Negative Polarity Items and Negative Concord in Modern Standard Arabic

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the distribution of certain lexical items in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and their relationship with two linguistic phenomena, negative concord (NC) and negative polarity items (NPIs).

The present study examines two central questions: the first question investigates whether or not MSA shows the patterns of negative concord languages. The second question concerns the distribution of N-words and NPIs in MSA, and in which environments they appear. To answer the research questions, the thesis uses the framework of generative grammar of Chomsky (1995) and The (Non)veridicality Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2000, 2002).

The data reveal that MSA shows the patterns of strict negative concord languages that are suggested by Giannakidou (2000) in the sense that the negative particle obligatorily co-occurs with the N-words which strengthen the degree of negation, and never lead to a double negation interpretation.

Moreover, the data show that there is only one pure NPI which appears optionally in two environments, antiveridical and nonveridical environments, and it is disallowed in veridical environments. On the other hand, the investigated indefinite nouns show a mixed picture since they work differently from their counterparts in Arabic dialects. Their descendants in Arabic dialects appear as NPIs while they tend to be indefinite nouns rather than NPIs in MSA.

Keywords: negative polarity items, negative concord, Arabic

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADV	Adverb	N-word	Negative word
C	Complementizer	SI	Sensitive item
CP	Complementizer phrase	Spec	Specifier
D	Determiner	PF	Phonetic form
DN	Double negation	PPI	Positive Polarity items
DP	Determiner phrase	T	Tense
LF	Logical form	T'	T-bar
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic	TP	Tense phrase
NegP	Negative phrase	VP	Verb phrase
NC	Negative Concord		
NP	Noun phrase		
NPI	Negative polarity item		

Abbreviations used in example glosses

1	First	M	Masculine
2	Second	Nom	Nominative
3	Third	P	Plural
Acc	Accusative	Q	Question
Gen	Genitive	S	Singular
Imp	Imperative	Pst	Past
Indic	Indicative	Fut	Future
		*	Ungrammatical sentence

Phonetic transcription of Some Arabic Letters

أ	ʔ	Glottal stop
ذ	ð	Voiced dental fricative
ع	ʕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
ح	ħ	Voiceless pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	Voiced velar fricative
ش	ʃ	Voiceless postalveolar fricative
خ	χ	Voiceless uvular fricative
ث	θ	Voiceless dental fricative
ض ط ظ	ˤ	Pharyngealized (emphatic)

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 An Overview of the Thesis

In the last three decades, the notions of negative concord and negative polarity items have been a subject of intense debate in the field of contemporary linguistics. Several influential studies have focused on these two phenomena. The studies include Baker (1970), Giannikadou (1998, 2000, 2002), Klima (1964), Ladusaw (1980), Progovac (1994) and Szabolsci (2004).

This thesis is primarily intended to discover the distribution of specific lexical items in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA hereafter) that are generally sensitive to negation. These lexical items are *mutlaqan*, *abadan*, *albattah*, *baʕd*, *ʃayʔ*, *ʔaħad* and *ʔay* (see table 1). They play a prominent role in two linguistic phenomena in relation to negation: negative concord (NC hereafter) and negative polarity items (NPIs hereafter).

This study consists of five chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter that includes the research questions, the target language, and a definition of the key terms. The second chapter presents the general framework and the methodology of the study. In chapter 2, some syntactic and semantic theories are employed as a framework of the study such as The (Non)Verdicailty Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2002). The third chapter describes the syntax of negation and NC in MSA. Chapter 4 explains the distribution of NPIs in MSA. The thesis is concluded by the final chapter where the results and conclusion appear.

Table1

The Investigated Lexical items in MSA

The Arabic Script	The lexical item	Parts of speech	Translation
مطلقاً	Mutlaqan	Adv	Never
أبداً	Abadan	Adv	Never
البتة	Albattah	Adv	Never
بعد	baʕd	Adv	Not Yet
أي	ʔay	D	Any
أحد	ʔaħad	N	A person
شي	ʃayʔ	N	A thing

1.2 The Language of the Study

Arabic, a Semitic language, is one of the most wide-spread languages in North Africa and Southwest Asia. It is a part of a language family that is officially called Afro-Asiatic family (previously classified as Hamito-Semitic languages) (Ryding, 2005; Watson, 2002). Besides Arabic, the Semitic language family encompasses other living languages. Namely, they are Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Amharic language. In addition, Arabic is the most spoken language from the area of Arabian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean in Africa. Arabic is natively spoken by more than 200 million people in the Middle East and North Africa and more than a billion Muslims who are religiously motivated to learn Arabic as a second or third language throughout the world because it represents the medium of their religious teachings and worshiping practices (Ryding, 2005).

Even though there is an ongoing debate of Arabic development and evolution, there is a consensus among the historians that Arabic generally passed through three different phases, Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic, and Modern Standard Arabic. The emergence of Modern Arabic has been accompanied by the growth of Arabic dialects that are seen as a different form of the main stream language, i.e. MSA. Some historians refer to these different phases as ancient, medieval and modern Arabic (Chejne, 1969).

In Middle Arabic, there is an ambiguity around the Middle Arabic stage because there was inadequate documentation of the spoken aspects of that era (Ryding, 2005). Classical Arabic begun in the sixth century and ended in about the thirteen century, and evolved as a result of several social, political and religious factors that carried Classical Arabic to a remarkable level of its own history (Aoun, Benmamoun, Choueiri, 2010; Ryding, 2005). In this context, the literary growth before and after the Islamic era witnessed an expansion of rhymed poetry and prose among Arabs most of whom embraced Islam right after Prophet Mohammad (570-632) was sent. In addition, the revelation of Holy Quran plays a crucial role to document Arabic. This was successfully initiated by the third Caliph, Uthman bin Affan (644-656) who started gathering the Holy Quran from its own resources in one book as it exists today and made about seven copies which were distributed to the Islamic empire (Ryding, 2005, p. 3).

Aoun, Benmamoun and Choueiri (2010) indicated that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the modern period or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) emerged as an absolute necessity to preserve Arabic from the adversely dialectal and foreign impact which began to affect Arabic linguistically, so the process of modernization of Arabic began to be formalized by the political and educational institutions. As a result, many

Arabic language institutions have been established in many cities as in Damascus, Syria and Cairo, Egypt by Arab scholars to bridge the gap between the different Arabic dialects and unify them under one common language (Ryding, 2005).

Scholars have struggled to find a precise definition for MSA. According to Ryding (2005), there is no a comprehensive MSA definition that governs all aspects of MSA, so the literature indicates the general lines and features of MSA without providing an exact definition. Ahmed (2004) states that MSA comes to modernize Classical Arabic structure. This definition is in accordance with Holes (1994) who said that MSA and Classical Arabic show almost the same syntax, phonology and morphology, but differs in the style, usages and lexicon since the MSA is flexible enough to coin new words and new grammatical constructions. Holes (1994) points out that the contemporary linguistic situation of MSA is reinforced by outputs of ubiquitous news, airwaves, televisions, and all levels of education that adopt the MSA as an official medium of instruction. MSA, in addition, can be defined as the language of formal education, media, newspapers, the formal religious discourse and the formal communication among the league of Arab states which politically includes twenty two countries whose first official language is Arabic (Ryding, 2005). Figure 1 illustrates the political and geographical distribution where MSA is spoken natively today in Southwest Asia and Africa. Since 1974, Arabic has been recognized as an official language of the United Nations alongside English, French, Spanish, Chinese and Russian (Holes, 1994).

Figure 1

The political and geographical distribution of MSA in Southwest Asia and Africa
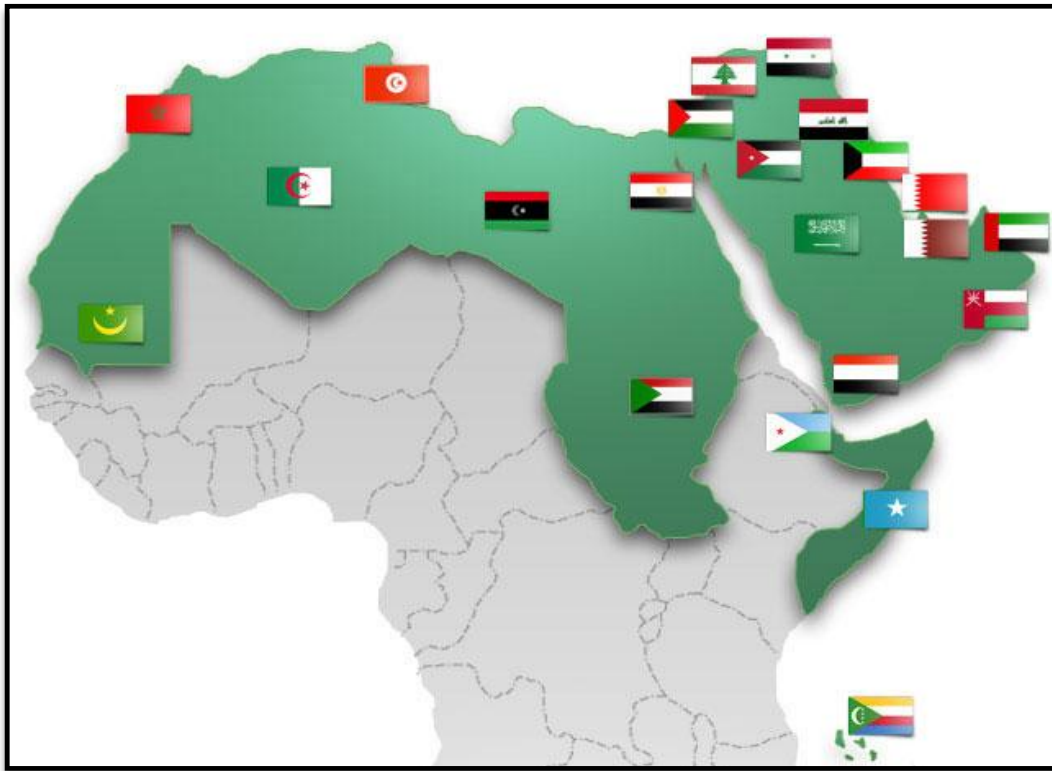
1.3 The Significance of the Study

     This thesis aims to investigate the distribution of two linguistic phenomena, NPIs and NC in MSA because most studies that deal with these phenomena were conducted dialectally or in non-Arabic contexts, and not enough attention has been paid to such phenomena in MSA. Consequently, this research might bridge this gap, and give insights into their ways of distribution. Second, it is an attempt to figure out which theory, approach or account can provide a plausible analysis of NPIs and NC in MSA. Finally, this study is seen as an integration of MSA into the linguistic theory at least in these linguistic phenomena.

1.4 Research questions and Methodology

This study is an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. Is Modern Standard Arabic a negative concord language?

2. What is the distribution of the lexical items in table 1 in Modern Standard Arabic? Do they appear exclusively in specific environments?

To achieve the goals of this thesis, the data will be collected from two main sources: first, the author's Arabic as a representative of Arabic. Then, the invented data will be double-checked by another native speaker of Arabic to make sure that the generated sentences are grammatical. The Second source is the previous studies that addressed the same linguistic phenomena.

1.5 Definitions of Key Terms

Cross-linguistically, there are many lexical items that require certain environments in order to be valid and felicitously used, and if they occur out of the appropriate environments, they will be judged ungrammatical. The environments, in addition, may be various according to their grammatical mood such as positive, negative or interrogative. Hence, the semantic and syntactic sensitivity of these lexical items is highly influenced by the environments that allow them to occur. These sets of lexical items have been called sensitive items (SIs) or polarity items (PIs), which only occur in specific environments (Baker, 1970; Giannakidou, 2002; Klima, 1964; Szabolcsi, 2004). More specifically, there are several sub-branches of sensitive items that may be influenced by their grammatical scope. The main categories of sensitive items that

consistently appeared in the literature are NPIs, positive polarity items (PPIs) and N-words (Laka, 1990)[1].

Historically, the notion of polarity items can be traced back to the works of Klima (1964) and Baker (1970) who proposed and introduced this new term into the literature, and the latter is the first one to coin the term "negative polarity items" in English.

Baker (1970) states that "there are a handful which might be termed polarity-sensitive, in that they may occur only in affirmative, or only in negative sentence" (p. 169). As a consequence, his pioneering work triggered other influential NPIs studies that treated them intensely such as The (Non)veridicality Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2002).

First of all, let us discover what is meant by polarity conditions in natural languages (human languages). Radford (2009) states that there are certain types of lexical items which have an inherent polarity in sense that they are exclusively limited to specific environments, and these lexical items must be licensed by an effective such as negative, interrogative or conditional constituents (p. 60, 61). The following examples in (1-3) explain the polarity conditions:

(1)   The student does not play any musical instrument.

(2)   Did you bring anything?

(3)   If anyone should ask for me, say I have gone for lunch

(Radford, 2009, p. 60)

The examples in (1-3) reflect that there are certain types of words (*any*, *anything* and *anyone*) that are exclusively used under certain environments, i.e. negative, interrogative or conditional environments. Klima (1964) indicates that the environments in (1-3) show

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[1] N-words also called negative indefinites in Haspelmath's terminology (2005)

a shared grammatical-semantic feature which is called later as *effective* (as cited in Radford, 2009, p. 60).

In natural languages, the polarity of lexical items can be classified into two categories: NPIs and PPIs. The former seems to be typologically available in most natural languages (Giannakidou, 2002). Haspelmath (1997) finds that the indefinite pronouns such as *some* and *any* consistently appear in more than forty languages that he surveyed.

In an earlier work, Baker (1970) defines NPIs as follows: "negative-polarity items are appropriate in structures within the scope of negations, whereas affirmative-polarity items are appropriate elsewhere" (p. 179). The PPIs are inextricably linked to NPIs in terms of their distribution. They are in complementary distribution where the NPIs appear clearly in negation environments, and the PPIs found in the opposite environments, i.e. the affirmative ones. Penka (2011) defines NPIs as "words or expressions that can only occur in contexts that are in some sense negative" (p. 102). Surprisingly, negative environments are not the only contexts which are responsible for the availability of NPIs. There are other contexts that allow them to occur. For instance, NPIs can be licensed by questions and conditional sentences (Giannakidou, 1998).

Giannakidou (1998, 2002) shows that Greek NPIs are sensitive to other environments which are not as strong as the overt negation, and she calls these environments nonveridical environments such as questions and conditional sentences. NPIs can be informally outlined in (4):

(4)　Negative Polarity Items:

They are expressions or words that occur within the scope of negation

or negative-like contexts, and they cannot stand alone to express

negation.

Positive polarity items (also referred to as affirmative PIs) (Giannakidou, 2011),

on the other hand, are considered to be a major branch of polarity items beside the

negative polarity items. PPIs have features that make them work differently from the

negative polarity items since they only occur in affirmative contexts. Therefore, they do

not scope under negation and negative-like contexts (Giannakidou, 2011). After the work

of Baker (1970) who differentiated PPIs from NPIs, there are many studies that discuss

the PPIs as a separate class of PIs such as Szabolcsi (2004). The word *already* and *would*

rather, for example, provide the best examples of positive polarity items in English, as in

(5) and (6):

(5)　He *already* told you the story.

　　*He did not already tell you the story.　　　　　　　　(Baker, 1970)

(6)　I would rather go to New Orleans.

　　*I would not rather go to New Orleans.　　　　　　　　(Baker, 1970)

The examples in (5) and (6) display that there are PPIs, as in *already* and *would*

rather, are not permitted to occur within the scope of negation, yet some PPIs , as

mentioned by Szabolcsi (2004), share same features with NPIs such as *some /something-*

type PPIs. PPIs can be informally defined as in (7):

(7)　Positive Polarity Items (PPIs):

They are lexical items that do not scope under negation.

Having discussed PIs above and how they are divided into NPIs and PPIs, now let us look at the other part of this paper that concerns NC. NC has received much attention in literature. The studies include Baker (1970), Giannakidou (2000), Haspelmath, (2005), Labov (1972), Penka (2011). Moreover, it is cross-linguistically heterogeneous in terms of meaning and the interpretation of negation.

Before set out to explore this phenomenon, its definitions should be reviewed. Even though the NC concept can be defined differently depending on the syntax and the semantics of the target languages, there is an agreement among linguists upon some general feature of this term. NC is traditionally defined as in (8):

(8)   Negative Concord (NC):

Two negative constituents, i.e. a negative particle and an N-word contribute negation once.

According to this definition, a sizable number of languages display NC, as in most European languages such as Italian (Haspelmath, 2005; Penka, 2011). The examples (9-10) provide examples of this phenomenon in European languages:

(9)   Maria   non   ha   visto visto nessuno.   (Italian)

Maria   neg   has   seen N-word

Maria hasn't seen anybody."   (Penka, 2011)

(10) a. Nikto   ne   prišel   (Russian)

Nobody Neg   came

'Nobody came.'

b. Nikto   be   vide   Nikogo

N-person   neg   saw N-person   (Haspelmath, 2005)

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"No one saw anyone." (Penka, 2011)

In (9), the NC phenomenon is illustrated in Italian. The N-word *nessuno* co-occurs with the negative particle *non* to form NC. Although *nessuno* and *non* seem to be double negation, they, in reality, do not. They should express negation once, and the meaning is still negative. In Russian, as in (10a-b), the examples reveal that the number of N-words can be more than one in a sentence like (10b). *Nikto* and *Nikogo* are N-words that co-occur with the main negative particle *be* to form negation once. This reflects that more than one N-word may participate in NC, and the meaning is still negative.

Standard English is traditionally classified as a non-negative concord language. It works in a different fashion from other European languages with respect to the treatment of the logical interpretation of N-words and negative particles (Penka, 2011). Consider the following examples in (11a-b):

(11) a. I do not see nobody.

The intended meaning: 'I saw somebody'

b. Nobody did not come.

The intended meaning: 'Everybody came' (Penka, 2011)

In English, as illustrated, the semantic behavior of N-words and the negative particles act differently from NC languages because the N-words and the negative particles cancel each other to express a double negation which causes an affirmative sense, so the languages that show the pattern of double negation as in English are called double negation languages (DN). Noteworthy, even though English is not a negative concord language, some non-standard varieties of English show the ability to express NC

like some English vernaculars and Old English (Penka, 2011). N-words can be informally outlined in (12):

(12) N-word

Lexical elements that carry the negative sense on their own and can stand alone without the need to be licensed.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter concerns briefly the core elements of this study. Section (1.1) deals with the introduction to the thesis and the target lexical items of the study, which are arranged in table 1. Then, in (1.2), I touched upon the language of the study and the historical evolution of Arabic language in three historical phases, classical Arabic, middle Arabic and MSA. The research questions were introduced in section (1.4). Finally, in (1.5), the definitions of key terms were provided to give the reader general sketches of the theoretical background of the study before heading to the next chapter which talks about the general framework of the study.

Chapter 2

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

2.1 Generative Syntax

NPIs and NC phenomena need to be investigated within the syntactic and semantic framework. Hence, this study will draw on some syntactic and semantic theories, approaches and hypotheses that may help in the analysis of this study.

From the early days of formal generative syntax, linguists have tried to develop and examine theories that govern language structure and meaning in order to generalize these theories and discover feasible explanations for linguistically different phenomena. By tracing back the discipline of generative syntax, many scholars have contributed effectively and invented some theories and approaches that provide the possible correct structures for a particular language. In generative syntax, it is highly influenced by the central tenets of the American Linguist, Noam Chomsky (1965) who defines generative syntax as:

> "Generative syntax must be a system of rules that can iterate to generate an indefinitely large number of structures. This system of rules can be analyzed into the three major components of a generative grammar: the syntactic, phonological and semantic components" (p. 16).

In his early work, *Syntactic Structures,* Chomsky (1957) introduced and redefined some syntactic ideas starting from the language itself, which has been seen cognitively in the works of Chomsky. In addition, the grammar of a language can be defined as sets of finite elements of a sentence to produce generatively infinite sentences, and this is assumed to be applicable to any human language (Chomsky, 1957, p. 2).

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He also developed what is known as Transformational Grammar, which involves drawing the relationship between the syntactic elements of a sentence or between sentences in general. Within this framework, natural languages remarkably have two levels of representation, surface and deep structure. The semantic meaning has to do closely with the deep structure which goes beyond the uttered phrases or sentences. For example, the use of active and passive voice in English clarifies these concepts in examples (13a-b):

   (13)   a. Charlie broke the window.

               b. The window was broken by Charlie.   (Yule, 2010, p. 97)

In examples (13a-b), according to Transformational Grammar, each sentence has two levels of representations, surface structure and deep structure. The former indicates to the main syntactic lexical categories that each sentence has. Both of sentences consist of NP and VP, but what makes them different is that each sentence has a different focus. Even though both sentences have almost the same lexical items, in (13a), the main focus is on Charlie while in (13b) the focus is on the window rather than Charlie (Yule, 2010, p. 98).

The salient feature of Transformational Grammar is that human beings are equipped with an innate linguistic system which enables a native speaker of a language to speak subconsciously. This is called in Chomsky's terms "I-language," which stands for internalized language. Radford (2009) states that the notion of I-language triggered Chomsky to invent The Universal Grammar Theory (UG) which seeks to answer the following question: "what are the defining the unique features of the grammars of human I-language?" (p. 13)

Language is a model of idealized competence which establishes particular relationships between the meaning and sounds, and human languages grammar computationally create syntactic structure which interfaces with other components of mind, that is, the syntactic structure interacts with the Phonetic Form (PF) and the semantic components in a complex internalized process (Chomsky, 2006; Radford, 2009). More concretely, Radford (2009) stated that the lexicon (words and phrases) is the starting point to generate grammar. The words combine with each other to form the syntactic structure. Then, the semantic component converts the resulted syntactic structure into the semantic representation, which forms the logical meaning of the syntactic structure. The third component, the phonetic form (PF) links the previous two components with each other. The PF explains how the native speaker articulates the sounds, which are the final language production. In The MP, Chomsky emphasizes several principles that are supposed to be universally applicable to analyze the syntactic structure of any language.

2.2 Syntactic Structure and some principles

The syntactic structure is a level of representation that is discussed by Chomsky (1995). The syntactic structure of any language basically consists of small sets of lexical items combine with each other to form a constituent, and the lexical structure will be built -up by series of movements and merger operations (Chomsky, 1995). Consider the following example in (14) below:

(14)   The president may blame himself.   (Radford, 2009, p. 63)

In (14), the reflexive pronoun *himself* merges with the verb *blame* to form the VP. The resulting VP, in turn, merges with *may* to form the T-bar *may blame himself*. The T-

bar constituent *may blame himself* immediately merges with the DP, *the president,* to

form the TP. More importantly, in (14), it reveals that there are principles in The MP that

must not be violated, i.e. the headedness and binarity principles. The former means that

every nonterminal node in a syntactic structure is a projection of the head while the latter

indicates to each nonterminal node is binary-branching (Radford, 2009, p. 43).

The notions of binarity and headedness lead us to know more about X-bar theory

that visually clarifies the various relations between the constituents. X-bar theory is a

syntactic theory for visual representation of the hierarchy of syntactic structures based on

the bar notation (Radford, 2009). Originally, X-bar theory was developed by Chomsky to

capture the deep meaning of the syntactic structures. Therefore, it aims to divide the

syntactic constituents into categories projected by their heads. In the early version of X-

bar theory, Chomsky labeled the trees based on three projections: Minimal (head),

Intermediate (X') and maximal projection (XP). By using such categories, tracing the

mutual relationships among the constituents will be easier to navigate. The projections of

X-bar theory are conventionally presented in the following tree in (15):

(15)

XP

X'

The specifier

The head
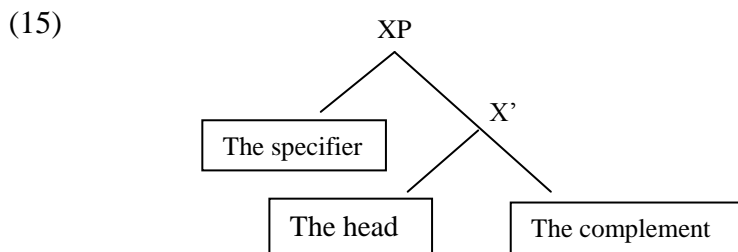
The complement

By applying this categorization on (14), the X' category holds two essential

elements, the head which is called the minimal projection and its complement. The head

and its complement form X' that represents the intermediate projection of the whole

constituent. Then, the X' merges with the specifier of XP to form the maximal projection.

A sentence such as (14) can be drawn according to X-bar theory, as in (16):

(16) The president may blame himself.   (Radford, 2009, p. 63)

```
                        TP
              /                \
                                T'
       /          \          /      \
                                      VP
  The president      may          /      \

                              blam          PRN

                                          himself
```
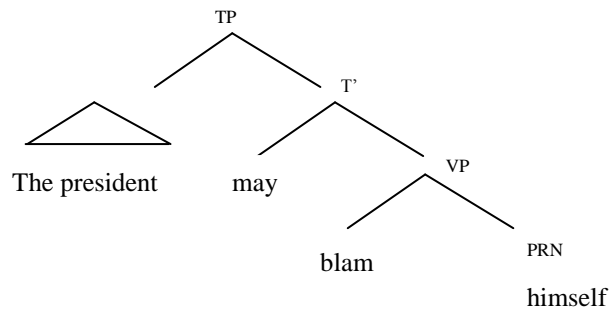
The tree in (16) tells us that there are several principles from The MP applied in this tree such as the c-command and binding conditions. C-command (stands for constituent –command) denotes how two constituents are related to each other in the same tree (Chomsky, 1986). In the tree in (16), the reflexive pronoun *himself* is c-commanded by the DP *the president* because the DP node is a sister of the T', so it c-commands all the constituents underneath it. Furthermore, c-command is crucial thing to facilitate the binding condition for the grammaticality of the sentence.

Even though Chomsky argues that the categorical information in bar notations is redundant, and should be removed from the trees, I will still use the earlier version of X-bar theory (category-based theory).

2.3 The (Non)Veridicality Approach.

Polarity items (PIs) tends to be more semantic-oriented rather than a syntactic phenomenon since they can be analyzed purely within the semantic framework. The (Non)veridicality Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2002), treats PIs in relation to the (non)veridicality property which is related closely to the truth condition, whereby NPIs

are licensed semantically under nonveridical and antiveridical contexts. Giannakidou

(2002) formalized a definition for the notion of veridicality and (non)veridicality in terms

of the truth as in (17):

(17)   (Non)veridicality for propositional operators:

a. A propositional operator F is veridical iff Fp entails *p: Fp→p;*

Otherwise F is nonveridical.

b. A nonveridical operator F is antiveridical iff Fp entails not p:

Fp →¬ p.

From the definition (17), there are three veridicality conditions that should be

addressed in detail. The propositional operator *F* will be one of three conditions:

veridical, nonveridical or antiveridical operator. Veridical operators such as positive

operators do not license NPIs while the nonveridical and antiveridical operators are able

to do so (Giannakidou, 2002). Furthermore, nonveridical environments may include

modal verbs, intentional operators and questions. There are only two antiveridical

contexts: negation and *without* context (Giannakidou, 2002).

What constitutes as PIs is also addressed in Giannakidou (2002). She redefines

the notion of PIs (NPIs and PPIs) as in (18):

(18)   A linguistic expression α is a polarity item iff:

a. The distribution of α is limited by sensitivity to some semantic

Property β of the context of appearance; *and*

b. β is (non)veridicality, or a sub-property thereof: β ∈{veridicality,

nonveridicality, antiveridicality, modality, intensionality,

extensionality,episodicity, downward entailingness}.

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Figuratively, PIs are described as expressions that have a semantic 'deficiency' that prevents them from working properly in all contexts. Therefore, the deficient items need to be cured by licensing them under certain environments (Giannakidou, 1998, p. 17).

According to Giannakidou (2002), NPIs are attracted by several environments and go beyond negation. In the following section, I summarize the licensing environments as they appear in Giannakidou's works (1998, 2002):

NPIs appear in questions. Because questions are classified under the nonveridical operators that semantically allow NPIs to occur, they are considered to be a good environment for licensing NPIs (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002), as shown in (19-20) below:

(19) a. Heb   je   ook maar iets gezien?   (Dutch)

  have-2sg you   anything   seen?

  'Did you see anything?'

  b. Idhes   tipota?   (Greek)

  saw.perf.2sg API?

  'Did you see anything?'   (Giannakidou, 2002)

(20)   Have you seen any student?   (English)

Another licensing environment is future tense. NPIs are licit in the scope of future expressions (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002). The future tense has a nonverdical meaning which allows NPI to occur, but the present and past progressive tend to be veridical. Hence, they predictably exclude NPIs (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002). This is found in many languages like English, as in (21):

(21) The children will leave as soon as they discover anything

<div align="right">(Giannakidou, 2002)</div>

In addition, habitual adverbs license NPIs, such as the English adverbs *as soon as* and *usually*, but not with *always* adverbs (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002). In Greek, the adverb *sinithos* license the Free Choice Item (FCI) *opjodhipote*, as illustrated in (22):

(22)   Sinithos dhiavaze opjodhipote vivlio me megali prosoxi.

               Usually   read-3sg   FCI   book with great attention

               'S/He usually read any book very carefully.'

<div align="right">(Giannakidou, 2002, p. 10)</div>

The generic sentences generally represent an ideal environment to license NPIs (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002). Most of our sentences are generic in the sense that they express a well-known relationship between the sentence arguments, for example, any lion can hunt a gazelle, so NPIs such as *any* can be used in generic sentences, as in (23):

(23) Any lion can easily hunt a gazelle.

Modal verbs and imperatives allow NPIs to occur within their scope because they are nonveridical environments (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002), as shown in (24) and (25) respectively:

(24) Anyone may go to Phoenix.

(25)   Pick any piece of paper.

The last two environments, that are reported by Giannakidou (1998, 2002), are the directive intensional verbs, as in (26) and the conditional sentences, as in (27):

(26)   John would like to invite any student.   (Giannakidou, 2002)

(27) If you have any problem, you should call 911.

<div align="center">20</div>

To sum up, Giannakidou (1998, 2002) proposes a semantic approach to capture the phenomenon of NPIs in relation to the semantic dependency which is seen as the source of sensitivity that limited the distribution of PIs.

2.4 Negative Concord (NC)

The realization of negation varies from language to another. As mentioned earlier in chapter 1, negative concord is various cross-linguistically and differs from DN. Haspelmath (2005) indicates that the vast majority of world's languages show at least a pattern of negative concord. It is useful to recall the definition of NC which is stated in chapter 1. NC is expressed when two negative constituents, a negative particle and an N-word, contribute negation only once. In contrast to NC, in DN, each negative constituent expresses negation separately, so the DN results in an affirmative sense. Let us draw a comparison between two examples of contrasting languages, Standard English and Spanish, in terms of the realization of negation as exemplified in (28):

(28)   a. Nobody has seen nothing.

Intended meaning = 'everybody has seen something.'

b. *(No)   vino   nadie

neg came   n-person

'Nobody came.'   (Penka, 2011)

It is clear from the examples in (28) that DN languages such as Standard English produce an affirmative sense. In Spanish, on the other hand, the negative particle and the N-word co-occur with each other to express the negative sense once, as shown in (28b) (Penka, 2011).

Languages can be classified into two different types of NC: strict and non-strict NC languages (Giannakidou, 2000). Strict NC languages require the negative particle to obligatorily co-occur with N-words, while non-strict NC languages do not require the negative particle to accompany the N-word (Giannakidou, 2000; Penka, 2011). Many Romance languages such as Spanish reflect the patterns of non-strict NC, as in (29):

(29)   a. *(No) vino   nadie   (Spanish)

           neg came   n-person

           'Nobody came."

       b. Nadie   (*no) vino.

           n-person neg   came

           'Nobody came.'   (Penka, 2011)

In Spanish, in preverbal position, the negative particle *no* has to precede the N-word *nadie*, as in (29a). Otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical. In contrast to (29a), the example in (29b) is initiated by the N-word *Nadie*. In this case, it is not grammatical to combine the N-word and negative particle if the N-word *Nadie* is in preverbal position (Penka, 2012).

The strict NC languages behave in the opposite way of non-strict NC languages. In the Slavic languages, for example, the negative particle and N-words compulsorily co-occur with each other to express a grammatical negative sentence. This is clearly seen in Russian as in (30):

(30)   Ja nikogo *(ne) vižu.   (Russian)

        I n-person   neg   see

       'I do not see anyone.'   (Brown, 1997)

In conclusion, the NC phenomenon is common across languages. The main assumption of NC phenomenon is that the negation is expressed by two elements, the negative particle and N-words leading to express negation once. Some languages, in contrast, do not display the NC .Instead, they show DN. In these languages, the negative constituents cancel each other to produce an affirmative sense.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I laid out the details of the general framework of this study by reviewing the theories and approaches that may give us plausible explanations for the distribution of NPIs and NC phenomena in MSA. I adopted the Generative Grammar by Chomsky (1995), X-bar theory and The (Non)veridicality Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2002) as a theoretical framework of the study. As for the NC, I utilized the proposal that is suggested by Giannakidou (2000). In this proposal, languages can be divided into two types: strict and non-strict NC languages based on the presence of the negative particle in the sentence.

Chapter 3

NEGATION AND NC IN MSA

3.1 Introduction

The syntax of negation is a cornerstone for studying the structure of any language, and every language has its own ways and rules to form and express negation. In Arabic, there is much variety of negative particles that can be used to express negation. This variety in negation becomes more complex especially when we talk about the Arabic dialects that express negation in more different and complex ways than MSA. However, in the following, I will review the general sketches of negation in MSA in terms of the main negative particles and some controversial issues that consistently appear in the literature.

3.2 The Position of NegP in MSA

Many researchers have established their analysis of negation in Arabic based on the traditional hypothesis of NegP by Pollock (1989). According to his hypothesis, negation is projected by its head, the negative particle. Regarding situating the NegP in MSA, scholars, who studied negation in Arabic, divided into two camps. The first group tends to be with the traditional explanation of NegP. In this view, the NegP is situated in internal position, i.e. a position between TP and VP, as in English, as illustrated by the tree in (31) (Aoun et al., 2010; Benmamoun, 2000; Ouhalla, 2002). The other group adopts the view that indicates the NegP is projected by the head, negative particle, above TP position or so-called external position (Fassi Fehri, 1993). In (32) and (33), they display the internal and external positions in MSA respectively:

(31)   The NegP between TP and VP
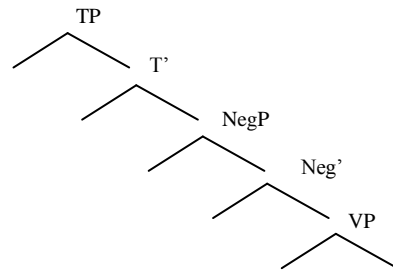
(32)   الطلاب لا يدرسون.

   a-tullab-u   laa   ya-drus-un

   the-students-nom Neg   3m-study-indic

   'The students do not study.'   (Benmamoun, 2000)

(33)   ما أحد فعل هذا.

   ma Ɂaħad-un faʕal-a   haadaa

   Neg one-nom   did-3sm   this

   'no one did this.'   (Fassi Fehri, 1993, p. 30)

3.3 The Negative Particles in MSA

In MSA, there are five distinct negative particles. Morphologically, they are *laa, lan, laysa, maa* and *lam*. In the syntax of negation in MSA, there are many studies that have provided certain explanations to capture the distribution of negative particles in Arabic. Aoun et al.(2010), Benmamoun (2000), Fassi Fehri (1993) and Ouhalla (2002) divided these particles into two major groups based on the inflection for tense and agreement. The first group is represented by *laa* and its variants: *lan*, *lam* and *laysa*.The second group, on the other hand, contains *maa*. The first group, in turn, can be divided into two sub-groups according to the inflection. *Lan* and *lam* inflect for the future and

past tense respectively while *laysa* inflects for agreement, and in the first group, the negative particles are derived from *laa* which tends to be neutral in pertaining to the inflection because it inflects for neither tense nor agreement (Aoun et al., 2010; Benmamoun, 2000; Fassi Fehri, 1993; Ouhalla, 2002). Moreover, Benmamamoun (2000) suggests that there are only two negative particles in Arabic, *laa* and *maa* and the others are just inflected variants of *laa.*

3.3.1 *Laa* and its variants

As mentioned above, there are two tensed counterparts of the negative particle *laa*. They are *lam* and *lan*. They inflect for tense but not for agreement. *Laa* occurs in present tense interpretation, as in (32). *lan* occurs within the future tense interpretation while *lam*, on the hand, has a past tense interpretation as shown in (34) and (35) respectively (Aoun et al., 2010; Benmamoun, 2000; Fassi Fehri,1993; Ouhalla, 2002).

The negative *laa* that occurs in present tense is seen as the default form of negation in MSA because the negative particles, *lan* and *lam* are derived from *laa* (Benmamoun, 2000). In addition, in few cases, *laa* can negate the future tense provided that the sentence that is being negated must be in the imperfective aspect (present tense) and has a word or a phrase that indicates the future or the probability, as in (36) below:

(34)   الطلاب لن يذهبوا.

     t-tullab-uu   Ian   ya-ðhab-uu

     the-students-nom Neg.fut   3m-go-indic

     'The students will not go.'

(35)   الطلاب لم يدرسوا.

     a-tullab-u   lam   ya-drus-uu

26

the- students-nom neg-pst 3m-study-indic

'The students do not study.'   (Benmamoun, 2000)

(36)   قد لا يحضر الأولاد الدرس غدا

qad   laa   ya-hadhar-uu   l-awalad-u   a-drass-a   ɣadan

May Neg 3pm-attend-indic   the-boys-nom   the-class-acc tomorrow

'The boys may not attend the class tomorrow.'

Even though, the sentence in (36) is in the present tense, it has a future

interpretation because the adverb of time *ɣadan* and the modal particle *qad* make it

semantically acceptable to negate a future tense sentence by using *laa* which basically

negates the present tense (for more details about NegP and modality see Fassi Fehri,

(1993)). Such adverbs or expressions that co-occur with *laa* are traditionally called in

Arabic 'Qarinah' which are words that give a hint to the interpreted tense. Also, the

purpose behind negating a future tense with *laa* is to express weak negation while

negating a sentence with *lan* and *lam* is semantically stronger and more emphasized.

Additionally, *Laa* is used to negate imperative sentences (Fassi Fehri, 1993), as in

(37):

(37)   لا تذهب

Laa t-ðahab

Neg 2sm-go

'do not go.'

Lastly, *laa* is used as a particle for denial in the discourse especially in the

conversation with yes/no questions (Aoun et al., 2010), as in (38):

(38)   لا، لم أكتب.

Laa, lam   ʔa-ktub

No, neg-pst 1s-write

No, I didn't write   (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 112)

Benmamoun (2000) argues that *lam* and *lan* are in complementary distribution

with the tensed verbs. When the negative particles, *lam* or *lan* inflect for tense, the main

verbs will not be able to do so because in MSA the negation can hold the tense, so in this

case, there is redundant information in the verb and negation as well. Consider the

following example in (39)

(39)   *الطلاب لم ذهبوا

*A-tullaab-u   lam   ðahab-uu

The-students-nom   neg.past   went-3pm

'The intended meaning: the students didn't go.'

(Benmamoun, 2000, p. 96)

The sentence in (39) is ungrammatical because it has the tensed negative particle,

lam which inflects for the past and the main verb which is in the past tense too, so in this

case, both are inflected to the same tense, which is not grammatical in MSA. In a similar

fashion, *lan* cannot co-occur with the future tense either. All in all, the presence of *lan*

and *lan* result in elimination of tense inflection from the main verb in the sentence that is

being negated (Aoun et al., 2010; Benmamoun, 2000).

Benmamoun (2000) suggests that in MSA, the NegP is located in a position

between TP and VP, and *laa* and its variants are heads of the NegP. Hence, the verb must

28

move throught NegP to the tense in order to check the [V] feature. In his proposal, the NegP will block the movement of the verb to the tense, so to prevent that, a merger between the verb and the Neg-head must be done, and then the resulted complex head (Neg-head and V) moves to the tense, as presented in the tree in (40):

(40)

```
              TP
             /  \
            /    \
           /      T'
          /      /  \
         T      /    \
        / \    /      \
       /   \  [T]
  [Negn +V]
```
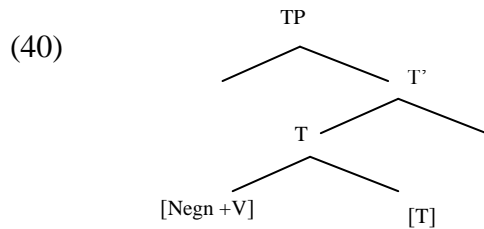
3.3.2 The negative particle *Maa*

The negative particle *maa* appears mostly in two environments: the past and the present tense, as in (41) and (42) respectively (Aoun et al., 2010; Benmamoun, 2000; Fassi Fehri, 1993). In (41), the negative particle *maa* negate the past tense. In this case, it does not have any effects on the verb or the subject. Regarding negating the present tense with *maa*, it may have two aspectual interpretations (Fassi Fehri, 1993). In (42), for instance, it has two semantic interpretations: it means either a habitual action (she doesn't read) or negating an action at the time of utterance (she is not reading).

(41)   ماقرأ الصحيفة.

maa qarʔ-a   a-saħifat-a

Neg read.past-3sm the-newspaper-acc

'He has not read the newspaper.'

(42)   ماتقرأ البنت.

maa ta-qrʔ-u   l-bent-u

29

Neg 3sf-read-indic the-girl-nom

'The girl does not read' or 'The girl is not reading'

Benmamoun (2000) controversially suggests that the position of *maa* is slightly different from *laa* and its tensed variants because *maa* is situated in the Spec of NegP. In this context, the subject must move to the Spec of TP, but *maa* blocks the subject's movement to the TP, so to solve this problem, when the subject originated from the Spec of VP to the Spec of TP, it must merge with the negative particle *maa* in the spec of NegP. Then, the whole complex spec moves to the Spec of TP (Benmamoun, 2000).

Ouhalla (1993) runs a counter argument against Benmamoun's explanation of *maa*. The former suggests that *maa* has two roles that run parallel, as a negative particle and focus element. Thus, it does not occupy the Spec-NegP. Rather, it is located in a position above the TP, i.e. the head of the focusP (as cited in Aoun et al., 2010).

3.3.3 *Laysa*

Although *laysa* has received attention in terms of whether it is a negative particle or an auxiliary verb, there is consensus on some shared environments and features that make it peculiar among other negative particles in MSA. As another variant of the negative particle *laa*, Benmamoun (2000) states that in contrast to *lam* and *lan*, *Laysa* does not inflect for tense but for agreement, and it has a morphological ability to host suffixes, and it also appears in two aspectual contexts: verbless sentences and present tense contexts as in (43) and (44) respectively:

(43)   ليس الطالب في المدرسة.

               Lays-a   a-ttalib-u   fi al-madrasa-ti

               Neg-3sm the-student-nom in the-school-gen

'The student is not at school.'

(44)   ليست هدى تعمل في المستشفى .

Lays-at Huda ta-aʕamal-u   fi al-mustshafa

Neg-3sf Huda 3sf.works-indic   in the-hospital

'Huda does not work in the hospital.'

Traditionally, *Laysa* is classified by Arab grammarians as a modal verb (an incomplete verb) which semantically holds the essence of negation and past tense at the same time. This explains why it does not appear in the past contexts as negative particle. Following this assumption, Alkhawalda (2012) argues that *Laysa* semantically and syntactically behaves like an auxiliary verb rather than a negative particle. Rarely, *laysa* appears in verbal sentences immediately before the verb without separation of subject provided that the tense of the sentence must be in the imperfective aspect. In this case, it works syntactically like *laa*. It does not assign any case and has no effects on the verbal sentence either, as in (45):

(45)   ليس يعلم الولد

Laysa ya-ʕlam-u   al-walad-u

Neg   3sm-knows-indic the-boy- nom

"The boy does not know."

In summary, in this section, I touched upon the main negative particles in Arabic. There are five negative particles. They are *laa*, *lan*, *lam*, *laysa* and *maa*. These negative particles have been divided into two groups based on the inflection for tense and agreement. The first group encompasses *laa* and its variants, *lan*, *lam* and *laysa*. The second group includes only *maa*. *Lan* and *lam* are tensed variants of *laa* while *laysa*

inflects for agreement. *Maa*, on the other hand, inflects for neither tense nor agreement. Moreover, the syntactic behavior of *Laysa* is strange somehow. It shows a 'reluctant' behavior between a negative particle and incomplete verb that holds the sense of negation and past tense.

3.4 NC in Arabic dialects

The NC phenomenon is wide-spread in Arabic dialects and MSA. Both show the availability of this linguistic phenomenon with slight differences in the realization of the semantic interpretation of it. In this section, I will review the studies that are conducted mainly on Arabic dialects. Then, I will move to the anylsis of the NC in MSA.

Several studies investigate the NC phenomenon in Arabic dialects. Hoyt (2010) in his dissertation, *Negative Concord in Levantine Arabic,* investigates a set of N-words that contribute to NC in Levantine Arabic. They are *ʔɛbadan* 'never', *bɪlmaɾɾa* 'never', 'not once', the negative minimizers *hawa* and *qɛšal* 'nothing' and the negative scalar particle *wala* 'not one'. Hoyt (2010) classified them into three groups based on the semantic function that they serve. *ʔɛbadan* and *bɪlmaɾɾa* are classified under N-words group. *hawa* and *qɛšal* are negative minimizers. *Wala* is a negative scalar focus particle.

N-words in Levantine Arabic are used to serve two functions. First, to express negation in a sentence fragment, as in (46), and fail to express negation only when they are used in full clauses because they need to be licensed (Hoyt, 2010), as in (47).

(46)　　Q:　ʔɪmta bɪtχabbrna?

　　　　　When indic-tell-2p

　　　　　'When will you tell us?'

　　　A: ʔɛbadan

32

'Never'   (Hoyt, 2010)

(47)   ma:fi   ʔaiy   mʊškila ʔɛbadan.

            not-exist which problem never

            'There isn't a problem ever.'   (Hoyt, 2010)

Hoyt (2010) argues that the distribution of never-words in Levantine Arabic follows the patterns of strict NC that addressed in Giannakidou (2000).

Unlike the N-words in Levantine Arabic, the negative minimizers *hawa* and *qɛšal* which are idiomatic meanings expressing a lack of minimum quantity and the negative scalar focus particle *wala* express non-strict NC because they do not need to be licensed by the negative particle (Hoyt, 2010).

Hoyt (2010) compared Moroccan Arabic N-words *hətta* 'not even', *wæ:lu* 'nothing' and *wala* with those that appear in Levantine Arabic. He found that N-words in Moroccan are similar to N-words in Levantine Arabic in the sense that both express negation in sentence fragments, and fail to express negation when they are licensed by a negative particle. These findings are reinforced by Alqassas (2012) who conducted another study to investigate the Levantine negation. He found that the analysis of the N-word *wala-ħada* 'no one' shows the patterns of non-strict NC, as in (48a-b), so this result is not in conflict with the analysis of Hoyt (2010) who mentioned that the *wala* show the patterns of non-strict NC.

(48)   a. ma-ʃafni-ʃɪ   wala-ħada   (Levantine Arabic)

              neg-saw.3sm-me-neg no-one

              'No one saw me."

b. wala-ħada ʃafni

no-one saw.me

'No one saw me.'   (Alqassas, 2012)

Surprisingly, Jordanian Arabic exhibits all kinds of NC patterns, i.e. strict and non strict NC patterns (Alsarayreh, 2012). On one hand, with the N-word and yet phrases, it shows the strict NC type which requires the presence of the negative particle with the N-word and not yet phrases (Alsarayreh, 2012), as illustrated in (49) and (50) respectively:

(49)   Maryam *(ma)-btokil   tuffħ bilmarrah   (Jordanian Arabic)

             Mary   neg-eat-3sf apples   N-word

             'Mary does not eat apples at all.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012)

(50)   Maryam *(ma)-ʃtara   l-ktab   laħaddəlʔan

             Mary   neg-bought.3sf   the-book N-word

             'Mary has not bough the book yet.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012)

One the other hand, *wala* shows the non-strict patterns of NC in the sense that in preverbal position does not need to be accompanied by the negative particle, as in (51a) while the presence of negative particle is a must when it is in post-verbal position (Alsarayreh, 2012), as in (51b) below:

(51)   a. wala   waħad   (*ma) dʒa.   Jordanian Arabic

                 NCI-DET one   neg came.3S

                 'No one come.'

              b. *(ma) dʒa   wala   waħad.

                 (Neg) came.3S NCI   one.

                 'No one come.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012)

Jordanian Arabic oddly exhibits both types of NC, strict and non-strict. Therefore, it does not fit fully into one category of NC patterns (Alsarayreh, 2012). However, the contrast and differences of explanations among the Arabic dialects is generally attributed to the semantic realization of these words dialectically.

3.5 N-words in MSA

There are few studies that investigate N-words and NC in MSA and Classical Arabic, with the exception of Hoyt (n.d.) and Lucas (2009). However, there is a considerable degree of overlap between N-words and NPIs in their lexical-semantic properties, so it is important to find a way to distinguish N-words from NPIs. Therefore, I will follow the criteria that have been proposed by Giannakidou (2000) and Penka (2011). In (52), I synthesize the main characteristics of N-words that have been suggested consistently in the literature as follows:

(52)　　　N-words:

An expression can be an N-word if

　　a.　It is associated with negative meaning.

　　b.　It commonly accompanies a negative particle to express negation once.

　　c.　It can stand alone to express negation in a sentence fragment.

　　d.　It can occur in unlimited numbers.

Based on the criteria that are proposed in (52), table 2 shows the N-words in MSA.

Table2

N-words in MSA

The Arabic Script	The lexical item	Parts of speech	Translation
مطلقاً	mutlaqan	Adv	Never
أبداً	abadan	Adv	Never
البتة	albattah	Adv	Never
بعد	baʕd	Adv	Not Yet

In MSA, there are four adverbial N-words: *mutlaqan* 'never', *abadan* 'never', *albattah* 'at all' and the not yet-expression *baʕd* 'not yet'.

These N-words have almost the same syntactic and semantic behavior in terms of expressing negation. They exhibit negation in full clause when they co-occur with a negative particle (Hoyt, n.d.), as illustrated by the examples in (53-55):

(53)   علي لم يرى الطالب مطلقا

Ali-un *(lam) ya-ʔra al-talib-a   mutlaqan

Ali-nom neg.pst 3sm-see the-student-acc   N-word

'Ali has not seen the student at all.'

(54)   هند لاتحب الحيوانات البتة

Hind-un   *(Laa) tu-ħib-u   al-ħaywanat-i   albattah

Hind-nom   Neg 3sf-like-indic the-animals-acc N-word

'Hind does not like animals at all.'

(55)   الأولاد لن يلبعوا في الحديقة أبدا

Al-awlad-u   *(lan)   ya-lʕab-uu fi al-ħadiqat-ɪ   abadan.

the-boys-nom   neg.fut   3pm-play-indic   in the-park-gen   N-word

'The boys will never play in the park at all'

Moreover, they can express negation in sentence fragments, so they appear as an elliptical expression in order to avoid the unwanted repetition, and the whole sentence is unpronounced in PF except the N-word, as in (56). This ellipsis is frequently found in MSA when a yes/no question is negated by a sentence fragment, which is understood from the context that the sentence has a full negative clause in the underlying structure, and the speaker deliberately omitted some parts of the sentence for economic purposes. This is in perfect accord with the definition above in (52) because *mutlaqan, abadan, albattah,* and *baʕd* can express negation in fragmentary answers.

(56)   Q: هل أكلت التفاحة؟

Hal ʔkalt-a a-tufaħat-a?

Q   eat-2sm the-apple-acc

'Have you eaten the apple?'

A1: مطلقا

Mutlaqn = [~~lam ʔaʔkal a-tufaħat-a~~ **mutlaqan**]

'Never.'

A2: أبدا

abadan = [~~lam ʔaʔkal a-tufaħat-a~~ **abadan**]

'Never.'

Although Lucas (2009) argues that the N-word *abadan* tends only to be used in the context of negation and with reference to the future, the adverbial N-words in MSA,

abadan, *mutlaqn* and *albattah* can be correctly used with the reference to the past, the present and the future tense because they do not have an aspectual interpretation, as in (53-55) respectively. In contrast to the adverbial N-words, the not yet-expression *baʕd* tends to be only used in a sentence with the reference to the past, as in (57), but not with (58) because it has the tensed negative particle *lan* which inflects for the future tense.

(57)　　　　　محمد لم يمشي بعد.

　　　　Mohammad　*(lam)　ya-mʃɪ　　baʕd

　　　　Mohammad　neg.pst　3sm-walk　not-yet

　　　　'Mohammad has not walked yet'

(58)　　　　　*محمد لن يمشي بعد.

　　　　*Mohammad　lan　　ya-mʃɪ　　baʕd

　　　　Mohammad　neg.fut　3sm-walk　not yet.

　　　　'The intended meaning = Mohammad will never walk'

　　Even though the N-words in MSA are felicitously licensed by negation, they may occur at the beginning (clause-initial), in the middle (clause-medial), or at the end (clause-final). I assume that the adverbial N-words in MSA are originally located somewhere in the VP, and they can move optionally in clause-medial or clause-initial position if they are used for non-standard purposes, as in intellectual speech and poetry. Hence, a sentence like (53) would possibly have three alternative ways to be expressed correctly as suggested in (59a-c):

(59)　　　　a.　علي لم يرى الطالب مطلقا　　　　　　[Final]

　　　　Ali-un　*(lam)　　ya-ʔra　　al-talib-a　　　　mutlaqan

　　　　Ali-nom　neg.pst　3sm-see　the-student-acc　　N-word

38

'Ali has not seen the student at all.'

(Tree diagram: TP with Ali moving, T', NegP, Neg', lam, VP, V', ya?ra, DP a-ltalib-, ADV mutlaqan)
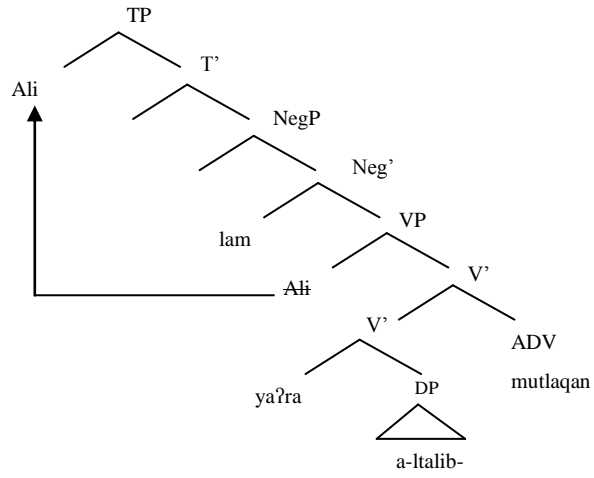
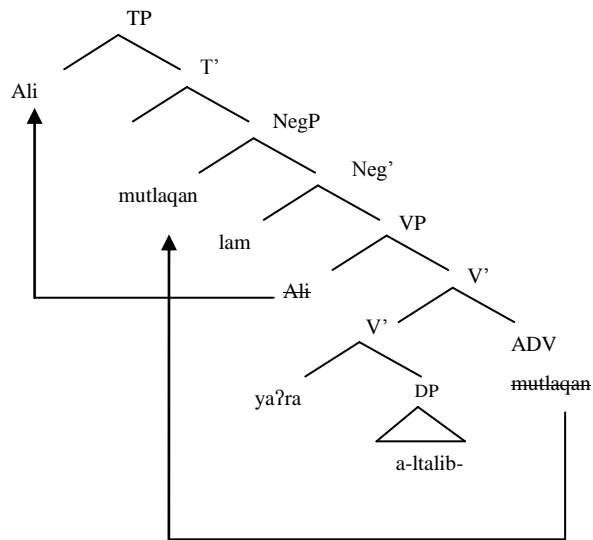b.   على مطلقا لم يرى الطالب   [medial]

   Ali-un   mutlaqan *(lam)   ya-?ra   al-talib-a

   Ali-nom   N-word   neg.pst   3sm-see   the- student-acc

   'Ali has not seen the student at all.'

(Tree diagram: TP with Ali, T', NegP, mutlaqan, Neg', lam, VP, V', ya?ra, DP a-ltalib-, ADV mutlaqan (struck through), with movement arrows)
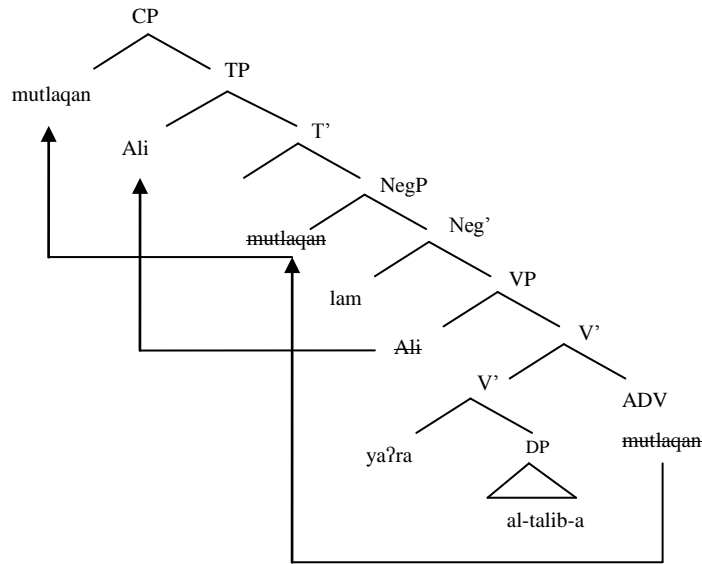
c. مطلقا علي لم يرى الطالب   [initial]

mutlaqan   Ali-un   *(lam)   ya-ʔra   al-talib-a

N-word   Ali-nom   neg.pst   3sm-see   the-student-acc

'Ali has not seen the student at all.'

Moreover, the default position of the N-words in MSA is exactly like those in (53-55), to be in the rightmost of the sentence.

The iteration of adverbial N-words can be seen in few sentences especially in spoken MSA. Semantically, iteration is used to convey the exaggeration of negation to make it stronger. For example, the adverbial N-word *battatan albattah,* which is a variant of the adverbial N-word *albattah,* expresses the repetition of N-words in MSA, as in (60).

(60)   *(Lam)   yu-saafir   Zayd-un   batatan   albattah

           neg.pst   3sm-travel   Zayd-nom   N-word   N-word

           'Zayd never traveled at all'

This is supported by some variety of Arabic as in Levantine Arabic which can express repeated N-words, as in the negative scalar *wala* which can be repeated many times to express high degree of emphasis of negation (Hoyt, 2010), as illustrated by (61):

(61)   ʔana ma:ʕɪrɪft   wala   wala   wa:had   (Levantine Arabic)

              I   not-knew.1s N-word N-word one

              'I didn't recognize even one of them'   (Hoyt, 2010)

3.6 NC in MSA

Giannakidou (2000) argues that NC languages can be classified into two types depending on the presence of the negative particle that works as a licensor, so a NC language can be either strict or non-strict one. In the former, a negative particle obligatorily co-occurs with N-words while in non-strict NC languages, N-words are not always accompanied by a negative particle. By applying this categorization on MSA, it arguably shows the patterns of strict NC language. The examples in (53-55) and (56-60) display that the negative particle (*lam*, *laa* and *lan*) must accompany the N-words, *mutlaqan*, *albattah*, *abadan and baʕd*, no matter where the position of N-words is in the sentence, as in (65a-c).

The presence of the negative particles is necessary in all negative sentences. In contrast, N-words are extra and can be eliminated without any syntactic effects on the sentence. In other words, the grammaticality of a negative sentence has to do essentially with the presence of the negative particle while the presence of the adverbial N-words has no effect on the grammaticality of the sentence. The only effect that they have is on the degree of negation. It will be the strongest when the N-words co-occur with negative particle, as in (62a-b):

41

(62)   a. لم يبع التاجر اليوم.

         Lam   ya-baʕ   a-ttajiru-u   al-youm-a

         Neg.pst 3sm-sell the-retailer-nom   the-today-acc

         'The retailer did not sell anything today.'

b. لم يبع التاجر اليوم البتة.

         *(Lam) ya-baʕ a-ttajiru-u   al-youm-a   albattah

          Neg 3sm-sell the-retailer-nom the-today-acc N-word

         'The retailer did not sell anything at all today.'

In the sentences in (62a-b), they have almost the same constituents, but in (62b), the negation is reinforced by the N-word *albattah* that works as an intensifier of the negation. It can be omitted if the speaker does want to convey a stronger negation.

The strict NC patterns in MSA seem to be similar with the patterns of some Slavic languages such as Polish and Russian in terms of the distribution of N-words. In this type of NC languages, the strict one, the co-occurrence of N-words and negative particle never yields a reading with the double negation interpretation (Penka, 2011).

In NC languages, the N-words failed to express negation since the negation is essentially expressed by the negative particle, so the N-words are 'not semantically active' (Giannakidou, 2000). In strict NC in MSA, the N-words are slightly different from their counterparts in strict NC languages. In Arabic, N-words never lead to double negation, nor fail to express negation. Their semantic role is to express a high degree of negation, so they intensify the semantic meaning of the negative particle when they co-occur with it.

42

In brief, MSA appears to be a strict NC language and requires that N-words must be licensed by a negative particle. However, I will leave this chapter with an open question regarding the lexical semantics of N-words. In case of N-words in Arabic, further research needs to be conducted to determine whether they are inherently negative or not.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter is mainly about the sentential negation in MSA, and its relation to NC phenomenon. In section (3.2), I reviewed the suggested positions of NegP in MSA. Then, I follow Aoun et al (2010), Benmamoun (2000) and Ouhalla (2002) who agrees that the NegP in MSA is situated in a position between TP and VP. Then, I discussed the negative particles in MSA in section (3.3). There are five negative particles in MSA. They are *laa*, *lan*, *lam*, *laysa* and *maa.*They show mixed picture in terms of inflecting for agreement, tense. In section (3.4), I synthesized the studies that are about NC in Arabic dialects. Most dialects show that they are examples of non-strict NC languages while in section (3.6), MSA is arguably classified as a strict NC language. Following Giannakidou (2000), I assume that the presence of a negative particle along with N-words gives us a good evidence to classify MSA as a strict NC language. In addition, the role of N-words in MSA is to strengthen negation.

Chapter 4

NPIS IN MSA

4.1 Introduction

Having discussed the N-words that contribute to NC in MSA, now let us turn to the other lexical items which are shown in table 3. In this chapter, I will examine these lexical items to see whether they are NPIs, PPIs, indefinite nouns or none of these in MSA and their cognates in some Arabic dialects.

Table 3

The indefinite nouns and the determiner NPI in MSA

The Arabic Script	The lexical item	Parts of speech	Translation
أحد	ʔaħad	N	A person
شي	ʃayʔ	N	A thing
أي	ʔay	D	Any

Classically, NPIs are licensed under negation while PPIs do not scope under negation. This can be found clearly in the works of Baker (1970) and Klima (1964). Then, many influential studies revealed that NPIs are allowed in negative-like environments (Giannakidou, 1998, 2002). In Arabic, not enough attention has been paid to NPIs, with the exception of Alsarayreh (2012), Benmamoun (1997), Erwin (1969) and Ouhalla (2002).

4.2 *ʔaħad* and *ʃayʔ* in Arabic dialects

The First two lexical items in table 2 are *ʔaħad* 'a person', 'one', 'someone' and 'anyone' and *ʃayʔ* 'a thing', 'anything' and 'something'. Arabic dialects have many descendants of these lexical items as NPIs. These counterparts can be found in Jordanian Arabic, Levantine Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Iraqi Arabic and Syrian Arabic (Alsarayreh, 2012; Alqassas, 2012; Erwin, 1969; Lucas2009).

In Jordanian Arabic, Alsarayreh (2012) states that there are four types of NPIs: nominal NPIs, determiner NPIs, Adverbial NPIs and idiomatic NPIs. The nominal type includes *ħada* 'anyone, someone' and *iʃi* 'a thing'. The nominal NPI *ħada* is derived from the word *ʔaħad* in MSA and Classical Arabic while the nominal NPI *iʃi* is derived from the word *ʃayʔ* in MSA and Classical Arabic (Alsarayreh, 2012). They appear as NPIs in Jordanian Arabic, as in (63) and (64) respectively:

(63)   Maryam *(ma)-ʃafat   ħada.   (Jordanian
     Arabic)
         Mary   neg-saw.3sf   one
         'Mary did not see anyone.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012)

(64)   Maryam *(ma)-akalat   iʃi.
         Mary   neg-ate.3sf   thing
         'Mary i no ea any hing.'   (Alsarayreh, 2012)

According to Erwin (1969), in Iraqi Arabic, the quantifier *kullʃI* works as a NPI. It consists of two parts: the quantifier *kull* which means 'every' and *ʃI* 'a thing'. The latter is derived from the word *ʃayʔ* in MSA and Classical Arabic. The quantifier NPI is licensed under negation in Iraqi Arabic, as in (65):

45

(65)   la wallah   kullʃi   ma-ʕind-I   (Iraqi

Arabic)

Neg by God anything neg-have-1s

'I don't have anything'   (Erwin, 1969)

Lacus (2009) indicates that in Moroccan Arabic, the word šay 'a thing' occurs in

the scope of negation, and it is in contemporary distribution with the negative particle š,

as in (66):

(66)   ana ma anaʕəs   šey

I   neg sleeping a thing

'I'm not sleeping (at all)'   (Caubet, 1993)

Also, the word *ši* in Syrian Arabic works as a NPI and appears in negative-like contexts

such as questions, as in (67):

(67)   ʕam təʔṣod   ši   ʔənn-i kazzab

Q   intend-2ms a thing that-I liar

'Are you implying that I'm a liar?'   (Cowell, 1964)

4.3 The Indefinite Noun *ʃayʔ*

In MSA, the lexical item *ʃayʔ* which means 'a thing', 'anything' or 'something' is

classified as an indefinite noun. Also, it is used semantically to indicate inanimate objects

without a particular reference in mind. Consider the following examples in (68) and (69):

46

(68)   علي لم يحضر شئ.

Ali-un   lam   yu-ħdˤr   *ʃayʔ-an*

Ali-nom neg.pst 3sm-bring a thing-acc

'Ali did bring anything.'

(69)   لا أعتقد بأن علي أحضر شيئا.

Laa ʔa-ʕtaqd-uu   bi anna Ali aħdˤr-a   *ʃayʔ-an*

Neg 1s-believe -indic that   Ali brought-3sm a thing-acc

'I do not think that Ali has brought anything.'

In negative contexts, the indefinite noun *ʃayʔ* appears in two negative

environments, clause-mate negation and superordinate negation, as in (68) and (69)

respectively. In both sentences, it occurs under the c-command of the negative particle

whether it is in the same clause or in the embedded clause. If it precedes the negative

particle, i.e. out of the scope of negation, the sentence will be judged ungrammatical, as

in (70):

(70)   *علي شي لم يحضر

*Ali-un   ʃayʔ-an   lam   ya-ħdˤr

Ali-nom a thing-acc neg.past 3sm-bring

'the intended meaning: Ali did bring anything.'

Furthermore, it appears in negative-like contexts, that is, in yes/no questions,

imperatives and conditional sentences, as illustrated in (71), (72) and (73) respectively.

47

(71)   هل أكلت شيئا

        Q: Hal ʔkalt-a   ʃayʔ-an ?   (Yes/no question)

         Q   ate-2sm   a thing-acc

        'Have you eaten anything?'

(72)   خذ شيئا.

        xuð   ʃayʔ-an.   (Imperative)

        2sm-take-imp   a thing

        'Take anything.'

(73)   لو أنك أخذت شيئا، ربحت في المسابقة.   (Conditionals)

        Law anna-ka axð-ta   ʃayʔ-an,   rabıħt-a fi al-mosabaqa-ti

        If that-you   took-2sm a thing-acc won-2sm in the- competition-gen

        'If you had taken anything, you would have won in the

        competition.'

    Although the indefinite noun *ʃayʔ* shows a high tendency to occur under the scope
of negation and negative-like environments, in rare cases, it occurs in affirmative
contexts, as in (74)

(74)   الطفل يحمل في يده شيئا

        A-tˤıfl-u   ya-ħmıl-uu   fi yad-hı   *ʃayʔ-an*

        the -child-nom 3sm-hold -imp in hand-his a thing-acc

        'The child may hold something in his hand.'

4.3 The Indefinite Noun *ʔaħad*

Unlike the indefinite noun *ʃayʔ*, *ʔaħad* is used to indicate the 'animate beings' especially for the singular, so it can be translated variably as 'a person', 'one', 'someone' or 'anyone' based on the host environment in which it appears, as exemplified in (75) and (76):

(75)   لا يجب أن يزور المريض أحد.

        Laa yajib-u   ann ya-zoor-a   al-mareedˤ-a   ʔaħad-un.

        Neg should-indic that 3sm-visit-indic the-patient-acc a person-nom

        'The patient should not be visited by anyone.'

(76)   أقبل أحد من الناس.

        ʔqbal-a   ʔaħad-un   min al-nas-i

        Came-3sm a person-nom of the-people-gen

        'Someone came.'

It follows the analysis of the indefinite noun *ʃayʔ* in the sense that the indefinite *ʔaħad* appears in three environments: negative, negative-like and affirmative environments. In (75), it occurs under the scope of negation while in (76), it occurs in an affirmative sentence.

In negative environments, it must occur under the c-command of negative particle as in (77).

(77)   A.   عمر لن يذهب إلى أي أحد

        Omar lan   ya-ðhab-u   ila ʔaħad-ın.

        Omar neg.fut 3sm-go-indic   to a person-gen

'Omar will not go to anyone.'

b. ‏*إلى أحد عمر لم يذهب

    * ila ʔaħad   Omar lan   ya-ðhab-u.

    To a person   Omar neg.fut 3sm-go-indic

    The intended meaning = 'Omar will not go to anyone.'

In addition, it appears in other environments, as in questions, imperatives, modality and conditionals, as illustrated in (78-81) respectively:

(78)   هل جاء أحد؟   (Questions)

    Q: Hal jaʔa-a   ʔaħad-un ?

      Q came-3s a person-nom

     'Did anyone come?'

(79)   أحضر معك أحد إلى الجامعة.   (imperatives)

    A-ħdr   maʕ-aka ʔaħad-an   ila al-jamiʕat-ɪ.

     Bring-imp with-2sm a person-acc to the-university-gen.

     'Bring anyone with you to the university.'

(80)   قد يدخل أحد المنزل.   (Modality)

    Qad   ya-dxlu-u   ʔaħad-un   al-manzil-a.

    May 3s-enter-indic a person-nom the-house-acc

    'Anyone may enter the house'

(81)   لو أن أحدا شاهد اللص، لأبلغ الشرطة.   (conditionals)

    Law anna ʔaħad-an ʃahad-a   al-lis-a,   la-ablaɣ-a   al-ʃurtat-a

    If   that a person-acc saw-indic the-thief-acc will-called-3s the-police -acc

    'If anyone had seen the thief, s/he will call police.

In MSA, the indefinite nouns ʃayʔ and ʔaħad show a mixed picture since they

work differently from their counterparts in Arabic dialects. Their descendants in Arabic

dialects appear as NPIs while in MSA, they show the ability to occur under affirmative

contexts.

4.4 The Determiner NPI ʔay

The determiner NPI ʔay can be translated as 'any+NP'. It must be followed by an

NP because it cannot stand alone in the sentence as in (82a), so it needs to be followed by

an NP provided that the NP must be headed by an indefinite noun in order to use ʔay

felicitously, as in (82b). Otherwise, it will not be grammatical as in (82c):

(82)   a. ‎*زيد لم يشتري أي.

      *Zayd   lam   ya-ʃtari ʔay-a

      Zayd-nom neg.pst 3sm-buy any-acc

      The intended meaning = 'Zayad did not buy any+NP'

      b. ‎زيد لم يشتري أي سيارة

      Zayd   *(lam)   ya-ʃtari ʔay-a sayarat-in

      Zayd-nom neg.pst 3sm-buy any-acc car-gen

      'Zayad did not buy any car.'

      c. ‎زيد لم يشتري أي (*الـ)سيارة

      Zayd-nom lam ya-ʃtari   ʔay-a   (*a)-sayarat-in

      Zayd   neg.pst 3sm-buy any-acc the-car-gen

      'Zayad did not buy any car.'

The determiner NPI *ʔay* can be optionally used with indefinite nouns which can

stand alone without *ʔay*. Moreover, if the determiner NPI *ʔay* premodified the indefinite

nouns, the semantic meaning will be stronger, i.e. it gives emphasis to the NP that

follows *ʔay*. The examples in (83) illustrate the relationship between the NP and the

determiner NPI *ʔay*.

(83)   A. زيد لم يشتري سيارة

   Zayd-nom lam   ya-ʃtari   sayarat-an

   Zayd   neg.pst 3sm-buy a car-acc

   'Zayad did not buy any car.'

       b. زيد لم يشتري أي سيارة

   Zayd   lam   ya-ʃtari   ʔay-a sayarat-in

    Zayd-nom neg.pst 3sm-buy any-acc a car-gen

   'Zayad did not buy any car at all'

Even though the sentence in (83a) is fine in term of the logical meaning,

obviously, the sentence (83b) is semantically stronger because the NP is premodified by

ʔay which gives it more emphasis.

Regarding the licensing environments, the determiner NPI *ʔay* noticeably occurs

in negative and negative-like contexts (antivedical and nonveridical environments in

Giannakidou's (1998, 2002) terms), but never occurs in affirmative environments

because it is semantically unacceptable as in (84)

(84)   *يذهب علي إلى أي محل

   *Ya-ðhab-u Ali   ila ʔay-I   maħl-in.

3sm-go-indic Ali-nom to any-gen store-gen

The intended meaning: 'Ali goes to a store'

It can optionally appear in some nonveridical environments, that is, in questions, future sentences, habitual actions, generic sentences, modality, imperatives and conditional sentences. The following sentences (85-91) illustrate the occurrence of *ʔay* with these environments respectively:

(85)   هل رأيت أي طالب؟

Q: Hal raʔayt-a   ʔay-a   tˤalıb-in ?   (Questions)

Q   see-2sm   any-acc   student-gen

'have you seen any student'

(86)   سوف أذهب إلى أي مكان.

Sawfa a-ðhab-u   ila ʔay-ı   makan-in.   (future tense)

Will   1s-go-indic   to any-gen place-gen

'I will go to any place.'

(87)   عادة تقرأ أي كتاب.

ʕadat-an   ta-qraʔ-u   ʔay-a   kitab-in   (habitual actions)

Usually-acc   3sf-read-indic   any-acc book-gen

'she usually reads any book.'

(88)   أي أسد يقتل أي غزال   (generic sentences)

ʔay-u   assad-in ya-qtl-uu   ʔay-a   ɣazal-in

Any-nom   lion-gen 3sm-kill-indic   any-acc gazelle-gen

'Any lion kills any gazelle.'

53

(89)   قد أغادر إلى أي دولة

       Qad   au-ɣadɪr-u   ila ʔay-ɪ   dawlat-in.   (Modality)

          May 1s-travel-indic to any-gen country-gen

             'I may travel to any country.'

(90)   خذ أي وردة   (Imperative)

       xuð   ʔay-a   wardat-in

        pick-imp any-acc   a flower-gen

        'pick any flower.'

(91)   لو ذهب إلى الجامعة, وجد أي تخصص.   (conditional sentences)

       Law ðahab-a ila al-jamiʕat-ɪ,   wajad-a   ʔay-a taxasus-in.

         If   went-3sm to the-university, found-3sm any-acc major-gen

        'If he had gone to the university, he would have found any major.'

Because it optionally premodifies the indefinite nouns, the impact of the determiner NPI *ʔay* on the indefinite noun appears in form of case assigning. Therefore, the indefinite noun, that follows the determiner NPI *ʔay,* must take a genitive case regardless of its position in the sentence.

To sum up, the NPI *ʔay* covers all environments that are suggested by Giannakidou's (1998, 2002). It occurs in antivedical and nonveridical environments, but it is disallowed in veridical environments.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter is about the NPIs in MSA. The data show that in MSA, there is one pure NPI which is the determiner NPI *ʔay* which is allowed only in two environments: in

antivedical and nonveridical ones. On the other hand, *ʃayʔ* and *ʔaħad* tend to be

indefinite nouns since they show the ability to occur in affirmative environments. At this

point, I found the indefinite nouns *ʃayʔ* and *ʔaħad* ambiguous and hard to judge whether

they are pure indefinite nouns, PPIs or NPIs. It would be beneficial to address this

concern for further research.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusion of Thesis

The primary goal of this thesis is to investigate the distribution of certain lexical items that are shown in table 1, which have a good association with two linguistic phenomena, NPIs and NC in MSA. This set can be divided into three groups. The first group encompasses the N-words, *mutlaqan*, *abadan*, *albattah*, and the not yet-expression, *baʕd*. In this group, the N-words participate in the NC phenomena in MSA. The second group consists of the two indefinite nouns: *ʃayʔ* and *ʔaħad*. The indefinite nouns appear in three environments: antivedical, nonveridical and verdical contexts. The third group includes the determiner NPI *ʔay* which is licensed optionally by antivedical and nonveridical environments, so it is a pure NPI.

Chapter 1 was an introductory chapter, which includes some basic information about this thesis. The main theme of chapter 1 is summarized in three points: research questions, the targeted language and the definitions of key terms.

Moving towards chapter 2, I laid out the details of the general framework and methodology of this study by reviewing the theories and approaches that may give plausible explanations for the distribution of NPIs and NC phenomena in MSA.

Generally, the thesis draws on the generative syntax and The (Non)veridicality Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2002). In regards to the NC, I utilized the proposal that is suggested by Giannakidou (2000).

Chapter 3 was about the negation and NC in MSA. N-words in MSA are addressed in this chapter. In MSA, there are four N-words. They are *mutlaqan*, *Abadan*,

albattah and the not yet-expression, *baʕd*. These are classified as N-words because they express negation in a sentence fragment and never lead to a double negation interpretation when they co-occur with the negative particles. Furthermore, the interaction between these N-words and the negative particles in MSA shows that MSA is an example of NC languages. Specifically, I argue that MSA displays the strict NC patterns that are suggested by Giannakidou (2000) in the sense that a negative particle obligatorily co-occurs with N-words. Moreover, the role of N-words when they co-occur with the negative particles is to increase the degree of negation and to put more emphasis on it.

In chapter 4, I analyzed the indefinite nouns *ʔaħad* and *ʃayʔ* and the NPI *ʔay* in MSA. The determiner NPI *ʔay* is captured by The (Non)veridicality Approach by Giannakidou (1998, 2002). It is only licensed by antiveridical and nonveridical environments, and it is disallowed to occur in veridical environments.

Even though the indefinite nouns *ʔaħad* and *ʃayʔ* show high tendency to occur in negative and negative-like environments, they appear in affirmative contexts. In Arabic dialects, their descendants appear as NPIs, as in Jordanian Arabic.

5.2 Further Questions

Throughout writing this thesis, several questions for further research have arisen concerning negation and some related issues. First, since there is an ongoing debate between those who want to situate the NegP in a position between the TP and VP, and those who want to place it in a higher position, i.e. above the TP, it would be helpful to question where the NegP should be situated in Arabic. Second, as we have seen in chapter 3, the N-words can occur in clause-initial, the middle or clause-final postion in

favor of the preposition and postposition feature in the syntax of Arabic, so this linguistic

phenomenon is a possible area for further research. Third, I may pursue further research

on the lexical semantics properties of N-words in MSA to examine whether they are

inherently negative or not.

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