

Emphatic Negative Coordination in Arabic
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We discuss the emphatic negative coordination construction of vernacular Arabic. Our data is drawn from Turaif Arabic; the construction itself is widely distributed across vernacular Arabics, and involves the co-occurrence of the elements *wala* and *lā*. Beyond the particular construction on which we focus, the particle *lā* marks a prohibitive (ie. a negative imperative) (see (1)) and the element *wala* occurs in two closely related uses, preverbally as a negative quantifier determiner (as in (2)) and postverbally as a negative concord (NC) (scalar focus) determiner, as in (3) (glossed ‘not.even’ and ‘even’ respectively). Sentential negation (SN) is expressed by the particle *mā* appearing immediately adjacent to the verb (the *lā* which negates the imperfective verbform in Modern Standard Arabic is not used). Negation in non-verbal predication is realised by the particle *mu* (and its inflectional variants).

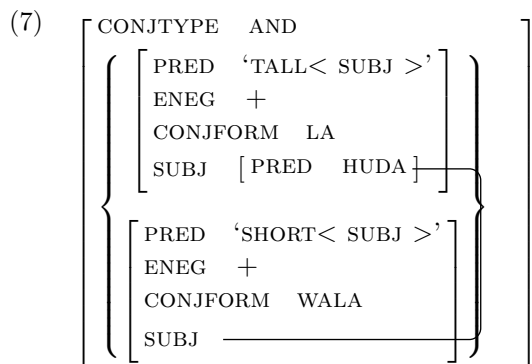
- (1) **lā** ta-ktib l-wağeb
NEG 2SGM-write.IMPV DEF-homework
Don’t write the homework!
- (2) **wala** ṭālib ġa l-yōm
not.even student come.PV.3SGM DEF-day
Not even a single student came today.
- (3) mā ġa **wala** ṭālib l-yōm
NEG. come.PV.3SGM even student DEF-day
Not even a single student came today.

Although neither *lā* nor *wala* **in isolation** are markers of sentential negation, the combination *lā ...wala* can be used to mark a negative coordination, for both verbal and non-verbal predication. In such cases it provides an emphatic or focussed alternative to the use of standard *mā/mu* negation (and the use of the standard coordinating particle *w*), and hence expresses SN. The use of focus particles and correlative negation particles in expressing emphatic (focussed) negative coordination (ENC) is familiar from a number of other languages.

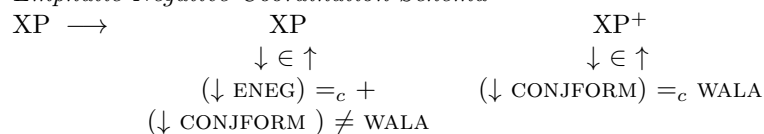
- (4) aħmad **lā** akal **wala** šarab şey l-yōm
Ahmad NEG eat.PFV.3SGM CONJ.NEG drink.PFV.3SGM thing DEF-today
Ahmad neither ate nor drank anything today.
- (5) aħmad **lā** akal l-ruz **wala** šarb l-gahwa
Ahmad NEG eat.PFV.3SGM DEF-rice.SGM CONJ.NEG drink.PFV.3SGM DEF-coffee.SGM
Ahmad neither ate the rice nor drank the coffee.
- (6) huda **lā** ṭawīl-a **wala** gašīr-a
Huda NEG tall-SGF CONJ.NEG short-SGF
Huda is neither tall nor short.

The likelihood is that the negative conjunction *wala* has grammaticalised from a combination of *w* ‘and’ and *lā* (which in some vernaculars is also attested as a marker of predicate or sentential negation, beyond the negative imperative). We will argue that the use of *wala* exemplified in (4) - (6) should be treated synchronically as a marker of (emphatic) coordination which, in addition to specifying the conjunct which it marks as negative, cannot appear on an initial conjunct, and requires the initial conjunct also to be negative. Beyond its use in the prohibitive mood, *la* is restricted to the initial conjunct, which it marks as negative. The distribution of *la* is controlled by a lexical requirement that it occur within an ‘and’ type coordinate structure.

Briefly, we will argue that ENC in Turaif Arabic involves a particular coordination schema which is similar to a hierarchical schema for polysyndetic coordination in other languages (while other coordinating particles occur in ‘flat’ XP - Conj - XP structures), where XP is understood as ranging over the appropriate set of predicative categories. The (schematic) f-structure for (6) (a case of non-verbal predication) is shown in (7), where the feature ENEG is used to encode sentential negation, following Przepiórkowski and Patejuk (2015). For clarity, here we abstract away from the focussing nature of ENC, which we will additionally discuss in the presentation.



(8) *Emphatic Negative Coordination Schema*



(9) *wala* $(\uparrow \text{CONJFORM}) = \text{WALA}$
 $(\uparrow \text{ENEG}) = +$
 $((\in \uparrow) \text{CONJTYPE}) = \text{AND}$

(10) *lā* $(\uparrow \text{CONJFORM}) = \text{LAA}$
 $(\uparrow \text{ENEG}) = +$
 $((\in \uparrow) \text{CONJTYPE}) =_c \text{AND}$

Note that while ENC *wala* occurs only on non-initial conjuncts and requires the initial conjunct to (also) be negative, it does *not* require the negative expression in the initial conjunct to be *lā*. Examples with *ma* and *mu* are also felicitous examples of ENC (and are permitted by the formulation in (8)).

(11) mansor **ma** ġ-a **wala** kalim l-yōm
Mansour NEG come.PFV-3SGM CONJ.NEG call.PFV.3SGM today
Mansour neither came nor called today.

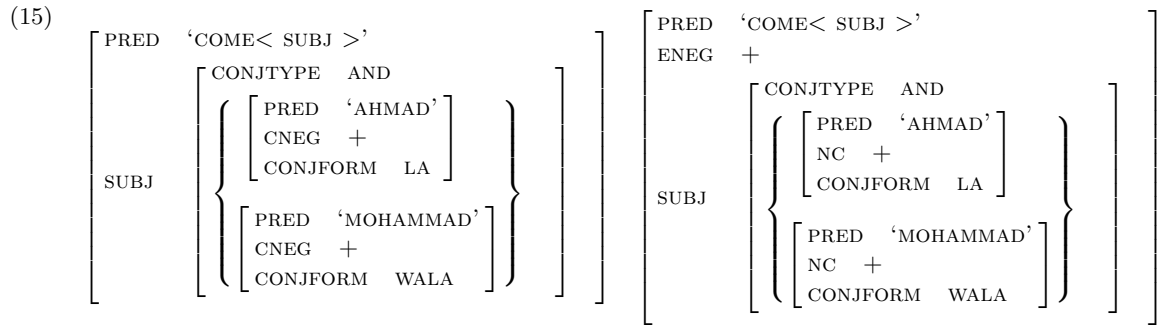
(12) huda **mi** ṭawīl-a **wala** gaṣīr-a
Huda NEG.3SGF tall-SGF CONJ.NEG short-SGF
Huda is neither tall nor short.

Alongside its use in predicate/sentential negation, *lā...wala* also figures in ENC of arguments and other dependents. Here its behaviour shows a parallel with that of determiner *wala* (but note that neither *la* nor *wala* are determiners in this coordinative use): in the preverbal field, we see a NEG interpretation whereas in postverbal position the behaviour is that of a negative *concord* NC item (it is licensed only in anti-additive (truly negative) environments, and can express negation in fragment answers): *lissa* ‘yet’ is an NPI. Examples (13) and (14) illustrate (this positional alternation in interpretation is completely general across grammatical functions - it is **not** limited to ENC with subject function).

(13) **lā** aḥmad **wala** mohammad ḡā lissa
 NEG Ahmad CONJ.NEG Mohammad come.PFV.3SGM still
 Neither Ahmad nor Mohammad came yet.

(14) **ma** ḡā **lā** aḥmad **wala** mohammad lissa
 NEG come.PFV.3SGM NEG Ahmad CONJ.NEG Mohammad still
 Neither Ahmad nor Mohammad came yet.

We will argue that the distinction between CNEG and NC readings is encoded featurally at f-structure as shown in (15). In order to account for argument/dependent ECN constructions we formulate a coordination schema along the lines of (16) and extend our lexical treatment of *wala* and *la* to introduce both CNEG and NC occurrences (again, for clarity, we keep these entries separate from those for the ‘predicate’ use of the negative conjunctions). The main challenge posed by this data is that of determining and formalizing the precise conditions under which the NC and CNEG readings arise, since a number of subtleties arise, in particular when we consider the interaction with (and consequences for) the analysis of non-verbal predication.



(16) *Emphatic Negative Coordination Schema: Dependents*
 XP → XP XP
 ↓ ∈ ↑ ↓ ∈ ↑
 (↓ CONJFORM) =_c LAA (↓ CONJFORM) =_c WALA

The main generalisation is that the NC interpretation arises if there is ENEG in the clause **and** the marker of ENEG precedes the negative conjunction (*la* and *wala*), while the interpretation as a marker of (constituent) negation (CNEG) arises if there is no marker of ENEG **and** no marker of TNS which f-precede the negative conjunction - (17) exemplifies. The presence/absence of ENEG condition can be captured by an inside-out functional uncertainty statement (see Przepiórkowski and Patejuk (2015) for Polish NC items such as *nikt* ‘nobody.NOM’): ((GF⁺ ∈ ↑) ENEG) (for an appropriate definition of GF). We will propose an account of the precedence requirements using f-precedence, a relation between f-structures based on the c-structure relation of precedence between the (2 sets of) c-structure nodes in the inverse mapping. In order to do so, we need **both** the values of the ENEG and the TNS feature to take a position in the f-precedence relation *independent* of the larger (sentential) f-structure, a point which we will discuss more fully in the paper. Finally our account correctly predicts that a double negation reading arises when a CNEG-marking ENC coordination precedes the marker of sentential negation *mā*.

(17) *wala* Conj (↑ CONJFORM) = WALA
 ((∈ ↑) CONJTYPE) = AND
 { (↑ CNEG) = + ∧ ((GF⁺ ∈ ↑) ENEG) _f ≠ ∧ ((GF⁺ ∈ ↑) TENSE) _f ≠ |
 (↑ NC) = + ∧ ((GF⁺ ∈ ↑) ENEG) =_c + ∧ ((GF⁺ ∈ ↑) ENEG) _f < ↑ }

References

Przepiórkowski, Adam and Agnieszka Patejuk. 2015. Two representations of negation in LFG: Evidence from Polish. In M. Butt and T. H. King, eds., *Proceedings of LFG15*, pages 322–336. Stanford, CA: CSLI.