

Semantic Negation on Verbal Clauses with Verbs of Imminence in Saudi Arabic Varieties

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Citation: Alzahrani, S. (2022). Semantic negation on verbal clauses with verbs of imminence in Saudi Arabic varieties. *Notion: Journal of Linguistics, Literature, and Culture* Vol 4(2), p. 118-131. <https://doi.org/10.12928/notion.v4i2.6672>

| Article Info | ABSTRACT |
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| <p>Article History</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Article Received September 30th, 2022• Article Accepted November 5th, 2022 <p>Keywords</p> <p>Semantic negation Saudi Arabic dialect Verb of imminence Verbal clause Linguistic features</p> | <p>Negation in languages is a phenomenon, which receives researchers' attention for a long period. Negation occurs on different type of clauses by which it shows to have morphological and syntactic changes over the structure of words, phrases and sentences. Verbs of imminence are used sometimes to denote negation in verbal clauses in Arabic. <i>ka:d</i> is one of those verbs which carries the negation of the clause without using any negative particles. Saudi dialects use the verb <i>baʕa</i> to perform the same function. This paper discusses <i>baʕa</i> in verbal clauses illustrating its syntactic and semantic impact on the structure of the clauses. It requires the imperfective form of the verb to follow. Negating a clause, with the only negative particles <i>ma:</i> and/or <i>la:</i>, does not carry the negative sense because it is delivered through the use of <i>baʕa</i>. Thus, the negation of verbs of imminence does not require the presence of any negative particles. Otherwise, the positive meaning is delivered.</p> |

I. INTRODUCTION

Negation in languages is a phenomenon, which receives researchers' attention for a long period. Negation shows to have an impact over both verbal and nominal clauses. It is proven that it shows to contain morphological and syntactic changes over the structure of words, phrases and sentences. Languages use different means to negate clauses. Some languages negate clauses with one element such as English and Italian. Other languages negate the same clauses with two elements such as Standard French (Pollock 1985b, cited in[1]) West Flemish (Haegeman 1995, cited in[1]). Classical Arabic (CA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) shows to contain both types while marking negation in both verbal clauses and nominal clauses [2][3]. CA and MSA show to have a number of negative particles *la:*, *ma:*, *laysa*, *lam*, *lamma*, and *lan* used to mark negation on different types of structures and verbs.

On the other hand, Saudi dialects retains the negatives *la:* and *ma:*, but has lost all the other forms[4][5][6][7]. Saudi dialects show not to have case marking which consequently helps to disappearance of any morphological impact. This paper introduces a short summary of negation on verbal structures; followed by a discussion of how negation in Saudi dialects is coded without the use of any of the negative particles (*ma:* and *la:*). They encode negation on verbal clauses by the use of the verbs of imminence *baʕa:*" was about to/want".

Negation in Arabic plays an important role morphologically, syntactically and semantically. Truth condition changes with the change happening due to the presence of negation in clause structures. In addition, scope of negation differs from one structure to another. It can be partially or wholly depending on the position of the negative particles. CA uses eight different negative particles (*la:*, *ma:*, *lan*, *lam*, *lamma*, *laysa*, *latta* and *ʔin*) to negate clauses as claimed by linguists[19][35][27]. Some other linguists such as Benmamoun[10][11], Wright[37] and suggest the loss of two negative particles: *ʔin* and *latta*. Saudi dialects negates clauses both nominal and verbal using either *ma:* or *la:*.

The following section discusses types of verbal clauses and the agreement system only in Saudi dialects, as it is the focus of this paper.

II. METHODOLOGY

Saudi Arabia has five main dialects. All these colloquial Arabic dialects are divided according to the linguistic categorization of the main features of each group. Also, this division is based on the geographic location of its native speakers. Saudi dialects show to contain a high degree of complexity in its phonology, morphology and syntax. The main focus of this paper is the morphological and the syntactic facts about the use of the verb of imminence *baʕa:*" was about to/want".

The data

MSA shows to have what is called the verbs of imminence *ka:da:*" was about to/want" and its sisters. At the beginning, the verbs of imminence were investigated with regard to their meanings. Then, these different meanings were tested in various clause structures to compare and contrast the morphological and syntactic change and/or impact. The MSA data were used to generate similar data representing Saudi dialects.

Saudi dialects interestingly lose such verb (*ka:da*). They use *baʕa* the same exactly as *ka:da*. As a native speaker, some of the grammatical judgments presented in this paper are based on native-speaker intuitions about the grammar[8]. I gathered all the examples that match the MSA data consulting[6]. After that, the author arranged two separate sessions with 10 participants to cover all the different five dialects in Saudi Arabia (two participants from each dialect). The author's own dialect was the base to consult other Saudi dialects. The data included individual clauses of Zahrani Spoken Arabic with their meanings. The participants were asked to agree or disagree with the given clauses. If any disagreements occur, they provide the clause replacing the given one. All the resulting examples were used to support the claim of this paper.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

From the data collected, here is the categorization and analysis of Verbal Clause with Verbs Arabic Imminence in Saudi Arabic dialects.

Types of Clauses in Arabic

Arabic, as mentioned earlier, shows to contain two types of clauses; namely, verbal clauses and nominal clauses. Before going deeper into a discussion, it is stated that there has been two views on how to determine if a clause is a verbal clause or a nominal clause. Some linguists consider the first element of any clause to be the key to know the type of the clause[14][16][22][23]. In other words, if the first element is a verb, it is a verbal clause. If the first element is a noun, it is a nominal clause. Therefore, the focus is not based on whether the clause consists of a verb or not, but rather it is based on whether the noun phrase is initial or not. Other linguists[13][31][15][33][14][28][29][36][20][6]¹ consider a clause as verbal when it contains a verb; otherwise, it is called nominal (equational clause, verbal clause). Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. *ʔakal* *Ai* *al-laḥam* [VSO]
eat-3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-meat.SGM
'Ali ate the meat.' [Verbal clauses]
- b. *Ali* *ʔakal* *al-laḥam* [SVO]
Ali eat-3SGM.PFV DEF-meat.SGM
'Ali ate the meat.'
- (2) a. *Ali* *farḥa:n*
Ali happy.3SGM [Nominal (Equational) clauses]
'Ali (is) happy.'

Examples (1 a&b) show that Saudi Arabic contains only two possible word orders in verbal clauses: VSO and SVO due to the absence of case marking.² Subject and verb are the essential elements

¹This claim is problematic when it comes to OVS and OSV sentences in MSA. However, S in SVO clauses is treated as *mubtadaʔ* 'topic' rather than *fa:ʔiʔ* 'subject'. I follow the view that shows to contain verbal clauses and verbless clauses, due to the nature of other nominal (equational) clauses.

²MSA shows different word orders because the subject and the object are distinguished by means of case marking. So, any NP with nominative case marking is the subject and any with accusative case marking is the object regardless of its position in the clause.

of verbal clauses although some verbal clauses may occur having only the verb, as in the following example:

- (3) a. *Ali* *na:m*
Ali sleep-3SGM.PFV
'Ali slept.'
- b. *na:m*
sleep-3SGM.PFV
'(He) slept.'

Other clauses appear to contain a complement clause as in the following example:

- (4) a. *ʔirif-t* *ʔan* *Ali* *na:m*
know-1SGM/F.PFV that Ali sleep-3SGM.PFV
'I know that Ali slept.'

Some other verbal clauses within transitive verbs have three lexical elements in their structure where the verb is followed with an adjunct as shown below:

- (5) a. *ra:h* *Ali* *al-madrasah*
go-3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-school.SGF
'Ali went to the school.'

Other verbal clauses contain ditransitive verbs followed by two noun phrases. Consider the following example:

- (6) a. *ʔarsal* *Ali* *al-kita:b* *li* *Salih*.
send.3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-book.SGM to Salih
'Ali sent the car to Salih.'

The subject in verbal clauses may occur in different forms. It may appear as a substantive (a noun), a proper noun, a suffix agreement, an implied pronoun or a demonstrative pronoun[9]. Therefore, subject- verb agreement is dominated by the gender and number of the subject in both active voice and/or passive voice structures, as will be discussed in the following sections[12].

Verbal clauses, in Arabic, shows to contain two different forms of verbs: perfective aspect and imperfective aspect to indicate time. The perfective aspect form may appear using the verb by itself or having the verb preceded by an auxiliary and/or a modal, as shown below:

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- (7) a. *Ali ra:h al-madrasah*
 Ali go-3PLM.PFV DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali went / has gone to the school.'
- b. *Ali gid ra:h al-madrasah*
 Ali already go-3PLM.PFV DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali has gone to the school.'
- c. *Ali jimkin ra:h al-madrasah*
 Ali may.MOD go-3PLM.PFV DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali may have gone to school.'
- d. *Ali jimkin gid ra:h al-madrasah*
 Ali may.MOD already go-3PLM.PFV DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali may have already gone to the school.'

The imperfective aspect form of the verb, on the other hand, may appear using the verb with infixes or having the verb preceded by an auxiliary and/or a modal, as shown in the following examples:

- (8) a. *Ali ji-ru:h al-madrasah*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-go DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali goes/is going to the school.'
- b. *Ali ka:n ra:jih al-madrasah*
 Ali be.3SGM.PFV go-3SGM.IPFV DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali was going to the school.'
- c. *Ali jimkin ka:n ra:jih al-madrasah*
 Ali may.MOD be.3SGM.PFV go-3SGM.IPFV DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali may have been going to the school.'
- d. *Ali la:budd ji-ru:h al-madrasah*
 Ali must.MOD 3SGM.IPFV-go DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali must go to the school.'

Saudi dialects show to use the prefix /bi-/ with the imperfective form of the verb to indicate future time regardless of the presence of temporal adverbs such as *bukrah* 'tomorrow'.

- (9) a. *Ali biji-ru:h al-madrasah*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-go DEF-school.SGF
 'Ali will go to the school.'
- b. *Ali biji-ru:h al-madrasah bukrah*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-go DEF-school.SGF tomorrow
 'Ali will go to the school tomorrow.'

Saudi dialects show to express passive voice via using either inflectional forms of verbs or the derivational forms of verbs in which the subject of the VS structure is originally generated from the complement NP of the predicate in SVO and/or SVO orders. That is, the direct object of the transitive verb. Therefore, it is the patient instead of the agent in active voice structures. Consider the following examples:

- (10) a. *Ali fatah ar-risa;lah*
 Ali open.3SGF.PFV DEF-letter.SGF
 'Ali opened the letter.'
- b. *?in-fatah-at ar-risa;lah*
 PASS-open-3SGF DEF-letter.SGF
 'The letter was opened.'

The verb *?in-fatah*: 'opened' occurs in Form VII verb where the prefix /?in-/ is attached to the base perfective form of the verb to express the passive voice[17][18]. Other forms are used in Saudi dialects such as Form V verb such as *ta-kassar*: 'broken' and Form VIII verb like *?i-mtala*: 'filled',³ as shown in the following examples:

- (11) a. *Ali kassar al-ba:b*
 Ali break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali broke the door.'
- b. *ta-kassar al-ba:b*
 PASS-break-3SGM DEF-door.SGM
 'The door was broken.'
- (12) a. *mala Ali al-beit tuhaf.*
 fill.3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-house.SGM vase.PLF
 'Ali filled the house with vases.'
- b. *?i-mtala al-beit tuhaf.*
 PASS-fill in.3SGF.SBJ DEF-house.SGM vase.PLF
 'The house was filled with vases.'

Agreement in Verbal Clauses

Agreement system in Arabic is controversial due to the various word orders and the complicated morphological system the language has[21][30]. However, Saudi dialect is less complicated since they show only two different word orders, as mentioned earlier. The main focus was to determine the core element in the verbal clause structure which controls the agreement system. By analyzing different data, it was proven that the subject controls the agreement system in Arabic as well as Saudi dialects in either active voice structures or passive voice structures. The below examples show different subjects containing information with different person, gender and number. By looking to their verbs, it is obvious that these verbs show agreement marker suffixes with the same person, gender and number of their subjects[33][34]. Therefore, subject agreement

³ See Alzahrani (2015), for more details about the different forms of verbs in Saudi dialects.

markers occur as bound morphemes attached to the verb to express person, gender and number.

- (13) a. *Ali kassar al-ba:b.*
Ali break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'Ali broke the door.'
- b. *Sara kassar-at al-ba:b.*
Sara break.3SGF.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'Sara broke the door.'
- c. *Ali kassar as-sajjarah*
Ali break.3SGM.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'Ali broke the car.'
- d. *Sara kassar-at as-sajjarah*
Sara break.3SGF.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'Sara broke the car.'
- (14) a. *al-?ula:d kassar-u: al-ba:b.*
DEF-boy.PLM break.3PLM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'The boys broke the door.'
- b. *al-bana:t kassar-nah/u: al-ba:b.*
DEF-girl.PL break.3PLF.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'The girls broke the door.'
- c. *al-?ula:d kassar-u: as-sajjarah*
DEF-boy.PLM break.3PLM.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'The boys broke the car.'
- d. *al-bana:t kassar-nah/u: as-sajjarah*
DEF-girl.PL break.3PLF.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'The girls broke the car.'

Moreover, person, gender and number of the complement (the direct object) *alba:b*: 'the door' and/or *assajjarah*: 'the car' does not show any impact on the agreement markers. Therefore, it is clear that the subject is the controller of the agreement system in verbal clauses. The subject shows full agreement in person, gender and number when it precedes the verb. Consider the following examples:

- (15) a. *hu: kassar al-ba:b.*
3SGM.SBJ break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'He broke the door.'
- b. *hi: kassar-at al-ba:b.*
3SGF.SBJ break.3SGF.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'Sara broke the door.'
- c. *hu: kassar as-sajjarah*
3SGM.SBJ break.3SGM.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'He broke the car.'
- d. *hi: kassar-at as-sajjarah*
3SGF.SBJ break.3SGF.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'Sara broke the car.'

The above examples show that the presence of subject pronouns replacing other NPs does not have any impact on the agreement system. In addition, Saudi dialects do not show to have dual agreement marker when the subject is dual. Rather, they use the plural marker */-u:/* to agree with dual masculine

subject or */-nah/* to agree with dual feminine subject. Consider the following examples:

- (16) a. *at^f-t^a:lb-e:n kassar-u: al-ba:b.*
DEF-student.DLM break.3PLM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'The two students broke the door.'
- b. *at^f-t^a:lb-te:n kassar-nah/u: al-ba:b.*
DEF-student.DLF break.3PLF.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'The two students broke the door.'
- c. *at^f-t^a:lb-e:n kassar-u: as-sajjarah*
DEF-student.DLM break.3PLM.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'The two students broke the car.'
- d. *at^f-t^a:lb-te:n kassar-nah/u: as-sajjarah*
DEF-student.DLF break.3PLF.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'The two students broke the car.'

By investigating all the above examples, the following table includes all the subject-verb agreement markers in the Saudi dialects where it shows that it has only singular and non-singular markers due to the absence of the dual marker in the dialects.

Tabel 1. Subject agreement markers in Saudi dialects⁴ (Adopted from Alzahrani, 2015)

| Number | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|--------------|------|--------------|------------|
| Gender | M/F | M | F |
| Singular | -t | -t | -ti: Ø -at |
| Non-Singular | -na: | -tum -tummah | -u: -nah |

In addition, Saudi dialects contain VSO word order where the subject also shows full agreement in person, gender and number. This means that the subject's position does not have any impact on the agreement system in Saudi dialects. Therefore, SVO and VSO show full agreement. Consider the following examples:

- (17) a. *kassar Ali al-ba:b.*
break.3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-door.SGM
'Ali broke the door.'
- b. *kassar-at Sara al-ba:b.*
break.3SGF.PFV Sara DEF-door.SGM
'Sara broke the door.'
- c. *kassar Ali as-sajjarah*
break.3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-car.SGF
'Ali broke the car.'
- d. *kassar-at Sara as-sajjarah*
break.3SGF.PFV Sara DEF-car.SGF
'Sara broke the car.'

⁴It is important to notice that the third person singular marker is considered the base (the default). That is, the form of the verb appears with no suffix markers.

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- (18) a. *kassar-u:* *al-ʔula:d* *al-ba:b.*
break.3PLM.PFV DEF-boy.PLM DEF-door.SGM
'The boys broke the door.'
- b. *kassar-nah/u:* *al-bana:t* *al-ba:b.*
break.3PLF.PFV DEF-girl.PLF DEF-door.SGM
'The girls broke the door.'
- c. *kassar-u:* *al-ʔula:d* *as-sajjarah*
break.3PLM.PFV DEF-boy.PLM DEF-car.SGF
'The boys broke the car.'
- d. *kassar-nah/u:* *al-bana:t* *as-sajjarah*
break.3PLF.PFV DEF-girl.PLF DEF-car.SGF
'The girls broke the car.'

Like Mohammad said [24][25][26], Saudi dialects show to have *pro* where the subject is recognized via the agreement system. Therefore, VSO word order shows the presence of *pro* in the dialects, as shown below:

- (19) a. *kassar* *al-ba:b.*
break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'He (*pro*) broke the door.'
- b. *kassar-at* *al-ba:b.*
break.3SGF.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'She (*pro*) broke the door.'
- c. *kassar* *as-sajjarah*
break.3SGM.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'He (*pro*) broke the door.'
- d. *kassar-at* *as-sajjarah*
break.3SGF.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'She (*pro*) broke the door.'
- (20) a. *kassar-u:* *al-ba:b.*
break.3PLM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'They (*pro*: boys) broke the door.'
- b. *kassar-nah* *al-ba:b.*
break.3PLF.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'They (*pro*: girls) broke the door.'
- c. *kassar-u:* *as-sajjarah*
break.3PLM.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'They (*pro*:boys) broke the door.'
- d. *kassar-nah* *as-sajjarah*
break.3PLF.PFV DEF-car.SGF
'They (*pro*:girls) broke the door.'

It is worth noting that the dual subject cannot exist in clauses containing *pro* due to the absence of the dual agreement marker. Therefore, clauses, in example (20), have only plural one reading which is the plural either masculine or feminine. Also, it is noticeable that /-*nah*/ must be used in structure having *pro* to show the feminine gender agreement.

Moreover, some clauses have two NPs in the subject position (compound nouns) preceded by the verb. In such case, the verb shows full agreement with the first NP. Consider the following examples:

- (21) a. *na:m* *Ali* *wa* *Sara*
sleep.3SGM.PFV Ali and Sara
'Ali and Sara slept.'
- b. *na:m-at* *Sara* *wa* *Ali*
sleep-3SGF.PFV Sara and Ali
'Sara and Ali slept.'
- c. *na:m-u:* *al-ʔula:d* *wa* *al-bana:t*
sleep.3PLM.PFV DEF-boy.PLM and DEF-girl.PLF
'The boys and the girls slept.'
- d. *na:m-nah* *al-bana:t* *wa* *al-ʔula:d*
sleep.3PLF.PFV DEF-girl.PLF and DEF-boy.PLM
'The girls and the boys slept.'

The above show different agreement markers based on the first NP, as stated clearly. All the above clauses show VSO word order. Therefore, the verb must be initial. However, when the word order is SVO, there is no agreement with any of the conjoined subject NPs. Rather, it shows only the third plural masculine marker suffix /-*u:*/ attached to the verb regardless of the different structures. Consider the following examples:

- (22) a. *Ali* *wa* *Sara* *na:m-u:*
Ali and Sara sleep-3PLM.PFV
'Ali and Sara slept.'
- b. *Sara* *wa* *Ali* *na:m-u:*
Sara and Ali sleep-3PLM.PFV
'Sara and Ali slept.'
- c. *al-ʔula:d* *wa* *al-bana:t* *na:m-u:*
DEF-boy.PLM and DEF-girl.PLF sleep-3PLM.PFV
'The boys and the girls slept.'
- d. *al-bana:t* *wa* *al-ʔula:d* *na:m-u:*
DEF-girl.PLF and DEF-boy.PLM sleep-3PLM.PFV
'The girls and the boys slept.'

It is important to mention that the passive voice structures show the same agreement system as the active voice structures. However, the subject of the passive structure is direct object (the patient). Therefore, the verb shows full agreement with the passive subject regardless of the verb Form (Form V, Form VII or Form VIII), as shown in the following examples:

- (23) a. *Ali* *fatah* *ar-risa:lah*
Ali open.3SGF.PFV DEF-letter.SGF
'Ali opened the letter.'
- b. *ʔin-fatah-at* *ar-risa:lah*
PASS-open-3SGF DEF-letter.SGF
'The letter was opened.'

- (24) a. *Sara kassar-at al-ba:b*
Sara break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'Sara broke the door.'
- b. *ta-kassar al-ba:b*
PASS-break-3SGM DEF-door.SGM
'The door was broken.'
- (25) a. *mala-at Sara al-beit tuhaf.*
fill.3SGM.PFV Sara DEF-house.SGM vase.PLF
'Sara filled the house with vases.'
- b. *?i-mtala al-beit tuhaf.*
PASS-fill in.3SGF.SBJ DEF-house.SGM vase.PLF
'The house was filled with vases.'

In Saudi dialect, the subject of the passive structure is usually post-verbal. However, it may occur preverbal. The passive verb agrees fully with its subject either it appears initial or not, as shown in the following examples:

- (26) a. *?in-fatah-at ar-risa:lah*
PASS-open-3SGF DEF-letter.SGF
'The letter was opened.'
- b. *ar-risa:lah ?in-fatah-at*
DEF-letter.SGF PASS-open-3SGF
'The letter was opened.'
- (27) a. *ta-kassar al-ba:b*
PASS-break-3SGM DEF-door.SGM
'The door was broken.'
- b. *al-ba:b ta-kassar*
DEF-door.SGM PASS-break-3SGM
'The door was broken.'
- (28) a. *?i-mtala al-beit tuhaf.*
PASS-fill in.3SGM.SBJ DEF-house.SGM vase.PLF
'The house was filled with vases.'
- b. *al-beit ?i-mtala tuhaf.*
DEF-house.SGM PASS-fill in.3SGM.SBJ vase.PLF
'The house was filled with vases.'

Negation in Verbal Clauses

Verbal clauses are negated by *ma:* or *la:* in all the Saudi dialects, as mentioned earlier. The following sections discuss how *ma:* and *la:* behave to negate verbal clauses showing the different possible structures and any morphological implications and/or changes.

ma: in verbal clauses⁵

Saudi dialects use the negative particle *ma:* before the verb to negate any clause.⁶ It may occur before perfective form of the verb and the imperfective form of the verb. Consider the following examples:

- (29) a. *Ali kassar al-ba:b*
Ali break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'Ali broke the door.'
- b. *Ali ma: kassar al-ba:b*
Ali NEG break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
'Ali did not break the door.'
- c. *ma: kassar Ali al-ba:b*
NEG break.3SGM.PFV Ali DEF-door.SGM
'Ali did not break the door.'
- d. **Ali kassar ma: al-ba:b*
Ali break.3SGM.PFV NEG DEF-door.SGM
'Ali did not break the door.'
- e. **kassar ma: Ali al-ba:b*
break.3SGM.PFV NEG Ali DEF-door.SGM
'Ali did not break the door.'

The above examples show that *ma:* must appear before the perfective form of the verb *kassar:* 'broke' in both SVO and VSO word orders. The use of *ma:* does not show any morphological impact on the verb it precedes. Also, it is illustrated that *ma:* which follows the verb results in an ungrammatical clause. In addition, *ma:* appears the imperfective form of the verb where it does not have any impact on the morphology of the verb it precedes, too.⁷

It is noticeable that *ma:* cannot exist following the imperfective form of the verb in both SVO and VSO word orders the same as it is the case with the perfective form of the verb. Consider the following examples:

⁵Ghalayini (1986) and Ibn Ageel (1964) suggested that the negative particle *ma:* may function as an interrogative particle and a relative pronoun.

⁶Benmamoun (1992) argues that it appears in the same position where 'not' does in English.

⁷Arabic shows that the presence of *ma:* before the verb does not have any morphological impact on the imperfective form of the verb it negates (Wright, 1859/1996),

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- (30) a. *Ali ji-kssir al-ba:b*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali breaks the door.'
- b. *Ali ma: ji-kssir al-ba:b*
 Ali NEG 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not break the door.'
- c. *ma: ji-kssir Ali al-ba:b*
 NEG 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not break the door.'
- d. **Ali ji-kssir ma: al-ba:b*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-break NEG DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not break the door.'
- e. **ji-kssir ma: Ali al-ba:b*
 3SGM.IPFV-break NEG Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not break the door.'

It is worth mentioning that the negative particle *ma:* may appear in a structure in Saudi dialects in which it does not denote negation. Rather, it is used as a kind of prayers, as shown in the following example:⁸

- (31) a. *ma: tu-fuf farr*
 NEG 3SGM.IPFV-see eveil.SGM
 'May Allah save you'

The following section discusses the second negative particle in Saudi dialects.

la: in verbal clauses

The negative particle *la:* occurs in verbal clauses having verbs in the imperfective form in which *la:* does not have any morphological impact on the following constituent of the clause. Consider the following examples:

- (32) a. *ji-na:m Ali*
 3SGM.IPFV-sleep Ali
 'Ali sleeps.'
- b. *la: ji-na:m Ali*
 NEG 3SGM.IPFV-sleep Ali
 'Do not allow Ali to sleep.'

The above example shows *la:* followed by a verb occurring in the jussive mood that has no overt marker. It behaves as a particle of prohibition to carry the meaning of (not to do).

In addition, the negative particle *la:* cannot appear followed verbs in the perfective form. The following examples are ungrammatical due to the use of the perfective form of the verb.

- (33) a. *na:m Ali*
 sleep.3SGM.PFV Ali
 'Ali slept.'
- b. **la: na:m Ali*
 NEG sleep.3SGM.PFV Ali
 'Do not allow Ali to sleep.'
- c. **na:m *la: Ali*
 sleep.3SGM.PFV NEG Ali
 'Do not allow Ali to sleep.'

However, *la:* may appear in the correlative structure *lai: wa la:* to indicate the meaning of neither...nor. It occurs in the indicative mood with no markers in Saudi dialects. Consider the following examples:

- (34) a. *Ali na:m wa ?istra:h*
 Ali sleep.3SGM.PFV and rest.3SGM.PFV
 'Ali slept and rested...'
- b. *Ali la: na:m wala: ?istra:h*
 Ali neither sleep.3SGM.PFV nor rest.3SGM.PFV
 'Ali neither slept nor rested...'

Moreover, the above structure may occur with verbs only with the indicative mood of the imperfective with no markers in Saudi dialects, as shown in the following examples:

- (35) a. *Ali ji-na:m wa ji-stare:h*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-sleep and 3SGM.IPFV-rest
 'Ali sleeps and rests...'
- b. *Ali la: ji-na:m wala: ji-stare:h*
 Ali neither 3SGM.IPFV-sleep nor 3SGM.IPFV-rest
 'Ali neither sleeps nor rests...'

Negation using *basa*

Arabic has one type of verbs known as verbs of imminence. These verbs show to have various

⁸ Wright (1898) claims that the negative particle *la:* is used sometimes to entail blessings and/or curses. Ul-Haq (1984) also suggests that *la:* is used preceding the perfective form of the verb to express the meaning of "may never".

inflectional and derivational forms. *ka:da* ‘about to’ is one of these verbs. Some linguists suggest to name it *ka:da* and its sisters (*karb*, *ʔufak*, *halbal*, *ʔalamm* and *qa:rab*). They suggest that these verbs function the same as *ka:na* and its sisters. Saudi spoken Arabic has a similar type of verbs due to the absence of the use of *ka:da*. *baʕa* is used in Saudi dialects. It is one of the verbs that may appear and function as content lexical items. Examine the following examples:

- (36) a. Ali *baʕa* *tuffaħ*.
Ali want.3SGM.PFV DEF-apple.PLM
‘Ali wanted apples.’
- b. Ali *ji-baʕa* *tuffaħ*.
Ali 3SGM.IPFV-want DEF-apple.PLM
‘Ali wants apples.’

The above example shows the verb *baʕa* as the main content verb. It appears in both the perfective and the imperfective forms. It appears to mean “want”. In addition, *baʕa* may be used as functional lexical item where it replaces *ka:da*. It occurs before other main verbs to function as modal verbs. It works exactly the same as *ka:da* in MSA and CA. In such structure occurring preceding main verbs, it denotes the proximity of the action or the event to happen. Consider the following examples:

- (37) a. Ali *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b*.
Ali 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
‘Ali breaks the door.’
- b. Ali *baʕa* *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b*.
Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
‘Ali was about to break the door.’
- (38) a. Ali *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b*.
Ali 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
‘Ali breaks the door.’
- b. Ali *ji-baʕa* *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b*.
Ali 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
‘Ali is about to break the door.’

The above examples show how *baʕa* appears in the perfective form and the imperfective form. It changes the meaning of the whole clause although it does not show any impact on the following main verb and does not require any syntactic condition and/or restriction to exist in the structure of any verbal clauses.

Before going deeper into any discussion, it is important to state that *baʕa* only occurs in verbal clauses and is never used in verbless (equational) clauses.⁹The presence of *baʕa* in verbal clauses requires certain forms of the verb following it and is acceptable in certain structures, as will be discussed in the following section.

Entailments of *baʕa*

Verbal clauses are the only type of clauses that can host *baʕa*. The meaning of the whole clause is changed in terms of the happening of the action and/or the event of the verb. *baʕa*, which is the same as *ka:da*, denotes the closeness of the action or the event; however, it did not happen. Some linguists claim that the subject (the doer) of the clause attempts hard to do the action but with no use. That is, the action did not happen. Therefore, *baʕa* denotes different meanings based on the different structures where it may be negated by any article or not. There are two main interpretations of *baʕa* claimed by linguists depending on its structures with relations to the presence of negative particles or not. Some claim that the negation of *baʕa* entails the affirmative (positive) sense while its positive sense where it has no negative particle preceding it entails the negation sense.

On the other hand, some other linguists claim that it denotes the positive sense when it occurs in any structures with no negative particles preceding it. It denotes the negative sense when it has negative particles exist in its structure. The next section provides examples in which *baʕa* appears in different syntactic structures denoting different semantic meanings.

Structure of *baʕa*

Unlike MSA and CA, verbs of imminence only occur in verbal clauses. Thus, *baʕa* always precedes the verb regardless of the position of the subject. Unlike *ka:da*, *baʕa* does not require to have *ʔan* in its structure. As mentioned earlier, it appears in both

⁹*ka:da* is used in both verbal and nominal clauses. This is not the case in Arabic dialects including Saudi dialects. This also applies to *baʕa*.

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the perfective and the imperfective forms of the verbs. Also, it appears preceding both transitive and intransitive verbs. Consider the following examples:

- (39) a. *Ali kasar al-ba:b.*
 Ali break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali broke the door.'
- b. *Ali baʿa ji-kssir al-ba:b.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali was about to break the door.'
- c. **Ali baʿa kasar al-ba:b.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV break.3SGM.PFV DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali was about to break the door.'
- d. **Ali baʿa ʔan ji-kssir al-ba:b.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV to 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali was about to break the door.'

The above examples show that *baʿa* occurs only before the imperfective verbs, as in (39.b). *ji-kssir*: "he breaks" is a transitive verb. Saying that, it is obvious why example (39.c) is ungrammatical due to the perfective verb *kasar*: "break". The last example is ungrammatical due to the presence of *ʔan* between *baʿa* and the verb. Such structure does not exist in Saudi dialects and is unacceptable. Clauses which have intransitive verbs in their structures behave exactly the same as those structures containing transitive verbs with regard to the use of *baʿa*, as shown in the following examples:

- (40) a. *Ali harab.*
 Ali run away.3SGM.PFV
 'Ali ran away.'
- b. *Ali baʿa ji-juhrub.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away
 'Ali was about to run away.'
- c. **Ali baʿa harab.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV run away.3SGM.PFV
 'Ali was about to run away.'
- d. **Ali baʿa ʔan ji-juhrub.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV to 3SGM.IPFV-run away
 'Ali was about to run away.'

Constituent Order

The above examples show that *baʿa* occurs only before the imperfective verbs, as in (39.b). *ji-kssir*: "he breaks" is a transitive verb. Saying that, it is obvious why example (39.c) is ungrammatical due to the perfective verb *kasar*: "break". The last example is ungrammatical due to the presence of *ʔan* between *baʿa* and the verb. Such structure does not exist in

Saudi dialects and is unacceptable. Clauses which have intransitive verbs in their structures behave exactly the same as those structures containing transitive verbs with regard to the use of *baʿa*, as shown in the following examples:

- (41) a. *Ali baʿa ji-kssir al-ba:b.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali was about to break the door.'
- b. *baʿa ji-kssir Ali al-ba:b.*
 about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali was about to break the door.'
- (42) a. *Ali baʿa ji-aʕʕi as-sajjarah li ar-ruʕa:l.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-give DEF-car.SGF to DEF-man. SGM
 'Ali wanted to give the car to the man.'
- b. *Ali baʿa ji-aʕʕi ar-ruʕa:l as-sajjarah.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-give DEF-man. SGM DEF-car.SGF
 'Ali wanted to give the car to the man.'
- c. *baʿa ji-aʕʕi Ali as-sajjarah li ar-ruʕa:l.*
 about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-give Ali DEF-car.SGF to DEF-man. SGM
 'Ali wanted to give the car to the man.'
- d. *baʿa ji-aʕʕi Ali ar-ruʕa:l as-sajjarah.*
 about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-give Ali DEF-man. SGM DEF-car.SGF
 'Ali wanted to give the car to the man.'

The above examples show both SVO (41.a) and VSO (41.b). *baʿa* always precedes the verb. When a clause has a ditransitive verb, the position of *baʿa* does not change, as seen in (42). This also applies to structures having intransitive verbs (SV and/or VS), as shown below:

- (43) a. *Ali baʿa ji-juhrub.*
 Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away
 'Ali was about to run away.'
- b. *baʿa ji-juhrub Ali.*
 about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away Ali
 'Ali was about to run away.'

Agreement

As mentioned earlier, the subject controls the agreement system in Arabic. Also, it is illustrated earlier that the subject's position does not have any impact on the agreement system in Saudi dialects. Thus, SVO and VSO show full agreement. That means *baʿa* show full agreement in person, gender and number with its subject. Consider the following examples:

- (44) a. *Ali baka ji-juhrub.*
Ali about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away
'Ali was about to run away.'
- b. *baka ji-juhrub Ali.*
about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away Ali
'Ali was about to run away.'
- (45) a. *Sara baka-at tu-juhrub.*
Sara about to-3SGF.PFV 3SGF.IPFV-run away
'Sara was about to run away.'
- b. *baka-at tu-juhrub Sara.*
about to.3SGM.PFV 3SGF.IPFV-run away Sara
'Sara was about to run away.'
- (46) a. *al-?ula:d baka-u: ji-juhrub-u:n.*
DEF-boy.PLM about to-3SGF.PFV IPFV-run away-3PLM
'The boys were about to run away.'
- b. *al-bana:t baka-u:/nah ji-juhrub-u:/na.*
DEF-girl.PLF about to-3SGF.PFV IPFV-run away-3PLF
'The girls were about to run away.'

All the above examples show *baka* (the perfective form) agrees with singular masculine subject (44), singular feminine subject (45), plural masculine subject (46.a) and plural feminine subject (46.b). The following examples also show a similar behavior but with the imperfective form of the verb.

- (47) a. *Ali ji-baka ji-juhrub.*
Ali want.3SGM.IPFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away
'Ali wants to run away.'
- b. *ji-baka ji-juhrub Ali.*
want.3SGM.IPFV 3SGM.IPFV-run away Ali
'Ali wants to run away.'
- (48) a. *Sara ta-baka tu-juhrub.*
Sara want-3SGF.IPFV 3SGF.IPFV-run away
'Sara wants to run away.'
- b. *ta-baka tu-juhrub Sara.*
want.3SGM.IPFV 3SGF.IPFV-run away Sara
'Ali was about to run away.'
- (49) a. *al-?ula:d ji-baka-u:n ji-juhrub-u:n.*
DEF-boy.PLM want-3SGF.IPFV IPFV-run away-3PLM
'The boys want to run away.'
- b. *al-bana:t ji-baka-u:/nah ji-juhrub-u:/na.*
DEF-girl.PLF want-3SGF.IPFV IPFV-run away-3PLF
'The girls want to run away.'

It is worth mentioning that *baka* may appear in the passive voice structures show the same agreement system as the active voice structures. Therefore, the verb shows full agreement with the passive subject regardless of the verb Form (Form V, Form VII or Form VIII), as shown in the following examples:

- (50) a. *baka-at tin-fitih ar-risa:lah*
about to-3SGF.PFV 3SGF.PFV.PASS-open DEF-letter.SGF
'The letter was about to be opened.'
- b. *baka jit-kassar al-ba:b*
about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.PFV.PASS-break DEF-door.SGM
'The door was about to be broken.'
- c. *baka ji-mtili al-beit tuhaf.*
about to-3SGM.PFV PASS-fill in.3SGM.SBJ DEF-house.SGM vase.PLF
'The house was about to be filled with vases.'

As mentioned earlier, the subject of the passive structure is usually post-verbal, as seen in the above examples. However, it may occur preverbal. The passive verb agrees fully with its subject either it appears initial or not, as shown in the following examples:

- (51) a. *ar-risa:lah baka-at tin-fitih*
DEF-letter.SGF about to-3SGF.PFV 3SGF.PFV.PASS-open
'The letter was about to be opened.'
- b. *al-ba:b jit-kassar*
DEF-door.SGM 3SGM.PFV.PASS-break
'The door was about to be broken.'
- c. *al-beit baka ji-mtili tuhaf.*
DEF-house.SGM about to-3SGM.PFV PASS-fill in.3SGM.SBJ vase.PLF
'The house was about to be filled with vases.'

Negation with *ma*:

baka may appear in clauses in which it is negated by the negative particle *ma*: which precedes it. It is the only structure regardless of the position of the subject. Other structures are ungrammatical. *baka* can be negated in both forms: the perfective and the imperfective forms. When *baka* is negated, it denotes the opposite meaning. That is, the action and/or the event happened. Consider the following examples:

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- (52) a. Ali *ma:* ***baʿa*** *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali NEG about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- b. *ma:* ***baʿa*** *ji-kssir* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 NEG about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- c. *Ali ***baʿa*** *ma:* *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali about to-3SGM.PFV NEG 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- d. *Ali ***baʿa*** *ji-kssir* *ma:* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break NEG DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- e. ****baʿa*** *ma:* **ji-kssir* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 about to-3SGM.PFV NEG 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- f. ****baʿa*** **ji-kssir* *ma:* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break NEG Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'

All the above examples show the negation structure with the perfective form *baʿa*. There are only two acceptable and grammatical structures (52 a&b). Other structures are ungrammatical. The following examples show negation with the imperfective form *ji-bʿa*.

- (53) a. Ali *ma:* ***ji-bʿa*** *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali NEG 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'
- b. *ma:* ***ji-bʿa*** *ji-kssir* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 NEG 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'
- c. *Ali ***ji-bʿa*** *ma:* *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-about to NEG 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'
- d. *Ali ***ji-bʿa*** *ji-kssir* *ma:* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break NEG DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'
- e. ****ji-bʿa*** *ma:* **ji-kssir* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 3SGM.IPFV-about to NEG 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'
- f. ****ji-bʿa*** **ji-kssir* *ma:* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break NEG Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'

Negation with *la:*

baʿa cannot be negated with the negative particle *la:* for both the perfective form and the imperfective form of the verb. Consider the following examples:

- (54) a. *Ali *la:* ***baʿa*** *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali NEG about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- b. **la:* ***baʿa*** *ji-kssir* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 NEG about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali did not want to break the door.'
- c. *Ali *la:* ***ji-bʿa*** *ji-kssir* *al-ba:b.*
 Ali NEG 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'
- d. **la:* ***ji-bʿa*** *ji-kssir* Ali *al-ba:b.*
 NEG 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-break Ali DEF-door.SGM
 'Ali does not want to break the door.'

However, *la:* may occur in the correlative structure *lai: wa la:* to indicate the meaning of neither...nor. It occurs in the both the perfective and imperfective forms of the verb (*baʿa*), as shown in the following examples:

- (55) a. Ali *la:* ***baʿa*** *ji-na:m* *wala: j-istri:h*
 Ali neither about to-3SGM.PFV 3SGM.IPFV-sleep nor 3SGM.IPFV-rest
 'Ali neither wanted to sleep nor to rest...'
- (56) a. Ali *la:* ***ji-bʿa*** *ji-na:m* *wala: j-istri:h*
 Ali neither 3SGM.IPFV-about to 3SGM.IPFV-sleep nor 3SGM.IPFV-rest
 'Ali neither wants to sleep nor to rest...'

IV. CONCLUSION

Saudi dialects negate verbal clauses using either *la:* or *ma:* as the only negative particles in the dialects. The scope of negation using these two negative particles can be on one element or on the whole clause. Saudi dialects show to have negation on verbal clauses without using any of the negative particles. They encode negation on verbal clauses by the use of the verbs of imminence "*baʿa*:" was about to/want". It is one of the verbs that may appear and function as content lexical items. However, it also functions as modal verbs when it occurs in structures preceding other main verbs for the purpose of negating the happening of the action or the event. *baʿa*'s scope is only on the following verb. It may appear in the perfective form and the imperfective form of the verb. In both forms, they denote the proximity of the happening of the action or the event. Thus, it entails negation. The subject of the clause agrees fully in person, number and gender with *baʿa* regardless of its position (VSO or SVO). When a structure containing *baʿa* is negated with the negative particle *ma:*, it does not negate the

happening of the action or the event. Rather, it denotes the happening after hard attempts. *baʿa* does not accept to be negated with the negative particle *la*. Therefore, *baʿa*, as a functional lexical item, denotes the negative sense unless it is negated by *ma*: in Saudi dialects.

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Appendix 1. Transliteration Symbols

| Consonants | | | |
|-------------------|---|----|--------------------------------|
| b | Voiced bilabial stop | k | Voiceless velar stop |
| m | Bilabial nasal | g | Voiced velar stop |
| f | Voiceless labiodental fricative | χ | Voiceless uvular fricative |
| θ | Voiceless dental fricative | ʁ | Voiced uvular fricative |
| ð | Voiced dental fricative | ħ | Voiceless pharyngeal fricative |
| ðˢ | Pharyngealized voiced dental fricative | ʕ | Voiced pharyngeal fricative |
| t | Voiceless alveolar stop | h | Voiceless glottal fricative |
| tˢ | Pharyngealized voiceless alveolar stop | ʔ | Voiceless glottal stop |
| d | Voiced alveolar stop | | |
| n | Alveolar nasal | | |
| s | Voiceless alveolar fricative | r | Alveolar trill |
| z | Voiced alveolar fricative | l | Alveolar lateral approximant |
| sˢ | Pharyngealized voiceless alveolar fricative | | |
| ʃ | Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative | j | Palatal glide |
| ʒ | Voiced palato-alveolar fricative | w | Velar glide |
| Vowels | | | |
| i | Short high front unrounded | u | Short high back rounded |
| i: | Long high front unrounded | u: | Long high back rounded |
| a | Short low front unrounded | e: | Long mid front unrounded |
| a: | Long low front unrounded | | |