



Negation in Bedouin dialects of Palestine and Jordan

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to my mother

Abstract

This thesis provides a synchronic fieldwork-based description and analysis of the distribution and use of the elements of negation and the morpho-syntactic expression of negation in Bedouin tribes of Palestine (West Bank), Israel (An-Naqab), and Jordan (North, Central, and South Badia). Through a general overview of the historical evolution of negation in Arabic, it presents evidence of negation in Epigraphic, Quranic, Modern Standard Arabic, and modern Arabic dialects. By closely examining previous data on negation in Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, it discusses the use of *mā* and its morphological variants, as well as the use of other negators with verbal, pseudo-verbal and non-verbal predicates, and sheds light on the uses of the negative particle *lā*, the uses of the innovative *š* negator, and the use of *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms. The research focuses on the analysis of recent data on negation in Bedouin dialects of Palestine, Israel, and Jordan. It describes various types of negation while seeking to illuminate the uses of the innovative, sedentary *š* negator, as a mainly rural adopted feature, and the uses of the negative particle *lā*, as a rather marginalised, conservative feature. It concludes that a wider use of the *š* negator is found in the Bedouin tribes of the West Bank and in the southern Bedouin tribes of Jordan, where it is occasionally used with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates, in the bipartite or the postverbal negation, while a more limited use is found in the northern tribes of Jordan, where it is restricted to the negation of non-verbal predicates. In the rest of the studied tribes, the *š* negator is commonly used in the negation of non-verbal predicates and in the existential negation. In general, the negative particle *lā* is mostly attested in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures as the first negative element. Less often, it is also used with verbal predicates in plain or emphatic negative statements, in modal expressions, in negative optative sentences, in indirect prohibition, and as a preventive marker. Moreover, the negation *wala* is encountered in the negation of verbal and non-verbal predicates, the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions and the negative conjunction *wala* is used in negative coordination structures. Finally, a double, emphatic negative response as *lille/lilla* is attested in all studied regions.

Περίληψη

Η παρούσα διατριβή παρέχει μια συγχρονική περιγραφή και ανάλυση της κατανομής και χρήσης των στοιχείων της άρνησης και της μορφοσυντακτικής έκφρασης της άρνησης σε φυλές Βεδουίνων της Παλαιστίνης (Δυτική Όχθη), του Ισραήλ (Νάκαμπ) και της Ιορδανίας (Βόρεια, Κεντρική και Νότια *Μπάντγια*), βάσει επιτόπιας έρευνας. Μέσα από μια γενική επισκόπηση της ιστορικής εξέλιξης της άρνησης στην αραβική γλώσσα, παρουσιάζονται στοιχεία άρνησης από την Αραβική των αρχαίων επιγραφών, την Αραβική του Κορανίου, τη Σύγχρονη Πρότυπη Αραβική και τις σύγχρονες αραβικές διαλέκτους. Μέσα από τη διερεύνηση προηγούμενων δεδομένων σχετικά με την άρνηση σε διαλέκτους Βεδουίνων της Αραβικής Χερσονήσου, περιγράφεται η χρήση του αρνητικού μορίου *mā* και των μορφολογικών παραλλαγών του, καθώς και η χρήση άλλων στοιχείων άρνησης με ρηματικά, ψευδορηματικά και μη ρηματικά κατηγορήματα, ενώ συγχρόνως η έρευνα εστιάζει στις χρήσεις του αρνητικού μορίου *lā*, στις χρήσεις του καινοτόμου μορφήματος *ḍ* και στη χρήση του *ḍay*, των παραγώγων του και των μορφών του κλιτικού του επιθήματος. Η διατριβή επικεντρώνεται στην ανάλυση νέων δεδομένων για την άρνηση σε διαλέκτους Βεδουίνων της Παλαιστίνης, του Ισραήλ και της Ιορδανίας, που προκύπτουν μέσα από επιτόπια έρευνα. Περιγράφει διάφορους τύπους άρνησης, ενώ επιδιώκει να διασαφηνίσει τις χρήσεις του καινοτόμου, μη-νομαδικού επιθήματος *-ḍ*, ως στοιχείο υιοθετημένο κυρίως από αγροτικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες, και τις χρήσεις του αρνητικού μορίου *lā*, ως ένα περιθωριοποιημένο πλέον, συντηρητικό στοιχείο. Από την παρούσα έρευνα συμπεραίνεται ότι μια ευρύτερη χρήση του επιθήματος *-ḍ* απαντάται στις φυλές των Βεδουίνων της Δυτικής Όχθης και στις νότιες φυλές Βεδουίνων της Ιορδανίας, όπου χρησιμοποιείται περιστασιακά με ρηματικά και ψευδορηματικά κατηγορήματα, στη διμερή ή στη μετα-ρηματική άρνηση, ενώ μια πιο περιορισμένη χρήση εντοπίζεται στις βόρειες φυλές της Ιορδανίας, όπου περιορίζεται στην άρνηση των μη ρηματικών κατηγορημάτων. Στις υπόλοιπες φυλές που μελετήθηκαν, το επίθημα *-ḍ* χρησιμοποιείται συνήθως στην άρνηση των μη ρηματικών κατηγορημάτων και στην υπαρκτική άρνηση. Γενικά, το αρνητικό μόριο *lā* απαντάται ως επί το πλείστον στην αρνητική προστακτική (απαγόρευση) και στις παρατακτικές δομές άρνησης ως το πρώτο αρνητικό στοιχείο. Λιγότερο συχνά, χρησιμοποιείται επίσης με ρηματικά κατηγορήματα σε απλές ή εμφατικές αρνητικές δηλώσεις, σε εκφράσεις τροπικότητας, σε εκφράσεις απευχής, στην έμμεση απαγόρευση και σε προτάσεις που δηλώνουν

αποτροπή. Επιπλέον, το αρνητικό στοιχείο *wala* χρησιμοποιείται στην άρνηση ρηματικών και μη ρηματικών κατηγορημάτων, το αρνητικό στοιχείο διαβάθμισης *wala* χρησιμοποιείται σε δομές αρνητικής συμφωνίας και ο αρνητικός σύνδεσμος *wala* χρησιμοποιείται σε παρατακτικές δομές άρνησης. Τέλος, μια διπλή, εμφατική αρνητική απάντηση ως *lille/lilla* απαντάται σε όλες τις περιοχές που μελετήθηκαν.

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Abbreviations

1	First person	NegEXPR	Negative expression
2	Second person	NegIMP	Negative imperative
3	Third person	NegN	Negative noun
ACC	Accusative	NegPN	Negated pronoun
ADV	Adverb/Adverbial	NegPR	Negative preposition
ADVC	Adverbial construction	NegSFP	Negative scalar focus particle
ART	Article	NegST	Negative statement
ASP	Aspectual marker	NIP	Negative indefinite pronoun
ASS	Asseverative particle	NOM	Nominative
AsyndCOORD	Asyndetic coordination	NPI	Negative polarity item
CA	Classical Arabic	NVPred	Non-verbal predicate
COND	Conditional	OBJP	Object Particle
CONDS	Conditional structure	OPT	Optative
CONJ	Conjunction	PFV	Perfective aspect
ConstNEG	Constituent negation	PL	Plural
DAT	Dative	PN	Pronoun
DU	Dual	PREV	Prevention
EMPH	Emphatic	PTCP	Participle
EmphNEG	Emphatic negation	PVPred	Pseudo-verbal predicate
EXCC	Exceptive construction	REL	Relative
EXCLAM	Exclamatory	SENT	Sentence
EXH	Exhortative particle	SJV	Subjunctive
ExistNEG	Existential	V	Verb
F	Feminine	VOC	Vocative
FutNEG	Negation in the Future	VPred	Verbal predicate
GEN	Genitive		
IMP	Imperative		
IND	Indicative		
INDEF	Indefinite		
IndirPROH	Indirect prohibition		
INT	Interrogative		
IPFV	Imperfective aspect		
JUSS	Jussive		
K-form	Koineised form		
M	Masculine		
ModEXPR	Modal Expression		
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic		
NCI	Negative concord item		
NEG	Negation		
NegADJ	Negative adjective		
NegADV	Negative adverb/adverbial		
NegANS	Negation as an answer		
NegCONC	Negative concord structure		
NegCONJ	Negative conjunction		
NegCOORD	Negative coordination structure		

Transcriptions

Consonants

Arabic symbols	IPA	Phonetic symbols
ء	ʔ	ˀ
ب	b	b
ت	t	t
ث	θ	ˤ
ج	dʒ	ǧ
ح	ħ	ħ
خ	x	ħ
د	d	d
ذ	ð	ɗ
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	ʃ	ʃ
ص	sˤ	ʂ
ض	dˤ	ɗ
ط	tˤ	ˤ
ظ	ðˤ	ɗ
ع	ʕ	ˀ
غ	ɣ	ǧ
ف	f	f
ق	q	q/g
ك	k	k/č/ć
ل	l	l/ĺ
م	m	m
ن	n	n
ه	h	h

و	w	w
ي	j	y

Vowels: a, ā, æ, ǣ, ē, ē̄, ə, u, ū, i, ī

Diphthongs: aw, ay

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1 Introduction

Aims of the thesis

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine the use of the elements of negation in Bedouin tribes of Palestine (West Bank), Israel (An-Naqab), and Jordan (North, Central, and South Badia). The results provided in this thesis are based on field research in the above studied areas.

Studies focused on negation in Bedouin dialects are scarcely found in the academic world. A general conclusion drawn from previous studies on Bedouin varieties, is that in the contemporary Bedouin varieties of the Arabian Peninsula, both conservative and innovative features are encountered in the phonology, morphology, syntactic structure, and lexicon, depending always on the location of the tribe, its contact with sedentary varieties, and the duration of this contact, or, on the contrary, on the isolation of the tribe.

The current research aims to provide data on different types of negation, such as negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs and participles used in negative contexts, *still*, and *no longer/not anymore* verbs and adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

The research, however, focuses on the use of two negative elements. Firstly, the research explores the use of the *š* negator as a rather innovative, sedentary, non-traditional feature in Bedouin varieties. Considering that today most of the Bedouin tribes in Israel, Palestine and Jordan are sedentarised, we would like to examine to what extent the *š* suffix, as a negative morpheme widely attested in the sedentary dialects of the studied regions, has penetrated the Bedouin dialects of the area and, at the same time, to what extent the Bedouin varieties under study resist to linguistic innovations related to the expression of negation. Secondly, the present research attempts to shed light on the negative particle *lā* as a rather conservative, marginalised feature in all modern Arabic varieties, and to examine in which cases it is still used in the speech of the selected tribes.

Outline of the thesis

The thesis is organised and divided into six chapters.

Chapter 2 presents the historical development of negation in the Arabic language. The introductory part provides a general definition of the Arabic language and presents the evolution and historical stages of Arabic, dividing them into Epigraphic Old Arabic, pre-Islamic Arabic, Quranic Arabic, Classical Arabic, Middle Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and the modern Arabic dialects. It then defines and explains the types of negation studied in this thesis. The chapter continues by providing a short description of the negation system in Semitic languages, presenting the main verbal negators in the ancient Semitic languages, and describing the origin of the main Arabic negators *lā*, *lan*, *lammā*, *lam*, *laysa*, *lāta*, *mā*, *'in* and *ġayru*, as well as the theories that have arisen concerning the origin of the *š* negator. The last part of the chapter provides evidence of negation in Epigraphic, Quranic, Modern Standard Arabic and modern Arabic dialects. The chapter summarises the general findings in each historical period of the development of negation in Arabic, by presenting the main negators attested in each period and by describing the uses of the negative particle *mā* and *lā* in the Quranic text, and in Modern Standard Arabic, as well as the uses of *mā/ma* and its morphological variants, the uses of the *š* negator, the use of *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms, and the uses of *lā* in modern Arabic sedentary dialects.

Chapter 3 studies negation in previous studies on Bedouin dialects. The introductory part defines the meaning of the term 'Bedouin' and its current interpretation in the Arabic world, along with the current state of the Bedouin people and dialects in contemporary Arabic societies. It briefly presents the geographical and sociological classifications of the Arabic dialects and provides classifications of the dialects of the Arabian Peninsula. It then presents the prominent features of the Bedouin Arabic dialects and the prominent features of negation in Bedouin dialects. The last part of the chapter provides an extended literature review of previous research on Bedouin dialects along with data on negation from Northeast Arabian dialects, Šrūġi dialects, Northwest Arabian dialects, West Arabian (Hiġāzi) dialects, Omani dialects, and Southwest Arabian dialects. The chapter summarises the results of previous studies, by giving a general overview of the expression of negation in the studied dialectal groups and tribes

and by focusing on the use of the innovative, sedentary *š* negator, on the use of *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms, and on the use of the rather traditional, conservative negative particle *lā* in the reviewed studies.

Chapter 4 presents fieldwork-based collected data on negation from Bedouin dialects of the Naqab (Negev – Israel) and the West Bank (Palestine). The introductory part discusses the linguistic situation in Palestine and the classification of the Bedouin dialects in Israel and Palestine. It then summarises previous studies on urban, rural and Bedouin varieties and presents the results of previous studies on negation in Bedouin varieties of Israel and Palestine. The chapter continues by describing the methodology of the current field research, and by presenting the studied regions and tribes. The last part of the chapter provides and analyses recent fieldwork-based data on negation from Palestine (West Bank) and Israel (Naqab). The chapter concludes by presenting the general results of the research and by focusing on the use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā* in the studied varieties of the Naqab and the West Bank.

Chapter 5 presents fieldwork-based collected data on negation in Bedouin dialects of North, Central, and South Badia (northern, central, and southern Jordan). The introductory part discusses the linguistic situation in Jordan and provides classifications of the Jordanian dialects. It then summarises previous studies on urban, rural and Bedouin varieties and presents the results of previous studies on negation in Bedouin varieties of North, Central, and South Badia. The chapter continues by describing the methodology of the current field research, and the studied regions and tribes. It concludes by presenting the general results of the research and by focusing on the use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā* in the studied varieties of North, Central, and South Badia.

Chapter 6 presents the conclusions of the thesis.

2 The development of negation in the Arabic language

In this chapter, we deal with negation in Arabic in general. First, we will present the historical evolution of Arabic, by defining the earliest evidence of Arabic and the ancestors of Arabic and the Arabic varieties that emerged over time, starting from Proto-Arabic to the modern Arabic dialects. Second, we will define the types of negation we will be referring to in this thesis. And third, we will present the historical evolution of negation in Arabic, starting from a general overview of the negators in the Semitic languages and some well-known conclusions and assumptions about the origin of negators in Arabic, and then, providing examples of negation from ancient inscriptions, from the Quranic text, from Modern Standard Arabic, and from modern Arabic dialects.

2.1 *The historical evolution of Arabic*

Arabic belongs to the Central Semitic languages, is part of the group of West Semitic languages, and is the official language in sixteen sovereign states and a co-official language in another seven sovereign states. It is spoken in countries of north and southeastern Africa, of the Middle East, also in parts of sub-Saharan Africa and in Northern Cyprus by the Maronites. The most archaic Arabic dialects are those of the Arabian Peninsula (Watson 2011, 852).

Lack of sources on the linguistic status of pre-Islamic Arabia led to a limited knowledge of the historical evolution of the Arabic language. Until the 19th century, the only available sources were pre-Islamic poetry, the Quranic text, and the linguistic material documented by grammarians and scholars from the 8th century onwards. The 19th century though, marked a new era for the history of the ancient languages of Arabia (Hayajneh 2011, Al-Jallad 2018a). The beginning of the exploration of the Arabian Peninsula and the southern Levant brought to light a great amount of epigraphic evidence that overturned some of the most prevailing perceptions on pre-Islamic Arabic, such as the following:

- Arabic was an oral language with no written tradition.
- Arabic spoken in the Arabian Peninsula was a homogenous language.
- Classical Arabic was the ancestor of all Arabic varieties.

Linguistic classification of the epigraphic languages is based on the identification of shared morphological innovations (Al-Jallad 2018a, 5). At the beginning, epigraphic

languages from Central and North Arabia were divided into Arabic and Ancient North Arabian, depending on the realisation of the definite article¹, but later classifications (Macdonald 2000, Huehnergard 2017, Al-Jallad 2018a) expanded the list of features that were considered as Arabic innovations, leading to the conclusion that Ancient Arabia formed a linguistic continuum of Central Semitic languages in which Arabic should not be seen as a single language but rather as a linguistic form evolving in relation to Safaitic, Hismaic and at some point to Dadanitic as well (Al-Jallad 2018a, 34).

The term Old Arabic, also Proto-Arabic or pre-Islamic Arabic, refers to the language of any written evidence that was revealed before the arrival of Islam and until the emergence of the Quranic text. Thus, this term embraces not only Arabic but various ancient languages that preceded Arabic or coexisted with it and can be considered as the ancestors of both Classical Arabic and modern Arabic varieties (Huehnergard 2017).

In the following subsections, we will attempt to present and describe the various stages of the evolution of Arabic, as they have been previously defined by other scholars.

2.1.1 *Epigraphic Old Arabic*

Epigraphic Old Arabic refers to surviving inscriptions that include the earliest Arabic language evidence. Inscriptions found in the Arabian Peninsula are divided into two large categories: The Southwest Arabia inscriptions, dating from the 13th century BC to the 7th century AD, written in ancient or Old Arabian languages, and the Central and North Arabia inscriptions, dating from the 8th century BC to the 4th century AD, written in North Arabian languages (Macdonald 2004). An important difference between the two groups of inscriptions is that for the first group, a single script –the Ancient South Arabian script– is used for various languages while for the second group, a wide range of alphabets –the Ancient North Arabian scripts– are used (Macdonald 2004, Al-Jallad 2018a). The North Arabia inscriptions were further divided into Arabic and Ancient North Arabian. However, Ancient North Arabian was later considered as a family of languages related to Proto-Arabic or Old Arabic (Al-Jallad 2018a). The epigraphic sources of this linguistic family come from the following groups of inscriptions:

¹ Arabic definite article (*'al*) versus Ancient North Arabian definite article *ha(n)*.

Safaitic inscriptions: this term derived from Şafā, a basaltic area in the southeastern part of Damascus (Hayajneh 2011, 774). Almost all Safaitic inscriptions consist of graffiti carved by nomads of today's southern Syria, northeastern Jordan, and northeastern Saudi Arabia, dating between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD (Macdonald 2004, 492). These inscriptions are found in the Syro-Arabian Ḥarra desert (Al-Jallad 2020–21, 24).

Hismaic inscriptions: the name Hismaic refers to the language of the nomads of the Ḥismā desert in southern Jordan and Northwest Saudi Arabia and was also the language of some inhabitants of central and northern Jordan (Macdonald 2004, 492). These inscriptions are found from Madaba, Jordan, to the Northwest Arabia (Al-Jallad 2020–21) and together with the Safaitic inscriptions are regarded as the closest related to Arabic.

Nabataean inscriptions: they are mostly found in the areas of the ancient Nabataean kingdom, in Northwest Arabia and southern Levant. Most of the Nabataean inscriptions are written in Aramaic and only one text is found in Arabic, the famous 'En 'Avdat inscription. From the 3rd century the Nabataean script starts to contain a mixed language of both Aramaic and Arabic. This script will later (5th – 6th century) fully develop to the Arabic script as it is known today (Al-Jallad 2020–21, 26).

Graeco-Arabica inscriptions: these inscriptions are written in the Greek script but contain a great number of Arabic names and vocabulary. One of the inscriptions though consists of a fully Arabic text written in Greek (Al-Jallad 2020–21, 27–28).

Dadanitic inscriptions: these are the inscriptions found in the oasis of Dadān, in Northwest Arabia (Macdonald 2004). According to Al-Jallad (2020–21), although Dadanitic is not related to Arabic, yet it has been influenced by another variety spoken at the same time in the oasis and called by Al-Jallad (2015a, 2018a) *Old Ḥigāzī*. This variety could justify the presence of some Arabic features on the Dadanitic inscriptions.

2.1.2 *Pre-Islamic Arabic*

Rabin (1951), based on the work of Muslim Medieval Arab philologists, recognises two large groups of pre-Islamic dialects, the Western dialects, which are the dialects of Ḥigāz –mainly these of Mecca and Medina– and the Eastern dialects, which are the dialects of Tamīm. Rabin (1951) introduces 'West-Arabian' as a separate language group. This language was distant from Arabic and was a non-literary language. The

Eastern dialects were identical to the Classical Arabic of the poets while the western dialects and the literary language used by Muhammad seem to have been different stages in the transition from West-Arabian to Arabic (Rabin 1951). Thus, the Ḥiḡāzī dialect, being influenced by Arabic, is treated by Rabin as a non-pure West Arabian language. Al-Jallad (2020–21) argues that the ancient dialects of Ḥiḡāz seem to be the first branch of Arabic that was initially attested in the Dadanitic inscriptions and then in the earliest Quranic manuscripts of the 7th century. Moreover, latest stage of the Old Ḥiḡāzī language was attested in the pre-Islamic Odes, the Psalm Fragment, and the Papyri of the 1st Islamic century (Al-Jallad 2020–21).

2.1.3 *Quranic Arabic*

Quranic Arabic is included by some scholars in a wider group named pre-Islamic Arabic, while others consider it as part of Classical Arabic. Medieval Muslim philologists argued that the language of the Qur'ān was the spoken language of the prophet and his tribe, the dialect of the Quraish. They also argued that the language of the poetry was the same as the spoken oral language of the Bedouins of the central and eastern Arabian Peninsula, additionally identical to the language of the Qur'ān and consequently the most correct of all dialects. However, western scholars later believed and generally agreed that Classical Arabic was neither the spoken language of the poets, nor the vernacular of one or more tribes (Rabin 1955).

The Quranic Consonantal Text (*rasm*) is defined as the consonantal form in which the Qur'ān was first written, without the vocalisation marks that were later added (van Putten 2017). This first written form differs from the Classical Arabic form of the contemporary reading traditions of the Qur'ān (van Putten 2017, 47–48).

2.1.4 *Classical Arabic*

With the term 'Classical Arabic' we describe the language documented by the Arab Grammarians in the 8th century who called it *al-'arabiyya* and considered it to be the only correct Arabic language. The Quranic Consonantal Text, pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry, as well as historical and legal traditions, were all transmitted in this language (Fischer 2006, 397).

The five-volume work *Al-Kitāb* by the Persian grammarian Sībawayh (8th century) is the first official description of Classical Arabic. It is based on poetic texts, the Quranic text and data from Bedouins who were considered genuine speakers of the *‘arabiyya* (Fischer 2006, 402).

Standardisation of Classical Arabic was completed around the end of the 8th century. The Bedouin language *kalām al‘arab*, ‘language of the Arabs’, was considered to be the only true Arabic language, while the urban varieties were seen as corrupted, and were not included in the material of the grammars. But, as the Bedouins came more and more into contact with speakers of other varieties, their own language also began to change. For this reason, lexicographers and grammarians did not accept Bedouin data that dated from the 4th century AH² onwards (Ferrando 2007, 265).

Classical Arabic remained the official language in the Arab world until the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, where Modern Standard Arabic was established. Western scholars in their majority agree that Classical Arabic was never a spoken language. Rabin (1951) mentioned that at least from the end of the Umayyad period this language was only written and not spoken.

Regarding Quranic and Classical Arabic, which very often refer to the same language, we conclude first, that Quranic Arabic includes elements from various varieties of the pre-Islamic period, and second, that the standardised form of the language that subsequently emerges as Classical Arabic is not identical with pre-Islamic and Quranic Arabic. Larcher (2008, 11) states that the Arabic of the Qur‘ān is not Classical Arabic since the term ‘classical’ does not actually correspond to a historical but to a sociolinguistic concept. Classical Arabic, a variety of prestige and school norm, is ultimately a form of language emerged through a selection process that sometimes preserved, sometimes removed, and sometimes added new data. Consequently, Quranic Arabic displays elements that the Classic chose not to retain in its final form (Larcher 2008, 12). According to Pat-El (2017, 441), Classical Arabic is a ‘normalised’ language, which was the final result of ‘a fusion of dialects’.

² Anno Hegirae

2.1.5 *Middle Arabic*

The term is used to characterise a written, mixed type of language between Classical Arabic and spoken vernacular Arabic, attested from the early Islamic period until modern times in texts like Judeo-Arabic, Christian-Arabic and Muslim Arabic (Khan 2011). Middle Arabic was a result of diglossia (Marçais 1930, Ferguson 1959), the co-existence of a so-called high variety such as Classical, Literary or Standard Arabic and a low variety such as various Arabic dialects, while the term Mixed Arabic usually refers to modern spoken Arabic varieties containing phonological, morphological, syntactic features and lexicon from a standard and a vernacular (den Heijer 2012).

2.1.6 *Modern Standard Arabic*

Modern Standard Arabic emerged during the 19th century, resulting from various social changes in the Arabic world such as the gradual restriction of the use of Classical Arabic to religious contexts within the Ottoman Empire, the cultural movement of the Nahḍa and the strong influence of the Arabic journalism (Glaß 2011). It has become since then the official language of mass media, the written press, and the literature. Modern Standard Arabic did not differ from Classical Arabic in terms of morphology and syntax, except for some ancient syntactic structures that were excluded from the new form. However, it did differ in terms of vocabulary and phraseology, while many foreign terms were also introduced (Versteegh 2004).

As stated by Versteegh (2002, 54) on standard languages, there are two tendencies: the first is to consider the standard language of written texts as ‘alive’, a tendency which leads to an overestimation of its importance and consequently to a denial of any change to it. The second tendency is to consider the standard language of written texts as ‘dead’, a tendency which leads to an underestimation of the importance of the standard language within the community of speakers. Versteegh (2002, 74) argued that a standard language is neither alive nor dead but is part of the language continuum.

2.1.7 Modern Arabic dialects

Early grammarians like Sībawayh did not show great interest in the Arabic dialects, although Medieval Muslim philologists did provide some data on Arabic dialects, especially on the Ḥiǧāzi dialect. In general, features of the dialects were examined mostly as ‘curious derivations from the literary language’, and were compared to the *faṣīḥa*, the correct and elegant form that conformed to the laws of Classical Arabic (Rabin 1951). Consequently, the Arabic dialects were for a long time neglected and not sufficiently studied until the emergence of the Arabic dialectology studies in the 20th century.

A crucial question for Arabic dialectologists has always been and still is the origin of the modern dialects. A monogenetic explanation of the origin of the modern Arabic varieties claims that they derived from Classical Arabic, an Arabic koine, or a uniform pre-Islamic language (Fück 1950, Ferguson 1959, Versteegh 1984). The monogenetic explanation of the origin of the modern dialects was strongly rejected by many contemporary scholars such as Cohen (1970), Corriente (1976), Macdonald (2004), Watson (2011), Al-Jallad (2018a) and many others who opted for a polygenetic explanation, based on the evidence of ancient forms of Proto-Arabic that were found in modern vernaculars but not in Classical Arabic (Huehnergard and Pat-El 2019, 11). The emergence of the inscriptions of the Arabian Peninsula brought to light many features that Arabic inherited from Old Semitic, and thus, the modern Arabic dialects seem to have an array of diverse origins and to have evolved over millennia, as different varieties of Arabic have interacted with substrate and adstrate languages (Watson 2011, 878).

2.2 Types of negation studied in this thesis

In this section, we will proceed to a brief description of the types of negation that will be discussed in this thesis, and they include the following types: Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’, sentential negation, negative imperative, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, types of *wala*, exceptive constructions, verbs used in negative contexts, *still*, *scarcely*, and *no longer/not anymore* verbs and adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

- *Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’*

Arabic has mainly *lā* as a ‘no’ answer, which is also one of the standard negators in Modern Standard Arabic. It is one of the numerous languages that possess a one-word negative reply (Miestamo 2017). Phonological and morphological variants of *lā*, as well as rare evidence of other words used for ‘no’ will be presented in this thesis.

- *Sentential negation*

Negation of an entire sentence (defined first as ‘sentence negation’ by Klima 1964, and as ‘clausal negation’ by Payne 1985), will be presented as sentential negation with verbal predicates, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, and sentential negation with non-verbal predicates.

a) Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates will be divided into sentential negation with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and sentential negation with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect³.

Sentential negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect: Negation of declarative main clauses with verbs in the imperfective aspect, expressing negation in the present, the future, or the past. Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect expressing the past is encountered in the narrative present, which is usually encountered in oral, traditional narratives like the typical folktales (Henkin 2010) and in a progressive or habitual action in the past (Past continuous) with the auxiliary *kān*.

Sentential negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect: Negation of declarative main clauses with verbs in the perfective aspect, expressing negation in the past or modal negation as negative wishes, oaths, or asseverations (Wright 1898, 2).

³ Imperfective and perfective aspect are traditionally and often described as the ‘prefix conjugation’ and the ‘suffix conjugation’ (Watson 2021, 416).

b) Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

The term ‘pseudo-verb’ is first used by Qafisheh (1977) –while Cowell (1964) uses the term ‘quasi-verbs’– to describe verb-like constructions with the meaning ‘have’ (*ind/and*), ‘own’ (*ma*), ‘want’ (*bVdd*), ‘there is/are/there was/were’ (*fi*) etc. Later, Brustad (2000, 151–152) embraces this term to define the partially verbal syntactic nature of these constructions that function as main verbs and are negated as verbs in a sentence. Lucas (2010, 167) describes pseudo-verbs as a closed set of irregular verbs that are mainly derived from prepositional phrases and that are marked for person agreement.

Negation of declarative main clauses with pseudo-verbal predicates with the meaning ‘have’ and ‘want’, as well as negation of declarative main clauses expressing non-existence (existential negation) in the present, past, and future, will be presented in this thesis.

c) Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Negation of declarative main clauses with non-verbal predicates namely nouns, adjectives, participles, non-verbal predicates introduced by copulas, and subordinate clauses, as well as negation of the personal pronouns (independent or dependent/clitic⁴) by negative particles which either precede (ex. *mā hu*) or prefix them (ex. *mahu*). It is important to note, though, that in this thesis, when referring to negated pronouns or negation of pronouns we are still referring to sentential negation. Thus, the negative marker prefixing or preceding the pronoun negates the whole sentence and not the pronoun. Negated pronouns are defined differently in the bibliography, for example in Cowell (1964) they are defined as negative copulas, in Alqassas (2019) as copular pronouns, in Hoyt (2010) as pronouns of negation, etc.

- *Negative imperative*

Clauses that express prohibition, typologically divided, according to their formation, into four types by van der Auwera and Lejeune (2005):

⁴ Both dependent and independent types of pronouns are attested in negated pronouns (see Alluhaybi 2019 for a more detailed description of the NEG + PN construction).

Type 1: Same verbal construction to that of the affirmative imperatives, and same negator with the indicative declaratives.

Type 2: Same verbal construction to that of the affirmative imperatives, but different negator from the indicative declaratives.

Type 3: Different verbal construction from that of the affirmative imperatives, but same negator with the indicative declaratives.

Type 4: Different verbal construction from that of the affirmative imperatives, and different negator from the indicative declaratives.

We agree with Alluhaybi's (2019) conclusions that negative imperative in MSA belongs to Type 3, while modern Arabic dialects vary between Type 3, Type 4, and Type 3-4, the latter occurring when the negator can be optionally the same or different from the indicative declaratives.

In this thesis, only negative imperatives included in the field research results (chapters 4 and 5) will be classified according to the above 4 Types.

- *Constituent negation*

Negation of only a constituent of a sentence (Klima 1964, Jackendoff 1969, Payne 1985). Negators and negative markers used to express constituent negation will be presented in this thesis.

- *Negative polarity items*

The term is first introduced by Baker (1970) and is used to define items that are not inherently negative but deliver negation in negative contexts, when preceded by negative particles. Alsarayreh (2012) divides the negative polarity items in Jordanian Arabic into nominal polarity items, determiner negative polarity items, adverbial negative polarity items, and idiomatic negative polarity items.

In this thesis, negative polarity items will be described as indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners, and adverbials.

a) Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns with the meaning ‘one/someone’ and ‘thing/something’ used in negative contexts and always preceded by negative particles, deliver negative meaning as ‘no one/anyone’ and ‘nothing/anything’. In MSA and in the modern Arabic varieties described in this thesis, these indefinites cannot express negation as fragment answers, without being preceded by a negator. Thus, they are usually defined as negative polarity items (Benmamoun 1997) or nominal negative polarity items (Alsarayreh 2012).

b) Indefinite determiners

The indefinite determiner *’ayy/’iyy* is both an interrogative pronoun with the meaning ‘which’ and an indefinite determiner with the meaning ‘any’, encountered in affirmative and negative contexts.

c) Adverbials

The noun *’umr*, literally meaning ‘life’ or ‘age’, is used suffixed with the clitic pronouns in negative contexts, always preceded or followed by a negative particle, to express the meaning ‘never, at all’.

▪ *Negative indefinite pronouns*

In Arabic, the negative indefinite pronoun *maḥad* (in some varieties also followed by the enclitic *-š*) and less often *laḥad*, is used with the meaning ‘nobody’. Unlike negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns are used without negators and can be also used as fragment answers. They are always attested in pre-verbal position.

▪ *Negative concord items*

Negative concord is defined by Jespersen (1917, 64) as ‘double attraction’ and by Labov (1972) as ‘negative attraction’, while Giannakidou (2000, 458) describes negative concord as ‘situations where negation is interpreted just once although it seems to be expressed more than once in the clause.’

In contrast to negative polarity items, negative concord items can be used without negative morphemes, while they can also be used as fragment answers, and in pre-verbal position (Alsarayreh 2012).

Hoyt (2010, 257) states that ‘Levantine Arabic has n-words that take part in negative concord phenomena’. Let us remind here that n-words are defined by Giannakidou (2006) as expressions that ‘(a) can be used in structures containing sentential negation or another expression yielding a reading equivalent to one logical negation; and (b) a can provide a negative fragment answer.’

Hoyt (2010) divides the Levantine n-words into *never*-words with the meaning ‘never, at all’, the negative scalar *wala* (‘negative scalar focus particle’ in Haspelmath 1997, 223), analysed as the conjunction *wa* and the negative particle *lā*, which is considered by Hoyt as a ‘strong *wala*’ with the meaning ‘not even one, not a single’, and negative minimizers with the meaning ‘nothing’. Never-words have been identified as strict negative concord items, since they need to be licensed by negative particles (also by negative prepositions, or negative verbs) when they occur in full clauses. *wala*-phrases have been identified as non-strict or partial negative concord items, since they do not need to be licensed in clause-initial position, while negative minimizers generally do not need to be licensed (Hoyt 2010). Alsarayreh (2012, 52) divides the negative concord items into the determiner negative concord items (the negative scalar *wala*), and the adverbial negative concord items which are *never*-words (n-words in Hoyt 2010) and *still/not yet*-words.

In this thesis, negative concord items will be termed and classified as *wala*-items, *never* adverbs and adverbials, and *still/not yet* verbs and adverbials.

a) *wala*-items

The negative scalar *wala*, used with indefinites, with the meaning ‘not even/not a single’.

b) *never* adverbs and adverbials

Adverbs and adverbials used exclusively or most often in negative contexts with the meaning ‘never’ or ‘at all’.

c) *Still/not yet* adverbials

Temporal adverbials used with the meaning *still/not yet*.

- *Negative coordination structures*

The negative coordination structures are described by Haspelmath (2007, 3, 17) as a case of ‘negative emphatic coordination’ akin to the English *neither...nor* construction, where each coordinated element is in contrast with the others and thus must be considered separately. Coordination can be syndetic (including a linking element) or asyndetic (without any linking element). Coordination structures can be bisyndetic or polysyndetic. They can include two or more units of the same type, or ‘different phrasal categories when both have the same semantic role’ (Haspelmath 2007, 19).

In Arabic, negative coordination structures are encountered with a negative particle or a negative marker as the first negative element of the structure and the negative conjunction *wala* as the second negative element. This ‘nor’ *wala* is defined by Hoyt (2010, 139) as a ‘weak *wala*’.

In this thesis we will present negative coordination structures by dividing them into negative coordination with verbal predicates, with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation, with non-verbal predicates, and with different types of predicates.

- *Types of wala*

Among the various uses of *wala*, Hoyt (2010, 108) mentions the following negative ones: the negative conjunction ‘and not/not’, the negative disjunction ‘nor’, the scalar *wala* ‘not even/not a single’, and the denial *wala* (‘either’ in colloquial American English). Ingham (1994, 44), in his comprehensive work on Najdi Arabic of Central Arabia, states that *wala* in verbal statements (not in the context of negative coordination) is used as an emphatic negator.

The different types of *wa-lā* and *wala* will be presented in this thesis as follows:

- Literal use of *wa-lā* (conjunction *wa* + negative particle *lā*) with the meaning ‘and not’, or other related interpretations.
- Negation *wala*, with the meaning ‘not, no’.
- Negative conjunction *wala*, with the meaning ‘nor’ or other related interpretations, in negative coordinated structures.
- Negative scalar *wala*, with the meaning ‘not even, not a single’, in negative concord constructions.

From the above types of *wala*, the literal *wa-lā* and the negative conjunction *wala* function as conjunctions, in the continuation of a statement, while the negation *wala* and the negative scalar *wala* can also be used in the beginning of a statement. The uses of *wala* are usually encountered with an emphatic function, thus, we could generally characterise *wala* as an emphatic conjunction. We will see, though, that in several cases where the literal use of *wa-lā* ‘and not’ is attested, it also delivers emphasis.

- *Exceptive constructions*

Constructions formed by a negative particle and an exceptive particle, expressing the meaning ‘not...but/except/unless’.

- *Verbs and participles used in negative contexts*

Verbs and participles used exclusively or more often in negative contexts to express negation or refusal.

- *Still, scarcely, and no longer/not anymore verbs and adverbials*

Verbs or adverbials always preceded by negative particles, expressing the meaning ‘still’, ‘scarcely’, and ‘no longer/not anymore’.

- *Negative nouns*

Nouns used as negative markers.

- *Negative prepositions*

One-word or complex prepositions used with the meaning ‘without’.

2.3 *The historical evolution of negation in Arabic*

2.3.1 *Negation in Semitic languages*

Sjörs (2018) reconstructed the negative particle *lā* as the standard negator (the unmarked negator of declarative main clauses) in Semitic. According to Sjörs (2018, 412) all negators of verbal predicates in Proto-Semitic, except for the neo-Aramaic *čū*

and the Phoenician *bl*, are derived from the negative markers *lā* or *'al-*, the former being the standard negator of Northwest Semitic, North Arabian, and East Semitic, and the latter being the standard negator of Ethiosemitic and Modern South Arabian. The negative particle *lā* is attested as a verbal negator in several languages both from East and West Semitic and seems to be older than *'al-* since in most languages where *'al* is used there is no evidence of *lā*, and, on the contrary, in most languages where *lā* is used we find evidence of *'al-* as well. Sjörs (2018, 412–414) argues that *lā* can be reconstructed as the standard negator in Proto-Semitic, while *'al-* developed from a marker of prohibition to a verbal negator. It is interesting to note that Arabic is the only West Semitic language where *'al* was never attested (Pat-El 2012, 27).

Figure (1) illustrates the main verbal negators in the ancient Semitic languages, as collected by Sjörs (2018).

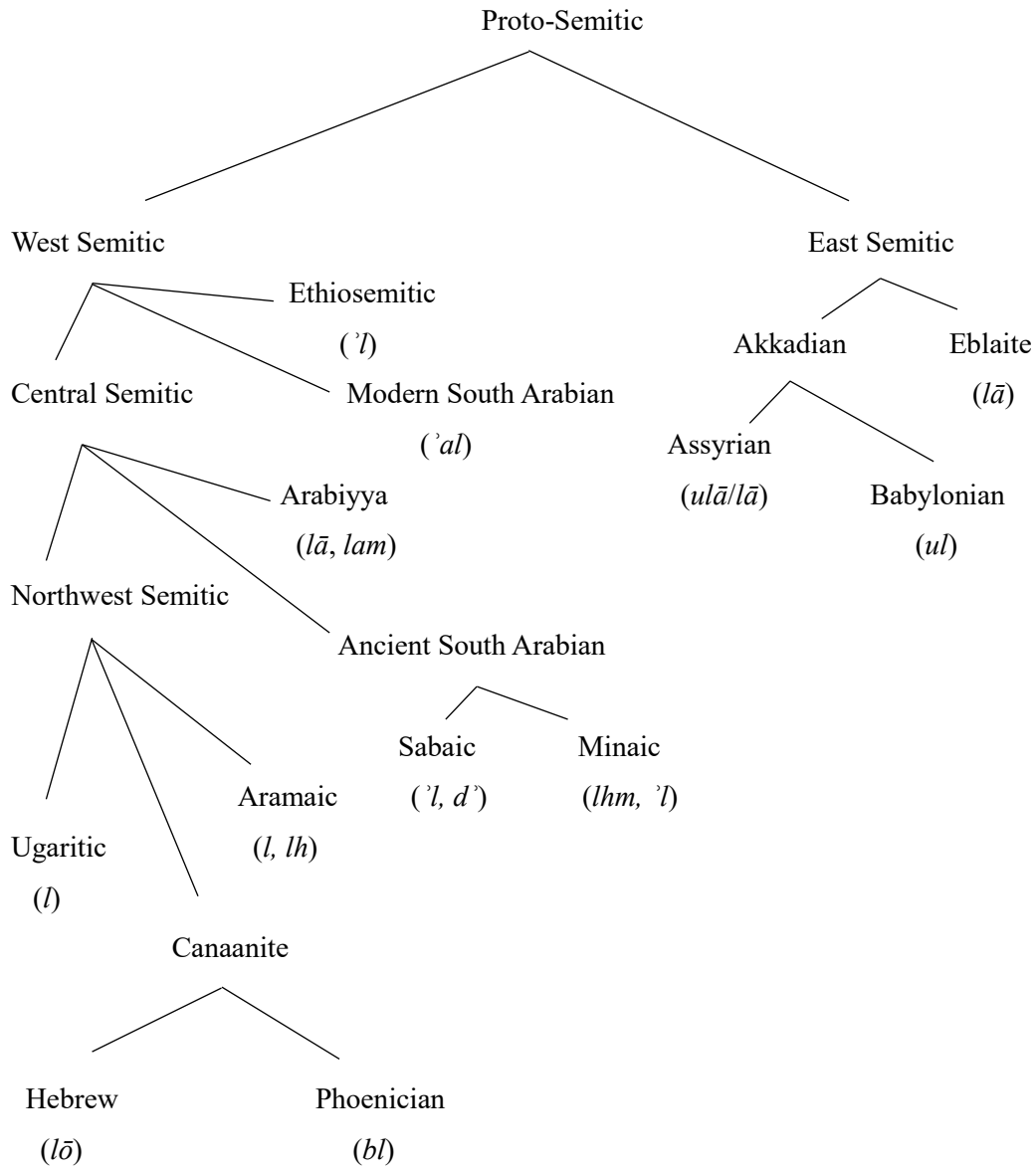


Figure 1: Verbal negators in ancient East and West semitic languages

2.3.2 *The origin of the Arabic negators*

In this section, we will present the most acknowledged attempts to reconstruct the Arabic negators *lā*, *lan*, *lammā*, *lam*, *laysa*, *lāta*, *mā*, *ʾin* and *ġayru*.

2.3.2.1 *lā*

Lipiński (1997, 455) states that *lā* and *ʾl* seem to be two different forms of the same negative adverb, the former being the common particle in Old Akkadian and Assyro-Babylonian, and the latter being the common negative particle in Ancient South Arabian. *Lā* was first used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. Later, it started to be used in prohibitions, replacing the particle *ʾal*, which was at first used only in prohibition (Al-Jallad 2020–21, 116). Another negator that could be related to *lā* is the negator *lh*, which is attested in Dadanitic: *lā* could be considered as a cognate of *lh*, if *h* represents a long *ā* (Sjörs 2018, 225).

Another hypothesis examined by several scholars (Edel 1955–1964, Loprieno 1975, 1986, 1995, Davis 1979, and Rubin 2004) but remains unproven, is the identification of the Egyptian negative particle *n* to the Semitic negator *l*, starting from the fact that the change *n* > *l* was realised in Coptic, which was the last stage of Egyptian.

Lā is used with both verbal and non-verbal predicates and is attested in Nabataean and Safaitic inscriptions, in the Quranic text, in Classical Arabic, in Modern Standard Arabic and is still attested, in a more limited use though, in modern Arabic dialects.

2.3.2.2 *lam*

Analysed as *lā-ma* and possibly derived from the negative adverb *lammā*, the negative particle *lam* is used to express negation in the past with verbal predicates in the jussive mood –old preterite prefix conjugation– (Al-Jallad 2020–21, 116). It is included among the important Arabic innovations and is attested in Arabic, Safaitic and Haramic inscriptions, in the Quranic text, in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, while the form *lim* is used today in some modern Arabic dialects such as Saudi Abha Arabic (Al-Azraqi 2016).

2.3.2.3 *lammā*

The old adverb *lammā* is used to express negative anteriority with the meaning ‘not yet’ in Akkadian and Old Babylonian (Lipiński 1997, 529) and it is later used in the Quranic text and in Classical Arabic, with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, and in the jussive mood.

2.3.2.4 *lan*

In Al-Khalil’s Arabic language dictionary (Kitāb al-‘Ayn, 8th century), *lan* is analysed as *lā* ‘an. Lipiński (1997, 456) further notes that the negative particle *lan* is derived from *lā*-‘an < *lā*-han < ‘an (conjunction) < han (presentative). The negative particle *lan* is used to express negation in the future, preceding verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in the subjunctive mood. *Lan* is attested in one Safaitic inscription, in the Quranic text, in Classical Arabic, and in Modern Standard Arabic.

2.3.2.5 *lāta*

The negative particle *lāta* is probably borrowed from the late Aramaic negative copula *layt* Lipiński (1997, 479). In Arabic, it is used to negate non-verbal predicates related to time. It is attested only once in the Quranic text, and it is also attested in pre-Islamic poetry (Larcher 2007, 8).

2.3.2.6 *laysa*

Traditional Arab Grammarians argued that *laysa* came from the negative particle *lā* and ‘aysa ‘existing’ (Dendane and Dendane 2013, 206). However, contemporary linguists strongly disputed its Arabic origin and argued that *laysa* is a borrowing from earlier Proto-Semitic languages. As stated by Lipiński (1997, 478), *laysa* derived from the semitic *lā* followed by the semitic particle of existence *yā*, a frozen form of the verb *yāw* ‘to be (present)’ attested in Palaeosyrian. Măcelaru (2003) opts for an Akkadian origin of *laysa* < *layisa* < *lā yis-a*, from the Proto-Semitic existential particle *yāš*. Voigt (2006) claims that *laysa* can be an old compound of *lā* and an existential expression like Hebrew *yēš* and Aramaic *‘ā*, while related expressions attested in Akkadian are *lā isū(m)* ‘not to have’, *laššu* ‘not having, a have-not; is/are not’. Al-Jallad (2018b) also

supports the idea that *laysa* appears in Arabic (in the Qur'ān and in Classical Arabic) as a borrowing, while its attestation in a Safaitic inscription dates its origin much earlier. Al-Jallad (2018b) considers the possibility that *laysa* may have derived from an Assyrian or a North Arabian language like Taymanitic.

Until now, the negative copula *laysa* is attested in two Safaitic inscriptions, in the Quranic text, in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, while vestiges of *laysa* can still be attested in modern Arabic vernaculars of Southwest Arabia as *lis* in Saudi Abha Arabic (Al-Azraqi 2016), *lēs* in Oman (Reinhardt 1894, 282, Holes 2018, 294), Bahrain (Holes 2001, 487) Kuwait (Johnstone 1967, 148), and Yemen (Behnstedt 1985, 170) and *lās* in Sinai (Holes and Abu-Athera 2009).

2.3.2.7 *mā*

The particle *mā*, originally interrogative ‘what’, was used in Hebrew and Arabic as a negative particle, first in rhetorical questions with non-verbal predicates and later with verbal predicates in prohibition, though its prohibitive function was already attested in Biblical Hebrew (Lipiński 1997, 458).

Sjörs (2018, 242), by observing the Old Babylonian interrogative pro-adverb *ayyānu(m)* ‘where?’ that was grammaticalised into *yānu* ‘there is not’ in middle Babylonian, makes another hypothesis, namely that *mā* did not derive immediately from an interrogative particle but from an adverb *mā* ‘at all’ which was reanalysed as a negator. Lucas (2009, 21) also notes that an intermediate negative quantifier stage would somehow be expected between the interrogative and the negator, though there is no clear evidence for such a hypothesis.

The use of *mā* to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is an Arabic innovation (Al-Jallad 2020-21, 10). In Quranic, Classical and Modern Standard Arabic *mā* is also used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and with non-verbal predicates. In modern Arabic dialects, the negative particle *mā* became the dominant negator and has entirely replaced *lam*. Its original interrogative function is no longer attested in most modern Arabic dialects.

Until now, the negative particle *mā* is attested in Safaitic inscriptions, in the Quranic text, in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, while it is attested as the main negator for almost all modern Arabic varieties.

2.3.2.8 *'in*

The particle *'in*, attested in Quranic and Classical Arabic both as a conditional and a negative particle usually followed by the exceptive particle *'illa*, as stated by Lipiński (1997, 457), does not derive from a conditional but rather from a negative particle, possibly the Ge'ez prefixal negator *'i* (Al-Jallad 2020–21, 116). On the other hand, Sjörs (2018, 266) argues that *'in* could be derived by the conditional *'im* in Hebrew and later forms of Akkadian, since *'im* is also attested in statements denoting negation or something undesirable.

The negative particle *'in* is attested in the Quranic text, in Classical and in Modern Standard Arabic.

2.3.2.9 *ġayru*

The negative noun *ġayru* is used in Quranic, Classical, and Modern Standard Arabic to negate non-verbal predicates. In modern Arabic dialects it is still used as a negator (*ġayr/ġēr*), although it is mostly used in its original meaning 'different from/other from', or as an exceptive particle. According to Lipiński (1997, 458), *ġayru* is also attested in Sabaic (*ġyr*) to negate adjectives. In Nabataean Aramaic, *'yr* is attested, more likely as an Arabic influence, as a negative particle or preposition (Healey 2020, 208).

Ġayru is attested in Nabataean inscriptions, in the Quranic text, in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, and in modern Arabic dialects.

2.3.2.10 *Jespersen's Cycle and the origin of the š negator in Arabic dialects*

'The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.'

Otto Jespersen (1917, 4)

Jespersen's theory (1917), named after Dahl (1979, 88) 'Jespersen's Cycle', is based on the observation that in some languages such as French, Scandinavian, and English –French being the most clear and evident example of this development– a second negative element is added to the original negator to strengthen the expression of negation. This second element finally completely replaces the original negator:

French: starting from Latin *ne dico* → *non dico* → *jeo ne di* → *Je ne dis* → *Je ne dis pas* (*Je n'dis pas*) → *Je dis pas* 'I don't say'

Scandinavian: *Haraldr ne veit* → *Haraldr ne veit-at/ne veit-at Haraldr* → *veit-at Haraldr* 'Haraldr doesn't know'

English: *ic ne secge* → *I ne seye not* → *I say not* → *I do not say* → *I don't say*

Beginning with Jespersen, this process, in its different stages, has been observed and described in many languages, as in a large part of the modern Arabic vernaculars. The development from stage I to stage II and stage III in Arabic dialects starts from the single negation *mā/ma* to the bipartite negation *mā/ma + š* and is completed in the final stage by the postverbal negation *-š* where *mā* is omitted from the construction:

$$mā/ma \rightarrow mā/ma + š \rightarrow -š$$

Jespersen (1917) observed that, in the second stage, negation patterns tend to be strengthened by emphatic elements which later seem to lose their emphatic function and become neutralised. Then, in the third stage, the original negator is excluded from the construction or continues to be used only in specific contexts. Thus, in Arabic, bipartite negation was introduced first as an emphatic negation, which later lost its emphatic function and was generalised. In a third stage, in the postverbal negation, the original negator (*mā*) was left out, except for some specific constructions and contexts (Diem 2014, 69).

It is important to add that in Arabic dialects, stage II and stage III have been applied –with different syntactic structures and only in some Arabic varieties– in the negation of verbal predicates both in the imperfective and perfective aspect, in the negative imperative, in the negation of pseudo-verbal and non-verbal predicates, in the negation of pronouns as well as in the existential negation.

Furthermore, bipartite pronoun constructions as *mā hu šay* and *mā hi šay* were developed to their abbreviated forms *muš* and *miš*, in the negation of non-verbal

predicates and in constituent negation. In dialects that do not use the *š* negator, non-verbal predicates and pronouns are generally negated by the negative particle *mā/ma* followed by a personal pronoun (*mā/ma hū/hu*, *mā/ma hī/hi*, etc.), by prefixation of *mā/ma* and its morphological variants such as *mu/mi/m-* (*muhu*, *mihi*, etc.) to the personal pronouns –henceforth referred to as prefixation of *m-*, or by the abbreviated forms *mū* (*mā hū*) and *mī* (*mā hī*) which are also used in constituent negation. Dialects with bipartite negation may additionally have postverbal negation as an alternative, like Palestinian (Lucas 2009).

Evidence of the various uses of the *š* negator are provided by Diem (2014) for all stages of Arabic, starting from the Quranic text, Classical Arabic (Tradition and Historiography) and from the 10th century onwards from Cairo Genizah Judaeo-Arabic texts to literary Spanish-Arabic sources, and to –mainly– literary material from Egypt, Algeria, and Morocco.

It would be interesting to mention that in some Arabic dialects which have not undergone Jespersen’s Cycle, like Syrian and Cypriot Maronite, but also in some dialects which have undergone Jespersen’s Cycle, like Libyan, *ši* can appear as a clause-final element used to express interrogation and not negation (Lucas 2009, 85). Furthermore, even in dialects which are in stage II or stage III, stage I is preferred or imposed in cases where negative polarity items, negative coordination structures, or religious expressions are used in the same context (Lucas 2009).

Recent theories on the origin of the *š* negator in modern Arabic varieties are put forward by Lucas (2009, 2010), Wilmsen (2013), and Diem (2014). Lucas (2009, 2010) argues that Jespersen’s theory has been applied to the Arabic dialects by two separate developments, one in North Africa and one other in the southern Arabia. In the first case, the *š* negator resulted from Egyptian Arabic following contact with Coptic in Egypt, and in the second case the *š* negator resulted from the Arabic spoken in Yemen and Oman, following contact with the modern South Arabian languages. In both cases, the development from single negation to bipartite negation was due to a contact-induced change having as starting point the contact of Arabic with non-Arabic languages, namely the Coptic language in Egypt and the modern South Arabian languages in Oman and Yemen, as both Coptic and South Arabian languages already had a bipartite construction (Lucas 2009, 2010).

Lucas (2009, 2010) and Diem (2014) both agree that the *š* negator derived from the adverbial *šay’an*. Evidence of *šay’* with a negative meaning is attested in the

Quranic text where *šay'an*, although it also occurs in a positive meaning, is much more often encountered with a negative meaning 'nothing/at all'.

On the other side, Wilmsen (2013, 2014) supports the idea of an internal Arabic development, where Jespersen's Cycle has never been applied. Wilmsen (2013, 2014) claims that the origin of the *š* negator was the interrogative particle *ši* which was reanalysed as a negator and was not derived from *šay'*. However, this hypothesis has been convincingly rejected by many scholars, among them Al-Jallad (2015b), Pat-El (2016), and Lucas (2018).

Finally, Diem (2014), sharing Lucas's opinion about the application of Jespersen's Cycle to the Arabic dialects, argues that the adverbial accusative of quantity *šay'an* 'a bit' was first a quantifier which became an emphatic negative particle: 'not a bit' → 'not at all'. Diem (2014) also supports the idea of an internal development of the use of the *š* negator in Arabic.

Diem (2014) mentions that although in Quranic Arabic *šay'an* is mostly used in negative sentences, in Classical Arabic (Tradition, Historiography) it is also largely used with positive meaning, while later, in post-classical texts and in the modern dialects, *šayan* was no longer used with positive meaning, except for the diminutive *šwayy*. The use of the enclitic *š* negator or the use of the negative indefinite *šay/ši* –or both of them– is attested in almost all modern Arabic varieties.

Focusing on the Cairene and Palestinian Arabic, Lucas (2009) concludes that in Cairene, stage III is a possible negation only in questions and conditionals, while in Palestinian, stage III is a possible negation in all clause types.

The *š* negator is generally attested in coastal North Africa and in Upper Egypt, in Malta, the Levant, Yemen, and Oman (Lucas 2009, Diem 2014). There are dialects where the use of the *š* negator coexist with single negation and other dialects where the single negation is marginalised and limited to a few contexts (Diem 2014).

2.3.3 Evidence of negation in pre-Islamic inscriptions

Among the Arabic innovations of the Ancient North Arabian linguistic group, we distinguish those added by Al-Jallad (2020–21, 10) on the system of negation: the use of the negative particle *mā* with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, the use of the negative particle *lā* with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the indicative mood, the use of the negative particle *lam* with verbal predicates in the

imperfective aspect and in the jussive mood, and the use of the negative particle *lan* with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the subjunctive mood.

Let us now turn to some evidence of Arabic negation found in ancient inscriptions. The negative particles *lā* (*l'*), *lam* (*lm*), *lan* (*l'n*), and *ma* (*m*), the negative copula *laysa* (*ls*), the negative noun or exceptive particle *ġayr* (*ʾyr*), and the negative preposition *dūna/min dūni* (*dn/mdn*) will be shown in the following subsections along with examples from Epigraphic Arabic.

Transcriptions are adjusted to match the system used in this thesis, translations are kept as in the original, while glosses are added when missing and modified where necessary, according to the glossing system used in the thesis.

2.3.3.1 *lā* (*l'*)

The negative particle *l'* is largely attested in Nabataean inscriptions. The most important and earliest inscription of the Nabateans in the Arabic language is 'En'Avdat (1st century AD), found in the Negev desert of Israel. It is a Nabataean-Arabic inscription consisting of six lines of which the first three and the sixth are written in Aramaic while the fourth and fifth are written in Arabic.

The Arabic verses of the 'En'Avdat inscription:

pyp l' l' pd' wl' 'tr' pkn hn' yb 'n' 'lmwtw l' 'b 'h pkn hn' 'rd grḥw l' yrdn'

- (1) *p-yp*'*l* *l'* *pd'* *wl'* *'tr'*
 CONJ-3MSG.act.IPFV NEG ransom.ACC NegCONJ scar.ACC
p-kn *hn'* *yb 'n'* *'l-mwtw* *l'*
 CONJ-be.INF here 3MSG.seek.IPFV-PN.1PL ART-death.NOM NEG
'b '-h *p-kn* *hn'* *'rd*
 make obtain.INF-PN.3MSG CONJ-be.INF here 3MSG.want.PFV
grḥw *l'* *yrd-n'*
 wound.NOM NEG 3MSG.want.IPFV-PN.1PL

'May he act that there be neither ransom nor scar; so be it that death would seek us, may he not aid its seeking, and so be it that a wound would desire (a victim), let it not desire us!'

(Al-Jallad 2020)

According to Al-Jallad's (2020) translation, we can observe that in this inscription the negative particle *lā* is attested in a negative coordination structure with non-verbal predicates as *la...wala* (*l' pd' w-l' 'tr'*) with an infinitive (*l' 'b' =h*), and with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect (*l' yrd=n*). All negations in this inscription are negations of modals in a negative optative sentence. The suffix conjugation (PFV), as stated by Al-Jallad (2020–21, 106), is often used to express optative or negative optative statements, having its roots in the old *yaqtul* preterite.

The negative particle *lā* (*l*) is attested only in two Safaitic inscriptions ('the northern-most variety of the South Semitic script', Al-Jallad 2020–21, 14) until now. The first Safaitic inscription comes from OCIANA corpus (2017). Here, the negative particle *l*, attested for the first time in Safaitic, negates a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect (*l ḡḍr*), expressing the certainty or the wish that something will not happen.

l 'mr bn ḥmyn w l ḡḍr mn{š}n'

- (2) *l 'mr bn ḥmyn w l ḡḍr mn {š}n'*
by 'mr son Ḥmyn CONJ NEG 3MSG.be cowardly.PFV from enemies
'By 'mr son of Ḥmyn and he shall not be found wanting in the face of
{enemies}.'
OCIANA Safaitic (Is.L 129)

In the second inscription, *l* is attested with *š(ay')* meaning 'nothing':

w myt kwy bl š'

- (3) *w myt kwy b-l š'*
CONJ 3MSG.die.PFV wander.PTCP with-NEG thing
'And he died, wandering with nothing.'
Al-Jallad (2015a, 156)

Finally, we would like to include in this epigraphic material an example from a Dadanitic inscription, where the negative particle *lā* is attested as *lh*, negating a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect:

f lh y‘d

- (4) f-lh y‘d
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.be threatened.IPFV
 ‘[...] and so he will not be threatened.’
 Macdonald (2004, 521)

2.3.3.2 *lam (lm)*

The negative particle *lam (lm)* is attested in one Arabic inscription –the famous Namāra inscription– while it is also attested in Safaitic, and Haramic inscriptions.

The Namāra inscription, found in Jabal Ḥawrān of southern Syria, is written in Arabic with the Nabataean Aramaic script (Fiema et al. 2015). This is one of the first Arabic texts written in the Nabataean script in the 4th century AD and is the epitaph of a king named Imru’ l-Qays. The negative particle *lm* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing negation in the past.

f lm yblġ mlk mblġh

- (5) f-lm yblġ mlk mblġ-h
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.achieve.IPFV king achievement-PN.3MSG
 ‘And no king could match his achievements.’
 Fiema et al. (2015, 405–406)

The negative particle *lm* is often attested in Safaitic inscriptions, as below:

w lm tmṭr hskn{t}

- (6) w lm tmṭr h-skn{t}
 CONJ NEG 3FSG.rain.IPFV ART-dwelling{s}

[...] and it did not rain at the dwellings.’

Al-Jallad (2015a, 155)

l grm`el bn s`d bn qḥs w bḡy `ḥh f lm y`d f qsf

- (7) l-grm`el bn s`d bn qḥs w-bḡy `ḥh-h
by-Garm`el son Sa`d son Qaḥaś CONJ-3MSG.seek.PFV brother-PN.3MSG
f-lm y`d f-qsf
CONJ-NEG 3MSG.return.IPFV CONJ-3MSG.grieve.PFV

‘By Garm`el son of Sa`d son of Qaḥaś and he sought his brother but he did not return so he grieved.’

Al-Jallad (2020–21, 122)

w lm yḥbl sfr

- (8) w lm yḥbl sfr
CONJ NEG 3MSG.damage.IPFV inscription
‘[...] and has not damaged [the] inscription.’
OCIANA Safaitic (HSNS 5)

The negative particle *lm* is also attested in Haramic inscriptions. As stated by Al-Jallad (2020–21), ‘a number of penitential Middle Sabaic inscriptions from the Haram region of the Yemeni Jawf also exhibit an admixture from a non-Sabaic/Ancient South Arabian language and some features, such as past tense negation with *lam*, are isoglosses of Arabic.’ Stein (2004) classifies the Sabaic dialectal areas into the northern region (Amirite or Haramic dialect), the southern region (Radmanite, Hilyarite and other dialects) and the central region (the language of the inscriptions from Mārib and the central highlands), stating that negation with *lam* (*lm*) is attested in the northern group. Sjörs (2018, 292) also argues that ‘Amiritic (also known as Haramitic), a northern dialect of Sabaic from the Jawf, separates itself from Standard Sabaic by sharing several features with North Arabian. These features include, among others, the preposition *mn* (instead of *bn*), PNG-suffixes for the 1st and 2nd singular *-t* (instead of *-k*), and the use of the negator *lm* with the prefix conjugation.’

The negative particle *lam* in Haramic inscriptions:

lm tš< >r

- (9) *lm tš< >r*
NEG 3FSG.be aware of.IPFV
‘[...] when she was not aware of.’
DASI (Haram 33, 8–9)

w hm lm ydmw

- (10) *w-hm lm ydmw*
CONJ-COND NEG 3MSG.become bloody.IPFV
‘[...] if he is not defiled with blood...’
DASI (Haram 13, 5–6)

w mšy w lm yğtsl

- (11) *w-mšy w-lm yğtsl*
CONJ-3MSG.leave.PFV CONJ-NEG 3MSG.be washed.IPFV
‘And he went away and he did not wash himself.’
DASI (Haram 34, 4–5)

2.3.3.3 *lan (l`n)*

Until now, the negative particle *lan (l`n)* is attested only once, in a Safaitic inscription, with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, to express negation in the future:

w l`n yqtl d yslm-h

- (12) *w l`n yqtl d yslm-h*
CONJ NEG 3MSG.kill.IPFV REL 3MSG.secure.IPFV-PN.3MSG
‘[...] and may he who keeps it (the inscription) safe never be killed.’
Al-Jallad (2015a, 156)

2.3.3.4 *laysa (ls)*

The negative copula *laysa (ls)* is until now attested in two Safaitic inscriptions (Al-Jallad 2018b, 2021a). In both inscriptions, *laysa* negates non-verbal predicates, expressing existential negation:

l msk bn 'sd bn slm w q 'd 'd wrd f dkr hmt f qsf f h lt 'mr šdqk w gnn w mn mt ls fšy

- (13) l-msk bn 'sd bn slm w-q'd 'd wrd
 by-Msk son 'sd son Slm CONJ-3MSG.sit.PFV again 3MSG.go to water.PFV
 f-dkr h-mt f-qsf
 CONJ-3MSG.remember.PFV ART-dead CONJ 3MSG.grieve.PFV
 f-h-lt 'mr šdq-k
 CONJ-VOC-Allāt grant life.IMP righteous one-PN.2MSG
 w-gnn w-mn mt ls fšy
 CONJ-protect.IMP CONJ-from death NEG deliverance
 'By Msk son of 'sd son of Slm and he halted again, while going to water
 and remembered the dead and grieved so, O Lt, grant long life to your righteous
 [servant] and protect [him] but from death, there is no deliverance.'
 Al-Jallad (2018b, 113)

w ls hlf

- (14) w-ls hlf
 CONJ-NEG compensation
 '[...] and there was no compensation [...].'
 Al-Jallad (2021a, 82)

2.3.3.5 *mā (m)*

The negative particle *mā (m)* is attested in Safaitic inscriptions with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, to express negation in the past:

ng' f m hn'

- (15) ng' f m hn'
3MSG.grieve in pain.PFV CONJ NEG 3MSG.be happy.PFV
'He grieved in pain and was unhappy.'
Al-Jallad (2015a, 156)

l rm w š't w m nm

- (16) l rm w š't w m nm
by Rm CONJ unrest CONJ NEG 3MSG.sleep.PFV
'By Rm and there was unrest, but he did not perish.'
Al-Jallad (2015a, 156)

m mtr f 'mhl

- (17) m mtr f 'mhl
NEG 3MSG.rain.PFV CONJ 3MSG.cause dearth.PFV
'It did not rain and caused dearth.'
Al-Jallad (2015a, 156)

mā (*m*) is also attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, as in the inscription below, which is however a suggested but not yet confirmed interpretation. In this case, it would express a negative wish.

m y'wr h sfr

- (18) m y'wr h-sfr
NEG 3MSG.be scratched out.IPFV ART-inscription
'[...] may the inscription not be scratched out.'
OCIANA Safaitic (KhS 23)

The negative particle *mā* (*m*) is also attested in a Safaito-Hismaic inscription (Al-Jallad 2020–21):

w h' b' l ybt w lh bt w m nm

- (19) w-h' b' l ybt w-l-h
CONJ-be hold Ba' l 3MSG.sleep.IPFV CONJ-ASS-PN.3MSG
bt w m nm
3MSG.sleep.PFV CONJ NEG 3MSG.die.PFV
[...] and, behold, Ba' l sleeps; he indeed slumbers but is not dead.'
Al-Jallad (2020–21, 133)

2.3.3.6 *ḡayr* ('*yr*)

The negative noun or exceptive particle *ḡayr* ('*yr*) 'other than/except' is attested in Nabataean inscriptions as evidence of Arabic influence on Nabataean language (Healey 2020). Below, we provide some examples of the use of '*yr* or the adverbial *k'yr* in the Nabataean tomb inscriptions of Mada'in Salih (Healey 1993).

'yr mn dy 'l' ktyb

- (20) 'yr mn dy 'l' ktyb
except from those on written
'[...] except those inscribed above.'
Healey (1993, 68)

w mn y'bd k'yr dy 'l'

- (21) wmn y'bd k'yr dy 'l'
CONJ-who 3MSG.serve.IPFV other than this on
'[...] and whoever does other than what is above [...]'
Healey (1993, 219)

2.3.3.7 *dūna* (*dn/mdn*)

The negative preposition *dūna* (*dn*) 'without', is attested in a Hismaic inscription, as below:

h dšry l 'hls 'hlk dn sqm w dn 'yt w dn b's w hblth

- (22) h dšry l 'hls 'hlk dn sqm w dn 'yt w
 VOC dšry to 'hls 'hlk without sickness CONJ without impotence CONJ
 dn b's w hblt-h
 without distress CONJ 3FSG.drive insane.PFV-PN.3MSG
 'Oh dšry [grant] 'hlk to 'hls without sickness and without impotence and
 without distress and she has driven him insane.'
 OCIANA Hismaic (KJB 138)

It is also attested in a Safaitic inscription as *mdn* (*min dūni*):

wgm mdn b'lf h rđw rwḥ

- (23) wgm mdn b'lf h rđw rwḥ
 3MSG.grieve.PFV without B'1 CONJ VOC Rđw ease
 'He grieved in the absence of B'1 so, O Rđw, let there be ease.'
 Al-Jallad (2015a, 152)

2.3.4 Negation in the *Qur'ān*

In the Quranic text, an impressively wide variety of morphemes that express negation is encountered. All these morphemes were later to be included in Classical Arabic, during the process of standardisation of the Arabic language. In this section, we will present the negative particles, copulas, nouns, prepositions, and adverbs attested in the Quranic text, and provide some examples. Translation is provided by *The Holy Qur-ān* (1975). Transcriptions and glosses are based on the Quranic Arabic Corpus. Transcriptions are adjusted to match the system used in this thesis and respectively, glosses are modified where needed, according to the glossing system used in this thesis.

2.3.4.1 The negative particle *lā*

The negative particle *lā* exhibits a wide range of uses in the Quranic text. It is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as below:

- (24) *ḍālika bi-’anna-hum qawmun lā ya’lamūna*
 that with-that-PN.3MPL people.NOM.INDEF NEG 3MPL.know.IPFV.IND
 ‘That is because they are men without knowledge.’
 (Qur’ān 9:6)

Lā is also used to negate a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, expressing an act that has not been accomplished. This is the only case where *lā* negates a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect in the Quranic text, while *lā* with perfect encountered elsewhere is always part of a negative coordination structure. A possible explanation could be that of an emphatic use, especially since *lā* is preceded by a conjunction, if we compare this form to the emphatic uses of *wa-lā* and the negation *wala* of the modern Arabic varieties.

- (25) *fa-lā iqtahama al-’aqabata*
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.haste.PFV ART-steep path.ACC
 ‘But he hath made not haste on the path that is steep.’
 (Qur’ān 90:11)

In the Quranic text, the negative imperative is formed with *lā*:

- (26) *wa-lā tuḥāṭib-nī*
 CONJ-NEG 2MSG.address.IPFV.JUSS-PN.1SG
 ‘[...] and address Me no (further).’
 (Qur’ān 11:37)

Moreover, *lā* is used to negate non-verbal predicates in plain negation (27a), while it is used with non-verbal predicates such as nouns, participles, and adjectives in the accusative case, to express categorical or existential negation (27b).

- (27a) *lā hunna ḥillun la-hum*
 NEG PN.3FPL lawful.NOM.INDEF to-PN.3MPL
 ‘They are not lawful (wives) for the Unbelievers.’
 (Qur’ān 60:10)

- (27b) *lā* 'ilāha 'illā huwa
 NEG god.ACC except PN.3MSG
 'There is no god but He.'
 (Qur'ān 9:31)

The negative particle *lā* is also used in negative, modal expressions such as *lā-rayba*, and *lā ḡarama*, with the meaning 'no doubt', 'for sure':

- (28) *lā-rayba* fī-hi
 NEG-doubt.ACC in-PN.3MSG
 '[...] of which there is no doubt.'
 (Qur'ān 17:99)

Moreover, it is used with the conditional particle *law* in *lawlā* 'if not':

- (29) *law-lā* kitābun mina allāhi sabaqa
 COND-NEG book.NOM.INDEF from Allah.GEN 3MSG.precede.PFV
 'Had it not been for a previous ordainment from Allah.'
 (Qur'ān 8:68)

law is also encountered as an exhortative particle in *lawlā* with the meaning 'why not', as in the example below:

- (30) *law-lā* 'unzila 'alay-hi malakun
 EXH-NEG 3MSG.be sent.PFV on-PN.3MSG angel.NOM.INDEF
 'Why is not an angel sent down to him?'
 (Qur'ān 6:8)

Finally, *lā* is widely used in various complex forms such as 'alā (31), 'awalā, 'afalā introducing negative questions, *liallā* and *likaylā* with the meaning 'in order not to' (32), *kallā* with the meaning 'at all/never' (33), and the non-negative 'alā with the meaning 'indeed/no doubt' (34).

- (31) 'a-lā yattaqūna

INT-NEG 3MPL.fear.IPFV.IND

‘Will they not fear (Allah)?’

(Qur’ān 26:11)

- (32) li-kay-lā tasaw
to-CONJ-NEG 2MPL.grieve.IPFV.SJV
‘In order that ye may not despair.’
(Qur’ān 57:23)

- (33) qāla kallā ’innā ma’-iya rabb-ī
3MSG.say.PFV nay EMPH with-PN.1SG lord-PN.1SG
sa-yahdī-ni
will-3MSG.guide.IPFV-PN.1SG
‘(Moses) said: ‘By no means! My Lord is with me! Soon will He guide me!’”
(Qur’ān 26:62)

- (34) ’alā ’inna-hum yaṭnūna ṣudūra-hum
no doubt indeed-PN.3MPL 3MPL.fold up.IPFV.IND breasts.ACC-PN.3MPL
‘Behold! They fold up their hearts...’
(Qur’ān 11:5)

2.3.4.2 The negative particle lam

The negative particle *lam* is largely used in the Quranic text. It negates verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the jussive mood, to express negation in the past:

- (35) ka’an lam yaḡnaw fī-hā
as if NEG 3MPL.prosper.IPFV.JUSS in-PN.3FSG
‘As if they had never dwelt and flourished there.’
(Qur’ān 11:68)

Moreover, *lam* is preceded by the interrogative particle *’a* (*’alam*) in negative questions.

2.3.4.3 The negative particle *lammā*

The negative particle *lammā* is attested in the Quranic text only seven times, to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the jussive mood:

- (36) *lammā yaqḍi mā ʿamara-hū*
NEG 3MSG.accomplish.IPFV.JUSS what 3MSG.command.PFV-PN.3MSG
‘By no means hath he fulfilled what Allah hath commanded him.’
(Qurʾān 80:23)

2.3.4.4 The negative particle *lan*

The negative particle *lan* is often encountered in the Quranic text to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the subjunctive mood, expressing negation in the future:

- (37) *wa-lan tafʿalū*
CONJ-NEG 2MPL.do.IPFV.SJV
‘[...] and of a surety ye cannot.’
(Qurʾān 2:24)

Moreover, it is used as *ʿalan* (INT *ʿa* + *lan*) in negative questions, and as *ʿallan*, (CONJ *ʿan* + *lan*), ‘that will not’, when introducing subordinate clauses.

2.3.4.5 The negative particle *lāta*

The negative particle or copula *lāta* negates nouns that express time. It is attested only once in the Quranic text:

- (38) *wa-lāta ḥīna manāṣin*
CONJ-NEG time.ACC escape.GEN.INDEF
‘[...] when there was no longer time for being saved!’
(Qurʾān 38:3)

2.3.4.6 The negative copula *laysa*

The negative copula *laysa* is attested in the Quranic text mostly in the 3rd singular masculine (*laysa*) and less often in other conjugated forms. According to Sakaedani (2012, 163), *laysa* is attested 89 times in the Quranic text, 74 of them being at the 3rd singular masculine. It is used with non-verbal predicates in the accusative case (39a), and with prepositional phrases (39b).

(39a) *lasta* *mursalan*
NEG.2MSG.PFV messenger.PTCP.ACC.INDEF
'No messenger art thou.'
(Qur'ān 13:43)

(39b) *laysa* *min 'ahli-ka*
NEG.3MSG.PFV from family.GEN-PN.2MSG
'He is not of thy family.'
(Qur'ān 11:46)

Laysa is also attested preceded by the interrogative particle *'a* as *'alaysa* in questions, as below:

(40) *'a-lastu* *bi-rabbi-kum*
INT-NEG.1SG.PFV PREP-lord.GEN-PN.2MPL
'Am I not your Lord?'
(Qur'ān 7:172)

Sakaedani (2012, 161), states that in the Quranic text, *laysa* is used to express the meaning 'do/does not exist' or 'am/are/is not'. With the meaning 'do/does not exist', it appears in the 3rd singular masculine, even when its subject is feminine and especially when the subject is an indefinite, while with the meaning 'am/are/is not', it is most often followed by the preposition *bi*, which is a different use from that of Modern Standard Arabic. Furthermore, while in Modern Standard Arabic *laysa* also negates verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in emphatic negation, in the Quranic text it is never followed by a verb.

2.3.4.7 The negative particle *mā*

Apart from its use as an interrogative/relative particle, *mā* is also encountered in the Qur'ān as a negative particle. As we saw earlier, *mā* developed to a negative particle from an interrogative one and its use with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is one of the innovations that Arabic brought in Proto-Semitic languages. According to Sjörs (2018, 249), the syntactic and semantic limitations of the uses of *mā* in the Quranic text testifies to its recent inclusion in the negative system of the language.

The negative particle *mā* is attested in the Quranic text with verbal predicates both in the imperfective (41) and the perfective (42) aspect.

- (41) *mā yurīdu allāhu*
NEG 3MSG.want.IPFV.IND Allah.NOM
'Allah doth not wish.'
(Qur'ān 5:6)

- (42) *mā ittaḥaḍa allāhu min waladin*
NEG 3MSG.take.PFV Allah from son.GEN.INDEF
'No son did Allah beget.'
(Qur'ān 23:91)

Moreover, *mā* is attested with non-verbal predicates. In this case, the preposition *bi* is usually prefixed to the negated predicate, and the negated predicate is in the genitive case, as below:

- (43) *fa-mā 'anta bi-malūmin*
CONJ-NEG PN.2MSG bi-be blamed.PTCP.GEN.INDEF
'Not thine is the blame.'
(Qur'ān 51:54)

When *bi* is not used, the negated predicate appears in the accusative case:

- (44) *mā hādā bašaran*
NEG this man.ACC.INDEF

‘No mortal is this!’

(Qur’ān 12:31)

A key difference between the Ḥigāzī and the Tamīmī varieties (see section 2.1.2) is the use of *mā* by the former with non-verbal predicates in the accusative case (44), similarly to the syntactic structure of sentences with *laysa*, in which the subject is in the nominative case and the predicate in the accusative case. The same applies to the syntactic structure of the negative particles *lā* and *’in* with non-verbal predicates (Al-Sharqawi 2008, 691). This function is according to Larcher (2007, 7) that of *mā ḥigāziyyah* of the traditional Arabic grammar. However, in the Tamīmī dialects, a more correct structure, according to Sībawayh, is used, the *mā tamīmiyyah*, where the predicates appear in the nominative case, since particles cannot function as verbs:

(45) mā hāḍā bašarun

NEG this man.NOM.INDEF

‘This is not a man.’

(Girgas 1873, 116, in Rybalkin 2006, 71)

In the Quranic text, *mā al-ḥigāziyyah* appears only twice, in the example cited above (44) and in the example below, which, according to van Putten (2022, 108–109), could be considered as an ambiguous one, and be read both as a *mā ḥigāziyyah* and as a *mā tamīmiyyah*:

(46) mā hunna ’ummahāti-him / ’ummahātu-hum

NEG PN.3FPL mothers.ACC-PN.3MPL/mothers.NOM-PN.3MPL

‘[...] they cannot be their mothers.’

(Qur’ān 58:2)

2.3.4.8 The negative particle *’in*

Versteegh (2014, 51) points out that the negative particle *’in*, which occurs quite frequently in the Qur’ān, is probably a characteristic of the Ḥigāzī dialect, while Rabin (1951, 178) defines it as mainly West-Arabian. The negative particle *’in* is used in the Qur’ān to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective (47a) and perfective (47b) aspect,

and non-verbal predicates in exceptive constructions (48). In general, *'in* is usually followed by the exceptive particle *'illā*.

(47a) wa-'in 'adrī
 CONJ-NEG 1SG.know.IPFV.IND
 'But I know not.'
 (Qur'ān 21:109)

(47b) 'in labiṭṭum 'illā qalīlan
 NEG 2MPL.stay.PFV except little.ACC.INDEF
 'Ye stayed not but a little.'
 (Qur'ān 23:114)

(48) 'in 'ağri-ya 'illā 'alā allāhi
 NEG reward.NOM-PN.1SG except on Allah.GEN
 'My reward is only due from Allah.'
 (Qur'ān 10:72)

2.3.4.9 *The particle hal*

Interestingly, the interrogative particle *hal* appears a few times in the Quranic text with the function of a negative particle, in questions that could be considered rhetorical though:

(49a) hal tuwwiba al-kuffāru mā kānū
 INT 3MPL.be rewarded.PFV ART-disbelievers what 3MPL.be.PFV
 yaf' alūna
 3MPL.do.IPFV.IND
 'Will not the Unbelievers have been paid back for what they did?'
 (Qur'ān 83:36)

(49b) wa-hal nuğāzī 'illā al-kafūra
 CONJ-INT 1PL.recompense.IPFV.IND except ART-ungrateful.ACC

‘And never do We give (such) requital except to such as are ungrateful rejecters.’

(Qur’ān 34:17)

Bader Eddin (2019, 70) argues that the particle *hal*, except for its common use as an interrogative particle, has also other functions in the Quranic text, one of them being that of a negative particle, usually followed by the exceptive particle *’illā*.

2.3.4.10 Negative polarity items

Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns encountered in the Quranic text are *’aḥad* ‘one/someone, no one/anyone’, and *šay’* ‘thing/something, nothing/anything’, preceded by negative particles as below:

(50) *lā* *yu’adību* *’adāba-hū*
NEG 3MSG.punish.IPFV.IND punishment.ACC-PN.3MSG
aḥadun
one.NOM.INDEF
‘[...] His Chastisement will be such as none (else).’
(Qur’ān 89:25)

(51) *lā* *yaḥluqūna* *šay’an*
NEG 3MPL.create.IPFV.IND thing.ACC.INDEF
‘[...] create nothing.’
(Qur’ān 16:20)

2.3.4.11 Negative concord items

The negative concord item attested in the Quranic text is the adverb *’abadan*, encountered both with a positive, ‘forever’, and –more often– with a negative, ‘never’, meaning, preceded by a negative particle as below:

- (52) wa-lan yatamannaw-hu 'abadan
 CONJ-NEG 3MPL.wish.IPFV.SJV-PN.3MSG never.ACC.INDEF
 'But they shall never seek for death.'
 (Qur'ān 2:95)

2.3.4.12 Negative coordination structures

Negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates are generally encountered with *lā* as the first negative element, and the negative conjunction *walā* as the second (53a-b), or with *walā* in both parts of the structure (53c). Other negative particles such as *lam* (54) and *mā* (55) are also attested as the first negative element of a negative coordination structure in the Quranic text.

- (53a) qātilū alladīna lā yu'minūna bi-llāhi
 2MPL.fight.IMP those NEG 3MPL.believe.IPFV.IND in-Allah.GEN
 walā b-il-yawmi l-'aḥiri
 NegCONJ in-ART-day.GEN ART-last.GEN
 'Fight those who believe not in Allah nor the Last Day.'
 (Qur'ān 9:29)

- (53b) fa-lā ṣaddaqa walā ṣallā
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.accept the truth.PFV NegCONJ 3MSG.pray.PFV
 'So he gave nothing in charity, nor did he pray!'
 (Qur'an 75:31)

- (53c) walā ḥawfun 'alay-him walā hum
 NegCONJ fear.NOM.INDEF on-PN.3MPL NegCONJ PN.3MPL
 yaḥzanūna
 3MPL.grieve.IPFV.ACC
 'On them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve.'
 (Qur'ān 2:62)

- (54) lam yalid wa-lam yūlad
 NEG 3MSG.beget.IPF.JUSS CONJ-NEG 3MSG.be begotten.IPFV.JUSS

‘He begetteth not, nor is He begotten.’

(Qur’ān 112:3)

- (55) mā tabi‘ū qib’lata-ka wa-mā
NEG 3MPL.follow.PFV direction of prayer-PN.2MSG CONJ-NEG
’anta bi-tābi’in qib’lata-hum
PN.2MSG bi-follow.PTCP.GEN.INDEF direction of prayer-PN.3MPL
‘[...] they would not follow Thy Qibla, nor art thou going to follow their Qibla.’
(Qur’ān 2:145)

2.3.4.13 Exeptive constructions

Exeptive constructions are generally attested with a negative particle like *lā* (56a), *mā* (56b), *lan*, *’in*, etc. and the exeptive particle *’illā*.

- (56a) wa-lā yulaqqā-hā ’illā
CONJ-NEG 3MSG.be granted.IPFV.SJV-PN.3FSG except
al-ṣābirūna
ART-patient.PTCP.NOM
‘But this none shall attain, save those who steadfastly persevere (in good).’
(Qur’ān 28:80)

- (56b) mā ’alā al-rasūli ’illā al-balāgu
NEG on ART-messenger.GEN except ART-conveyance.NOM
‘The Messenger’s duty is but to proclaim (the message).’
(Qur’ān 5:99)

2.3.4.14 The negative use of the verbs *kāda* and *zāla*

The verb *kāda* (lit. meaning ‘to barely do’) is used in the Quranic text preceded by the negative particles *lā*, *mā*, and *lam*, with the meaning ‘scarcely/hardly’:

- (57) lam yakad yarā-ha
NEG 3MSG.barely do.IPFV.JUSS 3MSG.see.IPFV.SJV-PN.3FSG

‘[...] he can hardly see it!’

(Qur’ān 24:40)

The verb *zāla* (lit. meaning ‘to cease’) is used in the Quranic text preceded by the negative particle *lā* to express an action or situation that has not stopped but it continues. It is therefore used with a non-negative meaning:

- (58) wa-lā yazālu allaḍīna kafaru fī
CONJ-NEG 3MPL.cease.IPFV.IND those 3MPL.disbelieve.PFV in
miryatin
doubt.GEN.INDEF
‘Those who reject Faith will not cease to be in doubt.’
(Qur’ān 22:55)

2.3.4.15 Negative nouns

The negative noun *ḡayru* is used to negate non-verbal predicates, as below:

- (59a) buyūtan ḡayra maskūnatin
houses.ACC.INDEF NEG.ACC be inhabited.PTCP.GEN.INDEF
‘[...] houses not used for living in.’
(Qur’ān 24:29)

- (59b) ḡayru ’aḥyāin
NEG.NOM alive.GEN.INDEF
‘(They are things) dead, lifeless.’
(Qur’ān 16:21)

2.3.4.16 Negative prepositions

The preposition *dūna*, more often preceded by the preposition *min* as *min dūni*, is not attested in the Quranic text with the (negative) meaning, ‘without’, but with the meaning ‘other than/besides’:

- (60) 'a-'attaḥidu min dūni-hi 'alihatan
 INT-1SG.take.IPFV.IND except.GEN-PN.3MSG gods.ACC.INDEF
 'Shall I take (other) gods besides Him?
 (Qur'ān 36:23)

The meaning 'without' is expressed in the Quranic text by the complex prepositions *biḡayri* (61a) and *min ḡayri* (61b):

- (61a) wa-min 'awzāri alladīna yuḍillūna-hum
 CONJ-from burdens.GEN those 3MPL.mislead.IPFV.IND-PN.3MPL
 biḡayri 'il'min
 without.GEN knowledge.GEN.INDEF
 '[...] and also (something) of the burdens of those without knowledge, whom they misled.'
 (Qur'ān 16:25)

- (61b) 'am ḥuliqū min ḡayri šay'in
 or 3MPL.be created.PFV without.GEN thing.GEN.INDEF
 'Were they created of nothing [...]?'
 (Qur'ān 52:35)

2.3.5 Negation in Modern Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic uses a wide variety of negative and exceptive particles to express negation, as do Classical and Quranic Arabic, although some of the negators of the latter two are not encountered in MSA.

Morphologically, according to Benmamoun (2000, 94), we find five negative particles, *lā*, *lam*, *lan*, *laysa* and *mā*, which can be divided into two groups: *lā* and its derivatives, *lam*, *lan*, *laysa*, and *mā*. Accordingly, the morphological variants of *lā* can be further divided into *lam* and *lan*, which, in specific syntactic structures, carry tense –*lam* for the past and *lan* for the future– but not agreement, *laysa*, which carry agreement but not tense, and *mā*, which carries neither tense nor agreement. Tensed negations are rarely attested in other languages, while in the case of Arabic they also

have a significant impact on syntactic structure, since tense is manifested in the negative particle and not in the verb (Versteegh 2014, 101).

Badawi et al. (2016, 521) note that in Modern Standard Arabic, negation is realised through a wide range of particles that in some cases negate the whole sentence and in others only a part of it. Although the position of some negative particles within the sentence has become more flexible, all of them are always preceding the negated element.

In the following section, we will present the negative particles of MSA along with their functions through examples. Transcriptions are adjusted to match the system used in this thesis. Translations are kept as in the original, while glosses are modified where needed, according to the glossing system of this thesis.

2.3.5.1 *The negative particle lā*

According to Ryding (2005, 644), the negative particle *lā* has five functions in MSA. First, it is used as a simple, negative response ‘no’:

- (62) hal yurīdu nuqūdan? lā
INT 3MSG.want.IPFV.IND money.ACC.INDEF NEG
‘Does he want money? No.’
Holes (2004, 242)

Second, it negates verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (63) lā ’afhamu māḍā taqūlu
NEG 1SG.understand.IPFV.IND what 2MSG.say.IPFV.IND
‘I do not understand what you are saying.’
Ryding (2005, 644)

Larcher (2007, 2), notes that in Classical Arabic, the use of the negative particle *lā* with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the indicative mood, expresses an action that takes place in the present or the future:

- (64) lā yaf’alu

NEG 3MSG.do.IPFV.IND

‘He does not do/He will not do.’

Larcher (2007, 2)

The third use of *lā* is the formation of the negative imperative with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the jussive mood:

(65) *lā tadrus*

NEG 2MSG.study.IPFV.JUSS

‘Don’t study!’

Aoun et al. (2010, 25)

Fourth, it expresses categorical (absolute) negation or existential negation, when followed by indefinites in the accusative mood:

(66a) *lā ’asāsa la-hā*

NEG foundation.ACC for-PN3FSG

‘It has no foundation.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 523)

(66b) *lā ’aḥada fi l-bayti*

NEG one.ACC in ART-house.GEN

‘(There is) no one (nobody) at home.’

Abu-Chakra (2007, 174)

(66c) *lā šay’a yahummu*

NEG thing.ACC 3MSG.matter.IPFV.IND

‘Nothing matters.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 333)

Categorical negation, as stated by Badawi et al. (2016, 523), is formed with *lā* followed by non-verbal predicates, and mostly by prepositional phrases.

The fifth use of *lā* is encountered in negative coordination structures (‘neither...nor’ constructions) as *lā...walā*:

- (67) *lā fī fāsa walā fī marrākaša*
 NEG in Fez NegCONJ in Marrakesh
 ‘Neither in Fez nor in Marrakesh.’
 Ryding (2005, 646)

In conditional structures, *lā* is encountered in the conditional particle *lawlā* ‘if not’:

- (68) *law-lā l-ḥubbu la-mā kāna l-ši‘ru*
 COND-NEG ART-love.NOM ASS-NEG 3MSG.be.PFV ART-poetry.NOM
 ‘If there was no love there would be no poetry.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 526)

In negation of modals, *lā* is also used to express indirect prohibition (69), prevention (70), or negative wishes (71a), often related to religion (71b). In negative optative sentences, *lā* is usually attested with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, as in (71).

- (69) *’iḍan fa-lā naḥsabanna*
 then CONJ-NEG 1PL.consider.IPFV.SJV
 ‘So let us on no account reckon...’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 495)

- (70) *naḍḍafa al-qamīša ḥattā lā yaḍhara ‘alay-hi*
 3MSG.clean.PFV ART-shirt so that NEG 3MSG.show.IPFV.SJV on-PN3MSG
al-wasaḥu
 ART-dirt.NOM
 ‘He cleaned the shirt so that the dirt would not show on it.’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 212)

- (71a) *lā fuḍḍa fū-ka*
 NEG 3MSG.be broken.PFV mouth-PN2MSG
 ‘May your mouth not be broken.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 496)

(71b) *lā samaḥa llāh*
 NEG 3MSG.permit.PFV God
 ‘God forbid!’
 Holes (2004, 242)

In MSA, *lā* is attested in various complex forms such as *ʿalā* (72), *ʿawalā*, *ʿafalā* in negative questions, *ʿalā* ‘that not’, *likaylā* and *liʿallā* (73) ‘in order not/lest’.

(72) *ʿa-lā yaʿnī taqahquran*
 INT-NEG 3MSG.mean.IPFV.IND regression.ACC.INDEF
 ‘Doesn’t it mean regression?’
 Rydīng (2005, 406)

(73) *li-ʿa-llā nansā*
 to-that-NEG 1PL.forget.IPFV.SJV
 ‘Lest we forget.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 689)

An interesting use of *lā* is also the complex form *hallā* (INT *hal* + *lā*) with the meaning ‘why not’, where *hal* seems to function as an exhortative particle. Badawi et al. (2016, 784) mention that *hallā* is always followed by a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, as below:

(74) *hal-lā šaraḥta la-hā baʿda mā*
 INT-NEG 2MSG.explain.PFV to-PN.3FSG some REL
 tuʿānī
 2MSG.suffer.IPFV.IND
 ‘Why don’t you explain to her some of what you are suffering?’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 784)

It would be worth mentioning that *hallā* is also attested with the same use in ‘Antara’s Ode from Al-Muʿallaqāt:

(75) *hal-lā saʿalti al-ḥayla*

INT-NEG 2FSG.ask.PFV ART-horserider
'Why didn't you ask the horse rider?'
Horne (1917, 30, TRANS: F.E.Johnson)

In the Quranic text though, *hallā* is not attested.

Another complex form of the negative particle *lā* is encountered in *kallā*, expressing emphatic negation with the meaning 'by no means/no way/not at all/never' (Badawi et al. 2016, 781):

(76) *kallā naksiru l-bāba li-naktašifa*
NEG 1PL.break.IPFV.IND ART-door.ACC to-1PL.discover.IPFV.SJV
l-sirra
ART-secret.ACC
'No way...we shall break down the door to discover the secret.'
Badawi et al. (2016, 781)

Finally, *lā* is encountered in negative modal expressions such as *lā šaka/lā rayba* 'there is no doubt', *lā sabīla* 'there is no way' (Ryding 2005, 646), *lā budda*, *lā maḥālata*, *lā ḡarama* 'inevitably', *lā šay`a* 'nothing', *lā ba`sa* 'not bad' etc. (Badawi et al. 2016, 334). Additionally, the negative particle *lā* can be encountered in complex words preceding nouns or adjectives as below:

(77a) *al-lā-wa`y*
ART-NEG-conscious
'The unconscious'
Ryding (2005, 647)

(77b) *lā `insānī*
NEG human
'Inhuman'
Badawi et al. (2016, 839)

2.3.5.2 *The negative particle lam*

The negative particle *lam* is the main particle used in MSA to express negation in the past. It is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, and in the jussive mood:

- (78) lam yaktub la-hu
NEG 3MSG.write.IPFV.JUSS to-PN.3MSG
'He did not write to him.'
Abu-Chakra (2007, 213)

In negative questions, *lam* can be used preceded by the interrogative particle *'a* in the complex form *'alam*.

2.3.5.3 *The negative particle lammā*

The negative particle *lammā*, attested only a few times in the Quranic text, also in 'Amr's Ode from Al-Mu'allaqāt (*'alammā ta'arifū minnā al-yaqīnā* 'have you not yet the true knowledge of us?'⁵), is used in Classical Arabic to negate the past with the meaning 'have/has/had not yet'. In MSA, it is largely replaced by *lam ba'du* (Badawi et al. 2016, 533). When used in MSA, it is often followed by the verb *zāla* ('cease') in a non-negative context:

- (79) wa-huwa lammā yazal ḥadīṭa l-sinni
CONJ-PN.3MSG NEG 3MSG.cease.IPFV.JUSS new ART-age.GEN
'While he was still a young man' (lit. 'he not yet having ceased [being] young of age')
Badawi et al. (2016, 534)

⁵ *The Seven Odes* (Arberry 1957, 208)

2.3.5.4 *The negative particle lan*

The negative particle *lan* is used in MSA with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and in the subjunctive mood, to express negation in the future:

- (80) *lan* 'ansā
NEG 1SG.forget.IPFV.SJV
'I won't forget.'
Ryding (2005, 648)

In negative questions, *lan* can be used preceded by the interrogative particle 'a in the complex form 'alan.

2.3.5.5 *The negative copula laysa*

The inflected negator *laysa*, defined as an irregular verb by Ryding (2005, 637), as a negative copula by Abu-Chacra (2007, 290), as a variant of *lā* that carries agreement by Aoun et al. (2010, 116), and as a defective verb by Badawi et al. (2016, 470), is mostly used in MSA to negate non-verbal predicates:

- (81a) *haḍa laysa as-sababa*
this NEG.3MSG.PFV ART-reason.ACC
'This is not the reason.'
Ryding (2005, 643)

- (81b) *lasnā fī l-bayti*
NEG.1PL.PFV in ART-house.GEN
'We are not in the house.'
Aoun et al. (2010, 115)

The negative copula *laysa* can also be used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express emphatic negation of the subject (Badawi et al. 2016, 539):

- (82) *lastu 'uqīmu fī hādā l-manzili*

NEG.1SG.PFV 1SG.reside.IPFV.IND in this ART-house.GEN

‘I do not live in this house.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 539)

According to Badawi et al. (2016, 539) *laysa* can additionally be used as a ‘negative conjunction’ with the meaning ‘not/and not’:

(83) ‘an yakūna hunaka mas’ulīyyatun bilfi‘li
that 3MSG.be.IPFV.IND there responsibility.NOM.INDEF in fact.GEN
wa-laysa bi-l-ismi
CONJ-NEG in-ART-name.GEN

‘That there should be responsibility in fact and not in name.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 539)

Moreover, *laysa* can function like the exceptive particle *‘illa* (Al Zahrani 2014, 56):

(84) nağḥa aṭ-ṭullābu laysa walīdan
3MSG.succeed.PFV ART-students.NOM except Walīd.ACC.INDEF

‘The students passed except Walīd.’

Al Zahrani (2014, 56)

Finally, in negative questions, *laysa* can be used preceded by the interrogative particle *‘a* in the complex form *‘alaysa*.

2.3.5.6 The negative particle *mā*

The particle *mā* has more than one function in MSA. It is used as an interrogative, a relative and a negative particle (Al Zahrani 2014, 41). However, the negative particle *mā* has a rather marginal use in MSA and is mostly used with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, to express negation in the past, but still, according to Badawi et al. (2016, 531), its use seems ‘restricted to durative contexts’:

(85) mā aḥabbat-hu fī-l-māḍī walā
NEG 3FSG.love.PFV-PN.3MSG in-ART-past.GEN NegCONJ

tuḥibbu-hu fī l-ḥāḍiri
 3FSG.love.IPFV.IND-PN.3MSG in ART-present.GEN
 ‘She did not love him in the past nor does she love him at present.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 531)

The use of the negative particle *mā* with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect has led to different conclusions. Fassi Fehri (1993, 173) argues that although both *mā* and *lā* can negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, their negation does not have the same interpretation: while *lā* + V IPFV is interpreted as the negation of an action as a habit, *mā* + V IPFV is interpreted as the negation of an action in the present:

(86a) *lā* ʿuṣallī
 NEG 1SG.pray.IPFV.IND
 ‘I do not pray.’ (habit)
 Fassi Fehri (1993, 173)

(86b) *mā* ʿuṣallī
 NEG 1SG.pray.IPFV.IND
 ‘I do not pray.’ (present)
 Fassi Fehri (1993, 173)

Aoun et al. (2010) argue that the negative particle *mā* negates verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express negation of a habit (87), while Badawi et al. (2016) argue that *mā* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express emotional intensity (88).

(87) *mā* yusāfiru ʿamrun ʿillā fī ṣ-ṣayfī
 NEG 3MSG.travel.IPFV.IND Amr.NOM.INDEF except in ART-summer.GEN
 ‘Amr travels only during the summer.’
 Aoun et al. (2010, 116)

(88) *mā* yasmaʿu kalām-ī
 NEG 3MSG.listen.IPFV.IND word-PN.1SG

‘He does not listen to what I am saying.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 531)

The negative particle *mā* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates, although this use seems to be rather preserved from Classical Arabic (Badawi et al. 2016, 521–522). A common use of *mā* with non-verbal predicates is that of a constituent negator. In this case, *mā* is often followed by an indefinite predicate (89a), a prepositional phrase (89b) or a pronoun (89c).

(89a) *mā muḥammadun kātibun*
NEG Mohammad.NOM.INDEF writer.NOM.INDEF
‘Mohammad is not a writer.’
Aoun et al. (2010, 116)

(89b) *mā min mudā‘abatin ‘aḥḍat radda fi‘lin*
NEG from joke.GEN.INDEF 3FSG.cause.PFV reaction.GEN.INDEF
‘Not one joke caused a reaction.’
Badawi et al. (2016, 522)

(89c) *mā ‘anā qādirun ‘alā hādā*
NEG PN.1SG be able.PTCP.NOM.INDEF on this
‘I am not capable of this.’
Fassi Fehri (1993, 165)

Finally, in negative questions, *mā* can be used with the interrogative particle *‘a* in the complex form *‘amā*.

2.3.5.7 *The negative particle ‘in*

Badawi et al. (2016, 535) state that *‘in*, although it belongs to Classical Arabic and it tends to disappear in Modern Standard Arabic, it can be used in exceptive constructions with *‘illā*:

(90) *‘in hiya ‘illā niṣfu sā‘atin wa-‘idā*

NEG PN.3FSG expect half.NOM hour.GEN.INDEF CONJ-when
 bi-l-ġubāri yataṣā‘adu
 in-ART-dust.GEN 3MSG.rise.IPFV.IND
 ‘It was only half an hour before the dust suddenly rose.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 535)

2.3.5.8 Negative polarity items

Negative polarity items in MSA include indefinite pronouns and determiners.

Indefinite pronouns

The main negative polarity items used in MSA are the indefinite pronouns ‘*aḥad* and ‘*šay*’, preceded by negative particles, as below:

(91) alyawma lā yaġī‘u ‘aḥadun
 today NEG 3MSG.come.IPFV.IND one.NOM.INDEF
 ‘Today no one will come.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 530)

(92) lam yu‘raf šay‘un ‘an
 NEG 2MSG.be known.IPFV.JUSS thing.NOM.INDEF about
 ‘asbābi l-kāriṭati
 causes.GEN ART- disaster
 ‘Nothing was known about the causes of the disaster.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 532)

Indefinite determiners

The indefinite determiner ‘*ayy* ‘which/what/whichever/any’, characterised as a genuine negative polarity item by Alsarayreh (2018, 25), and as a weak negative polarity item by Lucas (2009, 201), is used preceded by negative particles with the meaning ‘any’ or ‘none’:

(93a) maryam lam ta'kul 'ayya tufāḥatin
 Maryam NEG 3FSG.eat.IPFV.JUSS any.ACC apple.GEN.INDEF
 'Mary did not eat any apple.'
 Alsarayreh (2018, 25)

(93b) lam yastaṭi' 'ayyun min-hā
 NEG 3MSG.can.IPFV.JUSS none.NOM.INDEF from-PN.3FSG
 'None of them could.'
 Ryding (2005, 238)

2.3.5.9 Negative concord items

Negative concord items in MSA include *never* and *not yet* adverbs and adverbials.

Never/at all adverbs and adverbials

The adverb *'abadan*, deriving from the noun *'abad* 'eternity' and the adverb suffix *-an*, is encountered in MSA both with an affirmative use as 'forever' and a negative use as 'never' or 'at all' (94). The adverbs and adverbials *qaṭṭ'yyan/qaṭṭ(u)* (95), *batātan/al-battata* (96), *muṭlaqan* and *nihā'iyyan* are also used in MSA with the meaning 'never/at all'. All the above adverbs and adverbials can either be used in sentential negation preceded by negative particles or used fragmentary as an answer.

(94) lan ya'ūda 'abadan
 NEG 3MSG.come back.IPFV.ACC never
 'It will never come back.'
 Badawi et al. (2016, 535)

(95) mā sami'nā bi-miṭli-hi qaṭṭu
 NEG 1PL.hear.PFV with-like.GEN-PN.3MSG at all.NOM
 'We have not heard the like of it at all.'
 Badawi et al. (2016, 536)

(96) lā faḍla li-ya lbattata

NEG credit.ACC to-PN.1SG at all.ACC

‘There is no credit to me at all.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 536)

Still/not yet adverbials

The adverbial *ba‘d*, preceded by negative particles (97a), or used fragmentary as an answer (97b), is used in MSA to express negation with the meaning ‘still/not yet’:

(97a) barā‘imu-hu laysat munfatihatān ba‘du

Buds-PN.3MSG NEG.3FSG open.PTCP.ACC.INDEF yet

‘Its buds are not yet open.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 471)

(97b) hal waṣāla l-qīṭāru? ba‘du

INT 3MSG.arrive.PFV ART-train.NOM not yet

‘Has the train arrived? Not yet.’

(Alsarayreh 2018, 21)

2.3.5.10 Negative coordination structures

Negative coordination structures with verbal (98a) and non-verbal (98b) predicates are usually formed in MSA with the negative particle *lā* and the negative conjunction *walā*. The first negative element can also be another negator like *lam*, *mā* (98c), *laysa*, etc.

(98a) lā ‘ādat li-l-ša‘bi l-filistīniyyi

NEG 3FSG.return.PFV to-ART-people.GEN ART-Palestinian.GEN

‘arḍu-hu wa-ḥuqūqu-hu walā

land.NOM-PN.3MSG CONJ-rights.NOM-PN.3MSG NegCONJ

tawaḥḥadat l-‘ummatu l-‘arabiyyatu

3FSG.unite.PFV ART-nation.NOM ART-Arab.NOM

‘Neither have the land and rights been returned to the Palestinian people nor has the Arab nation become united.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 544)

- (98b) *lā salāma walā ḥarba*
 NEG piece.ACC NegCONJ war.ACC
 ‘(There is) neither peace nor war.’
 Abu-Chakra (2018, 238)
- (98c) *mā ‘allamat-hā walā tarakat*
 NEG 3MSG.teach.PFV-PN.3FSG NegCONJ 3FSG.leave.PFV
ḡayra-hā yu‘allimu-hā
 other-PN.3FSG 3MSG.teach.IPFV-PN.3FSG
 ‘She neither taught her nor let anyone else teach her.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 637)

2.3.5.11 *Exceptive constructions*

Exceptive constructions are encountered in MSA with a negative particle like *lā*, *mā*, *lam*, etc. and exceptive particles such as *‘illā* (99) *ḡayru* (100), *siwā* (101), and *‘adā/mā‘adā* (102).

- (99a) *mā al-maliku ‘illā bašarun*
 NEG ART-king.NOM except man.NOM.INDEF
 ‘The king is (not) but a human.’
 Dendane & Dendane (2013, 205)
- (99b) *lā yuḡadu ‘illā kitābun*
 NEG 3MSG.be found.IPFV.IND except book.NOM.INDEF
 ‘There is only one book.’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 284)
- (100) *mā ḡā‘a ḡayru wāḥidin*
 NEG 3MSG.come.PFV except one.GEN.INDEF
 ‘Only one came/nobody came except for one.’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 284)
- (101) *lam yabqa siwā ‘ašhurin qaliilatin*

NEG 3MSG.stay.PFV except months.GEN.INDEF few.GEN.INDEF
 ‘There remained only a few months/there did not remain but a few months.’
 Ryding (2005, 654)

- (102) wa-nkabba l-ḡamī‘u yudawwinūna
 CONJ-3MSG.bent.PFV ART-all 3MPL.record.IPFV.IND
 mulāḥaḍāṭi-him mā ‘adā-hu huwa
 observations-PN.3MPL except-PN.3MSG PN.3MSG
 ‘They all bent forward recording their observations . . . except him.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 762)

2.3.5.12 The negative use of the verbs ‘āda, kāda, and zāla

The verb ‘āda ‘return/repeat’ (103), is largely used in MSA preceded by the negative particles *lā* + V IPFV IND, *mā* + V PFV or *lam* + V IPFV JUSS to express an action that has stopped or ceased, with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’ (temporal verb according to Brustad 2000, 215). The verb *kāda* (104), when preceded by the negative particles *lā*, *mā* and *lam* is used with the meaning ‘scarcely/hardly’ (Abu-Chakra 2007, Badawi et al. 2016). The verb *zāla* (105), is also widely used in MSA preceded by the negative particles *lā*, *mā*, and *lam*, to express an action or situation that has not stopped and continues. It is therefore used with non-negative meaning.

- (103) mā ‘āda yadrusu fī al-ḡāmi‘ati
 NEG 3MSG.return.PFV 3MSG.study.IPFV.IND in ART-university.GEN
 ‘He is no longer studying at the University.’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 291)

- (104) lā yakādūna yafhamūna
 NEG 3MSG.barely do.IPFV.IND 3MPL.understand.IPFV.IND
 mā yuqālu
 what 3MSG.be said.IPFV.IND
 ‘They hardly understand what is said.’
 Badawi et al. (2016, 478)

- (105) *lā yazālu ḥayyan*
 NEG 3MSG.cease.IPFV.IND alive.ACC.INDEF
 ‘He is still alive (lit. He did not cease being alive).’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 291)

2.3.5.13 Negative nouns

The negative noun *ḡayru* is used in MSA to negate non-verbal predicates with the meaning ‘not/non/un-/in-’:

- (106a) *ḡayru muhimmin*
 NEG.NOM important.GEN.INDEF
 ‘Unimportant.’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 173)

- (106b) *ad-duwalu ḡayru al-’islamiyyati*
 ART-states NEG.NOM ART-Islamic.GEN
 ‘The non-Islamic countries’
 Ryding (2005, 649)

The negative noun ‘*adamu* (lit. ‘lack’, ‘non-being’) is used in MSA to negate non-verbal predicates, with the meaning ‘lack of/un-/in-’:

- (107) ‘*adamu al-ḥibrati*
 NEG.NOM ART-experience.GEN
 ‘Inexperience/lack of experience’
 Abu-Chakra (2007, 174)

2.3.5.14 Negative prepositions

The prepositions *dūna/min dūni/min ḡayri* (108), *bidūni* (109) and *bilā* (110), are used in MSA followed by indefinite predicates, with the meaning ‘without’:

- (108) *min ḡayri ta’abin*

without.GEN toil.GEN.INDEF

‘Without toil’

Badawi et al. (2016, 267)

(109) bi-dūni šakkin

without.GEN doubt.GEN.INDEF

‘Without doubt.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 233)

(110) fa-mā ṭa‘mu al-ḥayāti bilā hadafin bilā

CONJ-INT taste.NOM ART-life.GEN without goal.GEN.INDEF without
’amalin

hope.GEN.INDEF

‘And what is the savour of life without a goal, without a hope.’

Badawi et al. (2016, 785)

2.3.6 *Negation in modern Arabic dialects*

It is true that in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, a significantly large variety of negative particles and elements of negation are encountered. However, only a very limited subset is used today in modern Arabic vernaculars. But even in earlier forms of the Arabic vernaculars, the use of most of these negators seems to have been soon restricted to the written speech.

At the same time, new morphemes such as the *š* negator (Jespersen’s II and III stages), used in multiple forms and contexts, have replaced classical structures, while new negative polarity items have arisen, negative indefinite pronouns have emerged, and a wide variety of negative concord items entered the language. The negative particle *mā*, rather marginalised in Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, became the main negative particle in modern Arabic vernaculars. Conversely, the uses of *lā*, largely used in a wide range of cases in the Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, have been remarkably restricted.

In the following sections we will provide a general overview of the expression of negation in sedentary Levantine, Mesopotamian, and Arabian Peninsula dialects, being fully aware, though, that the discussion will be just limited to a few representative

and indicative data. Transcriptions are adjusted to match the system used in this thesis, the translations of the examples cited are kept as in the original, while glosses are modified where necessary, according to the glossing system of this thesis.

2.3.6.1 *The negative particle lā*

The negative particle *lā*, in various forms such as *lā*, *la*, *la*⁶, *la*^ʿ but also in double forms such as *lālā*, *lala*, *lahlah* (Taine-Cheikh 2000, 41), or in complex forms as *la-ḥair* (Johnstone 1967, 69), is used as a negative answer ‘no’ in almost all Arabic varieties. Watson (2018, 325) states that most Semitic languages have *l*-based word for ‘no’, while there are also dialects, like some Yemeni dialects, where *d*-based words, derived from the ancient Sabaic *d*^ʿ, such as *daw*, *da*^ʿ, *duwwayy*, and *andaw*, are used for a negative answer.

Verbal, pseudo-verbal and non-verbal predicates are rarely negated by *lā* in modern Arabic varieties. The uses of *lā* in modern Arabic dialects are usually limited to the following cases: negation of modals, negative imperative, negative coordination structures, negative expressions, and different uses of *wala*.

When used with verbs, *lā/la* is rarely used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (111), while it is more often encountered with verbal predicates of the imperfective or perfective aspect in negation of modals such as negative optative sentences (112a-b) often related to religion (112b), indirect prohibition (113) and prevention (114a-b).

Kuwaiti Arabic:

- (111) l-ašūf ġarā-l-ik šayy
 NEG-1SG.see.IPFV 3MSG.happen.PFV-to-PN.2MSG thing
 ‘I can’t see that anything has happened to you.’
 Johnstone (1967, 147)

Lebanese Arabic:

- (112a) nšallā la tšūf el-hana

⁶ Kaye (2007, 597–598), based on written evidence of cognates of *lā* in Semitic languages, reconstructs *la*^ʿ to Proto-Semitic and Arabic, and argues that Colloquial Arabic *la*^ʿ precedes Classical *lā*, and therefore *lā* is a later development of the original form *la*^ʿ, a hypothesis rejected by Pat-El (2017, 442–443).

if God wills NEG 2MSG.see.IPFV ART-happiness

‘May you never see happiness!’

Taine-Cheikh (2000, 64) citing Feghali (1928, 217–8)

Syrian Arabic:

(112b) *lā samah ʿalla*

NEG 3MSG.allow.IPFV God

‘God forbid!/May God not have allowed!’

Cowell (1964, 389)

Iraqi Arabic:

(113) *gul-l-a la-yrūh*

2MSG.IPM-to-PN.3MSG NEG-3MSG.go.IPFV

‘Tell him not to go.’

Erwin (1963, 141) in Taine-Cheikh (2000, 65)

Yemeni Arabic:

(114a) *naʿmāl hekefe ḥatta lā tathabā beyn-oh*

1PL.do.IPFV like this so that NEG 3FSG.hide.IPFV between-PN.3MSG

at-tāʿābin

ART-snakes

‘We do like this so that the snakes won’t hide in it.’

Taine-Cheikh (2000, 65–66) citing Simeone-Senelle (1996, 214)

Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic:

(114b) *ʾilbas ḡakēt lā yiḡmad ḡism-ak*

2.MSG.wear.IPM jacket NEG 3MSG.freeze.IPFV body-PN.2MSG

‘Wear a jacket so that your body doesn’t freeze.’

Alqassas (2019, 11)

In most varieties of the Arabian Peninsula, *lā* is used for the formation of the negative imperative:

Gulf Arabic:

- (115) *lā tismaʿ*
NEG 2MSG.listen.IPFV
‘Don’t listen!’
Holes (2010, 187)

In Bahraini Arabic, Holes (2016) observes two negative existential particles that can be formed with *lā*. These are *lāku* (attested in negative coordination structures), and *lā šay*:

Bahraini Arabic:

- (116) *lā šay irgād*
NEG there is sleep
‘There was no (time for) sleeping!’
Holes (2016, 113)

Modal expressions as *lā bidd* from *lā budd* (CA), but also *lēs bidd* (*lēs* being a derivative from *laysa*), with the meaning ‘there is no alternative’, are attested in Bahrain (Holes 2016, 294) while *lās bidd* (*lās* is another derivative from *laysa*) with the same meaning, is attested in Sinai (Holes and Abu Athera 2009, 238), and *lasbidd* ‘necessarily, must’ is attested in Levantine Arabic (Hoyt 2010, 106).

According to Brustad (2000, 283), eastern dialects that have not undergone Jespersen’s Cycle, share a form of emphatic negation using *lā*, defined by Brustad as ‘categorical negation’. In categorical negation, Brustad includes the negation *wala* (117) and the ‘neither...nor construction’ *lā...wala* in negative coordination constructions (118).

Kuwaiti Arabic:

- (117a) *wala ʿumr-i ṭḥāččēt*
NEG life-PN.1SG 1SG.talk.PFV
‘Never did I say a word.’
Brustad (2000, 309)
- (117b) *wala ḥad yiğīs-a*
NEG one 3MSG.touch.IPFV-PN.3MSG

‘Nobody touch it!’
Brustad (2000, 309)

Syrian Arabic:

(118) ’imm-i kamān mā ‘and-[h]a lā šaġle wala ‘amle
mother-PN.1SG also NEG have-PN.3FSG NEG business NegCONJ work
‘My mother, too, doesn't have any kind of job.’
Brustad (2000, 312)

Ingham (1994, 44), in his comprehensive work on Najdi Arabic of the Central Arabia, states that in negation of verbal predicates, when the negative particle *lā* is preceded by the conjunction *wa*, it is used to express emphatic negation:

Najdi Arabic:

(119) walā ġā-na muṭar
NEG 3MSG.come.PFV-PN.1PL rain
‘No rain came to us at all.’
Ingham (1994, 44)

Although emphasis does not always appear in the interpretation, as in (120), in this thesis, *wala* is consistently considered as a form delivering a more emphatic negation.

Qatari Arabic:

(120) ula yirūḥ šōb fāris
NEG 3MSG.go.IPFV toward Persia
‘And he shall not go to Persia.’
Johnstone (1967, 166)

According to Hoyt (2010, 108), *wala* used as a negative scalar *wala* (scalar *wala*) and *wala* used for negation (denial *wala*) are often difficult to distinguish from one another. When indefinites are included in the negated clause, *wala* can render a double interpretation as below:

Levantine Arabic⁷:

- (121a) wala b-asawwi išī
NEG/NegSFP b-1SG.do.IPFV thing
‘I won’t even do anything/I won’t even do a single thing.’
Hoyt (2010, 111)

Yemeni Arabic:

- (121b) wala sawwait haḡah qalat
NEG/NegSFP 1SG.do.PFV thing wrong
‘I did not do anything wrong/I did not do a single thing wrong.’
Mansoor (2015, 87)

2.3.6.2 *Derived forms of the negative particle lam and the negative copula laysa*

The negative particle *lim*, developed from *lam*, is used in the variety of Abha Arabic (Al-Azraqi 2016, 301), in Saudi Arabi, to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing negation in the past:

Saudi (Abha) Arabic:

- (122) lim adrī b-ah
NEG 1SG.know.IPFV in-PN.3MSG
‘I did not know about him.’
Al-Azraqi (2016, 301)

In the same variety (Abha Arabic), the negative particle *lis*, most probably a fossilised form from *laysa* (Al-Azraqi 2016, 298) is used to negate mostly non-verbal (123a) but also verbal predicates (123b), to express negation in the present or in the future.

Saudi (Abha) Arabic:

- (123a) lis ḡālīd hinah
NEG Ḥālīd here
‘Ḥālīd is not here.’

⁷ Including data mostly from Palestinian and northwest Jordanian varieties, with the addition of some data from Syria (Hoyt 2010, 3)

Al-Azraqi (2016, 298)

- (123b) *lis tigdar l-ah*
NEG 3FSG.can.IPFV to-PN.3MSG
'She is not willing to do it.'
Al-Azraqi (2016, 298)

In Abha Arabic, *lis* can be also used with clitic pronouns as *lisnī*, *lisik*, *lisish*, *lisnā*, and *liskum*, while other forms such as *listuwa*, *laysu* and *laysatu*, can be encountered among older people (Al-Azraqi 1998, 142–143).

Another fossilised form of *laysa* is attested in Bahrain and Oman as *lēš* (Holes 2016, 2018), also in Kuwait (Johnstone 1967):

Bahraini Arabic:

- (124a) *lēš šahīh*
NEG true
'It isn't true.'
Holes (2001, 487)

Kuwaiti Arabic:

- (124b) *lēš ḥadīṭa*
NEG modern
'Not modern.'
Johnstone (1967, 148)

Holes also mentions the equivalent form *lās*, attested in Sinai (Holes 2018, 17).

2.3.6.3 *The negative particle mā and its morphological variants*

The negative particle *mā/ma*, the main negator in most Arabic dialects, negates verbal predicates in the imperfective and perfective aspect, pseudo-verbal, and non-verbal predicates. Negation of verbal predicates is expressed in some varieties by single negation with *mā/ma*, while in other varieties it is formed with the bipartite negation *mā/ma...š* and/or the postverbal negation *-š*.

Single negation with *mā/ma* (125) is mostly encountered in northern Lebanon, in Syria, in Muslim Baghdadi Arabic (Iraq) in the Persian Gulf, in Central Arabia, in Ḥiǧāz, and in some parts of the Negev and the Sinai (Diem 2014, 5), while the negative marker *mū/mu* is also encountered in some varieties to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, followed by the aspectual marker *ʿam* (126).

Emirati Arabic:

- (125) *lā mā-ʿaba snāk*
 no NEG-1SG.want.IPFV snack
 ‘No, I don’t want a snack.’
 Leung et al. (2021, 278)

Levantine Arabic:

- (126) *mu ʿam-eḥki ʿala ḥada muʿayyin*
 NEG ASP-1SG.talk.IPFV on one specific
 ‘I’m not talking about anyone specific.’
 Hoyt (2010, 98)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is formed by single negation in the varieties that do not follow Jespersen’s Cycle, and in varieties where single and bipartite negation coexist.

Gulf Arabic:

- (127) *mā bāg ʿali flūs-ik*
 NEG 3MSG.steal.PFV Ali money-PN.2FSG
 ‘Ali didn’t steal your money.’
 Holes (2010, 143)

The negative marker *mū* is also attested in some varieties to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect:

Kuwaiti Arabic:

- (128a) *mū gilt uhwa rāḥ*
 NEG 2MSG.say.PFV PN.3MSG 3MSG.leave.PFV

‘Didn’t you say that he left?’

Benmamoun et al. (2013, 103)

Syrian Arabic:

(128b) *mū ḥallaṣ*

NEG 3MSG.finish.PFV

‘Didn’t he finish?’

Brustad (2000, 304)

The negative imperative can also be formed with the negative particle *mā/ma* (129), more often interchangeably with *lā/la*.

Syrian (Aleppo) Arabic:

(129) *mā t’ūli ‘an balad-na kwayyise*

NEG 2MSG.say.IPFV about town-PN.1PL nice

‘Don’t say that our town is nice.’

Brustad (2000, 294)

Pseudo-verbal predicates, like verbal predicates, can be negated by single negation as below:

Emirati Arabic:

(130a) *mā ‘ənd-ha fawākəh*

NEG have-PN.3FSG fruits

‘She does not have any fruit.’

Leung et al. (2021, 280)

Levantine Arabic:

(130b) *ma-bidd-i l-’aşfūr iṭīr*

NEG-want-PN.1SG ART-bird 3MSG.fly.IPFV

‘I don’t want it to be time to go home.’ (lit. ‘I don’t want the bird to fly.’)

Hoyt (2010, 208)

Existential negation exhibits a wide variety in modern Arabic dialects, but also negative existential markers vary according to regions and dialects. For example, the existential marker in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine is mostly attested as *fī/fi*, in Iraq (but also in some Bahraini varieties, see Holes 2018, 120) as *aku*, in Saudi Arabia as *fī*, and *ši* (Alluhaybi 2019), in Northern Oman as *še* (Eades 2009), also in Oman as *šay/ši* (Holes 2016), in Yemen as *ši* (Holes 2016), in Bahrain as *miš*, (Holes 2016, 2018), as *hast* in Qatar (Qafisheh 1977) and in Bahrain (Johnstone 1967, Holes 2016), in eastern Arabian dialects also as *šitin* (Holes 2016, 44).

Existential negation can be formed by single negation with *mā/ma*, as below:

Syrian Arabic:

- (131) *mā fī mağāl ya'ni*
 NEG there is room 3MSG.mean.IPFV
 'There's no way.'
 Brustad (2000, 288)

Northern Omani Arabic:

- (132) *mā šē ḥsārə wāğid*
 NEG there is lost great
 'It wasn't a great loss.'
 Eades (2009, 92)

Gulf Arabic:

- (133) *mā-miš⁸ ḍaww!*
 NEG-there is fire⁹
 'There's no fire!'
 Holes (2018, 121)

Bahraini Arabic:

- (134) *m-āku dā'i tikalfūn rūḥ-kum*
 NEG-there is need 2MPL.trouble.IPFV self-PN.2MPL

⁸ *mā miš* < *mā min šay* (Holes 2016, 111), *miš* being an existential marker.

⁹ The word *ḍaww* (light) also means fire in Gulf Arabic.

‘There’s no need for you to put yourselves to any trouble.’

Holes (2018, 120)

An unusual form of emphatic negation as *šiši* is encountered in Omani Arabic, with the meaning ‘at all’:

Omani Arabic:

(135) *hāḍi šiši* *byūt*

this ExistNEG houses

‘(In) this (area), there were no houses at all.’

Holes (2016, 28)

Negation of non-verbal predicates can be formed with the negative particle *mā/ma*, with *mā/ma* followed by personal pronouns, with prefixation of *m-* to the pronouns, with abbreviated forms from *mā + hū* → *mū*, and *mā + hī* → *mī*, and abbreviated forms with *-b* such as *mub/hub/mahub/muhub/mahib*. Alluhaybi (2019, 172–173) presents the development of negation in modern Arabic varieties by introducing the *Arabic negative cycle*. This cycle includes five stages but not all are found in every variety. In the first stage, verbal and non-verbal predicates are negated by the same negator which is mainly *mā*. In the second stage, this negator is used with a personal pronoun to negate non-verbal predicates (ex. *māhu* for the varieties that do not use the *š* negator, *māhūš* for the varieties that use the *š* negator). In the third stage, a new, single morpheme is derived from the fusion of the former two (ex. *mū*, *muš*). In the fourth stage, this single morpheme is also used in negation in the future (ex. *muš rāḥ* + VPreds IPFV). Finally, in the fifth stage, the use of this morpheme is not limited to the negation of non-verbal predicates, but also extends to the negation of verbal predicates. Although this cycle applies to a large part of the modern Arabic dialects, however, it is important to examine at the same time if and how the *š* negator or the negative *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms, are used in each variety.

For the negation of non-verbal predicates, Alluhaybi (2019) attests *ma*, *ma* + PN, *ma* + PN + *š*, *mū*, *miš* and *muš* in the Levantine dialects, *mū* in the Mesopotamian dialects, *ma* + PN, *ma* + PN + *b*, *mū*, *mub/mūb*, and *muš* in the Arabian Peninsula dialects, and *ma* + PN, *ma* + PN + *š*, *miš* and *muš* in the Yemeni dialects. However, in

addition to general results, we often find forms of negation that can coexist with the main forms, according to different regions and varieties. For example, *miš* can also be attested in Gulf varieties (Kalach 2019), *mā* is also attested in negation of non-verbal predicates in Iraqi varieties (Albuarabi 2021), while *mī* (*mē*), and *hub* (*həb*) are also attested in Arabian Peninsula varieties (Al Zahrani 2014). Below, we provide some examples of different types of non-verbal negation:

mā/ma:

Iraqi Arabic:

- (136) ʾəḥməd ma sakin ʾəb-mədinət baġdæd
 Ahmed NEG live.PTCP in-city Baghdad
 ‘Ahmed does not live in Baghdad.’
 Albuarabi (2021, 66)

mā/ma + PN:

Omani (Coastal Dhofārī) Arabic:

- (137) mā hum mašġūlīn
 NEG PN.3MPL busy.PTCP
 ‘They are not busy.’
 Davey (2013, 208)

mā/ma + PN (prefixation):

Qatari Arabic:

- (138) mā-ni b-mākil l-yōm kāmīl
 NEG-PN.1SG b-eat.PTCP ART-day whole
 ‘I will not be eating the whole day!’
 Alqassas (2019, 55)

Syrian (Damascus) Arabic :

- (139) ʾana ʾməlt ḥāli mā-l-i sāmeʿ
 PN.1SG 1SG.pretend.PFV NEG-DAT-PN.1SG hear.PTCP

‘I pretended not to hear.’

Cowell (1964, 273)

mū and mī (mē):

Saudi (Ḥaḡil) Arabic:

(140) mū ṭālib

NEG student

‘I am not a student.’

Alluhaybi (2019, 217)

Saudi (Ḥiḡāzi) Arabic:

(141) amal mē ḡakiyah

Amal NEG smart

‘Amal is not smart.’

Al Zahrani (2014, 55)

mub/hub (həb):

Qatari Arabic:

(142) inta mub muhandis

PN.2MSG NEG engineer

‘You are not an engineer.’

Alqassas (2019, 19)

Emirati Arabic:

(143) əl-šārḡa həb ḡālya

ART-Sharjah NEG empty

‘Sharjah is not empty.’

Leung et al. (2021, 281)

2.3.6.4 *The š negator*

The innovative *š* negator is largely encountered in several Arabic varieties with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates, in the bipartite and the postverbal¹⁰ negation. It is also used in non-verbal negative markers, while the enclitic *š* is additionally used with negated pronouns, negative indefinite pronouns, and, occasionally, with negative polarity items.

Bipartite negation as *mā/ma...š* is used in Palestinian varieties, in varieties of southern Lebanon, in parts of Jordan, Yemen and Oman (Lucas 2007). The negative marker *muš* is also used in some varieties to negate verbal predicates, while *muš* and *miš* are used in Levantine dialects followed by the future marker *rāḥ/rayeḥ* (from the verb *rāḥ* ‘go/leave’) and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express negation in the future.

Jordanian Arabic:

- (144) ma-b-anāmi-š
NEG-b-1SG.sleep.IPFV-NEG
‘I don’t sleep.’
Obeidat and Wardat (2022, 42)

Postverbal negation as *-š* is encountered in Palestinian Arabic, in some Omani varieties (Lucas 2007) and in Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic (Alqassas 2019).

Palestinian Arabic:

- (145) (ana) baḥibb-iš il-fūl
(PN.1SG) b-1SG.like.IPFV-NEG ART-fava beans
‘I don’t like fava beans.’
Lucas (2009, 244)

The negative marker *muš* is also occasionally used in some varieties to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

¹⁰ The term ‘postverbal negation’ is also used for pseudo-verbal predicates in this thesis.

Lebanese Arabic:

- (146) 'ana muš 'am b-a'ūl
PN.1SG NEG ASP b-1SG.say.IPFV
'I do not say...'
Benmamoun et al. (2013, 90)

The negative marker *miš* is attested in Levantine dialects, followed by the future marker *rāḥ/rayeḥ* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express negation in the future:

Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic:

- (147) miš rayeḥ 'azūr l-batra
NEG will 1SG.visit.IPFV ART-Petra
'I am not going to visit Petra.'
Alqassas (2019, 139)

Bipartite negation with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect can be attested as *mā/ma...š*, also in some varieties as *mā/ma...ši*:

Palestinian Arabic:

- (148a) mā akalt-iš
NEG 1SG.eat.PFV-NEG
'I did not eat.'
Lucas (2010, 173)

Yemeni (Raymi) Arabic:

- (148b) saleh mā-atta-ši
Saleh NEG-3MSG.come.PFV-NEG
'Saleh did not come.'
Alqurashi and Abduljalil (2020, 334)

Postverbal negation with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is not so frequently encountered. More often, the enclitic *-š* is attached to copulas and not to verbs, as below:

Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic:

- (149) waqt-ha baḡēt-iš a‘rif
time-PN.M3SG 1SG.be¹¹.PFV-NEG 1SG.know.IPFV
‘At that time, I was not knowing.’
Alqassas (2019, 139)

The negative imperative is often attested with the bipartite (150) or the postverbal (151) negation in several modern Arabic varieties, while bipartite negation with the negative particle *lā/la* is additionally used in some dialects (152).

Palestinian Arabic:

- (150) ma-truḡ-iš hinak
NEG-2MSG.go.IPFV-NEG there
‘Don’t go there.’
Mousa (2020, 37)

Jordanian (Salṭi) Arabic:

- (151) t‘ayyī-š
2FSG.scream.IPFV-NEG
‘Do not scream.’
Herin (2010, 254)

Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic:

- (152) la-trūḡi-š
NEG-2MSG.go.IPFV-NEG
‘Don’t go.’
Alqassas (2019, 138)

Pseudo-verbal predicates, like verbal predicates, can also be negated by bipartite (153) and postverbal negation (154), although stage III is possible only for labial-initial pseudo-verbs such as *bidd*, *ma‘* and the existential *fī*, thus, it is not possible for the pseudo-verb *‘ind* (Lucas 2010, Alqassas 2019).

¹¹ The verb *baqiya* (to stay, to remain) has also the meaning ‘to be’ in some sedentary Jordanian varieties, and in rural Palestinian varieties.

Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic:

- (153) ma-bad-nā-š nrūḥ
NEG-want-1PL-NEG 1PL.go.IPFV
'We do not want to go.'
Alqassas (2019, 138)

Palestinian Arabic:

- (154) ma 'ī-š
Have-PN.1SG-NEG
'I do not have.'
Lucas (2010, 174)

Existential negation is also formed with the bipartite (155) and the postverbal (156) negation:

Yemeni Arabic:

- (155a) ma-fī-š ḥaḡah fī at-talaḡah
NEG-there is-NEG thing in ART-fridge
'There is nothing in the fridge.'
Mansoor (2012, 63)

Jordanian (Salt) Arabic:

- (155b) ma fī-šš maṣāri
NEG there is-NEG money
'There was no money.'
Palva (2003, 232)

Palestinian Arabic:

- (156) fī-š 'iši fī-el-bait
there is-NEG thing in-ART-house
'There is nothing in the house.'
(Mousa 2020, 39)

Negation of non-verbal predicates can also be formed with the *š* negator as *muš* (*mā* + *hū* + *š*) and *miš* (*mā* + *hī* + *š*). The negative markers *muš* and *miš*, although derived by the 3rd singular masculine and feminine, can be encountered with all singular and plural persons. Negation of pronouns is formed in some Arabic varieties with the negative particle *mā/ma* followed by a pronoun and the enclitic *š* negator or *ši*. Below, we provide some examples of different types of non-verbal negation:

mā/ma + PN + *š*

Palestinian Arabic:

- (157) aḥmad ma-hu-š m‘allem
 ahmad NEG-PN.3MSG-NEG teacher
 ‘Ahmad is not a teacher.’
 Mousa (2019, 95)

mā/ma + PN + *ši*

Yemeni Arabic:

- (158) mā-na šī’ qabīli
 NEG-PN.1SG NEG tribesman
 ‘I am not a tribesman.’
 Holes (2016, 25) citing Landberg (1905, 104)

muš and miš:

Saudi (‘Aḥsā’) Arabic:

- (159) al-bēt muš zēn
 art-house NEG nice
 ‘The house is not nice.’
 Alluhaybi (2019, 223)

Jordanian (Saltī) Arabic:

- (160a) iḥna miš bi knīse hōn
 PN.1PL NEG in church here

‘We are not at church here.’

Herin (2010, 248)

Dubai Arabic:

(160b) ya‘ni miš ’istiḥdām il-‘abāya
3MSG.mean.IPFV NEG use ART-abaya
‘I mean not the use of the abaya.’
Kalach (2019, 7–8)

2.3.6.5 *The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms*

Some rather archaic forms of š-negation (Diem 2014, 1) including *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced forms, are mostly encountered in the Gulf varieties (161-162) and in Najdi varieties of Central Arabia (163), usually delivering emphatic negation. These forms are not to be confused with the bipartite and postverbal uses of the innovative š negator, as they are mainly attested in dialects where stages II and III of Jespersen’s Cycle do not apply. We may say that *šay*, its derivatives, and its reduced forms are either used to deliver emphatic negation (162) or used as negative polarity items (162-163).

Bahraini Arabic:

(161) mā yitkalkal minni u minni ši
NEG 3MSG.leak out.IPFV here and there thing
‘It doesn’t leak out everywhere at all.’
Holes (2016, 27)

Qatari Arabic:

(162) ma ḥaṣṣalnā-š
NEG 1PL.obtain.PFV-thing
‘We got nothing.’
Johnstone (1967, 167)

Najdi Arabic:

(163) ma ’ind-ahā-šayy
NEG have-PN.3FSG-thing

‘[...] hasn’t she got anything?’

Ingham (1994, 164–165)

According to Ingham (1994, 204), the enclitic *šayy* in (163) can also be encountered as *š* or *šin* (*ma hnā-š/ma hnā-šin*) with the meaning ‘nothing/anything’.

2.3.6.6 Negative polarity items

Negative polarity items in modern Arabic dialects include indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners, and adverbials.

Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns like *anyone/no one*, and *anything/nothing* are expressed in most Arabic varieties as *aḥad/ḥad/ḥada* (164), and *ši/iši* (165), preceded by the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Bahraini Arabic:

(164) mā aḥad yiḥṭub aḥad
NEG one 3MSG.get engaged.IPFV one
‘No one betrothed anyone.’
Holes (2016, 105)

Syrian (Deir Ezzor) Arabic:

(165) mā daras ’aḥmad ši
NEG 3MSG.study.PFV Ahmed thing
‘Ahmed didn’t study anything.’
Aftayeh (2021, 130)

Indefinite determiners

The interrogative pronoun *ʿayy* can be used in modern Arabic varieties as an indefinite determiner with the meaning ‘any’, followed by an indefinite noun and always preceded by a negative particle, as below:

Jordanian Arabic:

- (166) maryam ma-ḥallat 'ayy su'āl
Maryam NEG-3FSG.solve.PFV any question
'Mariam did not answer any question.'
Alsarayreh (2012, 57)

Adverbials

The adverbial *'umr* followed by clitic pronouns (167a) is commonly used in Arabic varieties with the meaning 'never/at all'. It is always preceded or followed by a negative element. The bipartite form *'umr + PN + š* (167b), is also attested, although, as we saw earlier, even in dialects which are in stage II or stage III, stage I is preferred or imposed in cases where negative polarity items, negative coordination structures, or religious expressions are used in the same context (Lucas 2009).

Levantine Arabic:

- (167a) ma-šuft 'umr-i wāḥad min hæ-n-nō'
NEG-1SG.see.PFV life-PN.1SG one from this-ART-kind
'I haven't ever seen one of this kind.'
Hoyt (2010, 184)

Palestinian Arabic:

- (167b) ma-'umr-i-š smi'it ha-l-ḥabar
NEG-life-PN.1SG-NEG 1SG.hear.PFV this-ART-news
'I never heard this news.'
Mousa (2020, 40)

2.3.6.7 Negative indefinite pronouns

The negative indefinite pronoun frequently encountered in modern Arabic varieties is *maḥad* (168) 'nobody', and it can also be used with the enclitic *š* (169) in some dialects.

Saudi (Yanbu') Arabic:

- (168) maḥad ḡa lyōm

nobody 3MSG.come.PFV today

‘No one came today.’

Alluhaybi (2019, 334)

Palestinian Arabic:

(169a) maḥadd-iš aḡa

nobody-NEG 3MSG.come.PFV

‘No one came.’

Lucas (2009, 206)

Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) Arabic:

(169b) ma-ḥadā-š rasab bi-li-mtiḥān

NEG-one-NEG 3MSG.fail.PFV in-ART-exam

‘No one failed the exam.’

Alqassas (2019, 106)

2.3.6.8 Negative concord items

Negative concord items in modern Arabic varieties include *wala*-items, *never/at all* and *not yet* adverbs and adverbials.

Wala-items

The negative scalar *wala* (also *wlā*, *wilā*) is used in modern Arabic varieties with indefinites, meaning ‘not even/not a single’, as below:

Bahraini Arabic:

(170a) wilā ḥalaka ‘alē-ha

NegSFP cloth on-PN.3FSF

‘She hadn’t got a stitch of clothing on her.’

Holes (2016, 108)

Palestinian Arabic:

(170b) mā-fi wala tuffāḥa lyōm

NEG-there is NegSFP apple today
'There isn't even one apple today.'
Hoyt (2010, 116)

Never/at all adverbs and adverbials

The negative adverb *'abadan* 'never' (171) is widely used in Arabic dialects. The adverb *nihā'yyan* 'never, at all' is also attested in Levantine dialects (Hoyt 2010). The adverbial *bil marra/min marra* (172), literally meaning 'in the once' (Hoyt 2010, 14), is commonly encountered in modern Arabic varieties again with the meaning 'never, at all'. All the above adverbs and adverbials can be used along with negative elements or separately, as fragment answers.

Levantine Arabic:

(171) h-æ-l-filim 'abadan ma-šuft-u
this-ART-film never NEG-1SG.see.PFV-PN.3MSG
'This film, I never saw it.'
Hoyt (2010, 6)

Emirati Arabic:

(172) mā sāfart b-əl-marra
NEG 1SG.travel.PFV in-ART-once
'I have not traveled at all.'
Leung et al. (2021, 10)

Holes (2016) also mentions the use of *qaṭ* (reflex of CA *qatt*, Holes 2016, 235), with the meaning 'never', in Bahraini dialects:

Bahraini Arabic:

(173) mā qaṭ riḥt issa'ūdiyya
NEG never 1SG.go.PFV Saudi Arabia
'I've never been to Saudi Arabia.'
Holes (2016, 236)

Still/not yet adverbials

Adverbials *lissa*, *lahassa* (deriving from *li as-sā‘a*, ‘to this hour’ ‘to the hour/until now’, Hoyt 2010, 190), and *ba‘d* (from the CA and MSA *ba‘da* ‘after/still/yet’) are generally attested with the meaning ‘still/not yet’, and they can be used either with verbal predicates and negative particles (174a) or as fragment answers (174b). Moreover, the adverbial *laḥaddalān*, ‘until now/so far/yet’ can also be used as ‘not yet’ in negative context, or as a fragment answer.

Levantine dialects:

(174a) ba‘d ma‘alū-l-na šey
 still NEG.3MPL.say.PFV-to-PN.1PL thing
 ‘They still haven’t told us anything.’
 Hoyt (2010, 191)

(174b) štarēt tiḏkarit iṭ-ṭayyāra lissa
 2MSG.buy.PFV ticket ART-plane still
 ‘Have you bought the plane ticket? Not yet.’
 Hoyt (2010, 190)

2.3.6.9 Negative coordination structures

Negative coordination structures with verbal, pseudo-verbal, non-verbal predicates, as well as with different types of predicates, are usually encountered with the negative particle *lā/la* used interchangeably with *mā/ma* as the first negative element of the structure, and the negative conjunction *wala* as *lā..wala* (175). However, in modern Arabic dialects, the structure *mā/ma...wala* seems to be more frequently attested than *lā/la...wala*.

Alruwaili and Sadler (2018, 39), comparing *lā* and *mā* as the first element of a negative coordination structure, observe that *lā* delivers a more emphatic or focused negation than *mā*.

Moreover, in the position of the first negative element, we often find various negators such as negative existential markers (*mā/ma fi/fi*, *lā/la fi/fi* etc.), negative

markers as *muš* and *miš*, negated pronouns (176), or the negative conjunction *wala* (177).

Saudi (Turaif) Arabic:

- (175) *huda lā naḍḍafat wala rattibat*
Huda NEG 3FSG.clean.PFV NegCONJ 3FSG.tidy.PFV
‘Huda neither cleaned nor tidied the house.’
Alruwaili and Sadler (2018, 31)

Lebanese Arabic:

- (176) *mann-u šāḥb-i wla-nni šāḥb-u*
NEG-PN.3MSG friend-PN.1SG NegCONJ-PN.1SG friend-PN.3MSG
‘He is not my friend, neither am I his friend.’
Brustad (2000, 312)

Yemeni Arabic:

- (177) *wala kalit wala širibt*
NegCONJ 1SG.eat.PFV NegCONJ 1SG.drink.PFV
‘I neither ate nor drank.’
Mansoor (2012, 42)

Negative coordination structures can also be encountered with the negative particle *mā/ma* (178a) or morphological variants of *mā/ma* (178b) in both parts of the structure:

Turaif Arabic:

- (178a) *mansōr mā akal l-ruz w mā šarab*
Mansour NEG 3MSG.eat.PFV ART-rice CONJ NEG 3MSG.drink.PFV
l-gahwa
ART-coffee
‘Mansour did not eat the rice and did not drink the coffee.’
Alruwaili and Sadler (2018, 32)

- (178b) *huda mi ṭūla wa mi gišīra*
Huda NEG tall CONJ NEG short

‘Huda is neither tall nor short.’

Alruwaili and Sadler (2018, 33)

2.3.6.10 *Exceptive constructions*

In modern Arabic dialects, exceptive constructions are usually encountered with the negative particle *mā/ma* and the exceptive particle *illa* as *mā/ma...illa* (179) or the exceptive particle *ġēr* as *mā/ma... ġēr* (180).

Najdi Arabic:

- (179) *ma yfūt* ‘alē-hin šayy illa w-inti
NEG 3MSG.pass.IPFV on-PN.3FPL thing except CONJ-PN.2FSG
‘ārfit-ih
know.PTCP-PN.3MSG
‘Nothing happens to them without you knowing it.’
Ingham (1994, 115)

Syrian Arabic:

- (180) *mā b-ihəmm-ha* ġēr ‘l-’ašyā’ ‘l-māddiyye
NEG b-3MSG.interest.IPFV-PN.3FSG except ART-things ART-material
‘Nothing interests her but material things.’
Cowell (1964, 423)

2.3.6.11 *The negative use of the verbs ‘ād and zāl*

The verb ‘*ād* is mostly used in some varieties as an adverbial with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’, preceded by the negative particle *mā/ma* (181). The verb (*mā*) *zāl* is infrequently attested in modern Arabic varieties. The fossilised form *mazāl* is encountered as an adverbial with the meaning ‘still’ in western varieties like Moroccan Arabic (Lucas 2009, 222), while *mā zāl* –but also the variant *mā zūn*– are encountered in traditional sedentary dialects of central and northern Jordan with the meaning ‘given that/so long as’ (Herin and Al-Wer, forthcoming), and *mizāl* is attested in Najdi Arabic with the meaning ‘as long as’ (Ingham 1994, 178).

Syrian Arabic:

- (181) ma 'ād 'and-on šaġle ġēr ḥalaṣ
NEG 3MSG.return.PFV at-PN.3FPL occupation except 3MSG.finish.PFV
māt
3MSG.die.PFV
'They no longer have any concern save 'that's it, he's dead''.
Brustad (2000, 223)

2.3.6.12 Negative nouns and participles

The noun *ġayr*, more frequently encountered with the meaning 'other/different from' or as an exceptive particle, is also attested in some varieties as a negative marker with the meaning 'no/not/in-/un-' (182). Murphy (2014, 102) also includes in Syrian Arabic the negative nouns and adjectives 'adam 'absence of/lack of/non-/in-' (183), 'allel 'lack of/mis-/in-', *nəkrān* 'disavowal/un-' and *šū* 'bad/mis-/in-' (184). Moreover, the negative participle *mā'ih* is frequently attested in Bahrain with the meaning 'certainly not, I don't agree' (Johnstone 1967, 107).

Kuwaiti Arabic:

- (182a) 'il-walad ġayr šādeq fī mašā'r-ah
ART-boy NEG honest in feelings-PN.3MSG
'The boy is not honest.'
Alsalem (2012, 40–41)

Syrian Arabic:

- (182b) ġēr əmbāšar
NEG direct
'Indirect'
Murphy (2014, 107)
- (183) 'adam ḥəbra
lack of experience
'Inexperience'
Murphy (2014, 108)

- (184) *sū* tafāhom
 bad understanding
 ‘Misunderstanding’
 Murphy (2014, 110)

2.3.6.13 Negative prepositions

The preposition *bidūn*, also *bidūnma* in Levantine dialects (Hoyt 2010) and *bala* for Syrian Arabic (Murphy 2014), are used with the meaning ‘without’:

Syrian (Deir Ezzor) Arabic:

- (185a) *sāmi nağah* *bidūn* *musā* ‘dat *ħada*
 Sami 3MSG.succed.PFV without help one
 ‘Sami passed without anyone’s help.’
 Aftayeh (2021, 114)

Syrian Arabic:

- (185b) *bala* ‘amal
 without work
 ‘Unemployed’
 Murphy (2014, 111)

2.4 Summary

Based on the above-presented material, we will now summarise the most important findings in each historical period of the development of negation in Arabic.

The main negators attested in Epigraphic Arabic until today are *lā*, *lam*, *lan*, *laysa*, and *mā*. In the Quranic text, the main negators used are *lā*, *lam*, *lammā*, *lan*, *lāta*, *laysa*, *mā*, and *ʿin*. The negators encountered in Modern Standard Arabic are *lā*, *lam*, *lan*, *laysa*, and *mā*, while *lammā* and *ʿin* are of limited use. The main negators generally attested today in modern Arabic dialects are *mā/ma* and its morphological variants, the *š* negator, and, to a lesser extent, *lā/la*, more often encountered in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as the first negative element, while it is also used in specific cases such as indirect prohibition, prevention, and negative

optative sentences. However, *wala* uses are frequently attested in modern Arabic varieties. *Wala* is used as a negative scalar *wala* in negative concord constructions, as a negative conjunction in negative coordination structures, and as a negation *wala* with verbal or non-verbal predicates.

Moreover, it would be undoubtedly remarkable to observe that vestiges of *lam* and *laysa* such as *lim*, and *lis/lēs/lās* are still encountered in some modern Arabic varieties of Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain, and Kuwait.

The *š* negator is largely used in the bipartite negation in Palestinian varieties, in varieties of southern Lebanon, in parts of Jordan, Yemen and Oman (Lucas 2007), while postverbal negation is mostly attested in Palestinian Arabic, in some Omani varieties (Lucas 2007) and in Jordanian Arabic (Alqassas 2019). Emphatic uses of *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms with the meaning ‘at all’ or ‘nothing’ are also attested in some modern Arabic varieties like Gulf and Najdi Arabic. Moreover, *šay* and its derived forms *ši*, *še* are encountered as existential markers in Omani and Yemeni, varieties, while *miš* is attested as an existential marker in Gulf varieties.

Below, table 1 illustrates the negators attested in Epigraphic Arabic, table 2 illustrates the negators attested in Quranic, Modern Standard Arabic and modern (sedentary) Arabic dialects, and table 3 illustrates the different types of negation in Epigraphic, Quranic, Modern Standard Arabic and modern (sedentary) Arabic dialects.

<i>Negators</i>	<i>Attested in Epigraphic Arabic</i>	<i>Inscriptions</i>
<i>lā</i>	√	<i>l</i> : Safaitic <i>l'</i> : Nabataean-Arabic <i>lh</i> : Dadanitic
<i>lam</i>	√	<i>lm</i> : Arabic, Safaitic, Haramic
<i>lan</i>	√	<i>l'n</i> : Safaitic
<i>laysa</i>	√	<i>ls</i> : Safaitic1
<i>mā</i>	√	<i>m</i> : Safaitic, Safaito-Hismaic
<i>ḡayr</i>	√	<i>ḡyr</i> : Nabataean
<i>dūna, min dūni</i>	√	<i>dn</i> : Hismaic <i>mdn</i> : Safaitic

Table 1: Negators in Epigraphic Arabic

<i>Negators</i>	<i>Qurānic Arabic</i>	<i>Modern Standard Arabic</i>	<i>Modern Arabic dialects</i>
<i>lā</i>	√	√	√
<i>lam</i>	√	√	<i>lim</i>
<i>lammā</i>	√	<i>lammā</i> + V <i>zāla</i> ('still')	-
<i>lan</i>	√	√	-
<i>lāta</i>	√	-	-
<i>laysa</i>	√	√	<i>lis/lēs/lās</i>
<i>mā</i>	√	√	√ (and variants of <i>mā/ma</i>)
<i>'in</i>	√	<i>'in... 'illā</i>	-
<i>hal</i>	√	<i>hallā</i> ('why not')	-
<i>š</i>	-	-	√

Table 2: Negators in Qurānic, Modern Standard Arabic and modern (sedentary) Arabic dialects

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Epigraphic Arabic</i>	<i>Qurānic Arabic</i>	<i>Modern Standard Arabic</i>	<i>Modern Arabic dialects</i>
NPIs	<i>š'</i>	<i>šay'</i> <i>'aḥad</i>	<i>šay'</i> <i>'aḥad</i> <i>'ayy</i>	<i>aḥad/ḥad/ḥada</i> <i>ši/iši</i> <i>'ayy</i> <i>'umr/ 'umr + š</i>
NIPs	-	-	-	<i>maḥad/ maḥad + š</i>
NCIs	-	<i>'abadan</i>	<i>'abadan,</i> <i>qatt' yyan/qatt'(u),</i> <i>bataatan/al-</i> <i>battata,</i> <i>muṭlaqan,</i> <i>nihā' iyyan</i> <i>ba'ad</i>	<i>wala</i> <i>'abadan,</i> <i>nihā' yyan, qaṭ</i> <i>bil- marra</i> <i>lissa, ba'ad</i> <i>lahassa,</i> <i>laḥaddalān</i>
NegCOORDSs	<i>l' ...wl'</i>	NEG... <i>walā</i>	NEG... <i>walā</i>	NEG... <i>wala</i>
EXCCs	-	NEG + <i>'illā</i>	NEG + <i>'illā,</i> <i>ḡayr, siwā, 'adā</i>	NEG + <i>illa,</i> <i>ḡayr/ḡēr</i>
The negative use of the verbs <i>kāda</i> and <i>zāla</i>	-	NEG + <i>kāda</i> ('scarcely, hardly') NEG + <i>zāla</i> ('still')	NEG + <i>'āda</i> ('no longer/not anymore') NEG + <i>kāda</i> ('scarcely, hardly') NEG + <i>zāla</i> ('still')	NEG + <i>'ād</i> ('no longer/not anymore') <i>mizāl</i> ('as long as' in Najdi Arabic)
NegNs and NegADJs	<i>'yr</i>	<i>ḡayr</i>	<i>ḡayr; 'adam</i> <i>'adīm</i>	<i>ḡayr/ḡēr</i> Syrian Arabic: <i>adam, 'adīm</i> <i>'alle/'alīl</i> <i>nəkrān/nāker, šū'</i>
NegPRs	<i>dūna</i>	<i>biḡayri/ min</i> <i>ḡayri</i>	<i>dūna, bidūni/min</i> <i>dūni, bilā</i>	<i>bidūn</i> Syrian Arabic: <i>bala</i>

Table 3: Types of negation in Qurānic, Modern Standard Arabic and modern (sedentary) Arabic dialects

The tables below present the uses of the negative particles *lā* and *mā* in the Quranic text (4, 5), in Modern Standard Arabic (6, 7), and the uses of the negative particles *lā*, *mā* - and its morphological variants- as well as the uses of the *š* negator and emphatic uses of *šay* in modern, sedentary Arabic dialects (8, 9, 10, 11).

<i>4. The uses of the negative particle lā in the Quranic text</i>
Negation of verbal predicates (IPFV)
Negation of verbal predicates (PFV) – Used only once
Negative imperative
Negation of non-verbal predicates: Plain and categorical negation
Exceptive constructions <i>lā...`illā</i>
Negative coordination structures <i>lā...walā, wala...wala</i>
Negative, modal expressions (<i>lā rayba</i> etc.)
Conditional <i>lawlā</i> ‘if not’ and ‘why not’ <i>lawlā</i>
Complex forms (<i>alā, kallā</i> etc.)

Table 4: The uses of the negative particle *lā* in the Quranic text

<i>5. The uses of the negative particle mā in the Quranic text</i>
Negation of verbal predicates (IPFV)
Negation of verbal predicates (PFV)
Negation of non-verbal predicates
Exceptive constructions <i>mā...`illā</i>
Negative coordination structures <i>mā...wa-mā</i>

Table 5: The uses of the negative particle *mā* in the Quranic text

<i>6. The uses of the negative particle lā in Modern Standard Arabic</i>
Negative response ‘no’
Negation of verbal predicates (IPFV)
Negation of verbal predicates (PFV): Only in negative wishes (negative optative sentences), and with <i>hallā</i> ‘why not’
Negative imperative
Negation of non-verbal predicates: Categorical negation and existential negation
Exceptive constructions <i>lā... ’illā, ġayr, siwā</i>
Negative coordination structures <i>lā... walā</i>
Conditional <i>lawlā</i> ‘if not’
Complex forms (<i>’alā, bilā etc.</i>)
Negative modal expressions (<i>lā šaka etc.</i>)

Table 6: The uses of the negative particle *lā* in Modern Standard Arabic

<i>7. The uses of the negative particle mā in Modern Standard Arabic</i>
Negation of verbal predicates (IPFV)
Negation of verbal predicates (PFV)
Negation of non-verbal predicates: Mostly in constituent negation
Exceptive constructions <i>mā... ’illā, ġayr, siwā</i>
Complex forms (<i>’amā</i>)

Table 7: The uses of the negative particle *mā* in Modern Standard Arabic

<i>8. The uses of the negative particle lā/la in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects</i>
Negative response ‘no’
Negation of verbal predicates IPFV: Mostly limited to negation of modals as indirect prohibition, prevention, and negative wishes (negative optative sentences)
Uses of <i>wala</i> : Negative scalar <i>wala</i> , negative conjunction <i>wala</i> , negative conjunction <i>wala</i>
Negative imperative
Existential negation
Negative coordination structures <i>lā/la... wala</i>
Negative modal expressions (<i>lā bidd etc.</i>)
Derived forms of the negative particle <i>lam</i> and the negative copula <i>laysa</i>

Table 8: The uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects

<i>9. The uses of the negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects</i>
Negation of verbal predicates (IPFV): <i>mā/ma, mu + ‘am + Vpred IPFV</i>
Negation of verbal predicates (PFV): <i>mā/ma, mū</i>
Negative imperative: <i>mā/ma</i>
Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates: <i>mā/ma</i>
Existential negation: <i>mā/ma + various existential markers</i>
Negation of non-verbal predicates: <i>mā/ma, mā/ma + PN, mū, mī. mūb/mub/hub, negated pronouns by prefixation as māni etc.</i>
Negative coordination structures: As the first element (<i>mā/ma...wala</i>)
Negative indefinite pronouns: <i>maḥad</i>

Table 9: The uses of the negative particle *mā/ma* and its morphological variants in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects

<i>10. The uses of the š negator in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects</i>
Negation of verbal predicates (IPFV/PFV): Bipartite and postverbal negation <i>muš + ‘am +Vpred IPFV</i> <i>miš (IPFV) + future</i>
Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates: Bipartite and postverbal negation (postverbal negation is not possible for the pseudo-verb <i>‘ind/‘end</i>)
Negative imperative: Bipartite and postverbal negation (bipartite negation with both <i>mā</i> and <i>lā</i>)
Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates: Postverbal negation <i>-š</i>
Existential negation: Bipartite and postverbal negation
Negation of non-verbal predicates: <i>mā/ma + PN + š, muš, miš</i>
Negation of polarity items: <i>ma- ‘umriš</i>
Negative indefinite pronouns: <i>maḥadd + š</i>

Table 10: The uses of the *š* negator in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects

<i>11. The use of šay, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects</i>
Used as negative polarity items or to deliver emphatic negation

Table 11: The use of *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects

3 Negation in Bedouin dialects

In this chapter, we examine negation in Bedouin dialects, based on data from previous studies. First, we will discuss Bedouins, beginning with the definition of the term *Bedouin* and its historical and sociological interpretation, as well as its current meaning, and the current state of Bedouin tribes in the Arabian Peninsula. We will then present classifications of the Arabian Peninsula dialects and the prominent features of Bedouin varieties, in comparison with sedentary varieties. Finally, we will examine previous literature on the expression of negation in various Bedouin tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, as well as in Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, northern and central Jordan, Israel, Palestine, and Sinai (all the above according to today's political boundaries).

3.1 *Bedouins*

The term *badw* 'Bedouins', which derives from the Arabic word *bādiya* 'desert', was originally used to describe the tribes that live a nomadic and pastoral way of life in the desert. However, the term embraced all Muslim nomadic tribes, including those of non-Arabic origin, such as the tribes of Turkmen, Kurdish Baluch, as well as Berberic tribes. Bedouins used to live in tents and move with their animals, according to seasonal and climatic conditions, to places where they could find water and pasture (Suwaed 2015).

Arab Bedouin tribes originated in the Arabian Peninsula, and then moved to other parts of the Middle East and the North Africa. Migration flows started already in the Pre-Islamic Era and were intensified after the arrival of Islam and the Muslim conquests. Migration was sometimes a result of environmental adjustment, while other times it was a result of wars, internal conflicts, or natural disasters. After migration, some Bedouins managed to keep their traditions and lifestyle, while some others lost part of their culture, were adapted to new customs or were sedentarised (Suwaed 2015).

Nowadays, the term 'Bedouin' is mostly related to the origin, without connoting a nomadic way of life anymore. In Arabia, as stated by Ingham (1982b, 32), Bedouin does not necessarily mean a nomad, but a person who belongs to a recognised Bedouin tribe.

In the 20th century, Bedouin tribes began to trouble the colonial governments. First, the tribes used to live on their own rules and the rules of the desert and, second, it was difficult for the authorities to control and have access to every part of the desert. Several systems were imposed by the governments to maintain peace and to preserve

the law, such as the system of ‘indirect rule’, being the main system used by the colonial authorities. The ‘indirect rule’ system ensured the internal authority and autonomy of the tribes by giving power and control to tribal rulers who were responsible for the whole tribe. The political borders that were defined after the first war severely limited the freedom of movement of the Bedouins, also dividing some tribes into two territories. Tribalism often made hard the cooperation between politicians and Bedouins. Some politicians accepted the traditions of the Bedouins, but some others saw them as a threat and tried to settle them by force. In some Arab countries, especially in the Middle East, the Bedouin tribes also participated actively in politics (Suwaed 2015).

Today, most Bedouins do not live as nomads anymore, and only a small percentage of them still live as nomads or semi-nomads. Although the tribes comply nowadays with the laws of each state, the tribal cultural identity is still important and tribal law still applies in specific cases.

Moreover, the term *Bedouin* is not as common as it formerly was. Tribe members usually refer to the name of the family or the tribe to indicate their origin rather than call themselves ‘Bedouins’, since the word is associated for them with an origin but not with their current lifestyle. Another interesting example of self-referring stated by Holes (2016, 1), is the term ‘*Arab*’ which is used in Bahrain for the descendants of Bedouin tribes of Central Arabia.¹²

3.1.1 *Bedouin – Sedentary people and dialects*

As stated by Ibn Khaldūn (1967, 164) in his monumental work *Muqaddimah*, ‘Both Bedouins and sedentary people are natural groups which exist by necessity’. According to Ibn Khaldūn, Bedouins precede sedentary people, just like the basic survival needs precede conveniences and luxuries, just like savagery precedes civilisation. They limit themselves to the bare necessities and lack the comforts and luxury of the city dwellers. However, Bedouins enjoy being free from authority, rules, and governors. They spontaneously oppose any form of stability; their natural disposition is ‘the negation and antithesis of civilisation’ (Ibn Khaldun 1967, 200). But as a natural evolution, they aim at their sedentarisation and eventually, Bedouins will become sedentary...

¹² In Oman, however, the term ‘*arab*’ is used to define ‘men’ rather than nomads (Webster 1991, 481).

Interestingly, as far as linguistic development is concerned, a similar transition from a Bedouin to a sedentary state is analysed by Cadora (1992), who, based on the effects of ecological development on linguistic variation, defines the stages of the transitional change and adaptation as the following:

Bedouin > Bedouin-Rural > Rural > Rural-Urban > Urban

Although a process of de-bedouinisation has been often observed when Bedouin communities become sedentarised and adopt features of urban or rural varieties, the opposite also has occurred, and still occurs to some extent. In several cases, when Bedouin and sedentary varieties coexist, a process of bedouinisation –when the Bedouin variety becomes the dominant variety or the standard variety of an Arabic-speaking community or city– took place. This is for example the case of Bahrain (Holes 2016, 49) where the Bedouin Sunni dialects ‘continue to enjoy the status of the prestigious and socially dominant dialect-type in the whole region’. Another case of bedouinisation was that of Baghdad. Starting from the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols and the devastation of the city in the 13th century, along with the migration of North Arabian groups in Iraq, the Bedouin variety became the standard variety of the Muslims and led to a division into the *ǧalāt* Bedouin dialects of the sedentary and non-sedentary Muslims and the *qeltu*¹³ sedentary dialects of the sedentary Christians and Jewish (Blanc 1964). As stated by Procházka (2018, 261–262) ‘all *ǧalāt*-type dialects are the result of this linguistic bedouinisation, which began in the thirteenth century and affected the whole of the south and virtually all rural settlements further north.’

Further cases where Bedouin features were largely adopted from a sedentary variety were those of the cities of Karak and Salt in Jordan (Palva 2008b), while in the city of Amman, the realisation of *q* as *ǧ* –the latter being a prominent Bedouin feature– is often attested in male speakers as a marker of masculinity or of Jordanian identity (Al-Wer and Herin 2011).

It is generally admitted that Bedouin varieties are more conservative while sedentary varieties exhibit more innovative features. This is mainly justified both by the nomadic way of living of the tribes, that kept them isolated from other tribes and from sedentary people, and by their persistent preservation of the tribal identity, considering that a prominent characteristic of Bedouins was, and still is, the conservation of their distinctive tradition and language. Tribalism in the Arab world is

¹³ *ǧalāt* and *qeltu*: the 1st singular PFV of the verb *qāla* ‘say’.

according to Suwaed (2015, 9) ‘not a way of life but rather an identity ingrained in the political culture and social psychology’.

However, conservative features are not only found in Bedouin varieties but in some sedentary varieties as well. And vice versa, innovative features appear also in Bedouin varieties. It is true that the Bedouin-sedentary division is not applicable everywhere to the same extent, if we consider for example some tribes in southern Arabia where Bedouins and sedentary people share the same dialect (Holes 2018, 21–22). Several scholars also convincingly argue that a series of archaic linguistic features that are not found in Classical Arabic are attested in modern Arabic varieties (Kaye, 2007, Huehnergard 2017, Pat-El 2017, Al-Jallad 2021b).

The 20th century has brought many changes in most Bedouin tribes all over the world. The nomadic way of life of the Bedouin tribes has gradually declined since movement and free roaming was largely restricted due to government measures that encouraged or enforced Bedouin settlement. Today, most of the Bedouin communities are already sedentarised. Bedouin dialects have been and continue to be subject to change through contact with other varieties, rural and sedentary, as well as through the development of the tribe’s lifestyle, new conditions such as intermarriages with sedentary people and employment in sedentary communities, as well as environmental factors. Even though in every part of the world Bedouins still remain a closed society that retains its traditions and language, Bedouin dialects exhibit change, to a greater or lesser extent, through the process of koineisation, borrowing, leveling and code mixing (Rosenhouse 2006, 259).

In the present study, it was observed that, although Bedouins are proud of their origin from an established, well-known tribe, some of them argued that there are no Bedouins left anymore, and consequently they can no longer be called ‘Bedouins’ because of their settled life and lack of freedom that usually accompanies the term ‘Bedouin’. Additionally, even if the large majority of them find their life better and much more comfortable in comparison with the past and their nomadic life, all informants agreed on the lack of the *rāḥa nafsiya* (‘psychological comfort/serenity’) which seemed to characterise their life in the past. Interestingly, some elder people among the informants, when asked if they prefer the present or the past, they opted for the past.

3.2 *Arabic dialects classifications*

Geographically, the Arabic dialects are divided into the western and eastern dialects ('parlers maghrébins et parlers orientaux', Marçais 1977). The Eastern (*mašriqī*) dialects are those spoken in eastern Libya, Egypt, the Levant, Iraq, and the Arabia Peninsula, and the Western (*maġribī*) dialects are those spoken in Mauritania, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and the western part of Libya (Holes 2018, 20). A very well-known feature that distinguishes the two groups is the formation of the 1st singular and 1st plural imperfect which in the western dialects is encountered with a *n-* prefix, *niktib* 'I write', and the first plural with an *-u* suffix, *niktibu* 'we write', while in the eastern dialects we respectively find *aktib* 'I write' and *niktib* 'we write'. However, division between west and east is not a clear and rigid borderline. The large waves of Bedouins migration from the west had a great impact on the Egyptian varieties of the delta and the oases which exhibit a mix of western and eastern features (Watson 2011, 868).

Sociologically and linguistically, the Arabic dialects have been classified into sedentary (*ḥaḍarī*) and Bedouin (*badawī*) dialects, the former being again divided into urban (*madanī*) and rural (*fallāḥī*) dialects (Palva 2006, 605), while Bedouin Arabic dialects have been further divided into nomadic and semi-nomadic groups (Rosenhouse 2006, 259).

3.2.1 *Dialects of the Arabian Peninsula*

The dialects of the Arabia can generally be divided into the following four groups, based on Cantineau (1936, 1937), Johnstone (1967), Ingham (1982b), Holes (1989), and Palva (1991), and presented by Rosenhouse (2006), and Versteegh (2014).

- North Arabian dialects

North Arabian dialects, the dialects of the Naġd, are first classified by Cantineau (1936, 1937) into two large groups, the 'grands nomades' (great nomads), mostly camel-breeding tribes, and the 'petits nomades' (little nomads), mostly sheep-rearing tribes. These two groups are further divided into three groups and one subgroup: Group A, the 'Anazi dialects, group B, the Šammari dialects, group C, the Syro-Mesopotamian (Šāwi) dialects, and group Bc, Šammari dialects with features also from the Šāwi dialects. Groups A and B include the great nomads, while group C includes the little

nomads. To these groups, Cantineau (1937) also added three subgroups with mixed features, the dialect of Ar-Rass and Ġōf of the north Saudi Arabia and the dialects of the oasis of the northern Syrian desert.

North Arabian dialects are further classified into the Northeast (Ingham, 1982b) Arabian dialects and the Northwest (Palva 1991) Arabian dialects.

Northeast Arabian dialects: Northeast Arabian dialects are classified into the ‘Anazi dialects, including also the dialects of Kuwait, Bahrain (Sunnites) and the Gulf states, the Šammari dialects, including also some Bedouin dialects of Iraq, and the Syro-Mesopotamian dialects, including also the dialects of North Israel, northern/central Jordan, and the dialect of the Dawāğrah of the northern Sinai (Ingham 1982b).

Northwest Arabian dialects: Northwest Arabian dialects are divided into the western branch which comprises the dialects of the Sinai, and the Negev, and the eastern branch which comprises the dialects spoken in southern Jordan mostly by the Ḥwēṭāt, Bani ‘Aṭṭīya and some small tribes attached to them in southern Jordan and the northwestern corner of Saudi Arabia (Palva 2008a).

- West Arabian (Ḥiğāzi) dialects

Ḥiğāzi dialects include the dialects of the Ḥiğāz and the Tihāma. Rosenhouse (2006, 260) mentions that some dialects of the Negev and the Sinai have been related to the Ḥiğāzi dialects. Shawarbah (2012, 11) also claims that the Negev Bedouin dialects are most likely a natural extension of the Ḥiğāzi dialects, while de Jong (2000, 622–627) encounters in Sinai features of the West Arabian dialects, Northwest Arabian dialects, as well as features of the sedentary dialects of the eastern Šarqiyyah (Egypt).

- Southwest Arabian dialects

Southwest Arabian dialects include the dialects of Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt, ‘Aden, the Ḍofār, and the dialects of the Ši‘ite Baḥārna in Bahrain (Versteegh 2014, 192, Rosenhouse 2006, 260).

- Omani dialects

Omani Bedouin dialects include the dialects spoken in western, southern, and south-eastern deserts of Oman, such as the Wahība, Janaba, Durū‘, and Ḥarāsīs, but also some Bedouin dialects spoken in northern Oman, in Buraimi, the Bāṭina coast and Ṣūr (Holes 1989).

3.2.2 Prominent features of Bedouin dialects

We are now going to list some of the prominent features of Bedouin dialects (for a more comprehensive and detailed description, see Rosenhouse 2006), the prominent features of the Northwest Arabian (Bedouin) dialects according to Palva’s classification (1991, 2008a), and the features of Bedouin dialects related to negation (Palva 1984a, Rosenhouse 1984a,b, 2006).

The list below includes the most common features encountered in Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse 2006):

- (a) *q* realised as a voiced velar stop *g* or an affricate *j*
- (b) *k* realised as an affricate *č* or *ć*
- (c) Conservation of the interdental fricatives *t̤*, *d̤*, and *ḏ̤*
- (d) Partial use of the glottal stop or addition of a glottal stop (for example in the negative answer *laʿ*)
- (e) Use of new emphatics such as *r*, *l*, *m*, *w*, *b*
- (f) Use of the short and long vowels *e*, *ē*, *o*, *ō* in addition to the three short and long vowels *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *a*, *ā*
- (g) Partial conservation of the diphthongs *ay*, *aw*
- (h) Gahawa syndrome
- (i) Stress on the definite article
- (j) Conservation of the assimilation of sun letters¹⁴ to the definite article *al-*
- (k) Absence of *ʾimāla*¹⁵ in feminine endings

¹⁴ *t*, *t̤*, *d*, *d̤*, *r*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *ṣ*, *ḏ*, *t̤*, *ḏ̤*, *l*, and *n*.

¹⁵ Raising of *a* to *i* or *e*.

- (l) Construct state instead of analytical genitive, use of the inflected accusative preposition *īyyā* when there is a direct object followed by an indirect object
- (m) Conservation of gender difference in the singular and plural form of independent and dependent (clitic) pronouns
- (n) Use of the relative pronoun *alli* (western Bedouin dialects use also *eddi*)
- (o) Use of the classical Imperfect prefix *a* instead of *i* in verbs
- (p) Conservation of the 2nd singular feminine *-īn* and the 2nd, 3rd plural masculine *-ūn* (Western dialects, Eastern Arabia, North Israel)
- (q) Use of internal passives
- (r) Productivity of form IV
- (s) Use of *tanwīn* (case endings) in specific cases
- (t) The indicative is not marked (*b-/bi*-indicative¹⁶) in the most of Bedouin dialects (except for eastern Egypt, Sinai, Negev)
- (u) Existential markers as *bī/bi*, *bū/bu* or *fī/fi*
- (v) Bedouin lexical items (*gōṭar* ‘to go’, *rād* ‘to want’, *alḥīn* ‘now’, *zēn* ‘good’, etc.)

3.2.2.1 Prominent features of Northwest Arabian (Bedouin) dialects

The Bedouin dialects of the Sinai, the Negev, southern Jordan, and the northwestern corner of Saudi Arabia, are defined by Palva (1991, 2008a) as Northwest Arabian dialects. Some features of the Northwest Arabian dialects exhibit similarities with sedentary varieties of the Greater Syria, while other exhibit similarities with Ḥiǧāzi dialects and Bedouin dialects of Egypt, Sudan, and North Africa (Palva 1991).

Table 12 illustrates the features that belong only to Northwest Arabian dialects and the common features shared between Northwest and Northeast Arabian dialects (Palva 1991, 2008a).

¹⁶ *b/bi*-indicative: the prefix *b/bi* + VPreds IPFV is used in various Arabic dialects in order to express an act in the Present habitual or progressive, or the Future (Stewart 1998). According to Lentin (2018, 187), the *b(i)*-stem ‘is attested not only in the Levant (including Cyprus), but also in the Arabian Peninsula (Najd, the Gulf, Oman, Yemen), Egypt, Sudan, Nigeria, and up to Libya (and, marginally, in Tunisia and southern Morocco).’

<i>Features belonging only to Northwest Arabian dialects</i>	<i>Common features between Northwest and Northeast Arabian dialects</i>
Absence of the <i>tanwīn</i> ¹⁷ (limited to poetry, proverbs, and formulaic expressions)	Realisation of <i>q</i> as a voiced velar stop <i>g</i>
Absence of affricated variants of <i>g</i> and <i>k</i>	Gahawa syndrome
Absence of final <i>n</i> in the imperfect 2 nd singular feminine, and in the 2 nd and 3 rd plural masculine	Gender distinction in the 2 nd and the 3 rd plural in personal pronouns and pronominal suffixes, and finite verb forms
Pronominal suffix of the 2 nd plural masculine is <i>-ku/-kuw</i> (instead of <i>-kom, -kam</i>)	Productivity of form IV
Use of the existential marker <i>fī</i> (instead of <i>fīh</i>)	Stress of the definite article <i>al-</i> and use of the relative pronoun <i>alli</i>
Use of the interrogative adverb <i>kēf</i>	Typical Bedouin lexical items such as <i>goṭar</i> ‘to go’, <i>sōlaf</i> ‘to narrate’, <i>ṭabb</i> ‘to arrive’, etc.

Table 12: Features of Northwest Arabian dialects

3.2.2.2 Contrastive features in Bedouin and sedentary dialects

At the table below (13) we present some of the features that are found in contrast in Bedouin and sedentary dialects (Palva 2006, Rosenhouse 2006).

<i>Bedouin dialects</i>	<i>Sedentary dialects</i>
No <i>ʾimāla</i> in feminine endings	<i>ʾimāla</i> in feminine endings
Conservation of the diphthongs <i>ay</i> and <i>aw</i> instead of monophthongization to <i>e</i> and <i>o</i>	Monophthongization of diphthongs
Conservation of interdental fricatives	Realisation of interdental fricatives as postdental stops
Partial conservation of the indefinite marker <i>-in</i> (<i>tanwīn</i>)	No use of <i>tanwīn</i> except for formulaic expressions
Gender distinction in 2 nd and 3 rd plural of the pronouns and verbs	No gender distinction in pronouns and verbs
Use of internal passives	No use of internal passives
Conservation of the inflectional endings <i>-īn</i> and <i>-ūn</i>	No inflectional endings <i>-īn</i> and <i>-ūn</i> (the <i>-n</i> drops)
Productivity of form IV	Absence of form IV

¹⁷ Nunation

No verb modifiers in the imperfect	Use of different verb modifiers in the imperfect
Construct state	Analytical genitive
Conservative syllable structure	Advanced syllable structure

Table 13: Contrastive features in Bedouin and sedentary dialects

3.2.2.3 Prominent features of negation in sedentary dialects

Before proceeding with the description of the common elements of negation in Bedouin dialects, it would be useful to give a general overview of the main negative particles, markers and negators used in the sedentary varieties of the Sinai, Levantine, Mesopotamian, Arabian Peninsula and Yemen Arabic, provided by Alluhaybi (2019) in his thesis on negation in modern Arabic varieties. All varieties studied by Alluhaybi (2019) are urban or rural, except for the Sinai Bedouin dialects described by de Jong (2000, 2011) and the Bedouin dialect of the Madinah Arabic, a Bedouin dialect spoken in Saudi Arabia.

At the table below (14), we summarise the results of Alluhaybi's (2019) study on negation with verbal, non-verbal predicates, and negative imperative in modern Arabic dialects.

<i>Arabic dialects</i>	<i>Verbal predicates</i>	<i>Non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negative imperative</i>
Sinai	<i>mā, ma...š, ma...šey, -šey, miš</i>	<i>miš, ma...šey</i>	<i>mā</i>
Levantine	<i>mā/ma, ma...š, -š, miš, muš, mū</i>	<i>ma+PN, muš, miš, mā/ma+PN+š, miš+PN, mū</i>	<i>mā/ma lā/la</i>
Mesopotamian	<i>mā/ma</i>	<i>mū</i>	<i>mā/ma lā/la</i>
Arabian Peninsula	<i>mā/ma lis, lim (‘ Abha Arabic)</i>	<i>mā+PN, ma+PN+b, mū/mu, gayr (rare), mūb/mub, muš, mā lis (‘ Abha Arabic)</i>	<i>lā/la mā/ma (very rare)</i>
Yemen	<i>mā/ma, mā/ma...š, miš (miši, māši)</i>	<i>ma+PN, miš, muš, ma+PN+š</i>	<i>mā/ma lā/la</i>

Table 14: Negation in modern Arabic (sedentary) dialects

3.2.2.4 Prominent features of negation in Bedouin dialects

Homogeneity and conservatism are two typical features of Bedouin dialects. Bedouin varieties seem more homogenous, even if spoken in different regions, than sedentary varieties spoken in the same region (Lucas 2013, 405). Besides, conservatism has always been a perspicuous feature (Rosenhouse 2006, 259) in many aspects of Bedouin varieties, including the expression of negation (Lucas 2013, 405).

Palva (1984a), in his classification of the dialects spoken in Palestine and Transjordan, defines the occurrence of the bipartite negation *mā...š* as the Criterion (k) and concludes that the *š* negator is a feature not found in the Bedouin dialects of these regions. According to Rosenhouse (1984b, 2006), negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in Bedouin dialects is generally formed with the negative particle *mā/ma*. Existential negation is *ma bī*, *ma bū*, and *mā mīš* (in Northeast Arabian dialects, Johnstone 1967). Negation of non-verbal predicates is expressed by the negative markers *mū* and *mī*, also *mā-hūb* or *mūb* in Saudi Arabian Bedouin dialects. Pronouns are usually negated by prefixation of *m-* to the personal pronouns as *māni*, *mint* etc.

The *š* negator is generally not found in stages II and III in Bedouin dialects or is partially found in some western Bedouin varieties like in Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011). Nevertheless, the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *miš* are encountered in Israel and in some places in Jordan as sedentary, adopted features. The negative particle *lā/la* is used for the negative answer ‘no’ as *lā*, *la*, *la’*, or the emphatic *la’*’a. It is more often attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express indirect prohibition, in negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as the first negative element. Moreover, the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions and the negative conjunction *wala* in negative coordination structures (Rosenhouse 1984b).

The absence of the bipartite and postverbal negation (*mā/ma...š*, *-š*) and the conservation of the particle *lā/la* in the negative imperative, are two features that could indicate a rather traditional and original form of these varieties. However, although the use of the *š* negator has been a classification criterion between Bedouin, urban and rural dialects for some researchers like Palva (1984a), it has also been disputed by others, like Naïm (2011, 929). Certainly, we should take into consideration that lack of the *š* negator is not exclusively encountered in Bedouin dialects. Several modern Arabic varieties like Syrian, Baghdadi, Gulf, Central Arabian and Ḥiǧāzi Arabic (Diem 2014)

also refrain from the use of the *š* negator. Likewise, formation of the negative imperative with the negative particle *lā/la* is attested in many sedentary Arabic varieties such as Levantine, Mesopotamian, Yemeni, and Arabian Peninsula varieties (Alluhaybi 2019), though in all these varieties *lā/la* is used interchangeably with *mā/ma*.

Overall, *mā/ma* seems to be the dominant negator that has largely replaced the negative particle *lā/la* in all contemporary Arabic varieties, while *lā/la* continues to maintain its function as a negator mostly in the negative imperative, in negative coordination structures (*lā...wala*) and in negative concord constructions (negative scalar *wala*).

Table 15 summarises the traditional features of negation in Bedouin dialects.

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Negative particles/markers</i>
NegANS	<i>lā, la, la'`a</i>
VPreds, PVPreds	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>lā/la</i> (In indirect prohibition)
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>
NVPreds	<i>mū, mī</i> NegPN (<i>māni, mint, etc., mā-hūb/mūb</i>)
ExistNEG	<i>ma bī, ma bū</i> <i>mā mīš</i> (in Northeast Arabian dialects)
NegCOORDSs	<i>lā...walā</i>
NegCONCCs	<i>wala</i>

Table 15: Traditional features of negation in Bedouin dialects

3.3 *Data on negation in Bedouin dialects: Previous studies*

The following section examines the previous literature on the expression of negation in various Bedouin tribes of the Arabian Peninsula, as well as in Turkey, Lebanon, Syria, northern and central Jordan, Israel, Palestine, and Sinai (all the above according to today's political boundaries). The works mentioned include the results of linguistic studies on Bedouin dialects from 1901 to 2023.

The results are based on a dual approach: first, they are based on the study of the works and conclusions of other scholars on negation and second, on the analysis of the recorded material collected by other scholars and included in their work. The sections are divided both by linguistic and geographical criteria.

The types of negation explored in the existing literature are the following: the use of the negative particle *mā/ma* and its morphological variants, as well as the use of

'*ēb*, '*īb*, '*ab/ab* and '*am/am*, with verbal, pseudo-verbal and non-verbal predicates, the uses of the negative particle *lā/la*, the uses of the innovative *š* negator, and the use of *šay*, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms.

It is important to mention that all the examples presented in this chapter from previous studies are limited to data already included in each work. Since data about negation are very often scattered in general dialect descriptions that do not focus on negation, it is expected that they do not contain exhaustive information on the use of each negator. The selected previous studies that will be presented in the following sections certainly do not cover the whole range of research that has been carried out on Bedouin dialects in general and on the expression of negation in Bedouin dialects in particular.

Bedouinised varieties are not included in the selected material, except for the *gəlat* dialects of (southern) Iraq. Pure Bedouin poetry studies are excluded from the selected material, although narratives incorporating poetic excerpts are occasionally included.

The transcription of the examples cited in this chapter is kept as in the original, while glosses are added where missing and modified where necessary, according to the glossing system used in the thesis. When the examples cited were found in English, the translation was kept as in the original. The examples cited from Landberg's (1901, 1919) material have been translated to English using both their original recording in Arabic and their translation to French by Landberg himself. The examples cited from Montagne (1935) have been translated to English according to their translation to French by Montagne (1935). The examples cited from den Heijer (1980-81) have been translated to English according to their translation to French by den Heijer. The examples cited by Bettini (1989-90, 2006) have been translated to English according to their translation to French by Bettini. The examples cited from Younes and Herin (2013) have been translated to English according to their translation to French by Younes and Herin. The examples cited from Younes (2014) have been translated to English according to their translation to French by Younes.

The results of these studies will be presented divided into the following dialectal groups:

1. Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān and Saudi Arabia (Cantineau's groups A, B, C, and Bc)
2. Northeast Arabian Bedouin dialects (Najdi dialects: Group A, 'Anazi, and group B, Šammari)
3. Northeast Arabian Bedouin dialects (Syro-Mesopotamian dialects: Group C, Šāwi)
4. Northeast Arabian Bedouin dialects (Group Bc, Šammari dialects with features from Šāwi dialects)
5. Between Najdi and Šāwi dialects (the 'Abū 'īd dialect of Lebanon, and the Ğbūr dialect of Syria)
6. Šrūgi dialects (*ǧalāt* dialects of southern Iraq)
7. Northwest Arabian Bedouin dialects
8. West Arabian (Ḥiǧāzi) Bedouin dialects
9. Omani Bedouin dialects
10. Southwest Arabian dialects

3.3.1 Carlo de Landberg: ‘Anazeh (Syria)

Landberg (1919), during his stay in Damascus and his fieldwork in the northern Ḥawrān, studies the dialect of the ‘Anazeh Bedouins. The following data come from Landberg’s (1919) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective (1a-b) and the perfective (1c-d) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (2).

- (1a) ana ‘aṣā-kum alli mā i‘aṣā-kom
PN.1SG cane-PN.2MPL that NEG 3MSG.disobey.IPFV-PN.2PL
‘I am your cane that will not disobey you.’
de Landberg (1919, 1)

- (1b) ana mā-rīd min-hin šī’
PN.1SG NEG-1SG.want.IPFV from-PN.3FPL thing
‘I don’t want anything (from them).’
de Landberg (1919, 4)

- (1c) ma same‘ la-el-walad waḥi
NEG 3MSG.hear.PFV to-ART-boy indication
‘He didn’t hear any sound from the young man.’
de Landberg (1919, 2)

- (1d) b-il-leyl ma ‘omr-i en-nōmi tahananeyt
in-ART-night NEG life-PN.1SG ART-sleep 1SG.enjoy.PFV
‘I have never enjoyed one good sleep at night.’
de Landberg (1919, 75)

- (2) mā ‘ande-na ḥad
NEG have-PN.1PL one
‘There is no one with us.’

de Landberg (1919, 8)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* (3a-b), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (3c).

- (3a) ma min-kom illi yit‘adda bēt-ena
NEG from-PN.2MPL who 3MSG.trespass.IPFV house-PN.1PL
‘There is none of you who must pass my tent without entering it.’

de Landberg (1919, 16)

- (3b) la waḷḷāhi mā¹⁸ hu bint illa walad
no by God NEG PN.3MSG girl except boy
‘No, by God, he is not a girl but a boy.’

de Landberg (1919, 10)

- (3c) mā-ni bi-saggām
NEG-PN.1SG bi-sickening
‘[...] I will not eat to sustain my life.’

de Landberg (1919, 12)

The existential negation is attested as *mā bah* or *ma boh*:

- (4) u ma b-oh salāmi
CONJ NEG there is-PN.3MSG peace
‘There was no possible salvation [...]’

de Landberg (1919, 59)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* appears as the dominant negator in exceptive constructions formed with *wa-la* or with the negation *wala*, verbal predicates in the imperfective (5a-

¹⁸ An unusual pronunciation of *mā* as *mā*‘.

c) or the perfective aspect (5d), and exceptive particles such as *illā* (5a), *ḡeyr* (5b), and the archaic *kūd*¹⁹ (5c-d).

- (5a) wala yinḡamid la-er-ruḡel illa ḡemīl-uh
 NEG 3MSG.praise.IPFV to-ART-man except qualities-PN.3MSG
 ‘We do not have to praise the man but for his qualities.’
 de Landberg (1919, 60)
- (5b) ula yeḡḡanū-h ḡeyr bit-borbus-uh
 NEG 3MPL.take notice.IPFV-PN.3MSG except with-grumble-PN.3MSG
 ‘They do not take notice of him but from his grumble.’
 de Landberg (1919, 6)
- (5c) ‘ollt-i bi-ḡalb-i u-la yibrā-h
 illness-PN.1SG in-heart-PN.1SG CONJ-NEG 3MSG.heal.IPFV-PN.3MSG
 kūd yed-i
 except hand-PN.1SG
 ‘My illness is in my heart and will be healed only by my hand.’
 de Landberg (1919, 6)
- (5d) ula fakku ‘an ba‘ḡhom kūd auwal
 NEG 3MPL.separate.PFV from each other except beginning
 el-‘atām
 ART-dark
 ‘They did not separate from each other until it started to get dark.’
 de Landberg (1919, 4)

The negative particle *lā/la* is additionally used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in negative optative sentences (6), and in indirect prohibition (7).

- (6) w-abḡi ‘alē-h-il-bīḡa yaḡḡumna la-kḡūf
 and-1SG.desire.IPFV on-PN.3MSG-ART-white 3FPL.slap.IPFV to-palms

¹⁹ Ingham (1995, 122)

wa-la yāṭi ‘ala ṣaff el-egdām
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.step.IPFV on row ART-feet
 ‘I wish that the white (women) clapped their hands for him and that he could
 not put one foot next to the other.’
 de Landberg (1919, 13)

- (7) gull-uh la yinsā-ni
 2MSG.tell.IMP-PN.3MSG NEG 3MSG.forget.IPFV-PN.1SG
 ‘[...] tell him not to forget me.’
 de Landberg (1919, 16)

Moreover, the negative particle *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative:

- (8) la teftaḥ fem-k
 NEG 2MSG.open.IPFV mouth-PN.2MSG
 ‘Don’t open your mouth!’
 de Landberg (1919, 5)

Additionally, *lā/la* is prefixed to the personal pronouns, preceded by the conjunction *wa*:

- (9) wa-lā-ni hazzāzan el-rumḥi eb-mezḥa
 CONJ-NEG-PN.1SG shaking.INDEF ART-spear with-fun
 ‘I am not shaking my spear for fun.’
 de Landberg (1919, 60)

Finally, *lā/la* is encountered in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as the first negative element, and in the negative conjunction *wala*:

- (10) la-be-dīrt-ah kufran wala gurb-ah islām
 NEG-with-surroundings-PN.3MSG infidels NegCONJ near-PN.3MSG Islam
 ‘There would not be neither infidels nor Muslims around him.’
 de Landberg (1919, 11)

3.3.2 Jean Cantineau: Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān and Saudi Arabia

Cantineau (1936, 1937) studies the dialects of Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān and Saudi Arabia and classifies them into the following groups: the group A (‘Anazi) that includes the dialects of the Rwala, Ḥsāne, Weld ‘Ali, and Sba‘a, the group B (Šammari), and the group C (Syro-Mesopotamian), that includes the dialects of the N‘ēm, Ḥadīdīn, Faḍl, Mawāli, Manāḍre, and the dialect of the city of Raqqa in Syria. Additionally, the group Bc (Šammari with features from Šāwi) that includes the dialects of the Bani Ḥālīd, Sirḥān, ‘Umūr, Šlūt, Bani Šaḥar, and Sardiya. To these groups, Cantineau also added three subgroups with mixed features, the dialect of Ar-Rass and Ğōf of the north Saudi Arabia and the dialects of the oasis of the northern Syrian desert.

The negative particle mā/ma

According to Cantineau’s (1936, 1937) conclusions, all studied Bedouin tribes refrain from using the bipartite negation *mā/ma...š*. In Cantineau (1936, 1937) only three types of negation with *mā/ma* are mentioned: the use of the negative particle *mā/ma* in the negation of verbal predicates, the negative existential marker *mā bū/bō* and the adverbial construction *ma ‘ād*, ‘not anymore’.

The negative particle lā/la

In Cantineau’s (1937) expanded studies on the dialects of the North Arabian nomads, an interesting case of use of *lā/la* is provided, where *la* is encountered with a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, preceded by the conjunction *wa*. The example, as given below, is attested in the Rwala tribe’s material.

- (11) dawwar u la laqa
3MSG.search.PFV CONJ NEG 3MSG.meet.PFV
‘He searched and didn’t find.’
Cantineau (1937, 91)

Lā negating verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is also attested in Ingham’s (1995) and Musil’s (1928) material on the Rwala. Ingham interprets this use as emphatic negation. O’Hara (2019, 339) claims that if this use is not a distinctive feature of the

Rwala and is generally used for emphatic negation, as Ingham (1994, 44) suggests, (11) could be thus translated as ‘He searched but he found nothing at all’. I agree with Ingham’s (1994, 44) suggestion and argue that emphasis is not always interpretable. The above example can also be considered as a case of emphatic negation, since *lā/la* is followed by a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, which generally does not occur except for specific cases. Moreover, *lā/la* is preceded by the conjunction *wa*, which also supports the assumption of an emphatic use.

About the use of *wa-lā* with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, Blau (1980, 140) argues that *walā* is used in Middle Arabic also as an independent negator, not necessarily in the continuation of a negation. Pat-El (2012, 21) additionally states that the form *w-lā* + VPreds PFV is attested in Middle Arabic, ex. *w-lā zāla* ‘he didn’t stop’, as ‘a generalisation of the common Classical use of *wa-lā* as a continuation of any previous negation.’ Whether this form is used to deliver emphatic negation or is also used to express plain negative statements remains an open question.

3.3.3 O’Hara (based on Alois Musil): *Ar-Rwala* (Syrian desert)

O’Hara (2019) describes the dialect of the *Rwala*, branch of the ‘Aniza tribe. His study is based on Musil’s (1928) ethnographical work ‘The manners and customs of the *Rwala* Bedouins’. The following data come from Musil (1928), cited in O’Hara (2019).

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (12a) and the perfective (12b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (13) are negated by *mā*.

- (12a) elya ʾād mā yeḏḥak
 COND 3MSG.return.IPFV NEG 3MSG.laugh.IPFV
 ‘If he does not smile.’
 O’Hara (2019, 342) based on Musil (1928)

- (12b) mā ḥalla ḥawiy-ye
 NEG 3MSG.leave.PFV brother-PN.1SG
 ‘He did not leave my brother.’

O’Hara (2019, 338) based on Musil (1928)

- (13) *mā b²⁰-ak ḥemāra²¹*
NEG in-PN.2MSG fiery courage
‘You do not have the flame of courage within you.’
O’Hara (2019, 341) based on Musil (1928)

In (12a) *‘ād* is not part of the adverbial construction *mā ‘ād* (and it is also preceding and not following *mā*) but is used to emphasise the new subject (O’Hara, 2019, 242). However, the negative particle *mā/ma* is also encountered in the adverbial construction *mā ‘ād* with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’:

- (14) *mā ‘ād l-eh zebde*
NEG 3MSG.return.PFV to-PN.3MSG butter
‘He no longer has (any) butter.’
O’Hara (2019, 342) based on Musil (1928)

It is worth reminding that in Modern Standard Arabic, *‘ād* is a verb meaning ‘to return/repeat’, but after the negative particles *mā/ma* and *lam*, it negates the verb that follows with the meaning ‘no longer/not again’ (Abu-Chacra 2007, 291). In modern Arabic varieties, *mā ‘ād* or *mā ‘ād* is referred to as a pseudo-verb in Comrie (2008, 740) and as a temporal verb in Brustad (2000, 214–215), both concluding that it was an original, independent verb that has lost some of its verbal properties.

Additionally, *mā* is attested in both parts of a negative coordination structure, as below:

- (15) *mā yarwa w-mā yešba‘*
NEG 3MSG.water.IPFV CONJ-NEG 3MSG.become sated.IPFV
‘He will never find enough to eat or drink.’
O’Hara (2019, 340) based on Musil (1928)

²⁰ Of course, *b-* is mainly an existential marker but it can also be interpreted as a pseudo-verb with the meaning ‘have’ (literally meaning ‘there is no...within me/you’, etc.)

²¹ Literally meaning ‘she-ass’, the word *ḥemāra* also has the meaning ‘fiery courage’ in O’Hara’s (2019, 526) glossary.

Moreover, *mā* is encountered in negative optative sentences with non-verbal predicates:

- (16) *yā leyt mā ‘omr-i ṭawīl*
VOC if only NEG life-PN.1SG long
‘May my life not be long!’
O’Hara (2019, 330) based on Musil (1928)

Pronouns are negated by *mā* preceding (17) or prefixing a pronoun (18).

- (17) *mā ḥenna šī^{en}*
NEG PN.1PL thing.INDEF
‘There’s nothing we can do.’
O’Hara (2019, 341) based on Musil (1928)

- (18) *mā-ni bāḡi*
NEG-PN.1SG want.PTCP
‘I don’t want.’
O’Hara (2019, 341) based on Musil (1928)

Existential negation is attested as *mā bah/buh/baha/bih*:

- (19) *dirt ar-rwala maḥal mā b-aha rabī^c*
land ART-Rwala place NEG there is-PN.3FSG abundance
‘The Rwala territory is droughtland, (in which) there is no abundance.’
O’Hara (2019, 360) based on Musil (1928)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, as a preventive marker:

- (20) *afekk-aha lā tḍūg-aha*
1SG.protect.IPFV-PN.3FSG NEG 2MSG.taste.IPFV-PN.3FSG

‘I will protect it so that you will never get a taste of it.’

O’Hara (2019, 340) based on Musil (1928)

Furthermore, *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in exceptive constructions like *lā...kūd*:

- (21) *lā* *yišūf-ni* *kūd* *ar-rā‘i*
NEG 3MSG.see.IPFV-PN.1SG except ART-herdsman
‘Only the herdsman sees me.’
O’Hara (2019, 337) based on Musil (1928)

lā is attested with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect in negative optative sentences (22), but also in negative statements (23).

- (22) *lā* *bārak* *allāh be-l-gaṭa*
NEG 3MSG.bless.PFV God with-ART-sandgrouse
‘Would that Allāh had not blessed the sand grouse!’
O’Hara (2019, 339) based on Musil (1928)

- (23) *lā* *radd* *as-salām*
NEG 3MSG.reply.PFV ART-greeting
‘He did not return the greeting.’
O’Hara (2019, 338) based on Musil (1928)

O’Hara (2019, 339) states that the use of *lā* negating verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is frequently attested in Musil (1928).

Furthermore, *lā* is used in the negative imperative:

- (24) *lā* *tebcīn* *amr^{en}* *maḍa*
NEG 2MSG.mourn.IPFV matter.INDEF 3MSG.pass away.PFV
‘Do not mourn something which has passed away.’
O’Hara (2019, 339) based on Musil (1928)

lā/la is additionally used to negate pseudo-verbal predicates:

- (25) *lā* *l-ak*
 NEG have-PN.2MSG
 ‘You do not have.’
 O’Hara (2019, 341) based on Musil (1928)

Pronouns are also negated by *lā* with prefixation:

- (26) *lā-ni* *b-rā’i*
 NEG-PN.1SG b-herdsman
 ‘I am not a herdsman.’
 O’Hara (2019, 340) based on Musil (1928)

Moreover, *lā* is used in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wlā*:

- (27) *lā* *ḥayy^{en}* *wlā* *māt*
 NEG live.PTCP.INDEF NegCONJ die.PTCP
 ‘Neither living nor dead.’
 O’Hara (2019, 342) based on Musil (1928)

An interesting case of use of the negative particle *lam* is also attested in O’Hara’s (2019) study, where *lam* is used with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, though it is interpreted as a negation in the future (in MSA the negative particle *lam* followed by a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect and in the jussive mood is always interpreted as a negation in the past):

- (28) *lam tağed* *rūḥ sawā-ha*
 NEG 2MSG.find.IPFV soul except-PN.3FSG
 ‘You won’t find a soul like that one.’
 O’Hara (2019, 342) based on Musil (1928)

As stated by O’Hara (2019, 342), this type of negation occurred sometimes in his poetic material, where it was always interpreted as an ‘unreal future situation’.

3.3.4 Robert Montagne: *Al-Ḥroṣa and Al-‘Abda tribes (Syria)*

Montagne (1935) collects and studies traditional Bedouin narratives from the Šammar tribes Al-Ḥroṣa and Al-‘Abda in Al-Jazira province, at the northeastern part of Syria. In this work, a narrative from the Ṭei^y tribe is also included. The following data come from Montagne’s (1935) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (29a) and the perfective (29b) aspect are negated by *mā/ma*.

- (29a) leih ma tēlbesin ṭawb-eć
why NEG 2FSG.put on.IPFV shirt-PN.2FSG
‘Why won’t you put on your shirt?’
Montagne (1935, 78)

- (29b) ma ‘ayyentu el-ma’
NEG 2MPL.locate.PFV ART-water
‘Haven’t you seen any water?’
Montagne (1935, 79)

Non-verbal predicates (30a) and pronouns (30b-c) are negated by *ma/mo*.

- (30a) ana ma gāṣb-ah
PN.1SG NEG force.PTCP-PN.3FSG
‘I am not forcing her.’
Montagne (1935, 82)

- (30b) ma ho waled ‘ali
NEG PN.3MSG descendant ‘Ali
‘He is not a descendant of ‘Ali.’
Montagne (1935, 88)

- (30c) mo ho men nās meṭleg
 NEG PN.3MSG from people Meṭleg
 ‘He was not part of the people of Meṭleg.’
 Montagne (1935, 99)

Furthermore, the negative particle *ma* is attested in the adverbial construction *ma ‘ād* with the meaning ‘no longer’:

- (31) ma ‘ād irīdē-hen
 NEG 3MSG.return.IPFV 3MSG.desire.IPFV-PN.3FPL
 ‘[...] and no longer desires them.’
 Montagne (1935, 108)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker (32), while *wa-la* is also used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (33).

- (32) u deidān fekk ʔfheid la idbaḥ
 and Deidān 3MSG.release.PFV ʔfheid NEG 3MSG.be slaughtered.IPFV
 ‘[...] and Deidān released Efheid so that he wouldn’t be killed.’
 Montagne (1935, 80)

- (33) wa-la nebza’ men-eḥkām ez-zemāni
 CONJ-NEG 1PL.irritate.IPFV from-ART-decrees ART-time
 ‘[...] for we do not get irritated with the decrees of time.’
 Montagne (1935, 110)

lā/la is also used with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, in negative optative sentences as the following:

- (34) lā-kelt tāli
 NEG-2MSG.eat.PFV following

‘[...] may you not eat tomorrow.’

Montagne (1935, 80)

Moreover, *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative:

- (35) *la tefza ‘ūn ‘al-ī*
NEG 2MPL.come to the aid of.IPFV on-PN.1SG
‘Don’t come to my aid [...]’
Montagne (1935, 92)

The negative particle *lā/la* is additionally encountered with non-verbal predicates. It is encountered in conditional structures (36), in exceptive constructions with negation *wala* (37), and it is also used to negate pronouns by prefixation (38).

- (36) *low-la’ lābet-i*
COND-NEG family-PN.1SG
‘Were it not my family [...]’
Montagne (1935, 98)
- (37) *wala šeḥen-ni kūd ḡellet redāḥi*
NEG sorrow-PN.1SG except disgrace Redāḥi
‘I have only one sorrow, Redāḥ’s fright.’
Montagne (1935, 83)
- (38) *lā-ni elyawm ‘ašīg*
NEG-PN.1SG today lover
‘Now, I’m not in love anymore.’
Montagne (1935, 99)

Finally, in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates, *lā/la* is attested as *la...ulā*:

- (39) *la b-el-ḥasa ulā-hen em-maṣren*
NEG in-ART-Ḥasa NegCONJ-PN.3FPL ART-Egypt

‘Neither in Ḥasa nor in Egypt...’

Montagne (1935, 108)

3.3.5 *Johannes den Heijer: Al-Wardāt (Syria)*

Den Heijer (1980–81) studies the Wardāt tribe in the village ‘Ayn al-Bayḍā’, in the Ḥafse region of northern Syria. According to den Heijer, the Wardāt is a semi-nomadic sheep-breeder tribe that has become sedentary. The following data come from den Heijer’s (1980–81) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (40a), and the perfective (40b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (41) are negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*.

(40a) wu-lā bəllāh mā nərḍā
CONJ-no by God NEG 1PL.agree.IPFV
‘We will never accept [...]’
den Heijer (1980–81, 78)

(40b) ma ḍall bī-ha šī
NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV in-PN.3FSG thing
‘There’s nothing wrong anymore.’
den Heijer (1980–81, 86)

(41) mā ‘and-ak tug‘ud tuskut
NEG have-PN.2MSG 2MSG.sit.IPFV 2MSG.be silent.IPFV
‘If you don’t have it, you cannot do anything.’
den Heijer (1980–81, 64)

Negation of non-verbal predicates is attested with *mā* (42), *mū* (43) and *mī*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (44).

(42) mā haḍa ray ya‘ni

NEG this opinion 3MSG.mean.IPFV

‘So it’s not possible!’

den Heijer (1980-81, 76)

(43) mū čətīr

NEG much

‘Not much.’

den Heijer (1980–81, 82)

(44) la’ ’aḍ-ḍabīḥa mī-hi le-l-ğetta

no ART-sacrifice NEG-PN.3FSG for-ART-corpse

‘No, the meat is not for the body.’

den Heijer (1980–81, 72)

Existential negation is formed with the negative particle *mā* as *mā b-*:

(45) mā b-ha-l-bēt ḥada

NEG in-this-house one

‘There is no one in this tent.’

den Heijer (1980–81, 76)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in *’alla* ‘so that not’, expressing prevention:

(46) ’al-la yəaṣl-na

so that-NEG 3MSG.arrive.IPFV-PN.1PL

‘So that it doesn’t reach us.’

den Heijer (1980–81, 84)

It is also used in the negative imperative:

(47) lā thāf

NEG 2MSG.be afraid.IPFV

‘Don’t be afraid.’

den Heijer (1980–81, 82)

Moreover, *lā/la* is attested with non-verbal predicates, preceded by the conjunction *wa*, as in the following example:

- (48) nāmūs-kum wa-la dəšmān-kum
honor-PN.2MPL CONJ-NEG hostility-PN.2MPL
‘(For) your own sake and not (to) your detriment!’
den Heijer (1980–81, 78)

Finally, *lā* is encountered in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*:

- (49) lā hi məstaḥəsna taṭraḥ lə-zələmet-ha
NEG PN.3FSG consider right.PTCP 3FSG.bring up.IPFV to-man-PN.3FSG
šāyef wala hi məstaḥəsna tənhar
see.PTCP NegCONJ PN.3FSG consider right.PTCP 3FSG.object.IPFV
aš-šēḥ
ART-sheikh
‘She didn’t prefer to bring up (the problem) to her husband, you see? Nor she preferred to object to the sheikh.’
den Heijer (1980–81, 76)

3.3.6 Lidia Bettini: *Al-Ġbūr* (Syria)

Bettini (1989–90, 2006) studies the dialect of the semi-nomadic tribe of the Ġbūr, in northeastern Syria and concludes that this dialect contains features both from the Najdi and the Šāwi dialects.

The negative particle mā/ma

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (50) and the perfective (51) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (52) are negated by *mā*, as in the following examples:

- (50) mā ‘arif ēš
NEG 1SG.know.IPFV what
‘I don’t know what.’
Bettini (1989-90, 188)

- (51) mā ḥallētu illi ḥāwēt ḥuwwa
NEG 1SG.leave.PFV which 1SG.become as a brother to.PFV brotherhood
‘I have not abandoned the one with whom I was united in brotherhood.’
Bettini (1989–90, 188)

- (52) mā-l-kum aṣl
NEG-have-PN.2MPL origin
‘You don’t have origin.’
Bettini (1989–90, 190)

The negative particle *mā* is also used in exceptive constructions, as below:

- (53) mā ḥad yāḥuḍ-ha ġēr inta
NEG one 3MSG.take.IPFV-PN.3FSG except PN.2MSG
‘No one will take her but you.’
Bettini (1989–90, 194)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā* (54a), *mū* (54b) and *mī* (54c), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (54d).

- (54a) al-walad mā ‘arif
ART-boy NEG know.PTCP
‘The boy didn’t know.’
Bettini (2006, 70)

- (54b) abū-y mū aš-šēḥ
 father-PN.1SG NEG ART-sheikh
 ‘My father is not the sheikh.’
 Bettini (2006, 70)
- (54c) hāy mī bint ‘amm-ak
 this NEG girl paternal ant-PN.2MSG
 ‘She is not your cousin.’
 Bettini (2006, 131)
- (54d) mā-ḥna mrawwḥīn
 NEG-PN.1PL go.PTCP
 ‘We are not going.’
 Bettini (1989–90, 191)

Existential negation is attested as *mā fi* (55a), *mā bī* (55b), but also as *māmīš* (55c).

- (55a) mā fi rāsin marfū‘
 NEG there is honor
 ‘There is no honor.’
 Bettini (1989–90, 190)
- (55b) mā bī ‘id-hum daḥātīr aḥadin
 NEG there is at-PN.3MPL doctors one.INDEF
 ‘They do not have doctors.’
 Bettini (1989–90, 185)
- (55c) mā-mīš bass al-ḥaṭab
 NEG-there is only ART-wood
 ‘There was nothing but the wood [...]’
 Bettini (2006, 111)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect expressing indirect prohibition (56a-b), or prevention (57), while *wa-lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, in negative statements (58).

(56a) *lā aḥad yiksir id-u*
NEG one 3MSG.break.IPFV hand-PN.3MSG

‘Let no one takes his hand away.’

Bettini (1989–90,192)

(56b) *lā ygūl inn-i dāšir*
NEG 3MSG.say.IPFV that-PN.1SG abandoned

‘Let no one say: I am abandoned.’

Bettini (1989–90, 191)

(57) *min al-ḥōf mn aš-šēḥ lā yidbaḥ-u*
from ART-fear from ART-sheikh NEG 3MSG.slaughter.IPFV-PN.3MSG
miša
3MSG.walk.PFV

‘For fear that the sheikh would kill him, he left.’

Bettini (2006, 216)

(58) *ahan-na mātaḥ w-lā tšalaw*
parents-PN.1PL 3MPL.die.PFV CONJ-NEG 3MPL.eat.PFV

‘Our parents died but they did not consume [...]’

Bettini (1989–90, 191)

Non-verbal predicates are also negated by *wa-lā* (*w-lā*), as below:

(58) *w-lā ‘ārif wēn rāḥ*
CONJ-NEG know.PTCP where 3MSG.leave.PFV

‘[...] and I don’t know where he went.’

Bettini (2006, 74)

Lā is also attested in the negative imperative:

- (59) *lā tis'alín*
NEG 2FSG.ask.IPFV
'Don't ask.'
Bettini (1989–90, 190)

It is additionally used in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates as *lā...wlā* (60a) or *lā...lā* (60b), and with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wlā* (60c).

- (60a) *lā-f'al²² adfín-ha*
NEG-3MSG.do.PFV 1SG.bury.IPFV-PN.3FSG
wlā-ḥāčī-ha b-nōba waḥde
NegCONJ-1SG.do.IPFV-PN.3FSG in-time one
'I won't be able to bury her nor to do anything to her, never.'
Bettini (2006, 98)

- (60b) *lā labbasatt-u lā ḥāčatt²³-u*
NEG 3FSG.dress.PFV-PN.3MSG NEG 3FSG.do.PFV-PN.3MSG
wlā šī
NegCONJ thing
'[...] without dressing him or doing anything to him.'
Bettini (2006, 254)

- (60c) *mā ndār al-bēt lā b-yōm wlā b-yōmēn*
NEG 3MSG.turn.PFV ART-house NEG in-day NegCONJ in-two days
'[...] neither returned to the house after one day, nor after two days.'
Bettini (1989–90, 190)

Finally, existential negation is also encountered as *lā bī*:

²² In Bettini's glossary (2006, 98), the verb *f'al*, when used after negation, it is interpreted as 'not want'.

²³ In Bettini's glossary (2006, 363–364), the verb *ḥāčā* (*ḥāka*) is interpreted as 'to do something bad/to harm someone'.

- (61) lā bī čāy gabul
 NEG there is tea before
 ‘There was no tea before.’
 Bettini (2006, 76)

3.3.7 Igor Younes: ‘Āl Īsa (Jordan)

Younes (2018) studies the phonological features of the Īsa Bedouin tribe in northern Jordan and concludes that it is a camel-breeder type dialect that exhibits very conservative features. The following data come from Younes’s (2018) observations and recorder material (data on negation are very limited in this study).

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mīy*:

- (62) li’inn-a šīfət-ha mīy kway(y)sa
 because-PN.3FSG sight-PN.3FSG NEG good
 ‘Because she is so ugly.’
 Younes (2018, 271)

Existential negation is attested as *mā fi*:

- (63) gāl mā-fi māni ‘
 3MSG.say.PFV NEG-there is objection
 ‘He said there is no objection.’
 Younes (2018, 272)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements, as below:

- (64) ‘ag^yūz hassā ‘ lā tiḏni

old woman now NEG 3FSG.give birth.IPFV
 ‘She’s now an old woman, she cannot give birth (anymore).’
 Younes (2018, 267)

3.3.8 *Myriam Al Tawil: As-Sirhān and An-N‘ēm (Jordan)*

Al Tawil (2021) studies the morpho-syntactic features of the camel-breeder tribe of the Sirhān and the sheep-breeder tribe of the N‘ēm in northern Jordan and provides extended data on negation. According to Al Tawil, the expression of negation in the Sirhān appears more conservative than in the N‘ēm. The following data come from Al Tawil’s (2021) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

In the dialect of the Sirhān, verbal predicates in the imperfective (65a) and perfective (65b) aspect are negated by *ma*.

(65a) ma n‘amal ši
 NEG 1PL.do thing
 ‘We do not do anything.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 182)

(65b) al-blād hādi ma ‘aġibat-na narḥal
 ART-countries this NEG 3MSG.like.PFV-PN.1PL 1PL.roam.IPFV
 ‘ā-l-bilād aš-šarġiyya
 to-ART-countries ART-eastern
 ‘If we do not like this place, we move to the eastern lands.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 181)

Likewise, in the dialect of the N‘ēm, verbal predicates in the imperfective (66a) and perfective (66b) aspect are negated by *ma*.

(66a) ma b-a‘araf mahər-hum gabul
 NEG b-1SG.know.IPFV dowry-PN.3MPL before
 ‘I don’t know (how much) their dowry (was) in the past.’

Al Tawil (2021, 184)

- (66b) ani waḷḷa ma laḥagt haḍa l-iši
PN.1SG by God NEG 1SG.come upon.PFV this ART-thing
'Personally, I did not experience this thing.'
Al Tawil (2021, 184)

In the dialect of the Sirḥān, negation of non-verbal predicates is encountered *mū* (67a), and *mī* (67b), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (68).

- (67a) mū ṣa'ba
NEG difficult
'[...] not difficult.'
Al Tawil (2021, 181)

- (67b) kwaysa walla mī kwaysa
good or NEG good
'Is it good or not?'
Al Tawil (2021, 181)

- (68) 'anti m-anti fāhma lamma agūl
PN.2FSG NEG-PN.2FSG understand.PTCP when 1SG.say.IPFV
'You, you do not understand when I say [...]'
Al Tawil (2021, 181)

In the dialect of the N'ēm, negation of non-verbal predicates is constantly expressed using the *š* negator (73b).

Existential negation in the Sirḥān dialect is encountered as *ma fi*:

- (69) ma fi nās min barra
NEG there is people from outside
'There are no people from abroad.'
Al Tawil (2021, 175)

Existential negation in the N'ēm dialect is encountered as *ma bī*:

- (70) ma bī zēt nabātī
NEG there is oil vegetal
'There is no vegetal oil.'
Al Tawil (2021, 178)

The š negator

In the N'ēm, negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect (71) and negation of pseudo-verbal (72) predicates is also formed with bipartite negation *ma...š*.

- (71) ma gđirt-š 'a'īš bi-zərga ani
NEG 1SG.can.PFV-NEG 1SG.live.IPFV in-Zarqa PN.1SG
'Personally, I could not live in Zarqa.'
Al Tawil (2021, 184)

- (72) ma 'and-hā-š aḥwān
NEG have-PN.3FSG-NEG brothers
'Does she not have brothers?'
Al Tawil (2021, 183)

In the Sirḥān, negation of non-verbal predicates is also attested with *muš* (73a) and *miš*, while in the N'ēm, negation of non-verbal predicates is always formed with the negative marker *miš* (73b).

- (73a) fi 'in-na kṭīr šaġlāt muš bass hāy
there is at-PN.1PL many things NEG only this
'There are a lot of things here, not just these.'
Al Tawil (2021, 181)

- (73b) miš miṭil il-mudun
NEG like ART-cities
'[...] not like cities.'
Al Tawil (2021, 183)

Existential negation in the Sirḥān is also occasionally attested as *fīš* (74), while in the N'ēm it is attested both in the bipartite negation *ma bīš* (75a), and the postverbal negation *bīš* (75b).

(74) *fī-š* *muškile*
 there is-NEG problem
 ‘There is no problem.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 176)

(75a) *ma bī-š* *ṭallāḡāt*
 NEG there is-NEG fridges
 ‘There were no fridges.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 178)

(75b) *bī-š* *hōna*
 there is-NEG here
 ‘There aren’t any here.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 179)

In the Sirḥān, existential negation in the past is also expressed as *ma kānš fi*:

(76) *ma kān-š* *fi* *ṭallāḡa wala* *fi* *ḡassāla*
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV-NEG there is fridge NegCONJ there is washing machine
wala *ši*
 NegCONJ thing
 ‘There were no fridges, nor washing machines, nor anything.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 176)

The negative particle lā/la

In the Sirḥān, the negative particle *lā/la* is encountered in negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates (existential negation) and non-verbal predicates as *la...wala* (77a), *bala...bala* (77b), or in asyndetic coordination with both *la* and *ma* (77c).

(77a) ma fī la badla wala ši
 NEG there is NEG suit NegCONJ thing
 ‘There was nothing, neither a dress nor anything.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 182)

(77b) ṣaḥra al-bilād hādi bala ši bala ši ḡār
 desert ART-countries this NegCONJ thing NegCONJ thing neighbor
 bala mayya bala ši al-bidu bass bānyu
 NegCONJ water NegCONJ thing ART-Bedouin only 3MPL.build.PFV
 buyūt-ham
 houses-PN.3MPL
 ‘These villages were desert, there was nothing, nothing close, neither water nor
 anything, just the Bedouins, they built their houses.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 182)

(77c) la fī baṭāṭa la fī diḡāḡ ma fī ši
 NEG there is potato NEG there is chicken NEG there is thing
 ‘There were neither potatoes nor chicken, there was nothing.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 182)

In the N‘ēm, *lā/la* is encountered in negative coordination structures with
 different types of predicates, as *la...wala*:

(78) la fī bāṣ wala kān iši
 NEG there is bus NegCONJ 3MSG.be.PFV thing
 ‘There was neither a bus nor anything.’
 Al Tawil (2021, 185)

3.3.9 Heikki Palva: ‘Aḡārma (Jordan)

Palva (1976, 1978), based on his research on the dialect of the ‘Aḡārma tribe in the
 Balqā’ district of central Jordan, concludes that this variety belongs to the ‘little
 nomads’ of Syro-Mesopotamia (Šāwi), although it is also affected by the sedentary

Balgāwi, and by Palestinian dialects. The following data come from Palva's (1976, 1978) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (79a), and perfective (79b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (80) are negated by *mā/ma*.

(79a) ma yəqdar yəṣīr əbdəwi
 NEG 3MSG.can.IPFV 3MSG.become.IPFV Bedouin
 '[...] could not become a Bedouin.'
 Palva (1976, 64)

(79b) w-lən-čān hāḏa l-kalām hāḏa mā
 CONJ-COND-3MSG.be.PFV this ART-word this NEG
 təbat
 3MSG.be certain.PFV
 'But if this talk is not true [...]'
 Palva (1976, 56)

(80) ma mə'-i 'amər ġeyr 'aqṭa' rās-ak
 NEG have-PN.1SG order except 1SG.cut.IPFV head-PN.2MSG
 'I have no order other than to cut your head.'
 Palva (1978, 28)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* (81), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (82).

(81a) la' ma 'alē-k bās
 no NEG on-PN.2MSG harm
 'No, you have nothing to worry about.'
 Palva (1976, 74)

(81b) ma nās yəṭ'am-ak

NEG people 3MSG.feed.IPFV-PN.2MSG

‘Nobody would feed you.’

Palva (1976, 78)

- (82) ‘ād ’ana mā-ni nāšd-ak ’an
3MSG.return.PFV PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG ask.PTCP-PN.2MSG about
əṭ-ṭarīg
ART-way

‘Actually, I have not asked you about the way.’

Palva (1976, 72)

In (82), we find again ‘*ād* (lit. ‘to return’) which we already encountered in (12a) as an emphasiser. According to Palva (1976, 39), ‘*ād* is used by the ‘Ağārma tribe as an adverb meaning ‘again’, ‘now’ or ‘then’. However, in (82) it is rather interpreted as an emphasiser.

Existential negation is encountered as *ma bi* and *ma fih*:

- (83a) ma bī-ha nās ġēr rā’i wāḥad
NEG there is-PN.3FSG people except shepherd one
‘There was no one in the region but one shepherd.’
Palva (1976, 68)

- (83b) ma fih ṭəbūb
NEG there is doctors
‘There were no doctors [...].’
Palva (1978, 28)

Exceptive constructions are attested as *ma... ġeyr/ ġēr* (80, 83a).

The š negator

In general, the *š* negator is absent in Palva’s (1976, 1978) material, except for some very few cases, characterised by Palva as K-forms (koineised forms), where it is

encountered in the non-verbal negative marker *məš* (84), and the bipartite existential negation *ma fišš* (85).

- (84) *məš əkwayyes*
NEG good
‘[...] not very good.’
Palva (1976, 68)

- (85) *ma fi-šš mīt sana*
NEG there is-NEG hundred year
‘[...] less than a hundred years ago.’
Palva (1976, 92)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing indirect prohibition:

- (86) *rāy-i ‘ənn-ak la təbayyen*
opinion-PN.1SG to-PN.2MSG NEG 2MSG.reveal.IPFV
‘[...] my advice: you should not reveal yourself.’
Palva (1976, 84)

Additionally, *lā* is used in the negative imperative:

- (87) *lā təš‘aru bī-ha*
NEG 2MPL.be aware of.IPFV with-PN.3FSG
‘Do not let her know (of this).’
Palva (1976, 56)

lā is also encountered in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates, as *lā...wala*.

- (88) *lā kānat məmlaka wala rayyes wala ġēr-o*

NEG 3FSG.be.PFV kingdom NegCONJ president NegCONJ other-PN.3MSG
 ‘There was no kingdom there, no president either, nothing like that.’
 Palva (1976, 72)

Wala is additionally encountered in the distinctive form *wala nās* (89), with the meaning ‘nobody’. In this case, *wala* looks like a negative scalar *wala*, but it cannot be considered as such since the indefinite noun is in a collective form, and the same case is also encountered with the negative particle *ma* (81b). It is therefore considered as a negation *wala*.

(89) *wala nās yaḏker*
 NEG people 3MSG.mention.IPFV
 ‘Nobody is allowed to mention...’
 Palva (1976, 82)

3.3.10 Heikki Palva: *Bani Şaḥar* (Jordan)

Based on his study on the Bani Şaḥar Bedouin tribe in Al-Lubban village of central Jordan, Palva (1980) concludes that the prominent features of this dialect belong to the “great nomads” of the Şammar group, while the features of the C (Syro-Mesopotamian) group attested in the dialect are considered by Palva as adopted koine forms. The data provided in Palva’s (1980) study about negation are very limited. Negation of verbal predicates is formed with the negative particle *mā/ma*. Existential negation is encountered as *mā fih*, and negation of non-verbal predicates is encountered with the negative marker *mīy*. The negative particle *lā/la* is attested only in the negation *wala*, used in emphatic negation with ‘*umr*.

3.3.11 Antonella Torzullo: *Bani ‘Abbād* (Jordan)

Recently, Torzullo (2022b) studied the tribe of the Bani ‘Abbād (‘Abbabīd) in central Jordan, and concluded that this is a mixed variety, exhibiting features both from the Şāwi dialect group, and from sedentary varieties, like the sedentary non-verbal negative marker *miš* for instance. The following data come from Torzullo’s (2022b) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (90a), and perfective (90b) aspect are negated by *mā/ma*.

- (90a) 'ani ma hibb-o al-gatū
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.love.IPFV-PN.3MSG ART-cake
'I don't like the cake.'
Torzullo (2022b, 8)

- (90b) 'ida enta ma hazzēt al-finġān
COND PN.2MSG NEG 2MSG.shake.PFV ART-cup
'If you don't shake the cup [...]'
Torzullo (2022b, 11)

Negation of non-verbal is occasionally formed with *ma* (91), and *mū* (92), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (93). According to Torzullo (2022b), in the Bani 'Abbād variety, *mā/ma* and *mū* seem to be gradually replaced by *miš*.

- (91) 'ašā'ir al-ġanūb lā' mā bēnn-na u bēn-hum
tribes ART-south no NEG between-PN.1PL CONJ between-PN.3MPL
mašākil
problems
'There were no problems between us and the tribes of the South.'
Torzullo (2022b, 12)

- (92) mū dabka
NEG dabka
'[...] not the dabka'
Torzullo (2022b, 12)

- (93) 'ana mā-ni sami'
PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG listen.PTCP
'I am not listening.'

Torzullo (2022b, 8)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā fi*:

- (94) ḥuḍār mā fi
vegetables NEG there is
‘[...] there were no vegetables.’
Torzullo (2022b, 10)

The š negator

The negative marker *miš* (95a) appears as the dominant non-verbal negative marker in the tribe of Bani ‘Abbād, while *muš* (95b) is much less often used.

- (95a) miš ḍahab
NEG gold
‘[...] not gold.’
Torzullo (2022b, 13)

- (95b) muš al-kull mirtāḥ
NEG ART-all wealthy
‘We are not all wealthy.’
Torzullo (2022b, 13)

The bipartite existential negation *mā fiš* is mostly encountered among younger speakers:

- (96) mā fi-š ma‘-o mašāri
NEG there is-NEG have-PN.3MSG money
‘He has no money.’
Torzullo (2022b, 13)

The negative particle lā/la

In Torzullo's (2022b) study, the only instance of *lā/la* is attested in negation of non-verbal predicates, where *lā/la* is preceded by the conjunction *wa* as below:

- (97) 'alwēh ani min 'arab hadla u la min ḥaḍa
if only PN.1SG from Arabs Hadla CONJ NEG from 3MSG.take.PFV
garāyib-ha
relative-PN.3FSG
'I wish I was of the people of Hadla and not of those who took her relatives.'
Torzullo (2022b, 10)

3.3.12 Raslan Bani Yasin and Jonathan Owens: Al-Bdūl (Jordan)

Bani Yasin and Owens (1984) describe the Bdūl dialect of Petra, in Jordan. In their study, they argue that the Bdūl dialect appears to be closer to Negev Bedouin Arabic than to any other Jordanian variety in the area. The following data come from Bani Yasin and Owens's (1984) material and observations.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (98a) and perfective (98b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (99) is formed with *mā*.

- (98a) mā b-igdarow b'adēn isīru fī-hin
NEG b-3MPL.can.IPFV then 3MPL.go.IPFV in-PN.3FPL
'They can't then travel to them.'
Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 224)

- (98b) ana waḷḷa mā ḡīt-hin
PN.1SG by God NEG 1SG.come.PFV-PN.3FPL
'I haven't visited (the house units).'
Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 229)

- (99) mā 'ind-ak bināt
 NEG have-PN.2MSG girls
 'You don't have daughters.'
 Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 223)

Negation of non-verbal predicates is attested with *mā* (100) and *mu* (101), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (102).

- (100) mā ṣahḥ l-i aḡī-hin
 NEG right for-PN.1SG 1SG.come.IPFV-PN.3FPL
 '[...] and I don't think it right to do so (to visit them).'
- Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 229)

- (101) al-waḡut mu siwa
 ART-time NEG equal
 'Time is not the same.'
 Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 223)

- (102) m-iḥna sāyrīn fī-ha
 NEG-PN.1PL move forward.PCTP in-PN.3FSG
 'We are not going to it.'
 Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 224)

In the Bdūl dialect of Jordan, existential negation is encountered as *ma fī*:

- (103) halḥīn ma fī mišākil ḡar mišākil aš-šugul
 now NEG there is problems except problems ART-work
 'Now there aren't any problems except the problems of work.'
 Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 223)

Exceptive constructions are attested as *ma... ḡar* (103).

The š negator

The *š* negator is occasionally attested in *mā/ma fīš*, considered by Bani Yasin and Owens (1984) as an alternative form of existential negation. Moreover, non-verbal predicates are commonly negated by *muš*, as in the example below:

- (104) ‘āylāt kbār muš ušgār
families big NEG small
‘The families are big, not small.’
Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 223)

The negative particle lā/la

The use of the negative particle *lā* with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect is restrictively encountered after verbs that could be characterised as negative (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984, 224), like *baṭṭal* (to stop/quit) or *mana‘a* (to forbid), the latter introducing an indirect prohibition:

- (105a) baṭṭalna lā ni‘tibir fī-ha
1PL.stop.PFV NEG 1PL.care.IPFV in-PN.3FSG
‘We stopped caring about it.’
Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 224)

- (105b) mana‘ow-na lā nibni grayyib wala bi‘īd
3MPL.forbid.PFV-PN.1PL NEG 1PL.build.IPFV near NegCONJ far
‘They have stopped us from building anywhere.’
Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 224)

In the above example, *lā* is however used in a negative coordination structure, therefore it could precede a verbal predicate even without the verb *mana‘a*.

lā is more frequently used in negative coordination structures with verbal (106a), and non-verbal (106b) predicates as *lā...wala*.

- (106a) lā ‘asrah wala arūh wala aḡi

NEG 1SG.herd.IPFV NegCONJ 1SG.go.IPFV NegCONJ 1SG.come.IPFV

‘I will neither herd (animals) nor go nor come.’

Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 224)

(106b) ‘ādit-na yal-bedu mu zay as-sāmīr lā šibbābi

custom-PN.1PL ART-bedouin NEG like ART-samir NEG flute

wala dabki

NegCONJ dabki

‘Our Bedouin customs do not have a great deal of singing and dancing, neither flute nor dabki²⁴.’

Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 224)

The form *wala nās* (attested in Palva 1976) is also attested in the Bdūl:

(107) mā fī wala nās al-aṭfāl allī ‘ind-na

NEG there is NEG people ART-children which have-PN.1PL

‘[...] don’t we have children [...]?’

Bani Yasin and Owens (1984, 229)

3.3.13 Kaarlo Yrttiaho: *An-N‘ēmāt* (Jordan)

Yrttiaho (1988) describes the dialect of the N‘ēmāt tribe from the Šarā mountains of the southern Jordan and argues that this is a mixed variety of Bedouin and fellāḥi (peasant) features. The following data come from Yrttiaho’s (1988) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (108a) and the perfective aspect (108b) are negated by *mā/ma*.

(108a) ma b-na‘rif-hin

NEG b-1PL.know.IPFV-PN.3FPL

²⁴ Type of folk dance

‘We did not know them.’

Yrttiaho (1988, 152)

(108b) *iḍa ma liḡēt miḥšāga*

COND NEG 2MSG.find.PFV spoon

‘If you did not find a spoon [...]’

Yrttiaho (1988, 155)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū/mu* (109), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (110).

(109) *mu zeyy luḡā-na*

NEG like language-PN.1PL

‘Their language is not like ours.’

Yrttiaho (1988, 157)

(110) *amma l-byūt m-iḥna tārkin-hin*

but ART-houses NEG-PN.1PL leave.PTCP-PN.3FPL

‘But we have not left the tents.’

Yrttiaho (1988, 158)

Existential negation is encountered as *ma fī*:

(111) *ḍik alḥin mā fī bābūr kahroba*

that now NEG there is machine electricity

‘At that time there was no electric mill.’

Yrttiaho (1988, 153)

The š negator

The *š* negator is rarely encountered in the negation of verbal and non-verbal predicates, used only by younger speakers. When it occurs with verbal predicates, it is used with the *b-* indicative in postverbal (112) or bipartite negation. When it occurs with non-verbal predicates, it is used in *muš* (113) or *miš*.

- (112) b-i'rfū-š šī-hi l-girbe
 b-3MPL.IPFV-NEG what-PN.3FSG ART-girbe
 'They do not know what a girbe²⁵ is.'
 Yrttiaho (1988, 151)

- (113) la muš ḥulla
 no NEG ḥulla
 'No, it is not a ḥulla²⁶.'
 Yrttiaho (1988, 158)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, as a preventive marker:

- (114) yuḡuḍbu iṭm-u la yiḥki
 3MPL.plug.IPFV mouth-PN.3MSG NEG 3MSG.spek.IPFV
 'They plugged his mouth so that he could not shout.'
 Yrttiaho (1988, 157)

In negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates, *lā* is attested as *lā...wala*:

- (115) la'ann-u ma b-ūḡad lā ṭallāḡe walā
 because-PN.3MSG NEG b-3MSG.exist.IPFV NEG refrigerator NegCONJ
 iši
 thing
 'That was because you did not have a refrigerator or anything.'
 Yrttiaho (1988, 152)

²⁵ Water bottle.

²⁶ Special area of the tent reserved for the bride (Jausen 1908, 54).

3.3.14 Heikki Palva: *Al-Ḥwēṭāt (Jordan)*

Palva (1984–86) analyses the features of the Ḥwēṭāt dialect –the Ibn Ḡāzi branch of the Abu Tāyeh clan in southern Jordan and the ‘Umērāt clan in Northwest Saudi Arabia. Further studies on the dialect of the Ḥwēṭāt are conducted by Palva (2004) in Wādi Ram, southern Jordan. The following material comes from Palva’s (1984–86, 2004) studies and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (116), as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (117) are negated by *mā/ma*:

- (116a) ‘ind al-yōm allī ma nḥibb al-ḥubiz
in ART-day when NEG 1PL.love.IPFV ART-bread
‘In days when we don’t like to eat (only) bread.’
Palva (2004, 202)

- (116b) hāḍī mā tuḥallal ‘illa ‘ašayrīyan ‘indi-na
this NEG 3FSG.be settled.IPFV except tribal at-PN.1PL
‘In our society, these cases are always settled according to tribal law.’
Palva (2004, 207)

- (117) mā l-al-ḥwēṭāt mišrad
NEG have-ART-Ḥwēṭāt escape
‘The Ḥwēṭāt had no way out.’
Palva (2004, 201)

Negation of non-verbal predicates is attested with *mā/ma* (116), *mū* and *mī*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

- (118) ‘ana ma gāṭī‘
PN.1SG NEG finish.PTCP
‘I’m not finished.’

(Palva, 2004, 206)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā/ma fī*.

The negative particle lā/la

The negative imperative is formed with *lā/la*:

(119) la tīgaʿ
NEG 2MSG.fall.IPFV
‘Don’t fall!’
Palva (1984–86, 300)

3.3.15 *Bassil Mohammad Mousa Al-Mashaqba: Az-Zawāyda and Az-Zalābya*
(Jordan)

Based on his field research in the desert of Wadi Ram in southern Jordan, Al-Mashaqba (2015) analyses the features of the dialect of the Zawāyda and the Zalābya tribes. Al-Mashaqba concludes that Wadi Ram Arabic seems to be closer to the Negev-type dialects, while at the same time, it could form a transitional area between Eastern and Western Bedouin dialect groups. The following data come from Al-Mashaqba’s (2015) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (120a) and the perfective aspect (120b) is formed with *mā/ma*.

(120a) ma trāfig-ni la-ṣ-ṣayd
NEG 2MSG.accompany.IPFV-PN.1SG for-ART-hunting
‘Won’t you accompany me for hunting?’
Al-Mashaqba (2015, 216)

(120b) ʾabū-y ʾatbān ʾalē-k alli ma

father-PN.1SG reproach.PTCP on-PN.2MSG that NEG

zurt-ah f-al-mustašfa

2MSG.visit.PFV-PN.3MSG in-ART-hospital

‘My father is reproaching you (that) you did not visit him in the hospital.’

Al-Mashaqba (2015, 215)

In (120a), we can observe that *mā/ma* with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect is interpreted as a question in the present or future, which expresses a suggestion rather than a negation (Al-Mashaqba, 2015, 216).

The negative imperative is also attested with *mā/ma*:

(121) ma tkallim ḥada

NEG 2MSG.talk.IPFV one

‘Do not speak to anybody!’

Al-Mashaqba (2015, 164)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā* (122), and *mū* (123), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

(122) ba‘aḍ nās mā-l-ha ḥtirām

some people NEG-to-PN.3FSG respect

‘Some people do not deserve respect.’

Al-Mashaqba (2015, 205)

(123) hāḍa ḥaḍḍ-ah mū mzabbṭah

this luck-PN.3MSG NEG right.PCTP

‘It doesn’t have a good luck.’

Al-Mashaqba (2015, 292)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā fth*.

The š negator

Negation of non-verbal predicates is additionally attested with *muš*:

- (124) muš fi-wādi ramm
 NEG in-Wadi Ram
 ‘[...] is not found in Wadi Ram.’
 Al-Mashaqba (2015, 292)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative imperative is also formed with *lā*:

- (125) lā tākul f-īd-ak al-yasār
 NEG 2MSG.eat.IPFV in-hand-PN.2MSG ART-left
 ‘Do not eat with you left hand!’
 Al-Mashaqba (2015, 164)

3.3.16 *Qasim Hassan: The ḡalāt dialects of southern Iraq*

Hassan (2020) divides the *ḡalāt* dialects into the *šrūḡi* and *non-šrūḡi* dialectal areas, the former including the varieties spoken by Shī‘a Muslims in southern Iraq and the Middle Euphrates area, and the latter including the varieties spoken by Sunni Muslims in the northern and western parts of Iraq. Hassan (2016, 2023) provides recent data on negation in Šrūḡi Arabic of southern Iraq, that will be presented below.

The negative particles mā/ma, mū, ‘ēb²⁷ and ‘īb

Negation of verbal predicates is encountered with the negative particles *mā* (126), *‘ēb* (127) and *‘īb* (128), although *‘īb* seems to be restricted in some marshland tribes.

- (126) mā arīd ašūf-ak ihnā
 NEG 1SG.want.IPFV 1SG.see.IPFV-PN.2MSG here
 ‘I do not want to see you here.’
 Hassan (2016, 305)

²⁷ Literally meaning ‘shame’, the noun *‘ēb* is encountered in the Marshland Iraqi dialect as a negative marker (Ingham 2000, 128).

(127) ‘ēb ašūfann-ak²⁸
 NEG 1SG.see.IPFV-PN.2MSG
 ‘I do not see you.’
 Hassan (2023, 6)

(128) ‘īb adrī bī-hum
 NEG 1SG.know.IPFV in-PN.3MPL
 ‘I do not know anything about them.’
 Hassan (2023, 6)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū*:

(129) mū ḥazzūra hāi itrīd tafsīr
 NEG puzzle this 3FSG.want.IPFV interpretation
 ‘That is not a puzzle which needs an interpretation.’
 Hassan (2016, 305)

Existential negation is encountered as *māmin*, and *māku*.

(130) w kil-ha gālat m-ākū ġēr-ak rāqī
 CONJ all-PN.3FSG 3FSG.say.PFV NEG-there is except-PN.2MSG gentle
 ‘All of them say there is no one more gentle than you.’
 Hassan (2016, 305)

The š negator

Bipartite negation with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as *mā...š* (131) and ‘ēb...š (132) is attested only in *šrūgi* dialectal areas:

(131) mā-yiḥtirim-hā-ūš dōm
 NEG-3MSG.respect.IPFV-PN.3MSG-NEG never

²⁸ The infix *-an(n)-* in verbal predicates of the imperfective aspect is a feature attested in the *Šrūgi* dialectal area, while it is also adopted by *qeltu* and *qəlat* colloquial poetry in western and northern Iraq (Hassan 2021, 204). See also Ingham (2000) and Holes (2011).

‘He never respects him.’

Hassan (2023, 11)

(132) ‘ēb aširb-īš

NEG 1SG.drink.IPFV-NEG

‘I do not drink.’

Hassan (2023, 10)

Non-verbal predicates are also negated by *muš* (133), while the bipartite negation *mā* + PN + *š* (134) is attested only in *šrūgi* dialectal areas.

(133) šuḥbat mašlaḥa mūš il-ḥawiya

friendship interest NEG ART-brotherhood

‘A friendship for interest, not for brotherhood.’

Hassan (2016, 303)

(134) mā-hū-š ihnā

NEG-PN.3MSG-NEG here

‘He is not here.’

Hassan (2016, 304)

Pronouns are also negated by prefixation of *m-* with or without the use of the suffix *-š* as *māniyyā(š)/mānī(š)* etc.²⁹ Existential negation with the *š* negator is attested as *mākuš* only among younger speakers.

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is also encountered as *māmiš*³⁰, as below:

(135) mā-mi-š ḥabar

NEG-from-thing news

²⁹ For a complete list see Hassan (2023, 11).

³⁰ *mā min šay* (Holes 2016, 111, 2018, 121)

‘[...] there are no news.’

Hassan (2016, 304)

The negative particle lā/la

Apart from the existential negation, which is also attested as *lāku* in negative coordination structures, Hassan (2016, 2023) does not mention other uses of the negative particle *lā*.

3.3.17 Stephan Procházka: Bani Yūsif and As-Siyāla (Turkey)

Procházka (2013) studies the dialect of the Arabic, Bedouin dialect spoken in the Harran-Urfa region of Southeastern Turkey. The studied variety is part of the Šāwi dialects, and the studied tribes are Bani Yūsif and As-Siyāla. Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* are not encountered in Procházka’s (2013) study. The following data come from Procházka’s (2013) conclusions and material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective (136a), and the perfective (136b) aspect.

(136a) *mā ndall*³¹

NEG 1PL.know.IPFV

‘We don’t know.’

Procházka (2013, 209)

(136b) *mā šifit*

NEG 1SG.see.PFV

‘I have not seen (it).’

Procházka (2013, 209)

³¹ Literally meaning ‘to show, to lead’, the verb *dall(a)* is also attested in Ingham (2013) with the meaning ‘to know’.

mā is also encountered in the adverbial construction *mā ʿād*, as below:

- (137) *mā ʿād yʿarif*
NEG 3MSG.return.PFV 3MSG.know.IPFV
‘He no longer knew [...]’
Procházka (2013, 212)

Negation of non-verbal predicates is encountered with the negative marker *mū*:

- (138) *mū al-ʿkbār*
NEG ART-seniors
‘Not the older ones.’
Procházka (2013, 209)

Existential negation is attested as *māmin*:

- (139) *māmin šī*
ExistNEG thing
‘There is nothing...’
Procházka (2013, 208)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is also attested as *māmiš* (*mā min šay*, literally meaning ‘not from thing’), while *šī* is encountered in Urfa Bedouin dialects as an existential marker ‘there is’ (Procházka, 2003, 85, and 2013, 206).

- (140) *wāštāt māmiš*
means ExistNEG
‘[...] there was no transportation.’
Procházka (2013, 209)

3.3.18 *Stephan Procházka and İsmail Batan: Bani 'İğil (Turkey)*

Further studies on the dialect of the Harran-Urfa region of Southeastern Turkey, in the city of Şanlıurfa, are carried out by Procházka and Batan (2022). The studied variety is part of the Šāwi dialects, and the studied tribe is Bani 'İğil. The following data come from Procházka's and Batan's (2022) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (141a), and the perfective (141b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (142) are negated by *mā*.

- (141a) al-pepsi-kōla mā nišrab-ha 'abad
ART-pepsi-kola NEG 1PL. drink.IPFV-PN.3FSG never
'We don't drink Pepsi Cola. Never!'
Procházka, and Batan (2022, 321)

- (141b) mā ḍall ḥada ybarqil
NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV one 3MSG.make bulgur.IPFV
'Nobody makes bulgur.'
Procházka, and Batan (2022, 325)

- (142) hā 'awwali mā 'id-ne iḥne mardiwānāt³²
this first NEG have-PN.1PL PN.1PL staircase
'In former times we had no stairs [...]'
Procházka, and Batan (2022, 324)

The negative particle *mā* is also used in the adverbial construction *mā 'ād* 'no longer':

- (143) mā 'ād ḥade ybarqil
NEG 3MSG.return.PFV one 3MSG.make bulgur.IPFV

³² 'Staircase' in Turkish (Procházka, and Batan, 2022, 324)

‘[...] and no longer make bulgur.’

Procházka, and Batan (2022, 325)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū* (144a) and *mī* (144b) –although in (144b) *mī* is used as a constituent negator.

(144a) *mū miṭīl awwali*

NEG like first

‘[...] is not like it was in former times.’

Procházka, and Batan (2022, 325)

(144b) *al mī maṭbūḥa*

ART NEG cooked.PTCP

‘[...] that is not cooked.’

Procházka, and Batan (2022, 324)

Existential negation is encountered as *māmin*.

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is also encountered as *māmiš* (*mā min šay*), while the existential particle used in Bani ‘Iḡil is *šī*.

The negative particle lā/la

Negative coordination structures with different types of predicates are attested as *lā...walā*.

(145) *’al-guṭun lā ngūl li-’alīḡt-u farde walā*

ART-cotton NEG 1PL.say.IPFV for-’alīḡt-PN.3MSG farde NegCONJ

kīse

kīse

‘When it is for cotton, we do not call it ‘alīḡe or farde or *kīse* [...]’

Procházka, and Batan (2022, 320)

3.3.19 Igor Younes and Bruno Herin: 'Atīğ (Lebanon)

Younes and Herin (2013, 2016) study the dialect of the 'Atīğ, a clan of the N'ēm (N'ēmāt) tribe, in Wādi Ḥālīd, Lebanon. The studied variety is part of the Šāwi dialects. Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* are not encountered in this study. The following data come from Younes's and Herin's conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (146a), and the perfective (146b) aspect are negated by the negative particle *ma*.

- (146a) *ma nbaddəl 'ādāt-na*
NEG 1PL.replace.IPFV customs-PN.1PL
'We won't replace our traditions [...]'
Younes and Herin (2013, 59)

- (146b) *ma ḡayyfū-na ghawā*
NEG 3MPL.give hospitality.PFV-PN.1PL coffee
'[...] they didn't offer us coffee [...]'
Younes and Herin (2013, 58)

The negative particle *mā* is also encountered in the negative imperative:

- (147) *mā tuğ'ud b-al-mičān nafs-o*
NEG 2MSG.sit.IPFV in-ART-place same-PN.3MSG
'Don't stay inside the place.'
Younes and Herin (2016, 6)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mō/mo* (148a) and *mī/mi* (148b), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* as *māni manta* etc.

- (148a) *mo mət̪l ad-dabčāt 'al-ḡḡəriyya*
NEG like ART-dabčāt ART-urban

‘It has nothing to do with the *dabċāt* of the sedentary people [...]

Younes and Herin (2013, 58)

- (148b) *law l-ōl-ha mi tagālīd-na w-‘ādāt-na*
COND to-first-PN.3FSG NEG traditions-PN.1PL CONJ-customs-PN.1PL
ḥəlwa w-mazyūna
beautiful CONJ-nice
‘If our traditions and customs were not originally beautiful and nice [...]

Younes and Herin (2013, 59)

Existential negation is attested as *ma bu*:

- (149) *w-gālaw la ma bu ṣuḥ*
CONJ-3MP.tell.PFV no NEG there is reconciliation
‘And they said no, there is no peace.’
Younes and Herin (2013, 52)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is used in the negative imperative:

- (150) *lā tgūl ‘aġi*
NEG 2MSG.say.IPFV ‘aġi
‘Don’t say ‘aġi.’
Younes and Herin (2016, 6)

The negative particle *lā* is used in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*:

- (151) *lā-hum rab‘-i walā ‘arif-hum*
NEG-PN.3MPL fellows-PN.1SG NegCONJ know.PTCP-PN.3MPL
‘Neither do I know them nor are they my fellows’.
Younes and Herin (2016, 6)

3.3.20 Igor Younes: 'Abu 'Īd (Lebanon)

Further studies are carried out by Younes (2014) in Lebanon, on the Bedouin dialect of the 'Abu 'Īd, clan of Ḥsāne tribe, at the Beqā valley. Younes (2014), concludes that this is a unique variety that exhibits features both from the 'Anizi and the Šāwi dialects. Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* are not encountered in this study. The following data come from Younes's (2014) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (152), and negation of pseudo-verbal predicates (153) is encountered with *mā*.

- (152) 'ana mā 'abī-h zōġan l-ī
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.want-PN.3MSG husband for-PN.1SG
'I don't want him for husband.'
Younes (2014, 370)

- (153) mā wədd-o ysāwi ḥarub
NEG want-PN.3MSG 3MSG.do.IPFV wars
'He did not want there to be any conflict [...]'
Younes (2014, 82)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mīy* (154) while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (155).

- (154) 'an-nifīla mīy gīyt aṭ-ṭabuḥ
ART-nifīla NEG of ART-kitchen
'The *nifīla*³³ is not that of the kitchen.'
Younes (2014, 379)

- (155a) ma-ni sāft-ak

³³ Fireplace in the Bedouin tent where the traditional Arabic coffee is prepared (Younes 2014, 381).

NEG-PN.1SG disturb.PTCP-PN.2MSG

‘I don’t want to disturb you.’

Younes (2014, 382)

(155b) ’aš-šēḥ mō-hu b-al-bēt mā bu ġēr al-gahuḡi

ART-sheikh NEG-PN.3MSG in-ART-house NEG there is except ART-coffee

‘The sheikh is not in the tent, there is only the coffee attendant.’

Younes (2014, 379)

Existential negation is attested as *mā bu* (155b).

3.3.21 *Judith Rosenhouse: Bedouin tribes of North Israel*

Rosenhouse (1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995) conducts a series of studies on the dialects of the Bedouin tribes of North Israel. Most of these tribes are settled and live in the Allonim-Shfar‘am Hills and other Bedouin villages around. The studied tribes are the ‘Arāmša, Ġrīfāt, Lhēb, Šibli, Mazārīb, Ḥuḡērāt, ‘Amariyya, Ḥaḡāḡra, Sa‘āida, Zbēdāt, Ka‘abiyya, Ḥilf, Sawā‘id, Zangariyya, ‘Arab Al-Ḥūla, N‘ēm, Mrēsāt, Šwētāt, Glētāt, Ḥawāled, and Ġanādi.

As stated by Rosenhouse (1984b), Bedouin dialects of North Israel are isolated for a long time from other Bedouin varieties while they are constantly in contact with sedentary Galilean varieties as well as the modern Hebrew language. Bedouins in North Israel are linguistically exposed to Literal Arabic during their education, to sedentary dialects within their work and their everyday life, and to Modern Hebrew when they are in contact with Hebrew-speaking communities. Although their dialects have undergone a process of leveling and koineisation, they still maintain many of their Bedouin phonological, morphological, and syntactic features, as well as lexical items. According to Rosenhouse (1984a,b) North Israel Bedouin dialects are mostly related to Cantineau’s C Group. The *š* negator appears as one of the prominent features that results from a morphological sedentarisation of the Bedouin dialects of North Israel.

The following data come from Rosenhouse’s (1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (156a), or the perfective aspect (156b), as well as negation of pseudo-verbal predicates (157), is formed with the negative particle *mā*.

(156a) mā tilzam ġēr l-ek
NEG 2FSG.fit.IPFV but to-PN.2MSG
‘She does not fit anyone but you [...]’
Rosenhouse (1984b, 198)

(156b) mā ligat nār
NEG 3FSG.find.PFV fire
‘She did not find fire.’
Rosenhouse (1982, 44)

(157) mā ‘and-ī šī^{yy}
NEG have-PN.1SG thing
‘I have not got anything.’
Rosenhouse (1984b, 208)

Non-verbal predicates are generally negated by *mā/ma* (158) *mū* (159), or *mī*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (160).

(158) mā ‘išī ‘a-bāl-i
NEG thing on-mind-PN.1SG
‘Nothing comes to my mind.’
Rosenhouse (1982, 45)

(159) mū hēna
NEG here
‘Not here.’
Rosenhouse (1982, 45)

- (160) m-inti b-‘arab-na
 NEG-2FSG in-Arabs-PN.1PL
 ‘You are not of our tribe.’
 Rosenhouse (1982, 45)

Existential negation is attested as *mā bu* or *mā bī*:

- (161a) mā-bu doḥḥān
 NEG-there is smoke
 ‘There was no tobacco.’
 Rosenhouse (1983, 54)

- (161b) mā-bi ḥada əhnāk
 NEG-there is one there
 ‘[...] there was no one there [...]’
 Rosenhouse (1984b, 182)

The š negator

Less frequently, negation of non-verbal predicates is formed with *muš* (162a), *miš* (162b) and *māš* (162c). Rosenhouse (1983, 1984b) concludes that the *š* negator, although absent in all Bedouin negation forms, can occasionally be observed as an impact of contact with sedentary varieties, a feature of koineisation or de-bedouinisation.

- (162a) iḍa muš mafhūm
 COND NEG be understood.PTCP
 ‘If it’s not understood.’
 Rosenhouse (1995, 63)

- (162b) bas hāḍa miš mazbūṭ
 but this NEG correct
 ‘But it was not correct.’
 Rosenhouse (1983, 56)

(162c) māš ṣaḥīḥ

NEG true

‘It is not true.’

Rosenhouse (1984b, 204)

Existential negation is also attested as *mafīš(š)* or *fīš*:

(163a) la ma-fī-šš

no NEG-there is-NEG

‘No, there isn’t any.’

Rosenhouse (1984b, 214)

(163b) fī-š ḥṣan min hēk b-al-marra

NEG better than that with-ART-time

‘There is no-one better than that at all.’

Rosenhouse (1984b, 226)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is occasionally used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in negative statements (164), while it is also attested as a preventive marker (165).

(164) u-hēn al-badu hādī la tazra^ʿ gaməḥ

CONJ-here ART-Bedouins these NEG 3FSG.sow.IPFV wheat

‘These Bedouins did not sow wheat [...]’

Rosenhouse (1983, 54)

(165) ṭalāte barra ya^ʿani yunuṭrūn min ḥōf

three outside 3MSG.mean.IPFV 3MPL.keep watch.IPFV from fear

u-min rā^ʿ-aṭ-ṭarš lā yəḥiss

CONJ-from shepherd-ART-flocks NEG 3MSG.realise.IPFV

‘[...] three remained outside, to keep watch from any fear or the shepherd so that he would not notice.’

Rosenhouse (1983, 60)

lā is additionally used in the negative imperative:

- (166) *lā trūḥ*
NEG 2MSG.go.IPFV
'Don't go!'
Rosenhouse (1984b, 125)

The negative particle *lā* is frequently attested in negative coordination structures with verbal (167a-c) and non-verbal (167d-e) predicates as *lā...wala*, asyndetic *lā...lā* (167c), or *wala...wala* (167d).

- (167a) *lā nidri wala nə'alem*
NEG 1PL.know.IPFV NegCONJ 1PL.know.IPFV
'We do not know anything at all.'
Rosenhouse (1983, 60)

- (167b) *lā rāḥ wala ġa*
NEG 3MSG.go.PFV NegCONJ 3MSG.come.PFV
'He neither went nor came.'
Rosenhouse (1984b, 125)

- (167c) *lā kənna ni'arəf al-bandūra lā ni'arəf*
NEG 1PL.be.PFV 1PL.know.IPFV ART-tomato NEG 1PL.know.IPFV
al-bīr lā ni'arif al-wiski lā ni'arif
ART-beer NEG 1PL.know.IPFV ART-whisky NEG 1PL.know.IPFV
al-'arag lā ni'arif al-gahwa lā ni'arif
ART-arak NEG 1PL.know.IPFV ART-coffee NEG 1PL.know.IPFV
aš-šāy
ART-tea
'We did not know what a tomato was, did not know beer, whisky or arak, we did not know coffee or tea.'
Rosenhouse (1983, 50)

- (167d) *wala hu 'amīn 'ala-ḥṣān wala hū 'amīn*

NegCONJ PN.3MSG secure on-horse NegCONJ PN.3MSG secure
 ‘ala ḥāl-o
 on state-PN.3MSG
 ‘He was not sure about his horse nor about himself.’
 Rosenhouse (1984b, 236)

(167e) ma lē-na lā ’omm wala ’abu
 NEG have-PN.1PL NEG mother NegCONJ father
 ‘[...] we have no mother or father [...]’
 Rosenhouse (1984b, 180)

In (167c), it is important to note the use of *kān* and to distinguish between its different functions. Here, it functions as an auxiliary finite verb with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, where the subject of *kān* agrees with the subject of the main verb of the sentence (*kān yaf‘al*), expressing a progressive or habitual action in the past. Another use of *kān* is that of an uninflected temporal marker of the past that functions as an independent temporal frame (Brustad 2000). This is often the case of *kān* in sentence-initial position of a narrative, introducing a narration in the past (Henkin 2010). According to Henkin (2010, 45), the use of *kān* as a temporal marker of the past is absent in pure Bedouin dialects, though it is used in some Bedouin varieties as a feature of sedentarisation. The third use of *kān* is that of the copula finite verb ‘to be’.

Wala is also attested as a negative scalar *wala*, in negative concord constructions as the following:

(168) mā liga wala wāḥad šēlō šēlō
 NEG 3MSG.find.PFV NegSFP one at all at all
 ‘He did not find anyone at all.’
 Rosenhouse (1984b, 208)

Furthermore, the negative particle *lā* is attested in Rosenhouse (1984b), ‘with a shade of Literary Arabic’ (Rosenhouse 1984b, 124) in the modal expression *lā budd* ‘of necessity’:

- (169) u-lā budd ma ykūn l-walad hāḍa ykūn
 CONJ-NEG escape CONJ 3MSG.be.IPFV ART-boy this 3MSG.be.IPFV
 'aḥū-na
 brother-PN.1PL
 'And of necessity, this boy must be our brother.'
 Rosenhouse (1984b, 124)

Finally, *lā/la* is encountered in the adverbial construction *la 'ād (wala 'ād)* meaning 'no longer/anymore':

- (170) wa-la 'ād yit'arraḥ 'alē
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.return.PFV 3MSG.introduce.IPFV on
 '[...] and he did not introduce her anymore.'
 Rosenhouse (1984b, 190)

3.3.22 *Yehuda Katz: Ar-Rašāyda (Palestine)*

Katz (1980) describes the dialect of the Rašāyda tribe of the Judean desert, at the West Bank. The dialect of the Rašāyda seems to be closer to the Negev-type dialects (Rosenhouse 1984a). The following data come from Katz's (1980) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (171a-b) and the perfective aspect (171c), as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (172) are negated by *mā/ma*.

- (171a) mā yḥallū-k
 NEG 1PL.leave.IPFV-PN.2MSG
 'They will not leave you.'
 Katz (1980, 79)

- (171b) ma ydawwruw ġēr aṣ-ṣubīḥ
 NEG 3MPL.search.IPFV except ART-morning
 'They didn't search but in the morning.'

Katz (1980, 67)

- (171c) mā ḡall ma‘-ah wala ḡāḡah
NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV with-PN.3MSG NegCONJ thing
‘Nothing remained to him.’

Katz (1980, 75)

- (172) mā m‘ā-hum ḡēr al-guṣṣēb
NEG have-PN.3MPL except ART-reed
‘They had nothing but a reed.’

Katz (1980, 67)

We also can observe the exceptive constructions formed with *ḡēr* in (171b) and (172), and with *illa* in (173b).

Pronouns are negated by *mā* (173a), also by prefixation of *m-* (173b-c).

- (173a) halḡīn mā hūh b-bāl-ah aṣ-ṣēd
at that time NEG PN.3MSG in-mind-PN.3MSG ART-hunting
‘At that time, hunting was not in his mind.’

Katz (1980, 71)

- (173b) mu-hum min ṡāniy illa mn-ar-raṣāydaḡ
NEG-PN.3MSG from second except from-ART-Raṣāyda
‘They are not from another (tribe) but from the Raṣāyda.’

Katz (1980, 67)

- (173c) mā-niy ḡāfiḡ minn-ha ṣiy kiṡr
NEG-PN.1SG memorise.PTCP from-PN.3FSG thing much
‘I don’t remember much from her.’

Katz (1980, 71)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā b-*:

- (174) mā b-hum ḡōf

NEG there is-PN.3MPL fault
'There is no fault in them [...]
Katz (1980, 81)

The š negator

Non-verbal predicates are rarely negated by the negative marker *muš*, as in the example below:

(175) *muš mawğūdīn hānah*
NEG exist.PTCP here
'They were not here.'
Katz (1980, 77)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative expressions preceded by the negation *wala*, as the following:

(176) *wala yumkun*
NEG 3MSG.be possible.IPFV
'It's out of the question.'
Katz (1980, 77)

Lā is additionally attested in negation of non-verbal predicates, preceded by the conjunction *wa*, as below:

(177) *fiḥ hū wa-la fi-kuw intuw kull-kuw*
in PN.3MSG CONJ-NEG in-PN.2MPL PN.2MPL all-PN.2MPL
'[...] him and not all of you!'
Katz (1980, 79)

The negative imperative is only attested once in the studied material, formed with *balāš*:

- (178) balāš timšiy
 NEG 2MSG.walk.IPFV
 ‘[...] don’t go [...]’
 Katz (1980, 77)

Pronouns can be also negated by prefixation of *lā/la* as *laniy*, *lant*, *lahuw*. Furthermore, the negative scalar *wala* is attested in negative concord constructions as the following:

- (179) wala wāḥad ysāwiy ghawah
 NegSFP one 3MSG.make.IPFV coffee
 ‘None of you should make coffee.’
 Katz (1980, 77)

Moreover, negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal (180a) or non-verbal (180b) predicates are attested as *lā...wala*:

- (180a) lā ma‘a-hum slāḥ wala mi‘-hum šiy
 NEG have-PN.3MPL weapons NegCONJ have-PN.3MPL thing
 ‘[...] they had neither weapons nor anything.’
 Katz (1980, 67)

- (180b) ma ḥalla lā ḥadīdah wala ḥašibah
 NEG 3MSG.leave.PFV NEG iron NegCONJ wood
 ‘He neither left iron nor wood.’
 Katz (1980, 75)

In Katz’s (1980) material, the modal expression *lā badd* ‘no choice’ is also encountered. Finally, negation as a negative response is attested as *lā*, while it is more emphatically expressed by *la’*, and *lah*.

3.3.23 Haim Blanc: *Aḏ-Ḍullām (Negev)*

Blanc (1970) studies and analyses the features of the dialect of the Ḍullām tribe at the Negev. The following data come from Blanc's (1970) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (181a) and the perfective (181b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (182) are negated by *ma*.

- (181a) 'arabin ma tgaddir aḏ-ḏayf ma tinḏāf
tribe.INDEF NEG 3FSG.honor.IPFV ART-guest NEG 3FSG.be included.IPFV
'A tribe that does not honor its guests is not made welcome.'
Blanc (1970, 143)

- (181b) ssā' ma ḥallaṣt-ih
now NEG 1SG.finish.PFV-PN.3MSG
'I haven't finished it yet.'
Blanc (1970, 145)

- (182a) ma ma'a-y ad-darāhim
NEG have-PN.1SG ART-money
'I don't have the money [...]'
Blanc (1970, 146)

- (182b) ma wid-kiy tirdiy bi-nmūt
NEG want-PN.2FSG 2FSG.fetch water.IPFV bi-1PL.die.IPFV
imn-aḏ-ḏama
from-ART-thirst
'If you don't (won't) fetch water we will die of thirst.'
Blanc (1970, 147)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū* (183), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (184).

(183) *mū šāṭir ġād ġād*
NEG clever much much
'He's not very very clever.'
Blanc (1970, 146)

(184) *ma-ni dāriy*
NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP
'I don't know [...]'
Blanc (1970, 144)

The š negator

The *š* negator is encountered in the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *miš*, which are considered by Blanc as K-forms.

(185) *miš nāyim*
NEG sleep.PTCP
'He is not asleep.'
Blanc (1970, 143)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative, also in negative coordination structures as the first negative element and in the negative conjunction *walā* (*lā...walā*). *Lā* and *la* ' are used as a negative answer 'no', while two emphatic forms of negative answer are attested as *lah-lah-lah* and *lāllih*, meaning 'certainly not' (Blanc 1970, 144).

3.3.25 *Moche Piamenta: Bedouin tribes of the Negev*

Piamenta (1996), reexamines the dialects of various Bedouin tribes living in the Negev. The following data come from Piamenta's (1996) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective (189a), or the perfective aspect (189b).

- (189a) *alli bi-ḥallif mā b-imūt*
whoever bi-3MSG.beget.IPFV NEG b-3MSG.die.IPFV
'Whoever begets children is (as an) immortal.'
Piamenta (1996, 133)

- (189b) *ha-l-ʿarab mā akramū-niy*
those-ART-Arabs NEG 3MPL.treat with hospitality.PFV-PN.1SG
'[...] those Bedouins have not been hospitable to me.'
Piamenta (1996, 132)

The negative imperative is attested only once in Piamenta's (1996) material, formed with *mā/ma*:

- (190) *mā tas'al wala šāhib arḍ*
NEG 2MSG.ask.IPFV NegSFP owner land
'Don't ask any one of the landowners!'
Piamenta (1996, 129)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* (191), while pronouns are negated by *mā* preceding (192a) or prefixing them (192b).

- (191) *mā akram minn-ah*
NEG more generous than-PN.3MSG
'None is more generous than he.'

Piamenta (1996, 131)

- (192a) *alli mā hū zayy-ak*
whoever NEG PN.3MSG like-PN.2MSG
'Whoever is not of your worth.'
Piamenta (1996, 131)

- (192b) *mā-ni mib'id*
NEG-PN.1SG move away.PTCP
'I'm not going far.'
Piamenta (1996, 131)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā fī*.

The š negator

The negative marker *muš* is encountered only once in the studied material, followed by the future marker *raḥ* and a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, to express negation in the future:

- (193) *muš raḥ tištariy*
NEG will 2MSG.buy.IPFV
'You'll not buy.'
Piamenta (1996, 133)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative expressions with the negation *wala*, as the following:

- (194) *wala yumkin*
NEG 3MSG.be possible.IPFV
'It is impossible.'
Piamenta (1996, 131)

Lā is also used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative optative sentences related to religion:

- (195a) aḷḷa lā yiḥisd-eh
God NEG 3MSG.envy.IPFV-PN.3MSG
‘May (even) God not be jealous of him!’
Piamenta (1996, 131)

- (195b) aḷḷa lā yisiḡr-ak
God NEG 3MSG.debase.IPFV-PN.2MSG
‘May God not debase you!’
Piamenta (1996, 133)

Moreover, *lā* is attested with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures introduced by *lōla*, as the following:

- (196) lō-la mit’ammil f-ak mā ḡt-ak
COND-NEG hope.PTCP in-PN.2MSG NEG 1SG.come.PFV-PN.2MSG
‘Had I had no hope in you I wouldn’t have come.’
Piamenta (1996, 131)

Finally, the negative scalar *wala* is attested in negative concord constructions (190).

3.3.26 Roni Henkin: Bedouin tribes of the Negev

Henkin (2010) records and analyses oral narratives of the Negev Bedouins. According to Henkin (2010, 45), pure Bedouin varieties are expected to appear more conservative than sedentary varieties and not to use innovative features like the *š* negator, or the *bi*-indicative.

In her close analysis of the Negev Bedouin dialects, Henkin (2010) concludes that Negev Arabic seems to contain a mixed variety of Bedouin and sedentary features, in contrast to Galilean Bedouin Arabic, which represent a more conservative type of dialects. Thus, the *š* negator is attested in the Negev Bedouin varieties, often used as an alternative to the pure Bedouin traditional forms.

Henkin (2010, 46) argues that innovative features such as the *š* negator, emerged as a solution to the ambiguity of the original Old Arabic morphemes, like the particle *mā/ma* which was used in negation, as well as in interrogation, exclamation, and modality.

Henkin (2010, 91) also observes that although traditional Bedouin poetry in the Negev generally conforms to the innovative properties of the region's variety, yet it retains some archaic features. As an example, she notes that the *š* negator is encountered only once in her entire poetic corpus (200).

Among the Bedouin tribes of the Negev, the 'Azāzme, traditionally located in the most distant region from the Bi'r as-Sab' valley, are considered as the most traditional and conservative, both in lifestyle and language (Henkin 2010, 61).

The following material comes from Henkin's (2010) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Negation with verbal predicates in the imperfective (197a) and the perfective aspect (197b), as well as with pseudo-verbal (198) predicates is formed with *mā/ma*.

(197a) aḥna mā b-naḡdar iṅḡadir maṭaḡat-na
 PN.1PL NEG b-1PL.can.IPFV 1PL.leave.IPFV area-PN.1PL
 'We can't leave our area [...]'
 Henkin (2010, 224)

(175b) 'um^uṛ-hin mā šāfat-hin aš-šams
 life-PN.3FPL NEG 3FSG.see.PFV-PN.3FPL ART-sun
 'They had never been exposed to the sun.'
 Henkin (2010, 368)

(198a) anā^h mā la-y ḡār 'arḡal
 PN.1SG NEG have-PN.1SG except 1SG.roam.IPFV
 'I have no choice but to go off [...]'
 Henkin (2010, 224)

(198b) mā 'and-hin naḡrah la-hāḡa

NEG have-PN.3FPL view for-that

‘They had no consideration for that.’

Henkin (2010, 306)

Negation of non-verbal predicates is formed with *mā/ma* (199), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (200).

(199) *mā hāḏiy ‘urūs*

NEG this bride

‘It’s not a bride!’

Henkin (2010, 328)

(200a) *ana ma-ni ‘ārf-ih ‘l-min ‘mn-al*

PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP-PN.3MSG to-who from-ART

mn-al- ‘išrih

from-ART-tribe

‘I don’t know whom he belongs to from the tribe.’

Henkin (2010, 250)

(200b) *mu-hu ṣaḥḥ*

NEG-PN.3MSG true

‘It is not true.’

Henkin (2010, 47)

(200c) *mā-hu riḥiq*

NEG-PN.3MSG companion

‘He’s no companion.’

Henkin (2010, 266)

Existential negation in the Negev Bedouin dialects is encountered as *mā fī/mā fī^h*:

(201) *mā fī^h zay masqaṭ aṛ-ṛās*

NEG there is like homeland

‘There’s nothing like the homeland.’

Henkin (2010, 276)

The š negator

The *š* negator appears only once, with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, in the bipartite negation *mā/ma...š*:

- (202) ‘imil ‘amāyil mā ‘imil-hā-š far‘ōn
3MSG.commit.PFV crimes NEG 3MSG.commit-PN.3FSG-NEG Pharaoh
‘He committed crimes which Pharaoh did not commit.’
Henkin (2010, 300)

Henkin (2010, 91) suggests that the use of the sedentary form of negation in the above example could be explained either as a means of evoking negative emotions to the audience, as a type of an hypercharacterised negation, or just within the framework of poetic license.

The *š* negator as a rural variant, is occasionally attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates, in *muš* (203) and *māš* (204), while it is attested only once suffixed to negated pronouns (205):

- (203) muš ṣahḥ
NEG true
‘It’s not true.’
Henkin (2010, 47)

- (204) inš’āllah māš řidiyyih
God willing NEG harm
‘God willing it will do no harm.’
Henkin (2010, 352)

- (205) ma-nī-š ḥābir ‘b-gaš‘r-kiy
NEG-PN.1SG-NEG know.PTCP with-mansion-PN.2FSG
‘I don’t know your mansion.’

Henkin (2010, 288)

Occasionally, the *š* negator is attested in the negative existential marker *mā fiš* (206) or *fiš*. As stated by Henkin (2010, 58), this is a feature that marks the bedouinised peasants (fallāḥīn) group of western peasants settled in the Negev from Egypt.

- (206) w-ʾibʿl kiṭīrih w-mā fi-š ʿindⁱ-hin illa nafar
and-camels many CONJ-NEG there is-NEG have-PN.3FPL except individual
wāḥid
one
‘[...] and many camels with just one person over them.’
Henkin (2010, 232)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is rarely attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements, as below:

- (207) baḡarat h-al-yatāma lā tanfaʿ
cow this-ART-orphan NEG 3FSG.benefit.IPFV
‘The orphans’ cow will be no good [...]’
Henkin (2010, 352)

Lā/la is also used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative optative sentences:

- (208a) ḡaʿ aḷlah lā yḡīb-ih
3MSG.come.PFV God NEG 3MSG.bring.IPFV-PN.3MSG
ḡāb-ha aḷlah lā yḡīb-ih
3MSG.bring.PFV-PN.3FSG God NEG 3MSG.bring.IPFV-PN.3MSG
‘He’s come, may God not let him come! He’s brought her, may God not bring him!’
Henkin (2010, 322)

(208b) *lā yaṛʿan-kiy ḡmāʿl walā yistaḍriy*
 NEG 3MSG.herd.IPFV-PN.2FSG camels CONJ 3MSG.take shelter.IPFV
fī ḍarā-kiy rġāʿl
 in shelter-PN.2FSG men
 ‘May camels not herd you nor men take shade under you.’
 Henkin (2010, 324)

Additionally, *lā* is used in the negative imperative:

(209) *lā taḥagriy nafs-kiy*
 NEG 2FSG.despise.IPFV self-PN.2FSG
 ‘Don’t despise yourself [...]’
 Henkin (2010, 280)

Lā is moreover attested with non-verbal predicates, in negation of pronouns (210a) or in conditional structures (210b).

(210a) *u-hāḍiy al-ḥukūmah lā hī mistaġnʿih b-al-ʿaʿšār*
 CONJ-this ART-government NEG PN.3FSG be satisfied.PTCP with-ART-taxes
 ‘But this government is not satisfied with land taxes.’
 Henkin (2010, 302)

(210b) *lō-lā salām-ak*
 COND-NEG greeting-PN.2MSG
 ‘Were it not for your greeting [...]’
 Henkin (2010, 362)

Furthermore, it is used in negative coordination structures with verbal (211a), and non-verbal predicates (211b) as *lā...wala*.

(211a) *lā ʿib-naʿarf ṭibb walā ʿib-naʿarf rādyih*
 NEG b-1PL.know.IPFV tape NegCONJ b-1PL.know.IPFV radio
walā ʿib-naʿarf talafazyūn walā ʿayya ḥāġih
 NegCONJ b-1PL.know.IPFV television NegCONJ any thing

‘We didn’t know the tape-recorder, nor the radio, not television nor anything.’

Henkin (2010, 77)

- (211b) lā hū ‘ārif-ha walā ‘ārif
NEG PN.3MSG know.PTCP-PN.3FSG NegCONJ know.PTCP
isⁱm-ha
name-PN.3FSG
‘He didn’t know her nor her name.’
Henkin (2010, 276)

3.3.27 *Musa Shawarbah: Al-‘Azāzme (Negev)*

Shawarbah (2012), in his comprehensive work based on intensive fieldwork on the dialect of the ‘Azāzme tribe in Šqēb as-Salām and the Negev Highlands, argues that Negev Bedouins’ life is constantly changing from a semi-nomadic to a semi-sedentary way of life, a factor that undoubtedly also affects their language. The following data come from Shawarbah’s (2012) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used for the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (212a) and the perfective aspect (212b), also for the negation of pseudo-verbal (213) predicates.

- (212a) rā ĩt al-bēt ma bi-tgaššir
guardian ART-house NEG bi-3FSG.shorten.IPFV
‘The mistress of the home was not deficient.’
Shawarbah (2012, 314)

- (212b) ma wašlat ma wašlat-na gahawt-ak
NEG 3FSG.reach.PFV NEG 3FSG.reach-PN.1PL coffee-PN.2MSG
‘It did not, your coffee did not reach us.’
Shawarbah (2012, 324)

- (213) ma widd-ak taḍbaḥ-ah
 NEG want-PN.2MSG 2MSG.slaughter-PN.3MSG
 ‘Do you not want to slaughter it?’
 Shawarbah (2012, 310)

Negation of non-verbal predicates is formed by *mā/ma* (214a-b), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (215).

- (214a) ma waṛā-h maṛbah
 NEG behind-PN.3MSG profit
 ‘There is no profit from it.’
 Shawarbah (2012, 284)

- (214b) la waḷḷah ma l-ak maṭraḥ ma‘-na
 no by God NEG for-PN.2MSG space have-PN.1PL
 ‘No, by God, we do not have space for you.’
 Shawarbah (2012, 345)

- (215a) mā-ni ḍākr ism-ih
 NEG-PN.1SG remember.PTCP name-PN.3MSG
 ‘I do not remember its name.’
 Shawarbah (2012, 315)

- (215b) rā‘ al-bil mu-hu ḥāḍir
 guardian ART-camels NEG-PN.3MSG present
 ‘The owner of the camels was not present.’
 Shawarbah (2012, 315)

Existential negation is mostly formed as *mā/ma fī/fih*:

- (216) w-hāḍa kalām ṣud^ug ma fī-h kiḍⁱb
 and-this talk true NEG there is-PN.3MSG falsity
 ‘And this is a true story, it is without flaw.’
 Shawarbah (2012, 327)

The š negator

The negative marker *muš* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates, as below:

- (217a) *muš ḡrayybīn min ba‘aḏhum*
NEG close from each other
‘They were not very close to each other.’
Shawarbah (2012, 311)

- (217b) *al-ḡamal fi-h ašīl w-fi-h muš*
ART-camel there is-PN.3MSG thoroughbred CONJ-there is-PN.3MSG NEG
ašīl
thoroughbred
‘There are (two types) of camels: thoroughbred and non-thoroughbred.’
Shawarbah (2012, 352)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is also encountered as *māš*, expressing emphatic negation. Shawarbah (2012, 275) analyses *māš* as *mā + šay*’ and considers it as a double negative which delivers emphatic negation with the meaning ‘there is/was absolutely nothing’.

- (218) *lamma ḡat-hum win mā-š ḡayṛ*
when 3MSG.come.PFV-PN.3MPL EXCLAM NEG-thing except
dūr-hum
houses-PN.3MPL
‘When the detachment came to them, they found nothing but the places where their tents had been pitched.’
Shawarbah (2012, 337)

We can also observe the exceptive construction *māš ḡayṛ* in the above example.

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is used in indirect prohibition and in the negative imperative (219).

- (219) *la tagṭaʿ as-sēl*
NEG 2MSG.cross.IPFV ART-torrent
‘[...] do not cross the torrent!’
Shawarbah (2012, 302)

Lā is also used in the negative conjunction *wala*, in negative coordination structures (220) and in the negative scalar *wala*, in negative concord constructions (221).

- (220) *muš kull lēlih wala kull subūʿ*
NEG every night NegCONJ every week
‘[...] not every night or every week!’
Shawarbah (2012, 308)

- (221) *kān ma ʿinda-na sayyārāt wala sayyārah*
3MSG.be.PFV NEG have-PN.1PL cars NegSFP car
‘In the olden days we did not have cars, not even one car.’
Shawarbah (2012, 349)

Another use of *wala* mentioned by Shawarbah (2012, 359) is the intensifying form ‘IMP + *wala* + V IPFV of the same verb’, *uṭrug wala tuṭrug* ‘he hit with all his might’ (literally meaning ‘hit and don’t hit!').

Emphatic forms of negative response are *laʿ*, and *lah*, while *lallih* is used to express decisive or resolute negation with the meaning ‘certainly not’. Finally, the negative verb *ʿayya*, ‘I cannot/I refuse’, is encountered as an alternative form of negation in the ʿAzāzme tribe.

3.3.28 *Frank H. Stewart: Al-Aḥaywāt (Sinai)*

Stewart (1987) studies and analyses a narrative of the Aḥaywāt Bedouin tribe in east central Sinai. The following data come from Stewart's (2012) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (222a) and the perfective (222b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (223) are negated by *mā/ma*.

(222a) ma nidriy hāḍa
NEG 1PL.realise.IPFV that
'We didn't realise that.'
Stewart (1987, 60)

(222b) ma šuft aḥad
NEG 1SG.see.PFV one
'I didn't see anyone.'
Stewart (1987, 78)

(223) ma l-kuw šiy batātan
NEG have-PN.2MPL thing not at all
'You have no further claim of any kind!'
Stewart (1987, 84)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* (224), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (225).

(224) ma giddām-hum ġayr byūt-na
NEG in front of-PN.1PL except tents-PN.1PL
'There was nothing in front of them except our tents [...]'
Stewart (1987, 68)

(225) m-iḥna mkāwnīn-ih

NEG-PN.1PL fight.PTCP-PN.3MSG

‘[...] we are not going to fight him.’

Stewart (1987, 56)

Exceptive constructions are attested as *ma... ġayr* as in (224).

The š negator

The negative marker *miš* occurs only once in the material:

(226) ana miš mrīd-ha

PN.1SG NEG in love.PTCP-PN.3FSG

‘I wasn’t in love with her.’

Stewart (1987, 52)

Stewart (1987, 49) refers to the above *miš* as a K-form, used at the beginning of the narration, when the speaker narrates his story to him, before addressing himself mainly to the Bedouin speakers.

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is attested as *māššiy*. Stewart (1987, 88) describes *māššiy* as a double negative with the meaning ‘there is/was not.’ De Jong (2000) also mentions the use of the negative existential marker *māš* for the Aḡaywāt tribe of the northern Sinai. Thus, in the example below (227) we have the double *māš* + *šiy* followed by another *šiy*, which, however, is not interpreted.

(227) wala māš-šiy šiy

NEG ExistNEG-thing thing

‘There was no (claim) [...]’

Stewart (1987, 88)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker:

- (228) *dilūl-ī* *la* *trūḥ*
female riding camel-PN.1SG NEG 2FSG.go.IPFV
‘[...] so that the animal won’t come to harm.’
Stewart (1987, 80)

Lā/la is also used with non-verbal predicates, as in the example below, where it negates an active participle:

- (229) *la* *ṭāli‘*
NEG come out.PTCP
‘I won’t go.’
Stewart (1987, 76)

Moreover, *lā* is used in the negative scalar *wala/walā*, in negative concord constructions (230a-b), and as a negation *wala* in (230c).

- (230a) *walā* *yōm*
NegSFP day
‘Not even for a single day.’
Stewart (1987, 66)

- (230b) *wala* *aḥad ḥaḍar*
NegSFP one 3MSG.turn up.PFV
‘[...] no one turned up [...].’
Stewart (1987, 72)

- (230c) *la la la la la la wala ḥāḡih*
no no no no no no NEG thing
‘No, no, no, no, no, no, absolutely not.’

Stewart (1987, 52)

Finally, *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates (existential negation) as *la...wala*:

- (231) *la fī-ha ʿayb wala fī-ha šiy*
NEG there is-PN.3FSG disgrace NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG thing
‘[...] it couldn't be claimed that he'd disgraced us or anything.’
Stewart (1987, 88)

3.3.29 *Rudolf E. de Jong: Bedouin tribes of the northern Sinai*

De Jong (2000), in his fieldwork-based work on the Bedouin dialects of the northern Sinai, provides an extensive linguistic description of this area, including in his research the Rmēlāt, Sawārkah, Biliy, Dawāğrah, Samāʿnah, ʿAğāylah, Biyyāḍiyyah, Aḥārsah, Aḥaywāt, Taḥābīn, Masāʿīd, ʿAyāydah, and ʿĀyīd tribes. All the dialects of the above-mentioned tribes ‘constitute a continuum forming the transition from a Negev-type of dialect to the sedentary type of dialect spoken in the eastern Šarqiyyah’ of Egypt (de Jong 2000, 622). From this classification, the only exception is the dialect of the Dawāğrah tribe which seems to originally belong to the central or southern Najdī group (de Jong 2000, 407). The following data come from de Jong’s (2000) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

In the Rmēlāt, Sawārkah and Biliy tribes, as well as in the Taḥābīn, Masāʿīd, and ʿAyāydah tribes, negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (232a) and the perfective aspect (232b), as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (233) is formed with *mā/ma*.

- (232a) *mā b-taʿarīf tiğriy*
NEG b-3FSG.know.IPFV 3FSG.run.IPFV
‘[...] she cannot run.’
de Jong (2000, 223)

(232b) mā ḡaw
 NEG 3MPL.come.PFV
 ‘They did not come.’
 de Jong (2000, 224)

(233) ma ‘inda-ha
 NEG have-PN.3FSG
 ‘They do not have.’
 de Jong (2000, 224)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* (234), *mū*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (235).

(234) mā li-h ‘ind-ī šiy
 NEG to-PN.3MSG have-PN.1SG thing
 ‘I owe him nothing.’
 de Jong (2000, 224)

(235) ‘iḥna mā-ḥna warā-h
 PN.1PL NEG-PN.1PL beside-PN.3MSG
 ‘We don’t support him.’
 de Jong (2000, 164)

In the Biliy tribe, prefixation of *m-* to the personal pronouns is also encountered in double forms like *mōhuhū*, *mīhihī* etc. In the Dawḡāgrah tribe, verbal predicates are negated by *mā* (236), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (237).

(236) ‘umur-huw mā šāfuw ba‘aḏhuw
 life-PN.3MPL NEG 3MPL.see.PFV each other
 ‘They had never seen each other.’
 de Jong (2000, 477)

(237) il-kān mā-hwa ḥābir
 COND-3MSG.be.PFV NEG-PN.3MSG know.PTCP

‘If he does not know.’

de Jong (2000, 477)

Interestingly, in the Samā‘nah and ‘Agāylah tribes, single negation with *mā* is encountered only in specific cases. First, it is used to deliver more emphasis:

- (238) mā h-az‘al
NEG will-1SG.be angry.IPFV
‘I shall not be angry.’
de Jong (2000, 318)

Second, in the Samā‘nah tribe, negation with *mā* is encountered mostly in poetic speech (239). And third, in the ‘Agāylah tribe, *mā* is encountered when quoting the words of someone else (240).

- (239) mā ḥiminna yā salāmah
NEG 1PL.guess.PFV VOC Salāmah
‘We would not have guessed, Oh Salāmah [...]’
de Jong (2000, 318)

- (240) il-kān gōl-ak mā yšīr zayy
COND-3MSG.be.PFV saying-PN.2MSG NEG 3MSG.become.IPFV like
fi‘l-ak
deeds-PN.2MSG
‘If your deeds will not match your words [...]’
de Jong (2000, 318)

Likewise, in the Biyyāḍiyyah and the Aḥārsah tribes, single negation with *mā* is used to deliver more emphasis, as in the following example:

- (241) iṛ-ṛuzz mā yāklū-lla l-malik
ART-rice NEG 3MSG.eat.IPFV-except ART-king
‘Only the king eats rice.’
de Jong (2000, 393)

In the above example, we can also observe the exceptive construction *mā...lla (illa)*.

Existential negation in the Rmēlāt, Sawārkah and Biliy tribes is attested as *mā fih*:

- (242) mā fi-h šiy
NEG there is-PN.3MSG thing
'There is nothing in it.'
de Jong (2000, 224)

The š negator

In the Rmēlāt, Sawārkah and Biliy tribes, as well as in the Tarābīn, Masā'īd, and Ayāydah tribes, bipartite negation *ma...š* is occasionally used as an impact of contact with other dialects around the area. However, the *š* negator is regularly used in *miš* when negating non-verbal predicates:

- (243) miš 'ayb
NEG disgrace
'Not a disgrace.'
de Jong (2000, 224)

In the Dawḍāgrah tribe, bipartite negation is attested only as a K-form (244), but *miš* is a regular form of non-verbal negation (245).

- (244) ma n'araf-ši ni'mil ḡibnah
NEG 1PL.know.IPFV-NEG 1PL.do.IPFV cheese
'[...] we do not know how to make cheese.'
de Jong (2000, 477)

- (245) miš 'ārif
NEG know.PTCP
'I don't know.'
de Jong (2000, 477)

In the Samā‘nah and ‘Aḡāyilah tribes, negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (246a) and the perfective aspect (246b) is formed with the bipartite negation *ma...š*, as in the following examples:

(246a) ma b-i‘rafū-š
NEG b-3MPL.know.IPFV-NEG
‘They don’t know.’
de Jong (2000, 317)

(246b) ma šufti-š
NEG 1SG.see.PFV-NEG
‘I did not see.’
de Jong (2000, 317)

In the Samā‘nah and the ‘Aḡāyilah tribes, the negative imperative is also formed with the bipartite negation *ma...š*:

(247) ma tḡāfi-š min-hi(h)
NEG 2FSG.be afraid.IPFV-NEG from-PN.FSG
‘Don’t be afraid of it.’
de Jong (2000, 317)

Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated by the bipartite negation *ma...š* in the Samā‘nah tribe (248). Non-verbal predicates are negated both in the Samā‘nah and the ‘Aḡāyilah tribes by *miš* (249).

(248) ma mi‘-ī-š
NEG have-PN.1SG-NEG
‘I do not have.’
de Jong (2000, 318)

(249) miš ‘ārfāt
NEG know.PTCP
‘They do not know.’

de Jong (2000, 318)

In the Biyyāḍiyyah and the Aḥārsah tribes, verbal predicates in the imperfective (250a) and the perfective (250b) aspect are negated by bipartite negation, while pseudo-verbal predicates are also negated either by bipartite (251) or postverbal negation (252).

(250a) *ma y'irfū-h-š*
NEG 3MPL.know.IPFV-PN.3MSG-NEG
'They don't know it.'
de Jong (2000, 393)

(250b) *ma liqī-š*
NEG 3MSG.find.PFV-NEG
'He did not find.'
de Jong (2000, 393)

(251) *ma bidd-ī-š*
NEG want-PN.1SG-NEG
'I do not want.'
de Jong (2000, 393)

(252) *bidd-ī-š aṛūh*
want-1SG-NEG 1SG.go.IPFV
'I don't want to go.'
de Jong (2000, 393)

Pronouns in the Biyyāḍiyyah and Aḥārsah tribes are negated by *ma* + PN + *š*:

(253) *ma-nī-š*
NEG-PN.1SG-NEG
'Not I.'
de Jong (2000, 393)

Existential negation is attested as *ma fiš* in the Dawḍāğrah, Biyyāḍiyyah, Aḥārsah, Samā'nah, and 'Ağāylah tribes. In the Rmēlāt, Sawārkah and Biliy tribes, existential negation is also occasionally encountered as *mā fiš*.

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is additionally attested as *māš* in the Dawḍāğrah, Rmēlāt, Sawārkah and Biliy tribes.

3.3.30 Rudolf E. de Jong: Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai

Further studies are carried out by de Jong (2011) on the dialects of the Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai, including the varieties of the Ġbāliyyah, Awlād Sa'īd, Ṣawālḥah, Garāršah, Ḥamāḍah, Legat, Mzēnah, Baniy Wāšil, Taṛābīn, Ḥwēṭāt, Ġarāğrah, Tayāha, Badārah, Dbūr and Malālḥah tribes. According to de Jong (2011, 322), Bedouin dialects of central and southern Sinai seem less affected by sedentary dialects than those of the northern Sinai. The following data come from de Jong's (2010) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

In the Ġbāliyyah, Awlād Sa'īd, Ṣawālḥah, Garāršah, and Ḥamāḍah dialects, which de Jong (2011) calls the 'Ṭuwara dialects', negation of verbal predicates with *mā* occurs infrequently, mostly in cases of emphatic negation, where it is often accompanied by the word *ḥāliṣ*, 'at all':

- (254) w allāh mā ḡā-ni
by God NEG 3MSG.come.PFV-PN.1SG
'By God, he did not come to us.'
de Jong (2011, 102)

In the dialects of the Mzēnah and Baniy Wāšil, negation of verbal predicates is formed with *mā/ma*, which is sometimes used to express emphatic negation, almost

always accompanied by *hāliṣ* ‘at all’ (de Jong, 182–183). The bipartite negation is also occasionally encountered.

Bedouin dialects of the *Ṭarābīn*, *Ḥwētāt*, *Ġarāġrah*, *Tayāha*, *Badārah*, *Dbūr*, *Malālḥah* and *‘Lēgāt* negate verbal predicates in the imperfective (255a) and the perfective aspect (255b), as well as pseudo-verbal (256) predicates only with *mā*.

(255a) *mā yākil-ha*
 NEG 3MSG.eat.IPFV-PN.3FSG
 ‘He does not eat it.’
 de Jong (2011, 72)

(255b) *al-bi‘īr hāḍa la-h arba‘t iyyām mā waṛad*
 ART-camel this have-PN.3MSG four days NEG 3MSG.drink.PFV
 ‘This camel had not drunk for four days.’
 de Jong (2011, 272)

(256) *iza mā ‘ind-uh ḥalāl*
 COND NEG have-PN.3MSG cattle
 ‘If he doesn’t have small cattle (for slaughter).’
 de Jong (2011, 102)

In the *Ṭarābīn*, *Ḥwētāt*, *Ġarāġrah*, *Tayāha*, *Badārah*, *Dbūr* and *Malālḥah* tribes, the negative imperative is also formed with *mā*:

(257) *mā tukfuṛ-ha ‘ašān mā ti‘affan*
 NEG 2MSG.close.IPFV-PN.3FSG so NEG 3FSG.spoil.IPFV
iṭḥall-ha fāṭḥih
 2MSG.leave.IPFV-PN.3FSG open.PTCP
 ‘Don’t close it (the bottle), so that it doesn’t spoil, you leave it open!’
 de Jong (2011, 205)

In the *Ṭuwara* dialects, pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*:

(258) *ana mā-nī ‘ārif*
 PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP

‘I don’t know.’

de Jong (2011, 283)

In the ‘Lēgāt dialect, negation of non-verbal predicates is formed only with *mā* or by prefixation of *m-* to the personal pronouns:

(259) *mā-hī* *maḥaṭūbāh*

NEG-PN.3FSG engaged

‘She is not engaged.’

de Jong (2011, 102)

Existential negation in the Bedouin dialects of the *Tarābīn*, *Ḥwētāt*, *Ġarāğrah*, *Tayāha*, *Badārah*, *Dbūr* and *Malālḥah* is usually attested as *mā fīh*. Likewise, in the Bedouin dialects of the *Mzēnah* and *Baniy Wāṣil* tribes, existential negation is encountered as *mā fīh*:

(260) *mā fīh* *izrā‘ah* *zamān*

NEG there is agriculture time

‘In the old times there was no agriculture.’

de Jong (2011, 184)

Existential negation in the Bedouin dialects of the *Tarābīn*, *Ḥwētāt*, *Ġarāğrah*, *Tayāha*, *Badārah*, *Dbūr* and *Malālḥah* is also usually encountered as *mā fīh*:

(261) *hāḍa ṣāfiy* *mā fī-h* *ḥarṣāf*

this thoroughbred NEG there is-PN.3MSG discussion

‘This is a thoroughbred, there’s no discussion (about it).’

de Jong (2011, 274)

The š negator

In the *Ṭuwara* dialects, negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (262a) and perfective aspect (262b), as well as negation of pseudo-verbal (263) predicates is usually formed with the bipartite negation:

(262a) ma na‘araf-ha-š
NEG 1PL.know.IPFV-PN.3FSG-NEG
‘We don’t know her.’
de Jong (2011, 101)

(262b) ma farašatt-i-š
NEG 3FSG.spread.PFV-PN.3FSG-NEG
‘She did not spread it out.’
de Jong (2011, 101)

(263) ma bidd-ī-š
NEG want-PN.1SG-NEG
‘I don’t want.’
de Jong (2011, 70)

The negative imperative in the Ṭuwara dialects is formed with the bipartite negation *ma* + *š*:

(264) ma tāḥdū-š
NEG 2MPL.take.IPFV-NEG
‘Don’t take!’
de Jong (2011, 71)

The *š* negator is also suffixed to negated pronouns as *manīš*, *mantīš*, *mantīš*, *mahūš*, *mahīš*, *mahniš*, *mantūš*, *mantīnš*, *mahūmš*, *mahīnš*. Moreover, the enclitic *š* is used after prepositions as *mā/ma* + preposition + *š*, ex. *ma fōgukš* ‘not on you’ (2MPL).

Existential negation in the Ṭuwara, Tarābīn, Ḥwēṭāt, Ğarāğrah, Tayāha, Badārah, Dbūr, Malālḥah, Mzēnah, Baniy Wāšil, and Lēgāt tribes is usually attested as *mā fiš*:

(265a) w aḷḷah ġār rišrēš maṭar mā fi-š
by God except drops rain NEG there is-NEG
‘By God, except for a few drops there hasn’t been any rain.’
de Jong (2011, 103)

(265b) ya‘niy kīlu itnēn kīlu yōm ma fī-š hawa ḥāliṣ
 3MSG.mean.IPFV kilo two kilo day NEG there is-NEG wind at all
 ‘(we catch) like a kilo, two kilos when there is no wind at all.’
 de Jong (2011, 185)

(265c) aza mā fī-š ḥurmah fāḍyah lē-hin
 COND NEG there is-NEG woman free for-PN.3FPL
 ‘If there is not a woman free for them (to take care of the animals)’.
 de Jong (2011, 103)

In (265a), we also note the exceptive construction *mā... ḡār* (*ḡār...mā* in this case).

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation in the Bedouin dialects of the Ṭuwara, Taṛābīn, Ḥwēṭāt, Ḡarāḡrah, Tayāha, Badārah, Dbūr, Malālḥah Mzēnah and Baniy Wāṣil is also attested as *māš*:

(266a) is-suwwāḥ māš il-ḡim‘ah suwwāḥ bilḥēl
 ART-tourists ExistNEG ART-Friday tourists at all
 ‘The tourists, on Friday(s) there are no tourists at all.’
 de Jong (2011, 103)

(266b) habbiṭ rās-ak lā yšūf-ak
 2MSG.keep down.IMP head-PN.2SG NEG 3MSG.see.IPFV-PN.2MSG
 al-ḡazāl al-ḡazāl law ṭār ḥalāš al-miḡrib
 ART-gazelle ART-gazelle COND 3MSG.fly.PFV it’s over ART-sunset
 bi-yṛūḥ māš ḡizlān
 bi-3MSG.go.IPFV ExistNEG gazelles
 ‘Keep your head down, so the gazelle doesn’t see you...if the gazelle flees,
 that’s it, at sunset time he goes away and there aren’t any gazelles.’
 de Jong (2011, 274)

(266c) wallāhiy māš isdūd fī-he iblād-na ḥāḍiy
 by God ExistNEG dams in-3MSG countries-PN.1PL this

‘By God, there are no dams in it... (in) (this) our land.’

de Jong (2011, 184)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, as a preventive marker:

- (267a) w-iykāwnū-hiy lā tǧiy ‘ind-ī
CONJ-3MPL.fight.IPFV-PN.3FSG NEG 3FSG.come.IPFV at-PN.1SG
‘And they had to fight her so she would not come (back) to me.’
de Jong, At-Tayāha (2011, 209)

- (267b) habbiṭ rās-ak lā yšūf-ak
2MSG.keep down.IMP head-PN.2SG NEG 3MSG.see.IPFV-PN.2MSG
al-ġazāl al-ġazāl law tār ḥalāṣ al-miġrib
ART-gazelle ART-gazelle COND 3MSG.fly.PFV it’s over ART-sunset
bi-yrūḥ māš ġizlān
bi-3MSG.IPFV ExistNEG gazelles
‘Keep your head down, so the gazelle doesn’t see you, if the gazelle flees, that’s
it, at sunset time he goes away and there aren’t any gazelles.’
de Jong, At-Taṛābīn (2011, 274)

In the Ṭuwara dialects, *lā* is also attested in a rather common expression meaning ‘don’t worry/bother’, in the negation *wala*:

- (268) wala yhummu-k
NEG 3MSG.worry.IPFV-PN.2MSG
‘Don’t let it bother you!’
de Jong (2011, 30)

In the varieties of the Taṛābīn, Ḥwētāt, Ġarāġrah, Tayāha, Badārah, Dbūr and Malālḥah, *lā* is attested in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates

as *lā...wala* (269), while the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord structures (270).

(269) *lā šilēhāt wala ġayr-ih*
NEG chalets NegCONJ other-PN.3MSG
‘There are no chalets or anything [...]’
de Jong (2011, 236)

(270) *mā fih makan m-int mā tġīb*
NEG there is money NEG-PN.2MSG NEG 2MSG.bring.IPFV
wala ḥāġih
NegSFP thing
‘[...] if there is no money, you don’t get anything (not even a thing).’
de Jong (2011, 278)

3.3.31 *Mohammed Alayan Al-Hamzy: Bani Ḥarb (Saudi Arabia)*

Al-Hamzy (1975), in his study on the spoken dialect of the Bani Ḥarb tribe in the Ḥiġāz region and the northcentral region of Saudi Arabia, states that the ancient tribe originated from Yemen and migrated to Saudi Arabia, where it was divided into Bedouin (nomads) and ḥaḍar (cultivators settled in villages). The dialect of Bani Ḥarb tribe is divided into the Ḥiġāzi and the Northern central group, the latter sharing features with the Najdi dialects. The following data come from Al-Hamzy’s (1975) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective (271a), and the perfective aspect (271b).

(271a) *mā-nazra‘ šay ġēr-u*
NEG-1PL.grow.IPFV thing except-PN.3MSG
‘We did not grow anything else than this.’
Al-Hamzy (1975, 173)

- (271b) ‘umr-i mā-šift-u
 life-PN.1SG NEG-1SG.see.PFV-PN.3MSG
 ‘I have ever seen it.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 173)

Exceptive constructions are encountered as *mā... ġēr* (271a).

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*:

- (272) mā-hi ḥābra
 NEG-PN.3FSG know.PTCP
 ‘She does not know.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 178)

Existential negation is attested as *mā fī*:

- (273) ġīna wala mā-fī-ha ’aḥad
 1PL.come.PFV NEG NEG-there is-PN.3FSG one
 ‘[...] we encountered nobody.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 238)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express indirect prohibition:

- (274) hāḍa lā-yiġi riddō-h
 this NEG-3MSG.come.IPFV 3MPL.bring back.PFV-3MSG
 kaan-oh turki
 COND-PN.3MSG Turk
 ‘[...] and not to bring the man if he was a Turk.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 238)

Moreover, *lā/la* is encountered with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect preceded by the conjunction *wa* (275a), and in emphatic negation with *ʿumr* (275b).

(275a) *u-lā-simiʿ kalam-uh*
 CONJ-NEG-3MSG.listen.PFV talk-PN.3MSG
 ‘And he did not appreciate his advice.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 173)

(275b) *yaḍbaḥ-hum ḡabḥin lā ʿumr-a*
 3MSG.slaughter.IPFV-PN.3MPL slaughtering.INDEF NEG life-PN.3MSG
 ḡā
 3MSG.come.PFV
 ‘He killed them in the most merciless way which to my knowledge ever happened.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 173)

The negative imperative is also formed with *lā*:

(276) *lā tridōn-ni*
 NEG 2MPL.drive away.IPFV-PN.1SG
 ‘Do not drive me away [...]’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 242)

Lā/la is moreover used to negate pronouns by prefixation, in negative coordination structures as below:

(277) *ʿanā lā-ni ḡammal u-lā-ni ʿamīr*
 PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG camel-driver CONJ-NEG-PN.1SG prince
 ‘I am neither a camel-driver nor a prince.’
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 178)

Furthermore, *lā/la* is encountered in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates as *lā...ulā*.

- (278) u-radd la-ha hāk 'al-gu'ūd
 CONJ-3MSG.give back.PFV to-PN.3FSG that ART-young camel
 'alli lā yinsāg ulā yingād
 which NEG 3MSG.be driven.IPFV NegCONJ 3MSG.be driven.IPFV
 'And he gave her back that young camel which cannot driven or led.'
 Al-Hamzy (1975, 173)

3.3.32 Thomas M. Johnstone: *Dawāsir* (Kuwait)

Johnstone (1961, 1964, 1967) studies the dialect of the Dawāsir tribe in Kuwait and classifies it as a variety originally belonging to the south-central type of Najdī group. The following data come from Johnstone's (1961, 1964, 1967) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

In Dawāsir, negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (279a) and the perfective (279b) aspect is formed with *mā/ma*.

- (279a) m-adri hū
 NEG-1SG.know.IPFV PN.3MSG
 'I don't know what...'
 Johnstone (1961, 291)

- (279b) ma ba'ad 'aṭēna-hā minn-ih
 NEG still 1PL.give.PFV-PN.3FSG from-PN.3MSG
 'We still haven't given them any.'
 Johnstone (1961, 292)

In Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, *ba'da* is an adverb meaning 'after'. In the Arabic dialects, it evolved into a negative adverbial construction when preceded by a negative particle (*still*-words or *yet*-words, Lucas 2009, Hoyt 2010), meaning 'still/not yet' (279b).

The negative particle *mā/ma* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates:

- (280) ma-bēn-ha farg
 NEG-between-PN.3FSG difference
 ‘There is no difference between them.’
 Johnstone (1961, 281)

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (281), while *-b* is suffixed to the pronoun, although this *b* is not considered as a separate element according to Johnstone (1961, 281).

- (281a) ma-ntib miṭl-i
 NEG-PN.2FSG like-PN.1SG
 ‘You are not like me.’
 Johnstone (1961, 282)

- (281b) ma-hīb zēnatin ‘ala ḍamā-hāḍa
 NEG-PN.3FPL good.INDEF on thirst-this
 ‘They are not doing well without water.’
 Johnstone (1961, 287)

Adjectives and participles in the 1st singular are also negated by *mā-līb*, which can either function as a negative marker (282a), or, separately, as a negative marker negating the pseudo-verb *li* (282b):

- (282a) ‘ana malīb ḍemmān
 PN.1SG NEG thirsty
 ‘I am not thirsty.’
 Johnstone (1961, 282)

- (282b) mā l-ī-b mittakilin ‘alē-h
 NEG have-PN.1SG-b rely.PTCP.INDEF on-PN.3MSG
 ‘I have no one to rely on.’
 Johnstone (1961, 282)

Existential negation in Dawāsir dialect is encountered as *mā fī*:

- (283) ma fi-ha ʔarīgin illa ʔarig is-sayyārāt
 NEG there is-PN.3FSG road.INDEF except road ART-cars
 ‘And there was no road except for cars.’
 Johnstone (1964, 103)

Exceptive constructions are encountered as *ma...illa* (283).

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

The indefinite *šayyin* is used in Johnstone’s (1964) material to deliver emphatic negation with the meaning ‘at all’, as below:

- (284) wilā yaḥluṭ-ha šayyin min iḍ-ḍān
 NEG 3MPL.mix.IPFV-PN.3FSG thing.INDEF from ART-sheep
 ‘[...] not mixed with any sheep at all.’
 Johnstone (1964, 100)

The negative particle lā/la

Infrequently, the negative particle *lā/la* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing prevention:

- (285) innu-hu la yista‘mil-ha li-šidud il-ḥaṭab
 that-PN.3MSG NEG 3MSG.use.IPFV-PN.3FSG for-loading ART-wood
 ‘[...] (on condition) that he would not use it for carrying wood [...]’
 Johnstone (1964, 97)

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (286a), or the perfective (286b) aspect, are also negated by the negation *wala (wilā)* or *wa-la*:

- (286a) wilā yaḥluṭ-ha šayyin min iḍ-ḍān
 NEG 3MPL.mix.IPFV-PN.3FSG thing.INDEF from ART-sheep
 ‘[...] not mixed with any sheep at all.’
 Johnstone (1964, 100)

- (286b) wa-la ‘arafōn-i mā ‘arafōn-i
 CONJ-NEG 3PL.know.PFV-PN.1SG NEG 3PL.to know.PFV-PN.1SG
 b-šaḥṣiyyat-i
 with-personality-PN.1SG
 ‘And they didn’t know me, they didn’t know me personally.’
 Johnstone (1961, 281)

Additionally, exceptive constructions with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect are encountered as *wala (wilā)...illa*:

- (287) wilā buḡa min il-ḡmā‘āt illa ṭlāṭat aṭfāl
 NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV from ART-group except three children
 ‘None remained of the group except three children [...]’
 Johnstone (1961, 269)

The negative imperative in the Dawāsir dialect is formed with *lā/la*:

- (288) la-dḏannon
 NEG-2PL.think.IPFV
 ‘Do not think.’
 Johnstone (1961, 281)

Moreover, the negative particle *lā/la* is used to negate non-verbal predicates, by prefixation to the personal pronouns of the 3rd singular forms only, as *lahōb, lahīb*:

- (289a) wa-la ho-b zēn ‘al-il-bil
 CONJ-NEG PN.3MSG-b good on-ART-camels
 ‘[...] and it is not good for the camels.’
 Johnstone (1961, 290)

- (289b) la-hī-b ḏammā
 NEG-PN.3FPL-b thirsty
 ‘They are not thirst.’
 Johnstone (1961, 282)

The negative particle *lā/la* is also encountered in the adverbial construction *la‘ād*, with the meaning ‘still’, prefixed to *hob*, as in the following example:

- (290) wi-la-‘ād-ho-b wid-na ‘in-kum tag‘adūn fi dāk
 CONJ-still-PN.3MSG-b want-PN.1PL that-PN.2PL 2MPL.stay.IPFV in that
 il-makān
 ART-place
 ‘We don’t want you still to stay in that place.’
 Johnstone (1961, 290)

According to Johnstone (1961, 281), the 3MSG and 3FSG pronouns *hōb* and *hīb* when suffixed to the negative particles *mā* and *lā* are considered by the speakers as a single word.

Furthermore, *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with verbal (291a), pseudo-verbal (291b) and non-verbal (291c) predicates, as *lā...wla/wlā/wilā*.

- (291a) lā-hi tğanni ‘ala-y
 NEG-PN.3FSG 3FSG.sing.IPFV on-PN.1SG
 wla-talahhī-ni
 NegCONJ-3FSG.amuse.IPFV-PN.1SG
 ‘She did not sing to me or amuse me.’
 Johnstone (1961, 281)

- (291b) lā m‘ā-k maṭiyya wlā m‘ā-k šayy
 NEG have-PN.2MSG riding animal NegCONJ have-PN.2MSG thing
 ‘You have no mount or anything?’
 Johnstone (1961, 281)

- (291c) lā ‘umm-i b-mawğūda wilā ḥawāt-i
 NEG mother-PN.1SG b-be present.PTCP NegCONJ sisters-PN.1SG
 b-mawğūdāt
 b-be present.PTCP
 ‘My mother was not there, nor were my sisters.’
 Johnstone (1961, 281)

The negative particle lēs

The negative particle *lēs*, vestige of the negative copula *laysa*, appears as a fossilised form in the dialect of the Dawāsir, as below:

- (292) *lēs int b-min-hum*
NEG PN.2MSG b-from-PN.3MPL
'You are not one of them.'
Johnstone (1967, 148)

3.3.33 Bruce Ingham: Muṭair (Kuwait)

Ingham (1979) describes the dialect of the eastern branch of the Muṭair tribe ('Ilwa Muṭair) in Kuwait. The dialect is classified by Ingham as belonging to the Central Najdi. The following data come from Ingham's (1979) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (293a) and the perfective (293b) aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (294) are negated by *mā*.

- (293a) *mā nasmaḥ-il-kum alla tarḡa'ūn*
NEG 1PL.permit.IPFV-to-PN.2MPL except 2MPL.go back.IPFV
'We will not give you permission unless you go back [...]'
Ingham (1979, 32)

- (293b) *wara ma riċibtum min dīrat-kum*
why NEG 2MPL.set out.PFV from dīra-PN.2MPL
'Why didn't you set out from your dīrah³⁴[...]?'
Ingham (1979, 32)

- (294) *lli mā-l-ih mida'*

³⁴ Home, region.

which NEG-have-PN.3MSG end

‘[...] which has no end.’

Ingham (1979, 34)

Exceptive constructions are encountered as *mā/la...alla* (293a, 297). Non-verbal predicates are negated by *ma hu-b/ma hi-b* (295). The *b*-suffix is again used in this case, though it is now separated by the pronoun (pace Jonhstone 1961).

(295a) ma hu-b tayyib

NEG PN.3MSG-b good

‘It was not good.’

Ingham (1979, 30)

(295b) ma hi-b hi ya al-amir

NEG PN.3FSG-b PN.3FSG VOC ART-prince

‘It is not so, Oh Prince!’

Ingham (1979, 32)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing indirect prohibition:

(296) lā yadkur an-nida

NEG 3MSG.mention.IPFV ART-grass

‘[...] let him not mention the grass.’

Ingham (1979, 34)

Moreover, *lā* is encountered in the negative indefinite pronoun *lā ḥadd* as below:

(297) wa lā ḥadd yitubbə nağd alla b-ruḥuṣtin

CONJ nobody 3MSG.enter.IPFV Najd except with-permission.INDEF

min-h

from-PN.3MSG

‘[...] and no one could enter Najd except with his permission.’

Ingham (1979, 32)

Lā also appears in Ingham’s (1979) material in *ihlāš* with the meaning ‘useless’, derived according to Ingham (1979, 34) from *lā šay*. Finally, *la* is attested in *alla*, with the meaning ‘yes’, used as a positive answer to a negative question.

3.3.34 Bruce Ingham: *Ḍafīr* (Kuwait, Saudi Arabia)

Ingham’s (1982a, 1986a) research on the dialect of the ancient tribe *Ḍafīr* in the northeastern Arabia, leads him to conclude that this variety combines features from both North and Central Najdi dialects. The following data come from Ingham’s (1982a, 1986a) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (298a) and the perfective aspect (298b), as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (299) are negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*.

(298a) al-mintifiz mā yāḥḍūn ‘alē-ham šayy
ART-Mintifiz NEG 3MPL.take.IPFV on-PN.3MPL thing
‘They took nothing from the Mintifiz.’
Ingham (1982a, 254)

(298b) ma ḍall ġēr is-swētāt
NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV except ART-Swētāt
‘No one remains of use except the Āl Suwaīt.’
Ingham (1982a, 254)

(299a) mā ‘ind-i lōn³⁵

³⁵ The word *lōn*, which literally means ‘colour’ (لون), is used as a negative polarity item meaning ‘anything/nothing’ when it comes after the negative particle *mā*, especially in Central and North/Central Najdi dialects (Ingham, 1982a, 1995).

NEG have-PN.1SG thing

'I haven't got anything.'

Ingham (1982a, 251)

(299b) int mā l-ak mašyaḥa fi h-al-maṭaga hāḍi

PN.2MSG NEG have-PN.2MSG sheikdom in this-ART-area this

'You can have no leadership in this area.'

Ingham (1986a, 81)

Exceptive constructions are attested as *mā/ma... ġēr/illa* (298b, 301). Pronouns are negated by *mā/m-*, preceding (300a) or prefixing (300b) them.

(300a) mā ḥinna mtiqahwīn

NEG PN.1PL take coffee.PTCP

'We will not take coffee.'

Ingham (1982a, 253)

(300b) m-int ibn hāšim

NEG-2MSG son Hāšim

'You are not a son of Hāšim.'

Ingham (1982a, 252)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā b-*:

(301) mā b-ah illa l-ḥarr

NEG there is-PN.3MSG except ART-heat

'There is nothing there but heat.'

Ingham (1982a, 250)

The negative particle lā/la

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (302), as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (303), are also negated by *wa-la*, while *lā/la* is additionally encountered with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect (304).

(302) w-lā ya‘lamūn wiššu alli warā-ham
 CONJ-NEG 3MPL.know.IPFV what which behind-PN.3MPL
 ‘[...] as they did not know what trouble they might bring.’
 Ingham (1986a, 53)

(303) w-lā ‘inda-na gidrat-illa-ham
 CONJ-NEG have-PN.1PL power-against-PN.3MPL
 ‘[...] and we have no power against them.’
 Ingham (1986a, 62)

(304) ibn mindīl lā gāl
 ibn Mindil NEG 3MSG.say.PFV
 ‘Ibn Mindīl did not say.’
 Ingham (1986a, 80)

The negative imperative is also formed with *lā/la*:

(305) dīb nab‘ah ġa-k rizg-ak
 wolf Nab‘a 3MSG.come.PFV-PN.2MSG daily bread-PN.2MSG
 lā tinām
 NEG 2MSG.sleep.IPFV
 ‘Oh, wolf of Nab‘a, do not sleep [...]’
 Ingham (1986a, 89)

Furthermore, *lā/la* is used to negate pronouns by prefixation:

(306) u-lā-ni b-sāyil³⁶
 CONJ-NEG-PN.1SG b-afraid
 ‘[...] and have no fear.’
 Ingham (1986a, 57)

³⁶ Literally meaning ‘asking, seeking for’ from the verb *sa‘ala*, or ‘liquid/fluid’, *sāyel* is also found as ‘dread’ in the glossary of O’Hara (2019, 589) for the Rwala, while *msāyil* is found as ‘asking about, dreading’ in the glossary of Kurpershoek (2005, 154).

In negative coordination structures, *lā/la* is used in the negative conjunction *u lā*:

- (307) al-‘arab ma rāḥaw u lā ġa-ham
 ART-Arabs NEG 3MPL.leave.PFV NegCONJ 3MSG.come.PFV-PN.3MPL
 ‘ilm niḍar
 knowledge warning
 ‘The Arabs have not gone, and no warning has come to them.’
 Ingham (1986a, 69)

3.3.35 Bruce Ingham: *Bedouin dialects of the northeastern Arabia (Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia)*

Expanding his studies on the dialects of the northeastern Arabia, Ingham (1982b) includes in his research monograph the Bedouin dialects of the ‘Aġmān, Muṭair, Bani Ḥarb, ‘Aniza, ‘Awāzim, Šammar, Rufai’, and Ahl al Šimāl. The following data come from Ingham’s (1982b) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective (308a) and the perfective (308b) aspect, as well as with pseudo-verbal predicates (309).

- (308a) lā wallāh ana mā a‘arf al‘ab
 no by God PN.1SG NEG 1SG.know.IPFV 1SG.play.IPFV
 ‘No, by God, I do not know how to play on it.’
 ‘Aniza, Ingham (1982b, 118)

- (308b) warā-k³⁷ mā gilit
 why-PN.2MSG NEG 2MSG.say.PFV
 ‘Why didn’t you tell me [...]’

³⁷ According to Ingham (1982b), *wara* is used in negative questions with the meaning ‘why’.

Ahl Al-Šimāl, Ingham (1982b, 143)

(309a) ma 'ind-ić ḥabar
NEG have-PN.2FSG knowledge
'You have no knowledge.'
Muṭair, Ingham (1982b, 108)

(309b) ma l-i tara ḥāḡa
NEG have-PN.1SG 2MSG.see.IPFV need
'[...] I have no need [...]'
'Awāzim, Ingham (1982b, 124)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā* (310), *mū*, *mi* (311), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (312):

(310) al-bduwi mā 'alē-h šay
ART-Bedouin NEG on-PN.3MSG thing
'[...] the Bedouin has no trouble.'
'Aniza, Ingham (1982b, 118)

(311a) mu aḡsan-l-i
NEG better-for-PN.1SG
Wouldn't it have been better for me?
'Awāzim, Ingham (1982b, 124)

(311b) waḷḷa ha-s-sana mi miṭl al-'ām
by God this-ART-year NEG like ART-year
'Well, this year is not like the last.'
'Aniza, Ingham (1982b, 117)

(312a) ana halḥīn mā-ni baḡiy l-rḡāl
PN.1SG now NEG-PN.1SG 1SG.want.IPFV ART-men
'I don't want to see the men now.'
'Aḡmān, Ingham (1982b, 103)

- (312b) f-alyōm aš-ši‘ir mu-hūb iš-ši‘r il-awwal
 and-today ART-poetry NEG-PN.3MSG ART-poetry ART-before
 ‘And today is not like the early poetry.’
 ‘Awāzim, Ingham (1982b, 121)

According to Ingham (1982b), *mā b-* is generally encountered in the south and not in the north. Existential negation is attested as *mā fih* (313), or *ma b-* (314).

- (313) mā fī-h ḥuḍḥatin halḥēl
 NEG there is-PN.3MSG grass.INDEF that much
 ‘There is not that much grass.’
 ‘Aniza, Ingham (1982b, 118)

- (314) mā b-ah aḥad
 NEG there is-PN.3MSG one
 ‘There was no one.’
 Šammar, Ingham (1982b, 132)

The negative particle lā/la

In Ingham’s (1982b) recorded material, the negative particle *lā/la* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing indirect prohibition (315), or prevention (316).

- (315) yā nāšdin al-‘assās lā yaḍkur an-nida
 VOC ask.PTCP ART-spy NEG 3MSG.mention.IPFV ART-grass
 ‘Oh, he who enquires of the scout, let him not mention the grass.’
 Muṭair, Ingham (1982b, 109)

- (316) al-hādi alli ṭuṭṭ l-il-ḥḍāra walla li-z-zari‘
 ART-this which 2MSG.put.IPFV to-ART-trap or to-ART-fields
 lā yākil-h ad-dibaš
 NEG 3MSG.eat.IPFV-PN.3MSG ART-flocks

‘It is the thing which you put around fish traps or fields so that the flocks will not eat them.’

‘Awāzim, Ingham (1982b, 123)

Moreover, *la* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in exceptive constructions as *la...alla*:

- (317) *la tabcí d-dumū‘ alla li-nāfi‘*
NEG 3FSG.cry.IPFV ART-tears except for-be useful.PTCP
‘Tears do not fall except for those who bring support.’
‘Awāzim, Ingham (1982b, 122)

The negative imperative is also formed with *lā/la*:

- (318) *lā twarrī-na*
NEG 2MSG.show.IPFV-PN.1PL
‘Do not show us [...]’
‘Awāzim, Ingham (1982b, 121)

The negative particle *lā/la* is additionally attested in the negative existential marker *lā bah*, preceded by the conjunction *wa*:

- (319) *id-dinya³⁸ šāḥi³⁹ wa-lā bah ġēm*
ART-weather clear CONJ-NEG there is cloud
‘The weather is clear and there is no cloud.’
Rufai’, Ingham (1982b, 137)

Moreover, *lā/la* is used to negate pronouns, preceding (320a) or prefixing (320b) them.

- (320a) *u lā hūwwa bi-yḥālif*

³⁸ Literal meaning ‘world’.

³⁹ Literal meaning ‘awake’.

CONJ NEG PN.3MSG b-3MSG.fail.IPFV

‘[...] and he doesn't fail [...]’

Ḥarb, Ingham (1982b, 113)

(320b) b-ism-u lā-ni ‘ārf-uh

with-name-PN.3MSG NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP-PN.3MSG

‘[...] whom I did not know by name.’

Šammar Mas‘ūd, Ingham (1982b, 139)

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates are attested as *lā...wala*, as below:

(321) lā tilḥag lā ṭilit walā rub‘ min ‘abd-ak

NEG 2MSG.reach.IPFV NEG third NegSFP quarter from slave-PN.2MSG

‘[...] you do not reach a third or even a quarter (in generosity) of your slave.’

Ahl Al-Šimāl, Ingham (1982b, 143)

3.3.36 *Fatima Ebrahim Al-Khalifa: Bedouin tribes of central Najd (Kuwait)*

Al-Khalifa (1984) studies the intonation in the dialects of the ‘Aḡmān, ‘Awāzim, Rašāyda, Al-Murra and Ḥarb tribes in Kuwait. The following data come from Al-Khalifa’s (1984) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (322a) and the perfective (322b) aspect are negated by *mā*.

(322a) ḥinna mā niḥūn

PN.1PL NEG 1PL.deceive.IPFV

‘We do not deceive [...]’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 66)

(322b) la mā daḥḥalt-hum

no NEG 1SG.put in.PFV-PN.3MPL

‘No, I did not put them [...]’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 150)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū* (223), *mub* (324), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (325).

(323) *mū amīn*

NEG honest

‘Not honest.’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 66)

(324) *mu-b ġurfa*

NEG-b room

‘[...] not in the room [...]’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 171)

(325) *m-aḥnā bi-ngūl ba‘arīn*⁴⁰

NEG-PN.1PL bi-1PL.say.IPFV ba‘arīn

‘We do not say ba‘arīn.’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 150)

Existential negation is attested as *mā fī* (326) and *māku* (327).

(326) *mā fī-ha šay m-āku faruq*

NEG there is-PN.3FSG thing NEG-there is difference

‘There is nothing wrong with that, no difference.’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 170)

(327) *hāk aḥīn m-āku*⁴¹ *tilifōnāt*

that time NEG-there is telephones

⁴⁰ Camels, SG *ba‘īr* (بَعِير).

⁴¹ *aku* ‘there is’ and negative *māku/lāku* ‘there is not’ are mostly encountered in Kuwait and southern Iraq, but are also used in Bahrain (Holes 2016, 112).

‘At that time there were no telephones.’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 168)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express indirect prohibition, as in the following example:

- (328) la yiġī-na
NEG 3MSG.come.IPFV-PN.1PL
‘[...] he should not come to us.’
Al-Khalifa (1984, 176)

The negative imperative is also formed with *lā*:

- (329) lā-tiġī-ni
NEG-2FSG.come.IPFV-PN.1SG
‘[...] do not come to me.’
Al-Khalifa (1984, 175)

la is additionally encountered with pronouns, though in the following example it is interpreted as an existential negation:

- (330) la hu-b birgi‘ alyōm
NEG PN.3MSG-b burqa today
‘No, there is no cover for the face nowadays.’
Al-Khalifa (1984, 156)

Finally, in negative coordination structures *lā/la* is attested in the negative conjunction *wala*:

- (331) mā ni‘arf-ih wala n‘arf
NEG 1PL.know.IPFV-PN.3MSG NegCONJ 1PL.know.IPFV
‘inwān-ah wala n‘arf tilifōn-ah

address-PN.3MSG NegCONJ 1PL.know.IPFV telephone-PN.3MSG

wala šay

NegCONJ thing

‘[...] we didn’t know him, or his address, or his telephone, or anything.’

Al-Khalifa (1984, 168)

3.3.37 *Thomas Johnstone: Bani Hāğir (Qatar)*

Johnstone (1967), in his studies on Eastern Arabian dialects, includes a text from the Qatari Bedouin tribe Bani Hāğir. The sample, according to Johnstone, is ‘representative of the kind of dialect spoken by the Bedouin element in the labour force of the Dukhān oil-field’ (Johnstone 1967, xxix). The following data come from Johnstone’s (1967) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (332a) and the perfective (332b) aspect are negated by *mā/ma*.

(332a) ma atḏakkar ism-ih
NEG 1SG.remember.IPFV name-PN.3MSG
‘I can’t remember his name.’
Johnstone (1967, 224)

(332b) ma ‘ayyant ‘ilāğ
NEG 1SG.appoint.PFV treatment
‘I couldn’t get any treatment [...]’
Johnstone (1967, 222)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, as below:

(333) mā-ni ‘arf-ik
NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP-PN.2MSG

‘I don’t know you.’

Johnstone (1967, 222)

The negative particle lā/la

As stated by Johnstone (1967, 249), ‘*lā/la* is a common variant of *mā/ma* in Bedouin dialects, an occasional variant in *ḥaḍari* dialects.’ Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (334), as well as pseudo-verbal predicates (335), are also negated by *wa-lā/la*:

- (334) *w-ana* ‘*ama wa-lā* *aqdir* *ašūf*
CONJ-PN.1SG blind CONJ-NEG 1SG.can.IPFV 1SG.see.IPFV
‘I was blind and couldn’t see.’
Johnstone (1967, 224)

- (335) *wa-la* ‘*ind-i* *flūs*
CONJ-NEG have-PN.1SG money
‘[...] and I have no money?’
Johnstone (1967, 222–224)

The negative particle *lā/la* is also used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express indirect prohibition:

- (336) *gil-l-ih* *la* *yaḥzan* *min šayy*
2MSG.say.IMP-to-PN.3MSG NEG 3MSG.be sad.IPFV from thing
‘Tell him not to worry about anything.’
Johnstone (1967, 222)

Moreover, the negation *wala* is used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, preceded by *ḥatta*, to express emphatic negation in the past:

- (337) *ḥatta wala* *ḡarrizat* *sayyāra fī r-ramal*
even NEG 3FSG.get stuck.PFV car in ART-sand
‘[...] one never got stuck (in the sand)’
Johnstone (1967, 226)

Negative coordination structures are attested as *lā/la...walā*, while *lā/la* is attested prefixed to pronouns, as in the following example:

- (338) l-int b-D walā b-B
 NEG-PN.2MSG b-D NegCONJ b-B
 ‘You’re not D.or P.’
 Johnstone (1967, 224)

The negative particle *lā/la* is also used in the negative imperative.

The negative verb ‘ayya

The negative verb ‘ayya, literally meaning ‘be unable to’, is used to express refusal or negation, as below:

- (339) wi-‘ayya yirkab
 CONJ-3MSG.refuse.PFV 3MSG.ride.IPFV
 ‘[...] but he wouldn’t (get in the car)’
 Johnstone (1967, 222)

3.3.38 Bruce Ingham: *Al-Murra (Qatar – Saudi Arabia)*

Ingham’s (1986b) study on the dialect of the Murra, in Qatar and Saudi Arabia, leads him to conclude that this dialect can be classified as belonging to a southern sub-group of the Central Najdi. The following data come from Ingham’s (1986b) observations and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective (340a) and the perfective (340b) aspect.

- (340a) šayyin mā agdar ‘alē-h
 thing.INDEF NEG 1SG.can.IPFV on-PN.3MSG
 ‘It is something I cannot do.’

Ingham (1986b, 284)

- (340b) u hu 'ind-ih faras mā ba'ad ġarrab-ha
CONJ PN.3MSG have-PN.3MSG horse NEG yet 3MSG.try.PFV-PN.3FSG
'[...] and he had a horse which he had not yet tried out.'

Ingham (1986b, 285)

The negative particle *mā* (341) and the negative marker *mū* (342) are used to negate non-verbal predicates, while pronouns are negated by *mā/ma* preceding (343a) or prefixing them (343b).

- (341) mā rākib-li-k faras
NEG ride.PTCP-to-PN.2MSG horse
'[...] not on a horse.'

Ingham (1986b, 284)

- (342) mū b-rumuḥ
NEG b-lance
'It is not a lance.'

Ingham (1986b, 276)

- (343a) mā hi b-sahlah
NEG PN.3FSG b-easy
'It is not easy.'

Ingham (1986b, 276)

- (343b) ana mā-ni mkallifin nafs-i ašrab
PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG charged.INDEF self-PN.1SG 1SG.drink.IPFV
al-finġāl
ART-cup
'I am not going to undertake the burden of that cup.'

Ingham (1986b, 284)

Existential negation is encountered as *ma fih* or *mā b-*:

(344a) mā fih banādig
NEG there is rifles
'There were no rifles.'
Ingham (1986b, 285)

(344b) mā-b-ha māy
NEG-b-PN.3FSG water
'There is no water.'
Ingham (1986b, 287)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

The *š* suffix (abbreviation from *šay* 'thing') is encountered with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect (345a) and with clitic pronouns (345b). According to Ingham (1986b, 277) this is not the case of the well-known bipartite negation *ma...š*, since the *š* suffix is used here to deliver emphatic negation with the meaning 'anything/nothing'.

(345a) mā 'āyannā-š
NEG 1PL.spot.PFV-thing
'We didn't spot anything.'
Ingham (1986b, 277)

(345b) mā fī-hā-š
NEG there is-PN.3FSG-thing
'There is nothing in it.'
Ingham (1986b, 277)

The negative particle lā/la

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are also negated by *wa-lā (ulā)*:

(346) win nimūt ma'ā-h u-lā nmūt
either 1PL.die.IPFV with-PN.3MSG CONJ-NEG 1PL.die.IPFV
waḥdī-na

alone-PN.1PL

'We will either die with him (or succeed) but we will not die separated.'

Ingham (1986b, 287)

Lā is also attested in the adverbial constructions *lā 'ād* ('no longer') and *lā ba'ad* ('not yet'):

- (347) *lā 'ād b-dālli-na*
NEG 3MSG.return.PFV b-guide.PTCP-PN.1PL
'He can no longer guide us.'
Ingham (1986b, 276)

- (348) *wa lā ba'ad rakibtə-ha*
CONJ NEG yet 1SG.mount.PFV-PN.3FSG
'[...] but not yet mounted.'
Ingham (1986b, 285)

Moreover, *lā* is used to negate pronouns:

- (349) *lā hu b-rākib*
NEG PN.3MSG b-ride.PTCP
'He will not be mounted.'
Ingham (1986b, 276)

Lā is attested in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates (350a), and with different types of predicates (350b) as *lā...wlā/walā*:

- (350a) *lā hi b-guṣīrah w-al-guṣīrah šēnah wlā hi*
NEG PN.3FSG b-short CONJ-ART-short ugly NegCONJ PN.3FSG
b-ṭuwīlat al-'anbāi
b-tall ART-grapes
'She is neither short of stature and unseemly nor has she the tallness of the ungainly.'
Ingham (1986b, 285)

(350b) walā talgā-ni mdarriḡ ḍulla⁴²
 NegCONJ 2MSG.find.IPFV-PN.1SG lead.PTCP limping (camels)
 walā b-rā‘i firgat il-mi‘zāi
 NegCONJ b-herd.PTCP flock ART-sheep
 ‘You will not find me leading worthless camels or herding a flock of sheep.’
 Ingham (1986b, 286)

3.3.39 Bruce Ingham: *Ar-Rwala (Saudi Arabia)*

Further studies on Najdi Bedouin dialects are conducted by Ingham (1995), to describe the dialect of the Rwala tribe of Saudi Arabia, based on the recordings of William Lancaster. Ingham argues that the Rwala, branch of the ‘Aniza tribe, speak a variety that belongs to the Central Najdi type but also shares some features with the North Najdi type. The following data come from Ingham’s (1995) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective (351a) or the perfective (351b) aspect, also with pseudo-verbal (352) predicates.

(351a) ma ygūlūn lōn
 NEG 3MPL.say.IPFV thing
 ‘They were not saying anything.’
 Ingham (1995, 122)

(351b) mā ḥallēna
 NEG 1PL.leave.PFV
 ‘We did not leave.’
 Ingham (1995, 130)

(352) mā li-na ḥīlitin nifikk-ih
 NEG have-PN.1PL strength.INDEF 1PL.release.IPFV-3MSG

⁴² SG *ḍāli* ‘limping, walking on one foot rather than on the other’, from the verb *ḍala* ‘a’ ‘to limp, walk with a halting step’, said of the camel (Kurpershoek 2005, 199).

‘We have no way to rescue him.’

Ingham (1995, 126)

Non-verbal predicates are negated with *mā* (353), while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* (354).

(353) *mā bēn-ni u-bēna-ham gwāmah*

NEG between-PN.1SG CONJ-between-PN.3MPL enmity

‘There is no (real) enmity between us.’

Ingham (1995, 125)

(354) *ana mā-ni mwarrdtin al-faras*

PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG water.PTCP.INDEF ART-horse

‘I will not water the horse [...].’

Ingham (1995, 125)

Existential negation is attested as *ma bih*:

(355) *mā bi-h bala*

NEG there is-PN.3MSG trouble

‘[...] there was nothing wrong with him.’

Ingham (1995, 130)

The negative particle lā/la

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (356a) and the perfective (356b) aspect, are also negated by *wa-la*:

(356a) *w-lā talga min iḥwiyyā-na illi*

CONJ-NEG 2MSG.find.IPFV from companions-PN.1PL who

ḡa-na

3MSG.come.PFV-PN.1PL

‘[...] and you could not see any of our companions who came.’

Ingham (1995, 128)

- (356b) u-lā radd
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.answer.PFV
 ‘[...] but did not answer.’
 Ingham (1995, 126)

The negative imperative is also formed with *lā*:

- (357) lā tiqūl an-ni mā gilt-l-ak
 NEG 2MSG.say.IPFV that-PN.1SG NEG 1SG.tell.PFV-to-PN.2MSG
 ‘[...] don't say afterwards that I didn't tell you [...]’
 Ingham (1995, 129)

Pronouns are additionally negated by *lā*, as in the example below:

- (358) ar-riġim ġiddām lā hu wura
 ART-hill in front NEG PN.3MSG behind
 ‘The hill was in front of us not behind us.’
 Ingham (1995, 128)

In negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates, *lā* is attested as *lā...ulā*:

- (359) ma hna lli ricib lā dīlūl ulā faras
 NEG here which 3MSG.ride.PFV NEG female riding camel NegCONJ horse
 ‘There was not there anything to ride, not a camel or a horse.’
 Ingham (1995, 128)

3.3.40 Paul Marcel Kurpershoek: ‘Utaybah (Saudi Arabia)

Kurpershoek’s (1993) work on the dialect of the ‘Utaybah Bedouins in the central Najd area of Saudi Arabia, focuses on the oral traditions of the tribe. The following data come from Kurpershoek’s (1993) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

The negative particle *mā/ma* negates verbal predicates in the imperfective (360a) and the perfective aspect (360b).

- (360a) niṣf as-sanah ma yharġūn
half ART-year NEG 3MPL.talk.IPFV
‘For half a year they had not talked to one another.’
Kurpershoek (1993, 56)

- (360b) ma rawwaḥ al-mandūb
NEG 3MSG.send.PFV ART-deputy
‘He never sent a deputy [...]’
Kurpershoek (1993, 46)

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, and they are usually suffixed by *-b*:

- (361) wallah ma-nī-b aḥḍin min-hin šīn
by God NEG-PN.1SG-b take.PTCP.INDEF from-PN.3MSG thing.INDEF
‘By God, I am not going to take anything from him.’
Kurpershoek (1993, 50)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is encountered as *māš*, analysed by Kurpershoek (1993) as *ma* + *šayy*:

- (362) w-mā-š mārad ġār sigmān
CONJ-NEG-thing well except Sigmān
‘There was only the well of Sigmān.’
Kurpershoek (1993, 52)

In (362) we can also observe the exceptive construction *mā (māš)...ġār*.

The negative particle lā/la

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (363), as well as non-verbal predicates (364), are also negated by the negation *wala*:

(363) *wla naba mar‘āh*
NEG 1PL.want.IPFV pasture
‘We don’t want that pasture.’
Kurpershoek (1993, 62)

(364) *wla hum mħallīn-kum*
NEG PN.3MPL leave.PTCP-PN.2PL
‘The enemy won’t leave you alone.’
Kurpershoek (1993, 54)

The negative imperative is formed with *lā/la*:

(365) *la t‘arriḍ wir‘ān aš-šiyābīn*
NEG 2MSG.expose.IPFV children ART-Šiyābin
‘Don’t expose the small children of the Siyābin [...]’
Kurpershoek (1993, 56)

The negative particle *lā/la* is additionally attested in conditional structures with *lāla (lawlā)* ‘if not’:

(366) *lā-la l-luwāħi wa-r-risan gāḍib-ha*
COND-NEG for-ART-reins CONJ-ART-bridle hold.PTCP-PN.3FSG
‘Were it not for the reins and bridle that restrain her [...]’
Kurpershoek (1993, 44)

Lā/la is additionally encountered in negative coordination structures with verbal (367a-b) and different types of predicates (367b-c) as *la...wala/wala...wala*.

(367a) *wala ‘āḍi-ni fī-ha wala*

NEG 3MSG.make up.PFV-PN.1SG in-PN.3FSG NegCONJ

rağwā-ni

3MSG.give hope.PFV-PN.1SG

‘But he did not fulfil my desire, nor did he hold out any promise.’

Kurpershoek (1993, 46)

(367b) wla tūğad al-faras al-aşīl wala ḥad

NEG 3FSG.be found.IPFV ART-horse ART-thoroughbred NegCONJ one

yibī^c -ha

3MSG.sell.IPFV-PN.3FSG

‘But even then a thoroughbred mare was not to be found, for nobody who owned one was ready to sell it.’

Kurpershoek (1993, 40)

(367c) la ḥadin yāḥid min byūt-hin wala

NEG one.INDEF 3MSG.take.IPFV from houses-PN.3FPL NegCONJ

zihbān-hin wala la yadḥal byūt-hin aḥad

bags-PN.3FPL NegCONJ NEG 3MSG.enter.IPFV houses-PN.3FPL one

‘No-one takes anything from their tents, their bags or whatever... no one is allowed to enter their tents.’

Kurpershoek (1993, 60)

3.3.41 *Clive Holes: Bedouin dialects from Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs (Oman)*

Holes (1989), among his numerous works on Omani dialects, analyses the Bedouin and ḥaḍari varieties of Oman. The following data come from two texts recorded in Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs, representing the two major Bedouin varieties of the region. The following data come from Holes’s (1989) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (368a) and the perfective (368b) aspect are negated by *mā*.

(368a) mā yiširban mūl
NEG 3FPL.drink.IPFV at all
‘They don’t drink at all.’
Holes (1989, 458)

(368b) u ida mā bağaw
CONJ COND NEG 3MPL.want.PFV
‘If they don’t accept [...]’
Holes (1989, 457)

Non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā*:

(369) hu mā gaşşar
PN.3MSG NEG stingy
‘[...] he is not stingy!’
Holes (1989, 457)

Existential negation is encountered as *mā fiḥ*:

(370) mā fi-h fayda
NEG there is-PN.3MSG benefit
‘[...] it’s no good.’
Holes (1989, 457)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is also encountered as *mā ši*:

(371) mā ši illa miya
NEG there is except hundred
‘[...] nothing...except the hundred [...]’
Holes (1989, 456)

In the above example, we also note the exceptive construction *mā...illa*. As stated by Eades (2009, 92), in both Bedouin and sedentary Omani dialects the existential marker is *šē* ('exist', 'thing').

3.3.42 Roger Webster: *Wahība* (Oman)

During his research project in *Wahība* Sands, Oman, Webster (1991) studies the northern Omani dialect of the *Wahība* Bedouin tribe. The following data come from Webster's (1991) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

In Webster's (1991) recordings, the negative particle *mā/ma* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (372) *mā yimšūn yišrūn-hā min as-sūg*
 NEG 3MPL.buy.IPFV 3MPL.buy.IPFV-PN.3FSG from ART-market
walā šay
 CONJ thing
 'They don't go and buy them from the market or anything.'
 Webster (1991, 480)

Mā is also encountered with pseudo-verbal predicates, as in the following example:

- (373) *mā 'ind-a ḥurma*
 NEG have-PN.3MSG woman
 '[...] without a wife [...]'
 Webster (1991, 482)

Non-verbal predicates are negated with *mā* or *mub*:

- (374) *w-mā ša'ab 'alē-hum aḍ-ḍill*
 CONJ-NEG hard for-PN.3MPL ART-shadow

‘[...] for the shade is not so hard for them.’

Webster (1991, 480)

(375) *lā lā mu-b ḥarām*

no no NEG-b forbidden

‘No, no, it’s not forbidden.’

Webster (1991, 481)

A distinctive feature attested in the Wahība dialect is the emphatic negative *bahō* meaning ‘not/none at all’, or the double emphatic *bahō bahō*.

Existential negation in the Wahība dialect is occasionally encountered as *mā fīh*:

(376) *mā fīh sayyārāttin*

NEG there is cars.INDEF

‘There are no trucks [...]’

Webster (1991, 480)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation in the Wahība dialect is usually encountered as *mā šay*. Webster (1991, 477) states that in this dialect *mā fīh* is usually replaced by *mā š(ay)*:

(377) *mā š ‘ēb*

NEG there is shame

‘There’s nothing shameful in it.’

Webster (1991, 481)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is attested in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates as *lā...walā*:

(378) *kama lā yisikinūn mikān kama lā yitsikkinūn*

so long NEG 3MPL.settle.IPFV place as long NEG 3MPL.settle down.IPFV

mikān wa lā skinō fī mikān wāḥad

place NegCONJ 3MPL.settle.PFV in place one

‘[...] so long as they keep moving, so long as they don't settle in one place, as long as they don't settle down in one place.’

Webster (1991, 481)

3.3.43 *Clive Holes: The dialect of Ṣūr (Oman)*

Holes (2013) describes the dialect of Ṣūr, which he classifies as a Bedouin variety that also contains sedentary features. The following data come from Holes's (2013) recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are negated by *mā/ma*:

(379) mā niḡdar nāḥad min il-akil hāda

NEG 1PL.can.IPFV 1PL.take.IPFV from ART-food this

‘[...] we couldn't eat our food.’

Holes (2013, 97)

Non-verbal predicates are also negated by *mā/ma*:

(380a) awwal h-al ṣūr ma mihna 'ind-hum illa mihnit

first this-ART- Ṣūr NEG profession have-PN.3MPL except profession

il-baḥar

ART-sea

‘The only work the people of Ṣūr had was the sea [...]’

Holes (2013, 98)

(380b) ma li-h 'ilāḡ

NEG to-PN.3MSG treatment

‘There was no treatment.’

Holes (2013, 100)

Exceptive constructions are attested as *ma...illa* (380a, 382b) or *mā... ġēr* (381a).

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is encountered as *māšay/māši*, while *šay* or *ši* are used as existential markers:

(381a) mā-šay madāris ġēr madāris iq-gur'ān
NEG-there is schools except schools ART-Qur'an
'There were no schools...except Qur'an schools.'
Holes (2013, 96)

(381b) mā-ši 'ināya u mā-ši daḥātir
NEG-there is care CONJ NEG-there is doctors
'As far as (medical) care was concerned, there was none, and no doctors
either.'
Holes (2013, 99)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā* is attested in asyndetic negative coordination structures (382a) and in negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates (existential negation) as *ulā...ulā* (382b).

(382a) mā-šay tara 'ilāġ lā əḥbūb
NEG-there is 2MSG.see.IPFV treatment NEG pills
'There was no treatment...there were no pills.'
Holes (2013, 100)

(382b) ulā-šay madāris ulā-šay mistašfayāt ulā-šay
NegCONJ-there is schools NegCONJ-there is hospitals NegCONJ-there is
'ināya 'ināya mā-ši illa hāda timruḥ-hum
care care NEG-there is except this 2MSG.message.IPFV-PN.3MPL

‘[...] there were no schools, no hospitals, no medical care...except you just massaged them [...]’
 Holes (2013, 100)

3.3.44 *Rashid Al-Balushi: Omani dialects*

Al-Balushi (2017) presents a phonological and morphological description of Omani dialects and provides examples that support the idea of an affinity between some of these varieties and pre-Islamic varieties. Al-Balushi (2017, 123) also concludes that the sedentary Omani dialects are going through a process of switching to the Bedouin ones. According to the data provided by Al-Balushi on negation, non-verbal predicates in the eastern Bedouin dialects of Oman are negated by *'ab* (383a), *mab/māb* (383b), *mahu/muhu* and *mā/mahub* (384). Al-Balushi analyses *'ab* as the negative particle *'a* and the suffix *-b*, which considers (Al-Balushi 2017, 112–113) as a negative polarity item. In the Bāṭina Bedouin dialects of Oman, *mu* and *mahu* are also encountered, while in the Bedouin variety of the Mag‘ali tribe, the negative particle used is *'am* (385).

(383a) aḥmad 'a-b hnīh
 Aḥmad NEG-b here
 ‘Ahmad is not here.’
 Al-Balushi (2017, 113)

(383b) s-sayyārah mā-b/ma-b zēnah alḥīn
 ART-car NEG-b good now
 ‘The car is not good now.’
 Al-Balushi (2017, 113)

(384) aḥmad ma-hu/mu-hu /mā/ma-hu-b marīḍ
 Ahmad NEG-PN.3MSG /NEG.PN.SG-b sick
 ‘Ahmad is not sick.’
 Al-Balushi (2017, 113)

(385a) 'am rāyḥah ma'-ik
 NEG go.PTCP with-PN.2FSG

‘I am not going with you.’

Al-Balushi (2017, 113)

(385b) aḥmad ʾam māši alḥīn

Ahmad NEG walk.PTCP now

‘Ahmad is not going now.’

Al-Balushi (2017, 114)

3.3.45 Sara Bakhit Al-Sheyadi: *Yāl Saʿad (Oman)*

Al-Sheyadi (2021) studies the Yāl Saʿad Bedouin tribe in the Bāṭina coast of northern Oman. In her study, she provides extended data on negation. The following data come from Al-Sheyadi’s (2021) conclusions and recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma

The negative particle *mā* is encountered in the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective (386) and the perfective (387) aspect.

(386a) mā t-sidd

NEG 3FSG.suffice.IPFV

‘It is not enough.’

Al-Sheyadi (2021, 67)

(386b) mā b-arūḥ

NEG b-1SG.go.IPFV

‘I will not go.’

Al-Sheyadi (2021, 68)

(387) mā kʿtib-ah

NEG 3MSG.write.PFV-PN.3MSG

‘He has not written it.’

Al-Sheyadi (2021, 68)

The negative particle ab

The negative participle *ab* is used to negate non-verbal predicates such as pronouns (388a), quantifiers, nouns (388b), adverbs (388c), demonstratives, adjectives, participles (388d), and prepositional phrases (388e). In all the former cases, *ab* can also be used interchangeably with the negative particle *mā*.

(388a) *ab humma*
NEG PN.3MPL
'Not them.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 70)

(388b) *hē ab kirsi*
this NEG chair
'This is not a chair.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 71)

(388c) *ab hnīh*
NEG here
'It's not here.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 74)

(388d) *hē ab mizzawwig^ǧ*
PN.3FSG NEG be married.PTCP
'He is not married.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 80)

(388e) *ab min l-bēt ḡāyb-e li-ghawah*
NEG from ART-house bring.PTCP-PN.3MSG ART-coffee
'I have not brought the coffee from home.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 73)

The negative particle am

The negative particle *am* is used with active and passive participles, to negate an action or possibility in the future:

- (389) hē am mizzawwig^ḡ
PN.3MSG NEG be married.PTCP
'He will never get married.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 80)

The use of šay, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms

Existential negation is encountered either with the negative particle *ab* or *ma* and the existential marker *šay* as *ab/ma šay*.

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative. It is also used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, preceded by '*an*':

- (390) 'anlā t t īḥ
NEG 2MSG.fall.IPFV
'Lest you fall.'
Al-Sheyadi (2021, 81)

The preventive marker '*anlā* is also attested in Bedouin dialects of Bahrain (Holes 2016). Holes (2016, 396) mentions that '*an* could be justified as a preventive marker if we consider that one of the functions of the preposition '*an* is to express 'avoidance'. Al-Sheyadi (2021, 81) also agrees with such a claim. Interestingly, '*an*, but without *lā*, is additionally attested in the Šawāwī mountain nomads of northern Oman (Eades 2009) as a preventive marker with the meaning 'so that not'.

Additionally, *lā* is used in the negative scalar *wala*, in negative concord constructions:

(391) w lā marra gālan k'īh
 NegSFP time 3FPL.say.PFV-3PLF so
 'They never once said so.'
 Al-Sheyadi (2021, 81)

Moreover, *lā/la* is attested in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *la...w lā*:

(392) mā ahibb la dē w lā dē
 NEG 1SG-like.IPFV NEG this NegCONJ this
 'I don't like either of these.'
 Al-Sheyadi (2021, 81)

Finally, Al-Sheyadi (2021) mentions the use of the double *lā* as *lālā*, as an emphatic negative response.

3.3.46 Carlo de Landberg: Ḥaḍramawt (Yemen)

Carlo de Landberg (1901) studies the Bedouin dialects of Ḥaḍramawt in Yemen. The following data comes from his recorded material.

The negative particle mā/ma

Verbal predicates in the imperfective (393) and perfective (394) aspect are negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*:

(393a) mā ta'rib⁴³ šī
 NEG 3FSG.worth.IPFV thing
 'She is worth nothing.'
 de Landberg (1901, 470)

(393b) u-mā nindor el-leḥya illa tālet

⁴³ 'arab or 'arrab are attested in Landberg with various interpretations, all of them implying meanings related to 'order, arrangement' (de Landberg 1901, 470).

CONJ-NEG 1PL.remove.IPFV ART-beard except 3FSG.become long.PFV

galīl

little

‘We don’t remove the beard unless it has become a bit long.’

de Landerg (1901, 495)

- (394) ana mā sma‘t-uh
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.hear.PFV-PN.3MSG
‘I didn’t hear it.’
de Landberg (1901, 436)

Exceptive constructions are attested as *mā...illa* (393b, 395). Non-verbal predicates (395) and pronouns (396) are negated by *mā/ma*:

- (395) al-laḥm al-mašawi mā yikūn illa b-il-ğamr
ART-meat ART-roast NEG 3MSG.be.IPFV except with-ART-coal
‘Roast meat is only done on the incandescent coal.’
de Landberg (1901, 327)

- (396) mā hī mabšūra
NEG PN.3FSG braided
‘[...] it is not braided [...]’
de Landberg (1901, 255)

Existential negation is mostly encountered as *mā šī*, *šī* being the existential marker in Landberg’s (1901) material. However, existential negation with *mā fī* (398) is also occasionally attested.

- (397) ‘ande-na ḥallāg maḥsuṣ mā šī
at-PN.1PL barber ad hoc NEG there is
‘There is no ad hoc barber here.’
de Landberg (1901, 493)

- (398) mā fī-ha farat

NEG there is-PN.3FSG difference
‘[...] there is no difference [...]’
de Landberg (1901, 267)

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la* is attested in negative imperative (399), and in negative coordination structures as *lā...walā* (400).

(399) *lā tibṭi kaṭīr ‘ala*
NEG 2MSG.stay.IPFV much on
‘Don’t stay long!’
de Landberg (1901, 465)

(400) *lā tanbut šāgar wala kala*
NEG 3MSG.grow.IPFV tree NegCONJ grass
‘Neither tree nor grass grows.’
de Landberg (1901, 463)

Moreover, the adverbial *la ‘ād* is used with the meaning ‘no longer, not anymore’.

3.4 *Summary and concluding remarks from previous studies in Bedouin dialects*

Summary

We will now summarise the results of the above literature review by presenting them under the following types of negation: Simple negation (Stage I of Jespersen's Cycle) of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates, bipartite negation (Stage II of Jespersen's Cycle) with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates, postverbal negation (Stage III of Jespersen's Cycle) with verbal predicates, emphatic negation with the *š* suffix, negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle *mā/ma* (and its morphological variants), and with the negative markers *'ab*, *mab*, and *'am*, negation with non-verbal predicates with the *š* negator (*muš*, *miš*, *maš*), existential negation as *mā/ma fi* and *mā/ma b-*, existential negation as *mā/ma fiš/fiš* and *mā/ma biš/biš*, existential negation with other negative existential markers, and various uses of the negative particle *lā/la*.

Considering that *mā* is the main negator encountered in all the above Bedouin Arabic varieties, attention will be paid to the uses of the *š* negator as a sedentary, adopted feature, but also to the use of *šay*, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix form, as well as to the negative particle *lā* as a typical feature of conservatism in many of these varieties.

Simple negation (Stage I of Jespersen's Cycle) of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates

Cantineau's studies (groups A, B, C, and Bc): Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly attested with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Groups A and B: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly attested with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Group C: Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective and perfective aspect, as well as negation of pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly formed with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Group Bc: Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective and perfective aspect, as well as negation of pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly formed with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Between Najdi and Šāwi: In the 'Abu 'Īd tribe of Lebanon (Younes 2014) and in the Ġbūr tribe of Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006), negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly attested with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Šrūgi dialects: Simple negation of verbal predicates is attested with the negative particles *mā*, *'ēb*, and *'īb*.

Northwest Arabian dialects: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates is mainly encountered with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

West Arabian - Ḥiġāzi- dialects: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates is mainly attested with the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Omani dialects: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates is mainly expressed by the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Southwest Arabian dialects: Negation of verbal predicates is mainly expressed by the negative particle *mā/ma*.

Bipartite negation (Stage II of Jespersen's Cycle) with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates

Group C: Bipartite negation of verbal predicates as *mā/ma...š* is attested in the N'ēmāt tribe of southern Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988) only in younger speakers. Bipartite negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect and pseudo-verbal predicates as *mā/ma...š* is also attested in the N'ēmāt tribe of northern Jordan (Al Tawil 2021).

Šrūgi dialects: Bipartite negation as *mā/ma...š* and *'ēb...š* is attested in the *ġalāt* dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim 2015, 2023).

Northwest Arabian dialects: In Bedouin dialects of the Negev (Henkin 2010) bipartite negation as *mā/ma...š* is only attested once. In Bedouin dialects of Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011) the bipartite negation *mā/ma...š* shows a larger use. Sedentary features like this, seems to be result of contact with sedentary dialects of the Šarqiyyah, in the case of the dialects of the northern Sinai. However, similar adopted features in the dialects of central and southern Sinai have not yet a clear origin. Thus, the bipartite negation is attested with verbal predicates both in the imperfective and perfective aspect, either occasionally, as a K-form in the Rmēlāt, the Sawārkah, the Biliy, the Tarābīn, the Masāʿīd, the ʿAyāydah, and the Dawḍāğrah tribes, or as a common form in the Samāʿnah, the ʿAğāylah, the Biyyāḍiyyah, the Aḥārsah, and the Ṭuwara tribes, while in the Biyyāḍiyyah, the Aḥārsah, and the Ṭuwara tribes, bipartite negation as *mā/ma...š* is also encountered with pseudo-verbal predicates (de Jong 2000, 2011).

Postverbal negation (Stage III of Jespersen’s Cycle) with verbal predicates

Postverbal negation -š with verbal predicates is only attested in the Nʿēmāt tribe of southern Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988), exclusively among younger speakers.

Emphatic negation with šay and the š suffix

An interesting observation that arose from the literature review is the use of *šay* or the enclitic -š as an emphatic negator with the meaning ‘nothing’ or ‘at all’. In the dialect of the Murra tribe of Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b), the š suffix is used with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect and with clitic pronouns to express emphatic negation. In this case, we can say that a more archaic form of this feature is attested (Diem 2014, 1), where -š is used in its literal meaning ‘something/thing’ > *ma šay*, ‘anything/nothing’. In the dialect of the ʿAzāzme of the Negev (Shawarbah 2012, 275), the negative existential marker *māš* is analysed as *mā + šay*, where the š suffix is used to express emphatic negation with the meaning ‘there is/was absolutely nothing’. Moreover, in the dialect of the Dawāsir tribe in Kuwait Johnstone (1961, 1964, 1967), the indefinite *šayyin* is used with the meaning ‘at all’.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā/ma (and its morphological variants), and with the negative markers 'ab, mab, and 'am

Groups A and B: In the 'Anazeh tribe of Syria (de Landberg 1919), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Rwala tribe of the Syrian desert (O'Hara 2019, based on Musil 1928), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Ḥroṣa and the 'Abda tribes of Syria (Montagne 1935), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Īsa tribe of Jordan (Younes 2018), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Dawāsir tribe of Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Muṭair tribe of Kuwait (Ingham 1979), non-verbal predicates are negated by *ma hub/ma hib*. In the Ḍafīr tribe of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a), pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia (Ingham 1982b), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, *mū*, *mi*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In Bedouin tribes of central Najd of Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū*, *mub*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Bani Hāğir tribe of Qatar (Johnstone 1967), pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Murra tribe of Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, *mū*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Rwala tribe of Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the 'Utaybah tribe of Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993), pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Group C: In the Wardāt tribe of Syria (den Heijer 1980–81), the negative particle *mā/ma* and the negative markers *mū* and *mī* are attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the 'Ağārma tribe of Jordan (Palva 1976, 1978), the negative particle *mā/ma* is encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Bani 'Abbād tribe of Jordan (Torzullo 2022b), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* and *mū* while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the N'ēmāt tribe of Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū/mu*, while pronouns are

negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Bani Yūsif and the Siyāla tribes of Turkey (Procházka 2013), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mū*. In the Bani ‘Iḡil tribe of Turkey (Procházka and Batan 2022), the negative markers *mū* and *mī* are used to negate non-verbal predicates. In the ‘Atīḡ tribe of Lebanon (Younes and Herin 2013, 2016), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mō/mo*, *mī/mi*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995), the negative particle *mā/ma* and the negative markers *mū* and *mī* are encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Group Bc: In the Bani Ṣaḡar tribe of Jordan (Palva 1980), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mīy*. In the Sirḡān tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021), non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative markers *mū* and *mī*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Between Najdī and Šāwi: In the ‘Abū ‘Īd tribe of Lebanon (Younes 2014), negation of non-verbal predicates is attested with the negative marker *mīy*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Ġbūr tribe of Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006), non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative particle *mā*, and the negative markers *mū* and *mī*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Šrūgi dialects: In the *ḡalāt* dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim (2015, 2023), *mū* is attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Northwest Arabian dialects: In the Bdūl tribe of Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative particle *mā* and the negative marker *mu*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Ḥwētāt tribe of Jordan (Palva 1986, 2004), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, *mū*, *mī*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Zawāyda and the Zalābya tribes of Jordan (Al-Mashaqba 2015), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, and *mū*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Rašāyda tribe of Palestine (Katz 1980), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Ḍullām tribe of the Negev (Blanc 1970), non-verbal predicates

are negated by *mū*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the ‘Azāzme tribe of the Negev (Palva 1984b), pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the ‘Azāzme of the Negev (Shawarbah 2012), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the Aḥaywāt tribe of the Sinai (Stewart 1987), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In Bedouin tribes of the northern Sinai (de Jong 2000), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma* and *mū*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, also in double forms such as *mōhuhū*, *mīhihī*, etc. In Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2011), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

West Arabian –Ḥiġāzi– dialects: In the Bani Ḥarb tribe of Saudi Arabia (Al-Hamzy 1975), pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Omani dialects: In the Wahība tribe of Oman (Webster 1991), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā*, and *mub*. In Bedouin varieties of Buraimi and Jiddat al-Ḥarāsīs (Holes 1989), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*. In the dialect of Ṣūr Holes (2013), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*. In the Yāl Sa‘ad tribe of Oman (Al-Sheyadi 2021), non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā/ma*, *ab*, and *am*. In Omani Bedouin dialects (Al-Balushi 2017), non-verbal predicates are negated by *‘ab*, *mab*, *‘am*, and *mu*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Southwest Arabian dialects: In the Ḥaḍramawt dialects of Yemen (de Landberg 1901), non-verbal predicates as well as pronouns are negated by *mā/ma*.

Negation with non-verbal predicates with the š negator (muš, miš, maš)

Group C: The negative markers *muš* and *miš* are attested only among younger speakers in the N‘ēm tribe of Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988), while Al Tawil (2021) encounters *miš* in the N‘ēmāt tribe of Jordan. The negative marker *maš* is rarely attested in the ‘Aġārma

tribe of Jordan (Palva 1976), while frequently *muš* and less often *miš* are used in the Bani ‘Abbād tribe of Jordan (Torzullo 2022b). The negative markers *muš*, *miš*, and *māš* are occasionally encountered in Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995).

Group Bc: Al Tawil (2021) encounters *muš* and *miš* in the Sirhān tribe of Jordan.

Šrūgi dialects: The negative marker *muš* is attested in the *gəlat* dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim 2015, 2023).

Northwest Arabian dialects: The negative marker *muš* is occasionally encountered in the Bdūl tribe of Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984). In the Zawāyda and the Zalābya tribes of Jordan (Al-Mashaqba 2015) *muš* is also encountered. In the Rašāyda tribe of the Judean desert (Katz 1980), *muš* is rarely attested. The negative markers *muš* and *miš* are also occasionally attested as K-forms in the Ḍullām tribe of the Negev (Blanc 1970). In Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996), *muš* is only used for negation in the future, while in the ‘Azāzme tribe of the Negev (Shawarbah 2012), *muš* is frequently encountered. In Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010), *muš* and *māš* are also encountered, while the enclitic *-š* is attested only once in the construction *mā/ma + PN + š*. The negative marker *miš* is attested once in the Aḥaywāt tribe of the Sinai as a K-form (Stewart 1987). In Bedouin tribes of the northern, central, and southern Sinai (de Jong, 2000, 2011), the negative marker *miš*, as well as the construction *mā/ma + PN + š* and *mā/ma + PREP + š* are often attested.

Existential negation as mā/ma fi and mā/ma b-

Cantineau’s studies (Groups A, B, C, Bc): Existential negation is attested as *mā bū/bō*.

Groups A and B: Existential negation as *ma boh/mā ‘ bah* is encountered in the ‘Anazeh tribe of Syria (de Landberg 1919) and in the Ḍafir tribe of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a). Existential negation in the Rwala tribe of the Syrian desert is encountered as *mā bi* (O’Hara 2019, based on Musil 1928) and as *ma bih* in the Rwala tribe of Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995). Existential negation as *mā fih*, and *ma bih/ma bah* is encountered in Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia (Ingham 1982b), while *ma*

fih and *mā bī* are also encountered in the Murra tribe of Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b). Existential negation as *mā/ma fī/fi* is encountered in the Īsa tribe of Jordan (Younes 2018) and in the Dawāsir tribe of Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967), while *mā fī* is attested in Bedouin tribes of Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984).

Group C: Existential negation as *mā/ma bī/bi* is attested in the Wardāt tribe of Syria (den Heijer 1980-81), and in the N‘ēm tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021). In the ‘Ağārma tribe of Jordan (Palva 1976, 1978), existential negation is attested both as *ma bī/bi* and *ma fīh*. In the Bani ‘Abbād tribe of Jordan (Torzullo 2022b), and in the N‘ēmāt tribe of Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988), existential negation is encountered as *mā/ma fī/fī*. Existential negation as *ma bu* is attested in the ‘Atīğ tribe of Lebanon (Younes and Herin 2013, 2016). In Bedouin tribes of North Israel existential negation is encountered as *mā bū* and *mā bī* (Rosenhouse, 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995).

Group Bc: In the Bani Ṣaḥar tribe of Jordan (Palva 1980) existential negation is attested as *mā fih*. In the Sirḥān tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021) existential negation is attested as *mā/ma fī/fi*.

Between Najdī and Šāwī: In the ‘Abu ‘Īd tribe of Lebanon (Younes 2014) existential negation is encountered as *mā bu*. In the Ğbūr tribe of Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006), existential negation is encountered as *mā fī* and *mā bī*.

Northwest Arabian dialects: Existential negation as *mā/ma fī/fi* and *mā fih* is attested in the Bdūl tribe of Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), in Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996, Henkin 2010, Shawarbah 2012), and in Bedouin tribes of the northern, central, and southern Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011). Existential negation as *ma bi* is attested in the Rašāyda tribe of the West Bank (Katz 1980).

West Arabian – Hiğāzi dialects: Existential negation is attested as *mā fī* in the Bani Ḥarb tribe of Saudi Arabia (Al-Hamzy 1975).

Omani Bedouin tribes: Existential negation as *mā fih* is attested in the Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs Bedouin varieties of Oman (Holes 1989), and in the Wahība dialect of Oman (Webster 1991).

Southwest Arabian dialects: Existential negation in the Ḥaḍramawt dialects of Yemen (de Landberg 1901), is occasionally attested as *mā fi*.

Existential negation as mā/ma fiš/fiš and mā/ma biš/biš

Group C: Existential negation as *ma bīš* and *bīš* is attested in the N‘ēm tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021). Existential negation as *ma fišš* is rarely attested in the ‘Aḡārma tribe of Jordan (Palva 1976), while *mā fiš* is attested mostly in younger speakers in the Bani ‘Abbād tribe of Jordan (Torzullo 2022b). In Bedouin tribes of Israel, existential negation is also attested as *mafiš(š)* and *fiš* (Rosenhouse, 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995).

Group Bc: The negative existential markers *fiš* and *ma kānš fi* are occasionally attested in the Sirḥān tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021).

Northwest Arabian dialects: Existential negation as *mā/ma fiš* is attested in the Bdūl tribe of Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), while in Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010), *mā fiš* and *fiš* are occasionally attested as features borrowed from rural varieties. In Bedouin tribes of the Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011) existential negation is attested as *mā fiš* in the Rmēlāt, the Sawārakah, the Biliy, the Taṛābīn, the Masā‘īd, the ‘Ayāydah, the Dawḍāḡrah, the Ṭuwara, the Ḥwēṭāt, the Ġarāḡrah, the Tayāha, the Badārah, the Dbūr, the Malālḡah, the Mzēnah, the Baniy Wāṣil, the Samā‘nah, the ‘Aḡāyilah, the Biyyāḍiyyah, the Aḡārsah, and the ‘Lēḡāt tribes.

Existential negation with other negative existential markers

Groups A and B: In the ‘Utaybah tribe of Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993) existential negation is attested as *māš*, while in Bedouin tribes of Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984), the negative existential marker *māku* is also used.

Between Najdi and Šāwi: In the Ġbūr tribe of Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006), existential negation is also encountered as *māmīš*.

Group C: In the Bani Yūsif and the Siyāla tribes of Turkey, existential negation is attested as *māmin* and *māmiš* (Procházka 2013, Procházka and Batan 2022).

Šrūgi dialects: Existential negation in the *gəlat* dialects of southern Iraq is encountered as *māmin*, *māku*, *mākuš* and *māmiš* (Qassim 2015, 2023).

Northwest Arabian dialects: In the ‘Azāzme tribe of the Negev (Shawarbah 2012), existential negation is also attested as *māš*, although it is only used for emphatic negation. In Bedouin tribes of the Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011) existential negation is also attested as *māš*, while the double existential marker *māššiy* is attested in the Aḥaywāt tribe of Sinai (Stewart 1987).

Omani Bedouin tribes: Existential negation is attested as *mā šay/mā š/ši* in the Wahība tribe of Oman (Webster 1991). *Māšay/māši* is also attested in the dialect of *Šūr* (Holes 2013), while *mā ši* is attested in the Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs Bedouin varieties of Oman (Holes 1989). Existential negation as *ab/ma šay* is attested in the Yāl Sa‘ad tribe of Oman (Al-Sheyadi 2021).

Southwest Arabian dialects: Existential negation in the Ḥaḍramawt dialects of Yemen (de Landberg 1901), is mostly attested as *mā ši*.

The uses of the negative particle lā/la

Groups A and B: The negative particle *lā/la* is attested in the ‘Anazeh tribe of Syria (de Landberg 1919) in negative optative sentences and in indirect prohibition, while it is also attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective and perfective aspect in exceptive constructions with *wa-la* or the negation *wala*. In Landberg (1919), the negative particle *lā/la* is additionally used with pronouns, in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *la...wala*. In Cantineau’s (1937) study on the Rwala dialect of the Ḥawrān, negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is attested with *wa-lā*. In O’Hara’s (O’Hara 2019 based on Musil 1928) study on Rwala, *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in exceptive constructions and as a preventive marker, while it is also attested with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, and in negative optative sentences. In O’Hara (2019) *lā/la* is additionally encountered with pseudo-verbal predicates, with pronouns, in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wlā*. Moreover, the negative particle *lam* is

attested in poetic material, used to express an unreal, future situation. In the Ḥroṣa and the ‘Abda tribes of Syria (Montagne 1935), *lā/la* and *wa-la* are used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements and in statements expressing prevention. *Lā/la* is also used with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, in negative optative sentences. Moreover, it is used with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures, in exceptive constructions, and with pronouns. Finally, *lā/la* is attested in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *la...ulā*. In the Īsa tribe of Jordan (Younes 2018), *lā/la* is used in negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. In the Dawāsir tribe of Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, while *wa-la* and the negation *wala* are also used in negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective, perfective aspect, and in exceptive constructions. Furthermore, *lā/la* is attested with pronouns. Additionally, it is used in the negative imperative, in negative coordination structures with verbal, pseudo-verbal, and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala/wlā/wilā* and in the adverbial construction *la ‘ād*. Finally, in the Dawāsir tribe of Kuwait (Johnstone 1967), the fossilised form *lē*s is encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates. In the Muṭair tribe of Kuwait (Ingham 1979), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in indirect prohibition and in the negative indefinite pronoun *lā ḥadd*. Moreover, *ahlāš* is encountered with the meaning ‘useless’ and *alla* is encountered as a positive answer ‘yes’ to a negative question. In the Ḍafir tribe of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a), *lā/la* is used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, while *wa-la* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as well as pseudo-verbal predicates. Furthermore, *lā/la* is prefixed to the personal pronouns. The negative particle *lā/la* is additionally used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures in the negative conjunction *walā*. In Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia (Ingham 1982b), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in exceptive constructions, indirect prohibition, and as a preventive marker, while it is also used in existential negation as *(wa)lā bah*. Moreover, *lā* is used to negate pronouns. Additionally, it is used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as *lā...walā*, while the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions. In Bedouin tribes of central Najd of Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in indirect prohibition, while it is also used to negate pronouns. *Lā/la* is, moreover, used in the negative

imperative, and in negative coordination structures only in the negative conjunction *wala*. In the Bani Hāğir tribe of Qatar (Johnstone 1967), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express indirect prohibition, while *wa-la* and the negation *wala* are used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective, perfective aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates. Additionally, in Johnstone (1967) *lā/la* is attested prefixed to the pronouns in negative coordination structures. In Johnstone (1967) *lā/la* is also attested in negative coordination structures as *lā/la...walā*, and in the negative imperative. In the Murra tribe of Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b), verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are negated by *wa-la*. *Lā/la* is also used to negate pronouns, while negative coordination structures with non-verbal and with different types of predicates are encountered as *lā...wlā/walā...walā*. *Lā/la* is additionally used in the adverbial constructions *lā 'ād*, and *lā ba 'ad*. In the Rwala tribe of Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995), verbal predicates in the imperfective and the perfective aspect are negated by *wa-la*. *Lā/la* is also used to negate pronouns, it is attested in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...ulā*, and in the negative imperative. In the 'Utaybah tribe of Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993), verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are negated by the negation *wala*. *Lā/la* is also used to negate pronouns, while it is additionally attested in conditional structures with non-verbal predicates. In Kurpershoek (1993), *lā/la* is, moreover, attested in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates and different types of predicates as *la...wala/wala...wala*.

Group C: In the Wardāt tribe of Syria (den Heijer 1980–81), the negative particle *lā/la* is attested in the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as *'alla*, expressing prevention, while it is also used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*. In the N'ēm tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021), *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with different types of predicates, and in asyndetic coordination as *la...wala/bal...bala/la...la*. In the 'Ağārma tribe of Jordan (Palva 1976), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express indirect prohibition, and in the negative imperative, while the negation *wala* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates. Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates are encountered as *lā...wala*. In the Bani 'Abbād tribe of Jordan (Torzullo 2022b), *wa-la* is attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates. In the N'ēmāt tribe of Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988), *lā/la* is attested in the

negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, while it is also attested in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *la...wala*. In the Bani 'Iġil tribe of Turkey (Procházka and Batan 2022), *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with different types of predicates as *lā...walā*. The negative particle *lā/la* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in negative statements and as a preventive marker. It is also used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with verbal, pseudo-verbal, non-verbal predicates, and in asyndetic coordination as *lā...wala/wala...wala/lā...lā*. Moreover, the negative scalar *wala* is attested in negative concord constructions. Finally, *lā* is used in the negative, modal expression *lā budd*, and in the adverbial construction *lā 'ād* (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995).

Group Bc: In the Bani Şaḥar tribe of Jordan (Palva 1980), the negative particle *lā/la* is used in the negation *wala*, in emphatic negation with *'umr*. In the Sirḥān tribe of Jordan (Al Tawil 2021), the negative particle *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal and non-verbal predicates as *la...wala*.

Between Najdī and Šāwi: In the 'Abū 'Īd tribe of Lebanon (Younes 2014), the negative particle *lā/la* is attested in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with different types of predicates as *lā...walā*. In the Ġbūr tribe of Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006), the negative particle *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in indirect prohibition and prevention, while *wa-la* is also used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect and non-verbal predicates. Moreover, *lā* is attested in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wlā* or *lā...lā*. Existential negation is additionally encountered as *lā bī*.

Šrūġi dialects: The negative particle *lā* is attested in the negative existential marker *lāku* in negative coordination structures.

Northwest Arabian dialects: In the Bdūl tribe of Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), the negative particle *lā/la* is used only with 'negative verbs' in the imperfective aspect, and in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*. In the Ḥwēṭāt tribe of Jordan (Palva 1986, 2004) and in the Zawāyda and the

Zalābya tribes of Jordan (Mashaqba 2015), *lā/la* is attested in the negative imperative. In the Rašāyda tribe of the Judean desert (Katz 1980), the negative particle *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, while the negation *wala* is also attested in negative expressions and *wa-la* with non-verbal predicates. Moreover, *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*, while the negative scalar *wala* is attested in negative concord constructions. In Katz (1980), pronouns are additionally negated by prefixation of *la*, while *lā* is also encountered in the modal expression *lā badd*. The negative imperative in the Rašāyda tribe is encountered only once, with *balāš*. In the Ḍullām tribe of the Negev (Blanc 1970), *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as *lā...walā*. Moreover, *lah-lah-lah* and *lāllih* are encountered as emphatic, negative answers. In Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in negative optative sentences, and with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures, while the negation *wala* is used in negative expressions. Furthermore, the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions. In Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010), *lā/la* is used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect and it is also attested in negative optative sentences. Moreover, it is used with pronouns and with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures. Additionally, it is attested in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*. In the ‘Azāzme tribe of the Negev (Shawarbah, 2012), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing indirect prohibition. It is also used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as *lā/la...wala*, while the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions. Moreover, *la*, *lah*, and *lāllih* are encountered as emphatic, negative answers. In the Aḥaywāt tribe of the Sinai (Stewart 1987), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, and in the negative imperative, while the negation *wala* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates. Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates are encountered as *la...wala*, while the negative scalar *wala/walā* is used in negative concord constructions. In Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2011), *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, and the negation *wala* is used in negative expressions. Additionally, *lā/la* is attested in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*, while the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions.

West Arabian –Ḥiğāzi– dialects: In the Bani Ḥarb tribe of Saudi Arabia (Al-Hamzy 1975), the negative particle *lā/la* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect expressing indirect prohibition, while *wa-la* is also used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect. Additionally, *lā/la* is encountered with pronouns, as well as in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates as *lā...ulā*.

Omani dialects: In the Wahība dialect (Webster 1991), *lā/la* is attested in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates in *lā...walā*. In the dialect of Ṣūr in Oman (Holes 2013), *lā/la* is attested in negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates as *mā...lā*, and *ulā...ulā*. In the Yāl Sa‘ad tribe of Oman (Al-Sheyadi 2021), the negative particle *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker (*anlā*), while it is also used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *la...wlā*. Moreover, *lā* is encountered in the negative scalar *wala/walā*, in negative concord constructions. Finally, in Al-Sheyadi (2021) *lālā* is attested as an emphatic, negative answer.

Southwest Arabian dialects: In the Ḥaḍramawt dialects (de Landberg 1901), *lā/la* is attested in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...walā*.

Concluding remarks

As we mentioned above, in the summary of this chapter, we have opted for a more focused examination of the results of previous studies on the uses of *š* negator as a sedentary, adopted feature, the uses of *šay*, its derivatives and its reduced suffix forms, and the uses of the negative particle *lā* as a rather conservative feature. Therefore, we will present our concluding marks by focusing on these three negative elements.

The š negator

The great majority of the Arabian Peninsula Bedouin dialects refrain from the use of the *š* negator in the bipartite and postverbal form of verbal and pseudo-verbal negation. In the dialects described in this chapter, such forms of negation are occasionally attested

in the N‘ēmāt tribe (Yrttiaho 1988, Al Tawil 2021), only once in Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010), while they are more often used in Bedouin tribes of the Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011). The bipartite negation is also attested in the Šrūgi dialects of southern Iraq (Hassan 2016, 2023).

However, the *š* negator is much more often encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates and in the existential negation, mostly as K-forms. Negative markers such as *muš*, *miš* or *māš* are occasionally or regularly attested in the N‘ēmāt (Yrttiaho 1988, Al Tawil 2021), the Sirhān (Al Tawil 2021), the ‘Ağārma (Palva 1976), the Bani ‘Abbād (Torzullo 2022b) the Bdūl (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), the Zawāyda and the Zalābya (Al-Mashaqba 2015) tribes of Jordan, in Bedouin tribes of North Israel, in the Rašāyda tribe (Katz 1980) of Palestine, as well as in the Ḍullām (Blanc 1970), the ‘Azāzme (Shawarbah 2012) and various tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996, Henkin 2010), and in the Aḥaywāt (Stewart 1987), and various tribes of the northern, central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011). The negative marker *muš* is also attested in the Šrūgi dialects of southern Iraq (Hassan 2016, 2023).

Likewise, negative existential markers as *mā/ma fiš/fiš*, and *fiš/fiš* or *mā/ma biš/biš*, and *biš/biš* are used in the Bdūl (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), the N‘ēmāt (Yrttiaho 1988, Al Tawil 2021), the Sirhān (Al Tawil 2021), the ‘Ağārma (Palva 1976), and the Bani ‘Abbād (Torzullo 2022b) tribes of Jordan, in Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995), as well as in Bedouin tribes of the northern Sinai de Jong (2000, 2011). In the Šrūgi dialects of southern Iraq (Hassan 2016, 2023), where the existential marker used for ‘there is’ is usually *aku*, existential negation is also attested as *mākuš*.

Use of šay, its derivatives, and the š suffix

Other negative existential markers deriving from *šay* and its reduced suffix forms are attested in Bedouin dialects where the *š* negator is neither used in verbal nor in non-verbal negation (with rare exceptions in non-verbal negation). In these cases, negative existential markers are formed by an existential marker usually including *šay* and not *fi/fī* or *bi/bī*. Consequently, in Oman, where the existential marker used is *šay/ši/še*, we also find negative existential markers such as *mā šay/mā š/ši* (Webster 1991, Holes 1989, 2013) *mā ši* (Holes 1989), *māšay/māši* (2013), and *ab/ma šay* (Al-Sheyadi 2021),

while in Urfa Bedouin dialects of Turkey (Procházka 2013, Procházka and Batan 2022), where the existential marker is *ši*, existential negation is attested as *māmiš*.

But there are also cases where existential negation is not formed from the existential marker ‘there is’ used in the dialect, for example the negative existential marker *māš* or the double *māššiy* are attested in the Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011, Stewart 1987), where, however, the existential marker is *fīh*. The negative existential marker *māš* is also encountered in the Negev (Shawarbah, 2012), but only as an emphatic negator with the meaning ‘there is/was absolutely nothing’. Additionally, the negative existential marker *māmiš* is also encountered in Šrūgi dialects.

It would be interesting to observe that *māš* is used only as an emphatic negative existential marker in the ‘Azāzme tribe of the Negev (Shawarbah, 2012), and as a negative existential marker in Bedouin tribes of the Sinai (de Jong 2000, 2011), while in Rosenhouse (1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995) and in Henkin (2010) *māš* is encountered only as a non-verbal negative marker.

Emphatic negation with the *š* suffix, meaning ‘nothing’ or ‘at all’, is attested in the Murra tribe of Qatar and Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b), and in the dialect of the ‘Azāzme of the Negev (Shawarbah 2012, 275). Finally, in the dialect of the Dawāsir tribe in Kuwait Johnstone (1961, 1964, 1967), the indefinite *šayyin* is used for emphatic negation.

The negative particle lā/la

The negative particle *lā/la*, although in general much less frequently encountered than *mā/ma* and its morphological variants, is attested with various uses, especially in the groups A and B. According to Johnstone (1967, 249), the negative particle *lā/la* is frequently used as a variant of *mā/ma* in Bedouin dialects, while in sedentary dialects it is only occasionally attested. When used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, *lā/la* is attested in negative statements and in exceptive constructions, while it is mostly used in negation of modals such as negative optative sentences, indirect prohibition, and prevention. When used with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, *lā/la* is also attested in negative statements and in exceptive constructions, while it is again mostly used in negation of modals like negative optative sentences.

It is important to remind here that *lā/la* is not expected to precede verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, except for negative optative sentences and negative

coordination structures (Dendane and Dendane 2013, Badawi et al. 2016)⁴⁴. Likewise, Larcher (2007, 2009) mentions that this use is attested in Quranic and Classical Arabic in religious, negative optative sentences, in indirect prohibition, or as a part of a negative coordination structure. However, the use of *lā/la* with a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect is also attested in negative statements, as we encountered for example in the tribes of the Rwala (O’Hara 2019, based on Musil 1928) the Ḍafir tribe (Ingham 1986a), and the Bani Ḥarb (Al-Hamzy 1975). More often, negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is encountered with *wa-la, wala*. This use of *wa-la/wala* + VPreds PFV is interpreted by Ingham (1995) as emphatic negation. Such an interpretation is justified, if we consider that all uses of *wala* –literal *wa-la*, negation *wala*, negative scalar *wala* and negation *wala*– deliver emphasis.

A similar case of *lā/la* negating a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect is also encountered –only once though– in the Quranic text:

- (401) *fa-lā iqtaham-a al-‘aqabatā*
 CONJ-NEG 3MSG.rush into.PFV ART-steep mountain road
 ‘But he hath made not haste on the path that is steep.’
 (Qur’ān 90:11)

As we mentioned earlier in this chapter, a possible explanation of the above form could be again that of an emphatic negation, where *lā* is preceded by a conjunction, if we compare this form to the negation *wala* of the modern Arabic varieties.

To sum up, the use of *lā/la* (or *wa-la/wala*) with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, either as a plain negative statement in the past, as an exceptive construction, as a negative optative sentence or as a part of a negative coordination structure, could be seen as classicism or a conservative feature still present in some modern Arabic varieties.

One of the most common uses of *lā/la* attested in all studied tribes of this chapter is the formation of the negative imperative, while *balāš* is also attested in prohibition, in the dialect of the Rašāyda (Katz 1980). The negative particle *lā/la* is additionally

⁴⁴ However, there are a few more cases where this construction is possible, like when preceded by the interrogative particle *hal, hal-lā* (Badawi et al. 2016, 784) or the conditional particle *law, law-la* + *‘an* + VPreds PFV (Badawi et al. 2016, 727).

attested with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures, exceptive constructions, as well as in negation of pronouns.

In negative coordination structures with verbal, pseudo-verbal, and non-verbal predicates, *lā/la* is regularly used as the first negative element. The use of *lā/la* as the first negative element in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates can also be seen as a more conservative form. Furthermore, *lā/la* is occasionally encountered in the adverbial constructions *lā baʿad* and *laʿād*, and in the modal expression *lā badd*.

Finally, various uses of *wa-la/wala* are encountered in the studied material of this chapter: literal *wa-la*, negation *wala*, negative conjunction *wala* and negative scalar *wala*. It is generally observed that the negative particle *lā/la*, when attested, it is more often attested in one of the above-mentioned *wa-la/wala* types. It is also generally concluded that the negation *wala* is mostly attested in dialects that do not use the *š* negator.

At the tables below, a general overview of the expression of negation in each dialectal group and tribe in previous studies on Bedouin dialects is provided. Tables 16–25 illustrate the results on negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates. Tables 26–34 illustrate the results on non-verbal predicates. Tables 35–44 illustrate the results on existential negation. Tables 45–54 illustrate the results on the uses of the negative particle *lā/la*.

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān and Saudi Arabia (Cantineau 1936, 1937)	√	-	-

Table 16: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in A, B, C, and Bc groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
ʿAnazeh – Syria (de Landberg 1919)	√	-	-
Ar-Rwala – Syrian desert (O’Hara 2019 based on Musil 1928)	√	-	-
Al-Ḥroṣa and Al-ʿAbda tribes – Syria (Montagne 1935)	√	-	-
ʿĀl Īsa – Jordan (Younes 2018)	√	-	-
Dawāsir – Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967)	√	-	-
Muṭair – Kuwait (Ingham 1979)	√	-	-
Ḍafir – Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a)	√	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia – Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1982b)	√	-	-
Bedouin tribes of central Najd – Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984)	√	-	-
Bani Hāğir – Qatar (Johnstone 1967)	√	-	-
Al-Murra – Qatar, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b)	√	√ (Used only for emphatic negation)	-
Ar-Rwala – Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995)	√	-	-
ʿUtaybah – Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993)	√	-	-

Table 17: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in A and B groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Al-Wardāt – Syria (den Heijer 1980-81)	√	-	-
An-N‘ēm – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	√	√	-
‘Ağārma – Jordan (Palva 1976, 1978)	√	-	-
Bani ‘Abbād – Jordan (Torzullo 2022b)	√	-	-
An-N‘ēmāt – Jordan (Yrttiahho 1988)	√	√ (Only in younger speakers)	√ (Only in younger speakers)
Bani Yūsif and As- Siyāla – Turkey (Procházka 2013)	√	-	-
Bani ‘Iğil – Turkey (Procházka and Batan 2022)	√	-	-
‘Atīğ – Lebanon (Younes and Herin 2013, 2016)	√ +NegIMP	-	-
Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995)	√	-	-

Table 18: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in C group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Bani Šaḥar – Jordan (Palva 1980)	√	-	-
As-Sirḥān Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	√	-	-

Table 19: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in Bc group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Ġbūr – Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006)	√	-	-
‘Abu ‘Īd – Lebanon (Younes 2014)	√	-	-

Table 20: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in the Ġbūr and the ‘Abū ‘Īd dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma, ‘ēb and ‘īb</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā...š ‘ēb...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
<i>ǧalāt</i> dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim 2015, 2023)	√	√	-

Table 21: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in Šrūǧi dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Al-Bdūl – Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984)	√	-	-
Al-Hwēṭāt – Jordan (Palva 1986, 2004)	√	-	-
Az-Zawāyda and Az-Zalābya – Jordan (Al-Mashaqba 2015)	√ +NegIMP	-	-
Ar-Rašāyda – Palestine (Katz 1980)	√	-	-
Aḍ-Dullām – Negev (Blanc 1970)	√	-	-
Al-‘Azāzme – Negev (Palva 1984b)	√	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996)	√ +NegIMP	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010)	√	√ (Only once)	-
Al-‘Azāzme – Negev (Shawarbah 2012)	√	-	-
Al-Aḥaywāt – Sinai (Stewart 1987)	√	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the northern Sinai (de Jong 2000)	√ (In some tribes only in emphatic negation)	√ +NegIMP	√ (PVPreds)
Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2011)	√ (In some tribes only in emphatic negation) +NegIMP	√ +NegIMP	-

Table 22: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in Northwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Bani Ḥarb – Saudi Arabia (Al-Hamzy 1975)	√	-	-

Table 23: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in West Arabian (Hiǧāzi) dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Wahība – Oman (Webster 1991)	√	-	-
Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs – Oman (Holes 1989)	√	-	-
The dialect of Šūr – Oman (Holes 2013)	√	-	-
Yāl Saʿad – Oman (Al-Sheyadi 2021)	√	-	-
Omani Bedouin dialects (Al-Balushi 2017)	√	-	-

Table 24: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in Omani dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Simple negation with mā/ma</i>	<i>Bipartite negation mā/ma...š</i>	<i>Postverbal negation -š</i>
Ḥaḍramawt – Yemen (de Landberg 1901)	√	-	-

Table 25: Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in Southwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Emphatic use of the š suffix</i>
‘Anazeh – Syria (de Landberg 1919)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	-
Ar-Rwala – Syrian desert (O’Hara 2019, based on Musil 1928)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN +/- <i>b</i> ADVC: <i>mā ‘ād</i>	-
Al-Hroša and Al-‘Abda tribes – Syria (Montagne 1935)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	-
‘Āl Īsa – Jordan (Younes 2018)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	-
Dawāsir – Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN + <i>b</i>	-
Muṭair – Kuwait (Ingham 1979)	<i>ma hub/ ma hib</i>	-
Ḍafir – Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a)	NegPN	-
Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia – Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1982b)	<i>mā/ma, mū, mi</i> NegPN +/- <i>b</i>	-
Bedouin tribes of central Najd – Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984)	<i>mū, mub</i> NegPN + <i>b</i>	-
Bani Hāğir – Qatar (Johnstone 1967)	NegPN	-
Al-Murra – Qatar, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b)	<i>mā/ma, mū</i> NegPN	PN + <i>š</i> (Used only for emphatic negation)
Ar-Rwala – Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	-
‘Utaybah – Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993)	NegPN + <i>b</i>	-

Table 26: Negation of non-verbal predicates in A and B groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Al-Wardāt – Syria (den Heijer 1980-81)	<i>mā/ma, mū, mī</i> NegPN	-
An-N‘ēm – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	-	<i>miš</i>
‘Ağārma – Jordan (Palva 1976, 1978)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	<i>māš</i> (Rarely)
Bani ‘Abbād – Jordan (Torzullo 2022b)	<i>mā/ma, mū</i> NegPN	<i>miš, muš</i>
An-N‘ēmāt – Jordan (Yrttiah 1988)	<i>mū/mu</i> NegPN	<i>muš, miš</i> (Only in younger speakers)
Bani Yūsif and As-Siyāla – Turkey (Procházka 2013)	<i>mā/ma, mū</i> ADVC: <i>mā ‘ād</i>	-
Bani ‘Iğil – Turkey (Procházka and Batan 2022)	<i>mū, mī</i> ADVC: <i>mā ‘ād</i>	-
‘Atīğ – Lebanon (Younes and Herin 2013, 2016)	<i>mō/mo, mī/mi</i> NegPN	-
Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995)	<i>mā/ma, mū, mī</i> NegPN	<i>muš, miš, māš</i> (Occasionally)

Table 27: Negation of non-verbal predicates in C group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Bani Šaḥar – Jordan (Palva 1980)	<i>mīy</i>	-
As-Sirḥān – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	<i>mū, mī</i> NegPN	<i>muš, miš</i>

Table 28: Negation of non-verbal predicates in Bc group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Ġbūr – Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006)	<i>mā</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN	-
‘Abu ‘Īd – Lebanon (Younes (2014)	<i>mīy</i> NegPN	-

Table 29: Negation of non-verbal predicates in the Ġbūr and the ‘Abū ‘Īd dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
<i>gəlat</i> dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim 2015, 2023)	<i>mū</i> NegPN	<i>muš</i> NegPN + <i>š</i>

Table 30: Negation of non-verbal predicates in Šrūgi dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Al-Bdūl – Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984)	<i>mu</i> NegPN	<i>muš</i>
Al-Ḥwēṭāt – Jordan (Palva 1986, 2004)	<i>mā/ma, mū, mī</i> NegPN	-
Az-Zawāyda and Az-Zalābya – Jordan (Al-Mashaqba 2015)	<i>mā/ma, mū</i> NegPN	<i>muš</i>
Ar-Rašāyda – Palestine (Katz 1980)	NegPN	<i>muš</i> (Rarely)
Ad-Ḍullām – Negev (Blanc 1970)	<i>mū</i> NegPN	<i>muš, miš</i> (K-forms)
Al-‘Azāzme – Negev (Palva 1984b)	NegPN	-
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	<i>muš</i> (Used only for negation in the future)
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	<i>muš, māš</i> (Occasionally) NegPN + <i>š</i> (Only once)
Al-‘Azāzme – Negev (Shawarbah 2012)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	<i>muš</i>
Al-Aḥaywāt – Sinai (Stewart 1987)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	<i>miš</i> (Only once as a K-form)
Bedouin tribes of the northern Sinai (de Jong 2000)	<i>mā/ma, mū</i> NegPN Double forms (<i>mōhuhū, mīhihī, etc.</i>)	<i>miš</i> NegPN + <i>š</i>
Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2011)	<i>mā/ma</i> NegPN	NegPN + <i>š</i> <i>mā/ma</i> PREPs + <i>š</i>

Table 31: Negation of non-verbal predicates in Northwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Bani Ḥarb (Saudi Arabia) Al-Hamzy (1975)	NegPN	-

Table 32: Negation of non-verbal predicates in West Arabian (Ḥiǧāzi) dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma (and its morphological variants), 'ab/ab, 'am/am</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Wahība Webster (1991)	<i>mā, mub</i>	-
Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs Holes (1989)	<i>mā</i>	-
The dialect of Ṣūr Holes (2013)	<i>mā/ma</i>	-
Yāl Sa'ad Al-Sheyadi (2021)	<i>mā/ma, ab, am</i>	-
Omani Bedouin dialects Al-Balushi (2017)	<i>'ab, mab, 'am, mu NegPN</i>	-

Table 33: Negation of non-verbal predicates in Omani dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma and its morphological variants</i>	<i>Use of the š negator</i>
Ḥaḍramawt – Yemen (de Landberg 1901)	<i>mā/ma</i>	-

Table 34: Negation of non-verbal predicates in Southwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fi, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fiš/fiš</i> <i>mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān and Saudi Arabia (Cantineau 1936, 1937)	<i>mā bū/bō</i>	-	-

Table 35: Existential negation in A, B, C, and Bc groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fī, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fīš/fīš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
‘Anazeh – Syria (de Landberg 1919)	<i>ma boh/mā bah</i>	-	-
Ar-Rwala – Syrian desert (O’Hara 2019, based on Musil 1928)	<i>mā bah/buh/baha/bih</i>	-	-
‘Āl Īsa – Jordan (Younes 2018)	<i>mā fī</i>	-	-
Dawāsir – Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967)	<i>mā fī</i>	-	-
Ḍafīr – Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a)	<i>mā b-</i>	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia – Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1982b)	<i>mā fīh, ma b-</i>	-	-
Bedouin tribes of central Najd – Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984)	<i>mā fī</i>	-	<i>māku</i>
Al-Murra – Qatar, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b)	<i>ma fīh, mā bī</i>	-	-
Ar-Rwala – Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995)	<i>ma bih</i>	-	-
‘Utaybah – Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993)	-	-	<i>māš</i>

Table 36: Existential negation in A and B groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fī, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fīš/fīš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Al-Wardāt - Syria (den Heijer 1980-81)	<i>mā/ma bī/bi</i>	-	-
An-N‘ēm – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	<i>mā/ma bī/bi</i>	<i>ma bīš/bīš</i>	-
‘Ağarma – Jordan (Palva 1976, 1978)	<i>mā/ma bī/bi ma fīh</i>	<i>ma fīšš (Rarely)</i>	-
Bani ‘Abbād – Jordan (Torzullo 2022b)	<i>mā/ma fī/fī</i>	<i>mā fīš (Mostly in younger speakers)</i>	-
An-N‘ēmāt – Jordan (Yrttiaho 1988)	<i>mā/ma fī/fī</i>	-	-
Bani Yūsif and As- Siyāla – Turkey (Procházka 2013)	-	-	<i>māmin māmīš</i>
Bani ‘Iğil – Turkey (Procházka and Batan 2022)	-	-	<i>māmīš māmin</i>
‘Atīğ – Lebanon (Younes and Herin 2013, 2016)	<i>ma bu</i>	-	-
Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse, 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995)	<i>mā bū, mā bī</i>	<i>mafīš(š), fīš</i>	-

Table 37: Existential negation in C group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fī, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fīš/fīš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
As-Sirḥān – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	<i>mā/ma fī/fī</i>	<i>fīš, ma kānš fī (Occasionally)</i>	-
Bani Ṣaḥar – Jordan (Palva 1980)	<i>mā fīh</i>	-	-

Table 38: Existential negation in Bc group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fī, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fīš/fīš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Ġbūr – Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006)	<i>mā fī mā bī</i>	-	<i>māmīš</i>
‘Abu ‘Īd tribe of Lebanon (Younes 2014)	<i>mā bu</i>	-	-

Table 39: Existential negation in the Ġbūr and the ‘Abū ‘Īd dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fi, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fiš/fiš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
<i>gəlat</i> dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim 2015, 2023)	-	-	<i>māmin, māmiš, māku, mākuš</i>

Table 40: Existential negation in Šrūgi dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fi, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fiš/fiš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Al-Bdūl – Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984)	<i>mā/ma fi/fi, mā fih</i>	<i>mā/ma fiš</i>	-
Al-Hwēṭāt (Jordan) Palva (1986, 2004)	<i>mā/ma fi</i>	-	-
Az-Zawāyda and Az-Zalābya – Jordan (Al-Mashaqba 2015)	<i>mā fih</i>	-	-
Ar-Rašāyda – Palestine (Katz 1980)	<i>ma b-</i>	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996)	<i>mā fi</i>	-	-
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010)	<i>mā fi/mā fi^h</i>	<i>mā fiš/fiš</i> (Occasionally)	
Al-‘Azāzme – Negev (Shawarbah 2012)	<i>mā/ma fi/fi, mā fih</i>	-	<i>māš</i> (EmphNEG)
Al-Aḥaywāt – Sinai (Stewart 1987)	-	-	<i>māššiy</i> (Double marker)
Bedouin tribes of the northern Sinai (de Jong 2000)	<i>mā fih</i>	<i>mā fiš</i>	<i>māš</i>
Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2011)	<i>mā fih</i>	<i>mā fiš</i>	<i>māš</i>

Table 41: Existential negation in Northwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fi, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fiš/fiš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Bani Ḥarb – Saudi Arabia (Al-Hamzy 1975)	<i>mā fi</i>	-	-

Table 42: Existential negation in West Arabian (Ḥiḡāzi) dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fī, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fīš/fīš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Wahība (Webster 1991)	<i>mā fīh</i>	-	<i>mā šay/mā š/ši</i>
Buraimi and Jiddat Al-Ḥarāsīs (Holes 1989)	<i>mā fīh</i>	-	<i>mā ši</i>
The dialect of Ṣūr (Holes 2013)	-	-	<i>māšay/māši</i>
Yāl Sa'ad (Al-Sheyadi 2021)	-	-	<i>ab/ma šay</i>

Table 43: Existential negation in Omani dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>mā/ma fī, mā/ma b-</i>	<i>mā/ma fīš/fīš mā/ma biš/biš</i>	<i>Other</i>
Ḥaḍramawt – Yemen (de Landberg 1901)	<i>mā fī</i>	-	<i>mā ši</i>

Table 44: Existential negation in Southwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān and Saudi Arabia (Cantineau 1936, 1937)	VPreds PFV (Ar-Rwala)	-	-

Table 45: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in A, B, C, and Bc groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
‘Anazeh – Syria (de Landberg 1919)	VPreds IPFV: EXCCs with <i>wa-la</i> , NEG <i>wala</i> , IndirPROH, NEG OPT SENTs VPreds PFV: EXCCs with <i>wa-la</i>	NegPN	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>la...wala</i> NegIMP
Ar-Rwala – Syrian desert (O’Hara 2019, based on Musil 1928)	VPreds IPFV: EXCCs, PREV VPreds PFV: NegSts, NEG OPT SENTs PVPreds	NegPN	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>lā...walā</i> NegIMP Use of <i>lam</i> in poetic context to express an unreal future situation
Al-Ḥroṣa and Al-‘Abda tribes – Syria (Montagne 1935)	VPreds IPFV: PREV <i>wa-la</i> NegSts VPreds PFV: NEG OPT SENTs	NegPN CONDSs EXCCs	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>la...walā</i> NegIMP
’Āl Īsa – Jordan (Younes 2018)	VPreds IPFV: NegSts	-	-
Dawāsir – Kuwait (Johnstone 1961, 1964, 1967)	VPreds IPFV: PREV, <i>wa-la</i> , NEG <i>wala</i> VPreds PFV: NEG and EXCCs with <i>wala</i>	NegPN + <i>b</i> <i>lēs</i>	NegCOORDSs (VPreds/PVPreds/NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i> NegIMP ADVC: <i>la’ād</i>
Muṭair – Kuwait (Ingham 1979)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH	-	NIP: <i>lā ḥadd</i> <i>ahlāš</i> : ‘Useless’ Use of <i>alla</i> as a positive answer ‘yes’ to a negative question
Ḍaḡīr – Saudi Arabia, Kuwait (Ingham 1982a, 1986a)	VPreds IPFV: <i>wa-la</i> , NEG <i>wala</i> VPreds PFV: NegSts PVPreds: <i>wa-la</i>	NegPN with <i>wala</i>	NegCOORD: NegCONJ <i>walā</i> NegIMP
Bedouin tribes of the northeastern Arabia – Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1982b)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH, PREV, EXCCs ExistNEG: <i>walā bah</i>	NegPN	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i> NegSFP <i>wala</i> NegIMP
Bedouin tribes of central Najd – Kuwait (Al-Khalifa 1984)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH	NegPN + <i>b</i>	NegCONJ <i>wala</i> NegIMP
Bani Hāḡīr – Qatar (Johnstone 1967)	VPreds IPFV:	NegPN	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā/la...walā</i>

	IndirPROH, <i>wa-la</i> , NEG <i>wala</i> VPreds PFV: NEG <i>wala</i> PVPreds: <i>wa-la</i> , NEG <i>wala</i>	(In NegCOORDSs)	
Al-Murra – Qatar, Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1986b)	VPreds IPFV: <i>wa-la</i>	NegPN	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i> , <i>walā...walā</i> ADVCs: <i>lā ‘ād</i> , <i>lā ba ‘ad</i>
Ar-Rwala – Saudi Arabia (Ingham 1995)	VPreds IPFV/PFV: NegSTs <i>wa-la</i>	NegPN	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>lā...walā</i> NegIMP
‘Utaybah – Saudi Arabia (Kurpershoek 1993)	VPreds IPFV: NEG <i>wala</i>	NegPN with <i>wala</i> CONDSS	NegCOORDSs: <i>la...wala/wala...wala</i> NegIMP

Table 46: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in A and B groups

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseu do-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Al-Wardāt – Syria (den Heijer 1980–81)	VPreds IPFV: PREV (‘ <i>alla</i>)	NEG <i>wala</i>	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i> NegIMP
An-N‘ēm – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	-	-	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds/PVPreds): <i>la...wala</i>
‘Ağārma – Jordan (Palva 1976)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH	NEG <i>wala</i>	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i> NegIMP
Bani ‘Abbād –Jordan (Torzullo 2022b)	-	<i>wa-la</i>	-
An-N‘ēmāt – Jordan (Yrttiahho 1988)	VPreds IPFV: PREV	-	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>la...wala</i>
Bani ‘Iğil – Turkey (Procházka and Batan 2022)	-	-	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i>
‘Atīğ – Lebanon (Younes and Herin 2013, 2016)	-	-	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i> NegIMP
Bedouin tribes of North Israel (Rosenhouse, 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995)	VPreds IPFV: NegSTs, PREV	-	NegCOORDSs (VPreds/AsyndCOORD/NVPreds): <i>lā...wala/lā...lā/wala...wala</i> NegSFP <i>wala</i> ModEXPR: <i>lā budd</i> ADVC: <i>lā ‘ād</i> NegIMP

Table 47: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in C group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Bani Ṣaḥar – Jordan (Palva 1980)	-	-	EmphNEG <i>wala</i> + <i>‘umr</i>
As-Sirḥān – Jordan (Al Tawil 2021)	-	-	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds/PVPreds/AsyndCOORD) : <i>la...wala/bala...bala/la...la</i>

Table 48: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in Bc group

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Ġbūr – Syria (Bettini 1989–90, 2006)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH, PREV, VPreds PFV: NegSts <i>wa-la</i>	<i>wa-la</i>	NegCOORDSs (VPreds, NVPreds): <i>lā...wlā, lā...lā</i> NegIMP ExistNEG <i>lā bī</i>

Table 49: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in the Ġbūr dialect

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
<i>gəlat</i> dialects of southern Iraq (Qassim 2015, 2023)		-	<i>lāku</i> (In NegCOORDSs)

Table 50: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in Šrūgi dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Al-Bdūl – Jordan (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984)	VPreds IPFV: with ‘negative’ verbs	-	NegCOORDSs (VPreds/NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i>
Al-Ḥwēṭāt – Jordan (Palva 1986, 2004)	-	-	NegIMP
Az-Zawāyda and Az-Zalābya – Jordan (Al-Mashaqba 2015)	-	-	NegIMP
Ar-Rašāyda – Palestine (Katz 1980)	VPreds IPFV: NegEXPRs with <i>wala</i>	<i>wa-la</i> NegPN	NegCOORDSs (PVPreds/NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i> NegSFP <i>wala</i> NegIMP: <i>balāš</i> <i>lā badd</i>
Aḍ-Ḍullām – Negev (Blanc 1970)	-	-	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i> NegIMP EMPH NegANSs: <i>lah</i> <i>lah lal, lāllih</i>
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Piamenta 1996)	VPreds IPFV: NegEXPRs with <i>wala</i> NEG OPT SENTs	CONDSs	NegSFP <i>wala</i>
Bedouin tribes of the Negev (Henkin 2010)	VPreds IPFV: NegSts, NEG OPT SENTs	CONDSs NegPN	NegCOORDSs (VPreds/NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i> NegIMP
Al-‘Azāzme – Negev (Shawarbah 2012)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH	-	NegIMP NegSFP <i>wala</i> NegCOORDSs: <i>lā/la...wala</i> EMPH NegANSs: <i>la’, lah, lāllih</i>
Al-Aḥaywāt – Sinai (Stewart 1987)	VPreds IPFV: PREV	NEG <i>wala</i>	NegCOORDSs (PVPreds): <i>la...wala</i> NegSFP <i>wala/walā</i>
Bedouin tribes of the central and southern Sinai (de Jong 2011)	VPreds IPFV: PREV NegEXPRs with <i>wala</i>	-	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>lā...wala</i> NegSFP <i>wala</i>

Table 51: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in Northwest Arabian dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Bani Ḥarb – Saudi Arabia (Al-Hamzy 1975)	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH VPreds PFV: <i>wa-la</i>	NegPN	NegCOORDSs (VPreds): <i>lā...walā</i> NegIMP

Table 52: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in West Arabian (Ḥiǧāzi) dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Wahība Webster (1991)	-	-	NegCOORDSs (VPreds): <i>lā...walā</i>
The dialect of Ṣūr (Holes 2013)	-	-	NegCOORDSs (AsyndCOORD): <i>lā</i> NegCOORDSs (PVPreds): <i>walā...walā</i>
Yāl Sa‘ad (Al-Sheyadi 2021)	VPreds IPFV: PREV (<i>‘anlā</i>)	-	NegCOORDSs (NVPreds): <i>la...walā</i> NegSFP <i>walā</i> NegIMP EMPH NegANS: <i>lālā</i>

Table 53: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in Omani dialects

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>Negation of verbal/pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Other uses</i>
Ḥaḍramawt – Yemen (de Landberg 1901)	-	-	NegIMP NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i> ADVC: <i>la‘ād</i>

Table 54: Uses of the negative particle *lā/la* in Southwest Arabian dialects

4 Synchronic description of the expression of negation in Bedouin dialects of Palestine and Israel

This chapter presents and analyses fieldwork-based data on negation in Bedouin dialects of the West Bank and the Naqab (Naqab in Bedouin Arabic). It is divided into four parts: The first part introduces us to Palestinian Arabic and summarises previous studies on urban and rural Palestinian dialects. It then provides classifications of the Bedouin dialects in Israel and Palestine, summarises previous studies on Bedouin Palestinian varieties and presents the results of previous studies on negation in Bedouin varieties of Israel and Palestine. The second part presents the results of field research at the West bank. It describes the methodology of the current research and the studied regions and tribes, and then, analyses collected data on negation in the West Bank. The third part presents the results of field research at the Naqab. It describes the methodology of the research and the studied regions and tribes, and then, analyses collected data on negation in the Naqab. The chapter concludes by drawing general results and conclusions on the use of negation in Palestine and Israel.

4.1 Palestinian Arabic

Palestinian Arabic is part of a wider group of Arabic varieties called Levantine Arabic, a group of vernaculars spoken in Syria, Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, and Jordan. It includes the total of the Arabic varieties spoken both in the Palestinian territories (the West Bank and the Gaza Strip) and the Israeli territories by Palestinians.

The linguistic situation in Palestine is characterised by high variability strongly related to the long and complicated history of the region and its people. Multilingualism and language mixing are phenomena already attested in historic Palestine from the distant past. However, linguistic coexistence changed in both meaning and conditions after the division of historical lands into Arab and Jewish states, and language became inextricably linked to national identity and belonging.

The two wars of 1948 and 1967, along with the new political borders and divisions that took place from 1948 until 2006, had enormous consequences both on social and linguistic levels. People were divided, forced to exile, migrate, learn other languages, and maintain their identity under new conditions and even in hostile environments (Horesh 2021, Horesh and Cotter 2015). A part of the Palestinians was

displaced into Israeli territories and forced to learn Hebrew as a second language, while another part was displaced within the Palestinian territories, in the West Bank or the Gaza Strip. These communities spoke only Palestinian Arabic, while only those who worked in the field of agriculture or construction, in Israeli territories or Israeli settlements, learned the Hebrew language. A third part of the Palestinians migrated to Syria and Lebanon, moved to Jordan, and became Jordanian citizens, or migrated as refugees in Western Europe, South America, and North America (Horesh 2021, 650–652).

The Palestinian Bedouin tribes also suffered devastating effects from the 1948 War. Most of the Bedouin tribes of the Negev were expelled from the area (Shawarbah 2012, 4, mentions that from a population of approximately 95.000 in the Negev, only 11.000 Bedouin remained) and migrated mainly to the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and Jordan, while others were sedentarised in permanent settlements built by the Israeli government especially for the Bedouins, in the Negev. Likewise, in North Israel, after 1948, some of the Bedouins migrated to other countries or have been sedentarised in villages built for them by the Israeli government. Those sedentarised Bedouins both in North and South Israel –except for some tribes in the Negev that still live rather isolated– have been exposed to the rural and urban varieties of their living area but also to Hebrew, thus their dialects are constantly adopting features from all these languages, in addition to Literary Arabic (Rosenhouse 1982, 24). The Bedouin dialects of the tribes residing in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are also influenced by local, urban, or rural Palestinian varieties.

Cadora (1992), in an ecolinguistic approach, divides the Palestinian varieties into Bedouin, rural, and urban dialects. Based on his definition of the stages of the transitional change and linguistic adaptation, he notes the gradual transition of the Ramallah dialect from a Bedouin to a rural and then an urban variety (Cadora 1992, 32). Similarly, in their recent work on Arabic sociolinguistics, Al-Wer et al. (2022, 191), argue that Bethlehem and Ramallah seem to gradually adapt to the urban vernacular of Jerusalem. Belinkov (2014, 6) argues that urban and Bedouin Palestinian varieties exhibit homogeneity whereas rural Palestinian varieties show more internal variation. Finally, according to Amara (2018, 63), the urban Palestinian variety seems to have adopted more features from Literal Arabic and other prestigious urban Arabic dialects and less from rural or Bedouin Palestinian dialects, while at the same time, the urban variety has affected to a great extent the other two Arabic varieties –rural and Bedouin.

4.1.1 *Previous studies on Palestinian dialects*

Numerous studies have been carried out by important scholars on the sedentary Palestinian varieties. Among them, some major works are Palva's (1965) study on Galilean Arabic, Cleveland's (1967) study on the dialect of Dawayimeh in southern Palestine, Na'im's (1999) study on the Palestinian urban varieties, Seeger's extended works on Palestinian Arabic, such as his studies on the dialect of Al-Ḥalīl (Seeger 1996), and the dialect of Ramallah (Seeger 2009, 2013), and Jastrow's abundant works on Palestinian Arabic (2003, 2004, 2009, 2013).

Studies on rural Palestinian Arabic have been also conducted by Awwad (1987), Hoyt (2000, 2002), Belinkov (2014), and Mousa (2019), while Blanc (1953), studied the North Palestinian Arabic language of the Druzes.

Gaza Arabic has been described by Salonen (1979, 1980), and Cotter (2017, 2020), while de Jong (2000, 581–586), based on Salonen's work, concludes that the dialect of the city of Gaza seem to have adopted a significant number of Bedouin features.

Phonological studies on Palestinian Arabic, have been carried out, among others, by Garbell (1958), El-Haleese (1970), Brame (1974), Abu-Salim (1980, 1986, 1987), Younes (1982), Herzallah (1990), Munther (1995), Horesh (2000, 2014), Yoda (2015), and Shehadeh (2020).

The first linguistic atlas including data on Bedouin Palestinian dialects was published by Bergsträsser (1915). The map includes the dialects of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine. Recently, Behnstedt and Geva-Kleinberger (2019), have also published an atlas of the sedentary and Bedouin Arabic dialects of Galilee.

It is worth mentioning also that Seeger (2022), provides a very useful bibliography on Palestinian Arabic.

Studies on negation in Palestinian Arabic have been carried out by Hoyt (2005) on the sentential negation in Palestinian and Moroccan Arabic, on the morphosyntax of negation in Palestinian Arabic (Hoyt 2007), and on the negative concord in Palestinian Arabic (Hoyt 2006, 2010, 2014). Furthermore, Lucas (2010) examines the development of the *š* negator in Palestinian and Cairene Arabic, Al-Shurafa (2006) analyses the verbal and nominal negation in Palestinian and Standard Arabic, and Mousa (2020) studies the morphosyntax of negation in rural Palestinian Arabic.

4.1.2 *Classifications of Bedouin Palestinian dialects*

Rosenhouse (1984a) classifies the Bedouins, geographically and linguistically, into two groups, the Bedouins of North Israel, Galilee, and the Bedouins of South Israel, Negev. Based on the data provided by Katz (1980) on the Rašāyda tribe of the Judean desert, Rosenhouse (1984b) argues that the Bedouin dialects of the central area (West Bank) seem closer to those of the Negev than to those of North Israel. In Palestine, at least two more groups are found, the Bedouins who inhabit the West Bank and the Bedouins who inhabit the Gaza Strip. Thus, geographically the Bedouin of the Israeli and Palestinian territories can be divided into four groups, although only those of the Israeli territories have been until now sufficiently described. Apart from Katz (1980), who studied the dialect of the Rašāyda of the Judean desert, we do not have until today any work on Bedouin dialects neither in the West Bank nor in the Gaza Strip.

The Bedouin dialects of North Israel have undergone many changes due to their isolation from other Bedouin varieties and their sedentarised way of life. However, they still maintain several phonological, morphological, and lexical Bedouin features. At the same time, Bedouin Arabic of North Israel is subject to influence mostly by the sedentary varieties of Galilee, while at the lexical level, it is also affected by the MSA/Literal Arabic (Rosenhouse 1984b, 167).

The Bedouin dialects of Galilee are mostly related to Cantineau's C group – Šāwi– (Rosenhouse 1984b, 256), while the Bedouin dialects of the Negev belong to the Northwest Arabian group (Palva 1991). Let us remind here that, according to Rosenhouse (2006, 260), some dialects of the Negev and the Sinai have been related to the Ḥiġāzi dialects, and according to Shawarbah (2012, 11), the Bedouin dialects of the Negev are 'a more or less organic extension of the Ḥiġāzi dialects of the Western Arabian Peninsula'.

Furthermore, Blanc (1970, 115), interestingly observes two stylistic variations in the speech of the Bedouins of the Negev, the switch from plain colloquial to a koineised variety, and the switch from plain colloquial to poetic idiom.

General classifications of the dialects of the West Bank are provided in chapter 5.

4.1.2.1 Previous studies on Bedouin Palestinian dialects

Although the dialects of the Bedouin tribes living in Israeli territories like the Negev in the south and Galilee in the north, have been an absorbing topic of linguistic studies for many researchers, especially after the 1960's, still, the varieties of the Bedouin tribes residing in the Palestinian territories –most of them refugees from the Negev area who resettled in the West Bank after being forced from their lands in 1948– have been scarcely studied.

Doubtlessly and sadly, field studies on Bedouin Palestinian varieties have become a complicated process in Israel and Palestine, because of the political conditions. Thus, the lack of studies on the Bedouin dialects of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip is most probably related to such difficulties rather than a lack of interest from the academic world.

In North Israel, Rosenhouse (1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995) conducts extensive research on the 'Arāmša, Ġrīfāt, Lhēb, Šibli, Mazārīb, Ḥuġērāt, 'Amariyya, Ḥaġāgra, Sa'āida, Zbēdāt, Ka'abiyya, Ḥilf, Sawā'id, Zangariyya, 'Arab Al-Ḥūla, N'ēm, Mrēsāt, Šwētāt, Glētāt, Ḥawāled, and Ġanādi tribes. Rosenhouse (1984b) provides a comprehensive work on the Bedouin dialects of North Israel, also including a glossary of the studied varieties.

In South Israel, the earliest work providing data on Negev Bedouin dialects is *Arabia Petraea*, by Musil (1908). Later, Blanc (1970) studies the dialect of the Ḍullām, while Palva (1984b) studies the negative imperative in narratives of the 'Azāzme tribe of the Negev, recorded by Katz. Piamenta (1996) studies various tribes of the Negev, while Henkin (1985, 2010), among her numerous studies, describes the verbal system in Negev Bedouin dialects and analyses oral narratives from Bedouin tribes of the Negev. Shawarbah (2007, 2012), describes the dialect of the Tiyāha tribe of the Negev, and presents in detail the phonology and morphology of the 'Azāzme dialect of the Negev, also providing a glossary of the dialect. Abu Saelek (2022) presents and analyses terms of Classical Arabic used by Bedouins of the northern Negev.

Within the occupied Palestinian territories, to the best of my knowledge, we do not have until today any studies on Bedouin tribes of Gaza, while the only study on Bedouin tribes of the West Bank is the one carried out by Katz (1980), on the Rašāyda dialect, at the Judean desert, and the work of Layish and Shawarbah (2011) on legal

documents of the Ta‘āmira, ‘Ubaydiyya and the Sawāḥira Bedouin tribes of the Judean desert.

Works on Bedouin poetry from the Negev have been compiled by Bailey (1991), and Peled (2022).

4.1.2.2 Results from previous studies on Bedouin Palestinian dialects

We will now present some results from previous studies, focusing on the use of the *š* negator, as a traditionally non-Bedouin feature, and the negative particle *lā*, as a rather conservative feature, in studied Bedouin tribes of Israel and Palestine.

The š negator

In general, traditional Bedouin dialects do not follow stages II and III of Jespersen’s Cycle in the expression of sentential negation (Palva 1984a, 14, Lucas 2009, 97). However, the *š* negator can occasionally be observed as an impact of contact with urban or rural varieties, a feature of koineisation or de-bedouinisation (Rosenhouse 1983, 45).

In Jordan and Palestine dialect classifications, such as Cleveland’s (1963), and Palva’s (1984a), the *š* negator is considered as a non-Bedouin feature that is not attested in Bedouin varieties.

In previous studies, the *š* negator as an adopted, sedentary feature, is sometimes attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates or in the existential negation, and very rarely in the negation of verbal or pseudo-verbal predicates. These results are described below.

North Israel

Rosenhouse (1982, 1983, 1984a,b, 1995), in her study on the Bedouin dialects of North Israel, concludes that the *š* negator is not part of the usual negation features. As an impact of the contact with sedentary varieties, Rosenhouse occasionally encounters *muš*, *miš*, and *māš* for the negation of non-verbal predicates, and more frequently *ma fiš(š)*, and *fiš* in the existential negation.

West Bank

In Katz's (1980) study on the dialect of the Rašāyda tribe in the Judean desert, only rare instances of *muš* are attested.

Negev

Blanc (1970), encounters *muš* and *miš* only as K-forms in the dialect of the Ḍullām, while in Piamenta (1996), *muš* is attested only in negation in the future, followed by the future marker *rah*. In Henkin's (2010) work on oral, Bedouin narratives of the Negev, the *š* negator is attested, but only occasionally, in the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *maš*, and in the negative existential markers *ma fiš* and *fiš*, while the bipartite negation *mā...š* and the postverbal negation (PN + *š*) *manīš* are encountered only once in the whole material. Finally, in Shawarbah's (2012) study on the 'Azāzme dialect of the Negev, the *š* negator is used in the non-verbal negative marker *muš*.

For all the above results, a more detailed description with examples is provided in chapter 3.

The negative particle lā

In general, the use of the negative particle *lā* in modern Arabic dialects has been mainly restricted to the negative imperative, the negative coordination structures, and the emphatic uses of *wala*. In Cleveland's (1963) classification, the negative particle *lā* is only mentioned for the formation of the negative imperative. However, in previous studies, the negative particle *lā*, apart the aforesaid uses, is also attested in other cases, though more rarely, as it is described below.

North Israel

In Rosenhouse (1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995), the negative particle *lā* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala* and in the negative imperative. Moreover, the negative scalar *wala* is attested in negative concord

constructions, while expressions such as *lā budd* and *lā ‘ād* are also occasionally encountered.

West Bank

In Katz’s (1980) study on the dialect of the Rašāyda tribe in the Judean desert, *lā* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, while *wa-la* and *wala* are also attested in negative expressions and with non-verbal predicates. Moreover, *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*, while the negative scalar *wala* is attested in negative concord constructions. Pronouns are additionally negated by prefixation of *la*, while *lā* is also encountered in the modal expression *lā badd*.

Negev

In Blanc (1970), the negative particle *lā* is attested in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures as *lā...walā*. In Piamenta (1996), *lā* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in negative optative sentences, and in negative expressions with *wala*. It is also used in conditional structures with non-verbal predicates, while the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions. In Henkin’s (2010) narratives, the negative particle *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements and in negative optative sentences. Moreover, it is attested with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures and in negation of pronouns. Additionally, *lā* is used in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*. In Shawarbah (2012), *lā* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect in indirect prohibition. It is also used in the negative imperative, while negative coordination structures are attested as *lā...wala* and the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions.

For all the above results, a more detailed description with examples is provided in chapter 3.

Table 55 summarises the use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā* in previous studies.

<i>Previous studies</i>	<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>The š negator</i>	<i>The negative particle lā</i>
Cleveland (1963) Jordan & Palestine classification	<i>yigūl</i> group	-	NegIMP
Palva (1984a) Palestine & Transjordan classification	Bedouin dialects Criterion (k)	-	No data provided
Rosenhouse (1982, 1983, 1984a,b, 1995) North Israel	Bedouin tribes of North Israel	NVPreds: <i>muš</i> , <i>miš</i> , <i>māš</i> (Occasionally) ExistNEG: <i>ma fiš(š)</i> , <i>fiš</i>	VPreds IPFV: NegSts, PREV NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i> NegSCP <i>wala</i> NegIMP ModEXPR: <i>lā budd</i> ADVC: <i>lā ʿād</i>
Katz (1980) West Bank	Ar-Rašāyda	NVPreds : <i>muš</i> (Rarely)	VPreds IPFV: NegEXPRs with <i>wala</i> NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i> NegSFP <i>wala</i>
Blanc (1970) Negev	Aḏ-Ḍullām	NVPreds: <i>muš</i> , <i>miš</i> (Only as K- forms)	NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...walā</i> NegIMP
Palva (1984b) Negev	Al-ʿAzāzme	-	No data provided
Piamenta (1996) Negev	Bedouin tribes of the Negev	NVPreds: <i>muš</i> (Used only for negation in the future)	VPreds IPFV: NegEXPRs with <i>wala</i> NVPreds: CONDSs NegSFP <i>wala</i>
Henkin (2010) Negev	Bedouin tribes of the Negev	VPreds IPFV: <i>mā/ma...š</i> (Only once) NVPreds: <i>muš/mās</i> (Occasionally) NegPN + <i>š</i> (Only once) ExistNEG: <i>mā</i> <i>fiš/fiš</i> (Occasionally) NVPreds: NegPN + <i>š</i> (only once)	VPreds IPFV: NegSts, NEG OPT SENTs NVPreds: NegPN, CONDSs NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i> NegIMP
Shawarbah (2012) Negev	Al-ʿAzāzme	NVPreds: <i>muš</i>	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH NegIMP NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i> NegSFP <i>wala</i>

Table 55: The use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā* in previous studies

4.2 First field research: West Bank (*Aḍ-Ḍaffa Al-Ġarbiyya*)

4.2.1 Methodology of the current research

Our first field research was carried out in June and July 2019. Data were collected in various regions of the West Bank, including the Hebron Governorate (ʿUmm Al-Ḥayr, ʿUmm Ad-Daraġ and Al-Buwayb), the Jericho Governorate (Jordan Valley: An-Nuwayʿma, ʿAyn Ad-Duyūk and Marġ Al-Ġazāl, Judean Desert: Saṭeḥ Al-Baḥr), and the Bethlehem Governorate (ʿArab Ar-Rašāyda). The Bedouin tribes under study were Al-ʿAzāzme (region: Al-Buwayb), Ar-Rašāyda –clan in Jericho: Aṭ-Ṭarīfāt– (regions: An-Nuwayʿma, ʿAyn Ad-Duyūk, ʿArab Ar-Rašāyda), Al-Ġahālīn –clan: Aṣ-Ṣarāyʿa, subclans: Al-Haḍālīn, Al-Ḥamādīn, and At-Tabana– (regions: ʿUmm Al-Ḥayr, Saṭeḥ Al-Baḥr) Al-Kaʿābne⁴⁵ –clans: An-Naġāda, Al-Basāyṭa, Az-Zuwaydīn– (regions: ʿUmm Al-Ḥayr, ʿUmm Ad-Daraġ), Az-Zubaydāt (region: Bethlehem), and Al-Ġubārāt –clan: ʿAbū Ġāber– (region: Marġ Al-Ġazāl). We should note here that the Bedouin dialects of the West Bank have not been classified until now. Rosenhouse (1984a, 521, 1984b, 256), based on Katz’s (1980) study on the Rašāyda, argues that the dialects of the West Bank seem closer to the Negev-type group and to the Jordanian (southern and central) Bedouin dialects. It is important to remind that most of the Bedouin tribes of the West Bank are refugees from the Negev area (Naqab), except for the Rašāyda tribe. According to ARIJ (2010), the village ʿArab Ar-Rašāyda dates to 1983, and its residents originate from the same region. About the Kaʿābne tribe, ARIJ (2009) mentions that the village of the Zuwaydīn (clan of the Kaʿābne tribe) dates to the Canaanite era, its residents originate from this village and live in the area for a very long time. However, according to data derived from the Palestinian, non-profit organisation ‘Bedouins without borders’, the Kaʿābne are refugees who arrived at the West bank from the Negev. Members of the studied tribes state that many Bedouin tribes were living and moving within both areas –the West Bank and the Naqab– from ancient times until the 1948 War.

The sample includes 39 informants, 21 women and 18 men. More precisely, the results obtained from this field research are based on interviews with 6 informants from

⁴⁵ The Kaʿābne who live in northern Palestine claim that their lineage goes back to the Bani Saḥar, however, the Kaʿābne of southern Palestine (where the current interviews took place) claim that although they share a common ancestor, they belong to two different tribes.

the 'Azāzme, 10 informants from the Rašāyda, 11 informants from the Ġahālīn, 8 informants from the Ka'ābne, 2 informants from the Zubaydāt, and 2 informants from the Ġubārāt. Apart from the two informants from the Zubaydāt tribe, who live in cities (Bethlehem and Nazareth), all the rest live in Bedouin villages or in small Bedouin communities in the deserts. All studied tribes are sedentarised or semi-nomadic. All the informants, even the younger of them, were previously living in tents. Most of them mention that sedentarisation was imposed on them since they were no longer allowed by the Israeli settlers to roam freely in the West Bank territories. In their majority, they express their preference for their previous, nomadic life, although some of them – mainly women – state that they prefer the sedentary lifestyle because it is more comfortable and less tiring than before. In general terms, the tribes that live in Bedouin villages or communities keep their customs and traditions, while they intermarry more easily with peasants (fallāhīn) than with members of different Bedouin tribes.

The informants are all native speakers of the dialects, ranging in age from 16 to 100 years. Their level of education varies from no school education to higher education. Elder speakers and community leaders were sought in each tribe so that the data collected would likely represent a rather conservative form of the respective dialect.

All interviews contained closed and open questions (Wray and Bloomer 2006). The closed questions focused on self-introduction and personal information, while the open questions aimed at encouraging free speech and natural discourse on everyday life, as well as narratives on topics related to local traditions, legends, and stories of the tribes. It is important to mention here that Bedouins often mix narration and poetry in their talk, so even if they are asked to tell a story, they would probably use both genres in their narratives. That was an observation, among others, by Henkin (2010) when she collected her data from the Bedouins of the Negev and named this tendency as 'the poetic-narrative merge' (Henkin, 2010, 159). Data from narrative are included in the analysis of the present research while data from poetry recitation are not. Even though Nabati poetry –the poetic genre usually encountered in Bedouin communities– uses the vernacular and not the *fushā*, it is still representing a kind of 'poetic interdialect' (Henkin, 2010, 74) which is derived from the dialects but is not the same with the dialects. Similarly, citations from the Qur'ān and proverbs are not included in this research.

In some cases, an elicitation process was followed, based on question-and-answer sessions on the use of negation. The interviews were based on both direct and

indirect approach⁴⁶ (Wray and Bloomer 2006, 155), though in most cases an indirect approach was preferred. A process of informed consent has been followed in the beginning of the fieldwork in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants. All interviewees of this research remain anonymous and personal data are not included in this thesis.

The voice recordings in the West Bank were made with a Zoom H1 Handy recorder.

The individuals who acted as mediators in these tribes and facilitated the contact with the informants were Mohamed Al-Jbour, an anesthesiologist from Yatta, who is of Al-Jibūr Bedouin tribe origin, and Hamza Al-Zbedat, who lives between Bethlehem and Ramallah, works for an NGO and is of Al-Zubaydāt Bedouin tribe origin. They were both recommended by Bethlehem University in Palestine, the host institution on an Erasmus Plus EU International Exchange Programme in which I participated the academic year 2018–19, from May 1st to August 1st, 2019.

The voice recordings from the West Bank were analysed and sorted under the supervision and support of Dr Mumen Al-Badarin, Assistant Professor of Arabic Grammar at the Department of Arabic of the Bethlehem University, who was my advisor during the Erasmus Programme.

The methodology used for this research is qualitative.

4.2.2 *Studied regions: West Bank (Aḍ-Ḍaffa Al-Ġarbiyya)*

Defined by the Oslo accords, the West Bank is administratively divided into three areas, area A, area B, and area C. Area A is totally under Palestinian administrative and security control. Area B is under Palestinian administrative control and under Israeli security control. Area C is totally under Israeli administrative and security control. Area C constitutes 61 to 62% of the territory of the West Bank. Most Bedouin communities are located in area C. In this area, building and land management is prohibited unless through a permit given by the Israeli Civil Administration. People live either in tents,

⁴⁶ In direct (or explicit) approach, the researcher reveals to the informants the scope and the aim of the fieldwork in the beginning of the interview, while in indirect (or inexplicit) approach, the scope and the aim of the fieldwork are not revealed, and the researcher tries to elicit the information through an indirect way (Wray and Bloomer, 155).

or in houses constructed of aluminum and plastic (tin and plastic shacks), stone or mud brick.

In many Bedouin villages of area C, there is no electricity or water supply. Electricity is often provided by solar panels, electrical generators, or even by nearby settlements, while water is often supplied from water sources, cisterns, or water reservoirs. Bedouin tribes of the West Bank are either sedentarised or semi-nomadic tribes.

Most residents work on the agriculture sector, the other two sectors being the Israeli labor market and the government or private employee's sector. The studied areas are presented in more detail below.

An Nuway`ma and `Ayn Ad-Duyūk Al-Fūqā

The two villages are located in the eastern part of the West Bank, in the Jordan valley (Al-'Aǧwār), in Jericho Governorate. In 2007, the total population of the two villages was 1.971 inhabitants. The villages have been divided into area A and C. Their residents have moved there from Palestine, Sudan, and Africa. The economy of the two villages is dependent mainly on the agriculture. Electricity and water are currently provided by public networks (ARIJ 2012).

Marǧ Al-Ġazāl

The village is located in the central part of the West Bank, in Jordan valley (Al-'Aǧwār), in Jericho Governorate. It has been divided into areas B and C. In 2007, the total population of the village was 193 inhabitants. The residents are Palestinians who moved there from the former Palestinian village Dayr Natīf and from Bīr as-Sab'. The economy is dependent only on agriculture. Electricity and water are currently provided by public networks (ARIJ 2012).

Saṭeḥ Al-Baḥr

Saṭeḥ al-Baḥr is a Bedouin village in the central part of the West Bank, in the Judean desert. It is located in the Jericho Governorate, and in area C. In 2015, the total population of the village was 72 inhabitants. The population is semi-nomadic, and

residents have moved there from the Naqab and belong to the Ḥamādīn subclan (clan: Aṣ-Ṣarāy'a, tribe: Al-Ġahālīn). The village is neither connected to a water nor to an electricity network. Water is provided by tanks and electricity by solar panels. The main occupation of the residents is shepherding and tourism projects (*Mobile Pastoralist Database Site*).

'Arab Ar-Rašāyda

'Arab Ar-Rašāyda is a Bedouin village located in Bethlehem Governorate. It has been divided into area A, B and C, while the biggest part of the village is defined as a 'nature reserve'. In 2007, the total population of the village was 1.453 inhabitants. Residents are families mainly from the Rašāyda tribe, but also from the 'Azāzme and the Rawa'īn. The economy is dependent mostly on agriculture. Electricity and water are currently provided by public networks but only a part of the housing units is connected. Private electrical generators as well as water tanks and cisterns are also used (ARIJ 2010).

Hebron Governorate: 'Umm Al-Ḥayr (Al-Faqīr)

'Umm Al-Ḥayr or Al-Faqīr is a Bedouin village in the Hebron Governorate. It is located in area C. In 2007, the total population was 516 inhabitants. The residents moved there from 'Arād and Bīr As-Sab'. The economy of the village is mainly dependent on agriculture. The village has been connected to a water network, but the water provided is insufficient both in quality and quantity, therefore cisterns are also an alternative source of water. The village is not connected to the electricity network, but part of the village is connected to an electrical generator (ARIJ 2009).

Hebron Governorate: 'Umm Ad-Darağ

'Umm Ad-Darağ is a Bedouin village, also known as Az-Zuwaydīn Ka'ābne village. It is located in the southern part of the West Bank, in the Hebron Governorate, and in area C. In 2007, the total population was 813 inhabitants. The residents originate from the village and belong to the Zuwaydīn clan of the Ka'ābne Bedouin tribe. The economy of the village is dependent on agriculture. The village is connected to a water network,

but cisterns are also used since the network does not provide enough water for all the residents. The village is not connected to any electricity network (ARIJ, 2009).

Hebron Governorate: Al-Buwayb

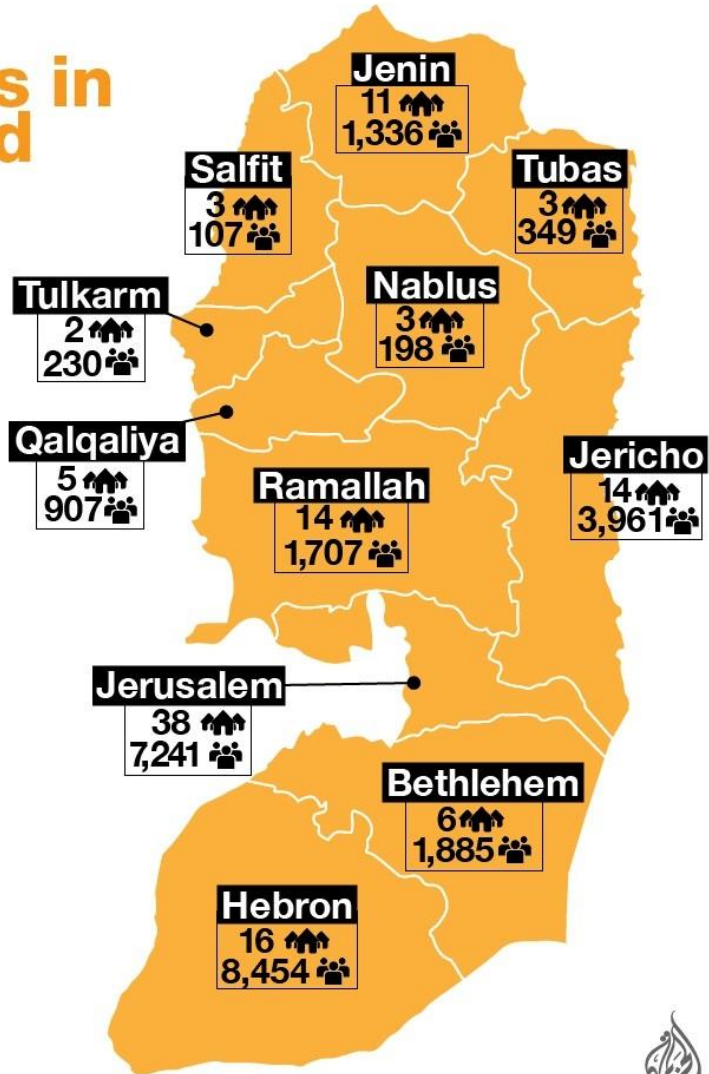
The village is located in the southern part of the West Bank, in the Hebron Governorate. In 2007, the total population was 607 inhabitants. Residents moved there from Bīr As-Sab‘ and from the former Palestinian village Bayt Ġibrīn. The economy of the village is mainly depending on agriculture. Water is provided by cisterns and water tanks, while electricity is provided by a local generator (ARIJ 2009).

Map 1 illustrates the number of Bedouin communities and residents in each community of the West Bank in 2017.

Bedouin communities in the occupied West Bank

There are more than 26,000 ethnic Bedouins residing in 115 communities in Area C of the occupied Palestinian territories.

About 7,000 are at risk of forcible transfer.



 Bedouin communities
 Residents

 Source: OCHA, Icons: The Noun Project



Map 1: Bedouin communities in the West Bank – Area C (2017)

4.2.3 Collected data from Palestine: West Bank

4.2.3.1 Negation as a simple negative response

Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’ is expressed either by *lā*, or by *la*’ with a glottal stop (hamza) after the vowel.

- (1) *lā lā mā ’aqdar*
 no no NEG 1SG.can.IPFV
 ‘No, no, I can’t.’
 (Ar-Rašāyda)

In the Ġahālīn tribe –but I was informed that this is a form generally used by all Bedouin tribes of the West Bank– an emphatic negative response is additionally attested as *lilla*. Although *lilla* (and *lille*) is also attested in the studied Bedouin tribes of Jordan, I have been given a different explanation for the origin of the word. The Palestinians analysed it as *lā* + the oath *walla*, while the Jordanians analysed it as a double *lā* (*lā* + *lā*). I find it unlikely that the same word has two different origins, especially since it has not a different pronunciation. However, I keep the meaning that was given to me in each case.

- (2) *lilla mā fi banāt*
 no by God NEG there are girls
 ‘No, by God, there are no girls.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

Very often, the oath *walla* ‘by God’, preceded by the negative answer *lā/la*’ (3a), or followed by any negative marker (3b), is used to emphasise and confirm a negative answer.

- (3a) *lā walla al-māḍi ’aḥsan*
 no by God ART-past better
 ‘No, by God, the past was better.’
 (Al-Ka’ābne)

- (3b) waḷḷa mā-ni ḥāfiḍ-ha
 by God NEG-PN.1SG memorise.PTCP-PN.3FSG
 ‘By God, I don’t remember it.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

4.2.3.2 Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates is expressed, as expected, mostly by the negative particle *mā*. The use of the *š* negator is occasionally attested in the bipartite and the postverbal negation, while the negative particle *lā* is rarely encountered.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle mā

In the studied tribes of the West Bank, the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* (stage I of Jespersen’ Cycle) is used for the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (4a) mā ‘agwṭar⁴⁷ ‘a-š-šugl
 NEG 1SG.go away.IPFV to-ART-work
 ‘I don’t go to work.’
 (Ar-Rašāyda)
- (4b) al-badawi mā b-insa tār-u
 ART-Bedouin NEG b-3MSG.forget.IPFV vengeance-PN.3MSG
 ‘The Bedouin does not forget his vengeance.’
 (Al-Ġubārāt)
- (4c) ‘ana mā b-idaḥḥin b-il-marra
 PN.1SG NEG b-1SG.smoke.IPFV in-ART-time
 ‘I never smoke.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)

⁴⁷ Shawarbah (2012, 389), in his glossary of Bedouin Arabic of the Negev, gives the definition of the verb *gaṭar* as ‘to line up camels in a single file and connect them with halters’, and the definition of the verb *gawṭar* as ‘to go away, leave’.

- (4d) ar-raḡul al-badawi mā yudḥol al-bēt ḡuwwa
 ART-man ART-Bedouin NEG 3SGM.enter.IPFV ART-house inside
 ‘The Bedouin man does not enter inside the house.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

The *b-* prefix as an indicative marker (4b-c) is often attested in all studied tribes, although it is not used by all the informants.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the š negator

The *š* negator, mostly as a rural adopted feature, is attested in some cases but not regularly. When it occurs, it is used in the bipartite (5) or the postverbal negation (6) with the *b-* prefix. In only one case, the bipartite negation is also attested with the use of the *b-* prefix (7).

- (5a) al-mayya mā niṣrif-š zayy alyōm
 ART-water NEG 1PL.spend.IPFV-NEG like today
 ‘We didn’t spend water like today.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)

- (5b) mā ‘aqdar-š ‘akabbir-ha al-ḡorfa
 NEG 1SG.can.PFV-NEG 1SG.enlarge.IPFV-PN.3FSG ART-room
 ‘I cannot enlarge the room.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (6a) wāḥda bi-tikfī-š
 one bi-3FSG.suffice.IPFV-NEG
 ‘One (woman) is not enough.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (6b) haḍōla ‘ind-hum b- ya ‘tū-š
 these at-PN.3MPL b-3MPL.give.IPFV-NEG
 ‘They, they do not give.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (7) mā b-aʿrif-š aš-šīʿr
 NEG b-1SG.know.IPFV-NEG ART-poetry
 ‘I don’t know poetry.’
 (Al-ʿAzāzme)

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā*, as a rather conservative feature generally not attested in the negation of verbal predicates in modern spoken varieties (Alluhaybi, 2019, 278), is rarely used by some informants to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express indirect prohibition (8a), or negative statements introduced by the negation *wala* (8b).

- (8a) lā tuḡʿud maʿ ar-riḡāl hāda yaʿni miš
 NEG 2MSG.sit.IPFV with ART-men this 3MSG.mean.IPFV NEG
 masmūḥ
 be permitted.PTCP
 ‘You don’t sit with men; I mean this is not permitted.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (8b) wala tqūd as-sayyāra
 NEG 3FSFG.drive.IPFV ART-car
 ‘She does not drive a car.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

Furthermore, the negative particle *lā* is encountered with verbal predicates in the process of storytelling, as in (8c-d). Bedouin stories can contain features from Bedouin varieties, from local, sedentary varieties and from Literary Arabic as well. The intermingled varieties create an oral narrative style introduced by Palva (1992) as Artistic Colloquial Arabic. Henkin (2010) describes and analyses thoroughly and at length the narrative language of the Bedouins of the Naqab, and further material can be obtained by her book.

- (8c) al-kull lā yigayyir al-maʿanā

ART-whole NEG 3MSG.change.IPFV ART- meaning

‘The whole does not change the meaning.’

(Al-Ġahālīn)

- (8d) walā 'a'lam 'ayna 'aǧid al-bayt
NEG 1SG.know.IPFV where 1SG.find.IPFV ART-house
‘[...] and I don’t know where to find the house.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

However, in (8d) we have a different case, since the full context of *lā* is in Classical Arabic. In this case, the informant is narrating a fictional story⁴⁸. For this story, she uses Mixed Arabic, a mix between the high variety, namely CA or MSA, and the low variety, namely a modern vernacular (den Heijer 2012).

Negation in the future

Negation in the future is mostly expressed by the negative particle *mā* followed by the pseudo-verb *wudd* (9a) and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. Additionally, negation in the future can be formed with a negated pronoun followed by a participle (9b). Furthermore, it is sometimes encountered with *mā* followed by the sedentary, adopted future marker *raḥ* (9c) and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. Infrequently, it is also encountered with the negative marker *muš* followed by the future marker *raḥ* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (9d).

- (9a) 'ana mā wudd-i 'amši 'a-š-šūǧl
PN.1SG NEG want-PN.1SG 1SG.walk.IPFV to-ART-workt
‘I will not go to work.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (9b) 'ana mā-ni šāri
PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG buy.PTCP

⁴⁸The same informant also uses the negative particle *lam* in this narration: *lam taǧid al- 'aǧūz* ‘She didn’t find the old man’ (Ar-Rašāyda).

‘I will not buy.’

(Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (9c) bi-nuṣṣ rātib ‘akīd mā raḥ ‘akūn mabsūt
with-half salary for sure NEG will 1SG.be.IPFV happy
‘With half a salary I definitely won’t be happy.’

(Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (9d) lā muš raḥ ‘asāfir ba‘d sana
no NEG will 1SG.travel.IPFV after year
‘No, I will not travel after a year.’

(Al-Ġahālīn)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle mā

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is generally formed with the negative particle *mā*, as in the following examples:

- (10a) al-iḥtilāl al-isrā‘īli mā mana‘-na
ART-occupation ART-Israeli NEG 3MSG.ban.PFV-PN.1PL
min hāy al-maṭṭaġa
from this ART-area
‘The Israeli occupation did not ban us from this area.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

- (10b) ‘ana mā mašīt kaṭīr
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.walk.PFV much
‘I didn’t travel much.’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the š negator

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the *š* negator is very rarely attested. When occurs, it is used in the bipartite negation *mā...š*:

(11a) mā ḍall-š 'iši
 NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV-NEG thing
 'Nothing remained.'
 (Al-Ğubārāt)

(11b) 'ana mā ta'allamti-š wala garāt wala yōm
 PN.1SG NEG 1SG.study.PFV-NEG NegCONJ 1SG.read.PFV NegSFP day
 wāḥad
 one
 'I neither studied nor read, not a single day.'
 (Al-Ğahālīn)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle lā

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle *lā* is attested only once, with the negation *wala*, in emphatic negation with *'umr*:

(12) wala 'umr-ha šāfat ḡanam
 NEG life-PN.3FSG 3FSG.see.PFV sheep
 'She has never seen sheep.'
 (Al-Ka'ābne)

Negation with the auxiliary kān

Negation in the past is also formed with the negative particle *mā* followed by the auxiliary *kān* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express negation in a progressive or habitual action in the past (Past continuous):

(13) zamān zamān mā konna ništaḡil
 time time NEG 1PL.be.PFV 1PL.work.IPFV
 'In the past, we were not working.'
 (Al-Ğubārāt)

Negative imperative with the negative particle lā (Type 4)

In all studied tribes, the negative imperative is attested with the negative particle *lā*, as in the following examples:

- (14a) *lā* *ṭharrafi* *ma*^ʿ-*i*
NEG 2FSG.talk.IPFV with-PN.1SG
'Don't talk to me!'
(Ar-Rašāyda)

- (14b) *lā* *ṭhalli* *ḥad yišūf-ak*
NEG 2MSG.leave.IPFV one 3MSG.see-PN.2MSG
'Don't let anyone see you!'
(Al-Ġahālīn)

Negative imperative with the negative particle mā (Type 3)

In only one case, the negative particle *mā* is also attested in the negative imperative:

- (15) *mā* *tat*^ʿ-*adda* *ʿala garābt-ak*
NEG 2MSG.be unjust.IPFV to relatives-PN.2MSG
'Don't be unjust to your relatives!'
(Al-Ġubārāt)

4.2.3.3 Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is formed with the negative particle *mā*. The *š* negator is rarely encountered, while *lā* is only once attested with pseudo-verbal predicates.

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly formed with the negative particle *mā*, preceding pseudo-verbs like *ind/and* ‘have’ (16a-b), *wudd* (16c) and *bidd* (16d) ‘want’.

(16a) mā ‘and-i zalame
NEG have-PN.1SG man
‘I don’t have a husband.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

(16b) mā ‘ind-hum ḥorriyya
NEG have-PN.3MPL freedom
‘They do not have freedom.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)

(16c) mā wudd-i gahwa wala šāy
NEG want-PN.1SG coffee NegCONJ tea
‘I neither want coffee, nor tea.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

(16d) mā bidd-na maṣāri`iḥna
NEG want-PN.1PL money PN.1PL
‘We did not want money.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the š negator

The *š* negator is rarely encountered in the negation of pseudo-verbal predicates. When *š* occurs, it is used in the postverbal negation, and only with the pseudo-verb *bidd*, as below:

(17a) bidd-nā-š nitnāzal il-hum
want-PN.1PL-NEG 1PL.stand down.IPFV to-PN.3MPL

‘We don’t want to stand down in favor of them.’

(Al-Ġahālīn)

- (17b) *bidd-ī-š* *’agūl* *l-ak* *falsafe*
want-PN.1SG-NEG 1SG.say.IPFV to-PN.2MSG philosophy
‘I don’t want to philosophise to you.’
(Az-Zubaydāt)

Moreover, negation of the pseudo-verbal predicate *’ind* is rarely attested with the negative marker *muš* (18), or the negative existential marker *fiš* (19).

- (18) *muš* *’ind-hum* *’iyy ši* *šadīd*
NEG have-PN.3MPL any thing strict
‘They do not have anything strict.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

- (19a) *fi-š* *’ind-i* *’aṣḥāb hōn*
there is-NEG have-PN.1SG friends here
‘I don’t have friends here.’
(Az-Zubaydāt)

- (19b) *an-nās* *fi-š* *’ind-ha* *lā* *sayyārāt*
ART-people there is-NEG have-PN.3FSG NEG cars
‘People did not have cars [...]’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the negative particle lā

Negation of the pseudo-verb *’ind* is only once attested with the negative particle *lā*. In this case, the informant uses both *mā* and *lā* in his utterance:

- (20) *hunāk kānat* *mā* *’ind-hum* *lā* *’ind-u*
there 3FSG.be.PFV NEG have-PN.3MPL NEG have-PN.3MSG
iġtā wāḥed

cover one

‘At that time, they didn’t have, they didn’t have...(they had only) one cover.’

(Al-‘Azāzme)

4.2.3.4 Existential negation

Existential negation in the West Bank is mostly encountered as *mā fi*, while the *š* negator is often used in the negative existential marker *fiš*. Existential negation with *mā fiš*, *mā fiš fi*, *fiš fi*, and *mā... kānš fi* are also attested, infrequently though. The negative particle *lā* is rarely encountered in the existential negation as *wala fi*, while *lā fi* is more common in negative coordination structures.

Existential negation with the negative particle mā

Existential negation is mainly expressed as *mā fi*, as in the following examples:

(21a) la’ mā fi mašākil
no NEG there is problems
‘No, there are no problems.’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

(21b) mā fi mayye
NEG there is water
‘There is no water.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

(21c) mā fi ḥorriyya tgūd as-sayyāra
NEG there is freedom 3FSG.drive.IPFV ART-car
‘She is not free to drive a car.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)

(21d) alḥīn mā fi bandōra baladiyya
now NEG there is tomatoes local
‘Now, there are no local tomatoes.’

(Ar-Rašāyda)

When expressing existential negation in the past, the verb *kān* is used as *mā kān fi*, or *kān mā fi*:

(22a) mā kān fi ġala zayy hēk
NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is expensiveness like so
'Life cost was not so high.'

(Al-Ka'ābne)

(22b) kān mā fi madāris
3MSG.be.PFV NEG there is schools
'There were no schools.'

(Al-Ġahālīn)

Existential negation with the š negator

Existential negation is also encountered with the *š* negator, in the postverbal form *fiš*, which is used by all studied Bedouin tribes of the West Bank, as below:

(23a) 'awwal fi-š ġalsa ma' ar-riġāl
first there is-NEG sitting with ART-men
'Before, there was no sitting with men.'

(Al-'Azāzme)

(23b) fi-š madrasa
there is-NEG school
'There is no school.'

(Ar-Rašāyda)

(23c) fi-š ḥadamāt
there is-NEG services
'There are no services.'

(Al-Ġubārāt)

(23d) fi-š lā bāš wala sayyāra
 there is-NEG NEG bus NegCONJ car
 ‘There is neither bus, nor car.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

In a few cases, the bipartite existential negation *mā fiš* (24) is also encountered, while *mā fiš fi* (25), *fiš fi* (26), and *mā... kānš fi* (27) are very rarely attested.

(24a) mā fi-š biyūt zayy al-qora
 NEG there is-NEG houses like ART-villages
 ‘There were no houses like (in) the villages.’
 (Al-Zubaydāt)

(24b) konna ḥorriyya mā fi-š taṣrīḥ wala fi
 1PL.be.PFV freedom NEG there is-NEG permit NegCONJ there is
 ‘iyy ši
 any thing
 ‘We were free, there was no permit nor anything.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

(25) mā fi-š fi mayye
 NEG there is-NEG there is water
 ‘There was no water.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)

(26a) ‘amma fi-l-madina lā fi-š fi
 as for in-ART-city no there is-NEG there is
 ‘As for the city no, there isn’t.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)

(26b) fi-š fi ḡaww ‘āyla
 there is-NEG there is atmosphere family
 ‘There is no family atmosphere.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (27) mā kān-š fī lā kahraba wala mayye
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV-NEG there is NEG electricity NegCONJ water
 ‘There was neither electricity nor water.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)

Existential negation with the negative particle lā

Existential negation with the negation *wala* is rarely encountered and is used to express emphatic negation (28a), while *lā fī* is more often encountered in negative coordination structures (28b).

- (28a) wala fī ’aḥsan min ḥayāt al-ḡanam
 NEG there is better than life ART-sheep
 ‘There is (nothing) better than living with the sheep.’
 (Al-Ḡubārāt)

- (28b) manṭaḡat as-saba’ hī kānat lā fī-ha dūr
 area ART-Sabaa PN.3FSG 3FSG.be.PFV NEG there is-PN.3FSG houses
 wala fī-ha wala fī-ha ḡalīl
 NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG little
 ‘There were no houses in the Sabaa area, nor there were, nor there were (but)
 very few.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)

4.2.3.5 Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates is occasionally expressed by the negative particle *mā*, while the negative particle *lā* is only once attested. More often, negation of non-verbal predicates is formed with the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš* and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā

Occasionally, non-verbal predicates such as participles (29a), pronouns (29b), or non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān* (29c-d) are negated by the negative particle *mā*.

(29a) *waḷḷa mā dāri šū bi-tiḥki*
by God NEG know.PTCP what bi-2FSG.speak.IPFV
'By God, I don't know what you are saying.'
(Ar-Rašāyda)

(29b) *muḥammed mā huwwe hfiyā*
Mohamed NEG PN.3MSG fat
'Mohamed is not fat.'
(Al-Ġahālīn)

(29c) *mā konna fi biyūt dūr konna fi ḥiyām*
NEG 1PL.be.PFV in houses houses 1PL.be.PFV in tents
'We were not in houses; we were in tents.'
(Al-Ka'ābne)

(29d) *mā yikūn mutašaddid wala yikūn 'unṣuriyy*
NEG 3MSG.be.IPFV extremist NegCONJ 3MSG.be.IPFV racist
wala yikūn 'aṣabiyy
NegCONJ 3MSG.be.IPFV nervous
'Not to be extremist or racist or nervous.'
(Al-'Azāzme)

It should be noted that (29b) is part of a traditional, contemporary oral narrative.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* is only once used to negate non-verbal predicates:

- (30) lā ḥelwa ṣaddki inn-o ḥayāt al-badw
 NEG sweet 2FSG.believe.IPM that-PN.3MSG life ART-Bedouins
 al-’awwal ’aḥla min alyōm
 ART-first sweeter from today
 ‘It’s not nice, believe (it), that Bedouins’ life in the past was better than today.’
 (Al-’Azāzme)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers mū and mī

The negative marker *mū* is used to negate nouns (31a), prepositional phrases (31b), adjectives (31c), participles (31d), and adverbs (31e).

- (31a) ’inta mū duktūr
 PN.2MSG NEG doctor
 ‘You are not a doctor.’
 (Al-Ka’ābne)

- (31b) mū zayy zamān
 NEG like time
 ‘It’s not like in the old days.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (31c) mū zīn
 NEG good
 ‘He is not good.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (31d) lā waḷḷāhi mū mamnū’
 no by God NEG be forbidden.PTCP
 ‘No, by God, it is not forbidden.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (31e) al-ḥakīm mū hnī
 ART-doctor NEG here

‘The doctor is not here.’

(Al-Ka‘ābne)

The negative marker *mī* is used to negate nouns (32a), prepositional phrases (32b), adjectives (32c), and adverbs (32d).

(32a) *lā waḷḷa mī giṣṣat badawi*

NEG by God NEG story Bedouin

‘No, by God, this is not the story of a Bedouin.’

(Al-Ġahālīn)

(32b) *hī mī fi-l-madrasa*

PN.3FSG NEG in-ART-school

‘She is not at school.’

(Al-Ka‘ābne)

(32c) *dār-na mī zġire*

house-PN.1PL NEG small

‘Our house is not small.’

(Al-Ka‘ābne)

(32d) *al-madrasa mī hnī*

ART-school NEG here

‘The school is not here.’

(Al-Ġahālīn)

In most cases, *mū* precedes a masculine predicate while *mī* precedes a feminine predicate. However, *mū* is more regularly used than *mī*.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers muš and miš

The negative marker *muš* is used to negate nouns (33a), prepositional phrases (33b), participles (33c), adverbs (33d), modals (33e), and subordinate clauses (33f).

- (33a) az-zawġa muš šarṭ min nafs gabīlat-ak
 ART-wife NEG condition from same tribe-PN.2MSG
 ‘The wife must not necessarily be from the same tribe as you.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (33b) muš bi-ha-š-šikl
 NEG with-this-ART-shape
 ‘Not like this.’
 (Al-‘Azāzme)
- (33c) ḍyūf ‘aṣḥāb-u muš mawġūdīn
 guests friends-PN.3MSG NEG be present.PTCP
 ‘His friends’ guests were not present.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (33d) lā muš hīk
 no NEG so
 ‘No, it’s not like this.’
 (Ar-Rašāyda)
- (33e) muš lāzim yiz‘al
 NEG necessary 3MSG.be upset.IPFV
 ‘He didn’t have to be upset.’
 (Az-Zubaydāt)
- (33f) muš ‘inn-o la-ha-d-daraġa al-iḥtilāl
 NEG that-PN.3MSG to-this-ART-degree ART-occupation
 ‘Occupation is not (intense) to such an extent.’
 (Ar-Rašāyda)

The negative marker *miš* is attested with nouns (34a), prepositions (34b-c), adjectives (34d-e), participles (34f-g), and adverbs (34h).

- (34a) miš ḥilm

NEG dream
'It's not a dream.'
(Az-Zubaydāt)

(34b) hāy al-arḍ miš il-na
this ART-land NEG to-PN.1PL
'This land does not belong to us.'
(Al-Ġubārāt)

(34c) 'ana miš min al-badw illi yiḥkuw šī'r
PN.1SG NEG from ART-Bedouins who 3MPL.tell.IPFV poetry
'I am not from the Bedouins who recite poetry.'
(Al-Ka'ābne)

(34d) miš ša'b
NEG difficult
'It's not difficult.'
(Ar-Rašāyda)

(34e) miš ġarīb
NEG strange
'It is not strange.'
(Az-Zubaydāt)

(34f) miš 'ārif
NEG know.PTCP
'I don't know.'
(Al-Ġahālīn)

(34g) hāy al-ġām'a miš mu'taraf bi-šahādat-ha
this ART-university NEG be recognised.PTCP with-certificate-PN.3FPL
'The certificate of this university is not recognised.'
(Ar-Rašāyda)

- (34e) miš halgēt
 NEG now
 ‘Not now.’
 (Al-Ġubārāt)

Both negative markers *muš* and *miš* are often attested, although *miš* is slightly more often attested than *muš* and is used to negate both masculine and feminine predicates.

Negation of pronouns by prefixation of m-

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, as *māni*, *minte*, *minti*, *muhu*, *mihi*, *miḥna* and *muhum*⁴⁹.

- (35a) waḷḷāhi mā-ni dāri
 by God NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP
 ‘By God, I don’t know.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne and Al-Ġahālīn)

- (35b) inta m-inte min-na
 2MSG NEG-PN.2MSG from-PN.1PL
 ‘You are not one of us.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

- (35c) m-inti duktūra
 NEG-PN.2FSG female doctor
 ‘You are not a doctor.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (35d) mu-hu mawġūd
 NEG-PN.3MSG be present.PTCP
 ‘He is not here.’
 (Ar-Rašāyda)

⁴⁹ Only the forms encountered in the recorded material are described here.

- (35e) mi-hi gādire tiḥki
 NEG-PN.3FSG be able.PTCP 3FSG.speak.IPFV
 ‘She is not able to speak.’
 (Al-Ġubārāt)
- (35f) m-iḥna malšīn min-hum
 NEG-PN.1PL escape.PTCP from-PN.3MPL
 ‘We don’t escape from them.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (35g) lā waḷḷa al-badw mu-hum zayy al-falistīniyyīn
 NEG by God ART-Bedouins NEG-PN.3MPL like ART-Palestinians
 ‘No, by God, Bedouins are not like Palestinians.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne)

4.2.3.6 *Constituent negation*

The negative markers *muš* (36) and *miš* (37) are also used to express constituent negation, as below:

- (36) hadamu marra marrtēn hadamu muš
 3MPL.demolish.PFV time two times 3MPL.demolish.PFV NEG
 mā hadamu
 NEG 3MPL.demolish.PFV
 ‘They demolished (houses) once, twice, it’s not that they didn’t demolish.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (37) miš dāiman niḍbaḥ
 NEG always 1PL.slaughter.IPFV
 ‘We don’t always slaughter.’
 (Ar-Rašāyda)

4.2.3.7 Negative polarity items

The negative polarity items used in the West Bank include indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners, and adverbials.

Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns encountered in the West Bank are *ḥad/ḥada*, *wāḥad/wāḥed* (38) ‘one, someone/no one’, and *’iši* (39) ‘thing, something/nothing’, preceded by the negative particle *mā*, or the negative existential marker *fiš* (38a).

(38a) *fi-š ḥada yisma‘-ha*
there is-NEG one 3MSG.hear.IPFV-PN.3FSG
‘There was no one to hear her.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

(38b) *mā bi-nšūf ḥada barra*
NEG bi-1PL.see.IPFV one outside
‘We don’t see anyone outside.’
(Al-Ġubārāt)

(38c) *mā fi ḥad bi-d-dokān*
NEG there is one in-ART-shop
‘There is no one in the shop.’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

(38d) *waḷḷa mā ’aqbal wāḥed*
by God NEG 1SG.accept.IPFV one
‘By God, I don’t accept anyone.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

(39) *mā šāf ’iši*
NEG 3MSG.see.PFV thing
‘He didn’t see anything.’

(Al-‘Azāzme)

Indefinite determiners

The indefinite determiner *’iyy* is encountered only with the indefinite pronoun *ši* in negative contexts, preceded by a negative element and interpreted as ‘anything, nothing’:

- (40) fi-š melġa il-na wala il-na ’iyy ši ’illa
there is-NEG shelter to-PN.1PL NegCONJ to-PN.1PL any thing except
bēt š-sa‘r
house ART-hair
‘There is neither a shelter, nor anything for us but the tent.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

Adverbials

The adverbial *’umr* is used with clitic pronouns to express the meaning ‘never’:

- (41a) lā ’umr-i mā šuft al-baħar
no life-PN.1SG NEG 1SG.see.PFV ART-sea
‘No, I never saw the sea.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)
- (41b) waḷḷa ’umr-i mā sāfart min marra
by God life-PN.1SG NEG 1SG.travel.PFV from time
‘By God, I have never travelled.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)
- (41c) wala ’umr-ha šāfat ġanam
NEG life-PN.3FSG 3FSG.see.PFV sheep
‘She has never seen sheep.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

4.2.3.8 Negative indefinite pronouns

The negative indefinite pronoun attested in the West Bank is *maḥada/maḥad*, with the meaning ‘nobody’:

(42a) *maḥada radd* ‘alē-ha
nobody 3MSG.answer.PFV on-PN.3FSG
‘Nobody answered her.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)

(42b) *maḥad yis’al-kiy*
nobody 3MSG.ask.IPFV-PN.2FSG
‘Nobody asks you.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)

4.2.3.9 Negative concord items

The negative concord items attested in the West Bank include the negative scalar *wala*, *never/at all* adverbials and *still/not yet* adverbials.

The negative scalar focus particle wala

The negative scalar *wala* is used with indefinites, with the meaning ‘not even/not a single’.

(43a) ‘ana mā ta‘allamti-š wala garāt wala yōm
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.study.PFV-NEG NegCONJ 1SG.read.PFV NegSFP day
wāḥad
one
‘I neither studied nor read, not a single day.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)

(43b) ‘ana ma ‘ind-i wala ḥabar
PN.1SG NEG have-PN.1SG NegSFP new information

‘I don’t have any news (not even one).’

(Al-‘Azāzme)

- (43c) wala marra ḥassīt ’inn-u fī farg
NegSFP time 1SG.feel.PFV that-PN.3MSG there is difference
‘Not (even) once did I feel there was a difference.’
(Az-Zubaydāt)

- (43d) mā fī wala wāḥed yagdar yaḥki
NEG there is NegSFP one 3MSG.can.IPFV 3MSG.speak.IPFV
lahġāt al-badw
dialects ART-Bedouins
‘There is not even one who can speak the Bedouin dialects.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

Never/at all *adverbials*

The adverbial *min marra* (44a-b) or *b-il-marra* (44d), is used with the meaning ‘never/at all’.

- (44a) mā fī intigāl min marra
NEG there is movement from one place to another from time
‘There is no movement at all.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)

- (44b) mā mašit min marra
NEG 1SG.leave.PFV from time
‘I’ve never traveled.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)

- (44c) lā waḷḷa hāna mā fī mašākil min marra
no by God here NEG there is problems from time
‘No, by God, we do not have any problems at all here.’
(Al-Ka‘ābne)

- (44d) ʿana mā b-idahḥin b-il marra
 PN.1SG NEG bi-1SG.smoke.IPFV in-ART-time
 ‘I never smoke.’
 (Al-ʿAzāzme)

Still/not yet *adverbials*

The adverbial *lissa* is occasionally used with the meaning ‘still/not yet’:

- (45) lissa mā banīt bēt
 still NEG 1SG.build.PFV house
 ‘I haven’t built a house yet.’
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

4.2.3.10 Negative coordination structures

The negative coordination structures encountered in the West Bank are either bisyndetic or polysyndetic (multiple) structures (Haspelmath 2007, Cowell 1964), including *lā* or *mā* as the first negative element and the negative conjunction *wala* as the second and so forth. In some cases, the negative existential markers *fiš/mā fiš* are also attested as the first element. Negative coordination structures are encountered with verbal predicates, with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation, with non-verbal predicates, as well as with different types of predicates.

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates include either bisyndetic (46a-46c, 47), or polysyndetic (46d-46f) coordination, mostly with *lā* (46), and less often with *mā* (47) as the first negative element.

- (46a) lā ḥalla ḥmāra wala ḥalla baʿīr
 NEG 3MSG.leave.PFV jennet NegCONJ 3MSG.leave.PFV camel
 ‘Neither a jennet nor a camel left.’
 (Al-Kaʿābne)

- (46b) ḥamst 'ašar yōm lā 'akal wala šarib
 fifteen day NEG 3MSG.eat.PFV NegCONJ 3MSG.drink.PFV
 'For fifteen days he neither ate nor drank.'
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (46c) lā yiġī-hum da'm wala
 NEG 3MSG.come.IPFV-PN.3MPL support NegCONJ
 yiġī-hum 'iyy ši
 3MSG.come.IPFV-PN.3MPL any thing
 'They neither got support nor anything.'
 (Ar-Rašāyda)
- (46d) 'ana lā sāfart wala ruḥt wala
 PN.1SG NEG 1SG.travel.PFV NegCONJ 1SG.go.PFV NegCONJ
 ġīt
 1SG.come.PFV
 'I have neither travelled, nor have gone nor have come.'
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (46e) binisba 'inn-ha lā tiṭl'a wala
 regarding that-PN.3FSG NEG 3FSG.come out.IPFV NegCONJ
 tištġel wala tmaḍḍi yōm-ha
 3FSG.work.IPFV NegCONJ 3FSG.spend.IPFV day-PN.3FSG
 barra wala ši binisba l-i kwayyis 'aḥsan
 outside NegCONJ thing regarding to-PN.1SG good better
 'Given that neither she goes out nor she works, nor she spends her day out, nor
 anything, I think that it (her life) is good, better.'
 (Al-Ġahālīn)
- (46f) lā yiṭla'an wala yirūḥin wala
 NEG 3FPL.go out.IPFV NegCONJ 3FPL.go.IPFV NegCONJ
 yiġīn
 3FPL.come.IPFV
 'They neither go out, nor come nor go.'

(Al-Ġahālīn)

- (47) mā darast wala b-a‘araf ism-i
NEG 1SG.study.PFV NegCONJ b-1SG.know.IPFV name-PN.1SG
‘I neither studied nor even know (how to write) my name.’

(Al-Ġubārāt)

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation include either bisyndetic (49) or polysyndetic (48) coordination with *lā* (48) or *mā fiš/fiš* (49) as the first negative element.

- (48a) lā ‘ind-u ġamal wala ‘ind-u nāqa
NEG have-PN.3MPL camel NegCONJ have-PN.3MPL she-camel
wala ‘ind-u ħmār wala ‘ind-u qaṣar⁵⁰
NegCONJ have-PN.3MPL donkey NegCONJ have-PN.3MPL palace
‘They neither had a camel, nor a she-camel, nor a donkey, nor a residence.’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

- (48b) maṭṭaḡat as-saba‘ hī kānat lā fi-ha dūr
area ART-Sabaa PN.3FSG 3FSG.be.PFV NEG there is-PN3FSG houses
wala fi-ha wala fi-ha galīl
NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG little
‘There were no houses in the Sabaa area, nor there were, nor there were (but) very few.’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

- (49a) konna ḥorriyya mā fi-š taṣrīḥ wala fi
1PL.be.PFV freedom NEG there is-NEG permit NegCONJ there is

⁵⁰ Literally meaning ‘palace’ the noun *qaṣr* (*qaṣr*) is used by the Bedouins of the West Bank with the meaning of ‘residence’. In Henkin’s (2010) study on the oral narratives of the Negev Bedouins, the same noun is translated as ‘mansion’ (2010, 259).

'iyy ši
 any thing
 'We were free, there was no permit nor anything.'
 (Al-Ġahālīn)

(49b) fi-š rūḥa wala ḡayye
 there is-NEG going NegCONJ coming
 'There is neither going, nor coming.'
 (Al-'Azāzme)

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates include bisyndetic coordination as *lā...wala*:

(50a) timši mā tḡāf lā min yahūd wala
 2MSG.walk.IPFV NEG 2MSG.be afraid.IPFV NEG from Jews NegCONJ
 min 'iyy ši
 from any thing
 'You move and you are neither afraid of the Jews nor of anything.'
 (Al-Ka'ābne)

(50b) lā ḡanam wala ḡimāl
 NEG sheep NegCONJ camels
 '[...] neither sheep, nor camels.'
 (Ar-Rašāyda)

(50c) gabl mā fi nās 'and-hum lā kahraba wala 'iši
 before NEG there is people have-PN.3MPL NEG electricity NegCONJ thing
 'In the past, there were no people having electricity or anything.'
 (Al-Ġubārāt)

Negative coordination structures with different types of predicates

In some cases, negative coordination structures are attested with units of different type, as in the following examples:

- (51a) *lā y‘arifin yaqrān wala ‘ind-hin*
NEG 3FPL.know.IPFV 3FPL.read.IPFV NegCONJ have-PN.3FPL
madāris hāḍa z-zimān
schools that ART-time
‘Neither they knew how to read, nor they had schools in the past.’
(Ar-Rašāyda)
- (51b) *alyawm fi-š ḥada b-yuḍrub marat-u lā*
today there is-NEG this b-3MSG.beat.IPFV woman-PN.3MSG no
wala hī bi-tuḍrub ḡawz-ha
NegCONJ PN.3FSG 3FSG.beat.IPFV husband-PN.3FSG
‘Today, there is no such a thing as beating his wife, no, neither does she beat her husband.’
(Al-Ġahālīn)
- (51c) *an-nās fi-š ‘ind-ha lā sayyārāt wala*
ART-people there is-NEG have-PN.3FSG NEG cars NegCONJ
‘ind-ha telfonāt wala ‘ind-ha ḡār a-ḡmāl
Have-PN.3FSG telephones NegCONJ have-PN.3FPL except ART-camels
‘People did not have cars, nor telephones, they didn’t have nothing but camels.’
(Al-‘Azāzme)

A general conclusion from the use of the negative coordination structures in the West Bank, is that the negative particle *lā* is much more often encountered than *mā* as the first negative element.

4.2.3.11 Exeptive constructions

Exeptive constructions are encountered with the exeptive particles *ğār* (52) or *'illa* (53) preceded by negative morphemes, as in the examples below:

- (52) wala 'ind-ha ğār a-ğmāl
NegCONJ have-PN.3FPL except ART-camels
'[...] they didn't have nothing but camels.'
(Al-'Azāzme)

- (53) mamnu' yirğa'u 'illa ba'd al-ğīl at-tāniy
forbidden 3MPL.come back.IPFV except after ART-generation ART-second
'They are forbidden to come back until after the second generation.'
(Az-Zubaydāt)

4.2.3.12 Verbs used in negative contexts

The commonly used verb *baṭṭal* is attested only in negative contexts, with the meaning 'stop, quit', or generally to express something that does not happen or does not exist anymore (54). The verb *ḍall* (*ḍalla*) literally meaning 'stay, remain, still be' (temporal verb according to Brustad 2000, 215), is used both in affirmation and negation, though it is mainly encountered in negative contexts, preceded by *mā* and uninflected (*mā ḍall*), again to express something that does not happen or does not exist anymore (55).

- (54a) baṭṭalu yizawwğū-hin ṣiğār
3MPL.stop.PFV 3MPL.marry.IPFV-PN.FPL young
'They've stopped marrying them early/They do not marry them early anymore.'
(Al-'Azāzme)

- (54b) baṭṭal fi-ha 'amān zayy 'awwal
3MSG.stop.PFV there is-PN.3FSG safety like first
'There is no safety anymore like (there was) before.'
(Ar-Rašāyda)

- (55) ma‘ at-taqaddom mā ḍall fi badw wa-fi
 with ART-progress NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV there is Bedouins CONJ-there is
 fallāḥ
 peasant
 ‘With the progress (of life), there is no (distinction between) Bedouins and
 peasants anymore.’
 (Az-Zubaydāt)

4.2.3.13 The negative use of the verb *zāl*

The verb *zāl* preceded by the negative particle *mā* is encountered as an adverbial *mā zāl* (usually uninflected), to express something that still exists/happens, with the meaning ‘still’:

- (56) mā zāl mawḡūd al-qawānīn al-badawiyya
 NEG 3MSG.cease.PFV exist.PTCP ART-laws ART-Bedouin
 ‘The Bedouin law still exist.’
 (Az-Zubaydāt)

4.2.3.14 Negative nouns

Rarely, the noun *ḡēr/ḡar* is used as a negative marker, with the meaning ‘not/un-’, as below:

- (57) ‘iyy šī ḡēr tawaqqa‘
 any thing NEG 2MSG.expect.IPFV
 ‘Anything unexpected (you do not expect).’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne)

4.2.3.15 Negative prepositions

The negative preposition *bidūn* is often encountered in the West Bank with the meaning ‘without’:

(58a) mā fi bēt mā fi ḥayā bidūn mašākil
 NEG there is house NEG there is life without problems
 ‘There is no house, there is no life without problems.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābne)

(58b) ‘aḥna bāni bidūn mālik
 PN.1PL build.PTCP without owner
 ‘We build without an owner.’
 (Az-Zubaydāt)

4.2.3.16 Summary and conclusions from the West Bank

In the above sections, we presented a synchronic fieldwork-based description and analysis of the distribution and use of the elements of negation in the varieties of six Bedouin tribes in Palestine. The studied types of negation were the following: negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs used in negative contexts, *still/not yet* adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

We will now proceed to some general conclusions derived from the collected data.

Negation as a simple negative response ‘no’ is expressed by *lā/la*. Another form of negative answer encountered is the emphatic form *lilla*.

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are mostly negated by the negative particle *mā*. The *š* negator is occasionally used in the bipartite negation or the postverbal negation. The negative particle *lā* is very rarely used to negate verbal predicates in plain negative statements, in indirect prohibition and in the negation *wala*, while it is slightly more often attested in the process of storytelling.

Negation in the future is formed either with *mā* followed by the pseudo-verbal predicate *wudd* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, with negated pronouns followed by participles, with *mā* followed by the future marker *rah* and verbal

predicates in the imperfective aspect, or, infrequently, with the negative marker *muš*, the future marker *raḥ* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

Verbal predicates in the perfective aspect are mainly negated by the negative particle *mā*, while the *š* negator is very rarely attested in the bipartite negation, and the negative particle *lā* is once attested in the negation *wala*.

The negative imperative is formed with the negative particle *lā*, while the negative particle *mā* is attested in only one case.

Pseudo-verbal predicates are generally negated by the negative particle *mā*. In a few cases, the *š* negator is used to negate the pseudo-verbal predicate *bidd* in the postverbal negation, while *fiš* and *muš* are rarely used to negate the pseudo-verb *ʿind*. The negative marker *lā* is encountered only once in the negation of pseudo-verbal predicates.

Existential negation as *mā fi* is attested in all studied tribes. Additionally, existential negation with the *š* negator as *fiš* is often encountered. Other cases of existential negation infrequently encountered in the West Bank are *mā fiš*, *mā fiš fi*, *fiš fi*, *mā kānš fi*, and *wala fi*.

Non-verbal predicates are mainly negated by with the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš* and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. The negative particle *mā* is also occasionally used to negate non-verbal predicates. The negative particle *lā* is only once attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates.

The negative markers *muš* and *miš* are also used in constituent negation.

The negative polarity items encountered in the West Bank are *ḥad/ḥada*, *wāhed/wāḥad* and *ʿiši*, preceded by negative morphemes, the indefinite determiner *ʿiyy* *ši* preceded by negative morphemes, and the adverbial *ʿumr* with clitic pronouns, preceded by negative morphemes.

The negative indefinite pronoun attested is *maḥada/maḥad*.

The negative concord items used in the West Bank are the negative scalar *wala* with indefinites, the *never/at all* adverbials *min marra/bil marra*, and the still/not yet adverbial *lissa*.

The negative coordination structures include bisyndetic or polysyndetic coordination with verbal predicates, pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, non-verbal predicates, and different types of predicates. The first negative element is more often *lā*, and less often *mā*, and the second is the negative conjunction *wala*. In a

few cases, *fiš* and *mā fiš* are also used as the first negative element. In general, the negative particle *lā* is mainly used as the first negative element of the structures.

Exceptive constructions are formed with the exceptive particles *ġār* or *ʿilla*, preceded by negative morphemes.

The verbs mainly used in negative contexts are *baṭṭal* and *mā ḍall*.

The verb/adverbial *mā zāl* is occasionally attested in the studied material with the meaning ‘still’.

Rarely, the noun *ġēr/ġār* is used as a negative marker with the meaning ‘not/un-’.

The negative preposition *bidūn* is attested in the West Bank with the meaning ‘without’.

Based on the above data, we summarise by arguing that the Bedouin spoken dialects of the West Bank seem to undergo changes due to their contact with other Palestinian, mainly rural varieties. Consequently, they seem to contain a mixed variety of conservative and innovative features, in the expression of negation. By sedentary features, we refer mainly to rural features, although urban features have also penetrated local Palestinian varieties during the last decades (Al-Wer et al. 2022, 191).

Conservative features include the use of the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* in negation of verbal, and pseudo-verbal predicates, the use of *mā* and its morphological variants *mū* and *mī* in negation of non-verbal predicates, the use of *mā* prefixed to the personal pronouns, and the use of the negative existential marker *mā fi*. Moreover, conservative features include the use of *lā* or the negation *wala* in negation of verbal, pseudo-verbal, and non-verbal predicates, the negative imperative with *lā*, and the rather constant use of the negative particle *lā* as the first negative element in negative coordination structures with verbal predicates. Negation as an emphatic response with *lilla* can also be considered as a traditional, Bedouin feature. Sedentary features include all uses of the *š* negator, in negation of verbal, pseudo-verbal, non-verbal predicates, and in the existential negation.

At the tables below, a general overview of the expression of negation in the Bedouin dialects of the studied tribes is provided. Tables 56 and 57 summarise the results of the most commonly (often) and less commonly (occasionally) used negative elements, as well as the use of some negative elements that were encountered in individual cases.

As individual cases are considered those attested very rarely or only once in the entire recorded material. We should mention here that although individual cases were described, analysed in every section, and included in each section's tables, they were not considered for drawing the overall conclusions of this study. Table 58 distributes the results of this field research in every studied tribe. Finally, table 59 illustrates the most commonly used negators in sedentary and Bedouin Palestinian dialects, according to Alluhaybi (2019) and the results of the present research.

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NegANS	<i>lā/la'</i>	<i>lilla</i>	-
VPreds IPFV	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā...š</i> <i>-š</i>	<i>lā:</i> NegSts IndirPROH NEG <i>wala</i>
FutNEG	<i>mā wudd + VPreds</i> IPFV NegPN + PTCP <i>mā raḥ + VPreds</i> IPFV	<i>muš raḥ + VPreds</i> IPFV	-
VPreds PFV	<i>mā</i>	-	<i>mā...š</i> <i>wala</i>
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	-	<i>mā</i>
PVPreds	<i>mā</i>	-	<i>-š</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>muš</i> <i>lā</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i>	<i>mā fiš</i>	<i>mā fiš fi</i> <i>fiš fi</i> <i>mā kānš fi</i> <i>wala fi</i>
NVPreds	<i>mū, mī</i> <i>muš, miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā</i>	<i>lā</i>
ConstNEG	<i>muš, miš</i>	-	-

Table 56: West Bank – General results 1

Type of negation	Commonly used	Less commonly used	Individual cases
NPIs	<i>had/hada</i> <i>wāḥad/wāḥed</i> <i>'iši</i> <i>'iyy šī</i> <i>'umr</i>	-	-
NIPs	<i>maḥada/maḥad</i>	-	-
NCIs	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>min marra/bil marra</i>	<i>lissa</i>	-
NegCOORDSs	<i>lā...wala</i>	<i>mā...wala</i>	<i>fiš...wala</i> <i>mā fiš...wala</i>
EXCCs	<i>gār</i> <i>'illa</i>	-	-
Vs used in negative contexts	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā ḡall</i>	-	-
Still Vs/ADVS	-	<i>mā zāl</i>	-
NegNs	-	-	<i>gēr/gār</i>
NegPRs	<i>bidūn</i>	-	-

Table 57: West Bank – General results 2

Studied tribes	<i>Rašāyda</i>	<i>'Azāzme</i>	<i>Ġahālīn</i>	<i>Ka 'ābne</i>	<i>Ġubārāt</i>	<i>Zubaydāt</i>
VPreds	<i>mā</i> <i>lā</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mā...š</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mā...š</i> <i>-š</i> <i>lā</i> <i>wala</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>-š</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mā...š</i>	<i>mā</i>
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i> <i>mā</i>	-
PVPreds	<i>mā</i> <i>muš</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>lā</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>-š</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>-š</i> <i>fiš</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>mā fiš fi</i> <i>fiš fi</i> <i>mā kānš fi</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>mā fiš</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš fi</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>mā fiš</i> <i>wala fi</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>mā fiš</i>
NVPreds	<i>mā</i> <i>muš, miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā</i> <i>muš, miš</i> <i>lā</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mū, mī</i> <i>muš, miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā</i> <i>mū, mī</i> <i>muš, miš</i> NegPN	<i>miš</i> <i>mū</i> NegPN	<i>muš, miš</i>

Table 58: Negators commonly used in the studied tribes of the West Bank

<i>Palestinian dialects</i>	<i>Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Existential negation</i>	<i>Negative imperative</i>
Sedentary	<i>mā</i> <i>mā...š</i> <i>-š</i> <i>muš</i>	<i>miš</i> <i>muš</i> <i>mā +PN</i> <i>mā + PN + š</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>mā fiš</i>	<i>mā...š</i> <i>-š</i> <i>lā...š</i>
Bedouin	<i>mā</i>	<i>mū, mī</i> <i>miš, muš</i> NegPN	<i>mā fi</i> <i>fiš</i>	<i>lā</i>

Table 59: Negators commonly used in the sedentary and Bedouin Palestinian dialects

Regarding the above table (59), we should mention that in Mousa (2019, 2020) *miš* is mainly attested in urban Palestinian dialects.

4.3 *Second field research: An-Naqab*

4.3.1 *Methodology of the current research*

Our second field research was carried out in April 2022. Data were collected in the southern part of Israel and the northern part of the Naqab desert, in the town and the surroundings of Laqiya (Lagiya). The Bedouin tribes under study were At-Tiyāha (clan: Al-Gadirāt⁵¹, subclan: Aṣ-Ṣāna‘) and Al-Ma‘ni (clans: Az-Zabārge and ‘Abu ‘Aīš). This second fieldwork took place during a short visit to the Naqab, and the sample includes only 5 persons, members of the aforementioned tribes. More precisely, the results obtained from this field research are based on interviews with the following informants: First, a 50-year-old woman from the Ṣāna‘ clan, who has received basic education, works in a Bedouin women association and lives in Lagiya. Second, a 65-year-old man, former politician and now retired, with higher education, who lives in the outskirts of Lagiya. And finally, three members of an ‘Abu ‘Aīš family, the father, 67 years old who has received basic education and is now retired, the mother, 50 years old, non-educated, and their 28 years old son, who has received higher education and works for an NGO. The informants are all native speakers of the dialects.

The interviews included closed and open questions and were based on indirect approach (Wray and Bloomer 2006). A process of informed consent has been followed in the beginning of the fieldwork to protect the confidentiality of the participants. All interviewees of this research remain anonymous and personal data are not included in this thesis. However, information like age, education, and profession are provided separately for each informant. Although the sample of this field research is very limited, it includes informants of different ages, gender, education level, and social status. Providing this information allows us to have a closer look at the similarities and differences in the expression of negation of every person’s speech.

The voice recordings in the Naqab were made with an Olympus digital voice recorder WS-853.

⁵¹ According to Henkin (2010, 33), although the Gadirāt are generally said to belong to the tribe of the Tiyāha, they consider themselves as an independent group of a different origin.

During the second field research, contact with Bedouin communities in the Naqab was facilitated by the director of the Palestinian, non-profit organisation 'Bedouins without borders' Wisam Salah and his partner, Rafat 'Abū 'Aīš, while my Palestinian, Bedouin friend Mohamed Al-Jbour, and my Jordanian Bedouin friends Mahmoud Nawash Al-Qadi, Asala Nawash Al-Qadi and Rawabi Nawash Al-Qadi also supported me when dealing with more challenging portions of the voice recordings from An-Naqab.

The methodology used for this research is qualitative.

4.3.2 Studied regions: An-Naqab (Negev)

After the 1948 War, the Bedouin population in the Naqab decreased from 95000 to 11000 inhabitants. The main tribes who remained in the Naqab were the Tiyāha, the Tarābīn, and the 'Azāzme, the Tihāha being the group with the biggest population (Shawarbah 2012, 4).

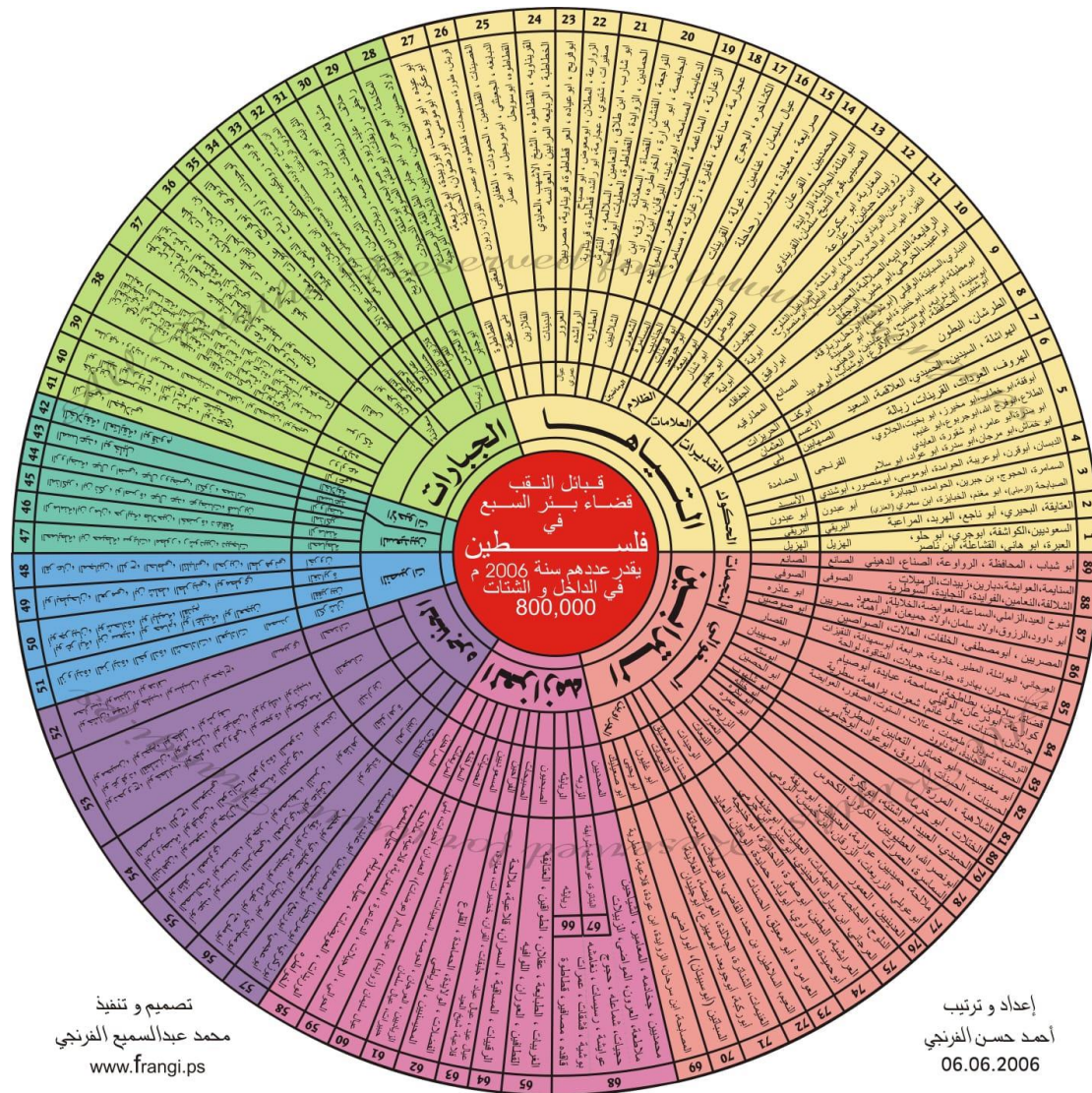
Today, approximately 190.000 Bedouins live in the Naqab. Almost half of the Bedouin communities reside in villages unrecognised by the Israeli authorities, while another part of them resides in recognised villages. The other half, reside in the following government-planned Bedouin towns: Rahat, Tall as-Sab', Šğēb as-Salām, Hūrah, Al-Laqiya, 'Ar'arah, and Ksayfih (Shawarbah 2012, 5). The Bedouins who are not settled in towns, live in tin shacks, whereas some of them still live in tents (Henkin 2010, 32). Building in unrecognised areas is forbidden, while house and structure demolitions continue to take place, as in area C of the West Bank.

Henkin (2010, 33–37), divides the Arab residents of the Naqab into four social and linguistic groups: First, the *sumrān* 'dark-skinned ones', Bedouins from Ḥiğāz, who came to the Naqab from Sinai and include the Tiyāha, the Tarābīn and the 'Azāzme tribes. Second, the bedouinised peasants (*fallāhīn*), who arrived in the Naqab from Egypt and Northern Sinai. Third, the peasants known as Gaysiyyih, who came to the Naqab from the Hebron hills. And finally, the *'ibīd*, black slaves who were originally imported to Bedouin tribes from Africa.

Al-Laqiya/Al-Ligiyyih (Lakiya)

Al-Laqiya is a Bedouin town in the southern part of Israel, and in the northern part of the Naqab desert. It was founded in 1985 as part of a government project to settle Bedouins in permanent settlements (Suwaed 2015, 139). In 2019, the total population of the town was 14,075 inhabitants. Different Bedouin tribes reside in Laqiya, one of the largest clans among them being the subclan Ṣānaʿ (clan: Al-Gadirāt, tribe: At-Tiyāha). The town has experienced deep economical suffering and various projects have been founded to empower business initiatives based on the Bedouin heritage.

Scheme 1 illustrates the names of the Bedouin tribes, clans and subclans living in the Naqab in 2006.

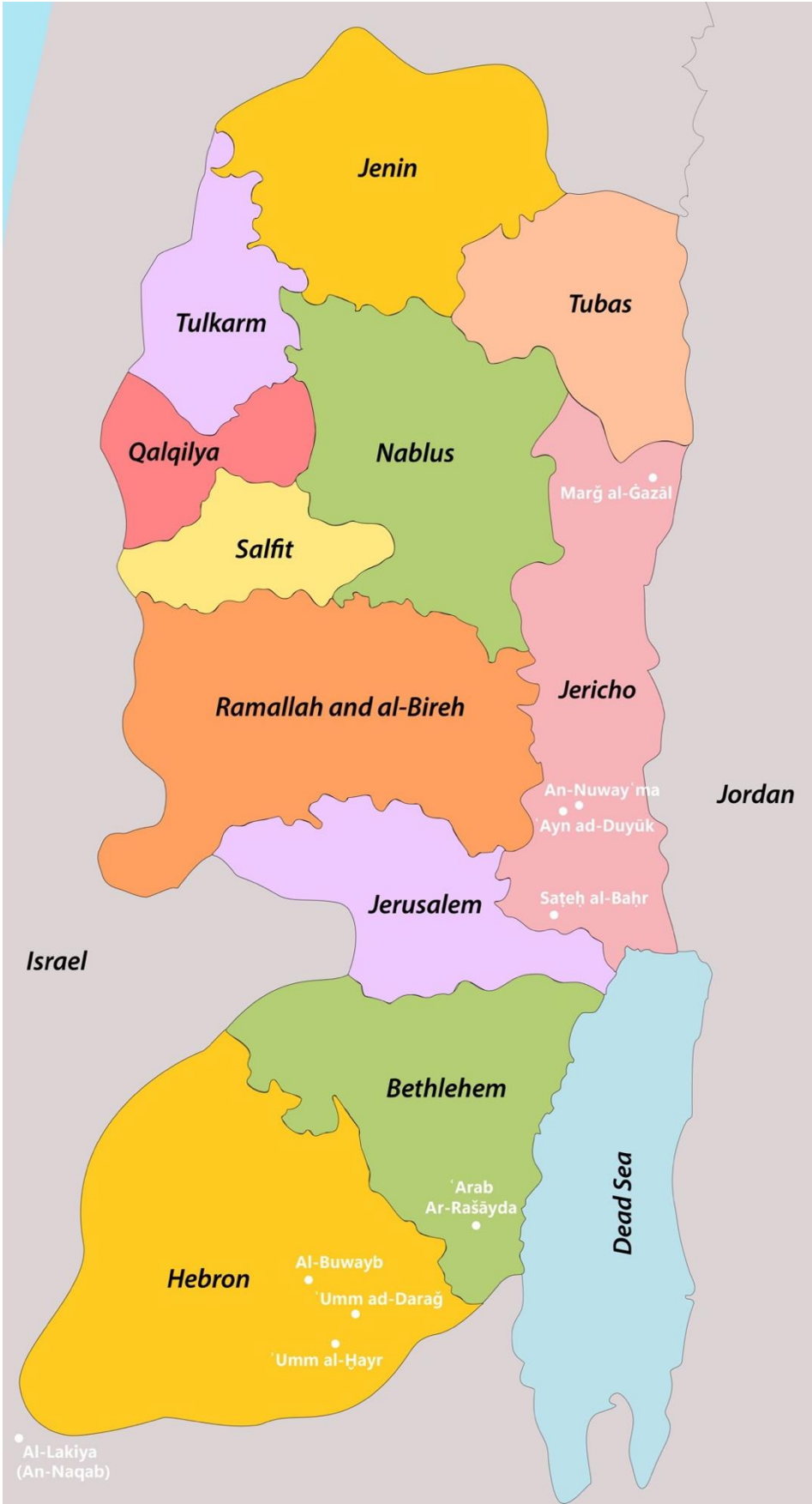


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Scheme 1: Bedouin tribes of the Naqab (2006)

Map 2 illustrates the studied regions in the West Bank and the Naqab.



Map 2: Studied regions in the West Bank and the Naqab

4.3.3 Collected data from Israel: An-Naqab

4.3.3.1 Negation as a simple negative response

Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’ is expressed either by *lā*, or by *la*’ with a glottal stop (hamza) after the vowel.

- (59) *lā ṣaʿb*
no difficult
‘No, it’s difficult.’
(ʿAbu ʿAīš)

The oath *waḷḷa* ‘by God’, often precedes negative particles or markers to emphasise and confirm a negative answer:

- (60) *fi ʿašyā waḷḷa mā b-afham-ha*
there is things by God NEG b-1SG.understand.IPFV-PN.3FSG
‘There are things, by God, I do not understand them.’
(Aṣ-Ṣānaʿ)

4.3.3.2 Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates is mostly expressed by the negative particle *mā*. The *š* negator is attested once in the bipartite negation, while the negative particle *lā* is also attested in two cases.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle mā

In the studied tribes of the Naqab, the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* (stage I of Jespersen) is used for the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. The *b*-prefix is usually preceding the verbal predicates, as below:

- (61a) *mā b-yaʿtu an-nisā mīrāt*
NEG b-3MPL.give.IPFV ART-women dower

‘They don’t give dower to women.’

(Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

(61b) mā bi-tirḍa

NEG bi-3FSG.agree.IPFV

‘She will not agree.’

(Az-Zabārga)

(61c) ‘ana mā bi-šūf hakaḍī

PN.1SG NEG bi-1SG.see.IPFV like this

‘I don’t see it like this (I have a different opinion).’

(‘Abu ‘Aīš)

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* is used once to negate a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect:

(62) al-‘awlād lā yaqillu ḍakā ‘ann-hin

ART-boys NEG 3MPL.decrease.IPFV intelligence from-PN.3FPL

wa-šaṭāra

and-cleverness

‘The boys are not less intelligent or clever than them (the girls).’

(Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

Negation in the future

Negation in the future is encountered only once in the recorded material from the Naqab. In this case, it is expressed by the future marker *raḥ* preceded by *mā* and followed by a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect:

(63) fi nās mā raḥ yaḥku l-kiy al-mawḍū‘ hāḍa

there is people NEG will 3MPL.speak.IPFV to-PN.2FSG ART-matter this

‘There are people who will not speak to you (about) this matter.’

(Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle mā

The negative particle *mā* is used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, as in the following examples:

- (64a) mā simi‘ti fi-h mā ta‘rifi-h
NEG 2FSG.listen.PFV in-PN.3MSG NEG 2FSG.know.IPFV-PN.3MSG
‘You haven’t heard it? You don’t know it?’
(Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (64b) mā ‘a‘tu wala ḥāḡa ‘aḡadu kull ši
NEG 3MPL.give.PFV NEG thing 3MPL.take.PFV all thing
‘They didn’t give anything, they took everything.’
(‘Abu ‘Aīš)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the š negator

In one case, negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is also attested with the bipartite negation *mā...š*:

- (65) an-naqab al-ġarbiyy mā ḡall-š fi ‘arab
ART-Naqab ART-western NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV-NEG there is Arabs
‘At the western Naqab there are no Arabs left.’
(Az-Zabārga)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* is encountered with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect only in negative optative sentences related to religion, as below:

- (66) lā samah allāh
NEG 3MSG.permit.PFV God

‘May God not permit.’

(Az-Zabārgē)

Negation with the auxiliary kān

Negation in the past is also formed by the negative particle *mā* followed by the auxiliary verb *kān* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, to express negation in a progressive or habitual action in the past (Past continuous):

- (67) al-badw mā kān yiflaḥ al-’arḍ
ART-Bedouins NEG 3MSG.be.PFV 3MSG.cultivate.IPFV ART-land
‘The Bedouins were not cultivating the land.’
(’Abu ‘Aīš)

Negative imperative (Type 4)

The negative imperative is formed with the negative particle *lā*:

- (68) lā tdaḥḥal fi-ha
NEG 2MSG.interfere.IPFV in-PN.3FSG
‘Do not interfere with her!’
(’Abu ‘Aīš)

4.3.3.3 Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is formed with the negative particle *mā*, while the negative marker *mū* is also encountered in one case. The *š* negator is rarely encountered.

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā/ma and its morphological variants

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is mostly formed with the negative particle *mā* preceding pseudo-verbs like *ʿand/ʿind*, *ma* ‘and *li* ‘have’ (69a-c), *bidd* and *wudd* ‘want’ (69d-e), as in the following examples:

(69a) mā ʿand-hum mayye
NEG have-PN.3MPL water
‘They do not have water.’
(Aṣ-Ṣānaʿ)

(69b) ʾahna mā ʿand-na maḥāll mā tiḡdar tibni
PN.1PL NEG have-PN.1PL place NEG 2MSG.can.IPFV 2MSG.build.IPFV
dār
house
‘We don’t have a place; you cannot build a house.’
(ʿAbu ʿAīṣ)

(69b) mā l-kiy ḥaḡ tiḥki
NEG have-PN.2FSG right 2FSG.talk.IPFV
‘You don’t have the right to talk.’
(Aṣ-Ṣānaʿ)

(69c) fī šīḥ bass mā l-u ḡīma zayy ma kān
there is sheikh but NEG have-PN.3MSG value like REL 3MSG.be.PFV
zamān
time
‘There is a sheikh but he doesn’t have the value that he had in the past.’
(Az-Zabārge)

(69d) fī nās mā bidd-u yiḡawwz bint-u
there is people NEG want-PN.3MSG 3MSG.marry.IPFV girl-PN.3MSG

la-gabīla ṭāniya

to-tribe second

‘There are people who don’t want to marry their daughter to another tribe.’

(Az-Zabārga)

- (69e) mā wudd-i ʾakšef ʾaddīš l-i
NEG want-PN.1SG 1SG.reveal.IPFV how much have-PN.1SG
‘I don’t want to reveal how many (children) I have.’
(ʾAbu ʾAīš)

In one case, the negative marker *mū* is also used to negate the pseudo-verb *maʿ*, as below:

- (70) illi mū maʿ-hu mašāri muš ʾāyiš
who NEG with-PN.3MSG money NEG live.PTCP
‘Who does not have money does not live.’
(ʾAbu ʾAīš)

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the š negator

The *š* negator is encountered only once to negate pseudo-verbal predicates, in the postverbal negation:

- (71) ad-dūla bidd-hā-š
ART-state want-PN.3FSG-NEG
‘The state doesn’t want (this).’
(Az-Zabārga)

Additionally, negation of the pseudo-verb *ʿind* is once expressed with the negative existential marker *fiš*:

- (72) fi-š ʿind-hum ʾarḍ
there is-NEG have-PN.3MPL land
‘They do not have any land.’

(Az-Zabārgē)

4.3.3.4 Existential negation

Existential negation in the Naqab is mostly encountered as *mā fi*, while *mā bi* is also attested. The *š* negator is occasionally used in *fīš*, *mā biš bi*, and *mā kānš fi*.

Existential negation with the negative particle mā

Existential negation is mainly attested as *mā fi*, as below:

- (73a) ḡanam mā fi mā fi 'arḏ
sheep NEG there is NEG there is land
'There are no sheep, there is no land.'
(Aṣ-Ṣāna')

- (73b) mā fi šakk
NEG there is doubt
'There is no doubt.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

Existential negation as *mā bi* is also encountered:

- (74) mā bi 'iši
NEG there is thing
'There is nothing.'
(ʿAbu ʿAīš)

When expressing existential negation in the past, the copula *kān* is used as *mā kān fi*.

- (75) la' mā kān fi madāris
no NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is schools
'No, there were no schools.'
(Aṣ-Ṣāna')

Existential negation with the š negator

The existential negation is also attested as *fiš* (76) and *mā biš bi* (77).

- (76) *fi-š* *'amākin li-ra'y*
there is-NEG places for-grazing
'There are no places for grazing.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

- (77) *mā bi-š* *bi* *ši* *ğārif*
NEG there is-NEG there is thing overwhelming
'There isn't anything overwhelming.'
(ʿAbu ʿAīš)

Existential negation with the copula *kān* is also attested once in the bipartite form, as below:

- (78) *mā kān-š* *fi* *fi naqab hōn madāris tanawiyya*
NEG 3MSG.be.PFV-NEG there is in Naqab here schools secondary
'There were no secondary schools here in Naqab.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

4.3.3.5 Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates is more often expressed by the negative markers *muš* and *miš*. The negative particle *mā* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān*. Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. The negative particle *lā* is also attested once in the negation of non-verbal predicates.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative marker mā

The negative particle *mā* is attested in negation of non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān*, as below:

- (79) mā kān masmūḥ la-n-nisā
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV be allowed.PTCP to-ART-women
 ‘It was not allowed to women.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers muš and miš

The negative marker *muš* is used to negate nouns (80a-b), prepositional phrases (80c), adjectives (80d-e), participles (80f), and adverbs (80g).

- (80a) lā muš šī‘r
 no NEG poetry
 ‘No, it’s not poetry.’
 (‘Abu ‘Aīš)

- (80b) hāḍi kulliyya muš ḡāma‘
 this college NEG university
 ‘It is a college, not a university.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (80c) ‘ida muš zayy al-’awlād ‘akṭar min al-’awlād
 COND NEG like ART-children more than ART-children
 ‘If not the same as the boys, more than the boys.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (80d) ‘ida muš ḡaltāna
 COND NEG mistaken
 ‘If I am not mistaken.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (80e) bass fī ‘ašyā muš ḥelwa fī muḡtama‘-na
 but there is things NEG nice in society-PN.1PL
 ‘But there are things not nice in our society.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

(80f) ḥābba tizawwġi hāḍa aš-šaḥṣ ’aw muš ḥābba
 love.PTCP 2FSG.marry.IPFV this ART-person or NEG love.PTCP
 ‘You want to marry this person, or you don’t want?’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna’)

(80g) kān muš alḥīn
 3MSG.be.PFV NEG now
 ‘In the past, not now.’
 (’Abu ’Aīš)

The negative marker *miš* is used to negate nouns (81a), prepositional phrases (81b), participles (81c), and adverbs (81d-e).

(81a) miš bēt š-ša’r
 NEG house ART-hair
 ‘It’s not a tent.’
 (’Abu ’Aīš)

(81b) ’ana miš zayy al-ġīl taba’ al-kibār
 PN.1SG NEG like ART-generation belonging to ART-seniors
 ‘I am not like the old generation.’
 (’Abu ’Aīš)

(81c) miš fāhm
 NEG understand.PTCP
 ‘I don’t understand.’
 (’Abu ’Aīš)

(81d) hāy al-qora sārat miš hēk ṣidfe min s-sama
 this ART-villages 3FSG.become.PFV NEG like this by chance from ART-sky
 ‘These villages did not become (like this) by chance, out of the blue.’
 (Az-Zabārgē)

- (81e) hiǧīni⁵² miš bass li-l-ǧimāl
 hijini NEG only for-ART-camels
 ‘Hijini is not only for camels.’
 (‘Abu ‘Aīš)

Both negative markers, *muš* and *miš* are attested with masculine and feminine predicates.

Negation of pronouns by prefixation of m-

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the material from the Naqab, only the 1st singular and the 2nd singular feminine are encountered, as *māni* and *minti*.

- (82a) ‘ana mā-ni ḥābbit ‘atǧawwaz fi s-sin hāḍi
 PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG love.PTCP 1SG.get married.IPFV in ART-age this
 ‘I don’t want to get married at this age.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (82b) w-‘iḍa mā wāfaq w-m-inti
 CONJ-COND NEG 3MPL.agree.PFV CONJ-NEG-PN.2FSG
 mirtāḥa ma‘-hu fi ši ism-u
 be comfortable.PTCP with-PN.3MSG there is thing name-PN.3MSG
 al-ḥūlul
 ART-ḥūlul
 ‘And if he does not agree but you are not happy with him, there is something called *ḥūlul*⁵³.’
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

⁵² Type of Bedouin poetry that used to be sung during Bedouin travels on camels and took its name from *haǧīn* (هجين) ‘riding camel’.

⁵³ Dissolution of a marriage without formal divorce.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle lā

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle *lā* is attested only once, as below:

- (83) *fī qaḍāya ṭalāq w-zawāğ faqaṭ lā ġēr*
in cases divorce CONJ-marriage only NEG another
'Only in cases of marriage and divorce, not elsewhere.'
(Aṣ-Şāna')

4.3.3.6 Constituent negation

The negative markers *mū*, *muš* and *miš* are also attested in constituent negation as below:

- (84a) *la' mū 'ana*
no NEG PN.1SG
'No, not me.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

- (84b) *miš 'ašān-i t'awwadt*
NEG because-PN.1SG 1SG.get used.PFV
'Not because I got used.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

- (84c) *miš sabab el-'ēle w-al-moḥāfaḍa*
NEG reason ART-family CONJ-ART-conservatism
'Not because of the family and the conservatism.'
(Aṣ-Şāna')

- (84d) *muš al-kull samaḥ la-banāt-u yit'allaman*
NEG ART-all 3MSG.allow.PFV to-girls-PN.3MSG 3FPL.study.IPFV
'Not all allowed their daughters to study.'
(Aṣ-Şāna')

4.3.3.7 Negative polarity items

The negative polarity items attested in the Naqab include only indefinite pronouns.

Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns encountered in the Naqab are *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad* (85a-b), and *'iši/ šī* (85c-d), preceded either by the negative particle *mā* (85a-c-d), or the negative existential marker *fiš* (85b).

(85a) mā fi ḥad yisā'id

NEG there is one 3MSG.help.IPFV

'There is no one to help.'

(Aṣ-Ṣāna')

(85b) fi-š 'arab wāḥad

there is-NEG Arabs one

'There is no Arab.'

(Az-Zabārga)

(85c) mā bi 'iši

NEG there is thing

'There is nothing.'

('Abu 'Aīš)

(85d) aš-šarṭ al-'awwal kān mā nğīb šī min

ART-condition ART-first 3MSG.be.PFV NEG 1PL.bring.IPFV thing from

barra

outside

'The first condition was not to bring anything from outside.'

(Aṣ-Ṣāna')

- (87d) mā 'a'tu wala ḥāḡa
 NEG 3MPL.give.PFV NEG/NegSFP thing
 'They didn't give anything (not a single thing).'
 ('Abu 'Aīš)

In (87c) and (87d) *wala* functions either as a negation *wala* or a negative scalar *wala*.

Never/at all *adverbs and adverbials*

The adverb 'abadan (88) and the adverbial *bil marra* (89) are used with the meaning 'never/at all'.

- (88) gabl mā kān fi zawāḡ 'abadan bēn gabāil
 before NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is marriage never between tribes
 muḥtalifa
 different
 'Before, there was no marriage between different tribes, never.'
 ('Abu 'Aīš)

- (89) lā tiṭla 'i lā tudrusi b-il-marra
 NEG 2FSG.go out.IPFV NEG 2FSG.study.IPFV with-ART-time
 'You were neither going out, nor you were studying at all.'
 (Aṣ-Ṣāna')

4.3.3.10 Negative coordination structures

The negative coordination structures encountered in the studied Bedouin tribes of the Naqab are either bisyndetic, polysyndetic or asyndetic structures, usually with *lā* or *mā* as the first negative element and the negative conjunction *wala* as the second and so forth. Negative coordination structures are encountered with verbal predicates, with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation, and with non-verbal predicates.

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates include bisyndetic coordination (90a), asyndetic coordination with two parts (90b), and mixed asyndetic and syndetic coordination (90c), with *lā* as the first negative element.

- (90a) ḡīl ʾumm-i mā bi-yaʿrif lā yagra
generation mother-PN.1SG NEG bi-3MSG.know.IPFV NEG 3MSG.read.IPFV
wala yiktib
NegCONJ 3MSG.write.IPFV
‘Mo mother’s generation neither know to read nor to write.’
(Aṣ-Ṣānaʿ)

- (90b) lā yaʿni ʾinn al-badw namaṭ lā yaʿni
NEG 3MSG.mean.IPFV that ART-Bedouins style NEG 3MSG.mean.IPFV
ʾinn al-badw nās muʿayyanīn
that ART-Bedouins people be particular.PTCP
‘It does not mean that Bedouins is a (life)style, it does not mean that Bedouins
are particular people.’
(ʿAbu ʿAīš)

- (90c) lā tiṭlaʿi lā tudrusi b-il-marra
NEG 2FSG.go out.IPFV NEG 2FSG.study.IPFV with-ART-time
lā tagrai wala tiktibi
NEG 2FSG.read.IPFV NegCONJ 2FSG.write.IPFV
‘You were not going out, you were not studying at all, you were neither reading
nor writing.’
(Aṣ-Ṣānaʿ)

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation include asyndetic coordination with *lā* (91a) or bisyndetic coordination as *mā...wala* (91b).

- (91a) *lā* 'ind-u sayyāra b-ištiḡl 'alē-ha
NEG have-PN.3MSG car b-3MSG.work.IPFV on-PN.3FSG NEG
lā 'ind-u trāktur b-ištiḡl 'alē-h
NEG have-PN.3MSG tractor b-3MSG.work.IPFV on-PN.3MSG
'He doesn't have a car to work with it, he doesn't have a tractor to work with it.'
(ʿAbu ʿAīš)

- (91b) *mā* fi ṭallāḡa wala fi māy
NEG there is refrigerator NegCONJ there is water
'There was neither refrigerator, nor water.'
(Aṣ-Ṣāna')

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates include bisyndetic coordination as *wala...wala* (92a) and polysyndetic coordination as *lā...wala* (92b).

- (92a) *wala* fi kull al-muḡtamaʿāt *wala* fi kull al-dīmuqrāṭiyyāt
NegCONJ in all ART-societies NegCONJ in all ART-democracies
'Neither in all societies, nor in all democracies.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

- (92b) *fi-š* hōn *lā* ṣināʿa *wala* zirāʿa *wala* ʿiṣi
there is-NEG here NEG industry NegCONJ agriculture NegCONJ thing
'There is neither industry nor agriculture, nor anything here.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

4.3.3.11 Exeptive constructions

Exeptive constructions are attested with the negative particle *mā* or the negative existential marker *fiš* and the exeptive particle *'illa*, as in the following examples:

- (93a) alyōm fi-š hāḍa bi-ḡawwaz bi-ḡaṣab 'illa nādir
today there is-NEG this bi-3MSG.marry.IPFV with-force except rare
'Today this doesn't occur, to marry (someone) by force, but rarely.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

- (93b) 'ihna 'and-na mā fi maḡāl tiḥtāri ad-dirāsa
PN.1PL at-PN.1PL NEG there is space 2FSG.choose.IPFV ART-study except
la-ḥāl-ik 'illa tkūni mitzawwḡa
for-state-PN.2FSG except 2FSG.be.IPFV be married.PTCP
'Here, you cannot choose to study on your own, unless if you are married.'
(Aṣ-Ṣāna')

4.3.3.12 Verbs used in negative contexts

In the studied tribes of the Naqab, the verbs *baṭṭal* (94) and *mā ḍall* (95) are frequently attested in negative contexts:

- (94) hāḍa an-nahḡ alyōm baṭṭal yimši
this ART-procedure today 3MSG.stop.PFV 3MSG.walk.IPFV
'Today this procedure is no longer followed.'
(Az-Zabārgē)

- (95) mā ḍall 'arḍ la-z-zirā'a
NEG 3MSG.remainPFV land for-ART-cultivation
'There is no land left for cultivation.'
(Abu 'Aiš)

4.3.3.13 The negative use of the verb *zāl*

The verb *zāl* preceded by the negative particle *mā* is used as an adverbial with the meaning ‘still’:

- (96) *mā zāl fi šyūḥ*
NEG 3MSG.cease.PFV there is sheikhs
‘There are still sheikhs.’
(‘Abu ‘Aīš)

4.3.3.14 Negative nouns

The noun *ḡayr/ḡēr* is encountered as a negative marker with the meaning ‘not/un-’:

- (97a) *at-tagālīd ḡayr munšifa li-l-mara w-munsifa li-l-riḡāl*
ART-traditions NEG fair for-ART-woman CONJ-fair for-ART-men
‘The traditions are unfair for the woman but they are fair for the men.’
(Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (97b) *hāḍa ḡēr qānūniyy*
this NEG legal
‘This is not legal.’
(Az-Zabārga)

4.3.3.15 Negative prepositions

The negative preposition *bidūn* is used with the meaning ‘without’:

- (98a) *bidūn mubālaḡa*
without exaggeration
‘Without any exaggeration.’
(Aṣ-Ṣāna‘)

- (98b) *an-nās šārat tibni bidūn ruḡṣa*

ART-people 3FSG.start.PFV 2FSG.build.IPFV without license

‘People started building without a permit.’

(Az-Zabārga)

4.3.3.16 Summary and conclusions from the Naqab

In the above sections, we presented a synchronic fieldwork-based description and analysis of the distribution and use of the elements of negation in the varieties of two Bedouin tribes of the Naqab. The studied types of negation were the following: negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs used in negative contexts, *still* verbs and adverbials, negative nouns and negative prepositions.

Based on the data that were described and analysed in the previous sections, we proceed now to the following conclusions.

Negation as a simple negative response ‘no’ is expressed by all the informants with *lā* or *laʿ*.

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are negated from all informants by the negative particle *mā*. The negative particle *lā* is attested once with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, expressing a negative statement.

Verbal predicates in the perfective aspect are negated from all informants by the negative particle *mā*. The negative particle *lā* is once used in a negative optative sentence related to religion, while the *š* negator is also attested once, in the bipartite negation.

Negation in the future is encountered with *mā* followed by the future marker *raḥ* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

The negative imperative is encountered with the negative particle *lā*.

Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated from all informants with the negative particle *mā*. In one case, the negative marker *mū* is also used to negate a pseudo-verbal predicate, while the *š* negator is also used once, in the postverbal negation. Negation of

pseudo-verbal predicates is additionally encountered once with the negative existential marker *fiš*.

Existential negation is mostly expressed by *mā fi*, while other negative existential markers occasionally attested are *mā bi*, *fiš*, *mā kānš fi*, and *mā biš bi*.

Non-verbal predicates are negated from all informants with the negative markers *muš* and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. The negative particle *mā* is used to negate non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān*, while *lā* is only encountered once.

Constituent negation is expressed by the negative markers *mū*, *muš* and *miš*.

The negative polarity items attested in the Naqab are the indefinite pronouns *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad* and *ʾiši/ši*, preceded by negative morphemes.

The negative indefinite pronoun used is *maḥad*, while *laḥad* is attested only in negative coordination structures.

The negative concord items used are the negative scalar *wala* with indefinites, the *never/at all* adverb *ʾabadan* and the *never/at all* adverbial *bil marra*.

The negative coordination structures attested in the Naqab are bisyndetic, polysyndetic or asyndetic structures with verbal predicates, pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, and non-verbal predicates. They are attested as *lā...wala*, *mā...wala*, while they are also occasionally encountered as *lā...lā*, or *wala...wala*.

Exceptive constructions are formed as *mā...ʾilla*, also as *fiš...ʾilla*.

The verbs used in negative contexts are *mā ḍall* and *baṭṭal*.

The adverbial *mā zāl* is encountered with the meaning ‘still’.

The negative noun *ḡayr/ḡēr* is encountered with the meaning ‘not/un-’, while the negative preposition *bidūn* is used by the studied tribes with the meaning ‘without’.

By considering the above data, we will now focus on the uses of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā* in the speech of our five informants from the studied Bedouin tribes of the Naqab.

The *š* negator is used only once in to negate a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, by the member of the Zabārge clan. The non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *miš* are used by all informants, except for the informant from the Zabārge who uses only *miš*. Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated by the postverbal form *-š* only by the informant of the Zabārge clan, while existential negation is often expressed with *fiš* and once with *mā kānš fi* by the same informant. Existential negation with the *š* negator is

also attested once as *mā biš bi* in the speech of the youngest member of the 'Abu 'Aīš family. As a general conclusion, among the five informants, we can say that the informant of the Zabārgē clan makes greater use of the *š* negator. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, he is a former politician, therefore a person who used to be in contact with a lot of people, to travel a lot within the Palestinian and the Israeli territories, to address a wide audience of different backgrounds and to converge towards different varieties.

The negative particle *lā* is used once with a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, in a negative statement, by the member of the Ṣāna' clan, and once with a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, in a negative optative sentence, by the member of the Zabārgē clan. *Lā* is also used once to negate a non-verbal predicate, by the informant of the Ṣāna' clan.

The negative scalar *wala* is used by all informants. Negative coordination structures as *lā...wala* are attested in the speech of the informants of the Zabārgē and Ṣāna' clans, while the asyndetic *lā...lā* is attested in the 'Abu 'Aīš family. The negative imperative is encountered only once in the recorded material, formed with the negative particle *lā*.

At the tables below, a general overview of the expression of negation in the Bedouin dialects of the studied tribes is provided. Tables 60 and 61 summarise the results of the most commonly and less commonly used negative elements. Individual cases are not listed separately in these tables, since the number of tokens is limited. Table 62 distributes the results of this field research in every studied tribe.

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>
NegANS	<i>lā/la'</i>	-
VPreds IPFV	<i>mā</i>	<i>lā: NegSts</i>
FutNEG	<i>mā raḥ + VPreds IPFV</i>	-
VPreds PFV	<i>mā</i>	<i>lā: NEG OPT SENTs</i> <i>mā...š</i>
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	-
PVPreds	<i>mā</i>	<i>mū</i> <i>-š</i> <i>fiš</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i>	<i>mā bi</i> <i>mā biš bi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>mā kānš fi</i>
NVPreds	<i>muš, miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā</i> <i>lā</i>
ConstNEG	<i>mū</i> <i>muš, miš</i>	-

Table 60: An-Naqab – General results 1

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>
NPIs	<i>ḥad/ḥada, wāḥad</i> <i>'iši/ šī</i>	-
NIPs	<i>mahad</i>	
NCIs	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>bil marra</i> <i>'abadan</i>	-
NegCOORDSs	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>mā...wala</i>	<i>lā...lā</i> <i>wala...wala</i>
EXCCs	<i>mā... 'illa</i> <i>fiš... 'illa</i>	-
Vs used in negative contexts	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā ḡall</i>	
Still Vs/ADVs	-	<i>mā zāl</i>
NegNs	<i>ḡayr/ḡēr</i>	-
NegPRs	<i>bidūn</i>	-

Table 61: An-Naqab – General results 2

<i>Studied tribes</i>	<i>Aṣ-Ṣāna</i>	<i>ʿAbu ʿAīš</i>	<i>Az-Zabārga</i>
VPreDs	<i>mā</i> <i>lā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā...š</i> <i>lā</i>
PVPreDs	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mū</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>-š</i> <i>fīš</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fī</i>	<i>mā fī</i> <i>mā bi</i> <i>mā biš bi</i>	<i>mā fī</i> <i>mā kānš fī</i> <i>fīš</i>
NVPreDs	<i>mā</i> <i>muš, miš</i> NegPN <i>lā</i>	<i>muš, miš</i>	<i>miš</i>
NegIMP	-	<i>lā</i>	-
NPIs	<i>ḥad</i> <i>ši</i>	<i>ʿiši</i>	<i>ḥada</i> <i>wāḥad</i>
NCIs	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>bil marra</i> <i>ʿabadan</i>	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>ʿabadan</i>	NegSFP <i>wala</i>
NegCOORDSs	<i>mā...wala</i> <i>lā...wala</i>	<i>lā...lā</i>	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>wala...wala</i>
EXCCs	<i>mā... ʿilla</i>	-	<i>fīš... ʿilla</i>
Vs used in negative contexts	-	<i>mā ḍall</i>	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā ḍall</i>
Still Vs	-	<i>mā zāl</i>	-
NegNs	<i>ḡayr</i>	-	<i>ḡēr</i>
NegPRs	<i>bidūn</i>	-	<i>bidūn</i>

Table 62: Negation in the studied tribes of the Naqab

4.4 General conclusions from Palestine (West Bank) and Israel (An-Naqab)

We will now focus again on the use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā* in the overall results of the present study on Bedouin dialects of Palestine (West Bank) and Israel (An-Naqab).

The š negator

By comparing the current results to those of previous studies in Palestine (Katz 1980) and the Negev (Blanc 1970, Piamenta 1996, Henkin 2010, and Shawarbah 2012) we conclude that in general, the *š* negator shows a rather more extensive use than before, especially in the Bedouin dialects of the West Bank.

In the West Bank, the *š* negator, always as an adopted, sedentary feature and not as a traditional Bedouin one, is often used in the negation of non-verbal predicates and in the existential negation. It is occasionally used with verbal predicates, while it is also attested with pseudo-verbal predicates in the postverbal negation. It is regularly used in the negative existential markers *fiš* or, less often, in *mā fiš*. It is used by all studied tribes in the negation of non-verbal predicates in *muš* or *miš*.

In the Naqab, the *š* negator is commonly used by all informants in the negation of non-verbal predicates in *muš* and *miš*. A wider use of the *š* negator is observed in the speech of the informant from the Zabarge tribe, who uses the bipartite negation with verbal predicates and the postverbal negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, and additionally, the negative existential markers *fiš*, and *ma kānš fi*.

The negative particle lā

In the material of the West Bank, an interesting use of *lā* as an answer is the emphatic, double form *lilla*.

The negative particle *lā* is rarely attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements or in indirect prohibition. The use of *lā* is slightly more frequent in the process of storytelling.

The negative particle *lā* is used in the negative imperative, while it is almost exclusively used as the first negative element in negative coordination structures. The

use of *lā* with verbal predicates in the first part of a negative coordination structure may represent a more conservative form of the dialect.

Moreover, *lā* is attested in the negation *wala* in negative statements, in the negative scalar *wala* in negative concord constructions, and in the negative conjunction *wala* in negative coordination structures.

In the Naqab, the negative particle *lā* is scarcely attested with verbal predicates in negative statements, in negative optative sentences, and in negation of non-verbal predicates. It is also attested in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as the first negative element. Moreover, the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions and the negative conjunction *wala* is used in negative coordination structures.

Doubtlessly, instances of use of *lā* in the speech of the Bedouins of the West Bank and the Naqab are very limited, it would be interesting though to understand in which cases and under which conditions it is used. In everyday speech, we observe that *lā* occurs more often as an emphatic negator, while in oral narratives (storytelling) it is encountered within the framework of a rather traditional, literary style of speech. In both cases though, it certainly constitutes a conservative feature.

Bedouin varieties of the West Bank seem to undergo changes due to their contact with other Palestinian, mainly rural varieties. Consequently, a significant impact of the Palestinian dialects is obvious in Bedouin language.

On the other hand, Bedouin varieties of the Naqab, being geographically more isolated than those in the West Bank, seem to remain more conservative. The present field research in the Naqab though, is too limited to provide accurate and general conclusions. We could however support the idea that residents who are in constant contact with other Palestinian varieties are more likely to adopt sedentary features in their language. Respectively, members of Bedouin communities located far from the cities, or speakers who never or rarely leave the area of the Naqab, are expected to maintain their dialect.

In sum, both Bedouin Arabic of the West Bank and Bedouin Arabic of the Naqab seem to contain a mixed variety of Bedouin and sedentary features.

Negation in the dialect of the Rašāyda: Comparison between Katz's (1980) study and the present study in the West Bank

By comparing the main types of negation (negation as a negative response, negation of verbal predicates, negative imperative, negation of pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, and negation of non-verbal predicates) attested in the two studies, we can observe the following:

Negation as a negative response is attested in both studies as *lā*, and *la'*. In Katz, *la'* and *lah* are attested as emphatic forms. Verbal predicates are negated in Katz by *mā* and in a few cases by the negation *wala*, while in the present study, verbal predicates are negated by *mā* and very rarely by *lā*. The negative imperative is attested only once in Katz with *balāš*, while in the present study it is only encountered with *lā*. Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated in both studies by *mā*, while in the present study *muš* is also encountered.

Existential negation is encountered in Katz as *mā b-* while in the present study it is encountered as *mā fi* and *fiš*. Non-verbal predicates are negated in Katz by *mā*, occasionally by *wala* and rarely by *muš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-* and *lā*. In the present study, non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā*, *muš* and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. The modal expression *lā badd*, attested in Katz, is not encountered in our study.

Negation in the dialect of the 'Azāzme: Comparison between Shawarbah's (2012) study in the Naqab and the present study in the West Bank

By comparing the main types of negation (negation as a negative response, negation of verbal predicates, negative imperative, negation of pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, and negation of non-verbal predicates) attested in the two studies, we can observe the following:

Negation as a negative response is attested in both studies as *lā*, and *la'*. In Shawarbah, a double emphatic form is also attested as *lallih*, while in the present study, *lilla* is generally used in the studied tribes of the West Bank. Verbal predicates are negated in Shawarbah by *mā/ma*, while *lā/la* is used in indirect prohibition. In the present study, verbal predicates are negated by *mā* and occasionally by the bipartite negation *mā...š*. The negative imperative is attested in both studies with the negative

particle *lā/la*. Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated in Shawarbah by *mā/ma*, while in the present study they are negated by *mā*, occasionally by *fiš*, and rarely by *lā*. Existential negation is attested in Shawarbah as *mā/ma fi/fih* and *māš*, while in the present study it is attested as *mā fi* and *fiš*, and occasionally as *mā fiš fi*, *fiš fi*, and *mā kānš fi*. Non-verbal predicates are negated in Shawarbah by *mā/ma* and *muš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. In the present study, non-verbal predicates are negated by *mā*, *muš*, *miš*, and rarely by *lā*.

Tables 63 and 64 illustrate the use of the *š* negator and the use of the negative particle *lā* in the Bedouin dialects of the West Bank and the Naqab (regular and occasional use in the West Bank, and regular use in the Naqab). Table 65 illustrates the main types of negation in the Rašāyda (Katz 1980) and in the present research. Table 66 illustrates the main types of negation in the ‘Azāzme tribe in the Naqab (Shawarbah 2012) and in the the ‘Azāzme tribe in the West Bank (present research). Finally, table 67 provides a general overview of the negation of verbal, pseudo-verbal, and non-verbal predicates as well as existential negation in North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995), in the West Bank (Katz 1980, and present research), and in the Naqab (Blanc 1970, Palva 1984b, Piamenta 1996, Henkin 2010, Shawarbah 2012, and the present research). Table (67) illustrates the negative elements commonly or occasionally attested in the above studies and does not include the rarely encountered negative elements.

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>The š negator</i>
West Bank	VPreds: <i>mā...š</i> , <i>-š</i> , <i>muš</i> (future) NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i> ExistNEG: <i>fiš, mā fiš</i>
Naqab	NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i>

Table 63: The *š* negator in Bedouin tribes of the West Bank and the Naqab

<i>The negative particle lā</i>	<i>West Bank</i>	<i>Naqab</i>
NegANS	NegANS: <i>lā/la</i> EMPH NegANS: <i>lilla</i>	<i>lā/ la</i>
NegIMP	✓	✓
NegCOORDSs <i>lā...wala</i>	✓	✓
NCIs: NegSFP <i>wala</i>	✓	✓

Table 64: The negative particle *lā* in Bedouin tribes of the West Bank and the Naqab

<i>Types of negation</i>	<i>Rašāyda (Katz 1980)</i>	<i>Rašāyda (present research 2019)</i>
NegANS	<i>lā, la', lah</i>	<i>lā, la'</i>
VPreds	<i>mā/ma wala</i>	<i>mā lā</i>
NegIMP	<i>balāš</i>	<i>lā</i>
PVPreds	<i>mā/ma</i>	<i>mā muš</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā b-</i>	<i>mā fi fiš</i>
NVPreds	<i>mā NegPN (m-) NegPN (lā) wala muš</i>	<i>mā muš, miš NegPN (m-)</i>

Table 65: Negation in the Rašāyda in 1980 and in 2019

<i>Types of negation</i>	<i>'Azāzme – Naqab (Shawarbah 2012)</i>	<i>'Azāzme – West Bank (present research 2019)</i>
NegANS	<i>lā, la' lallih</i>	<i>lā/la' lilla (generally attested in the West Bank)</i>
VPreds	<i>mā/ma lā: IndirPROH</i>	<i>mā mā...š</i>
NegIMP	<i>lā/la</i>	<i>lā</i>
PVPreds	<i>mā/ma</i>	<i>mā fiš lā</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā/ma fī/fīh maš</i>	<i>mā fi fiš mā fiš fi fiš fī mā kānš fi</i>
NVPreds	<i>mā NegPN muš</i>	<i>mā muš, miš lā</i>

Table 66: Negation in the 'Azāzme (Naqab 2012 and West Bank 2019)

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>VPreds, PVPreds</i>	<i>NVPreds</i>	<i>ExistNEG</i>
North Israel (Rosenhouse 1982, 1983, 1984b, 1995)	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā/ma mū, mī muš, miš, māš NegPN</i>	<i>mā bū/mā bī</i>
West Bank (Katz 1980, present research 2019)	<i>mā mā...š, -š</i>	<i>mā mū, mī muš, miš NegPN</i>	<i>mā fi fiš</i>
An-Naqab (Blanc 1970, Palva 1984b, Piamenta 1996, Henkin 2010, Shawarbah 2012, present research 2019)	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā/ma mū muš/miš maš NegPN</i>	<i>mā fī(h) mā fiš/fiš maš</i>

Table 67: Negation in North Israel, West Bank and the Naqab

5 Synchronic description of the expression of negation in Bedouin tribes of Jordan

This chapter presents and analyses fieldwork-based data on negation in Bedouin dialects of Jordan. It is divided into three main parts: The first part introduces us to Jordanian Arabic and provides classifications of the Jordanian dialects. It then summarises previous studies on urban, rural and Bedouin varieties and presents the results of previous studies on negation in Bedouin varieties of northern, central, and southern Jordan. The second part presents fieldwork results on Bedouin dialects of Jordan. It describes the methodology of the current study and the studied regions, and then, analyses collected data on negation in northern, central, and southern Jordan. The chapter concludes by drawing general results and conclusions on the use of negation in the studied Bedouin dialects of Jordan.

5.1 *Jordanian Arabic*

Jordanian Arabic is part of a wider group of Arabic varieties called Levantine Arabic, a group of vernaculars spoken in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Palestine, and Israel. As stated by Al-Wer (2007, 2), eastern and southern Jordanian dialects belong to the Arabian dialect group, while northern and central dialects belong to the southern Levantine group. This latter is further divided into the Ḥawrāni dialects in the north, and the Balgāwi dialects in the northwest and central part of the country. Finally, the dialect of Karak and its surroundings forms a separate group which shares features with the southern Bedouin dialects. According to Al-Wer (2007, 3), the *madani* dialects, as the dialect of the city of Salt, were the ones that historically prevailed in the region until the early 20th century. It's noteworthy though that in these times, *madani* indicated settled communities with an economic independence, while, at the same time, in the city of Salt, for example, the dialect spoken showed great affinity in phonology and in lexicon with Bedouin varieties (Palva 1994). Consequently, we cannot talk of an actual urban dialect since Jordan had neither a linguistic centre nor a prestigious linguistic form, in contrast to the rest of the Levant countries, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon (Al-Wer 2020, 556).

Jordan has always been a fascinating territory for linguistic and sociolinguistic studies, due to the great linguistic diversity that increased remarkably in the 20th

century. Amman was established as the capital of the Emirate of Transjordan in 1921, but since the country lacked urban centres until the 1960s, a large population of Palestinians and Jordanians migrated to the neighbour Arab capitals that could offer them culture and education (Al-Wer 2007, 3).

At a first stage, Jordanians were strongly influenced by the urban Syrian and Palestinian dialects. The occupation of the main positions in the political and public sector by Syrians and Palestinians at the beginning of the formation of the State, the large migration of Palestinian refugees after the 1948 War and the Jordanian annexation of the West Bank in 1950 contributed greatly to the linguistic diversity of the country⁵⁴. But in a second stage, after the Jordanian civil war, the involvement of Jordanians in politics and the army led to a reinforcement of the Jordanian identity, along with a shift towards the use of the local varieties. Al-Wer (2007, 5) mentions that at that time, Palestinian politicians also started to adopt features of Jordanian varieties in their public speech.

The role of the Bedouins was extremely important in the formation of the State since the tribes supported the government with loyalty and exerted great influence on the kingdom, through their integration in the politics and the army (Suwaed 2015, 128–131). Al-Mashaqba (2015, 3) also underlines the preference shown by the monarchs for Bedouins and the importance given to the Bedouin dialects, as Ḥiǧāzi Arabic is the Bedouin dialect of the Hashemite royal family.

In general, Jordanians' speech is strongly related to their origin, namely, they all use at a certain degree their local dialect, regardless of their social status (Al-Wer 2020). Nevertheless, today, the linguistic situation in the capital of Jordan seems to change. Many inhabitants, mostly younger people, do not necessarily use a language that reflects their dialectal heritage but rather prefer to use a new dialect that has emerged in Amman through the contact between Jordanian and urban Palestinian dialects, by also identifying themselves as 'Ammanis' (Al-Wer 2020, 556).

⁵⁴ Milhem (2014, 76) states that 'Today, Palestinians make up the vast majority of Jordan's population'.

5.1.1 Classifications of Jordanian dialects

Cleveland's classification

Cleveland (1963) classifies the dialects of the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan (Jordan and the West Bank) and divides them into four groups, according to the phonological and morphological realisation of the 3rd singular masculine of the verb *qāla*→*yaqūlu* ('he says'). Based on the use or non-use of the *b*-indicative and the realisation of *q* as *q*, *g*, or ' , the groups are divided as follows: The *yigūl* group, that includes the Bedouins of the eastern and southern deserts of Jordan, but also the settled nomads in Karak and other regions. The *baḡūl* group, that includes the rural population of southern Palestine, the Jordan Valley, and the settled region east of the valley, as well as most of the nomads who do not belong to the first group (*yigūl*). The *bəkūl* group, that includes the dialects spoken in the villages around Jerusalem and in central Palestine. And finally, the *bə'ūl* group, that includes the minority of Jordan population, and it is the dialect of the so called 'city dwellers'.

Palva's classification

Palva (1984a), based on a wider selection of variables, classifies the dialects of Palestine and Transjordan into three groups: the urban Palestinian dialects, the rural dialects, and the Bedouin dialects. The urban Palestinian dialects represent the common Levantine urban dialect (*bi'ūl*). The rural dialects include the Galilean dialects (*bīqūl*), the Central Palestinian dialects (*bīkūl*), the South Palestinian dialects (*biḡūl*), the North and Central Transjordanian dialects (*biḡūl*), and the South Transjordanian dialects (*biḡūl*). The Bedouin dialects include the dialects of the Negev (*biḡūl*), the dialects of Arabia Petraea (*yigūl*), the dialects of the Syro-Mesopotamian sheep-rearing tribes (*yigūl*), and the North Arabian Bedouin type dialects (*yigūl*).

Herin et al. classification

Recently, Herin et al. (2022) suggest a further classification based on the realisation of the 3rd plural masculine of the verb *gāl* and classifies the Jordanian dialects into the following five groups: The sedentary *biḡūlu*, as in the southern Mu'ābi type and the

central-north Balgāwi-Ḥōrāni type, the southern Bedouin *ygūlu*, as in the tribes of the Ḥwēṭāt, the Bdūl, and the Zawāyda, the southern Bedouin *bigūlu*, attested mostly in the Naqab and the Sinai, the central Bedouin *ygūlu*, as in the tribes of the ‘Aḡārma, the ‘Adwān, and the ‘Abābīd, and finally, the northern Bedouin *ygūlūn*, including the ‘Anizi, Šammari, and Šāwi groups.

5.1.2 Previous studies on Jordanian dialects

Many significant sociolinguistic, phonological, and morphological studies on urban, Rural, and Bedouin Jordanian dialects have been conducted from the distant past until today by important scholars.

Numerous works on urban and rural Jordanian Arabic have been carried out, among others, by Palva (1969a,b, 1989, 1992, 2008b), Bani Yasin (1980), Abd-El-Jawad (1981), Bani Yasin and Owens (1987), Al-Sughayer (1990), Al-Wer (1991, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2007, 2020), Zawaydeh (1997, 1998), Al-Khatib (1988), Abu Abbas (2003), Al-Masri and Jongman (2004), Sakarna (2005), Zuraiq and Zhang (2006), Khattab et al. (2006), Aldamen (2007), Al-Ali and Arafā (2007), Rakhieh (2008), Abudalbuh (2010), Herin (2010, 2011), Jongman et al. (2011), Zawaydeh and de Jong (2011), Al-Wer and Herin (2011, 2013), Al-Huneety (2015), Al-Wer et al. (2015), Sa’aida (2016), Omari and van Herk (2016), Alzoubi (2017), Al-Deaibes and Rosen (2019), Omari and Jaber (2019), Jaber et al. (2019), Na’eem et al. (2020), Al-Deaibes (2021), Al-Deaibes et al. (2021), Affouneh (2022), Al-Raba’a and Kitagawa (2022).

Bin Muhammad (1999), in his work on the tribes of Jordan, registers the following nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes: Bani Ḥālid, Sardiya, Sirḥān, ‘Issa, Ahl al-Ġabal, Rwala, ‘Abbād, Bani Ḥassan, Bani Šaḥar, Belqawiyya, Bani ‘Atṭīya, Bani Ḥamida, Nu’aymāt, Ḥaḡaya, and Ḥwēṭāt. Suwaed (2015, 130), defines as the three largest nomadic tribes of Jordan the Bani Layṭ, the Bani Šaḥar, and the Bani Al-Ḥwēṭāt.

To the best of my knowledge, we do not have until now any dialectological surveys focused on negation in the Bedouin varieties of Jordan. Studies on negation in Jordanian Arabic in general have been carried out by Palva (2003), on negation in the dialects of Es-Salt, Hoyt (2010), on negative concord in Levantine Arabic, Al-Momani (2011), on sentential negation in Jordanian Arabic, Alsarayreh (2012), on the NSIs in Jordanian Arabic, Al-Deaibes (2015), on sentential negation in rural Jordanian Arabic, Mrayat (2015), on negative particles and morphemes in Jordanian Arabic dialects,

Razaq and Mahameed (2017), on negative pronoun constructions in Jordanian Arabic, Obeidat and Wardat (2022), on verbal negation in rural Jordanian Arabic, while Alqassas (2015, 2019) offers an important, wide work on negation in Arabic in general and in Jordanian Arabic in particular. More specialised studies on negation include the work of Sallakh et al. (2022) on verbal negation in Jordanian children's speech, and the study of Hendriks (2008) on negation in Jordanian sign language.

The study of Bedouin dialects and tribes of Jordan has been, and still is, an engaging topic for many researchers. A summary of the selected relevant works follows below.

5.1.3 Previous studies on Bedouin Jordanian dialects

Northern Jordan

Early studies on the Bedouin dialects of northern Jordan include the work of Cantineau (1936, 1937), who describes the features of the Bedouin dialects of the northern and southern Ḥawrān (Syria and Transjordan). Al Tawil (2021) studies the morpho-syntactic features of the Sirḥān and the N'ēm Bedouin dialects. Younes (2018) describes the conservative and innovative features of the 'Īsa dialect. The 'Īsa dialect is also described phonologically by Al-Huneety et al. (2021). Irshied (1984), also Irshied and Kenstowicz (1984) study the phonology of the Bani Ḥassan dialect. Herin et al. (2022) present phonological and morphological features of the Masā'īd dialect.

Central Jordan

Palva (1976, 1978) analyses the 'Aḡārma dialect, and describes the phonological and morphological features of the Bani Ṣaḥar (1980) dialect. Recently, Torzullo (2022a) also analyses linguistic data from the Bani Ṣaḥar dialect. The dialect of the Bani 'Abbad tribe is studied phonologically by Sakarna (1999), while recently, Torzullo (2018, 2022b) provides further phonological and morphological studies on the Bani 'Abbad dialect.

Palva (1986, 2004) describes the phonological and morphological features of the Ḥwēṭāt dialect in southern Jordan and northern Saudi Arabia. Later, Gattelli (2014) also provides linguistic and sociolinguistic data on the dialect of the Ḥweṭāt tribe in Wādi Ramm. Bani Yasin and Owens (1984) describe phonologically and morphologically the Bedouin variety of the Bdūl tribe in Petra. Yrttiahō (1988) presents some features of the N'ēmāt dialect. Sakarna (2002) studies the phonology of the Zawāyda tribe in Wādi Ramm, while Al-Mashaqba (2015) analyses the phonology and morphology of the southern Bedouin varieties of the Zawāyda and the Zalābya tribes, including in his work a basic lexicon of Wādi Ramm Arabic.

Bedouin poetry from Jordan is also studied and analysed by major researchers, among them Palva (1992), Holes and Abu Athera (2007, 2008, 2009), Seeley (2015), and Tamplin (2018).

5.1.3.1 Results from previous studies on Bedouin Jordanian dialects

Let us now consider the use of the innovative *š* negator and the rather conservative negative particle *lā/la* in previous studies on Bedouin dialects of Jordan. In this chapter, for a comparative overview of the results, only data from the tribes studied in the present research are included. For a more general review of data on negation in Bedouin Jordanian tribes, see chapter 3.

First, it is important to note that the data provided in linguistic research on negation are frequently incomplete, since the description of negation in a study not focused on negation typically delivers some general findings and does not cover all facets of the phenomenon. Therefore, the following results on the use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā/la* correspond only to what was encountered in the respective studies, while previous studies on Bedouin Jordanian varieties which did not include data on negation will not be discussed here.

Below, we present the results of previous studies on negation in Bedouin dialects in northern, central, and southern Jordan.

Northern Jordan

In Cantineau's (1936, 1937) study on the dialects of various Bedouin tribes of the northern and southern Ḥawrān, the *š* negator is totally absent, while the only instance of *lā/la* (*wa-la*) mentioned is with a verbal predicate in the perfective aspect, attested in the tribe of the Rwala.

In Younes (2018), the *š* negator is absent while *lā/la* is encountered with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements.

In Al Tawil's (2021) study on the Sirḥān and the N'ēm dialects, the *š* negator is used in *muš* and *miš* to negate non-verbal predicates, in the dialect of the Sirḥān. Moreover, *š* is occasionally used in the postverbal existential negation *fiš* and the bipartite existential negation *ma kānš fi*, in the same dialect. In the N'ēmāt, the *š* negator is used with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect and pseudo-verbal predicates in the bipartite negation *ma...š*, in the non-verbal negative marker *miš*, and in the negative existential markers *ma bīš/ bīš*. The negative particle *lā/la* is used in negative coordination structures with non-verbal, pseudo-verbal predicates, as well as in asyndetic coordination as *la...wala/bala...bala/la...la* in the Sirḥān dialect and as *la...wala* in the N'ēmāt dialect.

Central Jordan

In Palva's (1976) study on the 'Aḡārma dialect, the non-verbal negative marker *māš* and the negative existential marker *ma fišš* are very rarely attested, while *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect to express indirect prohibition, in negation of non-verbal predicates with *wala*, in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*. In Palva's (1980) work on the Bani Ṣaḡar dialect, the *š* negator is absent, while no data are provided on the use of the negative particle *lā/la*.

In Torzullo's (2022b) study on the Bani 'Abbad dialect, the *š* negator is mostly used in the non-verbal negative marker *miš* and less often in *muš*, as well as in the negative existential marker *mā fiš*, but mostly among younger speakers. The negative particle *lā/la* (*wa-la*) is attested in negation of non-verbal predicates.

In Palva's (1986, 2004) work on the Ḥwēṭāt dialect, the *š* negator is again absent, while *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative.

In Gattelli's (2014) study on the dialect of the Ḥweṭāt in Wādi Ramm, the *š* negator is not encountered whereas data about *lā/la* are not provided.

In Bani Yasin and Owens's (1984) study on the Bdūl dialect from Petra, the *š* negator is attested in the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and in the negative existential marker *mā fīs*, while *lā/la* is used with negative verbs in the imperfective aspect, and in negative coordination structures with verbal and non-verbal predicates as *lā...wala*.

In Yrttiaho's (1988) study on the N'ēmāt dialect, the *š* negator is rarely used with verbal predicates in the bipartite and the postverbal negation, also in the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *miš*, but only by younger speakers, while the negative particle *lā/la* is used with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect as a preventive marker, and in negative coordination structures as *lā...wala*.

In Al-Mashaqba's (2015) work on the dialects of the Zalābya and the Zawāyda tribes of Wādi Ramm, the *š* negator is used in *muš* for the negation of non-verbal predicates, while *lā/la* is used in the negative imperative.

The table below (68), illustrates the use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā/la* in previous studies on Bedouin Jordanian dialects.

<i>Previous studies</i>	<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>The š negator</i>	<i>The negative particle lā/la</i>
Cantineau (1936, 1937) Northern Jordan	Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān	-	VPreds PFV: <i>wa-la</i> (Ar-Rwala)
Younes (2018) Northern Jordan	ʿĀl-ʿĪsa	-	VPreds: NegSts
Al Tawil (2021) Northern Jordan	1. As-Sirḥān 2. An-Nʿēm	1.NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i> ExistNEG: <i>fiš/ma kānš fi</i> 2.VPreds PFV/PVPreds: <i>ma...š</i> NVPreds: <i>miš</i> ExistNEG: <i>ma bīš/bīš</i>	1.NegCOORDSs: <i>la...wala/bala...bala/la...la</i> 2.NegCOORDSs: <i>la...wala</i>
Palva (1976) Central Jordan	Al-ʿAḡārma	Very rarely: NVPreds: <i>məš</i> ExistNEG: <i>ma fišš</i>	VPreds IPFV: IndirPROH NVPreds: <i>wala</i> NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i> NegIMP
Palva (1980) Central Jordan	Bani Ṣaḡar	-	No data provided
Torzullo (2022b) Central Jordan	Bani ʿAbbād	NVPreds: <i>miš/muš</i> ExistNEG: <i>mā fiš</i> (In younger speakers)	NVPreds: <i>wala</i>
Palva (1986, 2004) Southern Jordan	Al-Ḥwēṭāt	-	NegIMP
Bani Yasin and Owens (1984) Southern Jordan	Al-Bdūl	NVPreds: <i>muš</i> ExistNEG: <i>mā fiš</i>	VPreds IPFV: with negative verbs NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i>
Yrttiaho (1988) Southern Jordan	An-Nʿēmāt	Only in younger speakers: VPreds: <i>ma...š/-š</i> NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i>	VPreds IPFV: PREV NegCOORDSs: <i>lā...wala</i>
Gattelli (2014) Southern Jordan	Al-Ḥwēṭāt	-	No data provided
Al Mashaqba (2015) Southern Jordan	Az-Zalābya Az-Zawāyda	NVPreds: <i>muš</i>	NegIMP

Table 68: Results from previous studies – The use of the *š* negator and the negative particle *lā/la*

5.2 Field research in Jordan

5.2.1 Methodology of the current study

The field research took place in Jordan, in August 2021. Data were collected in the northern, central, and southern part of the country, including areas in the Mafraq Governorate, the 'Ammān Governorate, the 'Aqaba Governorate and the Ma'ān Governorate.

The Bedouin tribes studied in the northern part of Jordan, *Al-Bādiya Aš-Šamāliyya*, were the 'Ahl al-Ġabal tribes, 'people of the mountain', including the tribes of the Masā'id (clans: As-Srūr, Al-Gaīš), 'Aḍāmāt (clans: Aṭ-Ta'ġān, Al-Faġīr, Aš-Šabīb, Al-Ma'ra'r), Šurufāt, and Zubayd, who descended from the Syrian Ḥawrān around 1940 (Bin Muhammad, 1999). Additionally, the tribes of the Sirḥān (clan: Al-Ḥamdān), Sardiya (clan: Al-Maḥāriz), and Bani Ḥālid (clans: Al-Gāḍi, Ad-Dandan, and Ad-Dalīġm). In the central part of the country, *Al-Bādiya Al-Wuṣṭā*, the studied tribes were Bani Ṣaḥar (clans: Al-Haġīš, Al-Ġbūr, Al-Ḥaḍīr, As-Salāyṭa), Al-Ka'ābna⁵⁵, and Bani 'Aṭṭīya. The Bedouin tribes of the southern part, *Al-Bādiya Al-Ġanūbiyya*, were the Az-Zalābya and Az-Zawāyda clans⁵⁶, the tribes of the Ḥwēṭāt (clan: Al-Ġāzi), the N'ēmāt, and the Bdūl. Table 69 illustrates the classification of the studied dialects, based on Cantineau (1936, 1937), Palva (1991), Rosenhouse (1984b), Bani Yasin and Owens (1984), Al-Mashaqba (2015), and Herin et al. (2022). I was not able to find any previous classification of the dialects of the 'Aḍāmāt, the Šurufāt, and the Ka'ābna⁵⁷. Although the present research focuses on negation and does not provide a classification of the studied dialects, the two tribes, 'Aḍāmāt and Šurufāt, have been temporarily – until new data are available – classified into the Bc group, as they are part of the 'Ahl al-Ġabal tribes, and additionally, they share some common features with the Masā'id. However, the dialect of the Zubayd, which also is part of the 'Ahl al-Ġabal tribes, has been classified by Rosenhouse (1984b) as belonging to the C group. As for the Ka'ābna,

⁵⁵ In Palestine Ka'ābne, but in Jordan Ka'ābna.

⁵⁶ Al-Mashaqba (2015) mentions that the two clans claim to be descendants of the 'Anizah tribe, while Sakarna (2002) and Palva (1986) classify them as a subtribe of the Ḥwēṭāt. My informants from the Zawāyda and Zalābya clans also claim that they belong to the 'Anizah tribe.

⁵⁷ Palva (1980) in his study on the Bani Ṣaḥar tribe, mentions the Ka'ābna (Ġa'ābna) as a subtribe of the Bani Ṣaḥar. However, my informants from the Bani Ṣaḥar claim that although the Bani Ṣaḥar and the Ka'ābna form a kind of alliance, they are separate tribes.

it is temporarily –until new data are available– classified into the Bc group, like the Bani Şaḥar tribe.

At the northern part, data were collected through recordings with 11 informants from the Masāʿīd, 7 informants from the ʿAḍmāt, 4 informants from Bani Ḥālid, 1 informant from Zubayd, 2 informants from the Sirḥān, 1 informant from the Šurufāt and 1 informant from the Sardiya Bedouin tribes. At the central part, the research involved interviews with 27 informants from Bani Şaḥar, 1 informant from the Kaʿābna and 1 informant from Bani ʿAṭṭīya tribes. Finally, at the southern part, recordings were made with 13 informants from the Ḥwēṭāt, 9 informants from the Zawāyda, 2 informants from the Zalābya, 4 informants from the Nʿemāt and 2 informants from the Bdūl Bedouin tribes.

The sample includes a total of 86 informants, both male and female, native speakers of the dialects, ranging in age from 22 to 103 years, though the research was focused mostly on the elderly of the communities so that the data collected would likely represent a rather conservative form of dialect, if this could be applicable in patterns of negation. Their level of education varies from no school education to higher education.

All interviews included closed and open questions (Wray and Bloomer 2006). The closed questions focused on self-introduction and personal information, while the open questions aimed at encouraging free speech and natural discourse on everyday life and life in the past, as well as narratives on topics related to local traditions, legends, and stories of the tribes. Data from narrative are included in the analysis of the present research while data from poetry recitation are not. Similarly, citations from the Qurʾān and proverbs are not included in this research.

In some cases, an elicitation process was followed, based on question-and-answer sessions on the use of negation, although in most cases this process was quickly abandoned due to the risk of eliciting non-spontaneous and therefore unreliable information. Data extraction through free speech are of course very likely not to include all types of negation or the entire possible variety of negative elements that express negation. However, natural discourse was considered as the most reliable source of negation data extraction. The interviews were based mainly on indirect approach (Wray and Bloomer 2006), though a general introduction preceded each interview.

The survey was organised with the supervision and permission of Dr Ali Al-Manaser and the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of Jordan, while a written statement was submitted to the Ministry regarding the use of the survey data. The

individuals who acted as mediators in the tribes and facilitated the contact with the informants were Samar Erman Al-Srouf from the Masā'īd tribe, in 'Umm al-Ġimāl, Halaf Al-Hagish from the Bani Şaĥar tribe, in 'Umm ar-Raşāş, and Jamila Al-Jazi from the Ĥwēţāt tribe, in Al-Ġarbā. A process of informed consent has been followed in the beginning of the fieldwork in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants. All interviewees of this research remain anonymous and personal data are not included in this thesis.

The recordings were made with an Olympus digital voice recorder WS-853. The voice recordings have been analysed and sorted with the support of Samar Erman Al-Srouf and Heba Ramadan Al-Shurufat. The methodology used for this research is qualitative.

We should take into consideration that Bedouin features appear in many non-Bedouin Jordanian dialects as a result of language contact or bedouinisation. It would be also important to mention that speakers of Bedouin varieties are spread all over the Jordanian territories and are not restricted to Bedouin villages and communities. However, it is always preferable to study a dialect within a speaking community, where the traditional features of the variety are most likely to be preserved.

Even though the large majority of Bedouins in Jordan are now settled and do not live as nomads anymore, their language remains of great interest due to the fact that still, they keep part of their traditions and try to preserve their dialects, as well as due to the affinity of their varieties with earlier and more archaic or conservative forms of the Arabic language. Although most of the Bedouin communities in Jordan do not live in tents, they usually maintain a tent in the surroundings of their house and use it for social occasions or family gatherings. Many of the Bedouin families met for the purpose of the present research, are still using rugs and cushions inside the house and sit on the floor, as they used to do in their tents.

<i>Dialect classification</i>	<i>Bedouin tribes</i>
Cantineau Bc group: Northeast Arabian dialects (Najdi): Šammari with features from Šāwi (Syro- Mesopotamian dialects)	Al-Masā'īd (with some features also from the Northwest Arabian dialects, Herin et al. 2022) Al-'Aḏāmāt Al-Šurufāt Bani Ḥālīd (Cantineau 1936, 1937) As-Sardiya Cantineau 1936, 1937) Bani Šaḥar Cantineau 1936, 1937) Al-Ka'ābna As-Sirḥān Cantineau 1936, 1937)
Cantineau C group: Syro-Mesopotamian dialects (Šāwi)	Az-Zubayd (Rosenhouse 1984b) An-N'ēmāt (Cantineau 1936, 1937)
Northwest Arabian dialects	Bani 'Atṭīya (Palva 1991) Az-Zalābya and Az-Zawāyda (Al-Mashaqba 2015) Al-Ḥwētāt (Palva 1991) Al-Bdūl (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984)

Table 69: Classification of the studied Bedouin dialects

5.2.2 *The studied regions*

Bedouin communities of Jordan are geographically found mainly in three parts of the country: the northern part (Al-Bādiya Aš-Šamāliyya), the central part (Al-Bādiya Al-Wustā) and the southern part (Al-Bādiya Al-Ġanūbiyya). In the following sections, we will be referring to these three parts as the North, Central, and South Badia (*bādiya*).

North Badia

In North Badia, the field research took place in areas of Mafraq Governorate. The region is the desert steppe of the southern Ḥawrān, near the Jordan-Syria border. The research focused on the northern basalt plain and the ancient Nabataean village of 'Umm Al-Ġimāl, 'mother of camels', that was probably a trading town in the distant past. The research also included the surrounding villages 'Umra wa-'Amīra, and Ar-Rawḏa. Moreover, the research extended to the northeastern area and the villages 'Umm Al-Quṭṭayn and Šabḥā wa-Šabḥiya, and to the northwestern area and the villages Samā as-Sirḥān, Ḥawšā, Ad-Dandaniya, and Al-Ḥamrā. The dominant Bedouin tribes of the northern part of Jordan are the 'Ahl Al-Ġabal (Masā'īd, 'Aḏāmāt, Šurufāt, and Zubayd), and additionally the tribes of the Sirḥān, Sardiya, Bani Ḥālīd, 'Issa, Rwala, 'Abbād, and Bani Ḥassan.

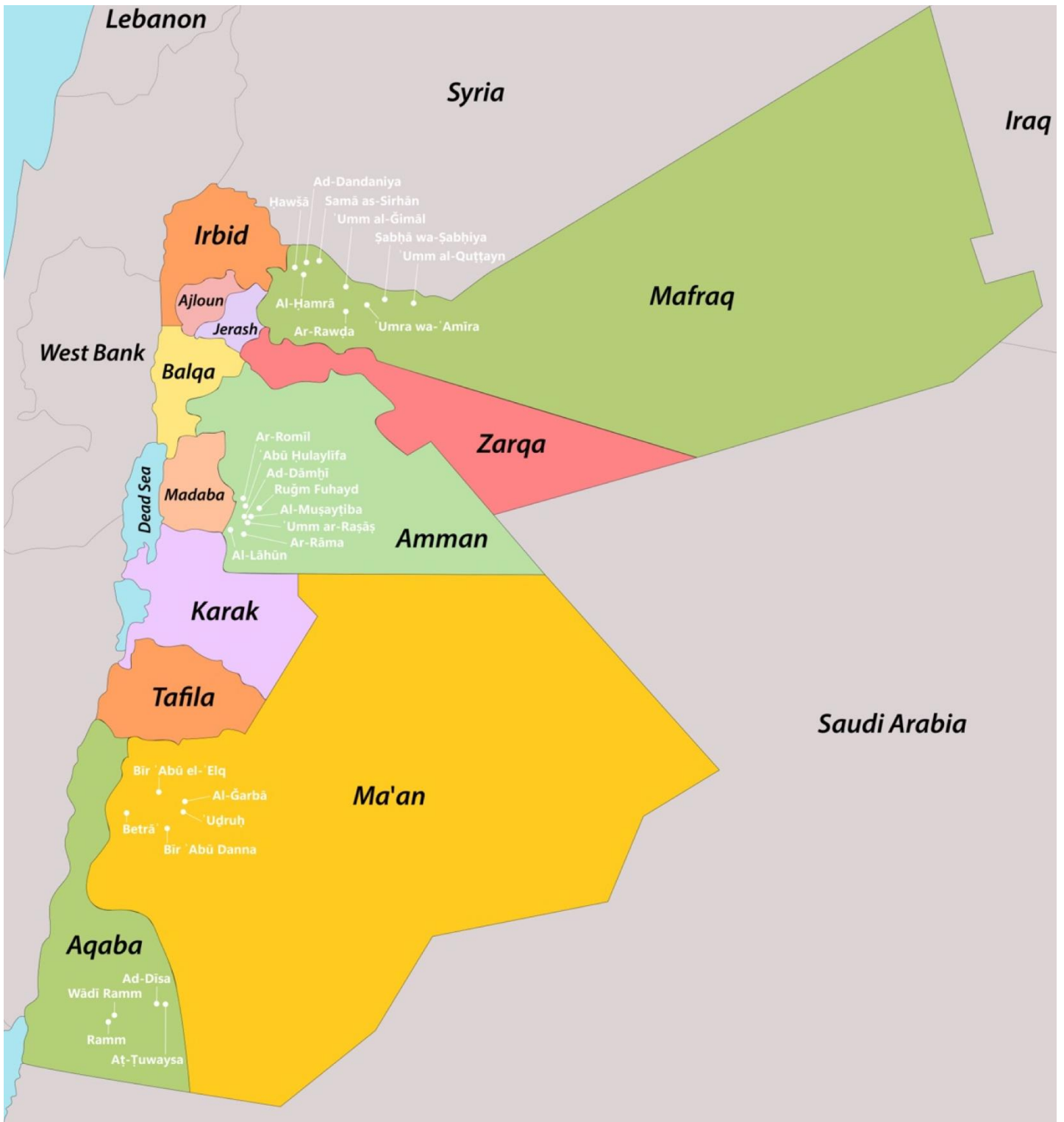
Central Badia

In Central Badia, the field research took place in areas of 'Ammān Governorate. The research focused on the semi-arid steppe region of the Jordanian Desert and the village of 'Umm Ar-Raṣāṣ, ancient village of 'Kastron Mefa'a'. 'Umm Ar-Raṣāṣ is a Bedouin community mainly inhabited by members of the Bani Ṣaḥar tribe. The research also included the surrounding villages Al-Lāhūn, Ar-Rāma, Ar-Romīl, Al-Muṣayṭiba, Ruḡm Fuhayd, Ad-Dāmḥī, and 'Abū Ḥulaylīfa.

South Badia

In South Badia, the field research took place in areas of the 'Aqaba and the Ma'ān Governorates. In the 'Aqaba Governorate, the research focused on the desert area of Wādī Ramm, part of the northern edge of the Ḥismā desert, and the villages Aṭ-Ṭuwaysa, Ramm, and Ad-Dīsa. In the Ma'ān Governorate, the research focused on the villages Al-Ġarbā, 'Uḍruḥ, Bīr 'Abū El-'Elq, and Bīr 'Abū Danna, and additionally on the capital of the Nabataean Kingdom and today archaeological site of Betrā'. The two predominant Bedouin tribes of South Badia –but also of the northern Saudi Arabia and the east coast of the Gulf of Aqaba– are the 'Aniza and the Ḥwēṭāt (Al-Mashaqba 2015, 10).

Map 3 illustrates the studied regions in Jordan.



Map 3: Studied regions in Jordan

5.2.3 Collected data from North Badia

5.2.3.1 Negation as a simple negative response

Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’ is expressed by *lā*, which is either encountered as *lā*, or as *la*’ with a glottal stop (hamza) after the vowel.

- (1) *la*’ *hassa mā* *’aštāgel*
no now NEG 1SG.work.IPFV
‘No, I don’t work now.’
(Aš-Šurufāt)

Additionally, a double form of *lā* is attested as *lilla/lille*, delivering an emphatic negative response:

- (2) *mā wudd-i* *lilla*
NEG want-PN.1SG no no
‘I don’t want, no.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

We should note though, that *lilla/lille* was not attested in the spontaneous speech of the informants, but it was mentioned by some of them as an alternative, emphatic negative answer, along with examples of use as the above.

5.2.3.2 Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates is mainly expressed by the negative particle *mā* and only in a few, specific cases by the negative particle *lā*. The *š* negator is not encountered in the negation of verbal predicates.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle mā

In the studied tribes of North Badia, the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* (stage I of Jespersen) is used for the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, as below:

- (3a) ba‘ḍ al-makūlāt mā na‘rif-ha
some ART-foods NEG 1PL.know.IPFV-PN.3FSG
‘Some foods we do not know them.’
(As-Sirḥān)
- (3b) ‘ašān mā yāḥīḍ-ha ‘ašān mā bidd-o
because NEG 3MSG.take.PFV-PN.3FSG because NEG want-PN.3MSG
‘[...] because he doesn’t take her, because he doesn’t want.’
(Al-‘Aḍāmāt)
- (3c) ‘ana mā b-aḡayyer fi wala ‘iyy ši
PN.1SG NEG b-1SG.change.IPFV in NEG any thing
‘I do not change anything.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

It is worth mentioning that the *b*-prefix (3c) is scarcely encountered in North Badia.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* is occasionally attested in negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in specific cases. First, it is used in the negation *wala*:

- (4) wala tšūf al-‘arīs gabl mā tšūf
NEG 3FSG.see.IPFV ART-groom before NEG 3FSG.see.IPFV
al-‘arīs b-il-marra
ART-groom with-ART-time
‘She used not to see the groom, before, she used not to see the groom at all.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

Second, it is used in negative optative sentences, mostly related to religion:

- (5) allāh lā ya‘ūd al-māḍi
God NEG 3MSG.compensate.IPFV ART-past
‘May God not bring back the past.’
(Bani Ḥālid)

Third, it is attested in modal expressions such as *lā yumkin* ‘not possible’, while *lā yǧūz* ‘not permissible, not allowable’, and *lā budd*, ‘unavoidable’, ‘necessary’ (6b) are rarely encountered.

- (6a) gālat lā yumkin
3FSG.say.PFV NEG 3MSG.enable.IPFV
‘She said it’s not possible.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (6b) lā budd ‘inn-ha tšārik ar-raḡul
NEG escape that-PN.3FSG 3FSG.share.IPFV ART-man
‘She must help the man.’
(As-Sirḥān)

The negative particle *lā* is more often encountered when Mixed Arabic is used⁵⁸ by – almost solely – male informants of an important status in the community such as sheikhs, judges (*quḍā’*) and poets, while similar cases are extremely rare among female informants. We will limit ourselves to one such example from a male (7a) and a female (7b) informant from the Masā‘īd tribe:

- (7a) lā ya‘ni al-‘ilm kull šī
NEG 3MSG.mean.IPFV ART-knowledge all thing
‘Knowledge does not mean everything.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

⁵⁸ As a result of the well-known ‘Observer’s Paradoxe (Labov 1972, 209).

- (7b) 'ana lā 'aḥuṭṭ al-kuḥl
 PN.1SG NEG 1SG.put.IPFV ART-kohl
 'I don't put kohl.'
 (Al-Masā'id)

Negation in the future

Negation in the future is encountered either with the negative particle *mā* followed by the pseudo-verb *wudd* (8a) and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, with a negated pronoun followed by a participle (8b), or with the negative particle *mā* followed by the future marker *raḥ* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (8c).

- (8a) 'ana mā wudd-i 'asāfir
 PN.1SG NEG want-PN.1SG 1SG.travel.IPFV
 'I will not travel.'
 (Al-Masā'id)

- (8b) 'ana mā-ni mištaḡil bukra
 PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG work.PTCP tomorrow
 'I will not work tomorrow.'
 (Bani Ḥālid)

- (8c) 'ana mā raḥ 'astaḡel bukra
 PN.1SG NEG will 1SG.work.IPFV tomorrow
 'I will not work tomorrow.'
 (Bani Ḥālid)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect

The negative particle *mā* is the only morpheme used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, as below:

- (9a) lā mā 'išt fī bēt š-ša'r
 no NEG 1SG.live.PFV in house ART-hair

‘No, I did not live in a tent.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

- (9b) mā iḥtaramu hāḏa al-weḡeh⁵⁹
NEG 3MPL.respect.PFV this ART-weḡeh
‘They didn’t respect this *weḡeh*.’
(Bani Ḥālīd)

Negation in the past with the auxiliary kān

Negation in the past is also encountered with the negative particle *mā* followed by the auxiliary *kān* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, expressing a progressive or habitual action in the past (Past continuous):

- (10) mā kunna nista‘mil el-ḥubz min maḥābiz
NEG 1PL.be.PFV 1PL.use.IPFV ART-bread from bakeries
‘We didn’t use bread from bakeries.’
(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

Negative imperative (Type 4)

The negative imperative is attested only with the negative particle *lā*:

- (11a) lā tuwaddi ar-rwala
NEG 2MSG.send.IPFV ART-Rwala
‘Don’t send the Rwala!’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (11b) ‘iḥna ḡanūb sūriya lā tinsi

⁵⁹ *Waḡh* (literally meaning ‘face’), here has the meaning of the ‘protection’ which is offered by the sheikh or members of the tribe to the family of a criminal, to facilitate the peacemaking process between the two families, that of the perpetrator and that of the victim. *Tagti* ‘*waḡh* (تقطيع وجه)’ ‘violating the security promised by the guarantor of a truce’ (Watkins 2014, 37), is one of the three cases defined by the tribal law. The other two are *dam* ‘blood’ (دم) for ‘crimes of bloodshed’, and ‘*arḏ* ‘honour’ (عرض) for ‘rape’ (Bin Muhammad 1999, 16).

PN.1PL south Syria NEG 2FSG.forget.IPFV

‘Don’t forget that we are in southern Syria.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

5.2.3.3 Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is formed with the negative particle *mā*, which is used to negate pseudo-verbs like *wudd* and *bidd* (12a-b), with the meaning ‘want’, and ‘*ind*’/and, *ma*’, *li*, (12c-e), with the meaning ‘have’.

- (12a) *gabl wāḥad yiḥebb li-wāhde bass mā wudd-u*
before one 3MSG.love.IPFV to-one but NEG want-PN.3MSG
yaḥči ism-ha
3MSG.tell.IPFV name-PN.3FSG
‘Before, one loved someone but did not want to say her name.’
(Aš-Šurufāt)

- (12b) *mā bidd-na nudḥul bi-l-maḡāl hāḍa*
NEG want-PN.1PL 1PL.enter.IPFV in-ART-field this
‘We do not want to enter this field.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (12c) ‘*insān mā ‘ind-u wāza’ ad-dīn*
person NEG have-PN.3MSG restraint ART-religion
‘A person who doesn’t have any religious restraints.’
(Bani Ḥālid)

- (12d) *mā ma’-i ‘yāl*
NEG with-PN.1SG children
‘I didn’t have children.’
(Az-Zubayd)

- (12e) ‘*ana mā-l-i ḡōz*
PN.1SG NEG-have-PN.1SG husband

‘I do not have a husband.’

(Aš-Šurufāt)

5.2.3.4 Existential negation

Existential negation in North Badia is mostly encountered as *mā fi* (13), while *mā bu* (14) and *mā bi* (15) are also occasionally attested. Existential negation with the negative particle *lā* as *lā fi* and *lā bu* is attested only in negative coordination structures (16).

(13a) mā fi flūs
NEG there is money
‘There is no money.’
(As-Sardiya)

(13b) mā fi ḡahab
NEG there is gold
‘There was no gold.’
(Az-Zubayd)

(13c) law mā fi mobāil muškile
COND NEG there is mobile problem
‘If you don’t have a mobile it’s a problem.’
(As-Sirḡān)

(14) mā bu rās
NEG there is head
‘There is no head.’
(Al-Masā‘id)

Mā bi is either interpreted as ‘there is not’ (15a-b) or as ‘not have’, literally meaning ‘there is not inside me/you...etc.’ (15c-d).

(15a) mā bi ḡada
NEG there is one

‘There is no one.’

(Aš-Šurufāt)

(15b) *hassa lā mā bi*

now no NEG there is

‘No, now there is not.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

(15c) *mā b-i ḥēl ’aḡṣad*

NEG there is-PN.1SG strength 1SG.recite poetry.IPFV

‘I am not in the mood to recite poetry.’

(As-Sardiya)

(15d) *mā bi-ha sūs*

NEG there is-3FSG decay

‘She didn’t have tooth decay.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

(16a) *ḡabl lā fi kahrabā lā fi sayyārāt lā fi ’askariyya*

before NEG there is electricity NEG there is cars NEG there is military

‘Before, there was no electricity, no cars, no military service.’

(Bani Ḥālid)

(16b) *lā-bu maraḍ lā-hu ’abyaḍ lā-bu ḥamīra ’ifranḡiyya*

NEG-there is disease NEG-PN.3MSG white NEG-there is yeast western

wala šī

NegCONJ thing

‘There was no disease, it was not white (yeast), there was neither western yeast nor anything.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

Existential negation in the past is expressed with the copula *kān* as *mā kān fi* (17a-b), or *kān mā fi* (17c).

- (17a) mā kān fi nifāyāt zayy alyōm
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is wastes like today
 ‘There were no wastes like today.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)
- (17b) mā kān fi madāris
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is schools
 ‘There were no schools.’
 (As-Sirḥān)
- (17c) kān mā fi bēt š-ša‘r ‘ind-u
 3MSG.be.PFV NEG there is house ART-hair have-PN.3MSG
 ‘He didn’t have a tent.’
 (Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

5.2.3.5 Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates is expressed by the negative particle *mā* and the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš* and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. It is worth mentioning that in the studied Bedouin tribes of North Badia, the *š* negator appears only in the negation of non-verbal predicates (*muš* and *miš*). We must keep in mind that *muš* and *miš* originally are not part of the traditional Bedouin features but are rather borrowings from a koine (Palva 1989, 1992). The negative particle *lā* is rarely used to negate non-verbal predicates, in the negation *wala*.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā

The negative particle *mā* is used to negate nouns (18a), prepositional phrases (18b) adjectives (18c) participles (18d), modals (18e), and non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān* (18f).

- (18a) al-‘ilm mā ‘alāga bi-ṭ-ṭaqāfa
 ART-science NEG relation with-ART-culture
 ‘Education is not related to culture.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (18b) mā il-ha ḥal al-qaḍiyya
NEG to-PN.3FSG solution ART-matter
‘There is no solution for this matter.’

(As-Sirḥān)

- (18c) b-il-’islām b-il-’awwal mā ḥarām al-ḥamra
in-ART-Islam in-ART-first NEG forbidden ART-wine
‘At the beginning of Islam, the wine was not forbidden.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (18d) waḷḷa mā ‘ārifa
by God NEG know.PTCP
‘By God, I don’t know.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (18e) mā lāzim ḥad yimedd ‘īd-u
NEG necessary one 3MSG.extend.IPFV hand-PN.3MSG
‘Nobody should lay his hands.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (18f) mā yikūn dāḥil ‘amār
NEG 3MSG.be.IPFV inside building
‘They are not inside a building.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers mū and mī

The negative marker *mū* is used to negate nouns (19a), prepositional phrases (19b), adjectives (19c), participles (19d-e), and adverbs (19f).

- (19a) bass mū šīḥ
but NEG sheikh

‘But he is not a sheikh.’

(As-Sirḥān)

(19b) *lā mū min al-maṭar*
no NEG from ART-rain
‘No, it is not from the rain.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

(19c) *mū ḏākiyy*
NEG clever
‘He is not clever.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

(19d) *mū masmūḥ*
NEG allow.PTCP
‘It’s not allowed.’

(As-Sardiya)

(19e) *mū muḡtani‘ minn-u*
NEG convinced from-PN.3MSG
‘I am not convinced of him.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

(19f) *lā lā mū ‘an ḡadd*
no no NEG seriously
‘No, no, not seriously.’

(As-Sirḥān)

The negative marker *mī* is used to negate nouns (20a), prepositional phrases (20b), adjectives (20c), participles (20d), and adverbs (20e).

(20a) *hī mī ḡarīme*
PN.3FSG NEG crime
‘This is not a crime.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (20b) hāḍi gadīme mī ‘ala ḥada
this old NEG on one
‘It’s an old one (poem), it’s not about anyone (in particular).’
(Aš-Šurufāt)

- (20c) mī zāki al-gahwa aš-šafra
NEG tasty ART-coffee ART-yellow
‘The yellow coffee is not tasty.’
(As-Sardiya)

- (20d) mī ‘ārife šū bidd-ha tas’al
NEG know.PTCP what want-PN.2MSG 2MSG.ask.IPFV
‘She doesn’t know what she wants to ask.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (20e) mī hāna
NEG here
‘She is not here.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

When used with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and participles, *mū* usually negates a masculine predicate while *mī* negates a feminine predicate. However, there are a few cases where the opposite is also attested, like in (19e) and (20c).

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers muš and miš

The negative marker *muš* is used to negate nouns (21a-b), prepositional phrases (21c), adjectives (21d), participles (21e-f), adverbs (21g), and modals (21h).

- (21a) ‘iḥna muš ‘adu
PN.1PL NEG enemy
‘We are not an enemy.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

(21b) muš siyāḥa ṣaḥḥ
NEG tourism right
‘It’s not tourism, right?’
(Al-Aḍāmāt)

(21c) ‘ana muš bi-ḥāğat ḥāda
PN.1SG NEG with-need this
‘I don’t need this.’
(Bani Ḥālīd)

(21d) lā muš gawīyy
no NEG strong
‘No, I am not strong.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

(21e) ‘ana muš ḥāfiḍ-ha
PN.1SG NEG memorise.PTCP-PN.3FSG
‘I don’t remember it.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

(21f) kilma muš mawğūda
word NEG exist.PTCP
‘A word that does not exist.’
(Bani Ḥālīd)

(21g) ‘īda kānat al-‘ēla muš garīban
if 3FSG.be.PFV ART-family NEG close
‘If the family was not close [..].’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

(21h) muš lāzim
NEG necessary

‘It’s not required.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

The negative marker *miš* is used to negate prepositional phrases (22a), adjectives (22b), and participles (22c).

(22a) alyōm al-ḥayāt kwayyisa miš miṭl gabl
today ART-life good NEG like before

‘Today life is good, not like before.’

(As-Sardiya)

(22b) la’ al-mayya miš maḡḡāniyya
no ART-water NEG free

‘No, the water is not free.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

(22c) miš sākin bēt š-ša‘ar ‘ana
NEG reside.PTCP house ART-hair PN.1SG

‘I am not staying in a tent, me.’

(Bani Ḥālid)

In the studied Bedouin tribes of North Badia, the negative marker *muš* is used to a greater extent than the negative marker *miš*. Although *muš* is mostly used for masculine predicates and respectively *miš* for feminine predicates, there are several cases where the opposite also occurs, as in (21b), (21f), and (22c).

Negation of pronouns by prefixation of m-

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, as *māni*, *mintā*, *minti*, *mahu/muhu*, *mahi/mihi* (and rarely *muha/maha*), *miḥna*, and *mahum*.⁶⁰

(23a) ‘ana mā-ni šā‘er
PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG poet

⁶⁰ Only the forms encountered in the recorded material are described here.

‘I am not a poet.’

(Bani Ḥālid)

(23b) ’inti m-inti ’urdunniya

PN.2FSG NEG-PN.2FSG Jordanian

‘You are not Jordanian.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

(23c) ma-hu yawmi

NEG-PN.3MSG daily

‘Not daily.’

(Al-Masā’id)

(23d) mu-hu lubnāniyy

NEG-PN.3MSG lebanese

‘He is not Lebanese.’

(Bani Ḥālid)

(23e) ma-hi ṭawīle

NEG PN.3FSG long

‘It is not long.’

(Aš-Šurufāt)

(23f) marat wulid-u mu-ha kwayysa ma’-hu

woman boy-PN.3MSG NEG-PN.3FSG good with-PN.3MSG

‘The wife of his son did not behave well with him.’

(Bani Ḥālid)

(23g) ma-ha ḏahab

NEG-PN.3FSG gold

‘It is not gold.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

(23h) m-iḥna mabsūṭin čīṭir

NEG-PN.1PL happy much
'We are not very satisfied.'
(Az-Zubayd)

(23i) ma-hum badw
NEG-PN.3MPL Bedouins
'They are not Bedouins.'
(As-Sardiya)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle lā

Negation of non-verbal predicates is very rarely attested with the negative particle *lā*. When *lā* occurs, it is used in the negation *wala*, to deliver more emphasis, as below:

(24) wala ramz l-il-badāwa
NEG symbol for-ART-bedouninism
'It is not a symbol of Bedouinism.'
(Al-Masā'īd)

Features from Standard Arabic: laysa

The negative copula *laysa* is not expected to be used in modern Arabic varieties, even in the more conservative ones, except when Mixed Arabic is used (or vestiges of *laysa* like *lēš*). In general, cases of Mixed Arabic are excluded from the material of the present research, however, we would like to present two instances of use of *laysa* that come from two informants from the Masā'īd tribe. In the first case, the informant did not use Mixed Arabic at all in his speech, however, he did use *laysa*:

(25a) šār aš-širā' bēn ad-dūl u-laysa
3MSG.become.PFV ART-conflict between ART-countries CONJ-NEG.3MSG
al-gabāil
ART-tribes
'The conflict is now between countries, and not between tribes.'
(Al-Masā'īd)

In the second case, the informant occasionally used Mixed Arabic in his speech. This case is even more interesting since here, *laysa* is attested in the modal expression *laysa maḥāla* (25b), originated from the classical expression *lā maḥāla*, (the noun *maḥāla* literally means ‘reel/wheel’), with the meaning ‘inevitably’, ‘undoubtedly’. The expression *laysa maḥāla* is probably here a case of hypercorrection:

- (25b) bass daḥal⁶¹ laysa maḥāla ‘alē-i ’ana
 but protector NEG reel on-PN.1SG PN.1SG
 ‘But it’s inevitable for me (to become) a protector.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)

Similar cases are also attested in the material of Central and South Badia.

5.2.3.6 Constituent negation

The negative marker *mū* is also used to express constituent negation, as below:

- (26) mū ’ana ’asraḥ
 NEG PN.1SG 1SG.take out to pasture.IPFV
 ‘It’s not me who takes out (the animals) to pasture.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)

5.2.3.7 Negative polarity items

The negative polarity items encountered in North Badia include indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners, and adverbials.

Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns used in North Badia are *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad* (27), and *ši’ iši* (28), preceded by the negative particle *mā*.

⁶¹ The informant is talking about the Bedouin custom of the *daḥāla* (دخالة) ‘entering protection’ (Sulayman 1990, 227), which is the right of a person who committed a crime (*daḥīl*) to seek refuge to the nearest tent or house. The owner of the house (man or woman) is obliged according to the Bedouin law to accept the criminal and thus become his protector (*daḥal*). See more detail in Sulayman (1990, 227–230).

- (27a) mā fi ḥada alyōm yiğzel
 NEG there is one today 3MSG.spin.IPFV
 ‘Today there is no one spinning.’
 (As-Šurufāt)
- (27b) mā fi wāḥad yafruḡ ‘an aṭ-tāni
 NEG there is one 3MSG.differentiate.IPFV from ART-second
 ‘No one is differentiated from the other.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)
- (28a) mā ‘a rif ‘an-hum ši
 NEG 1SG.know.IPFV about-PN.3MPL thing
 ‘I don’t know anything about them.’
 (Aš-Šurufāt)
- (28b) gabl mā fi ‘iši mitwaffer
 before NEG there is thing provided
 ‘Before, there was nothing provided.’
 (Al-‘Aḍāmāt)

Indefinite determiners

The indefinite determiner *‘iyy* is encountered with the indefinite pronoun *ši* in negative contexts, preceded by a negative element and interpreted as ‘anything, nothing’:

- (29) at-tārīḥ al-badawa mā fi ‘iyy ši maktūb
 ART-history ART-Bedouin life NEG there is any thing written
 ‘There is nothing written in Bedouin history.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)

Adverbials

The adverbial *‘umr* ‘never’ is used with clitic pronouns, preceded by the negative particle *mā*:

- (30) 'iḥna mā 'umr-na šufna al-ğinn
 PN.1PL NEG life-PN.1PL 1PL.see.PFV ART-genie
 'We never saw a genie.'
 (Al-Masā'id)

5.2.3.8 Negative indefinite pronouns

The negative indefinite pronoun attested in North Badia is *maḥad*, meaning 'nobody', while *laḥad* is mostly encountered in negative coordination structures.

- (31a) aš-šīḥ bass ya'mil gahwa maḥad ya'mil gahwa
 ART-sheikh only 3MSG.do.IPFV coffee nobody 3MSG.do.IPFV coffee
 'Only the sheikh was preparing the coffee...nobody (else).'
 (Bani Ḥālid)

- (31b) maḥad yīḡi 'ala ḥade
 nobody 3MSG.come.IPFV on one
 'Nobody visits anyone.'
 (Az-Zubayd)

5.2.3.9 Negative concord items

The negative concord items attested in North Badia include the negative scalar *wala*, *never/at all* adverbs and adverbials, and *still/not yet* adverbials.

The negative scalar wala

The negative scalar *wala* is used with indefinites, with the meaning 'not even/not a single':

- (32a) mā yiḡalli wala šaḥaṣ yi'ddī-h
 NEG 3MSG.leave.IPFV NegSFP person 3MSG.harm.IPFV-PN.3MSG
 nihā' iyyan
 finally

‘He never let anyone (not even one) harm him.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

(32b) wala wāḥad yigdar yaṣīb-u

NegSFP one 3MSG.can.IPFV 3MSG.hit.IPFV-PN.3MSG

‘And no one can hit him (not even one can hit him).’

(As-Sirḥān)

Never/at all *adverbs and adverbials*

The adverbs *‘abadan* (33), and *nihā’iyyan* (34), are used in North Badia with the meaning ‘never/at all’, while the adverbial *b-il-marra* (35), is also used with the same meaning. Additionally, the noun *šēle* (36) is occasionally encountered as an adverbial with the meaning ‘at all’.

(33a) mā fi ḥawal-na ‘emār ‘abadan

NEG there is around-PN.1PL building never

‘There were no buildings around us, at all.’

(Bani Ḥālid)

(33b) mā kān fi madāris ‘abadan

NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is schools never

‘There were no schools at all.’

(As-Sirḥān)

(33c) mā yiṣlan al-magbara ‘abadan

NEG 3FPL.arrive.IPFV ART-cemetery never

‘They never reach the cemetery.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

Literally meaning ‘finally/permanently/completely’, the adverb *nihā’iyyan* is used in negative sentences with the meaning ‘never/at all’:

(34a) mā yiḥki nihā’iyyan

NEG 3MSG.talk.IPFV finally

‘He doesn’t talk at all.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

(34b) maḥad yisawwi ḥubz bi-d-dār nihā’iyyan

nobody 3MSG.do.IPFV bread in-ART-house finally

‘Nobody makes bread at home, never.’

(Al-‘Aḏāmāt)

The adverbial *b-il-marra* is often encountered with the meaning ‘never/at all’:

(35) mī ḥāmiya b-il-marra

NEG hot with-ART-time

‘She is not hot at all.’

(Aš-Šurufāt)

The noun *šēle* (from the verb *šāla* ‘raise, carry’ → *šayla* (CA) ‘load, burden’), is used in negative contexts with the meaning ‘at all’:

(36a) mā ‘and-i šēle

NEG have-PN.1SG at all

‘I do not have at all.’

(As-Sirḥān)

(36b) mā fi ḡāz šēle

NEG there is gaz at all

‘There was no gaz at all.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

Still/not yet adverbials

The adverbials *lissa* (37) and *ba‘d* (38), are occasionally attested in negative contexts with the meaning ‘yet’:

(37) *lā waḷḷa lissa mā štağalt*
 no by God yet NEG 1SG.work.PFV
 ‘I haven’t worked yet.’
 (Aš-Šurufāt)

(38) *kōrōna mā ġāt-na ba‘d*
 covid NEG 3FSG.come.PFV-PN.1PL yet
 ‘Covid has not reached us yet.’
 (As-Sardiya)

5.2.3.10 Negative coordination structures

The negative coordination structures attested in North Badia are either bisyndetic or polysyndetic structures, including *lā* or *mā* as the first negative element and the negative conjunction *wala* as the second and so forth. In some cases, the first negative element can also be a negative marker (44), a negated pronoun (45a), or a negative indefinite pronoun (45b). In North Badia, negative coordination structures are attested with verbal predicates, with existential negation, with non-verbal predicates, as well as with different types of predicates.

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates include either bisyndetic or polysyndetic coordination with *lā* (39), or *mā* (40) as the first negative element.

(39) *lā yiḥki wala ya‘rif ‘iyy ši*
 NEG 3MSG.speak.IPFV NegCONJ 3MSG.know.IPFV any thing
 ‘He neither speaks nor knows anything.’
 (Al-‘Aḍāmāt)

(40) *mā sime‘at wala ḥačat wala sōlafat*⁶²
 NEG 3FSG.hear.PFV NegCONJ 3FSG.talk.PFV NegCONJ 3FSG.narrate.PFV

⁶² To tell, to talk, to relate stories, from the classical verb *salifa* (سلف) ‘connect with the back/the past’. Derived from the noun *sālfah* (سالفة) and defined by Sowayan (1992) as ‘the Arabian oral historical narrative’, a story told in Bedouin dialect.

‘She neither heard nor talked nor narrated.’

(Al-Masā‘īd)

Negative coordination structures with existential negation

Negative coordination structures with existential negation are rarely attested, as in the following asyndetic structure:

- (41) *gabl lā fi kahraba lā fi sayyārāt lā fi ‘askariyya*
before NEG there is electricity NEG there is cars NEG there is military
‘Before, there was no electricity, no cars, no military service.’
(Bani Ḥālid)

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates include bisyndetic and polysyndetic coordination with the negative particles *lā* (42), *mā* (43), or a negative marker (44) as the first negative element.

- (42a) *mā wudd-i lā šāy wala gahwa*
NEG want-PN.1SG NEG tea NegCONJ coffee
‘I neither want tea nor coffee.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (42b) *gabl mā fi lā ḥalīb wala bizz*
before NEG there is NEG milk NegCONJ breast
‘Before there was neither milk nor breastfeeding.’
(Aš-Šurufāt)

- (43) *mā fi sayyārāt wala fustān wala ḡahab*
NEG there is cars NegCONJ dress NegCONJ gold
‘There were neither cars, nor dresses, nor gold.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (44) mī ḥāmiya b-il-marra kaṭīr ulā hiyya msaqqa‘a kaṭīr
 NEG hot with-ART-time much NegCONJ PN.3FSG cold much
 ‘Neither very hot nor very cold.’
 (Aš-Šurufāt)

Negative coordination structures with different types of predicates

Negative coordination structures combining units of different type are also attested in the material of North Badia, as below:

- (45a) m-aḥna ‘ārifīn naḥarrar wala fi ‘umma
 NEG-PN.1PL know.PTCP 1PL.liberate.IPFV NegCONJ there is nation
 maḍlūma b-il-‘aṣr al-ḥāliyy miṭl al-‘umma al-‘arabiyya
 oppressed in-ART-era ART-current like ART-nation ART-arabic
 ‘We do not know how to be liberated and there is no nation oppressed like the
 Arabic nation.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)

- (45b) maḥad yigūl-u wēn rāyih wala ḥad
 nobody 3MSG.say.IPFV-PN.3MSG where go.PTCP NegCONJ one
 yis’al wala fi dawriyyāt
 3MSG.ask.IPFV NegCONJ there is patrols
 ‘No one was telling him where he was going, no one was asking and there were
 no patrols.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)

- (45c) mā fi dirāsat al-qānūn wala fi ‘ilm wala
 NEG there is study ART-law NegCONJ there is science NegCONJ
 yagra wala yaktub
 3MSG.read.IPFV NegCONJ 3MSG.write.IPFV
 ‘There is neither study of the law, nor science, he neither reads, nor writes.’
 (Al-Masā‘īd)

5.2.3.11 Exeptive constructions

Exeptive constructions are formed with the negative particle *mā* and the exeptive particle *'illa* as *mā... 'illa* (46a-b), or just *'illa* (47). Less often, exeptive constructions are encountered with the exeptive particle *ġayr/ġār* as *mā...ġayr/ġār* (48a-b).

(46a) al-bint mā tinḥaṭib 'illa hiyya mwāfiga
ART-girl NEG 3FSG.get engaged.IPFV except PN.3FSG agree.PTCP
'The girl does not get engaged unless she agrees.'
(Al-Masā'īd)

(46b) ya'ni mā nīġi 'illa b-il-lēl
3MSG.mean.IPFV NEG 1PL.come.IPFV except in-ART-night
'Meaning that we were not coming back until nightfall.'
(Al-'Aḏāmāt)

(47) 'illa el-biyūt illi fi-ha kibār as-sin
except ART-houses that there is-PN.3FSG old ART-age
'Apart from the houses where there are elder people.'
(Bani Ḥālid)

(48a) kull-hum mitzawwġīn ġār al-bint
all-PN.3MPL get married.PTCP except ART-girl
'All of them are married except for the girl.'
(Al-Masā'īd)

(48b) mā l-i ḥada ġayr alḷa
NEG have-PN.1SG one except God
'I have no one but God.'
(Aš-Šurufāt)

5.2.3.12 Verbs used in negative contexts

The verb *baṭṭal* (49) is encountered only in negative contexts with the meaning ‘stop/not do anymore’. The verb *ḍall* is more often encountered in negative contexts, preceded by *mā*, with the meaning ‘not left/not anymore’.

- (49) baṭṭālna nisawwi ḡamīd
1PL.stop.PFV 1PL.make.IPFV jamid
‘We don’t make jamid⁶³ anymore.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

- (50) mā ḍall ḥad yištaḡil ‘ala al-ḡimāl
NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV one 3MSG.work.IPFV on ART-camels
‘Nobody works with camels anymore.’
(Al-Masā‘īd)

5.2.3.13 The negative use of the verbs ‘ād and zāl

Rarely, the verb ‘ād (51) is attested preceded by the negative particle *mā* in the adverbial *mā ‘ād* with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’. The verb *zāl* is occasionally encountered in the negative construction –with non-negative meaning– *mā⁶⁴ zāl*. Usually, *mā zāl* is encountered uninflected as an adverbial (52a), but it is also attested in an inflected form (52b). In both cases, it is interpreted as an adverbial with the meaning ‘still’, and it is rather used as a borrowing from CA.

- (51) ma‘ wuḡūd ad-dawla inta mā ‘ād tiš‘ur
with existence ART-state PN.2MSG NEG 3MSG.return.PFV 2MSG.feel.IPFV
b-il-ḥōf
with-ART-fear
‘After the creation of the state you no longer felt fear.’
(Bani Ḥālid)

⁶³ Jamid (جميد) is a kind of dried yoghurt used in specific Arabic meals like *mansaf*.

⁶⁴ *zāl* is also occasionally attested with the negative particle *lā* in Mixed Arabic: *aš-šīḥ lā yazāl mawḡūd* ‘The sheikh still exists.’ (Bani Ḥālid).

(52a) mā zāl fi nās fi biyūt š-ša‘r
 NEG 3MSG.cease.PFV there is people in houses ART-hair
 ‘There are still people (living) in tents.’
 (Al-Masā‘id)

(52b) mā zilna laḥadd alān mitāba‘in hāḍi al-‘umūr
 NEG 1PL.cease.PFV until now follow.PTCP this ART-issues
 ‘We are still following these issues until today.’
 (As-Sirḥān)

5.2.3.14 Negative nouns

The noun *ḡēr* is occasionally attested as a negative marker with the meaning ‘not’:

(53a) aṭ-ṭār kān yaṭāl ‘ašḥāš ḡēr
 ART-revenge 3MSG.be.PFV 3MSG.reach.IPFV people NEG
 ma‘niyyīn b-il-ḡarīma
 involved with-ART-crime
 ‘Vendetta reached people who were not involved in crime.’
 (Bani Ḥālid)

(53b) ḡēr masmūḥa
 not be allowed.PTCP
 ‘Not allowed.’
 (Al-Masā‘id)

5.2.3.15 Negative prepositions

The negative preposition *bidūn* is used with the meaning ‘without’:

(54) hāḍa qāḍi⁶⁵ bidūn šīḥ
 this judge without sheikh

⁶⁵ qāḍī (قاضي): Hereditary judge who renders decisions according to the Sharī‘ah (Islamic law).

‘He is a judge, without (being) a sheikh.’

(As-Sirḥān)

5.2.3.16 Summary and conclusions from North Badia

In the above sections, we presented selected results on the expression of negation in Bedouin tribes of North Badia. The studied types of negation were the following: negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs used in negative contexts, *still* and *no longer/not anymore* verbs and adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

Based on the above data, we proceed now to the following conclusions.

Negation as an answer is expressed by *lā/la*. Another form of negative answer attested in North Badia is the double, emphatic form of *lā*, used as *lilla/lille*.

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are mainly negated by the negative particle *mā*. Infrequently, the negative particle *lā* and the negation *wala* are also used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements, in negative optative sentences, and in modal expressions. Verbal predicates in the perfective aspect are negated only by the negative particle *mā*.

Negation in the future is encountered either with the negative particle *mā* followed by the pseudo-verb *wudd* and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, with a negated pronoun followed by a participle, or with *mā raḥ*, followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

The negative imperative is formed only with the negative particle *lā*.

Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated only with the negative particle *mā*. The existential negation is mainly attested as *mā fi* and occasionally as *mā bu/mā bi*, while *lā fi* and *lā bu* are attested only in negative coordination structures.

Non-verbal predicates are mostly negated by the negative markers *mū/mī*, *muš/ miš*, and occasionally by the negative particle *mā*, while pronouns are negated by

prefixation of *m-*. Rarely, non-verbal predicates are additionally negated by the negation *wala*.

Constituent negation is attested with the negative marker *mū*.

The negative polarity items encountered in North Badia are the indefinite pronouns *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad*, and *ši/iši*, preceded by negative morphemes, the indefinite determiner *'iyy ši* preceded by negative morphemes, and the adverbial *'umr* with clitic pronouns, preceded by negative morphemes.

The negative indefinite pronoun used is *maḥad*, while *laḥad* is mostly encountered in negative coordination structures.

The negative concord items encountered in North Badia are the negative scalar *wala* with indefinites, the *never/at all* adverbs *'abadan* and *nihā 'iyyan*, the *never/at all* adverbials *b-il-marra* and *šēle*, and the *still/not yet* adverbials *lissa* and *ba ' d*.

The studied material in North Badia includes negative coordination structures with bisyndetic, polysyndetic and asyndetic coordination with verbal predicates, existential negation, non-verbal predicates, and different types of predicates, as *lā...wala*, *mā...wala*, or *lā...lā*. In some cases, a negative marker, a negative indefinite pronoun, or a negated pronoun are also attested as the first negative element.

The exceptive constructions used in North Badia are formed with *'illa* and *ḡayr/ḡār* as *mā... 'illa* or just *'illa*, and *mā...ḡayr/ḡār*.

The verbs used in negative contexts are *baṭṭal* and *mā ḡall*.

The verb/adverbial *mā zāl* is infrequently used with the meaning 'still', while the adverbial *'ād* is rarely used with the meaning 'no longer/not anymore'.

The noun *ḡēr* is occasionally attested in negative contexts as a negative marker. The negative preposition *bidūn* is used with the meaning 'without'.

At the tables below, a general overview of the expression of negation in the Bedouin dialects of North Badia is provided. Tables 70 and 71 summarise the results of the most commonly (often) and less commonly (occasionally) used negative elements, as well as the use of some negative elements that were encountered in individual cases. As individual cases are considered those attested only a few times or only once in the entire recorded material. We remind that although individual cases were described, analysed in every section, and included in each section's tables, they were not considered for drawing the overall conclusions of this study.

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NegANS	<i>lā/la'</i>	<i>lilla</i>	-
VPreds IPFV	<i>mā</i>	<i>lā:</i> NegSts NEG OPT SENTs ModEXPRs NEG <i>wala</i>	-
VPreds PFV	<i>mā</i>	-	-
FutNEG	<i>mā wudd + VPreds</i> IPFV NegPN + PTCP <i>mā rah+ VPreds</i> IPFV	-	-
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	-	-
PVPreds	<i>mā</i>	-	-
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i>	<i>mā bi</i> <i>lā fi</i> (NegCOORDSs)	<i>mā bu</i> <i>lā bu</i> (NegCOORDSs)
NVPreds	<i>mū, mī</i> <i>muš, miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā</i>	NEG <i>wala</i>
ConstNEG	<i>mū</i>	-	-

Table 70: Negation in North Badia 1

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NPIs	<i>ḥad/ḥada, wāḥad</i> <i>ši/ iši</i> <i>'iyy ši</i> <i>'umr</i>	-	-
NIPs	<i>maḥad</i>	<i>laḥad</i> (NegCOORDSs)	-
NCIs	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>'abadan</i> <i>nihā' iyyan</i> <i>bil marra</i>	<i>šēle</i> <i>lissa</i> <i>ba' d</i>	-
NegCOORDSs	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>mā...wala</i>	<i>Other negative</i> <i>element...wala</i>	<i>lā...lā</i>
EXCCs	<i>mā... 'illa</i> <i>'illa</i>	<i>mā... ḡayr</i>	-
Vs used in negative contexts	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā dāl</i>	-	-
<i>Still and no longer/not anymore</i> Vs/ADVs	-	-	<i>mā zāl</i> <i>mā 'ād</i>
NegNs	<i>ḡēr</i>	-	-
NegPRs	<i>bidūn</i>	-	-

Table 71: Negation in North Badia 2

5.2.4 Collected data from Central Badia

5.2.4.1 Negation as a simple negative response

Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’ is expressed by *lā*, which is either encountered as *lā*, or as *la*’ with a glottal stop (hamza) after the vowel.

- (55) ’anā lā tarakt
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.leave.PFV
‘Me no, I quit (school).’
(Bani Şaḥar)

A double, emphatic form of *lā* is also attested as *lilla/lille*:

- (56) lille ya’ni ’inn-o ma-hu mwāfig
no no 3MSG.mean.IPFV that-PN.3MSG NEG-PN.3SG agree.PTCP
‘No, that is to say that he does not agree.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

As in North Badia, so in Central Badia, *lilla/lille* was not attested in the spontaneous speech of the informants, but it was mentioned by them as an alternative, emphatic negative answer, along with examples of use as the above.

5.2.4.2 Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates is mainly expressed by the negative particle *mā*, while the negative particle *lā* is occasionally attested in specific cases. Negation of verbal predicates is also rarely attested with the negative markers *mū* and *muš*.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle mā

In the studied tribes of Central Badia, the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* (stage I of Jespersen) is used for the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (57a) liš al-ğīl hāda mā bi-t‘arrafa ‘ala
 why ART-generation this NEG bi-3MSG.get to know.IPFV on
 ‘umm-u w-‘abu-u
 on mother-PN.3MSG CONJ-father-PN.3MSG
 ‘Why doesn’t this generation get to know their mother and father?’
 (Bani Şaḥar)
- (57b) gabl al-badw mā yāḥud fallāḥa mā yitzawwǧ
 before ART-Bedouins NEG 3MSG.take.IPFV peasant NEG 3MSG.marry.IPFV
 fallāḥa
 peasant
 ‘Before, Bedouins did not take peasants, they did not marry peasants.’
 (Bani Şaḥar)
- (57c) ḥāyif ad-dam mā yimši
 be afraid.PTCP ART-blood NEG 3MSG.walk.IPFV
 ‘I’m afraid the blood doesn’t flow.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābna)

It is interesting to note that the use of the *b*-indicative (57a) is more often encountered in Central than in North Badia.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative marker mū

Rarely, the negative marker *mū*, typically used to negate non-verbal predicates, is attested in negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (58) mū naḥtakir kull ši il-na
 NEG 1PL.monopolise.IPFV all thing to-PN.1PL
 ‘We don’t monopolise everything.’
 (Bani Şaḥar)

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* and *wa-la* is occasionally used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in specific cases. First, it is used to deliver plain (59a-b) or emphatic negation (59c):

(59a) *lā ntarraḥ mīlād*
NEG 1PL.date.IPFV birth
'We did not date birth.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(59b) *'illa illi 'ind-u ḥīla radiyya u-lā yigdar*
except who have-PN.3MSG ruse bad CONJ-NEG 3MSG.can.IPFV
yidabber ḥāl-u ma' 'ēlt-u
3MSG.manage.IPFV condition-PN.3MSG with family-PN.3MSG
'Except anyone who is malicious and cannot get along with his family.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(59c) *yimūt bi-mecca u-lā yimūt*
3MSG.die.IPFV in-Mecca CONJ-NEG 3MSG.die.IPFV
y'āwed
3MSG.come back.IPFV
'To die in Mecca and not to die as he returns.'
(Al-Ka'ābna)

Second, it is used in the negation *wala*, in plain (60a) or emphatic negation (60b):

(60a) *wala nadri 'iḥna*
NEG 1PL.know.IPFV PN.1PL
'We don't know.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(60b) *wala 'aqṣad b-il-marra*
NEG 1SG.recite poetry.IPFV with-ART-time

‘I never recite poetry.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Third, *lā* is encountered in negative optative sentences, mostly related to religion:

(61a) alḷāh lā yibayyid wuġh-u
God NEG 3MSG.whiten.IPFV face-PN.3MSG
‘May God not whiten his face (not bring him happiness).’
(Al-Ka‘ābna)

(61b) alḷāh lā ysāmiḥ
God NEG 3MSG.forgive.IPFV
‘May God not forgive.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

Fourth, the negative particle *lā* is used to express prevention (62a) or indirect prohibition (62b):

(62a) li-hāda s-sabab yikūn al-qāḍi ḥarīṣ lā yirūḥ
for-this ART-reason 3MSG.be.IPFV ART-judge careful NEG 3MSG.go.IPFV
yfannšū-h
3MPL.dismiss.IPFV-PN.3MSG
‘For this reason, the judge must be careful so that he won’t be dismissed.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

(62b) lā yġarr-kiy
NEG 3MSG.deceive.IPFV-PN.2FSG
‘Don’t be deceived (let it not deceive you).’
(Al-Ka‘abne)

And finally, *lā* is occasionally used in modal expressions like *lā yumkin* (63a) ‘not possible’, and rarely in expressions such as *lā yġūz* (63b) ‘not permissible/not possible’, *lā yuwaṣṣaf* (63c) ‘indescribable’ and *lā bidd* (63d) ‘inevitable/necessary/must’.

- (63a) *lā yumkin at-tarāġu*
 NEG 3MSG.enable.IPFV ART-withdrawal
 ‘And it’s not possible to go back (on her decision).’
 (Bani Şaġar)
- (63b) *lakin mā yḍall taħt al-iħtilāl lā*
 but NEG 3MSG.remain.IPFV under ART-occupation NEG
yġūz
 3MSG.be possible/permissible.IPFV
 ‘But it’s not possible to remain under occupation.’
 (Bani Şaġar)
- (63c) *u-‘ind-i iħtiyāra miħtarama bi-şakl lā*
 CONJ-have-PN.1SG old respectable with-way NEG
yuwaşşaf
 3MSG.be described.IPFV
 ‘And I have an old woman indescribably respectable.’
 (Bani Şaġar)
- (63d) *ad-dinya kill-ah mā b-ah fāyda lā*
 ART-world all-PN.3FSG NEG there is-PN.3FSG benefit NEG
bidd min al-ġūra
 escape from ART-hole
 ‘The whole life is useless; the grave is inevitable.’
 (Bani Şaġar)

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the š negator

The negative marker *muš* is rarely used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, as below:

- (64) *muš taħtār tgūl ‘ana bidd-i fulān*
 NEG 3FSG.choose.IPFV 3FSG.say.IPFV PN.1SG want-PN.1SG so-and-so
 ‘She does not choose by saying *I want so-and-so*.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Negation in the future

Negation in the future is mainly attested with the negative particle *mā* and the future marker *raḥ* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (65) *mā raḥ t'īš ma'-hu*
NEG will 3FSG.live.IPFV with-PN.3MSG
'She won't live with him.'

(Bani Şaḥar)

Rarely, negation in the future is also encountered with the negative marker *muš* followed by the future marker *raḥ* or, infrequently, *'arūḥ*, and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

- (66a) *muš raḥ tat'arraf marra wāḥda*
NEG will 2MSG.familiarise time one
'You will not get familiarised at once.'

(Bani Şaḥar)

- (66b) *muš 'arūḥ 'aḡīb ibn-i hāmīl u-'adwwer*
NEG will 1SG.bring.IPFV son-PN.1SG lout CONJ-1SG.look for.IPFV
bint ṣālḥa
girl good
'I won't bring my lout son and look for a good girl.'

(Bani Şaḥar)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect is formed only with the negative particle *mā*, as below:

- (67a) *lahḡat al-badw mā tḡayyarat*

dialect ART-Bedouins NEG 3FSG.change.PFV

‘Bedouins’ dialect has not changed.’

(Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)

(67b) at-trāb mā ‘iġa

ART-dust NEG 3MSG.come.PFV

‘The dust did not come in.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(67c) yumkin hiyya mā gidret t‘iš bidūn
3MSG.enable.IPFV PN.3FSG NEG 3FSG.can.PFV 3FSG.live.IPFV without
ḥorriyya

freedom

‘Maybe she could not live without freedom.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Negation in the past with the auxiliary kân

Negation in the past is also formed with the negative particle *mā* and the auxiliary verb *kân*, followed by a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, to express a progressive or habitual action in the past:

(68) mā kānu yimšūn ma‘ al-ḥalāl
NEG 3MPL.be.PFV 3MPL.walk.IPFV with ART-cattle

‘They didn’t go with the sheep.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Negative imperative (Type 4)

In the Bedouin tribes of Central Badia, the negative imperative is attested only with the negative particle *lā*, as below:

(69a) ‘agīd al-gawm gāl la-hum lā tġurrūn
colonel ART-people 3MSG.say.PFV to-PN.3MPL NEG 2MPL.drag.IPFV

ar-rabāba

ART-rababa⁶⁶

‘The chief of the tribe told them: Don’t play the rababa!’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(69b) lā ‘umr-ik tsakkirin al-bāb
NEG life-PN.2FSG 2FSG.close.IPFV ART-door

‘Don’t ever close the door!’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(69b) lā tšāri an-nās
NEG 2MSG.harm.IPFV ART-people

‘Don’t harm people.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.3 Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is formed with the negative particle *mā*, which is used to negate pseudo-verbs like *wudd* and *bidd* (70a-c), with the meaning ‘want’, ‘and, ma’, and *li*, (70d-67f), with the meaning ‘have’.

(70a) illi mā wudd-ah yā-h tarfuḍ
who NEG want-PN.3FSG OBJP-PN.3MSG 3FSG.refuse.IPFV

‘Whom she does not want she refuses.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(70b) mā wudd-i čīṭir
NEG want-PN.1SG much

‘I don’t want many (women).’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(70c) ‘ana mā bidd-i ‘aqūl l-ak

⁶⁶ Rababa, rebab, or rebec: Musical string instrument largely used in Bedouin Arabic music.

PN.1SG NEG want-PN.1SG 1SG.say.IPFV to-PN.2MS

‘I don’t want to tell you [...].’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(70d) hāḍa kān l-il-nās illi mā ‘and-o niswān
this 3MSG.be.PFV for-ART-people who NEG have-PN.3MSG women
‘This was for people who didn’t have wives.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(70e) ‘iḥna mā ma‘-na ḥabar min-ku
PN.1PL NEG have-PN.1PL news from-PN.2MPL
‘We don’t have any news from you.’

(Al-Ka‘ābna)

(70f) iṣ-ṣi‘r mā kān mā l-u ‘alaga
ART-poetry NEG 3MSG.be.PFV NEG have-PN.3MSG relation
bi-d-dīn
with-ART-religion
‘Poetry was not related to religion.’

(Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)

5.2.4.4 Existential negation

Existential negation in Central Badia is mostly encountered as *mā fi* and rarely as *mā bu/mā bi*, while the *š* negator is also occasionally used in *mā fiš/fiš*. Existential negation with *lā* as *lā fi* is attested only in negative coordination structures.

Existential negation with the negative particle mā

Existential negation in Central Badia is mainly expressed as *mā fi*, as in the examples below.

(71a) mā fi kalimāt ḡadīda
NEG there is words new

‘There are no new words.’

(Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)

(71b) *gabl mā fi šahadāt mīlād*

before NEG there is certifications birth

‘Before, there were no birth certificates.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Existential negation as *mā bu* and *mā bi* is rarely encountered in Central Badia:

(72a) *mā bu hilāf*

NEG there is disagreement

‘There is no disagreement.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(72b) *mā bi mayya*

NEG there is water

‘There is no water.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

When expressing existential negation in the past, the verb *kān* is used as *ma kān fi*, or *kān mā fi*.

(73a) *mā kān fi wasā’el rāḥa*

NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is amenities

‘There were no amenities.’

(Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)

(73b) *kān mā fi qānūn bi-l-’urdunn*

3MSG.be.PFV NEG there is law in ART-Jordan

‘There was no law in Jordan.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Existential negation with the negative particle lā

Existential negation as *lā fi* (74a), is attested only in negative coordination structures, as in the following example:

- (74) 'ayyām mā kān lā fi ḥaḍāra wala iši
days NEG 3MSG.be.PFV NEG there is civilisation NegCONJ thing
'Those days there was neither civilisation, nor anything.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

Existential negation with the š negator

In Central Badia, the *š* negator is occasionally used in the negative existential marker *mā fiš/mā fiš*:

- (75a) mawārid mā fi-š
resources NEG there is-NEG
'There are no resources.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)
- (75b) mā fi-š 'aḥzāb
NEG there is-NEG parties
'There are no (political) parties.'
(Al-Ka'ābna)
- (75c) mā fi-š ḥaḍāra
NEG there is-NEG civilisation
'There is no civilisation.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

5.2.4.5 Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates is occasionally expressed by the negative particle *mā*, and more often by the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš* and *miš*,

while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. The negative particle *lā* is also rarely used to negate non-verbal predicates.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā

The negative particle *mā* is occasionally used to negate nouns (76a-76c), prepositional phrases (76d-e), modals (76f), and non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān* (76g).

(76a) *mā kill an-nās mā kill al-muğtama‘ yifham*
 NEG all ART-people NEG all ART-society 3MSG.understand.IPFV
al-luġa al-badawiyya
 ART-language ART-Bedouin
 ‘Not all the people, not all the society understands the Bedouin language.’
 (Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)

(76b) *mā ism-ha as-sa‘ūdiyya*
 NEG name-PN.3FSG ART-Saudia
 ‘Its name was not Saudia.’
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

(76c) *mā nās yišūf-a al-‘arūs*
 NEG people 3MSG.see.IPFV-PN.3FSG ART-bride
 ‘Nobody sees the bride.’
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

(76d) *‘inn-ha bēḍa mā ‘alē-ha iši šaraf-ha naḍīf*
 that-PN.3FSG white NEG on-PN.3FSG thing honor-PN.3FSG clean
 ‘[...] that she is truly pure; her honor is clean.’
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

(76e) *al-ḥayā tġayyarat mā il-ha luzūm*
 ART-life 3FSF.change.PFV NEG to-PN.3FSG necessities
 ‘Life has changed, it doesn’t have necessities.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

- (76f) 'inta mā lāzim timna' -na n 'iš
PN.2FSG NEG necessary 2MSG.forbid.IPFV-PN.1PL 1PL.live.IPFV
bi-'amān
in-peace
'You must not forbid us to live in peace.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

- (76g) mā kān tawṭīg min ad-dawla
NEG 3MSG.be.PFV documentation from ART-state
'There was no documentation from the state.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

In (76c), we have an interesting case, where *mā nās* is used for 'nobody'. Palva (1976) also encounters *mā nās* and *wala nās* with the meaning, 'nobody', in the dialect of the 'Aḡārma tribe, in central Jordan (see section 3.3.9).

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers mū and mī

The negative marker *mū* is used to negate nouns (77a), prepositional phrases (77b), adjectives (77c), participles (77d), and adverbs (77e).

- (77a) mū šaḡara waraq 'ādi
NEG tree paper usual
'It's not tree it's just paper.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

- (77b) 'ihna mū bi-š-šimāl
PN.1PL NEG in-ART-north
'We are not in the north.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

- (77c) yšhad kiḍb mū šaḥīḥ zōr

3MSG.testify.IPFV lie NEG correct false
'He testifies that it is a lie, it's not correct, it's false.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(77d) *mū* muḥallaṭa
NEG to be mixed.PTCP
'It's not mixed.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(77e) *la'* *gabl* *mū* *hēk*
no before NEG like this
'No, before it was not like this.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

The negative marker *mī* is used to negate participles (78a), and adjectives (78b).

(78a) *la'* *mī* 'ārifa
no NEG know.PTCP
'No, she doesn't know.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(78b) *bass* *hāḍi* *fi-ha* *galīle* *mī* *kaṭīre*
but this there is-PN.3FSG few NEG much
'But there are few, not many.'
(Bani 'Aṭṭīya)

When used with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and participles, *mū* usually negates a masculine predicate while *mī* negated a feminine predicate. However, *mū* is also encountered with feminine predicates as in (77a) and in (77d). In the studied material of Central Badia, the negative marker *mū* is attested more frequently than *mī*. This probably justifies the use of *mū* with both masculine and feminine predicates.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers muš and miš

The negative marker *muš* is used to negate nouns (79a), prepositional phrases (79b), adjectives (79c), participles (79d), and adverbs (79e).

(79a) *muš šoġl-ak*
NEG work-PN.2MSG
'None of your business.'
(Al-Ka'ābna)

(79b) *muš b-il-'urdunn*
NEG in-ART-Jordan
'Not in Jordan.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(79c) *muš qaḏīm*
NEG old
'It's not old.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(79d) *muš šāyf-hum bi-'ēn-u*
NEG see.PTCP-PN.3MPL with-eye-PN.3MSG
'He doesn't see them with his eyes.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(79e) *la' muš 'aḥsan*
no NEG better
'No, it was not better.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

The negative marker *miš* is attested with nouns (80a), adjectives (80b), and participles (80c).

(80a) *miš ḥorriyya illi kām̄la*

NEG freedom that whole
'Not a complete freedom.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(80b) *hāḍi 'umūr siyāsiyya miš badawiyya*
this matters political NEG Bedouin
'These are political matters, not Bedouin.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(80c) *miš rāyiḥ*
NEG go.PTCP
'He is not going.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

In Central Badia, the negative marker *muš* is used to a greater extent than the negative marker *miš*. Consequently, although *muš* is mostly used for masculine predicates and respectively *miš* for feminine predicates, there are several cases where the opposite also occurs, as in (80c), where *miš* is used to negate a masculine participle.

Negation of pronouns by prefixation of m-

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, as *māni*, *manta*, *manti*, *muhu*, *mahi/mihi*, *maḥna*, *mahum*, and *mahin*⁶⁷.

(81a) *mā-ni dafē ' ši*
NEG-PN.1SG defend.PTCP thing
'I am not defending anything.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

(81b) *m-anta 'ārif*
NEG-PN.2MSG know.PTCP
'You don't know.'
(Bani Şaḥar)

⁶⁷ Only the forms encountered in the recorded material are described here.

- (81c) m-anti mutgina
 NEG-PN.2FSG master.PTCP
 ‘You do not master (it).’
 (Bani Şaḥar)
- (81d) tağyīr-ha mu-hu bi-basāṭa
 Change-PN.3FSG NEG-PN.3MSG with-simplicity
 ‘Its change does not come easily.’
 (Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)
- (81e) mi-hi ‘agrab
 NEG-PN.3FSG closer
 ‘She is not closer.’
 (Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)
- (81f) hiyya ma-hi ḡadīda
 PN.3FSG NEG-PN.3FSG new
 ‘They are not new.’
 (Bani Şaḥar)
- (81g) ma-ḥna mita‘wwdīn ‘alē-h
 NEG-PN.1PL get used.PTCP on-PN.3MSG
 ‘We are not used to it.’
 (Bani Şaḥar)
- (81h) ma-hum badw ḥağīgīn
 NEG-PN.3MPL Bedouins real
 ‘They are not true Bedouins.’
 (Bani Şaḥar)
- (81i) ma-hin b‘īdāt
 NEG-PN.3FPL distant
 ‘They are not far.’
 (Bani Şaḥar)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle lā

Rarely, the negative particle *lā* (*wa-la*) is also encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates, prefixed to a pronoun, as below:

- (82) šāṭrāt u-zēnāt u-lā-hin zēnāt
clever CONJ-good CONJ-NEG-PN.3FPL good
'Clever and good and not good.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

5.2.4.6 Constituent negation

The negative markers *mū*, *miš* and *muš* are also used to express constituent negation, as in the following examples:

- (83a) lā lā mū m'ašān as-siyāḥa
no no NEG because ART-tourism
'No, no, it is not because of tourism.'
(Bani 'Aṭṭīya)
- (83b) miš 'iḥna naḥki 'an al-'islām
NEG PN.1PL 1PL.speak.IPFV about ART-Islam
'It's not us who speak about Islam.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)
- (83c) aš-šaḡlāt al-miš kwayysa
ART-things ART-NEG good
'The things that are not good.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)
- (83d) muš 'aṭma' fī-kiy li'ann-ik mazyūna
NEG 1SG.lust.IPFV in-2FSG because-PN.2FSG pretty
'I don't lust for you because you are pretty.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

- (83e) muš li'ann-ik 'inti min alyunān wala
 NEG because-PN.2FSG PN.2FSG from Greece NegCONJ
 li'ann-ku aš-ša'b al-yunāni
 because-PN.2MPL ART-nation ART-Greek
 'Neither because you are from Greece, nor because you are the Greek nation.'
 (Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.7 Negative polarity items

The negative polarity items attested in Central Badia include indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners, and adverbials.

Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns encountered in Central Badia are *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/wāḥed/ʾaḥad* (84), and *ši/iši*, (85), preceded by the negative particle *mā*.

- (84a) kān mā fi ḥad mit'allim
 3MSG.be.PFV NEG there is one learn.PTCP
 'There was no one educated.'
 (Bani Şaḥar)

- (84b) mā fi bēt wāḥed ḥāreḡ 'an ad-dīn
 NEG there is verse one out from ART-religion
 'There is not a single verse that is not about religion.'
 (Bani Şaḥar)

- (84c) mā taḡdar tiḡbir 'aḥad 'inn-u
 NEG 2MSG.can.IPFV 2MSG.force.IPFV one that-PN.3MSG
 y'iš bidūn ḥorriyya
 3MSG.live.IPFV without freedom
 'You cannot force anyone to live without freedom.'
 (Bani Şaḥar)

(85a) mā fi ši ġadīd

NEG there is thing new

‘There is nothing new.’

(Bani ‘Aṭṭīya)

(85b) mā bēn-i u-bēn-ha ’iši rasmi

NEG between-PN.1SG CONJ-between-PN.3FSG thing official

‘There is nothing official between me and her.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Indefinite determiners

The indefinite determiner *’iyy* is encountered with the indefinite pronoun *ši* in negative contexts, preceded by a negative element, with the meaning ‘any/anything, nothing’:

(86) mā ’aḥaḍ min ḥuḡūg-hum ’iyy ši

NEG 3MSG.take.PFV from rights-PN.3MPL any thing

‘It didn’t take any of their rights.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Adverbials

The adverbial *’umr* ‘never’ is used with clitic pronouns, preceded by the negative particle *mā*:

(87) mā ’umr-i sāfart duwal barra la’

NEG life-PN.1SG 1SG.travel.PFV countries outside no

‘I have never traveled abroad, no.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.8 Negative indefinite pronouns

The negative indefinite pronoun attested in Central Badia in is *maḥad* ‘nobody’ (88) and, infrequently, *lahad*, preceded by the conjunction *wa* (89).

(88a) ḥalaṣ māḥad yit‘rraḍ-ič
3MSG.finish.PFV nobody 3MSG.get in the way.IPFV-PN.2FSG
‘It’s over, nobody gets in your way.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

(88b) bass maḥad ysā‘ed
but nobody 3MSG.help.IPFV
‘But nobody helps.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

(88c) fi ḥuḡūg-ak maḥad yiqdar
there is rights-PN.2MSG nobody 3MSG.can.IPFV
yarfiḍ-ha
3MSG.refuse.IPFV-PN.3FSG
‘Nobody can refuse your rights.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

(89a) wa-laḥad yişūf-ha
CONJ-nobody 3MSG.see-PN.3FSG
‘And nobody sees her.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

(89b) wa-laḥad yaḥel-ha
NEG-nobody 3MSG.solve.IPFV-PN.3FSG
‘And nobody solves it.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.9 *Negative concord items*

The negative concord items attested in Central Badia are the negative scalar *wala*, *never/at all* adverbials, and *still/not yet* adverbials.

The negative scalar *wala*

The negative scalar *wala* is used with indefinites, meaning ‘not even/not a single’:

(90a) mā gaḍabna min-hin wala kilma
NEG 1PL.grab.PFV from-PN.3FPL NegSFP word
‘We didn’t memorise not a single word from them.’
(Bani ‘Atṭīya)

(90b) mā ‘ayyanu wala wāḥad
NEG 3MPL.appoint.PFV NegSFP one
‘They haven’t appointed not even one.’
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(90c) walla wala wāḥde
by God NegSFP one
‘By God, not even one.’
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(90d) wala sālfa ma ‘-k
NEG narrative with-PN.2MSG
‘I have not a single story to narrate you.’
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

Never/at all *adverbials*

The adverbs ‘*abadan* (91), and *nihā’iyyan* (92), as well as the adverbial *bil marra/min marra* (93) are encountered with the meaning ‘never/at all’. Moreover, the adverb ‘*ašlan* –literally meaning ‘initially, originally’– when encountered in negative contexts, it is used to confirm a negative statement with the meaning ‘in the first place, actually’ or ‘at all’ (94).

(91) ‘abadan mā yaktub
never NEG 3MSG.write.IPFV

‘He never writes.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(92) mā k̄ān fi kahraba nihā’iyyan

NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is electricity finally

‘There was no electricity at all.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(93a) mā šāfat ḥaṭīb-ha hī mā šāfat

NEG 3FSG.see.PFV fiancé-PN.3FSG PN.3FSG NEG 3FSG.see.PFV

ḥaṭīb-ha b-il-marra

fiancé-PN.3FSG with-ART-time

‘She didn’t see her fiancé; she didn’t see him at all.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(93b) al-ḥṭūt muḡaṭṭ’a ḥṭūt al-’ittişālāt min marra

ART-lines be cut.PTCP lines ART-communication from time

‘The lines were cut, there were no telephone lines at all.’

(Al-Ka’ābna)

(94) mā nimna ’aşlan mā nimna mā nimna

NEG 1PL.sleep.PFV initially NEG 1PL.sleep.PFV NEG 1PL.sleep.PFV

nihā’iyyan

finally

‘We didn’t sleep at all, we didn’t sleep, we didn’t sleep at all/Actually we didn’t sleep, we didn’t sleep, we didn’t sleep at all.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

Still/not yet adverbials

The adverbial *lissa/lissa* ‘ is occasionally used in negative statements with the meaning ‘yet’:

(95a) ’ana mā tazawwaġt lissa

PN.1SG NEG 1SG.get married.PFV yet

‘I am not married yet.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(95b) *lā lissa‘ mā ‘milt*

no yet NEG 1SG.do.PFV

‘No, I didn’t do (it) yet.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

(95c) *lā lā mā wildat mā wildat lissa‘*

no no NEG 3FSG.give birth.PFV NEG 3FSG.give birth.PFV yet

‘No, no, she hasn’t given birth, she hasn’t given birth yet.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.10 Negative coordination structures

The negative coordination structures encountered in Central Badia are either bisyndetic, polysyndetic, or asyndetic structures, including *lā* or *mā* as the first negative element and the negative conjunction *wala* as the second and so forth. In a few cases, the negative conjunction *wala* is used in both parts of the coordination (101c). In Central Badia, negative coordination structures are attested with verbal predicates, with pseudo-verbal predicates, with existential negation, and with non-verbal predicates.

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with verbal predicates include either bisyndetic or polysyndetic coordination with *lā* (96), or *mā* (97) as the first negative element, or even asyndetic structures with *lā* (98).

(96a) *lā yişūf niswān-na wala nşūf*

NEG 3MSG.see.IPFV women-PN.1PL NegCONJ 1PL.see.IPFV

niswān-u

women-PN.3MSG

‘He doesn’t see our women, nor we do see his.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

- (96b) al-badw lā yithaddadu bi-ḥudūd wala
ART-Bedouins NEG 3MPL.be limited.IPFV with-borders NegCONJ
yitmassaku b-il-’arḍ
3MPL.stick to.IPFV with-ART-land
‘Bedouins neither are limited by borders, nor they are attached to the land.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

- (97a) b-a’rif ’ummhāt ’ummiyya mā tagra wala
1SG.know.IPFV mothers illiterate NEG 3FSG.read.IPFV NegCONJ
tuktub
3FSG.write.IPFV
‘I know illiterate mothers who neither read nor write.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

- (97b) ’ana mā ’aqdar ’aṭalla’-k min ’ilāt
PN.1SG NEG 1SG.can.IPFV 1SG.take out.IPFV-PN.2MSG from Eilat
wala ’aqdar ’aṭalla’-k min tell ’abīb
NegCONJ 1SG.can.IPFV 1SG.take out.IPFV-PN.2MSG from Tel Aviv
wala yāfa wala ḥayfa
NegCONJ Yafa NegCONJ Haifa
‘I neither can take you out from Eilat, nor I can take you out from Tel Aviv, or
Yafa, or Haifa.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

- (98) bass lā nḥiss wiġa’ lā nḥiss ’amrāḍ
but NEG 1PL.feel.IPFV pain NEG 1PL.feel.IPFV diseases
‘But we did not feel pain, we did not feel diseases.’
(Bani Şaḥar)

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation

Negative coordination structures with pseudo-verbal predicates and existential negation are occasionally encountered as *lā...wala* or *mā...wala*. They include bisyndetic or polysyndetic coordination with pseudo-verbs like *wudd* (99) and existential negation with *lā* (100a) or *mā* (100b) as the first negative element.

- (99) 'iḥna lā wudd-na ḥārib wala wudd-na
PN.1PL NEG want-PN.1PL 1PL.fight.IPFV NegCONJ want-PN.1PL
nqāwim
1PL.resist.IPFV
'We neither want to fight nor to resist.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

- (100a) lā kān fi sayyārāt wala ṭayyārāt wala qiṭārāt
NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is cars NegCONJ planes NegCONJ trains
'There were neither cars, nor planes, nor trains.'
(Bani 'Atṭīya)

- (100b) mā fi mustašfa wala fi dāya wala fi 'iyy šī
NEG there is hospital NegCONJ there is midwife NegCONJ there is any thing
'There was neither hospital, nor midwife, nor anything.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates include bisyndetic and polysyndetic coordination as *lā...wala* (101a-b), or *wala...wala* (101c).

- (101a) mā ysawwi girš lā hū wala 'abu-u
NEG 3MPL.do.IPFV piaster NEG PN.3MSG NegCONJ father-PN.3MSG
'He doesn't make money neither him nor his father.'
(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(101b) w-al-ibn hāda lā raḥ yikūn 'aḥad al-muḥarrirīn
 CONJ-ART-son this NEG will 3MSG.be.IPFV one ART-liberators
 wala raḥ yikūn 'aḥad al-bāḥṭīn 'an al-ḥorriyya
 NegCONJ will 3MSG.be.IPFV one ART-seekers about ART-freedom
 'And this son neither will be one of the liberators nor one of those who seek
 freedom.'
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

(101c) wala 'akl al-ḡanam wala 'ibl wala ḡmāl
 NegCONJ food ART-sheep NegCONJ camels NegCONJ male camels
 '[...] neither food for sheep, nor for camels, nor for male camels.'
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

5.2.4.11 Exeptive constructions

Exeptive constructions are formed with the negative particle *mā* and the exeptive particle *'illa* as *mā... 'illa* (102). Less often, exeptive constructions are encountered with the exeptive particle *ḡēr* as *mā...ḡēr* (103) and once with the exeptive particle *'adā* as *mā... 'adā* (104).

(102a) gabl mā fi 'illa al-gamḥ wa-al-ḥalīb
 before NEG there is except ART-wheat CONJ-ART-milk
 'Before there was nothing but wheat and milk.'
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

(102b) mā ākol 'illa ḥubz aš-šrāk⁶⁸
 NEG 1SG.eat.IPFV except bread ART-shrak
 'I eat only shrak.'
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

(103) mā l-u 'e yāl ḡēr wāḥad ḡēr-i
 NEG have-PN.3MSG children except one except-PN.1SG

⁶⁸ Hubz shrak (خبز شراك) or saj (صاج) is a kind of flat, thin bread cooked on a metal tin.

‘He has no sons except for one, except for me.’

(Al-Ka‘ābna)

(104) mā ‘ada iṭnēn

NEG except two

‘Except for two.’

(Al-Ka‘ābna)

5.2.4.12 Verbs and participles used in negative contexts

In the studied tribes of Central Badia, the verb *baṭṭal* (105) is encountered only in negative contexts, while the verb *ḍall* (106) is more often encountered in negative statements, preceded by *mā*. Moreover, the verb ‘*ayya*, literally meaning ‘be unable to’, as well as the participle *m‘ayyi*⁶⁹ from the same verb, are occasionally used to express refusal or negation (107, 108).

(105) baṭṭal al-ḡazu rāḥ

3MSG.stop.PFV ART-invasion 3MSG.go away.PFV

‘The invasion has stopped, it’s over.’

(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(106) mā ḍall šay

NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV thing

‘Nothing remained.’

(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(107) ‘ayya li-yafūt al-bēt

3MSG.refuse to-3MSG.pass.IPFV ART-house

‘He refused to enter the house/He didn’t enter the house.’

(Bani Ṣaḥar)

(108) m‘ayyi yirūḥ

⁶⁹ Both ‘*ayya* and *m‘ayyi* are also attested in traditional, rural Jordanian varieties (Bruno Herin, personal communication).

refuse.PTCP 3MSG.go.IPFV

‘He refuses to go/He is not going.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.13 The negative use of the verbs ‘ād and zāl

Rarely, the verb ‘ād (109) is attested preceded by the negative particle *mā* in the adverbial *mā ‘ād* –but here, in a discontinuous form– with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’, while the verb *zāl* (110) is attested preceded by the negative particle *mā* or *lā*, with the meaning ‘still’, used probably as a borrowing from the CA.

- (109) *mā hī ‘ād kaṭīre min al-ḥalāl*
NEG PN.3FSG 3MSG.return.PFV much from ART-cattle
‘There are not many sheep anymore.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

- (110a) *mā zālat biyūt-na w-’ābār-na mawḡūda*
NEG 3MSG.cease.PFV houses-PN.1PL CONJ-wells-PN.1PL exist.PTCP
fi-l-ḥiḡāz
in-ART- Hijaz
‘Our houses and wells are still in Hijaz.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

- (110b) *waḷḷāh lā yazāl fi šu‘arā laḥadd alān*
by God NEG 3MSG.cease.IPFV there is poets until now
‘By God, there are still poets until now.’

(Bani ‘Atṭīya)

5.2.4.14 Negative nouns

The noun *ḡayr/ḡār* (111) is occasionally used in Central Badia as a negative marker with the meaning ‘not’/‘in-’, while the noun ‘*adam* (112) is only once attested, with the meaning ‘lack of/absence of’.

- (111a) mā-gūl šī ġār ṣaḥīḥ
 NEG-1MSG.say.IPFV thing NEG true
 ‘I do not say anything not true.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābna)
- (111b) lahġat ad-drūz ġayr mafhūma
 dialect ART-Druze NEG comprehensible
 ‘Druze’s dialect is incomprehensible.’
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)
- (112) ‘adam ḥubb-ak li-waṭan-ak ta‘mil kill
 lack love-PN.2MSG for-country-PN.2MSG 2MSG.do.IPFV all
 aš-ši
 ART-thing
 ‘If you don’t love your country, you do everything (illegal).’
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)

5.2.4.15 Negative prepositions

The negative prepositions attested in Central Badia are *bidūn* (113a), *min dūn* (113b), and only once *bilā* (114), with the meaning ‘without’.

- (113a) bidūn farḍ
 without obligation
 ‘Without any obligation.’
 (Al-Ka‘ābna)
- (113b) ‘ana mā ‘ašrab min dūn sikkar
 PN.1SG NEG 1SG.drink.IPFV without sugar
 ‘I don’t drink (it) without sugar.’
 (Bani Ṣaḥar)
- (114) mā fi bēt yiḥla bilā ‘asliḥa
 NEG there is house 3MSG.be empty.IPFV without weapons

‘There is no house without weapons.’

(Bani Şaḥar)

5.2.4.16 Summary and conclusions from Central Badia

In the above sections, we presented selected results on the expression of negation in Bedouin tribes of Central Badia. The studied types of negation were the following: negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative imperative, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs and participles used in negative contexts, *still* and *no longer/not anymore* verbs and adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

The summary and conclusions from the results of Central Badia are presented below.

Negation as a simple negative response ‘no’ is expressed by *lā/la*. Another form of negative answer is the double, emphatic form of *lā*, used as *lilla/lille*.

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are mainly negated by the negative particle *mā*, while rarely, the negative markers *mū* and *muš* are also attested in the negation of verbal predicates. Negation with *lā* is occasionally attested in specific cases such as emphatic negative statements, negative optative sentences, prevention, indirect prohibition, modal expressions, and negation with *wala*.

Verbal predicates in the perfective aspect are negated only by the negative particle *mā*.

Negation in the future is encountered with the negative particle *mā* and the future marker *raḥ* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. Rarely, negation in the future is also encountered with the negative marker *muš* followed by the future marker *raḥ* or, infrequently, *ʿarūḥ*, and verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

The negative imperative is attested only with the negative particle *lā*.

Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated only with the negative particle *mā*.

Existential negation is mostly encountered as *mā fi*, occasionally as *mā fiš/mā fiš* and rarely as *mā bu/mā bi*, while *lā fi* is only used in negative coordination structures and negative concord constructions.

Non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative markers *mū/mī*, and *muš/miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. Occasionally, the negative particle *mā* is also used to negate non-verbal predicates. Rarely, the negative particle *lā (wa-lā)* is additionally encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates.

Constituent negation is attested with the negative markers *mū*, *muš* and *miš*.

The negative polarity items encountered in Central Badia are the indefinite pronouns *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/wāḥed/ʾaḥad* and *ši/ʾiši* preceded by negative morphemes, the indefinite determiner *ʾiyy ši* preceded by negative morphemes, and the adverbial *ʾumr* with clitic pronouns, preceded by negative morphemes.

The negative indefinite pronoun used in Central Badia is *maḥad*, while rarely, *(wa)laḥad* is also attested.

The negative concord items encountered, are the negative scalar *wala* with indefinites, the *never/at all* adverbs *ʾabadan*, *nihāʾiyyan* and occasionally *ʾašlan*, the *never/at all* adverbials *bil marra/min marra*, and the *still/not yet* adverbial *lissa/lissa*ʿ.

The studied material from Central Badia includes negative coordination structures with bisyndetic, polysyndetic, and asyndetic coordination with verbal predicates, with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, and non-verbal predicates. The first negative element is *lā* or *mā* and the second is the negative conjunction *wala*, while the negative conjunction *wala* is rarely used in both parts of the structure as *wala...wala*. Moreover, asyndetic structures are rarely attested as *lā...lā*.

The exceptive constructions attested in Central Badia are *ʾilla* and *ḡēr*, used as *mā...ʾilla* and *mā...ḡēr*. Once, the exceptive construction *mā ʿadā* is also encountered.

The verbs used in negative contexts are *baṭṭal*, and *mā ḡall*. Occasionally, the verb *ʾayya* and the participle *m ʾayyi* are also used to express refusal or negation.

Occasionally, the verb/adverbial *mā/lā zāl* is used with the meaning ‘still’ and rarely, the adverbial *mā ʿād* is used with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’.

The negative nouns attested are *ḡayr/ḡār* and, only once, *ʿadam*.

The negative prepositions encountered in Central Badia are *bidūn*, occasionally *min dūn*, and, very rarely, *bilā*.

At the tables below, a general overview of the expression of negation in the Bedouin dialects of Central Badia is provided. Tables 72 and 73 summarise the results of the most commonly and less commonly used negative elements, as well as the negative elements that were encountered only in individual cases.

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NegANS	<i>lā/la'</i>	<i>lilla/lille</i>	-
VPreds IPFV	<i>mā</i>	<i>lā</i> : NegSTs, IndirPROH, NEG OPT SENTs, PREV, ModEXPRs NEG <i>wala</i>	<i>mū/muš</i>
VPreds PFV	<i>mā</i>	-	-
FutNEG	<i>mā raḥ</i> + VPreds IPFV	<i>muš rāḥ</i> + VPreds IPFV	<i>muš'arūḥ</i> + VPreds IPFV
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	-	-
PVPreds	<i>mā</i>	-	-
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i>	<i>mā fiš/mā fiš</i> <i>lā fi</i> (NegCOORDSs + NegCONCSs)	<i>mā bu/mā bi</i>
NVPreds	<i>mū/mī</i> <i>muš/miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā</i>	NegPN (<i>wa-lā</i>)
ConstNEG	<i>mū</i> <i>muš/miš</i>	-	-

Table 72: Negation in Central Badia 1

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NPIs	<i>ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/wāḥed/ ʾaḥad, šī/ʾišī ʾiyy šī ʾumr</i>	-	-
NIPs	<i>maḥad</i>	-	<i>(wa)laḥad</i>
NCIs	<i>NegSFP wala ʾabadan nihāʾiyyan bil marra/ min marra</i>	<i>ʾašlan lissa/lissaʿ</i>	-
NegCOORDSs	<i>lā...wala mā...wala</i>	-	<i>wala...wala lā...lā</i>
EXCCs	<i>mā...ʾilla</i>	<i>mā...ḡēr</i>	<i>mā...ʾadā</i>
Vs/PTCPs used in negative contexts	<i>baṭṭal mā ḡall</i>	<i>ʾayya mʾayyi</i>	-
<i>Still/no longer/not anymore Vs/ADVs</i>	-	-	<i>mā ʾād mā/lā yazāl</i>
NegNs	<i>ḡayr/ḡār</i>	-	<i>ʾadam</i>
NegPRs	<i>bidūn</i>	<i>min dūn</i>	<i>bilā</i>

Table 73: Negation in Central Badia 2

5.2.5 Collected data from South Badia

5.2.5.1 Negation as a simple negative response

Negation as a simple negative response with the meaning ‘no’ is expressed by *lā*, which is either encountered as *lā*, or as *laʾ* with a glottal stop (hamza) after the vowel.

- (115) *lā mū baʾīd*
no NEG far
‘No, it’s not far.’
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

The double, emphatic form of *lā* is also used in South Badia as *lille*:

- (116) *lille mā šufna-ah*
no no NEG 1PL.see.PFV-PN.3MSG
‘No, we didn’t see him.’
(An-Nʿēmāt)

As in North and Central Badia, so in South Badia, *lille* was not attested in the spontaneous speech of the informants, but it was mentioned by them as an alternative, emphatic negative answer, along with examples of use as the above.

5.2.5.2 Sentential negation with verbal predicates

Sentential negation with verbal predicates is attested mainly with the negative particle *mā* and very rarely with the negative marker *mū*. The negative particle *lā* is rarely used in the negation of verbal predicates, in specific cases. The *š* negator is also rarely used in the negation of verbal predicates.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle mā

In the studied tribes of South Badia, the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* (stage I of Jespersen) is used for the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect:

(117a) *mā bi-tigdar tibni*
 NEG bi-2MSG.can.IPFV 2MSG.build.IPFV
 ‘You cannot build.’
 (Al-Bdūl)

(117b) *mā bi-tilbis ḥiḡāb*
 NEG bi-3FSG.wear.IPFV veil
 ‘She doesn’t wear a veil.’
 (Az-Zalābya)

(117c) *lā an-nuḡūm mā tinšāf fī al-gamar*
 no ART-stars NEG 3FSG.be seen.IPFV in ART-moon
 ‘No, the stars are not seen (when there is) moon.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(117d) *al-mara mā tākul ma‘ ar-raḡul*
 ART-woman NEG 3FSG.eat.IPFV with ART-men

‘The woman does not eat with the men.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

- (117e) lā mā ’aḥalli bint-i trūḥ tadrus
no NEG 1SG.leave.IPFV girl-PN.1SG 3FSG.go.IPFV 3FSG.study.IPFV
ma’ al-’awlād
with ART-boys
‘No, I don’t leave my daughter to study with the boys.’
(An-N‘ēmāt)

In general, it is observed that the *b*-indicative is frequently used in South Badia.

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative marker mū

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect is very rarely attested with the negative marker *mū*, as below:

- (118) mū yigūl la-ha yā ḡamal yigūl
NEG 3MSG.tell.IPFV to-PN.3FSG VOC camel 3MSG.tell.IPFV
yā fāṭar⁷⁰-i
VOC fatar-PN.1SG
‘He was not telling her *Oh camel*, he was telling *Oh Fatari*.’
(Az-Zawāyda)

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the š negator

The *š* negator is rarely attested in the negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. When used, it is attested in the bipartite negation *mā...š* followed by the *b*-prefix (119). The negative marker *muš* (120) is also used, but only once in the entire material, to negate a verbal predicate in the imperfective aspect, again followed by the *b*-prefix.

- (119) mā b-‘arifū-š y’īšu hōn

⁷⁰ Name used for old female camels.

NEG b-3MPL.know.IPFV-NEG 3MPL.live.IPFV here

‘They cannot live here.’

(Az-Zalābya)

(120) muš b-to’mor ‘alē-hum

NEG b-2MSG.command.IPFV on-PN.3MPL

‘You don’t command them.’

(An-N‘ēmāt)

Negation of verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* is quite rarely used to negate verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in specific cases. First, it is used in negative statements:

(121) ad-dīn muḥtalif lakin lā yamna‘

ART-religion different but NEG 3MSG.forbid.IPFV

‘It’s a different religion but it does not forbid.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

Second, it is used in the negation *wala*:

(122a) kunt wala ‘adri ‘an ‘iyy ši

1SG.be.PFV NEG 1SG.know.IPFV about any thing

‘I didn’t know anything.’

(Al-Ḥwētāt)

(122b) wala ‘aktub wala ḥāga

NEG 1SG.write.IPFV NEG/NegSFP thing

‘I don’t write anything/not a thing.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

Third, it is used in negative optative sentences related to religion:

(123) aḷla lā yirodd-hin

God NEG 3MSG.respond.IPFV-PN.3FPL

‘May God not respond to them (not help) them.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

Finally, the negative particle *lā* is often attested in modal expressions like *lā yumkin* (124) ‘not possible’, and occasionally in modal expressions such as *lā yǧūz* (125) ‘not permissible/not allowable’, *lā yūṣaf*, (126) ‘indescribable’, and in the non-negative expression *lā hint* (127), with the meaning ‘please/if you wouldn’t mind’.

- (124) *gabl al-badawi lā yumkin yiḥtār*
before ART-Bedouin NEG 3MSG.enable.IPFV 3MSG.choose.IPFV
al-fallāḥ
ART-peasant
‘Before, it was not possible for a Bedouin to choose a peasant.’
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

- (125) *la’ ḥarām ‘ind-na lā yǧūz*
no forbidden at-PN.1PL NEG 3MSG.be allowable.IPFV
‘No, for us it’s forbidden, it’s not allowable.’
(Az-Zawāyda)

- (126) *yiḥtarimu ad-diyānāt al-’uḥra iḥtirām lā*
3MPL.respect.IPFV ART-religions ART-other respect NEG
yūṣaf
3MSG.be described.IPFV
‘They respect the other religions with an indescribable respect.’
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

- (127) *nāwil-ni al-kās lā hint*
2MSG.give.IMP-PN.1SG ART-cup NEG 2MSG.be insulted.PFV
‘Give me the cup please.’
(An-N‘ēmāt)

Negation in the future

Negation in the future is formed with the negative particle *mā* and the future marker *raḥ* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (128) or, infrequently, with the negative marker *muš* and the future marker *raḥ* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect (129).

- (128) 'ana barra mā raḥ yaḥallū-ni 'aḥwā-ni
PN.1SG outside NEG will 3MPL.leave-PN.1SG brothers-PN.1SG
'My brothers won't let me (to go) out.'
(Az-Zalābya)

- (129) muš raḥ 'ansā-h
NEG will 1SG.forget-3MSG
'I will not forget it.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle mā

The negative particle *mā* is also used to negate verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, as below:

- (130a) mā ḡā šita as-sana hāy illi fātat
NEG 3MSG.come.PFV winter ART-year this that 3FSG.pass.PFV
'In this last year, the winter didn't come.'
(An-N'ēmāt)

- (130b) al-badw mā gāmu ṭāru
ART-Bedouins NEG 3MPL.stand up.PFV 3MPL.rebel.PFV
'a-l-'atrāk
against-ART-Turkish
'The Bedouins did not rebel against the Turks.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

Negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect with the negative particle lā

The negative particle *lā* is attested with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect only in negative optative sentences related to religion:

- (131) *lā samah allāh al-'af'āl ar-radiyya*
NEG 3MSG.permit.PFV God ART-actions ART-bad
'May God not permit the bad deeds.'
(An-N'ēmāt)

Negation in the past with the auxiliary kān

Negation in the past is also expressed with the negative particle *mā* –and rarely with *lā* (132c)– and the auxiliary *kān* (132a), expressing a progressive or habitual action in the past.

- (132a) *al-ğīš gabl mā kān yigbal 'illa min*
ART-army before NEG 3MSG.be.PFV 3MSG.accept.IPFV except from
al-Ḥwēṭāt
ART-Ḥwēṭāt
'Before, the army accepted only (men from) the Ḥwēṭāt.'
(Az-Zalābya)

- (132b) *kunna mā nimna'*
1PL.be.PFV NEG 1PL.forbid.PFV
'We were not forbidding [...].'
(Az-Zawāyda)

- (132c) *lā kānu ya'rifu 'idda*
NEG 3MPL.be.IPFV 3MPL.know.IPFV iddah⁷¹
'They didn't know the *iddah*.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

⁷¹ The period during which a divorced woman or a widow must wait until she marries another man.

Negative imperative (Type 4)

The negative imperative is formed only with the negative particle *lā*:

- (133a) *lā tagšaʿ ann-u*
NEG 2MSG.make someone see.IPFV from-PN.3MSG
‘Don’t uncover it!’
(An-Nʿēmāt)

- (133b) *lā ḥalaṣ lā tğībi-l-u*
no 3FSG.finish.PFV NEG 2FSG.bring.IPFV-to-PN.3MSG
‘No, enough! Don’t bring to him!’
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

5.2.5.3 Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates is formed with the negative particle *mā*, and rarely with the *š* negator.

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā

Pseudo-verbal predicates *wudd* and *bidd* (134a-b), with the meaning ‘want’, and ‘*and/ind ma*’, and *li*, (134c-e), with the meaning ‘have’, are mostly negated by the negative particle *mā*, as below:

- (134a) *gālat lā mā wudd-i yā-h*
3MSG.say.PFV no NEG want-PN.1SG OBJP-PN.3MSG
‘She said no, I don’t want him.’
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

- (134b) *mā bidd-na dam*
NEG want-PN.1PL blood
‘We don’t want blood.’
(Az-Zawāyda)

(134c) illi mā ‘and-u ‘arḍ ya‘tū-h
 who NEG have-PN.3MSG land 3MSG.give.IPFV-PN.3MSG
 ‘They give land to those who don’t have.’
 (Az-Zalābya)

(134d) ‘ana mā ma‘-i silāḥ mā ‘a‘rif li-s-silāḥ
 PN.1SG NEG have-PN.1SG weapon NEG 1SG.know.IPFV for-ART-weapon
 ‘I don’t have any weapon; I don’t know about weapons.’
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(134e) mā l-o ‘ēle
 NEG have-PN.3MSG family
 ‘He has no family.’
 (An-N‘ēmāt)

Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates with the š negator

The š negator is rarely attested in the negation of pseudo-verbal predicates. When attested, it is used in the bipartite negation *mā...š* (135a), and in the postverbal negation (135b), while *muš* is also rarely used to negate pseudo-verbal predicates (135c).

(135a) ma-l-hum-š daḥel
 NEG-have-PN.3MPL income
 ‘They do not have any income.’
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(135b) lā bidd-nā-š nudḥul as-siyāsa
 NEG want-PN.1PL-NEG 1PL.enter.IPFV ART-politics
 ‘No, we do not want to interfere with politics.’
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(135c) muš ‘ind-na hōn
 NEG have-PN.1PL here
 ‘We don’t have here.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

5.2.5.4 Existential negation

Existential negation in South Badia is mainly attested as *mā fi/fī* while *mā bī* is rarely encountered. The *š* negator is often used in the negative existential marker *mā fiš*. Existential negation with *lā* as *lā fi* is attested only in negative coordination structures and in negative concord structures.

Existential negation with the negative particle mā

Existential negation is mostly expressed by *mā fi/fī*, as below:

(136a) maṭṭaḡa mā fi-ha siyāḥa mā fi-ha fāyde
area NEG there is-PN.3FSG tourism NEG there is-PN.3FSG benefit
'An area without tourism has no benefit.'
(Al-Bdūl)

(136b) mā fi mekyāḡ mā fi mā fi
NEG there is maquillage NEG there is NEG there is
'There was no make-up, there was not, there was not.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

(136c) mā fi sayyāra zamān
NEG there is car time
'In the old days there was no car.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

Existential negation with *mā bī* is rarely encountered:

(137) ḡabl mā bī safar zayy alyōm
before NEG there is travel like today
'Before there was no travelling like today.'
(An-N'ēmāt)

Existential negation in the past is encountered as *mā kān fi*, or *kān mā fi*:

(138a) mā kān fi biyūt ḥaḡar
NEG 3MSG.be.PFV there is houses stone
'There were no houses from stone.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(138b) kān mā fi batt la-t-telefūn
3MSG.be.PFV NEG there is transmission for-ART-telephone
'There were no telephone lines.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

Existential negation with the š negator

The *š* negator is often used in the negative existential marker *mā fiš*:

(139a) mā fi-š flūs
NEG there is-NEG money
'There is no money.'
(Al-Bdūl)

(139b) mā fi-š ḥdūd
NEG there is-NEG border
'There was no border.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

Existential negation with the negative particle lā

Existential negation as *lā fi* is attested only in negative coordination structures (140a) and in negative concord structures (140b).

(140a) gabl 'iḥna badw lā fi kahraba wala fi māy
before PN.1PL Bedouins NEG there is electricity NegCONJ there is water
'Before we were Bedouins, there was neither electricity nor water.'

(Al-Ḥwētāt)

- (140b) ṭil'at lā fi wala ši
3FSG.come out.PFV NEG there is NegSFP thing
'It came out that there was nothing (not even a thing).'
- (Al-Ḥwētāt)

5.2.5.5 Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates

Sentential negation with non-verbal predicates is occasionally expressed by the negative particle *mā*, and more often by the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš* and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. The negative particle *lā* is very rarely used to negate non-verbal predicates.

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle mā

The negative particle *mā* is occasionally used to negate nouns (141a), prepositional phrases (141b-c) subordinate clauses (141d), modals (141e), and non-verbal predicates introduced by the copula *kān* (141f-g).

- (141a) gālu mā šīḥ yṭallig marat rā'ī
3MPL.say.PFV NEG sheikh 3MSG.release.IPFV woman guardian
'They said there is no sheikh who (would) separate a woman from her guardian.'
- (Al-Ḥwētāt)

- (141b) illi mā il-u tāriḥ mā il-u ḥāḍir
who NEG to-PN.3MSG history NEG to-PN.3MSG present
'Whoever does not have a past does not have a present.'
- (Al-Ḥwētāt)

- (141c) mā 'alē-k zūd
NEG on-PN.2MSG addition
'There is nothing to add (on what you've said).'
- (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(141d) mā inn-u ‘agl-i kān fi at-taḥaṣuṣ
 NEG that-PN.3MSG mind-PN.1SG 3MSG.be.PFV in ART-specialisation
 ‘I was not thinking about studying.’
 (An-N‘ēmāt)

(141e) mā lāzim tdaḥḥal
 NEG necessary 2MSG.interfere.IPFV
 ‘You must not interfere [...].’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(141f) mā yikūn ‘ala rās-ak ġaṭa ‘aw ‘iyy iši
 NEG 3MSG.be.IPFV on head-2MSG cover or any thing
 ‘[...] there is not a cover or anything on your head [...].’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(141g) mā kān mawġūd isment maṭalan mā kān
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV exist.PTCP cement for example NEG 3MSG.be.PFV
 mawġūd ḥadīd zayy alān
 exist.PTCP iron like now
 ‘There was no cement for example, there was no iron like today.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers mū and mī

The negative marker *mū* is used to negate nouns (142a), prepositional phrases (142b), adjectives (142c), participles (142d), and adverbs (142e).

(142a) lā alḥīn mū ḥilba
 no now NEG fenugreek
 ‘No, now it’s not fenugreek.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(142b) mū ‘a-ġīl-na ‘ala ġīl ġēr-na
 NEG on-generation-PN.1PL on generation other-PN.1PL

‘It’s not from our generation, it’s from another generation.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

(142c) as-safar hāḍa mū hayyen

ART-trip this NEG easy

‘This trip is not easy.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

(142d) ḡōz-i mū ḥāḍir

Husband-PN.1SG NEG be present.PTCP

‘My husband is not here.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(142e) mū hnī

NEG here

‘He is not here.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

The negative marker *mī* is used to negate prepositional phrases (143a), adjectives (143b-c), and participles (143d).

(143a) al-blād qabl ḥelwa mī zayy kiḍi balad

ART-countries before empty NEG like this country

‘Before, the lands were empty, not like this town.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

(143b) lā lā mī ’amrīkiyye

no no NEG American

‘No, no she is not American.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

(143c) hiyya mī ’ādile

PN.3FSG NEG fair

‘It is not fair.’

(An-N‘ēmāt)

- (143d) *mī mšaddige ‘inn-i ‘ana mašgūla*
NEG believe.PTCP that-PN.1SG PN.1SG busy
‘She doesn’t believe that I am busy.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

In the studied material of South Badia, the negative marker *mū* is attested more frequently than *mī*. In most cases, *mū* is used to negative masculine predicates and *mī* is used to negate feminine predicates. However, *mū* is sometimes attested with feminine predicates as in (142a).

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative markers muš and miš

The negative marker *muš* is used to negate nouns (144a), prepositional phrases (144b), participles (144c), adjectives (144d-e), subordinate clauses (144f), and adverbs (144g).

- (144a) *muš šūf šūf ḥerfān*
NEG wool wool sheep
‘It’s not sheep wool.’
(An-N‘ēmāt)

- (144b) *muš zayy zamān*
NEG like time
‘It’s not like in the past.’
(Az-Zalābya)

- (144c) *muš gādrīn*
NEG be able.PTCP
‘We are not able.’
(Al-Bdūl)

- (144d) *‘allāf muš šaḥīḥa*
fodder NEG right

‘Fodder that is not good.’

(Al-Ḥwetāt)

(144e) waḍ‘ ‘umm-i muš ṭabī‘iyy

situation mother-PN.1SG NEG natural

‘My mother’s situation is not normal.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(144f) muš ‘inn-o zayy al-mudun

NEG that-PN.3MSG like ART-cities

‘It’s not (that it is) like the cities.’

(An-N‘ēmāt)

(144g) muš bass hōn

NEG only here

‘Not only here.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

The negative marker *miš* is used to negate nouns (145a), prepositional phrases (145b), adjectives (145c), participles (145d), and adverbs (145e-f).

(145a) la’ miš ḡīš

no NEG army

‘No it’s not an army.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

(145b) miš min al-makān hāḍa

NEG from ART-place this

‘They are not from this place.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(145c) lā lā miš badawi

no no NEG Bedouin

‘No, no, it’s not Bedouin.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(145d) miš fāhme 'alē-k
NEG understand.PTCP on-PN.2MSG
'I don't understand you.'
(An-N'ēmāt)

(145e) ḥyūl 'ind-na miš hōn
horses have-PN.1PL NEG here
'We have horses but not here.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

(145f) miš kṭīr
NEG much
'Not much.'
(Az-Zalābya)

In general, the negative marker *muš* is used to a greater extent than the negative marker *miš*. Although *muš* is mostly used for masculine predicates and respectively *miš* for feminine predicates, there are several cases where the opposite also occurs, as in (144d), where *muš* is used to negate a feminine predicate, and in (145a, 145c), where *miš* is used to negate masculine predicates.

Negation of pronouns by prefixation of m-

Pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*, as *māni*, *mintā*, *minti*, *muḥu*, *mahi*, *miḥna* and *muhum*⁷².

(146a) bass 'ana waḷḷa mā-ni ḥāfiḍ al-gaṣīda
but PN.1SG by God NEG-PN.1SG memorise.PTCP ART-poem
'But I do not remember the poem.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

⁷² Only the forms encountered in the recorded material are described here.

- (146b) mwāfiga walla m-inti mwāfiga
 agree.PTCP or NEG-PN.2FSG agree.PTCP
 ‘Either you agree or not.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)
- (146c) alli mu-hu mutawaḍḍaf fi d-dawla alḥīn gā‘ed
 who NEG-PN.3MSG get a job.PTCP in ART-state now sit.PTCP
 walla mā yākul lugmat al-ḥubz
 by God NEG 3MSG.eat.IPFV bite ART-bread
 ‘Whoever doesn’t work as a state employee is now unemployed and, by God,
 doesn’t eat a bite of bread.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)
- (146d) la’ ma-hi alḥīn hī fi wādi ram
 no NEG-PN.3FSG now PN.3FSG in Wadi Ram
 ‘No, she is not, now she is in Wadi Ram.’
 (An-N‘ēmāt)
- (146e) m-iḥna ba-ḥāl ‘aḥad
 NEG-PN.1PL with-state one
 ‘We are not afraid of anyone.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)
- (146f) mu-hum mṣaddiqīn
 NEG-PN.3MPL believe.PTCP
 ‘They do not believe (me).’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

Negation of non-verbal predicates with the negative particle lā

Negation of non-verbal predicates is very rarely attested with the negative particle *lā* as in the example below:

- (147) mā kān lā dawla dāriya ‘an māknāt al-mayya
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV NEG country know.PTCP about machines ART-water
 ‘There was no state knowing about the water machines.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

5.2.5.6 Constituent negation

The negative marker *muš* is additionally used to express constituent negation, as in the following examples:

- (148a) muš ‘ana illi ‘asraḥ ma‘-hen
 NEG PN.1SG who 1SG.take out to pasture with-PN.3FPL
 ‘No, it’s not me who take them out to pasture.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

- (148b) muš b-il-madrasa t‘allamt al-‘ingliš
 NEG in-ART-school 1MSG.learn.PFV ART-English
 ‘I didn’t learn English at school.’
 (Az-Zalābya)

5.2.5.7 Negative polarity items

The negative polarity items attested in South Badia include indefinite pronouns, indefinite determiners, and adverbials.

Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronouns used in South Badia are *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/‘aḥad* (149), and *šī/‘iši* (150), preceded by the negative particle *mā*.

- (149a) mā fi ḥad
 NEG there is one
 ‘There is no one.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(149b) mā kān wāḥad yiṭalle‘ bint-u li-barra
 NEG 3MSG.be.PFV one 3MSG.take out.IPFV girl-PN.3MSG to-outside
 ‘Nobody was taking out his daughter.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(149c) mā ’iḥna bi-ḥāl ’aḥad
 NEG PN.1PL with-situation one
 ‘We are not afraid of anyone.’
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(150a) mā ṭgayyer ’ala luḡat-na šī
 NEG 3MSG.change.PFV on dialect-PN.1PL thing
 ‘Nothing changed in our dialect.’
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(150b) mā bi-tšūfi ’iši mā fi ḡaww
 NEG bi-2FSG.see.IPFV thing NEG there is light
 ‘You don’t see anything, there is no light.’
 (Az-Zalābya)

Indefinite determiners

The indefinite determiner *’ayy/’iyy* is encountered with indefinite nouns (151a) or with the indefinite pronoun *šī* (151b) in negative contexts, preceded by a negative element and interpreted as ‘any/anything’:

(151a) alḥīn ṭabī’iyy mā fi ’ayy ’iškāl
 now natural NEG there is any obstacle
 ‘Now it’s normal, there isn’t any obstacle.’
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(151b) mā fi ’iyy šī ya’ni mā laḡagna
 NEG there is any thing 3MSG.mean.IPFV NEG 1PL.catch up.PFV
 ’iyy šī

any thing

‘There isn’t anything, I mean we did not experience anything.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

Adverbials

The adverbial ‘*umr* (152) is used with clitic pronouns, with the meaning ‘never/at all’:

- (152) mā ‘umr-u ’az’al-ni
no life-PN.3MSG 3MSG.upset.PFV-PN.1SG
‘He never upset me.’
(Al-Ḥwētāt)

5.2.5.8 *Negative indefinite pronouns*

The negative indefinite pronouns encountered in South Badia are *maḥad/maḥada/mā wāḥad*, meaning ‘nobody’, while *laḥad* is mostly used in negative coordination structures.

- (153a) hāḍa al-kalām maḥad yidrik-u
this ART-words nobody 3MSG.understand.IPFV-PN.3MSG
’illa al-badw
except ART-Bedouins
‘Nobody understands these words except for the Bedouins.’
(Az-Zawāyda)

- (153b) maḥad yidri ’ann-i
nobody 3MSG.know.IPFV about-PN.1SG
‘Nobody knew about me.’
(Al-Ḥwētāt)

- (153c) mšān mā wāḥad yikarrer-ha
so that NEG one 3MSG.repeat.IPFV-PN.3FSG
‘So that nobody repeats it.’

(Al-Ḥwētāt)

In only one case, the *š* negator is also used in *maḥadš* by a member of the Ḥwētāt tribe.

5.2.5.9 Negative concord items

The negative concord items encountered in South Badia are the negative scalar *wala*, *never/at all* adverbs and adverbials, and *still/not yet* adverbials.

The negative scalar wala

The negative scalar *wala* precedes indefinites, with the meaning ‘not even/not a single’:

(154a) mā il-hum 'ayy daḥel nihā'iyw wala girš
NEG to-PN.3MPL any income final NegSFP piaster
‘They don’t have any income at all, not a single piaster.’
(Al-Ḥwētāt)

(154b) mā bi-tḡīb-na wala nuṣṣ nīra
NEG bi-2MSG.bring.IPFV-PN.1PL NegSFP half dinar
‘It doesn’t bring us not even half dinar.’
(Al-Bdūl)

(154c) al-kuffār wala wāḥde
ART-disbelievers NegSFP one
‘The disbelievers (don’t do) not even one (of these things).’
(Al-Ḥwētāt)

(154d) ṭil‘at lā fi wala šī
3FSG.come out.PFV NEG there is NegSFP thing
‘It came out that there was nothing (not a single thing).’
(Al-Ḥwētāt)

Never/at all adverbs and adverbials

The adverbs *'abadan* (155), *nihā'iyyan* (156a), and *'aşlan* (156b, 157), are used in South Badia with the meaning 'never/at all'. Moreover, the adjective *nihā'iyy* 'final', is used as an adverbial (158) with the meaning 'at all', as well as the adverbial *bil marra* (159).

(155) 'abadan mā fi 'iḥna 'end-na mān'a
never NEG there is PN.1PL have-PN.1PL objection
'Not at all, we have no objection.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(156a) alyōm mā l-ah ṭa'm nihā'iyyan
today NEG have-PN.3FSG taste finally
'Today it has no taste at all.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

(156b) muš muḡtani' 'aşlan fi kōrōna šarāḡatan muš muḡtani'
NEG convince.PTCP initially there is covid sincerely NEG convince.PTCP
nihā'iyyan
finally
'I am not at all convinced that there is covid, to be sincere, I am not at all
convinced/I was not convinced in the first place that there is covid, to be sincere,
I was not at all convinced.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(157) la' 'ana mā-ni dāria 'aşlan
no PN.1SG NEG-PN.1SG know.PTCP initially
'No, I don't know at all.'
(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(158) riyāḡa mā fi nihā'iyy
sports NEG there is final
'There are no sports at all.'

(An-N‘ēmāt)

- (159a) alān intahat b-il-marra
now 3FSG.end.PFV in-ART-time
‘Now it’s completely over.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

- (159b) ‘ana mit‘awwda ‘ala aṣ-ṣyām mā fī šī
PN.1SG get used.PTCP on ART-fasting NEG there is thing
b-il-marra
in-ART-time
‘I am used to fasting, there is nothing (no problem) at all.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

Still/not yet adverbials

The adverbial *lissa* is occasionally attested in negative statements with the meaning ‘still/yet’:

- (160a) lissa mā ḥaṣal šī
still NEG 3MSG.obtain.PFV thing
‘He didn’t get anything yet.’

(Az-Zawāyda)

- (160b) ‘ammt-i nawāl ‘azamat-ni ‘a-l-ḡada
Aunt-PN.1SG Nawal 3FSG.invite.PFV-PN.1SG on-ART-lunch
w-lissa mā ruḥt ‘ind-ha
CONJ-still NEG 1SG.go.PFV at-PN.3FSG
‘My aunt Nawal has invited me for lunch, and I haven’t visited her yet.’

(Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(162b) waḷḷa mā bi-naḡdar n'aššī-hum wala
 by God NEG b-1PL.can.IPFV 1PL.give dinner.IPFV-hum NegCONJ
 bi-naḡdar nadfa' mayya wala kahraba
 b-1PL.can.IPFV 1PL.pay.IPFV water NegCONJ electricity
 'By God, we cannot feed them, and we neither can pay water, nor electricity.'
 (Al-Bdūl)

(163) lā lā lā wala b-'arif-hin wala
 no no no NegCONJ b-1SG.know.IPFV-PN.3FPL NegCONJ
 b-'arifā-ni
 b- 3FPL.know.IPFV-PN.1SG
 'No, no, no, neither I know them, nor they know me.'
 (An-N'ēmāt)

Negative coordination structures with existential negation

Negative coordination structures with existential negation include bisyndetic or polysyndetic coordination as *lā fi...wala*.

(164a) ḡabl 'iḡna badw lā fi kahraba wala mayy
 before PN.1PL Bedouins NEG there is electricity NegCONJ water
 'Before, we were Bedouins, there was neither electricity nor water.'
 (Al-Ḥwētāt)

(164b) aṣ-ṣaḡra kānat 'awwal ḡardā lā fi-ha bināyāt
 ART-desert 3FSG.be.PFV first barren NEG there is-PN.3FSG buildings
 wala fi-ha mazrū'āt wala fi-ha 'ayy
 NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG farms NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG any
 šī wala fi-ha 'ābār miyya wala fi-ha
 thing NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG wells water NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG
 ṭuruq wala fi-ha 'išī
 roads NegCONJ there is-PN.3FSG thing
 'Before, the desert was barren, there was neither buildings in it, nor farms, nor
 anything in it, nor water wells in it, nor roads, nor anything in it.'

(Az-Zawāyda)

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates

Negative coordination structures with non-verbal predicates include bisyndetic or polysyndetic coordination as *lā...wala*:

(165a) mā mā mašat lā la-ğāmi‘a wala la-kulliyya
NEG NEG 3FSG.walk.PFV NEG to-university NegCONJ to-college
‘She didn’t, she didn’t go neither to university, nor to college.’

(An-N‘ēmāt)

(165b) wala fi farg bēn-hum ‘abadan lā mākal
and-NEG there is difference between-PN.3MPL never NEG eating
wala mašrab wala malbas wala ‘ādāt wala
NegCONJ drinking NegCONJ clothing NegCONJ habits NegCONJ
tağālīd ‘abadan
traditions never

‘And there is no difference between them, not at all, neither in eating, nor in drinking, nor in clothing, nor in habits nor in traditions, not at all.’

(Al-Ḥwetāt)

(165c) lā waḍāyef wala hāḍi wala haḍīk
NEG employments NegCONJ this NegCONJ that
‘Neither jobs, nor this, nor that.’

(Al-Bdūl)

(165d) mā fi lā waḍāyef wala šuġl wala šī
NEG there NEG employments NegCONJ work NegCONJ thing
‘There are neither jobs, nor work, nor anything.’

(Az-Zalābya)

5.2.5.11 Exeptive constructions

Exeptive constructions are encountered with the exeptive particle *'illa* as *mā... 'illa* (166), while *lā... 'alla* (167) is attested only once in the entire material. Exeptive constructions are also encountered with the exeptive particle *ġār* as *mā... ġār* (168).

(166a) *mā kānat tħallef 'illa ba'd 'arba't 'ašr sana*
NEG 3FSG.be.PFV 3FSG.give birth.IPFV except after fourteen year
'(The woman) used not to give birth until she was fourteen.'
(Al-Ĥwēṭāt)

(166b) *mā fi 'illa aš-šahra*
NEG there is except ART-desert
'There is nothing but the desert.'
(Az-Zalābya)

(166c) *mā fi māḍi 'illa yakūn fi-ha 'ahdāt*
NEG there is past except 3MSG.be.IPFV in-PN.3FSG events
'There is no past except when there are events in it.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

(166d) *hāḍa al-kalām maħad yidrik-u*
this ART-words nobody 3MSG.understand.IPFV-PN.3MSG
'illa al-badw
except ART-Bedouins
'Nobody understands these words except for the Bedouins.'
(Az-Zawāyda)

(167) *al-muslim lā yākol šī 'alla yigūl*
ART-Muslim NEG 3MSG.eat.IPFV thing except 3MSG.tell,IPFV
b-ism aḷḷāh
b-name God
The Muslim does not eat anything before he says *in the name of God*.'
(Al-Ĥwēṭāt)

(168a) ya‘ni mā ‘and-i hassa ġār ‘umm leit
 3MSG.mean.IPFV NEG have-PN.1SG now except Umm Leit
 ‘I mean that now I have only Umm Leith.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(168b) ġēr as-siyāḥa mā fi il-hum šuġl
 except ART-tourism NEG there is to-PN.3MPL job
 ‘Apart from tourism, they have no other job.’
 (Az-Zalābya)

5.2.5.12 Verbs and participles used in negative contexts

In the studied tribes of South Badia, the verb *baṭṭal* (169) is used only in negative contexts, while the verb *ḍall* (170) is more often attested in negative statements, preceded by *mā*. Additionally, the participle *m‘ayyi* is used to express refusal or negation (171).

(169) ya‘ni al-ṭifla baṭṭalat ‘ind-ha
 3MSG.mean.IPFV ART-child 3FSG.stop.PFV have-PN.3MSG
 istī‘āb
 apprehension
 ‘Meaning that the child does not have apprehension anymore.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

(170) mā ḍall badawi mā ḍall badawi
 NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV Bedouin NEG 3MSG.remain.PFV Bedouin
 ‘There are no Bedouins left, there are no Bedouins left.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(171) waḷḷa m‘ayyi mit‘awwud ‘ala swāgat s-sayyāra
 by God refuse.PTCP get use.PTCP on driving ART-car
 ‘By God, he doesn’t want, he is used to driving a car.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

5.2.5.13 The negative use of the verbs 'ād and zāl

In a few cases, the verb 'ād, is attested preceded by the negative particle mā in the adverbial mā 'ād with the meaning 'no longer/not anymore' (172). Rarely, the verb zāl, is attested inflected and preceded by the negative particle mā, with the meaning 'still' (173), probably as a borrowing from CA.

- (172) al-kuḥle mā 'ād tḥutt-ha
 ART-kohl NEG 3MSG.return.PFV 3FSG.put.IPFV-PN.3FSG
 la'inn-ha 'abū-ha māt ḥalaṣ
 because-PN.3FSG father-PN.3FSG 3MSG.die.PFV 3MSG.finish.PFV
 'She doesn't put kohl anymore because her father died, it's over.'
 (Al-Zawāyda)

- (173) mā zilna na'šaq al-ḥubz 'ala aṣ-ṣāğ
 NEG 1PL.cease.PFV 1PL.worship.IPFV ART-bread on ART-saj
 mā zilna na'šaq az-zawğe illi ta'mil
 NEG 1PL.cease.PFV 1PL.worship.IPFV ART-wife who 3FSG.do.IPFV
 al-ḥubz li-'awlād-ha
 ART-bread for-children-PN.3FSG
 'We still worship the bread on the saj, we still worship the wife who makes
 bread for her children.'
 (Az-Zawāyda)

5.2.5.14 Negative nouns

The noun ḡayr/ḡēr is used as a negative marker with the meaning 'not/non/in-':

- (174a) ḡayr muslima
 NEG Muslim
 'Non-Muslim.'
 (Az-Zalābya)

- (174b) silāḥ ḡayr mawğūd ma' al-ğīš al-'isrā'īli

weapon NEG exist.PTCP with ART-army ART-Israeli
 ‘[...] a weapon that does not exist in the Israeli army.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(174c) al-ġēr malmūs
 ART-NEG tangible
 ‘The intangible.’
 (Al-Ḥwēṭāt)

(174d) ġayr maqbūl
 NEG be accepted.PTCP
 ‘Not acceptable.’
 (Az-Zawāyda)

5.2.5.15 Negative prepositions

The negative prepositions *bidūn*, *min ġār*, and *bi-ġēr* are occasionally used with the meaning ‘without’, as below:

(175) mā b-nigdar n’iš bidūn zarrī’a
 NEG b-1PL.can.IPFV 1PL.live.IPFV without plantation
 ‘We cannot live without plantation.’
 (Az-Zalābya)

(176a) min ġār ġōz-i mā ḥaka l-i wala ’iši
 without husband-PN.1SG NEG 3MSG.tell.IPFV to-PN.1SG CONJ thing
 ‘Without my husband telling me anything.’
 (An-N’ēmāt)

(176b) bass miš ḥorriyya inn-o maṭalan trūḥ li-mantāga
 but NEG freedom that-PN.3MSG for example 3FSG.go.IPFV to-area
 tāniya biġēr ’amr ġōz-ha
 second without command husband-PN.3FSG

‘[...] but not freedom in the sense, for example, that she goes to another area without her husband’s command.’

(An-N‘ēmāt)

5.2.5.16 Summary and conclusions from South Badia

In the above sections, we presented selected results on the expression of negation in Bedouin tribes of South Badia. The studied types of negation were the following: negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs and participles used in negative contexts, *still* and *no longer/not anymore* verbs, and adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

The summary and conclusions from the results of South Badia are presented below.

Negation as a simple negative response ‘no’ is encountered in Bedouin tribes of South Badia as *lā/la’*. Another form of negative answer attested, is the double, emphatic form of *lā, lille*.

Verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect are negated by the negative particle *mā*, and rarely with the negative markers *mū*, *muš*, and the bipartite negation *mā...š*. The negative particle *lā* is infrequently used in specific cases such as emphatic negative statements, negative optative sentences, modal expressions, and in negation with *wala*.

Verbal predicates in the perfective aspect are mainly negated by the negative particle *mā*, while *lā* is rarely attested in negative optative sentences.

Negation in the future is more often encountered with the negative particle *mā* and the future marker *rah*, followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. Less often, negation in the future is attested with the negative marker *muš* and the future marker *rah* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

The negative imperative is formed exclusively with the negative particle *lā*.

Pseudo-verbal predicates are generally negated with the negative particle *mā*. Rarely, the *š* negator is also used to negate pseudo-verbal predicates in the bipartite and

the postverbal negation, while in only one case, the negative marker *muš* is additionally attested in the negation of pseudo-verbal predicates.

The existential negation is formed as *mā fi/fī* and rarely as *mā bī*. The *š* negator is often present in the bipartite form *mā fiš*. Existential negation with the negative particle *lā* is attested only in negative coordination structures and negative concord structures.

Non-verbal predicates are usually negated by the negative markers *mū/mī*, and *muš/miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*. Occasionally, non-verbal predicates are also negated by the negative particle *mā*, while the negative particle *lā* is very rarely attested in the negation of non-verbal predicates.

Constituent negation is attested with the negative marker *muš*.

The negative polarity items encountered in South Badia are the indefinite pronouns *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/ʾaḥad* and *ši/iši*, preceded by negative morphemes, the indefinite determiner *ʾayy/ʾiyy ši* preceded by negative morphemes, and the adverbial *ʾumr* with clitic pronouns, preceded by negative morphemes.

The negative indefinite pronouns used in South Badia are *maḥad/maḥada* and *mā wāḥad*, while *laḥad* is mostly attested in negative coordination structures. In only one case, *maḥadš* is also encountered.

The negative concord items attested are the negative scalar *wala* with indefinites, the *never/at all* adverbs *ʾabadan*, *nihāʾiyyan* and *ʾašlan*, the *never/at all* adverbials *bil marra* and *nihāʾiyy*, and the *still/not yet* adverbial *lissa*.

The negative coordination structures include bisyndetic and polysyndetic coordination with verbal predicates, existential negation, and non-verbal predicates. The first negative element is *lā* or *mā* and the second is the negative conjunction *wala*. In a few cases, the negative conjunction *wala* is attested in both parts of the coordination as *wala...wala*.

The exceptive particles attested in South Badia are *ʾilla* and *ḡār*, used as *mā...ʾilla* and *mā...ḡār*. In only one case, the negative particle *lā* is also attested in the exceptive construction *lā...ʾalla*.

The verbs used in negative contexts in South Badia are *baṭṭal* and *mā ḡall*. Occasionally, the negative participle *mʾayyi* is used to express refusal or negation.

The verb/adverbial *mā zāl* is rarely used with the meaning ‘still’ and the adverbial *mā ʾād* is also rarely used with the meaning ‘no longer/not anymore’.

The noun *ḡayr/ḡēr* is attested as a negative marker.

The prepositions *bidūn*, *min ġār*, and *bi-ġēr* are occasionally used with the meaning ‘without’.

At the tables below, a general overview of the expression of negation in the Bedouin dialects of South Badia is provided. Tables 74 and 75 summarise the results of the most commonly and less commonly used negative elements, as well as the use of some negative elements that were encountered in individual cases.

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NegANS	<i>lā/la'</i>	<i>lille</i>	-
VPreds IPFV	<i>mā</i>	<i>lā</i> : NegSTs, NEG OPT SENTs, ModEXPRs NEG <i>wala</i>	<i>mū</i> <i>muš</i> <i>mā...š</i>
VPreds PFV	<i>mā</i>	-	<i>lā</i> : NEG OPT SENTs
FutNEG	<i>mā raḥ</i> + VPreds IPFV	<i>muš raḥ</i> + VPreds IPFV	-
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	-	-
PVPreds	<i>mā</i>	-	<i>mā...š</i> <i>-š</i> <i>muš</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi/ft</i> <i>mā fiš</i>	<i>lā</i> (NegCOORDSs)	<i>mā bī</i>
NVPreds	<i>mū/mī</i> <i>muš/miš</i> NegPN	<i>mā/ma</i>	<i>lā</i>
ConstNEG	<i>muš</i>	-	-

Table 74: Negation in South Badia 1

<i>Type of negation</i>	<i>Commonly used</i>	<i>Less commonly used</i>	<i>Individual cases</i>
NPIs	<i>ḥad/ḥada/wāḥed/ʾaḥad</i> <i>šī/ʾišī</i> <i>ʾayy/ʾiyy šī</i> <i>ʾumr</i>	-	-
NIPs	<i>maḥad/maḥada/mā</i> <i>wāḥad</i>	<i>lahad</i> (NegCOORDSs)	<i>maḥadš</i>
NCIs	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>ʾabadan</i> <i>nihāʾiyy/nihāʾiyyan</i> <i>bil marra</i>	<i>ʾašlan</i> <i>lissa</i>	-
NegCOORDSs	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>mā...wala</i>	-	<i>wala...wala</i>
EXCCs	<i>mā...ʾilla</i>	<i>mā...ġār</i>	<i>lā...ʾalla</i>
Vs/PTCPs used in negative contexts	<i>baḥṭal</i> <i>mā ḍall</i>	<i>mʾayyi</i>	-
<i>Still and no longer/not anymore</i> Vs/ADVs	-	-	<i>mā ʾād</i> <i>mā zāl</i>
NegNs	-	<i>ġayr/ġēr</i>	-
NegPRs	-	<i>bidūn</i> <i>min ġār, bi-ġēr</i>	-

Table 75: Negation in South Badia 2

5.3 General conclusions from Jordan

We will now proceed to some general conclusions on the expression of negation in the studied Bedouin varieties, by summarising the overall results on the following types of negation: negation as a simple negative response ‘no’, sentential negation with verbal predicates, negative imperative, sentential negation with pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, sentential negation with non-verbal predicates, constituent negation, negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, negative coordination structures, exceptive constructions, verbs and participles used in negative contexts, *still* and *no longer/not anymore* verbs and adverbials, negative nouns, and negative prepositions.

In all three parts of Jordan negation as a simple negative response ‘no’ is expressed with *lā* or *laʾ*, while a double, emphatic form of *lā* is occasionally attested as *lille/lilla*.

Verbal predicates in the imperfective and perfective aspect, as well as pseudo-verbal predicates are generally negated by the classical preverbal negative construction with *mā* (stage I of Jespersen), in all three parts of Jordan. The negative particle *lā* is occasionally attested in all three parts of Jordan with verbs, in specific cases such as

emphatic negative statements, negative optative sentences, prevention, modal expressions, and negation with *wala*.

Negation in the future is attested in all studied parts of Jordan as *mā raḥ* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect. In North Badia, negation in the future is also attested as *mā wudd* followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, or with a negated pronoun followed by a participle. Moreover, in Central and South Badia, negation in the future is additionally attested as *muš raḥ*, followed by verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect.

In North, Central, and South Badia, existential negation is expressed mainly as *mā fi* and infrequently as *mā bi*. The negative existential marker *mā fiš/fiš* is also used in Central and South Badia, while existential negation with the negative particle *lā* as *lā fi* is mostly attested in negative concord constructions and in negative coordination structures.

In all three parts of Jordan, non-verbal predicates are occasionally negated by the negative particle *mā* and more often by the negative markers *mū/mī*, and *muš/miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Constituent negation is expressed by *mū* in North Badia, by *mū*, *muš* and *miš* in Central Badia, and by *muš* in South Badia.

The negative imperative is formed in all studied tribes of Jordan with the negative particle *lā*.

The negative polarity items generally used in North, Central and South Badia are *ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/`aḥad*, *ši/iši/`ayy/`iyy ši*, and the adverbial *`umr*, all preceded by the negative particle *mā*.

The negative indefinite pronoun generally encountered in all three parts of Jordan is *maḥad* while *laḥad* is used in negative coordination structures and/or negative concord structures.

In all studied regions, the negative concord items include the negative scalar *wala* followed by indefinites. The *never/at all* adverbs and adverbials *`abadan*, *nihā`iyyan* and *bil marra* as well as the *still/yet* adverbial *lissa* are attested in all three parts of Jordan. The adverbial *ba`d* is only attested in North Badia. The adverbial *šēle* is encountered only in North Badia, while the adverb *`ašlan* is encountered only in Central and South Badia.

The negative coordination structures encountered in the studied material of North, Central and South Badia include bisyndetic, polysyndetic, and asyndetic

coordination with verbal predicates, pseudo-verbal predicates, existential negation, non-verbal predicates, and different types of predicates. They are mostly attested as *lā...wala* and *mā...wala*.

The exceptive constructions are generally formed with the exceptive particles *'illa* and *ǧayr/ǧār/ǧēr* preceded by *mā*.

The verbs *baṭṭal* and *mā ḍall* are used in all studied areas. Additionally, the negative verb *'ayya* is encountered in Central Badia, while the participle *m'ayyi* is attested in the central and the southern part of the country.

The noun *ǧayr/ǧār/ǧēr* apart from its use with the meaning 'different/other from', or with the meaning 'must/have to', it is also used to negate nouns, participles, and adjectives in all three parts of Jordan, with the meaning 'not/non/in-'.

The negative preposition *bidūn* with the meaning 'without', is encountered in North, Central and South Badia, while *min dūn* is also attested in Central Badia, and *min ǧār, bi-ǧēr* in South Badia.

Let us now focus on the use of two negative elements in the studied Bedouin tribes of Jordan. First, we will summarise the distribution and the use of the *š* negator as an innovative and a traditionally non-Bedouin feature, and second, we will summarise the distribution and the use of the negative particle *lā*, as a rather conservative feature, in the studied Jordanian tribes.

The innovative, sedentary *š* negator, as a mainly rural adopted feature, is attested in all studied Bedouin varieties of North, Central, and South Badia. Although in the northern tribes its use is limited to *muš* and *miš* for the negation of non-verbal predicates, in the central and southern tribes the *š* negator is frequently attested in the existential negation *mā fiš/mā fiš*. In the southern tribes, the *š* negator is also used – albeit rarely – with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates, in the bipartite or the postverbal negation.

The negator *muš* and, to a lesser degree, *miš*, exhibits a wide range of uses, preceding all kinds of non-verbal predicates, but in a few cases also verbs and pseudo-verbs. Moreover, in Central and South Badia, *muš* is used with the future marker *rah*, to express negation in the future, as well as to express constituent negation.

Negation with *lā/la'* is used as a simple, negative answer in all studied tribes, while a double, emphatic negative answer as *lille/lilla* is additionally attested in all studied regions. The negative particle *lā* is more often encountered in the negative

imperative, in negative coordination structures as the first negative element, in the negative conjunction *wala*, and the negative scalar *wala*. The use of *lā* in the first part of a negative coordination structure, especially with verbal predicates, may represent a more conservative form. Less frequently, *lā* is also used to negate verbal predicates, in plain or emphatic negative statements, in modal expressions, in negative optative sentences, in indirect prohibition, and as a preventive marker. Occasionally, the negation *wala* is used to negate verbal or non-verbal predicates, while existential negation as *lā fi* as well as the negative indefinite pronoun *lahad* are mostly encountered in negative coordination structures. Interestingly, a rare instance of *lā* encountered in the Bani Ṣaḥar tribe, is the modal expression *lā bidd*.

Negation in Bedouin tribes of North, Central, and South Badia: A general comparison between previous studies and the present study

This chapter will be completed by a final attempt to compare previous and current data from the northern, central, and southern part of Jordan, on the most commonly used negators⁷³ in the negation of verbal, pseudo-verbal and non-verbal predicates, in existential negation, and in the negative imperative. The Bedouin tribes will be divided into those of North, Central and South Badia of Jordan, and the comparison will be made between previous, scattered, and available data from the three regions (1976 – 2022) and data from the present research (2021). Namely, the comparison will be based on data that sometimes come from tribes not studied in the present research, while other times, data on tribes that were studied in the current research are not available in previous studies. In this comparison, data rarely encountered are not included. Previous studies include the following works:

North Badia: Bedouin tribes of the Ḥawrān (Cantineau 1936, 1937), 'Āl-'Īsa (Younes 2018), As-Sirḥān and An-N'ēm (Al Tawil 2021).

Central Badia: 'Aḡārma (Palva 1976, 1978), Bani Ṣaḥar (Palva 1980), Bani 'Abbād (Torzullo 2022b).

South Badia: Al-Bdūl (Bani Yasin and Owens 1984), Al-Ḥwētāt (Palva 1986, 2004), Yrttiaho (N'ēmāt 1988), Az-Zawāyda and Az-Zalābya (Al-Mashaqba 2015).

⁷³ Considering, however, that the frequency of use of these negators is not always specified in previous studies.

North Badia

Both in previous studies and in the current study, verbal predicates in North Badia are mostly negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*, while the bipartite negation *mā/ma...š* is encountered only in the N'ēmāt tribe (Tawil 2021). The negative imperative is attested both in previous studies and in the current study with the negative particle *lā/la*. Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated both in previous studies and the current study by *mā/ma*, while the bipartite negation *mā/ma...š* is attested only in the N'ēmāt tribe (Tawil 2021). In previous studies, existential negation is mostly encountered as *mā/ma fi*, *mā bū/bō*, and *mā/ma bī/bi*, while negative existential markers with the *š* negator such as *fiš*, *ma bīš* and *bīš* are also encountered. In the current study, existential negation is attested as *mā fi* and *mā bi*. Both in previous studies and in the current study, non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*, the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš*, and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

Central Badia

Both in previous studies and in the current study, verbal predicates in Central Badia are mainly negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*. The negative imperative is attested both in previous studies and in the current study with the negative particle *lā/la*. Pseudo-verbal predicates are negated both in previous studies and in the current study by *mā/ma*. Both in previous studies and in the current study, existential negation is mostly encountered as *mā/ma fi/fī(h)*, *mā/ma bī/bi*, and *mā/ma fiš*, although in the present study *mā bi* (also *mā bu*) is only rarely attested. Both in previous studies and in the current study, non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*, the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš*, and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

South Badia

Both in previous studies and in the current study, verbal negation is mostly attested with *mā/ma*, while the bipartite negation *ma...š* and the postverbal negation *-š* are only attested in the N'ēmāt tribe (Yrttiaho 1988). The negative imperative is attested both in previous studies and in the current study with the negative particle *lā/la*. Both in previous studies and in the current study, pseudo-verbal predicates are mainly negated

by *mā*. Both in previous studies and in the present study, existential negation is encountered as *mā/ma fi/fi(h)* and *mā/ma fiš/fiš*. Both in previous studies and in the present study, non-verbal predicates are negated by the negative particle *mā/ma*, the negative markers *mū*, *mī*, *muš*, and *miš*, while pronouns are negated by prefixation of *m-*.

The following tables, provide a general overview of the expression of negation in the Bedouin dialects of the studied tribes. We must remind that negative elements encountered in individual cases in North, Central and South Badia are not included in these tables. Tables 76, 77, 78 and 79 illustrate the distribution of the negative particles *mā* (and its morphological variants) *lā* and the *š* negator in the negation of verbal predicates (table 76), pseudo-verbal predicates (table 77), negative existential markers (table 78), and non-verbal (table 79) predicates in the studied Bedouin tribes of North, Central and South Badia. Table 80 illustrates the distribution of the negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, and negative coordination structures in the studied Bedouin tribes of North, Central and South Badia. Table 81 illustrates the distribution of the exceptive constructions, the verbs and participles used in negative contexts, the negative nouns, and the negative prepositions in the studied Bedouin tribes of North, Central and South Badia. Tables 82 and 83 illustrate the general use of the *š* negator and the general use of the negative particle *lā* in the Bedouin dialects of the present research. Finally, tables 84 and 85 provide a general comparison between the main types of negation attested in previous studies (1976 – 2022) and those attested in the present study (2021). Table 86 illustrates the most commonly used negators in sedentary and Bedouin Jordanian dialects, according to Alluhaybi's (2019) data on al-Karaki and Northern Jordanian sedentary Arabic, Alqassas's (2019) data on Northern Jordanian (Ḥawrāni) sedentary Arabic, and the results of the present study.

<i>Negative particles/š negator</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
<i>mā</i>	✓	✓	✓
Bipartite negation <i>mā...š</i>	-	-	-
Postverbal negation <i>-š</i>	-	-	-
<i>lā, wala</i>	✓	✓	✓

Table 76: Negation of verbal predicates in Bedouin dialects of Jordan

<i>Negative particles/š negator</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
<i>mā</i>	✓	✓	✓
Bipartite negation <i>mā...š</i>	-	-	-
Postverbal negation <i>-š</i>	-	-	-
<i>lā</i>	-	-	-

Table 77: Negation of pseudo-verbal predicates in Bedouin dialects of Jordan

<i>Existential negation</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
<i>mā</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>mā bi</i>	<i>mā fi</i>	<i>mā fi</i>
Use of the <i>š</i> negator	-	<i>mā fiš</i>	<i>mā fiš</i>

Table 78: Existential negation in Bedouin dialects of Jordan

<i>Negative particles & negative markers</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
<i>mā</i>	✓	✓	✓
<i>mū, mī</i>	✓	✓	✓
NegPN	✓	✓	✓
<i>muš, miš</i>	✓	✓	✓

Table 79: Negation of non-verbal predicates in Bedouin dialects of Jordan

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>NPIs</i>	<i>NIPs</i>	<i>NCIs</i>	<i>NegCOORDSs</i>
North Badia	<i>ḥad/ḥada, wāḥad</i> <i>ši/ 'iši</i> <i>'iyy ši</i> <i>'umr</i>	<i>maḥad</i>	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>'abadan</i> <i>nihā 'iyyan</i> <i>bil marra</i> <i>šēle</i> <i>lissa</i> <i>ba ' d</i>	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>mā...wala</i> <i>Other negative element...wala</i>
Central Badia	<i>ḥad/ḥada/wāḥad/</i> <i>wāḥed/ 'aḥad</i> <i>ši/ 'iši</i> <i>'iyy ši</i> <i>'umr</i>	<i>maḥad</i>	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>'abadan</i> <i>nihā 'iyyan</i> <i>bil marra/</i> <i>min marra, 'aşlan</i> <i>lissa/lissa '</i>	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>mā...wala</i>
South Badia	<i>ḥad/ḥada/wāḥed/</i> <i>'aḥad, ši/ 'iši</i> <i>'ayy/ 'iyy ši</i> <i>'umr</i>	<i>maḥad/</i> <i>maḥada/</i> <i>ma wāḥad</i>	NegSFP <i>wala</i> <i>'abadan</i> <i>nihā 'iyy/nihā 'iyyan</i> <i>bil marra</i> <i>'aşlan</i> <i>lissa</i>	<i>lā...wala</i> <i>mā...wala</i>

Table 80: Negative polarity items, negative indefinite pronouns, negative concord items, and negative coordination structures in Bedouin tribes of Jordan

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>EXCCs</i>	<i>Vs/PTCPs used in negative contexts</i>	<i>NegNs</i>	<i>NegPRs</i>
North Badia	<i>mā...`illa</i> <i>`illa</i> <i>mā...ġayr/ġār</i>	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā ḍall</i>	<i>ġēr</i>	<i>bidūn</i>
Central Badia	<i>mā...`illa</i> <i>mā...ġayr/ġār</i>	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā ḍall</i> <i>‘ayya</i> <i>m ‘ayyi</i>	<i>ġayr/ġār</i>	<i>bidūn</i> <i>min dūn</i>
South Badia	<i>mā...`illa</i> <i>mā...ġār</i>	<i>baṭṭal</i> <i>mā ḍall</i> <i>m ‘ayyi</i>	<i>ġayr/ġēr</i>	<i>bidūn</i> <i>min ġār</i> <i>bi-ġēr</i>

Table 81: Exceptive constructions, verbs and participles used in negative contexts, negative nouns, and negative prepositions in Bedouin tribes of Jordan

<i>Bedouin tribes</i>	<i>The š negator</i>
North Badia	NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i>
Central Badia	FutNEG: <i>muš</i> NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i> ExistNEG: <i>mā fiš/mā fiš</i> ConstNEG: <i>muš, miš</i>
South Badia	FutNEG: <i>muš</i> NVPreds: <i>muš/miš</i> ExistNEG: <i>mā fiš</i> ConstNEG: <i>muš</i>

Table 82: The *š* negator in Bedouin dialects of Jordan

<i>The negative particle lā</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
NegANS <i>lā/la`</i> EMPH NegANS <i>lille/lilla</i>	✓	✓	✓
VPreDs (<i>lā</i> and negation <i>wala</i>)	✓	✓	✓
NegIMP	✓	✓	✓
NegCOORDSs <i>lā...wala</i>	✓	✓	✓
NegSFP <i>wala</i>	✓	✓	✓

Table 83: The negative particle *lā* in Bedouin dialects of Jordan

<i>Types of negation</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
VPreDs	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>ma...š/ -š</i> (Only in the N'ēmāt)	<i>mā/ma</i>	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>ma...š/ -š</i> (Only in the N'ēmāt)
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>
PVPreDs	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>ma...š</i> (Only in the N'ēmāt)	<i>mā/ma</i>	<i>mā/ma</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i> <i>mā bū/bō</i> <i>mā/ma bī/bi</i> <i>fiš</i> <i>ma bīš</i> <i>bīš</i>	<i>mā/ma fi/fi(h)</i> <i>mā/ma bī/bi</i> <i>mā/ma fiš</i>	<i>mā/ma fi(h)</i> <i>mā fiš</i>
NVPreDs	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN <i>muš /miš</i>	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN <i>muš/miš</i>	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN <i>muš/miš</i>

Table 84: Negation in North, Central, and South Badia in previous studies (1976–2022)

<i>Types of negation</i>	<i>North Badia</i>	<i>Central Badia</i>	<i>South Badia</i>
VPreDs	<i>mā</i> <i>lā</i> <i>wala</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>lā</i> <i>wala</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>lā</i> <i>wala</i>
NegIMP	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>lā</i>
PVPreDs	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>mā</i>
ExistNEG	<i>mā fi</i> <i>mā bi</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>mā fiš</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>mā fiš</i>
NVPreDs	<i>mā</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN <i>muš, miš</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN <i>muš, miš</i>	<i>mā</i> <i>mū, mī</i> NegPN <i>muš, miš</i>

Table 85: Negation in North, Central, and South Badia in the present study (2021)

<i>Jordanian Dialects</i>	<i>Negation of verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Negation of non-verbal predicates</i>	<i>Existential negation</i>	<i>Negative imperative</i>
Sedentary	<i>mā/ma</i> <i>mā/ma...š</i> <i>-š</i> <i>miš</i>	<i>miš</i> <i>mā/ma + PN</i> <i>mā/ma + PN + š</i>	<i>mā/ma fi(h)</i> <i>mā/ma fiš</i> <i>fiš</i>	<i>lā</i> <i>lā...š</i> <i>mā/ma...š</i> <i>-š</i>
Bedouin	<i>mā</i>	<i>mū, mī</i> <i>muš, miš</i> <i>mā + PN</i>	<i>mā fi</i> <i>mā bī/bi</i> <i>mā fiš/mā fiš</i>	<i>lā</i>

Table 86: Negators commonly used in sedentary and Bedouin Jordanian dialects

6 Conclusions

6.1 Summary

The main aim of this thesis was a fieldwork-based description and analysis of the distribution and the use of the elements of negation in Bedouin tribes of Palestine (West Bank), Israel (Naqab) and Jordan (North, Central, and South Badia). To our knowledge, until now, this is the first ever documentation on negation in the selected tribes and dialects of this thesis, including data from both male and female informants. Moreover, this is the first documentation on Bedouin dialects of the West Bank (apart from Katz's work on the Rašāyda, at the Judean desert), and on some Jordanian Bedouin dialects such as those of the 'Aḏāmāt and the Šurufāt, that have not been studied until today.

In addition to describing the different types of negation, the main goal of this research was to explore the use of the *š* negator as a rather innovative, sedentary, non-traditional feature in Bedouin varieties, and the negative particle *lā*, as a rather conservative, marginalised feature in all modern Arabic varieties. It would be worth mentioning that we scarcely find in the existing literature studies focused on the description of the uses of the negative particle *lā* in Bedouin varieties.

The following conclusions are drawn from the study of the development of negation in Arabic, from the study of previous works on Bedouin dialects, and from the results of our field research in Palestine, Israel, and Jordan.

First, through a historical retrospective of the development of negation in Arabic, we reaffirmed and concluded that:

- From a large variety of negative elements used in pre-Islamic, Quranic, Classical and Modern Standard Arabic, –although we are sure that all of them were also used in the oral speech– only a few are attested today in modern Arabic varieties.
- At the same time, new morphemes and new types of negation have emerged, such as the *š* negator, the emphatic uses of *šay*, its derivatives, and its reduced suffix forms, and the various uses of *wala*.

Second, by examining negation data from previous studies on Bedouin dialects of the Arabian Peninsula, we concluded that:

- The great majority of the Arabian Peninsula Bedouin dialects refrain from the use of the *š* negator in the bipartite and postverbal form of verbal and pseudo-verbal negation.
- The *š* negator is more frequently encountered in the negation of non-verbal predicates and in the existential negation, in part of the Northwest Arabian and in the Syro-Mesopotamian dialects.
- In Bedouin dialects where stages II and III of Jespersen's cycle do not apply, the use of *šay* its derivatives and the *š* suffix are attested in negative existential markers, which is expected in dialects where the existential marker used is *šay/ši/še*. However, negative existential markers using derivatives of *šay* and the *š* suffix are additionally attested in Bedouin dialects where the usual existential markers appear as *mā/ma fī/fi/fīh*, *mā/ma b-* or *aku*.

By studying data from previous studies on Bedouin dialects, we also concluded that:

- The negative particle *lā/la*, although generally only occasionally used, exhibits various uses, especially in Najdi dialects. Apart from its common use in the negative imperative and in the negative coordination structures, *lā/la* is also attested with verbal predicates in the imperfective aspect, in negative statements and in exceptive constructions, while it is mostly used in negation of modals such as negative optative sentences, indirect prohibition, and prevention. Moreover, it is attested with verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, in negative statements and in exceptive constructions, while it is again mostly used in negation of modals like negative optative sentences. The negative particle *lā* is additionally encountered with non-verbal predicates in conditional structures, exceptive constructions, as well as in negation of pronouns.
- A distinctive use of *lā* encountered in the studied material, is the negation of verbal predicates in the perfective aspect, more often preceded by the conjunction *wa*. This case needs further research, to see whether it is primarily used to deliver emphasis, or, as a development of the classical use of *wala* +

VPrede PFV in negative coordination structures, it became an independent negator also for plain negative statements.

- It was generally observed that *lā*, when attested, it is much more often preceded by the conjunction *wa* (*wa-la*, CONJ-NEG, ‘and-not’), or used in one of the three types of *wala* (the negation *wala*, the negative conjunction *wala* and the negative scalar *wala*). The negation *wala* is mostly attested in dialects that do not use the *š* negator.

Third, based on our fieldwork-based data from Bedouin dialects in Palestine, we concluded the following:

- The Bedouin dialects of the West Bank, isolated for a long time from other Bedouin dialects and constantly in contact with Palestinian, mostly rural varieties, seem to contain a mixed variety of conservative Bedouin and innovative sedentary features, in the expression of negation.
- The *š* negator is often used in the negation of non-verbal predicates (*muš* and *miš*) and in the existential negation (*fiš* and *mā/ma fiš*), while it is also occasionally used with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates.
- The negative particle *lā* is very rarely used with verbal predicates, while it is more frequently attested in the process of storytelling. It is commonly used in the negative imperative and in negative coordination structures as the first negative element, while *wala* is attested in the negation *wala* in negative emphatic statements, in the negative scalar *wala* in negative concord constructions, and in the negative conjunction *wala* in negative coordination structures. An interesting use of *lā* is also the double emphatic form *lilla/lille* which was encountered both in the West Bank and in Jordan.

Fourth, although very restricted, our research in the Naqab revealed that:

- The studied tribes are more conservative in the expression of negation than those of the West Bank.
- The *š* negator is occasionally used, while the uses of the negative particle *lā* are similar to those of the West Bank.

Finally, based on our field research in Jordanian, Bedouin tribes of the North, Central and South Badia, we concluded that:

- The *š* negator, as a rural adopted feature, has a more limited use in the northern tribes, where it is used only in the non-verbal negative markers *muš* and *miš*. In the central tribes, though, apart from its use with non-verbal predicates in *muš* and *miš*, it is also attested in the negative existential marker *mā fiš*. In the southern tribes, we find a wider use of the *š* negator. Apart from the aforementioned uses, the *š* negator is also used, infrequently though, with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates in the bipartite or the postverbal negation.
- The negative particle *lā* is more often used in the negative imperative, and in negative coordination structures as the first negative element. Less often, it is also used with verbal predicates in plain or emphatic negative statements, in modal expressions, in negative optative sentences, in indirect prohibition, and as a preventive marker. Additionally, the negation *wala* is attested in negation of verbal and non-verbal predicates, the negative scalar *wala* is used in negative concord constructions and the negative conjunction *wala* in negative coordination structures. Moreover, a double, emphatic negative response as *lille/lilla* is attested in all studied regions.

By comparing the collected data from our field research in Palestine, Israel, and Jordan, we can also proceed to the following conclusions:

- Palestinian Bedouin dialects appear to be more affected by sedentary varieties in comparison with Jordanian Bedouin dialects. Certainly, we should also take into consideration that in general, Jordanian varieties –mainly Bedouin and rural varieties– exhibit more conservative features than Palestinian varieties in the expression of negation.
- Bedouin dialects of the West Bank and the Naqab –which both seem to belong to a common group, the Negev-type group of the Northwest Arabian dialects– reveal differences in the expression of negation, with the latter being more conservative than the former.

- Northern Jordanian Bedouin dialects appear more conservative than central and southern dialects, while innovative features as the *š* negator are more frequently encountered in the southern varieties.
- The negative particle *lā* exhibits a wider range of uses in the Jordanian Bedouin tribes than in the Palestinian ones, but of course we should keep in mind that the sample from Jordan is larger than that from Palestine.

In conclusion, based on the findings of this study, we attempted to define in general terms the uses of the negative particles *mā* and *lā* that could be considered as conservative (or classical, or traditional) in the expression of negation in Bedouin –but perhaps also in all modern Arabic– varieties. We are restricted to the uses of the *mā* and *lā*, considering that the total of the *š* negator’s uses (in negation of verbal, pseudo-verbal, non-verbal predicates, pronouns, and in the existential negation) are innovative forms that have been adopted from sedentary varieties.

Table 87 illustrates the conservative uses of *mā* and *lā* in the expression of negation.

<i>mā</i>	<i>lā</i>
Use of the classical negative construction with <i>mā</i> in negation of verbal, and pseudo-verbal predicates	Use of <i>lā</i> , <i>wa-la</i> or the negation <i>wala</i> in negation of verbal, pseudo-verbal, non-verbal predicates, and modal expressions
Use of <i>mā</i> and its morphological variants <i>mū</i> and <i>mī</i> in negation of non-verbal predicates	Use of <i>lā</i> as the first negative element in negative coordination structures with verbal and pseudo-verbal predicates
Use of <i>mā</i> and its morphological variants in negation of pronouns (by preceding or prefixing them)	Use of <i>lā</i> in the negative imperative
Use of simple negation (<i>mā fi/mā bi</i>) in the existential negation	Double emphatic forms of negative response

Table 87: Conservative uses of *mā* and *lā* in the expression of negation

6.2 *Limitations and further research*

The results of the present research should also be considered in the light of some limitations that will be described below.

First, the results on negation based on previous works are often limited to scattered data from studies not focused on negation, and therefore, evaluation criteria such as the frequency of use of a negative element, or the occasional use of less common negative elements are often not included.

Second, data extraction through free speech –which was the method mostly preferred in the present research– are very likely not to include all types of negation or the entire possible variety of negative elements that express negation.

Third, the sample from the field research that took place in Jordan includes in its majority informants over 50 years old and therefore does not reflect the use of negation among younger speakers.

Fourth, the sample size from the field research in Naqab is too limited to provide enough and representative information.

Finally, non-evaluable data occasionally occurred due to the use of Mixed Arabic by some informants (usually male informants with prominent positions in the communities). We tried to exclude all these data (except for cases that we wanted to highlight in the thesis), however, we do not rule out the potential that we have included cases that we could not accurately assess.

Future research is needed on each of the studied Bedouin tribes, for a comparative study of the elements of negation. Moreover, further work is required on the use of the negative particle *lā* in the sedentary varieties of each studied area, for a comparative study of its frequency and uses within Bedouin and sedentary dialects. This thesis argues that *lā* could be included among the conservative features occasionally encountered in Palestinian and Jordanian Bedouin dialects, however, only equivalent research on the Palestinian and Jordanian sedentary dialects could confirm or reject such a hypothesis. It would be also interesting to further explore the cases where *lā* and the negation *wala* are mostly used and by which members of the Bedouin communities, based on sociolinguistic factors (age, social status, education, etc.). An additional issue to explore would be whether *lā* and the negation *wala* are primarily used for emphatic negation or whether they are equally used for plain negation. Further discussion could

confirm or dispute the list of the conservative uses of *mā* and *lā* (table 87) and future research could aim at examining additional negative elements in order to expand the list of the conservative features illustrated in table 87 (conservative features could include for example the negative noun *ġēr/ġār* used as a negative marker, and Bedouins' lexicon elements for negation such as the verb *ʿayya*, the participle *mʿayyi*, the negative concord item *šele*, and so on). Furthermore, a list of other innovative features, apart from the uses of the *š* negator, in the expression of negation in Bedouin but also in sedentary dialects might prove useful. An interesting topic for future work would be therefore to proceed to a classification of both innovative and conservative features of negation in Bedouin, rural, and urban Arabic varieties.

7 References

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