D-linked; Pesetsky, 1987), or assuming some sort of "presupposed interpretation" (Rizzi, 2001). All of these analyses assume that DP_{pred} carries a feature or interpretation that triggers a movement that is prohibited by RM. Although, Pesetsky (1987) and Rizzi (2001) discuss wh-movement, i.e., A'-movement, their analyses can be extended to A-movement, where the movement of the either the subject or the predicate to SpecTP is determined.

Therefore, the DP_{pred} in Arabic cannot move to SpecTopP, as I later show. The DP_{pred} however can be D-linked and thereby raise to SpecTP. Recall that the subjects of existential sentences in Arabic are always indefinite. The definiteness effect is self-explanatory in this case: the DP_{pred} is preposed to a position higher than the indefinite DP in order to establish a conversation based on mutual knowledge between the interlocuters. This can be attained by preposing the predicate (whether DP, AP, or PP), providing that such a predicate can establish a D-linked interpretation. This rationale was introduced in *Mubtada* and *khabar* "topic and comment" in the Arabic literature[28] around the 8th century by Arab grammarians, such as Sibawayh (1938), and later in the 9th century by Al-Mubarrad (1994) and Ibn ʕaqiil (1980), citing Ibn Malik (13th century). See the examples in (13), repeated from Chapter 3.

(13) a. fi-d-daar-i raʒul-un
in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
'There is a man in the house.' (Jubouri, 2010, p. 538)

b. *raʒul-un fi-d-daar-i
man-NOM.INDF in-DEF-house-GEN
'A man is in the house.' (Jubouri, 2010, p. 538)

c. **ʔ**-raʒul-un fi-d-daar-i (ʔm ʔmraʔah)
Q-man-NOM.INDF in-DEF-house-GEN or woman.NOM.INDF
'Is there a man in the house (or a woman)?' (Jubouri, 2010, p. 541)

d. **laa** raʒul-a fi-d-daar
NEG man-ACC.INDF in-DEF-house
'No MAN is in the house.' (Al-Mubarrad, 1994, p. 357)

In example (13a), the prepositional phrase must be preposed because the PP is D-linked. The speaker and the listener must know which house is under discussion and therefore a

[28] The dates in the Arabic literature are for the publications, while originally written in their designated centuries.

mutual knowledge must have already been established. Note that if the DP inside the PP is indefinite as *fi-daari* 'in a house,' the sentence will be ungrammatical. The definiteness of the DP inside the PP is required to indicate a specific house known by the listener.[29] The only part of the sentence is unknown to the listener is who/what is inside that house, and thus, the obligatory movement of the PP is important. Therefore, D-linking in the sense of Pesetsky (1987) is established here. In example (13b), the indefinite subject moves to SpecTP, which is ruled out because the subject is not definite, i.e., not D-linked. The ungrammatical sentence in (13b) does not assume any focalization and is ruled out in the literature. However, (13b) may be marginally accepted if *raʒulun* 'a man' is focalized, i.e., if it receives a special intonation when it is an answer to a question *man fi-d-dari*? 'who is in the house?' If such focalization is assumed, the translation of (13b) would be represented by capital letters, as in 'A MAN is in the house (not a woman/boy).' The importance of focalization is apparent in (13c-d) where the indefinite noun is moved out of its base-generated position in SpecPredP to a position in the CP, probably Foc(us)P. In these sentences, the question and negative particles attract the indefinite subject to Inter(rogative)P or Neg(ative)P above TP. Rizzi (2001, p. 103), citing Cinque (1999), acknowledged that, in French, the focalization of adverbs allows lower adverbs to move across higher adverbs, which is otherwise prohibited (14).

(14) a. Il a probablement travaille energiquement. (French)
'He has probably worked energetically.'

b. *Energiquement, il a probablement travaille. (French)
'Energetically, he has probably worked.'

[29] I'm indebted to Hassan Munshi for this example and the discussions.

c. C'est energiquement qu'il a probablement travaille. (French)
'It is energetically that he has probably worked.'

d. RAPIDAMENTE i tecnici hanno probabilmente risolto il problema (non lentamente). (Italian)
'RABIDLY the technicians have probably solved the problem (not slowly).'

The sentence in (14a) shows the correct word order of adverbs in French (and Italian), where *probablement* 'probably' occupies a higher position than *energiquement* 'energetically' does. The reverse order in (14b) is ruled out in French (and Italian). However, if the lower adverb is focalized in a cleft construction, as in (14c), the reverse order is fine. Focalization of the adverb *rapiamente* 'rapidly' in Italian in (14d) allows this adverb to pass the other adverb *probabilmente* 'probably' to a higher position. Therefore, D-linking and focalization of phrases in the syntactic structure can violate regular constraints such as RM.

So far, I have argued that the subject in copular/locative predication raises from its base-generated position in SpecPredP to SpecTP for agreement and EPP checking, while the predicate in existential predication raises across the subject to SpecTP as a result of D-linking and to check EPP. I have also accounted for the movement of the predicate across the subject in the case of D-linking and focalization, interrogation, or negation.

What about the existential particles? As argued in Chapter 3, such particles are innovations, i.e., grammaticalized locative element that acquire a new usage in existential sentences. Hence, I argue, following Moro (1997) and Mikkelsen (2005), that such particles are not base-generated in SpecTP, but are rather base-generated in the predicate position in PredP. This claim is supported by the optionality of prepositional phrases

when there are existential particles in the sentence, while the same prepositional phrases are obligatory when the sentence is juxtaposed; see (15), repeated from Chapter 3.

(15) a. *(fi-d-daar-i) raʒul-un
in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
'There is a man in the house.' (Jubouri, 2010, p. 538)

b. **hunaka** muʃkilat-un fi-l-balad
there.EX problem-NOM.INDF in-DEF-country
'There is a problem in the country.' (arabiCorpus)

c. **hunaka** turuq-un kaθirah
there.EX ways-NOM.INDF a lot
'There are a lot of ways.' (arabiCorpus)

d. **θammata** ʔzmat-un ħaqiqiat-un fi-l-ʕamaliat-i
there.EX crisis-NOM.INDF true-NOM.INDF in-DEF-process-GEN
at-taʕlimiah
DEF-educational
'There is a true crisis in the educational process.' (arabiCorpus)

e. **θammata** ħaqiqat-un uχra
there.EX reality-NOM.INDF another
'There is another reality.' (arabiCorpus)

Example (15a) shows that the juxtaposed existential predication is ungrammatical without a predicative PP. Examples (15b, c) show that a PP can be added in sentences with existential particles, (in bold), but it is not necessary, as shown in (15c, e). This shows that the PPs in (15c, e) are adjuncts, and can thus surface in any position freely.

Another piece of evidence for the analysis of existential particles as predicates, and not expletives inserted in SpecTP, comes from the accusative case assigned by the copula that usually targets the predicate, as in (16). Note that I use APs instead of PPs to show case, since, unlike PPs, APs in Arabic are case-marked.

(16) a. ʔar-raʒul-u muχtabeʔ-un
DEF-man-NOM hiding-NOM
'The man is hiding.'

b. **kana** ʔar-raʒul-u muχtabeʔ-**an**
COP.PST DEF-man-NOM hiding-ACC
'The man was hiding.'

c. hunaka raʒul-un muχtabeʔ-un
there.EX man-NOM.INDF hiding-NOM
'There is a man hiding.'

d. **kana** hunaka raʒul-un muχtabeʔ-**un**
COP.PST there.EX man-NOM.INDF hiding-NOM
'There was a man hiding.'

Example (16a) is a present tense copular sentence, and both arguments carry nominative case. The subject receives nominative case from T^{o} and the predicate receives nominative default case in its base-generated position. When the past tense copula is used, the predicate must be marked with accusative case, as in (16b). In existential sentences with existential particles, such as *hunaka* in (16c), the subject DP must be indefinite and both arguments must be marked with nominative case. However, when the past tense copula is used in an existential sentence, there is no change in the case of the AP *muχtabeʔun* "hiding." I argue that *muχtabeʔun* in (16a, b) is the predicate. However, in (16c, d), it is not the predicate; but an adjective inside the subject DP. Instead the existential particle *hunaka* is the predicate. Because the existential particle *hunaka* is grammaticalized from an adverb, it is not a case barrier in Arabic, i.e., it cannot be case-marked, just like a PP.[30]

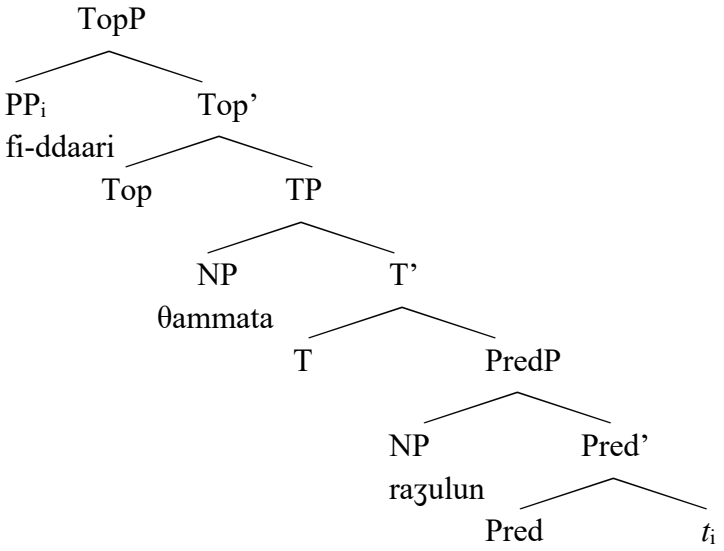
One last point, Alharbi (2017), based on an argument that Arabic uses existential particles as expletives that are inserted in SpecTP "to license the occurrence of the indefinite NP *raʒulun* 'a man' in SpecPredP," argues that *θammata*, or a null expletive, is

[30] I would like to thank Hassan Munshi for suggesting this test and for endless discussion on the topic.

in SpecTP, and that PP moves to the topic position SpecTopP in the left periphery (p. 133), as in (17a and b) from Alharbi (2017, p. 133).

(17) a. fi-d-daar-i (θammata) raʒul-un
in-DEF-house-GEN there.EX man-NOM.INDF
'In the house, there is a man.'

b.



I argue that this analysis is problematic. First, the PP in the juxtaposed construction cannot be in TopP, as shown in (18).

(18) a. qad yakuunu fi-d-daar-i raʒul-un
May be in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
'There may be a man in the house.'

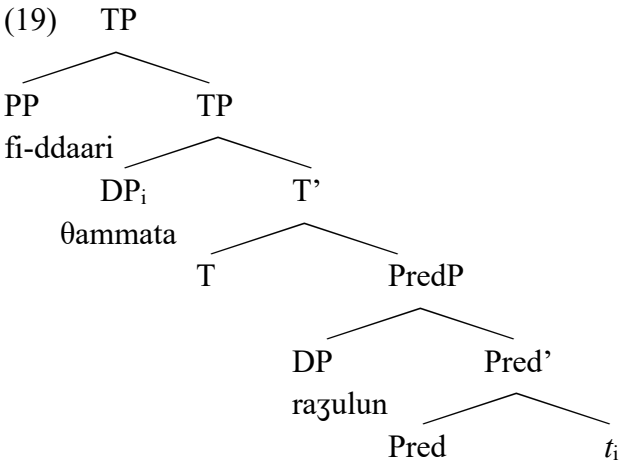
b. ʔ-raʒul-un fi-d-daar-i (ʔm ʔmraʔah)
Q-man-NOM.INDF in-DEF-house-GEN or woman.NOM.INDF
'Is there a man in the house (or a woman)?' (Jubouri, 2010, p. 541)

c. *l-warda-ta faaTimat-u ʔaʕTaa-ha saalim-un
DEF-rose-ACC Fatima.NOM gave.3M.SG-her Salim-NOM
'Fatima, the rose Salim gave her.' (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 204)

d. faaTimat-u l-warda-ta ʔaʕTaa-ha saalim-un
Fatima.NOM DEF-rose-ACC gave.3M.SG-her Salim-NOM
'Fatima, the rose Salim gave her.' (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 204)

As shown in (18a), the PP can be preceded by the modal *qad* "may" and the copula, which both occupy a position right above TP, and lower than TopP. The sentence in (18b) shows that *ʔ-raʒulun* "Is a man?" in InterP (or FocP), which is lower than TopP, occupies a higher position than that of the predicate. This means that an argument for a TopP that is lower than InterP, or FocP, at least in Arabic, is false. This hierarchy is ruled out as ungrammatical in (18c), where the FocP is higher than the TopP. The correct order is shown in (18d), i.e., TopP > FocP. Therefore, I argue that (17b) shows the existential particle *θammata*, moved from PredP complement to SpecTP and the PP is an adjunct. The correct representation of (17b) should be as in (19).

(19)



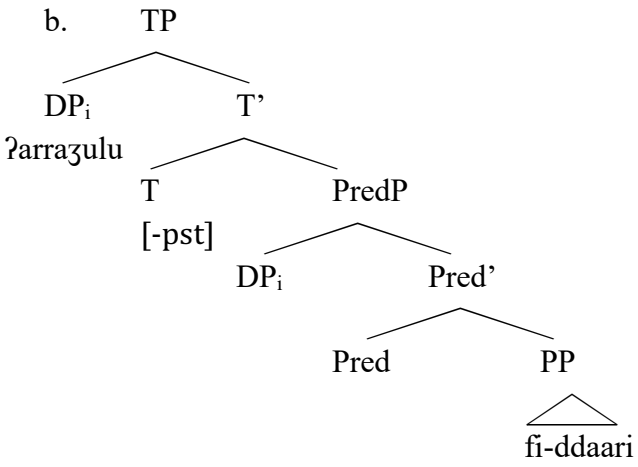
As shown in (19), the PP is an adjunct when the existential particle is the predicate. Note that in (19), I place the index i on the existential particle to show that it is the moved predicate and not the TP adjunct PP. This also shows that either the PP or the existential particle can be the predicate occupying SpecTP, but if the existential particle occupies that position, then the PP is an adjunct. Now, let's turn to the analysis of the data in each variety of Arabic.

Syntax of Copular/Locative and Existential Constructions in Standard Arabic

In this section, I apply the framework of the unified structure discussed in the previous section to data from Chapter 3 for Standard Arabic. First, I discuss the syntactic structure of the copular/locative construction in (20).

(20) a. ʔar-raʒul-u fi-d-daar-i
DEF-man-NOM in-DEF-house-GEN
'The man is in the house.'

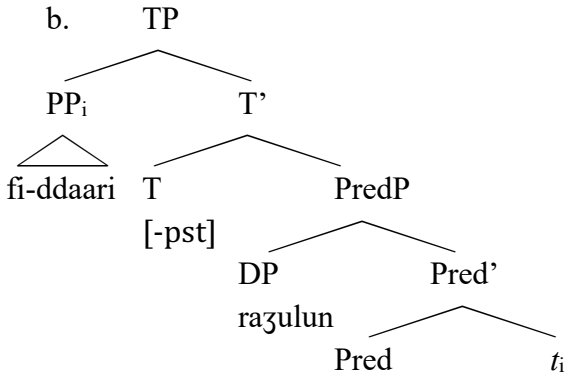
b.



The copular/locative sentence in (20a) is represented in (20b), where Pred^o merges with PP. Then, the definite subject DP is merged with Pred' and receives its theta-role from Pred'. Once T^o is merged, it assigns nominative case to the subject in SpecTP; there is no intervening head between T^o and the subject DP, so there is no RM violation. The subject then raises to SpecTP to check agreement and the EPP.

The syntactic structure of the juxtaposed existential construction is given in (21).

(21) a. fi-d-daar-i raʒul-un
in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
'There is a man in the house.' (Jubouri, 2010, p. 538)



The juxtaposed existential sentence in (21a) is represented in (21b), where the head Pred merges with a PP. The predicative PP is D-linked. The indefinite subject DP is then merged, receiving a theta-role from Pred'. T^{o} is then merged with PredP, assigning nominative case to the indefinite subject. The D-linked PP then raises to SpecTP to check the EPP only. Since this sentence does not have a present tense copula, it is not clear what phi-features would be checked. There is no evidence for agreement checking, especially when the predicate is raised. Ibn ʕaqiil (1980, p. 89), citing Ibn Malik (13th century), states that the separation between the verb[31] and the subject may allow dropping of the feminine gender marker *ta-* "3F.SG." Note the agreement differences between the sentences in (22).

(22) a. qad ***ta**/**ya**-kuunu ʔar-raʒul-u fi-d-daar-i
May *3F.SG/3M.SG-be DEF-man-NOM in-DEF-house-GEN
'The man may be in the house.'

b. qad ***ya**/**ta**-kuunu ʔal-marʔa-tu fi-d-daar-i
May *3M.SG/3F.SG-be DEF-woman-NOM in-DEF-house-GEN
'The woman may be in the house.'

c. qad ***ta**/**ya**-kuunu fi-d-daar-i ʔar-raʒul-u
May *3F.SG/3M.SG-be in-DEF-house-GEN DEF-man-NOM

[31] The term verb also refers to copulas in this instance.

‘The man may be in the house.’

d. qad **ya**/**ta**-kuunu fi-d-daar-i ʔal-marʔa-tu
May 3M.SG/3F.SG-be in-DEF-house-GEN DEF-woman-NOM
‘The man may be in the house.’

e. qad ***ta**/**ya**-kuunu fi-d-daar-i raʒul-un
May *3F.SG/3M.SG-be in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
‘There may be a man in the house.’

f. qad **ya**/**ta**-kuunu fi-d-daar-i ʔimarʔa-tun
May 3M.SG/3F.SG-be in-DEF-house-GEN man-NOM.INDF
‘There may be a man in the house.’

The first four sentences are copular/locative predications.[32] Examples (22a, b) show that the copula must agree with the gender of the adjacent subject. Example (22c) shows that, when the subject is masculine, the copula must agree with the subject even if they are separated by a PP. However, when the subject is feminine, as in (22d), gender agreement on the copula is optional. The last two sentences are juxtaposed existential predications.[33] Example (22e) shows that, when the subject is masculine, the copula must agree in gender, while example (22f) shows that, when the subject is feminine, gender agreement on the copula is optional.

The agreement phenomena in (22) indicate that masculine gender agreement *ya*- “3M.SG” may in fact be a gender-neutral agreement; therefore, when the PP intervenes between the masculine subject and its copula, the agreement *ya*- is neutral agreement, not masculine agreement. Therefore, the phi-features in the syntactic structure of the

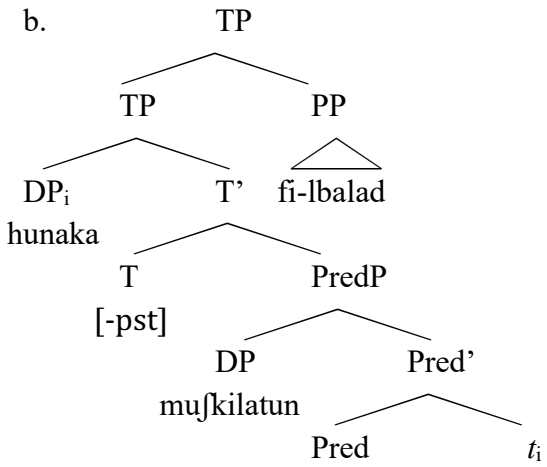
[32] I only included copular/locative sentences in VS word order to avoid the partial (possibly gender but no number) vs. full (gender and number) agreement in VS vs. SV word order because they are irrelevant here. The interested reader should see Aoun et al. (2010) for more details regarding this phenomenon.
[33] As discussed in the previous section, only one word order is available to neutral (unfocalized) existential sentences, i.e., predicate-subject; when the copula is used, it is considered to be VS word order with partial agreement (i.e., it never shows number agreement, but may show gender agreement).

juxtaposed structure in (21b) on T^{o} may or may not get checked for gender with the subject in SpecPredP since such agreement usually occurs in a Spec-head configuration, as evidenced by the copular/locative predication when the definite subject is in SpecTP.

As for existential predication with existential particles in Standard Arabic, see (23), repeated from Chapter 3.

(23) a. **hunaka** muʃkilat-un fi-l-balad
there.EX problem-NOM.INDF in-DEF-country
'There is a problem in the country.' (arabiCorpus)

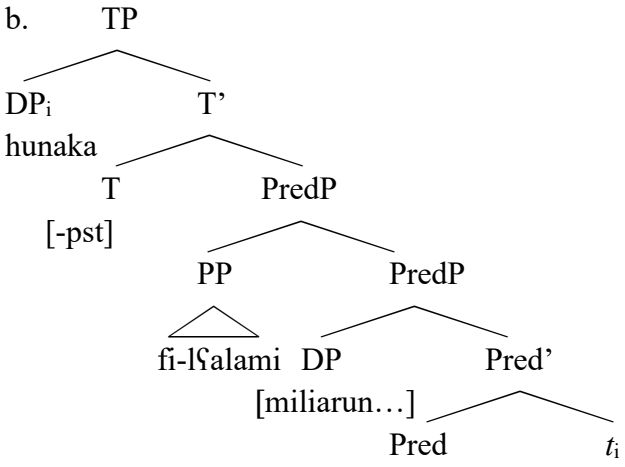
b.



Example (23a) has an existential particle and a PP; based on the proposed theory and structure, the existential particle in initial position is the predicate, while the PP is an adjunct. Adjuncts have more freedom than arguments in the syntactic structure. See example (24), repeated from Chapter 3.

(24) a. **hunaka** fi-l-ʕalam-i miliar-un wa-rubʕ-u
there.EX in-DEF-world-GEN billion-NOM.INDF and-quarter-NOM
miliar-i muslim
billion-GEN Muslim
'There are one and a quarter billion Muslims in the world.' (arabiCorpus)

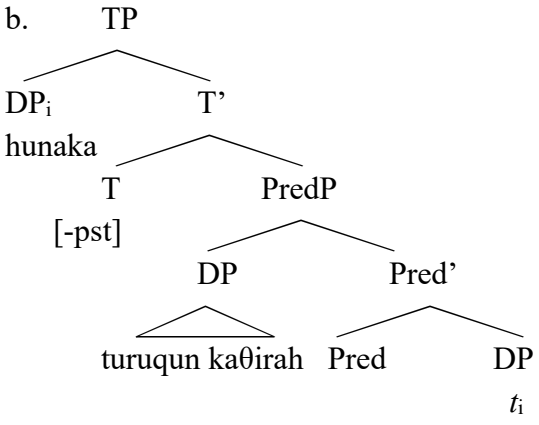
b.



The predicate of the existential sentence in (24) is the existential particle, while the PP is an adjunct to PredP below TP. It is clear that the PPs in (23) and (24) are adjuncts since they can move freely in the structure. Now, let's examine an existential sentence without a PP (25), repeated from Chapter 3.

(25) a. **hunaka** turuq-un kaθirah
there.EX ways-NOM.INDF a lot
'There are a lot of ways.' (arabiCorpus)

b.



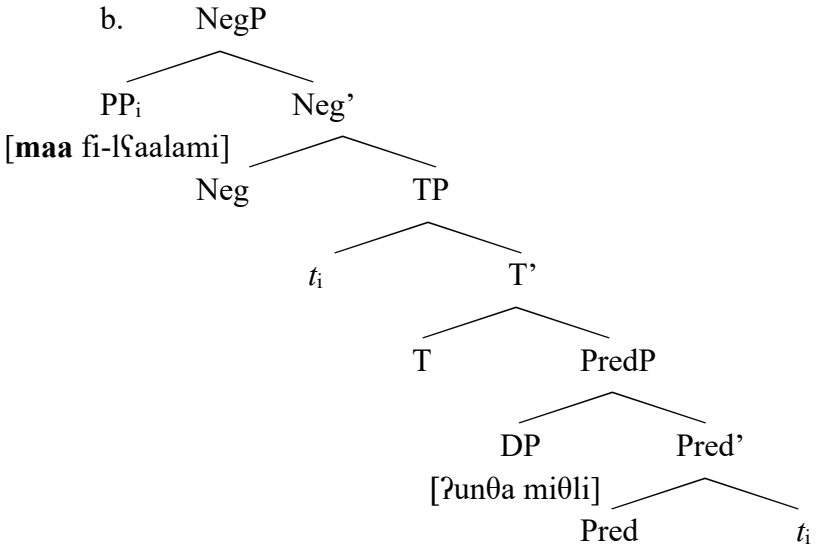
The predicate in (25) raises to SpecTP, leaving the indefinite subject in its base-generated position in SpecPredP. Case is checked through head-to-Spec-of-the-complement from T^{o}

to SpecPredP. Recall that the existential particle does not appear to bear case or agreement.

Negation of the juxtaposed existential sentences may allow either the predicate to raise to NegP/FocP from SpecTP, as in (26a) or the indefinite noun to raise to NegP/FocP above the predicate in SpecTP, as in (26b), repeated from Chapter 3.

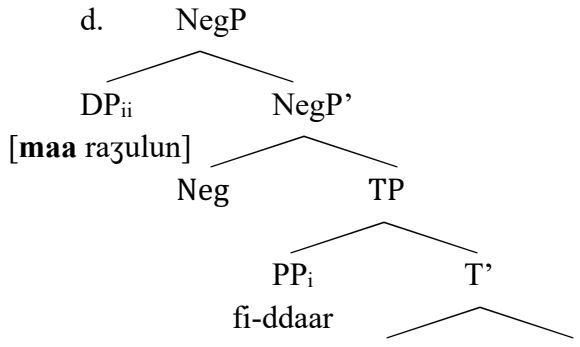
(26) a. fa-**maa** fi-l-ʕaalam-i ʔunθa miθl-i
and-NEG in-DEF-world-GEN female like-me
'And there is no woman in the world like me.' (arabiCorpus)

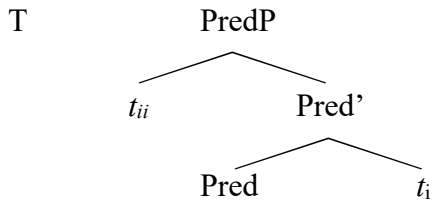
b.



c. **maa** raʒul-un fi-d-daar
NEG man-NOM.INDF in-DEF-house
'No MAN is in the house.' (arabiCorpus)

d.





In (26a, b), the juxtaposed existential sentence is negated by *maa* and the focus of the negation is on the PP predicate. Therefore, the predicate is further raised from SpecTP to SpecNegP to right-adjoin to the negative element. On the other hand, the juxtaposed existential sentence in (26c, d) is negated by *maa* and the focus of the negation is on the indefinite noun in SpecPredP, hence raising from SpecPredP to SpecNegP above TP (indexed by ii). Remember that focalization is an exception to RM violations, just like D-linking.

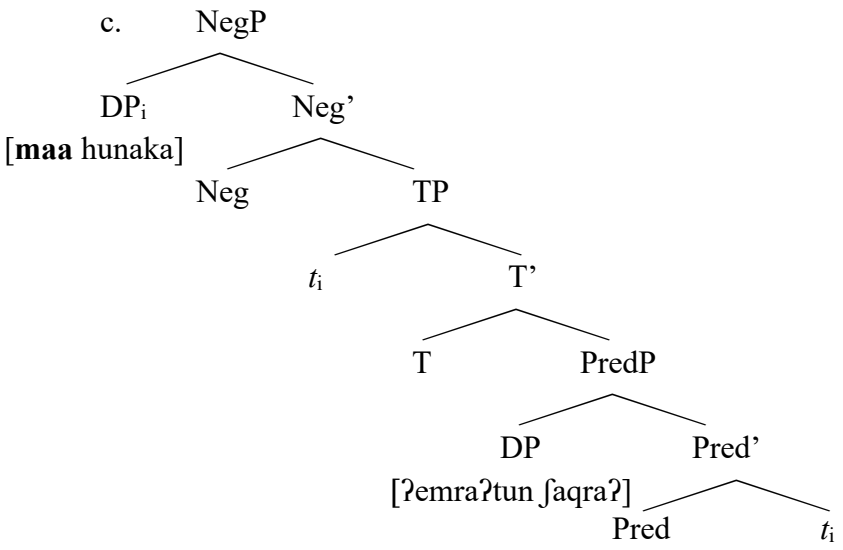
Negation of existential sentences with existential particles can only focus the predicate, because the predicate-subject order of the existential predication. If, however, the subject is focused the sentence will be interpreted linearly as copular/locative[34] and the existential particle will be interpreted as a locative element. Recall that existential particles occupy sentence-initial position only. When they occur in final position, they are interpreted as locative particles. Therefore, the interpretation of *hunaka* rules out (27a).

(27) a. ***maa** raʒulun hunaka
NEG man-NOM.INDF there.EX

[34] Note that copular sentences like (i), (from Jubouri, 2010, p. 530) in the 12th century, are ungrammatical:
(i) *raʒulun qaaʔimun
man-NOM.INDF standing-NOM.INDF
While (ii), (from Jubouri, 2010, p. 543) in the13th century, is perfectly fine:
(ii) maa raʒulun qaaʔimun
NEG man-NOM.INDF standing-NOM.INDF
'No man is standing/up.'
I assume that this is due to the specific interpretation of the subject forced by negation, i.e., certain set of men is known and is negated, while in (i) the set is generic.

b. **maa** hunaka ʔemraʔt-un ʃaqraʔ
NEG there.EX woman-NOM.INDF blond
'There is no blond woman.' (arabiCorpus)

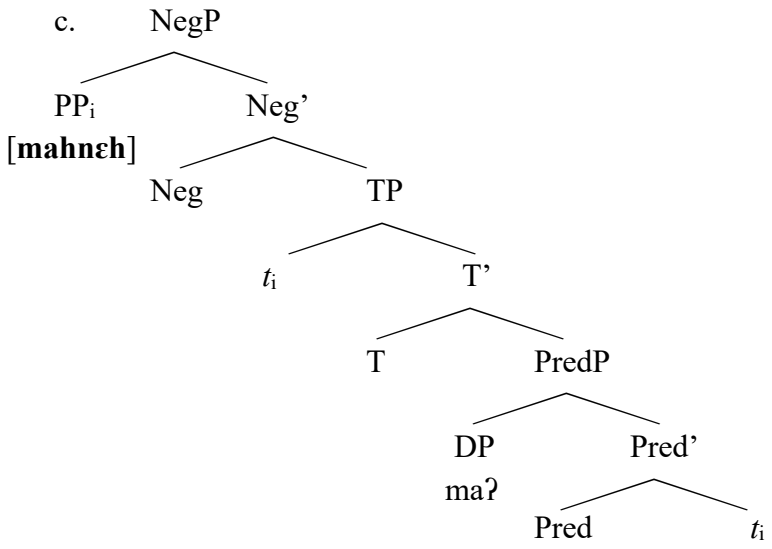
c.



The movement of the existential particle from SpecTP to SpecNegP may result in the fusion of the negative element and the existential particle in the Najdi and Hijazi Arabic dialects of the elders, as in (28), repeated from Chapter 3.

(28) a. **hnɛh** ʔakl
there.EX food
'Is there food?' (FuToom Alsaeedi, p.c.)

b. **mahnɛh** maʔ
NEG.EX water
'There is no water.' (FuToom Alsaeedi, p.c.)



The sentence in (28a) is an example of an affirmative existential sentence in the Hijazi Arabic of the elders. The predicate *hnɛh* is the eroded version of the existential particle *hunaka*. The negated existential sentence in (28b) is represented in (28c), where the predicate is raised to SpecNegP. It is not clear how the negative existential *mahnɛh* is base-generated. Is it generated as a complement to Pred^{o} or as a negative element in NegP? If it is generated as a complement to Pred^{o}, then we would expect the negative existential to raise to SpecTP like all existential sentences in Standard Arabic. If, however, it is generated as a negative element in NegP, then what is generated as a predicate in the existential sentence? Recall that the indefinite subject receives its theta-role from Pred or the predicate; therefore, it cannot receive a theta-role without one or the other. For the purposes of this dissertation, I assume that it is generated as a predicate.

Like Freeze (1992), I do not find that there is any special syntactic structure for possessive predication. It is the same as the existential syntactic structure in (29) from Najdi Arabic, repeated from Chapter 3.

(29) **mahna** ʕaqel
NEG brain
'He does not have a brain.' (Badr Alharbi, p.c.)

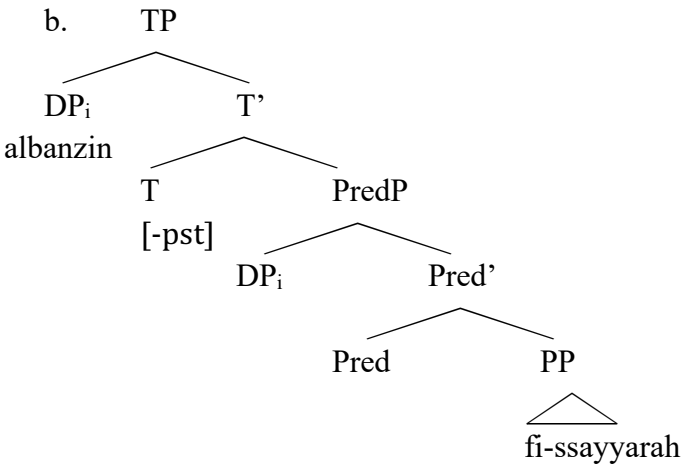
The structure of the possessive predication in (29) is the same as (28c), but the interpretation is possession rather than existential. Moreover, possessive interpretation must be associated with the [+human] feature of the predicate. In the case of (29), the predicate is coerced to some human reference in the context; see *he* in the translation, but not in the gloss. Such predication must not be taken out of context, otherwise the interpretation will be purely existential.

Syntax of Copular/Locative and Existential Constructions in Saudi Arabic

In this section, I apply the unified structure of Standard Arabic to the Saudi Arabic data from Chapter 4. First, I discuss the syntactic structure of the copular/locative construction in (30), from Chapter 4.

(30) a. al-banzin fi-s-sayyarah
DEF-gas in-DEF-car
'The gas is in the car.'

b.



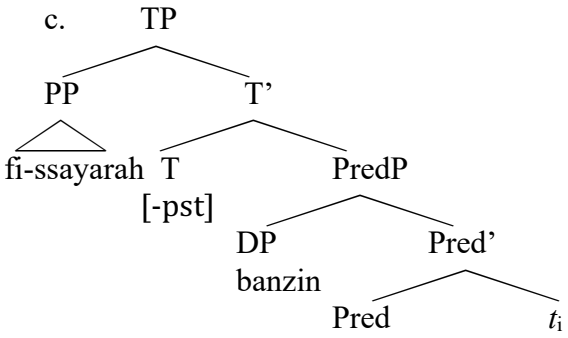
The copular/locative sentence in (30a) is grammatical is represented in (30b), where the definite subject raises from SpecPredP to SpecTP after receiving nominative case in its base-generated position. Case is not marked morphologically in the Arabic dialects, such as Saudi Arabic, except on pronouns. Here the case is not morphologically realized. The derivation for (30b) is identical to Standard Arabic.

The syntactic structure of the juxtaposed existential sentence in Saudi Arabic is shown in the inverse copular structure in (31), repeated from Chapter 4.

(31) a. fi-s-sayyarah banzin
in-DEF-car gas.INDF
'There is gas in the car.'

b. *banzin fi-s-sayyarah
gas.INDF in-DEF-car
'There is gas in the car.'

c.



The juxtaposed existential sentence in (31a) is represented in (31c), where the predicate is D-linked and, as a result, raises to SpecTP. The indefinite subject must not raise to SpecTP or the sentence will be ungrammatical, as in (31b).

The agreement between the copula and the lower subject in Saudi Arabic is similar to that in (22) for Standard Arabic. See (32) for examples of gender agreement being realized on the copula in copular/locative and existential sentences in Saudi Arabic.

(32) a. yemkin *t/y-kuun al-walad fi-l-bayt
may *3F.SG/3M.SG-be DEF-boy in-DEF-house
'The boy may be in the house.'

b. yemkin t/*y-kuun al-bint fi-l-bayt
may 3F.SG/*3M.SG-be DEF-girl in-DEF-house
'The girl may be in the house.'

c. yemkin *t/y-kuun fi-l-bayt walad
may *3F.SG/3M.SG-be in-DEF-house boy.INDF
'There may be a boy in the house.'

d. yemkin t/y-kuun fi-l-bayt bint
may 3F.SG/3M.SG-be in-DEF-house girl.INDF
'There may be a girl in the house.'

The sentences in (32) show the same agreement phenomena as Standard Arabic. Examples (32a, b) show that the copula always displays gender agreement with the subject of the copular/locative sentences, because the copula in T^0 is in a Spec-head relationship with the subject DP in SpecTP, as in (30c). Examples (32c, d) show that masculine agreement can be interpreted as neutral when separated by the predicate PP, since the indefinite subject is in a lower position, too far from the copula to fully establish agreement.

Number agreement in copular/locative and existential sentences is shown in (33).

(33) a. kan-**u**/*Ø al-banat fi-l-bayt
was-3M.PL/*3M.SG DEF-girls in-DEF-house
'The girls were in the house.' (copular/locative)

b. kan-**at**/*Ø al-bint fi-l-bayt
was-3F.SG/*3M.SG DEF-girl in-DEF-house
'The girl was in the house.' (copular/locative)

c. kan-**ø**[35] fi-l-bayt banat
was-3M.SG in-DEF-house girls.INDF
'There were girls in the house.' (existential)

d. % kan-**u** fi-l-bayt banat
was-3M.PL in-DEF-house girls.INDF
'There were girls in the house.' (existential)

e. kan-**ø** fi-l-bayt bint
was-3M.SG in-DEF-house girl.INDF
'There was a girl in the house.' (existential)

f. % kan-**at** fi-l-bayt bint
was-3F.SG in-DEF-house girl.INDF
'There was a girl in the house.' (existential)

The number agreement in copular/locative sentences between the copula and definite subject is always full as in (33a, b). Note that in copular/locative sentences gender is always neutral when the subject is plural, but not when the subject is singular, as in (33b). Singular number agreement in existential sentences is preferred even when the indefinite noun is plural, as in (33c) as opposed to (33d) with % to notate that some speakers accept (33d) but not all speakers do. Note that gender is neutral in the existential with plural subject (33d). While feminine agreement in the existential with singular subject may or may not surface as in (33e, f). Interestingly, examples (33c, e) prove that Saudi Arabic has partial agreement, which is described as being solely a property of Standard Arabic in the literature. The reason that Arabic linguists assume that partial agreement is not found in the dialects is their focus on verbal sentences, which always use full agreement in both VS and SV word orders. However, I argue here that existential sentences in Saudi Arabic

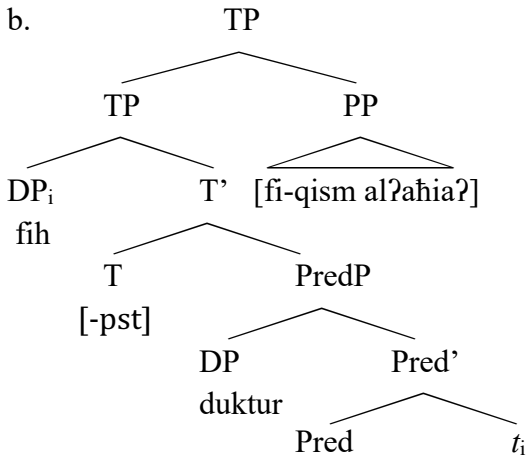
[35] I used an informal survey to check acceptability judgments of full vs. partial agreement on the copula in existential sentences like (33c-f); most of the participants only accepted partial agreement and rejected full agreement. However, a small number of participants accepted both partial and full agreement. Importantly, none of the participants rejected the partial agreement in (33c, e).

show partial agreement. Clearly, the assumptions that Arabic dialects do not exhibit partial agreement should be revisited in light of (33).

Saudi Arabic has only one existential particle *fih* 'there is', which was grammaticalized from the preposition *fi* + object pronoun *-h*, as discussed in Chapter 4. Similar to Standard Arabic, this existential particle is a sentence-initial particle that is moved from the predicative position: the complement of Pred^{o}. This existential particle occurs only with indefinite nouns. See the sentences in (34) from Chapter 4.

(34) a. **fih** duktur fi qism al-ʔaħiaʔ
there.EX professor.INDF in department DEF-biology
'There is a professor in the Biology department.' (WhatsApp data)

b.

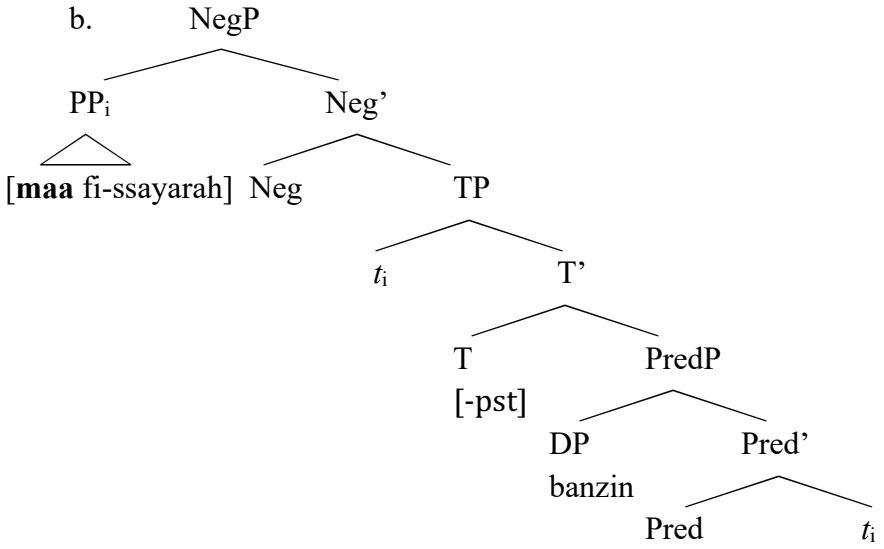


Example (34a) is represented in (34b), where the predicate is D-linked and raises to SpecTP. The indefinite subject remains in the lower position and receives case from T^{o}. The PP is an adjunct to TP.

Examples of negation of the existential sentences in Saudi Arabic are provided in (35), from Chapter 4.

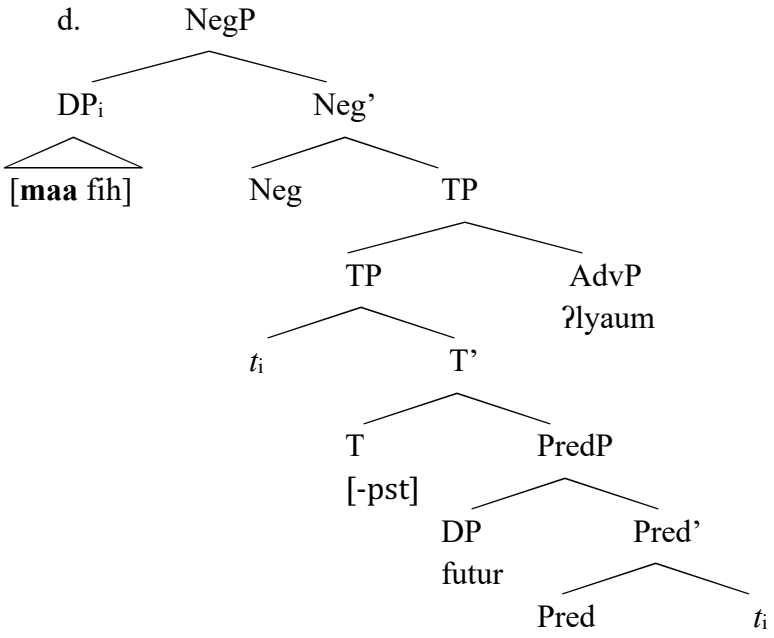
(35) a. **maa** fi-s-sayyarah banzin
NEG in-DEF-car gas.INDF
'There is no gas in the car.'

b.



c. **maa** fih fatur ʔl-yaum
NEG EX breakfast.INDF DEF-today
'There is no breakfast today.' (WhatsApp data)

d.



The juxtaposed existential sentence (35a) is represented as (35b), where first the predicate PP raises to SpecTP, because it is D-linked. Then, the predicate PP raises further to NegP. The existential sentence in (35c) is represented in (35d), where first the predicate existential particle raises to SpecTP, because it is D-linked. Then, the predicate is raised to NegP to adjoin the negative element. Such raising results in fusion between the negative element *maa* and the existential particle *fih*, creating *maafih*. This new element is the negative existential particle used in existential sentences. This particle extends to possessive predication, just like Standard Arabic.

However, there is an evidence for another extended use to possessive predications and parts of the verbal domain, as discussed in Chapter 4. See example (36), from Chapter 4.

(36) a. **maa** **fih/ʕind**-i fulus
NEG POSS/POSS-1SG money
'I have no money.' (WhatsApp data/my example)

b. **maafih** ta-ftaħ niqaaʃ
NEG.EX 2SG.IPFV-open discussion.INDF
'You cannot open a discussion.' (WhatsApp data)

Example (36a) shows that the existential particle is used interchangeably with the regular possessive particle in Saudi Arabic. Note also that the possessive meaning of the existential must refer to a human in the context, unlike the regular possessive particle *ʕind-i*, that I added to (36a), which requires an object pronoun such as *-i* 'me.' Example (36a) also shows that possessive and existential predications share the same syntactic structure: "the inverse copular sentence." The sentence in (36b) shows the extended use of the negative existential to imperfective verbs. This is evidence that the negative

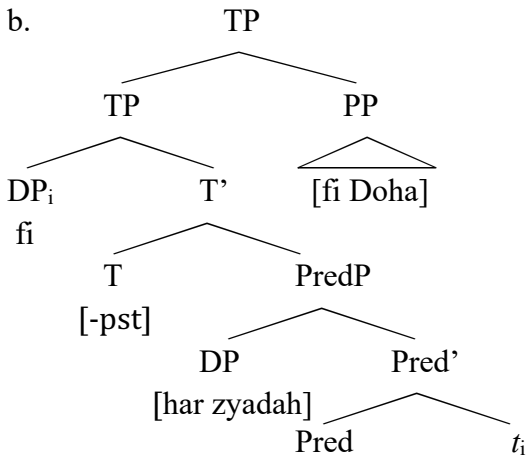
existential particle has become a negative element in NegP, with no existential meaning. The negative existential in (36b) is no longer the predicate of PredP. I have accounted for the use of this new negative in child language in example (10) in Chapter 4, which sheds some light on the learnability of this negative element in Saudi Arabic.

Syntax of Copular/Locative and Existential Constructions in Gulf Pidgin Arabic

The existential predication in Gulf Pidgin Arabic can only be expressed by an existential particle. The existential particle is borrowed from the Arabic dialects, usually *fi*, as in the Saudi Arabic data. This existential particle also occupies a sentence-initial position in existential sentences and can be analyzed using the unified structure in the previous sections, as in (37).

(37) a. **fi** har zyadah **fi** doha
EX heat much in Doha
'There is much heat in Doha.' (Bakir, 2014, p. 418)

b.



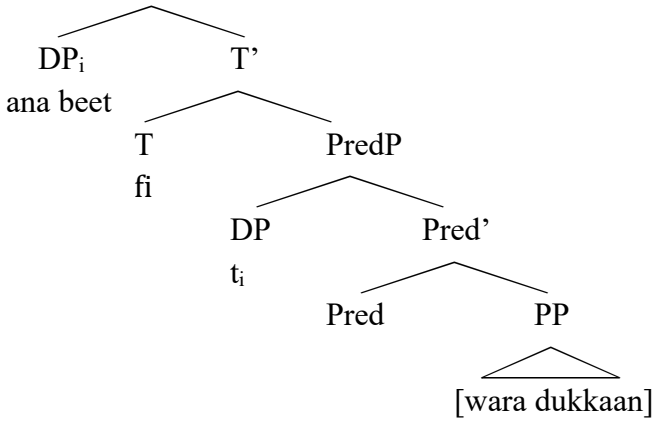
Example (37a) is represented as (37b), where the predicate is D-linked and raises to SpecTP. The indefinite subject stays in its base-generated position in SpecPredP where it receives case from T^{o}. The PP is an adjunct to TP.

The same particle is used as an auxiliary in possessive, copular/locative, and verbal sentences, as in (38) from Chapter 5.

(38) a. inta **fi** mazraa
2.SG POS farm
'Do you have a farm?' (Bakir, 2014, p. 419)

b. ana beet **fi** wara dukkaan
1.SG home COP behind shop
'My home is behind the shop.' (Bakir, 2014, p. 421)

c.



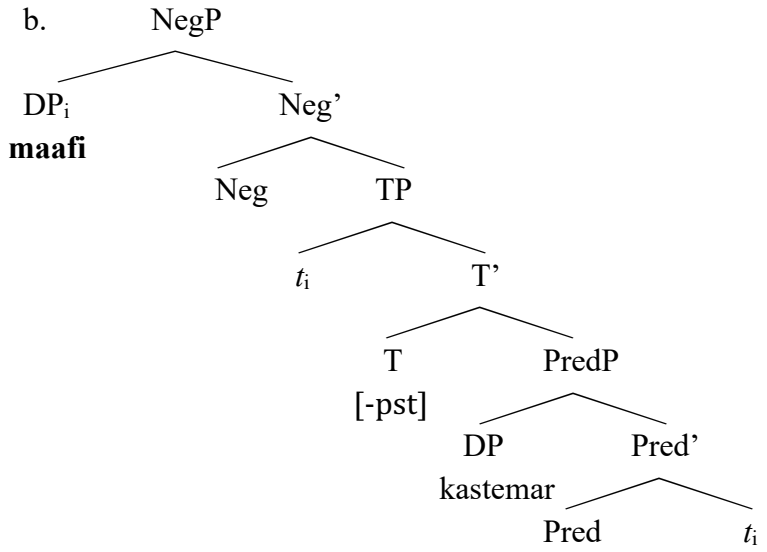
d. ana **fi** gul inti ʃinu haadi muganni gul
I COP say 2.SG.F what this singer say
'I am asking you what this singer is singing.' (Bakir, 2014, p. 422)

Since there are two arguments in the possessive predication in (38a), *inta* 'you' and *mazraa* 'farm,' I assume a syntactic structure different from existential predication (37b). The position of *fi* should therefore be different too. I argue that *fi* has been reanalyzed as an auxiliary occupying T^o. The copular/locative sentence in (38b) is represented in (38c), where the definite subject raises from SpecPredP to SpecTP and the PP stays in the complement position of PredP. The verbal sentence in (38d) also indicates that *fi* is an auxiliary in T^o. Note that agreement is missing in this variety of Arabic.

The negation of existential sentences, verbal sentences, and constituents in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is performed by the same negative element *maafi* (39), from Chapter 5.

(39) a. **maafi** kastemar, **maafi** hassil
NEG.EX customer NEG get
'If there is no customer, you won't benefit.' (Bakir, 2014, pp. 429)

b.



c. fi muslim fi **maafi** muslim
EX Muslim EX NEG Muslim
'There are Muslims and there are non-Muslims.' (Næss, 2008, p. 77)

The sentence in (39a) shows two occurrences of the negative *maafi*, one as an existential and the other as verbal predication. *Maafi* in the first part of (39a) is represented in the syntactic structure in (39b), while *maafi* in the second part is a negative particle with no existential meaning. The sentence in (39c) shows *maafi* as constituent negator, which I assume occupies SpecDP, or D^{o} as a negative determiner[36] but I leave this for further rsearch.

[36] I am thankful to Dr. Gillon for this suggestion.

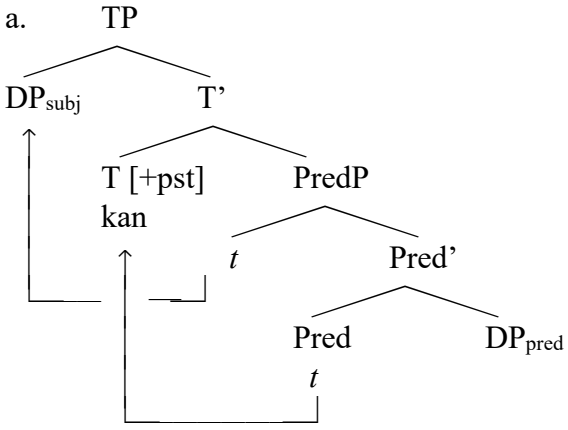
Final Remarks:

The unified syntactic structure for copular/locative and existential (i.e., both juxtaposed and with existential particles) accounts for the reinterpretation of the negative existential as a general negator (i.e., the Negative Existential Cycle). This is established frist through raising the predicate (i.e., existential particle) to SpecTP, then to SpecNegP to join the negative particle *maa*. The extensive use of the negative particle and existential particle results in reanalysis of the collocation as one negative in SpecNegP as in (28) and (29) from Nadi and Hijazi Arabic spoken by elders, and (35) and (36) in Saudi Arabic. Further reanalysis of the negative existential to a negative determiner is shown in (39c) in Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

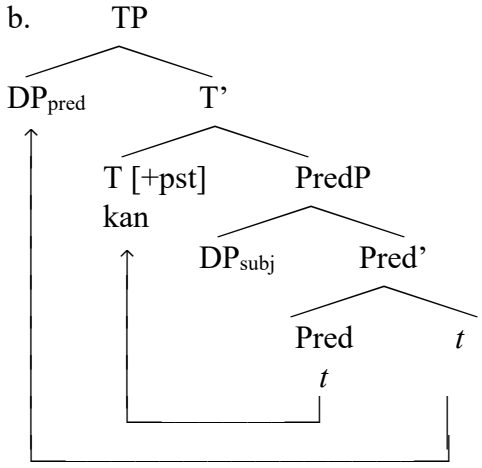
Summary

In this chapter, I argued, following Moro (1997) and Mikkelsen (2005), for a unified syntactic structure for the copular/locative and existential predications in Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic, as in (12), repeated here as (40).

(40) a.



b.



The syntactic structure in (40a) describes copular/locative predication, where the definite subject DP receives case from T^o with no violations of Relativized Minimality (RM), as discussed in Rizzi (2001), since no head intervenes between T^o and the subject DP in SpecPredP. The copula (in case of the presence of tense or mood features on T^o) is raised to T^o to support the tense morphology on T^o. The syntactic structure in (40b) describes existential predication, where the indefinite subject remains in its base-generated position in SpecPredP. I argued, following Pesetsky (1987), that the predicate in (40b) is Discourse-linked, therefore triggering movement to SpecTP. D-linked movement and focalization are exceptions to the RM Principle.

I showed that these two structures account for the data from Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic copular/locative and existential predications. The two structures also accounted for the agreement phenomena in both Standard and Saudi Arabic, where there is partial agreement in existential predication, and for the impossibility of Spec-head agreement between the subject and the copula, since the predicate rather than the subject occupies SpecTP. However, agreement is respected in the copular/locative predication because the subject occupies SpecTP in Standard and Saudi Arabic.

I argued that PPs (in juxtaposed structures) and existential particles (in sentences containing them) occupy the same position, Pred-complement, and that they are in complementary distribution. This explained the optionality of PPs in sentences with existential particles and the obligatoriness of those same PPs in sentences lacking existential particles.

Finally, I discussed the structures of the negation of copular/locative and existential predications. I also argued, similar to Freeze (1992), that possessive

predication shares the same syntactic structure as existential predication, provided that there is some human reference in the context. Finally, I argued that the existential particle is reanalyzed in Gulf Pidgin Arabic as an auxiliary occupying T^o and that the negative existential is reanalyzed as a verbal negator and a constituent negator occupying SpecDP.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I summarize the main points of this dissertation. I highlight the findings for each variety of Arabic. I also re-address the methodological challenges and recommend solutions for future research.

Summary of the Chapters

In Chapter 1, I introduced the purpose of this study by appealing to the work done on the Negative Existential Cycle, or Croft's Cycle (named after its pioneer). The Negative Existential Cycle in Arabic and its varieties has not been addressed in detail in a monograph, except for work on the negative *laysa* by Wilmsen (2016 and earlier work). Then, I presented the scope of the study, narrowing it to three language varieties: Standard Arabic, Saudi Arabic, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic.

The data for Standard Arabic is from the Brigham Young University (BYU) Arabic Corpus. The data is grouped in the corpus in the form of plain texts. The BYU corpus is a free web-based corpus. The total number of words in the corpus is 173,600,000 words. The data for the Saudi Arabic dialect is from Twitter and WhatsApp. The data for the Gulf Pidgin Arabic dialect is from the literature, mainly from Bakir (2010, 2014). All of the data was searched manually for the existential and negative existential elements. No statistical analysis was performed for any of these sources. I addressed the methodological issues raised by the difficulties in the BYU corpus and the availability of a suitable corpus for each dialect with tagged lemmatized words.

In the second chapter, I introduced the existential constructions in general terms. Then, I defined it as a sentence that states the existence of an entity and discussed the characteristics of the existential construction cross-linguistically. Some of the major

characteristics are the sentence-initial position of the existential particle, the pivot is an indefinite noun, and the word order in the existential constructions is the non-canonical comment-topic word order. Then, I discussed the negation of the existential construction.

I then discussed the Negative Existential Cycle, which was first introduced by Croft (1991); and was carried out in many devoted monographs and a world map for the Negative Existential Cycle was created by Veselinova (2013, 2014, 2015, 2016). I presented the stages of the Negative Existential Cycle, using examples from many languages. Languages at stage A use one negative element for both verbal and existential constructions. Languages at stage A ~ B use a new special negative element, distinct from the verbal negator, for some existential constructions, which emerges with some degree of variation. Languages at stage B use a negative existential element, which is responsible for negating existential sentences. Languages at stage B ~ C use a negative existential that has started to appear in parts of the verbal domain, e.g., in certain tenses or aspects. Languages at stage C use both the verbal and existential negators in verbal sentences interchangeably. Languages at stage C ~ A supplement their existential negation with a new affirmative existential when negating existential constructions.

Veselinova (2013) identifies three sources for negative existentials: (i) univerbation of verbal negation and another word, (ii) the reanalysis of a lexical word such as ‘absent,’ ‘lack,’ or words meaning ‘there is not’ as a negative existential, showing no relation to the verbal negator, (iii) fusion between the verbal negator and an affirmative existential. Veselinova (2016) argues that the stages are not sequential and that a language can be at two or more stages at the same time. Her findings were presented in Figure 4, repeated here as Figure 10.

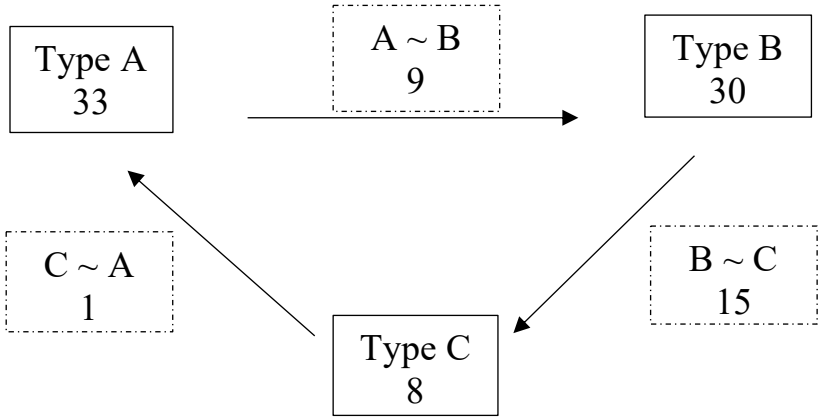


Figure 10. The Worldwide Sample Classified According to Their Stage(s) in The Negative Existential Cycle (Adapted from Veselinova, 2014, p. 1330, 2016, p. 147).

As seen in Figure 10, 33 languages are at Type/stage A and 30 language are at Type/stage B, making them the most common stages in Veselinova's language sample.

In Chapter 3, I discussed the existential construction in Standard Arabic. There were three strategies for expressing an existential proposition. First, an existential construction can be formed by the simple juxtaposition of a pivot and a coda, without a verb or existential particle. Second, it can be formed by the lexical verb *yuʒad* 'exist.' Third, it can be formed by sentence-initial grammaticalized existential particles. I presented the existential particles in Standard Arabic and their locative sources. The existential construction in Standard Arabic conforms to some existential characteristics, such as indefinite noun pivots and non-canonical word order, in the juxtaposed structures.

I also discussed the negation of the existential construction in Standard Arabic. I focused first on three negative elements. In the BYU Arabic Corpus, I searched for existential particles negated by each negative element and reported the findings. I then narrowed the investigation to two negative elements: *maa* and *laysa*. The negation of the

existential construction by *maa*, similar to the verbal construction, means that Standard Arabic is a stage A in the Negative Existential Cycle. The negation of the existential construction by *laysa* was complicated because *laysa* itself can be argued for as a negative existential in some sentences (see Wilmsen, 2014 for more details). Interesting findings in the BYU corpus were the co-occurrences of two existential particles (i.e., either of the existential particles with the verb 'exist' or with each other). I argued that this was reinforcement or emphasis of the existential proposition rather than a lack of knowledge of Standard Arabic by the writers.

I also included two Saudi Arabic dialects spoken by elders in Hijaz and Najd. These dialects specificly employ one of the existential particles in Standard Arabic, namely a shortened version of *hunaka*. These dialects of elders show the use of the negated existential as an independent negative existential, while verbal sentences are negated by the verbal negator *maa*; only Najdi Arabic of the elders generalizes the negative existential to possessive constructions. Hijazi Arabic of the elders instead employs another negator, *maf*, in possessive sentences. This comparison led me to posit Hijazi Arabic of the elders in stage B only, while positing Najdi Arabic of the elders in stages B and B ~ C, since the negative existential in Najdi Arabic of the elders generalized only to part of the verbal domain. See Figure 6, repeated here as Figure 11, for the representation of Standard Arabic, Hijazi Arabic of the elders, and Najdi Arabic of the elders in the Negative Existential Cycle.

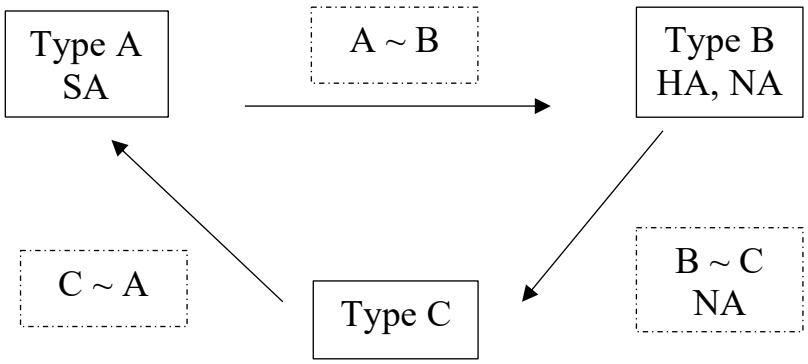


Figure 11. The Negative Existential Cycle in Standard Arabic (SA), Hijazi Arabic (HA), and Najdi Arabic (NA).

In Chapter 4, I introduced the existential construction in Saudi Arabic. I argued that the juxtaposed existential construction in Saudi Arabic has comment-topic order, i.e. a non-canonical word order, while locative sentences are in the canonical word order, topic-comment. Then, I introduced the grammaticalized existential particles *fih/buh*, showing that they occupy sentence-initial position in Saudi Arabic. I argued that the origin of these grammaticalized existential predicate is the preposition *fi* + the object demonstrative pronoun -*h*. The grammaticalization path of this existential particle has been misunderstood by many linguists, including Wilmsen (2016), who referred to its grammaticalization path as preposition *fi* > 'Exist' without any other component merging with the preposition *fi*. The merging of the two elements (i.e., preposition *fi* and demonstrative pronoun -*h*) can explain the vowel change in between preposition *fi* and existential predicate *fi*. In the existential predicate, the final vowel is prolonged as a result of the phonological erosion, mostly unnoticed, of the demonstrative pronoun -*h*. In addition, I presented another new existential predicate *buh* > *bi* 'in' + the demonstrative pronoun -*h* in Qassimi Arabic.

I discussed the negation of the existential construction in Saudi Arabic. As in many other Arabic dialects today, the negation of verbal sentences and existential constructions is accomplished by the verbal negator *maa* in Saudi Arabic. At first, this led me to postulate Saudi Arabic as at stage A. However, I found more data in WhatsApp and Twitter in which the negative existential construction *maafih* is generalized to possession (with no subject) and imperfective verbs, in what I called 'lack of permission' sentences. The negative existential is also used as the short answer 'no' and is found in complementary distribution with the modal *yigdar* 'can' in Saudi Arabic. In Qassimi Arabic, the existential negative *maabuh* showed similar generalization only in possession constructions. I concluded that Saudi Arabic is in stages A, B, and B ~ C, while Qassimi Arabic is at stage B, as in Figure 8, repeated here as Figure 12.

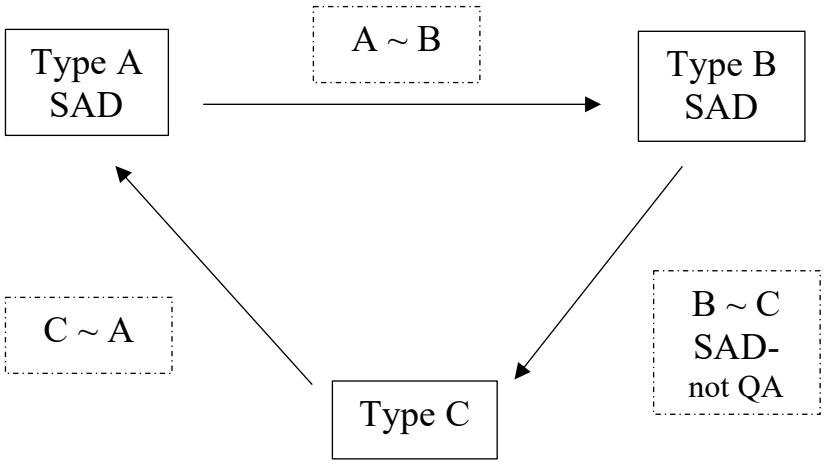


Figure 12. The Negative Existential Cycle in Saudi Arabic Dialect (SAD) and Qassimi Arabic (QA).

Figure 12 indicates that Saudi Arabic is in stages A, B, and B ~ C, but note that Qassimi Arabic is only at stages A and B, as I could not find evidence for stage B ~ C. Saudi

Arabic is at stage B ~ C due to the reanalysis of *maa* + *fi*(*h*) as the word *maafi*(*h*), following Faarlund (2008) and Veselinova (2016). I also supported my argument with sentences made by 4-6 years old, which produced the negative existential as possessive negative (with a clear subject) and before a verb. Why would the possessive construction in Saudi Arabic adult speech be acceptable only without a subject, while is acceptable in children's speech, such as with the noun *mama* in (10a) in Chapter 4? This problem requires further research.

In Chapter 5, I introduced the existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. The existential predicate *fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is borrowed from the lexifier Gulf Arabic. The basic word order is SVO and the existential predication is VS(O). Unlike the original existential predicate *fih*/*fi* in Gulf Arabic, the existential predicate *fi* in Gulf Pidgin Arabic is generalized to several functions. It has expanded its domain to possessive, copulative, and verbal sentences. Some of the functions listed in Bakir (2014) are habitual, progressive, past and future reference (using temporal adverbials and in contexts referring to a sequence of events), obligation, possibility, and imperative and irrealis moods. However, the existential predicate *fi* is not obligatory in all these innovations, except in existential predication.

I presented data from the literature to investigate the negation of the existential constructions. The negation of the existential constructions is formed by the fusion of the verbal negator *maa* and the existential predicate *fi*, similar to Saudi Arabic. The form is *maafi*, which is one word. It cannot be separated by any element like the past tense copula in Gulf Arabic, especially since the tense-aspect system in the Gulf Pidgin Arabic is expressed via adverbials as adjuncts. The negative existential predicate is generalized

to possessive, copulative, and verbal constructions as well. The generalization is further developed to include constituent negation (i.e., negating a constituent, as in English *non-* and Arabic *ɣair*). The constituent negator does not cliticize to the noun phrase like English *non-*; it is only noticeable when the negative existential predicate *maafi* is preceded by the affirmative existential predicate *fi* in the construction '*fi maafi NP*,' where NP is a noun phrase. Then, the only possible interpretation of the string of the two words is that the first word is the head of the predicate phrase, while the second is the negator of the constituent, or the noun phrase.

A careful look at the data reveals that the Gulf Pidgin Arabic is not at stage A, where one negative element negates both verbal and existential constructions. Rather, there are variations in Gulf Pidgin Arabic, where verbal sentences are negated by the verbal negator *maa*, copulative sentences are negated by the negative copula *muu*/*mub*, and imperative sentences are negated by *laa*. These negative elements are borrowed from the lexifier Gulf Arabic, but not via mere transfer. As Bakir (2014) puts it, this is "the result of system-internal processes motivated by universal developmental tendencies toward regularization and simplification of grammars" (p. 434). I agree with half of this quote. The processes are a result of system-internal processes motivated by universal tendencies, but not toward regularization and simplification of the grammar in this case. Instead, it is motivated by the development of standard negators, or verbal negators, from existential negators, as argued by Croft (1991).

I argue that these variations show that the negative existential predicate *maafi* competes with the other negation strategies within the verbal domain. This variation is considered stage C in the Negative Existential Cycle. Finally, the negation of the

existential constructions is always made by the negative existential predicate *maafi*. Therefore, stage B is exemplified by the existential construction in Gulf Pidgin Arabic. Furthermore, the negative existential predicate *maafi* has become a general negator, which negates all sentence types, such as copulative, possessive, and verbal. Figure 9, repeated here as Figure 13, represents Gulf Pidgin Arabic at stages B and C in the Negative Existential Cycle.

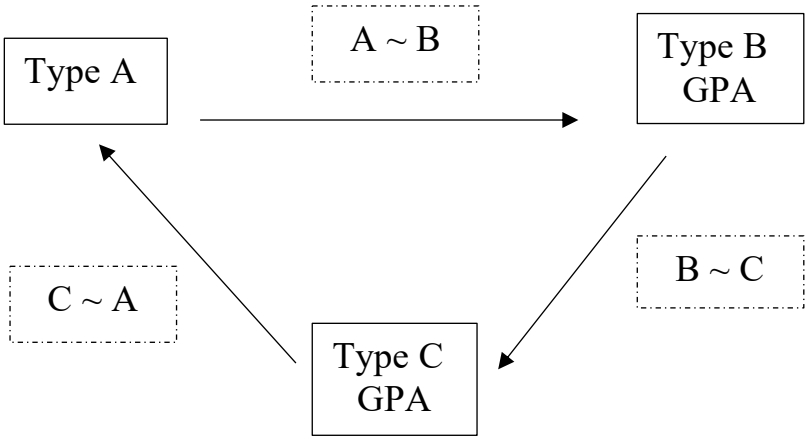
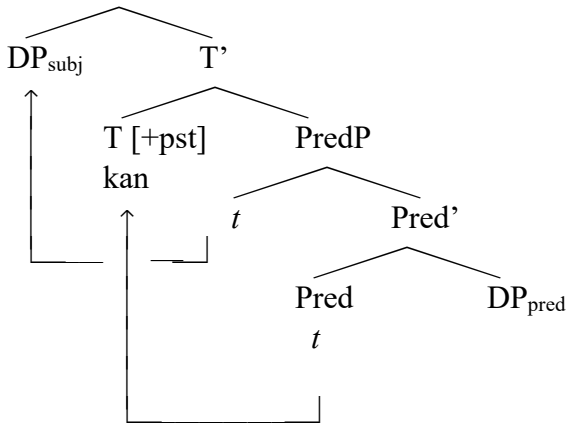


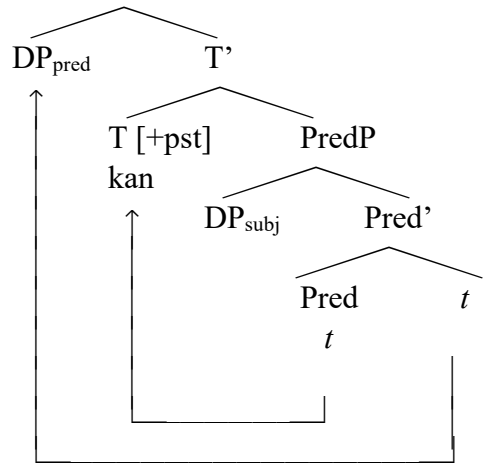
Figure 13. The Negative Existential Cycle in Gulf Pidgin Arabic (GPA).

In Chapter 6, I reviewed the literature on the syntax of copular/locative and existential predications. Following Moro (1997) and Mikkelsen (2005), I argued for a unified SC for copular/locative and existential sentences. The SC is a PredP, following Bowers (1993). This structure accounted for the hierarchy and included a functional head that takes a complement and gives a theta-role to the subject. I adopted Rizzi's (2001) Relativized Minimality Principle. The final products of this theoretical discussion are the structures in (1).

(1) a.



b.



The structure in (1a) is a copular/locative sentence, where the subject DP raises to SpecTP, while the copula raises to T°. Agreement is always full in as a result of the Spec-head relationship. The structure in (1b) is an existential sentence, where the predicate DP/PP is a raised argument. It raises to SpecTP rather than the subject when the predicate is D-linked (Pesetsky, 1987, or for the [topic] feature, see Mikkelsen, 2005). The latter movement results in partial agreement between the subject and the copula, since they are not in a Spec-head relationship. I argued for partial agreement in the Saudi Arabic dialect. Such agreement, as far as I know, has never been determined for any Arabic dialect. Partial agreement was thought of as a property of Standard Arabic only.

I have accounted for the data in Chapters 3, 4, and 5 for Standard, Saudi, and Gulf Pidgin Arabic, respectively. The data was for copular/locative, existential (both juxtaposed constructions and constructions employing existential particles), and possessive predications. I argued that the predicate in juxtaposed existential sentences is a PP, while the predicate in existential sentences containing an existential particle is the existential particle. This analysis goes against the *there*-insertion analysis and provides a better account of the agreement phenomena in Arabic. Extended use of an existential

element in possessive and auxiliary functions was accounted for. The negation of the copular/locative and existential predications was discussed, showing that the NegP is above the TP and that the negated element must raise to NegP.

Methodological Challenges and Future Research

Many of the Standard Arabic sentences in this dissertation are from the BYU Arabic Corpus, which were helpful in showing variation, such as the co-occurrence of existential particles. It was also helpful in locating the words before and after the searched word (e.g., *hunaka* is often preceded by the negative *laysa*). The corpus also classifies the words to help narrow the search (e.g., the same word *hunaka* as an adverb shows the results of all the words containing *hunaka* such as *wa-hunaka* 'and there', *fa-hunaka* 'then there', etc.).

Methodological issues arise when differentiating between homophones, such as the verbal negator, the relative pronoun, and the question particle (all *maa*). In addition, the grammaticalized existential particles *hunaka* and *θammata* are homophonous with their sources, making it difficult to distinguish between locative and existential meanings in the text. Therefore, no statistical analysis is possible for any of the homophonous words.

Since there is no corpus for Saudi Arabic is available, I relied on very limited data in Saudi Arabic from WhatsApp. Twitter was helpful, but I had to disregard many examples because they were partial or identifiers were missing, such as location. IRB was obtained from Arizona State University.

The investigation of the existential predicate in the Gulf Pidgin Arabic was restricted to a small number of papers to avoid extraneous variations from areas distinct

from one another. I focused on two authors: Næss (2008) and Bakir (2010, 2014); I also used data from Smart (1990). More data from Gulf Pidgin Arabic may prove to be informative in future research as it changes rapidly.

Finally, the lack of historical data for Standard Arabic and Saudi Arabic makes it difficult to locate them on a continuum. However, as argued by Owens (2006), data from modern dialects can prove useful in comparative linguistics, which can be used for historical linguistics.

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