AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

NEGATION IN THE LEBANESE DIALECT OF ZEITOUN, KESERWAN: AN EXAMINATION OF CLAIMS, CONCEPTS, AND USAGE

by
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Words cannot express how grateful I am to my father for encouraging me to follow my dreams and the route to happiness, as well as my mother and sisters for their supporting role while abroad. I would also like to thank my grandmother who will never know the extent in which she opened my eyes up to my own heritage and language. I would also like to thank all my friends who supported me in writing and encouraged me to strive to fulfill my goals. A special thanks to Ms. Mehrnoush Shafiei for making the last final edits in this study; I would have never completed this without your unwavering support and enthusiasm for my research.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Title: Negation in the Lebanese dialect of Zeitoun, Keserwan: An examination of claims, concepts, and usage

The present study investigated negation constructions *ma…–š, ʾa…–š,* and *–š* used in the Zeitouni dialect of Keserwan in Mount Lebanon, Lebanon. The central research question of this study aimed to investigate whether word-initial, non-labial consonants, both in the imperfective and perfective forms, could be negated with sole post-positive *–š*. Additional research questions investigated whether or not specific verbs tended toward formulaicity in negation pattern usage, as well as if negative interrogatives, exclamations, and declarative sentences exhibited association with negator *–š*. This study used the participant observer approach to investigate natural language in a social network study; 15 participants, selected as part of a judgment sample in Zeitoun, were recorded for 10-12 hours in total during natural conversation with relatives, friends, and neighbors.

The results showed that contrary to a large part of the literature, both non-labial imperfective and perfective verbs and pseudo-verbs are negated with sole post-positive *–š*. In terms of formulaicity, *a baʾāš* and *a ʿrft-š* tended to formulaically negate with the construction *ʾa…–š*. Additionally, there is a slight association between interrogation and exclamation and post-verbal *–š* usage. This study strongly contradicts the study of Abu-Haidar's (1979) study of the dialect in Baskinta, situated relatively close to Zeitoun. A follow-up study in Baskinta would help further clarify the differences between the, otherwise, quite similar dialects. More research will need to be conducted in Zeitoun to obtain a more thorough data on the usage of negative *–š* with interrogatives and exclamations. With only three separate studies of the Mount Lebanon dialects, the more dialect studies are completed in this region, the more we may validate negation usage in the Levantine dialects and question others.

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TRANSCRIPTION GUIDE

This study was transliterated using the Deutsches Institut für Normung (DIN) 31635, a transliteration standard for the Arabic alphabet. Macrons displayed over the vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, and *ū* signify long vowels. All transcription cited in this paper, including those from outside sources, follow this transcription system for consistency. Additionally, this system was used to transcribe the Arabic speech found in the Zeitouni dialect. A phonological representation of a "Lebanese" standard was used. Since I was concerned with only the syntactic structure of negation, vowel quality was accorded less attention than the syntax structure. Diphthongs (such as *aw* or *ay*), characteristic of many rural Lebanese dialects like Zeitoun, were not represented. Words such as *lawn* 'color', *layš* 'why', or *hawn* 'here', were, instead, standardized to *lōn*, *leš*, or *hōn*. Table 1.1 displays the Arabic letter's equivalent to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) standard and the corresponding transliteration symbol used in this study.

Table 1.1 – Transliteration Guide to the Study

Arabic	IPA	Transliteration Symbol
ا	ʾ	ʾ
ب	b	b
ت	t	t
ث	θ	t̲
ج	j	ǧ
ح	ḥ	ḥ
خ	x	x
د	d	d
ذ	ð	d̲
ر	r	r
ز	z	z
س	s	s
ش	ʃ	š
ص	ṣ	ṣ
ض	ḍ	ḍ
ط	ṭ	ṭ
ظ	ẓ	ẓ
ع	ʿ	ʿ
غ	ġ	ġ
ف	f	f
ق	q	q
ك	k	k
ل	l	l
م	m	m
ن	n	n
ه	h	h
و	w	w
ى	y	y

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Zeitoun is a very small rural town with nothing more than a few churches and mosques, one gas station, and some small shops. It is located in the district of Keserwan in the Mount Lebanon Governorate, situated approximately 11 kilometers east of Nahr Ibrahim (Abraham River) and 40 kilometers northeast of Beirut (see Figure 1.1).

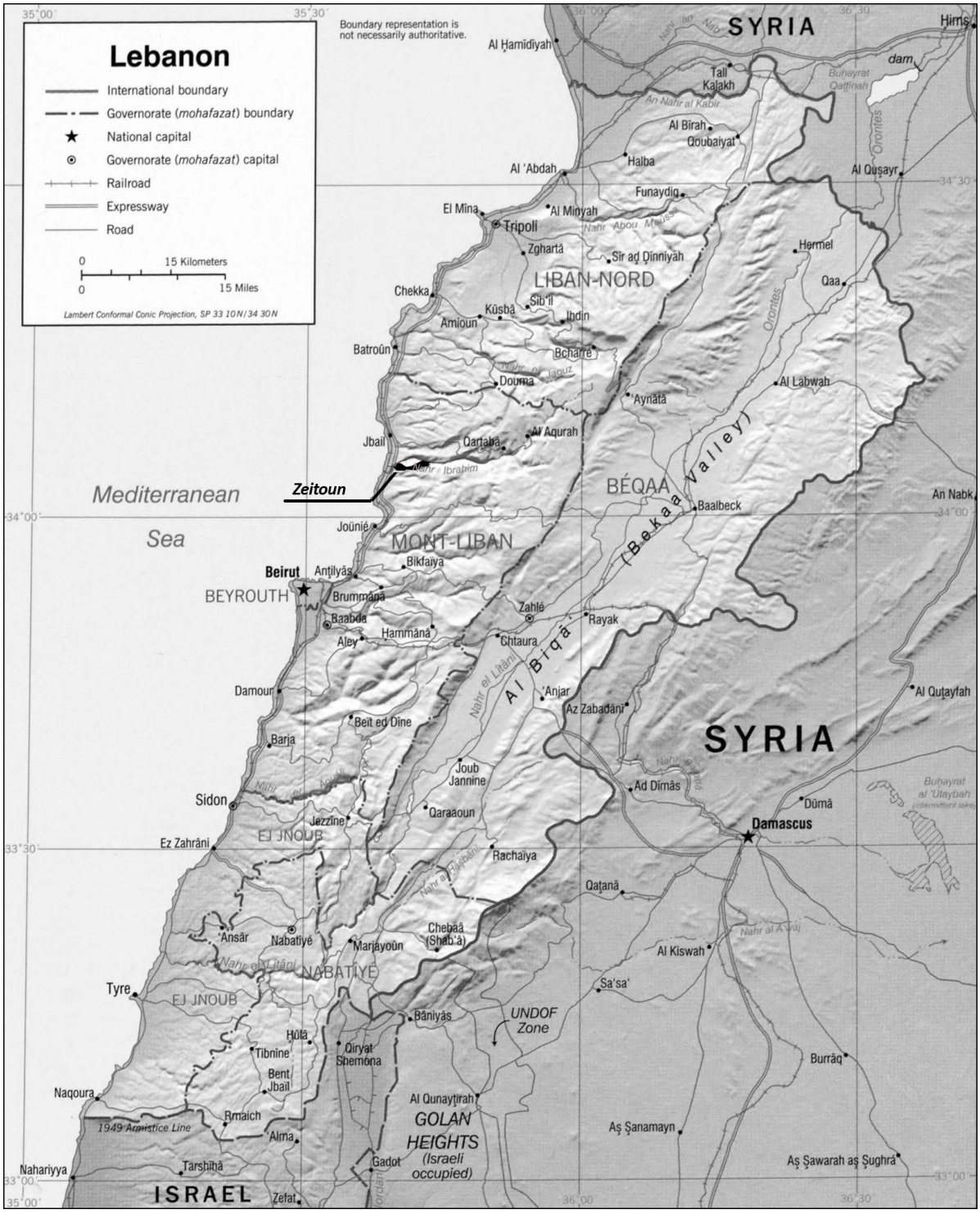

Figure 1.1 – Location of Zeitoun in Lebanon

A. The Study's Focus

This study focused on the negation patterns of the Maronite community in Zeitoun, specifically the variants of negator *–š*. For illustration purposes, Figure 1.2 displays a distribution of Northern Levantine negation techniques, with an emphasis on the distribution of Lebanon (Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 101). *Ma katabt* 'I didn't write' is found all around Lebanon. The variant *a katab* is also found in some places, excluding its northwest coastline, according to Figure 1.2. In contrast, *ma katabš* is found on the coastline from the south of Beirut stretching to its southern border of Palestine and to its southeastern border of Syria. Finally, the variant *a katabš* is found in Lebanon's mid-mountainous regions stretching from west to east.

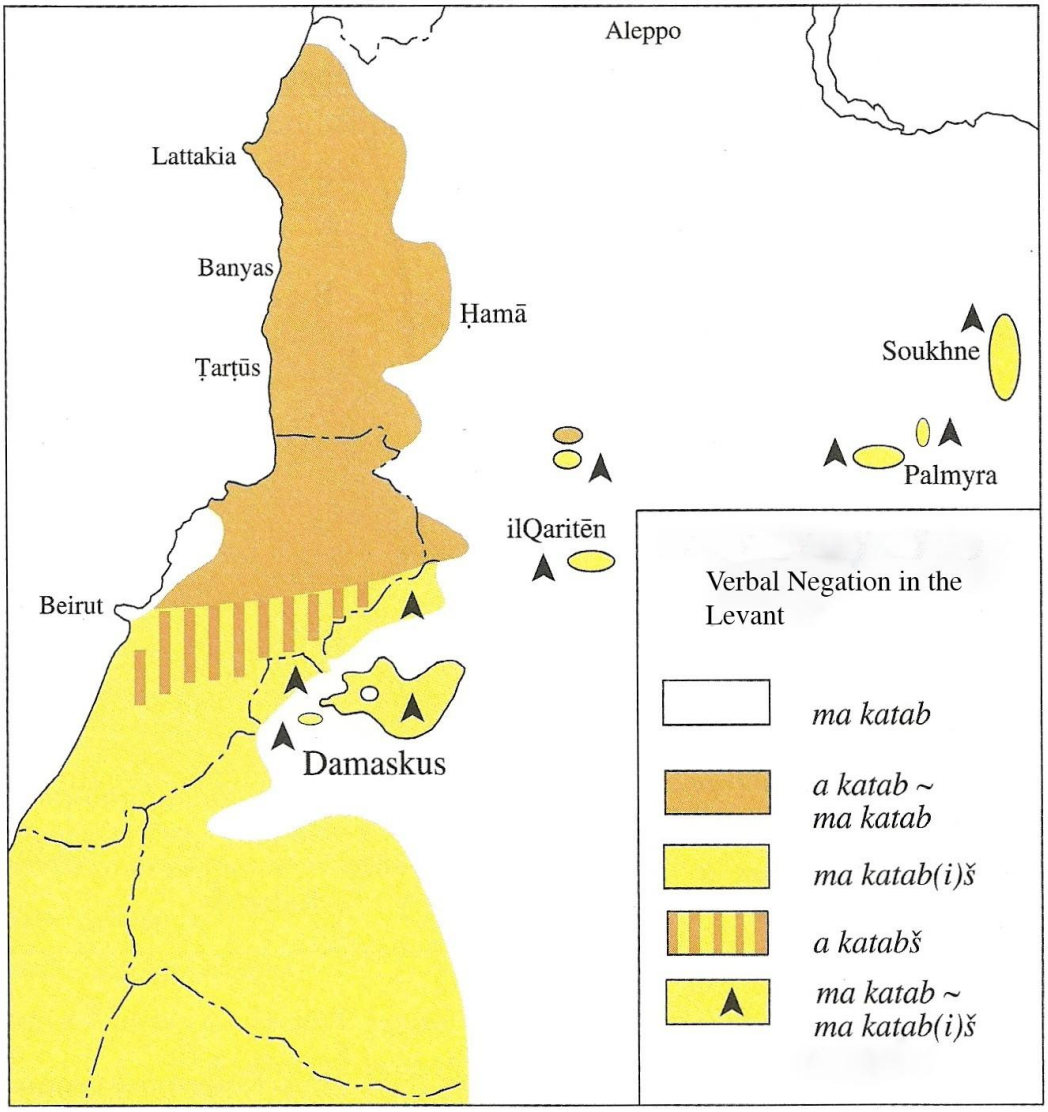

Figure 1.2 – Distribution of Northern Levantine Negation Technique

As will be introduced and discussed in later chapters, all various forms of negation mentioned above in Figure 1.2 exist in Zeitoun.

B. History of Zeitoun

The very name of Keserwan may have originally come from the Persian *Kisra*. In the early Umayyad times, newly Islamicized Persian clans from Iran settled in rural

areas, like Keserwan, to guard the mountain passes and the coast for the Muslim state (Salibi 1988: 139). Around the middle of the 7th century A.D. the Maradaites, a militant Christian group of uncertain origin, settled in Mount Lebanon, followed by Maronites, a Christian community, who, feeling religious persecution, immigrated to the area and established themselves among the population (Abu-Haidar 1979: 1-2). Between the 7th and 11th centuries, more Christians from Syria fled to Northern Lebanon in order to avoid payment imposed upon them as non-Muslims by Muslim rulers (Abu-Haidar 1979: 2). In the 11th century other religious communities settled in the mountains of Lebanon, including the Shiites' migration to Keserwan. With the coming of the Ottomans in 1516, the Turkoman Sunni Muslims favored the Maronites as a counterbalance to the turbulent Shiite element in the region (Salibi 1988: 14) Thus, starting in about 1545, Maronites from the northern regions of Mount Lebanon began to settle in the villages of Keserwan (Salibi 1988: 14). Present day Zeitoun hosts a minority of the Shiite population, while the Maronite population represents the majority of the population.

C. Literature of Lebanese Dialects

The first systematic treatments of Lebanese dialects begin with European involvement in the Arabic-speaking world in the 19th century. These consisted of dialect dictionaries, descriptive grammar textbooks, and textual analysis from the dialects (Obler 1975: 3). Fast forward to present day, and systematic linguistic studies on any particular Lebanese region are rare. Not including instruction manuals on the Lebanese dialect, the following literature can be found on the Lebanese dialect:

- Lebanese Dialect (not specific to region)
    - Dialect survey of the syntax of Lebanese dialects (Feghali 1928)
    - Dialect survey of various Lebanese dialects, mainly concentrated on Mount Lebanon, though including North and South governorates (Fleish 1974)
    - Phonology of Lebanese dialects (Abdul-Karim 1980)
    - A grammar of Lebanese dialects (Thackston 1996)
    - Phonemic system in Lebanese Dialect (Obégi 1971)
- North Governorate
    - Bishmizzine, Koura district (Jiha 1964)
    - Tripoli (el-Hajje 1954)
    - Kfar ʿAbîda, Batroun District (Feghali 1919)
- Beqaa Governorate
    - Baalbeck (Lakkis 1987)
- Mount Lebanon Governorate
    - Chanaay, Aley District (Druze population) (Zein 1981)
    - Baskinta, Metn District (Abu-Haidar 1979)
    - Shouf District (Druze population) (Riman 2008)
- Beirut Governorate
    - Ras Beirut, specifically the area of ʿAyn al Muraysá (Naïm-Sanbar 1985)
    - Moussaytbe, Beirut (Srage 1997)
- South Governorate
    - Bint Jbeil (Makki 1983)

Disregarding literature lacking a focus on a specific region or town, we are left with a total of ten dialectal studies. Of these ten, only three are located in the governorate of this study, Mount Lebanon, specifically in the districts of Aley, Metn, and the Shouf. Furthermore, there have been no previous studies that cover the focus of this research, the village of Zeitoun or its district of Keserwan. This study aimed to explore the use of negative *–š* in Zeitoun. More specifically, it investigated if sole post-positive *–š* negates the perfective and the imperfective in verb forms other than those beginning with labial consonants; additionally, it evaluated if interrogatives, exclamations, and declaratives followed formulaic patterns of negation.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

A. Purpose of the Study

This study addresses the different ways negation with *–š* is used in Zeitoun and aimed to answer the following questions:

1. Do speakers use sole post-positive *–š* to negate imperfective verbs with initial consonants other than those beginning with labial consonants *b–* or *f–* or prohibitive *t–*?
2. Do speakers use sole post-positive *–š* to negate perfective verbs?
3. Are certain verbs and/or pseudo-verbs formulaic in terms of negation pattern usage?
4. Do negative interrogatives, exclamations, and/or declarative sentences exhibit association with negator *–š*?

B. Participants

The participants were selected as part of a judgment sample, based on age and amount of time spent in Zeitoun. The participants included both males and females between the ages of 20-30, 50-65, and 66-85. 15 participants in total were chosen to be representative of the Zeitouni dialect of Keserwan. Of these 15 participants, three were of the age bracket 20-30; five were of the age bracket 50-65; and seven were of the age bracket of 66-85. In other words, three people belonged to

the younger age bracket and twelve to the older age bracket (see Table 1.2 below).

Table 1.2 – Distribution of Participants

Age	Female	Male	Total
20-30	2	1	3
50-65	4	1	5
66-85	5	2	7
Total	11	4	15

The elderly population presumably retains older varieties of the current dialects than, for example, young or middle-aged generations. This principle is postulated by Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 30) who state: "…they should be older in order to reflect the speech of a bygone era…." It is also noted that younger people are expected to be more mobile and prone to outside language influences (for example, from the city) and any difference in language between a younger and older generation may be a direct identification of language change. Table 1.3 displays the distribution of participants from Zeitoun by birthdate, gender, and residence history:

Table 1.3 – Detailed Distribution of Participants by Speaker, Age, and Residence

Speaker	Birthdate Gender	Residence
1	1933 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Since 1953, she has commuted from Beirut to Zeitoun on weekends and stayed during the summer seasons.
2	1959 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Commuted daily between Beirut and Zeitoun and stayed in Zeitoun during the summer. Moved outside of Lebanon in 1980 (21 years old).
3	1955 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Commuted between Beirut and Zeitoun on the weekends and stayed in Zeitoun during the summer. Moved to Jbeil in 1982 (27 years old). Continues to take weekly trips to Zeitoun.
4	1934 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. In 1958 (24 years old), married and moved to Beirut. Since then, takes weekly trips to Zeitoun.
5	1944 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. In 1957 (13 years old), moved to Beirut to study and work. During this period, every weekend and summer visited Zeitoun. In 1987 (30 years old) moved back to Zeitoun and currently resides there.

6	1940 Male	Born and raised Zeitoun. In 1957 (17 years old), moved to Beirut to study and work. During this time period, lived in Zeitoun every weekend and every summer. In 1980 (40 years old), moved back to Zeitoun and currently resides there.
7	1950 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. In 1957 (7 years old), moved to Beirut to study. In 1980 (30 years old), moved back to Zeitoun and currently resides there.
8	1940 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun through 1953 (12 years old). Since then, lives in Beirut in the winter and Zeitoun in the summer.
9	1956 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Lives in Beirut during the winter and Zeitoun in the summer. Since 2012, has lived in Zeitoun, while commuting to Beirut.
10	1987 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Commutes to Beirut for school and work. Visited Zeitoun every summer and every weekend through year 2000. Currently, lives in Zeitoun on the weekends and Jbeil during the week.
11	1990 Male	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Commutes to Beirut for school and work. Visited Zeitoun every summer and every weekend through year 2000. Currently, lives in

		Zeitoun on the weekends and Jbeil during the week.
12	1984 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Has lived in Ballooneh (Keserwan) since 2012. Visits Zeitoun every weekend and summer.
13	1942 Male	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Travels between Beirut and Zeitoun for work.
14	1945 Male	Born and raised in Zeitoun. In 1978, moved to Beirut for work. Has commuted between Zeitoun and Beirut since 2000.
15	1950 Female	Born and raised in Zeitoun. Has lived in Ballooneh (Keserwan) since 2012. Visits Zeitoun every weekend and summer.

C. Field Technique

The fieldwork for this research was conducted from December 2013 to February 2014. Recordings mainly took place in the residences of the participants' homes in Zeitoun, but they also took place in their alternative residences in Beirut. Before proceeding with the recordings, I received permission from participants to record as an observer of their conversations. The participants were informed that they would be recorded in order to study their use of negation, conversations usually lasting anywhere from 30 minutes to two hours, totaling to about 10-12 hours of usable recordings. I recorded all conversations using the Apple Macintosh *garageband* program. When needed, due to limited electricity in the mountains, I recorded

conversations using a handheld recording device, which was then inputted into my computer for analysis.

1. Primary Data Collector: Insider and Outsider

Because of their familiarity with me from my regular family trips to Lebanon, as well as from my past four years as a resident in Lebanon, all participants were quite comfortable in my presence, reflecting a significant level of trust. In my study, I served as both an *insider* and *outsider* as the primary data collector: an outsider since I was not actively part of the conversations; and also an insider, because I had become a familiar face in the community. This situation was ideal, as I found it relatively easy to observe and analyze the Zeitouni dialect in a natural state. As Milroy (1987: 45) notes: "Labov's technique of using an *insider* to collect his primary data, and Gumperz's technique, as an outsider, of *avoiding* interaction with the self-recruited group, both show an *implicit* recognition of the importance of the content of the network ties." I was thus both an insider and an outsider to the social network.

2. Social Network Study

In order to study the Zeitouni dialect in the most natural setting, I recorded the participants' conversations in a group setting, whether it was during lunch, conversation during television commercial breaks, during a game of cards, or while neighbors and friends visited to have coffee throughout the day. These recordings usually included at least two and often more people conversing with each other. In her study of working-class communities in Belfast, Milroy (1987, 1997) pioneered the social network technique for synchronic dialectal observations. She specifically

investigated the correlation between the degree of strength between each person's relationship with one another and their community and the way that those individuals spoke in the specific dialect. She found that the closer the relationship to the group and/or community under study, the more likely participants were to use a specific vernacular or use a version of what otherwise would have been a "non-standard form" outside of the specific dialect (Milroy 1987: 146-149). The participants in Zeitoun were thus recorded while among their dense and multiplex social network. In other words, their relationships had two dimensions; not only were participants blood relatives or friends, but they were also close neighbors living in very close proximity to one another (Milroy 1997: 105).

3. Obtaining Natural Language in a Social Network Study

In what is a "norm enforcement mechanism," if an individual is embedded in a close-knit network, the individual is more liable to conform to community norms than is one whose network is loose-knit, and therefore, vulnerable to pressure by social norms (Milroy 1997: 106). As Milroy's model predicted, those in her Belfast study who communicated in close-knit networks tended to approximate closely to the vernacular norms that were characteristic of the local dialect (Milroy 1997: 106). Because I am mainly concerned with the present use of the dialect, a close-knit network study is ideal in tracking the "norms" of daily vernacular spoken dialect of rural Zeitoun. On most occasions, participants were so involved in their conversations, that my recording device or my presence seldom affected them.

D. Data Analysis

After completing the recordings, I transcribed all negated sentences and analyzed them by form of negation. The occurrences of negator *mā* with and without *–š* were counted in both verbal and pseudo-verbal usage. The specific types of negation were further counted, including *ma…–š, ʾa…–š,* and *…–š* in verbal and pseudo-verbal negation types, both in the imperfective and the perfective. Nominal negations were counted, including *miš*, *menn–* (with and without *–š)*, as well as other *–š* forms, including interrogatives *šu*, *ašu*, *eš*, and *ešin*. Finally, minor accounts of negation were accounted for, such as *la*, *la…–š,* and sole negator *ʾa*. These negation types were further analyzed to determine verbal and pseudo-verbal formulaicity.

E. Limitations

Zeitoun is a unique place to investigate dialects due to the lack of village schools, universities, or "common areas" to buy groceries and supplies, and so this propels much of the population to study and work outside of Zeitoun. Of course, some residents do reside in Zeitoun on a permanent basis to avoid distant travel, though many live in a city house on the weekdays and reside in Zeitoun on the weekends, causing them to be exposed to a variety of different dialects.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

Common to all Arabic dialects is the usage of the negative particle *mā* 'not', used by prefacing *mā* to the verb, perfective or imperfective:

(1) ma[1] bti-rtāḥ hōn

not she-comfortable here

'She doesn't feel comfortable here'

(2) ma byi-štiġal

not he-work

'He doesn't work'[2]

Furthermore, a well-known feature of many Arabic dialects is the split-morpheme negation construction, composed of the negation preverbal element *mā*, as well as the post-verbal enclitic particle *–š* (Obler 1975: 35-41). The previous examples are additionally shown below with the split-morpheme negation construction:

1 In isolation, the lexeme *mā* will be written as such, displaying a macron over the letter */a/* to signify a long vowel. In cases where *mā* is not used in isolation, like in the case of *ma bti-rtāḥ* , it will be displayed as a short vowel without the macron 'ma', as in the cited example.

2 Unattributed examples are from my own data collected in Zeitoun, Keserwan, Mount Lebanon.

(3) ma bti-rtaḥ -š hōn

not she-comfortable-š here

‘She doesn’t feel comfortable here’

(4) ma byi-štiġal-š

not he-work-š

‘He doesn’t work’

Several examples have been chosen from the vernacular Lebanese Arabic of the Keserwan region to illustrate the negative *–š* enclitic. It is quite common to find the split morpheme negation *ma…–š* in many parts of the Levantine region, including parts of Lebanon:

(5) an-nōm ma by-him-ne > an-nōm ma by-him-nē-š

‘Sleep is not important to us’

(6) ma byiʾdar > ma byiʾdar-š

‘He can’t’

Found in various Levantine dialects, though in Lebanon, central to its southern and mid-mountainous regions, verbal negation is additionally found with the split morpheme *ʾa…–š*:

(7) ma byiʾbil-ūš > a byiʾbil-ūš

‘They don’t accept’

(8) ma bit-xaṭ iṭ -š > a bit-xaṭ iṭ -š

‘You don’t plan’

In selected regions of the Levantine, verbal negations may be found with sole pre-verbal *ʾa–* (see Figure 1.2: Introduction; Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 101):

(9) a katab-š > a katab

‘He did not write’

Just as verbal sentences may be negated using split-morpheme negation *ma…–š*, pseudo-verbs, too, may be negated this way:

(10) *fī-ya* ‘She is able to’ > *ma fi-yē-š* ‘She isn’t able to’
(11) *bidd-a* ‘She wants’ > *ma bidd-ā-š* ‘She doesn’t want’
(12) *maʿē* ‘I have’ > *ma maʿē-š* ‘I don’t have’
(13) *ʿand-ak* ‘You have’ > *ma ʿand-ak-š* ‘You don’t have’

Pseudo-verb negation may additionally negate with split-morpheme negation *ʾa…–š*:

(14) ma fī-yon-š > a fī-yon-š

‘They can’t’

(15) ma bidd-āk-š > a bidd-āk-š

'You don't want'

(16) ma maʿ-ak-š > a maʿ-ak-š

'You don't have'

Some of those same dialects may negate with sole post-positive *–š*, pseudo-verbs and imperfective verbs being the most common:

(17) *ma maʿ-ak-š* > *maʿ-āk-š* 'You don't have'

(18) *ma rad-et-š* > *rad-et-š* 'Didn't she answer?'

(19) *ma t-ins-īš* > *t-ins-ī-š* 'Don't forget'

Predicates of nominal sentences may be negated with variants of *miš*:

(20) inte ʿārife el-tafaṣ īl > inte miš ʿārife el-tafaṣ īl

'You know the details' > 'You don't know the details'

(21) iza inte nāzl-e > iza inte miš nāzl-e

'If you are going down' > 'If you aren't going down'

Non-predicate negation, or denial, used by Wilmsen (2013: 6), after Woidich (1968) and Mughazy (2008), is additionally present in the region of this study, using variants of *ma…–š*:

(22) ana hōne > ana menn-ī-š hōne

‘I am here’ > ‘I’m not here’

(23) ana ʿāṭ e el-hem > (ana) menn-ī-š ʿāṭ e el-hem

‘I’m worried’ > ‘I’m not worried’

A. Geographical Locations of *–š* Negation

Since many Arabic dialects have not been documented in the past, we can only speculate where split-morpheme negation may have originated. Obler (1990: 47) is not quite sure of the historical evidence, as she even states herself that “as to speculations on the historical development of negative *–š*, our clues are few.” Currently, many Arabic dialects from Egypt to Morocco, in Yemen, and in the Levant negate with *–š* in very similar ways. Obler (1990: 48) proposes that it may have begun in Palestine, further spreading to coastal areas, such as the Maghreb, Oman, and the Yemen, due to trade. However, Wilmsen (2013: 7) points out that other locations, in addition to coastal settlements, have been using *–š* negation, such as the Ḥōrān Plateau of Syria, the mountainous regions of Lebanon, or Ṣ anaʿā in the Yemen.

B. Historical Developments of *–š* Negation

Most speculate that historical developments have caused the variety of *–š*, such as a reduction from *ma…–š* to *ʾa…–š* to *–š.* Many have theorized that *mā* may have been overburdened, marking both negation and meaning “what” with *–š* taking on the burden of the negating (Obler 1975: 40). One of the reviewers of Lucas’s 2010 study points out that during “stage II Arabic construction,” preverbal *mā* may

sometimes simply be reduced to a vowel *ʾa* (Lucas 2010: 186). Perhaps Palestinians passed through *ʾa* before it became possible to omit *mā* entirely, explains Lucas' reviewer (Lucas 2010: 186).

1. Historical Developmental Sequence of –š Negation

Negator *–š* may have undergone a set of three possible historical changes in the expression of negation, known as the Jespersen's Cycle (Lucas 2007: 398; Lash & Lucas 2010: 383; Obler 1975). The term dates originally to Östen Dahl, who coined it in recognition of Otto Jespersen's pioneering work in identifying this historical pattern (Lucas 2007: 399). Many linguists have cited the French language to exemplify its parallel process in the Arabic language. In French where *ne* may be dropped and its *pas* retained, Arabic's *mā* may be dropped, and its *–š* retained to mark negation (Obler 1975: 30). Esseesy (2009: 39; 2010: 11 & 65) illustrates the process with a hypothesized sequence from *šayʾ* to *–š*. Even though Esseesy does not mention Jespersen's cycle, he does present a similar developmental sequence:

In stage 0, negation is expressed only by the single preverbal element *mā:*

(24) ma bi-wudd-ī šayʾ[un]
not with-desire-my thing
'I do not desire a thing'

In stage I, negation is again expressed by preverbal *mā*, though *šayʾ[un]* 'thing' is reduced to *šēʾ* 'thing':

(25) ma bi-dd-ī šēʾ

not with-desire-my thing

‘I do not desire a thing’

In stage II, both the pre-verbal element *mā* and post-verbal element *–š* is necessary to express negation:

(26) ma bidd-ī-š

not want-my-š

‘I don’t want’

In stage III, the original pre-verbal element is lost all together, with the isolated post-verbal *–š* required to express negation:

(27) bi-dd-ī-š

want-my-š

‘I don’t want’

2. Interrogative, Not Negative, Origins of Enclitic –š?

Most researchers concur that the Arabic system is like the French system, however, there is reason to call this approach into question. Driver regards *ʾa* as a former interrogative, prefixing itself to the verb with a post-verbal negator *–š*, such as *a baʾā-š fī* ‘There is not anymore’ (Driver 1925: 197). However, since Driver sees *ʾa* as properly an interrogative, it becomes such, albeit with negative polarization ‘Is there

not anymore?' (Driver 1925: 197). Similarly, Obler finds the question ʿ*andakši ʾirsen* with negative polarity 'Don't you have two plasters?' Furthermore, through personal communication with Obler, Blanc considers the *–ši* enclitic to fulfill an interrogative function without any negative polarity: 'You have two plasters?' (cited in Obler 1975: 41).

Wilmsen (2013: 15-21; Wilmsen 2014), much like Driver had briefly stated, finds negative *–š* to have rather started as an interrogative marker. He exemplifies this through 13th century Andalusi Arabic, 19th century Maltese counterparts, modern Maltese, and relics in modern spoken Moroccan Arabic and spoken Egyptian Arabic (Wilmsen 2013: 15-21[3]; Wilmsen 2014). The Maltese *jeniex* 'Am I?' and *hujex* 'Is he?' corresponds to Andalusi's *anāš* or *anīš* and *huwāš*, appearing as interrogatives with negative polarity. The interrogative *anīš* is found as an example below (Wilmsen 2013: 13):

(28) anī-š nadri

I-š know

'Do I know?'

An example taken from an anonymous 19th century Maltese grammar book additionally shows us the function of *–š* as an interrogative (Wilmsen 2013: 16; Wilmsen 2014):

(29) Hish tayba it trieq? > Is the road good?

3 Wilmsen also notes the continued interrogative use of *–š/ši* in Tunisian Arabic.

Rather, negative constructions in Maltese Arabic require *mā* (Wilmsen 2013: 16; Wilmsen 2014):

(30) Ma hûx tajjeb
Not he/it-š good
'It is not good'

In modern Maltese, interrogation has now become mostly restricted to the 3rd person masculine form of *huwa* (Wilmsen 2013: 18):

(31) Hux l-arloġġ qiegħed fuq il-mejda?
3m.sg-neg. the-watch located-pres.part.sg.m on the-table
'Isn't the case that the watch on the table?'

Wilmsen notes what is surely a relic of the Andalusi and Maltese type of interrogation surviving in present day Moroccan Arabic in the interrogative *wāš*, meaning something like 'Is it that?' (*Est-ce que*) (Wilmsen 2013: 18):

(32) wāš ža ḥ mad?
Q est venu-ahmed
'Est-ce que Ahmed est venu?'
(Has Ahmad come?)

This bears a close functional resemblance to modern Egyptian Arabic, where an

interrogative 3rd person pronoun operates, also meaning something like ‘Is it that?’ (Wilmsen 2013: 9; Wilmsen 2014):

(33) Huwwa s-sittāt bi-tifham?
Is.it the-women b-she.understands
‘Do women really understand (anything)?’

Wilmsen (2013: 27) hypothesizes that perhaps forms like *fīš* and *biddīš* had been present in the Arabic language during the time that the process of reanalyzing interrogatives as negatives had been taking place. Additionally, unlike others who view it as a historical reduction from *mā* to *ʾa*, Wilmsen proposes that constructions such as *afīš*, *abiddīš*, and *atistiḥ īš* had not been generated by the removal of */m/* from *mā*, but instead *ʾa* is a relic of the interrogative, now having acquired a quality of negation (Wilmsen 2013: 27; Wilmsen 2014).

C. Imperfective Negation Use

The rules for negation in Arabic vary across dialects, permitting, prohibiting, or demanding a negative *–š* (Obler 1990: 147). Negative *–š* may become obligatory or optional, exclusively dependent on verb aspect, pseudo-verb types, and prohibitive use.

1. Imperfective Verbal Negation With ma…–š

Abu-Haidar conducted a dialect study in Baskinta, a village in the district of Al-Matn in Northern Lebanon, from 1968 to 1971 and 1974 (Abu-Haidar 1979: 1). She found imperfective verbal negation operating in Baskinta, restricting its use with the

verbal prefix *b*– (Abu-Haidar 1979: 109):

(34) šiġl-i ma byi-trik-l-ī-š wa'it ta ruuḥ itsayyad
work-my not it-leave-to-me-š time to go shooting
'My work does not leave me time to go shooting'

2. Imperfective Pseudo-Verbal Negation With ma…–š

Levantine Arabic pseudo-verbs may be negated using *ma…–š, 'a…–š*, as well as the rare sole preverbal negator *a*– and the sole post-positive *–š*. Pseudo-verbs are negated like verbs, containing both verbal and non-verbal meanings (Brustad 2000: 152). Prepositions, such as *fī* 'there is' and *ʿand* 'at' are negated as verbs, such as *ma fīš* 'There isn't' and *ma ʿandūš* 'He doesn't have.' Brustad further states:

> most pseudo-verbs consist of either prepositions that give locative or possessive meaning, or of nominally derived forms that give modal meaning (particularly obligatory mood)…a pseudo-verb can be a nominal or prepositional phrase that is used semantically to convey a verbal meaning, often but not necessarily possessive or existential in nature (Brustad 2000: 153).

For example, the Syrian Arabic *baʿd* 'to still [be]' functions as a pseudo-verb with the use of the direct object pronoun *ne* in *baʿd-ne b-il bēt* 'I'm still at home' (Brustad 2000: 155). There are many pseudo-verbs that express "necessity or obligation," such as *lāzim* 'must/necessary,' or *bidd*– 'desire'. As Brustad points out, "they behave syntactically like main verbs in that they subordinate their verbal complement" (Brustad 2000: 155). For example: *ma fīni rūḥ maʿik* 'I'm not able to go with you.' In this example, pseudo-verb *fi* attaches itself to the object pronoun *–ni* and subordinates its verbal complement *rūḥ*.

Abu-Haidar finds that in the Lebanese dialect of Baskinta, *b–*, *fī* 'in/there is', *ʿand* 'at/have', and *maʿ* 'with/have', termed as particles, may be negated using the split-morpheme negation (Abu-Haidar 1979: 109-110):

(35) ma maʿ-na-š ifrāta
not with-us-š change
'We have not got any change on us'

(36) ma ʿand-ū-š siʾa fī-na
not with-him-š trust in-us
'He doesn't trust us'

Furthermore, Palva explains that in the dialect of Ṣ alt, Jordan, pseudo-verb *bidd–* may be negated by the preverbal *mā*, or more often, by its split-morpheme negation. However, it can take the forms of *ma biddi*, *ma biddīš, ʾa-biddīš,* or *biddīš* (Palva 2004: 231).

3. Imperfective Verbal Negation With ʾa …–š

Similar to Palva, Cowell notes: "common in Palestine and to a lesser extent in southern and central Lebanon in some dialects, *–š* may be used without *mā*, or with *ʾa-* instead of *mā*. Thus *ma baʿref 'I don't know' = ma baʿref-š = baʿref-š = a-baʿref-š*" (Cowell 2005: 383). Like Lucas (2010: 186) and Obler (1975: 34), in Baskinta, the particle *ʾa–* and post-verbal *–š* may negate the imperfective, though only exclusively with the prefix *b–* and particle *fī*, both being labial consonants (Abu-Haidar 1979: 110-

111):

(37) *a byiswāš itʿaamlu hayk* ‘You should not treat him in such a way’

(38) *a fiš ʿandi swakīr* ‘I have not got any cigarettes’

(39) *a baʾā-š ʿan* (sic) *yizraʿ lūbi* ‘He is no longer planting beans’

Abu-Haidar similarly supposes, as does Feghali (1919: 81), that the [*m*] in negator *mā* may be elided when it precedes a labial consonant (Abu-Haidar 1979: 110).

4. Prohibitive Use With ʾa…–š

A large part of the literature places bilabial restriction on verbal negations claiming that *ʿand-š* is not acceptable negation since it does not start with a bilabial consonant. However, Palva (2004: 227) notes that prohibitives, formed by negating the imperfect subjunctive in the 2nd person, with the alveolar stop *t*– (not *b*–), such as *a tǧūliš* ‘Don’t say’ may be negated using the *ʾa…-š* construction. Driver (1925: 197) notes a similar finding:

(40) *aṭḥuṭ ṭ -š ġaṭ ā mdaffī bi-zyāde ʿala al-farše*

‘Do not put too warm a coverlet on the bed’

In Abu-Haidar’s corpus, the prohibitive particles in Baskinta may be negated using *ma…–š* and *la…–š*. Abu-Haidar, in contrast to the rest, finds prohibitive use with *ʾa…–š* only when used with *baʾa* (Abu-Haidar 1979: 111):

(41) *a baʾā-š ti-kizb-u ʿlāna* ‘Do not lie to us any longer’

5. Imperfective Verbal Negation With Preverbal ʾa–

A rarity found in other researchers’ contestations are negator *ʾa-* without post-verbal suffix *–š.* As shown in Figure 1.2 (see Introduction: 4) *a katab* ‘He didn’t write’ is found in Northern Lebanon. Similarly, *a baʿrif* ‘I don’t know’ may be found in northern Lebanon and on the Syrian coast (Palva 2004: 227). On the Syrian coast and its hinterland ‘There is not’ is usually rendered by *a fī* (Cowell 2005: 383; Palva 2004: 228).

6. Imperfective Verbal Negation With Sole Post-Positive –š

In some dialects, including Lebanese, imperfective negation may be expressed by sole post-positive *–š*:

(42) hiya ta-kil-š min-on hōl
she she-eats-š from-them those
‘She doesn’t eat those’

Blau speculates that *mā* may be elided due to phonological similarity to the imperfect *b–* prefix (cited in Lash & Lucas 2010: 167). Abu-Haidar (1975: 110) similarly finds this to hold true:

(43) bit-ḥ ibb-š šiġl il-bayt

she-likes-š work the-house

‘She does not like housework’

In reasoning almost identical to this, Hoyt proposes that sole post-positive *–š* may negate imperfective verb forms beginning with the *b–* or *f–* prefix (Hoyt 2007: 116-117; Hoyt 2010: 96). Palva shows the same logic as Lucas by showing examples, such as *baḥ kīš* ‘I don’t speak,’ *bta‘rifš* ‘You don’t know;’ however, he includes an example including non-prohibitive *t–*: *tiġdarš tiṣ laḥ ḥin* ‘You may never reconcile them’ (Palva 2004: 6). Similarly, Driver notes negation may include the prefix *t–* in 2nd person imperfective in general (Driver 1925: 197):

(44) tifṣ ul-š il-ijrah ma‘ il-’arabajiy?

negotiate-not the-price with the-driver?

‘Won’t you negotiate the price with the driver?’

In contrast, Wilmsen does not find sole post-positive *–š* to be restricted to word-initial labial consonants, as many have claimed. As to whether sole post-positive negation is phonologically conditioned, being restricted to word-initial labial consonants, as some have suggested, his data does not support this; negation with *–š* may occur with or without the prefix *b–* (Wilmsen 2014).

7. Imperfective Pseudo-Verbal Negation With Sole Post-Positive –š

In addition to imperfective verbs, sole post-positive *–š* may negate particles *b,*

fī and *maʿ* with prominal suffixes (Abu-Haidar 1979: 110):

(45) fī-yyī-š ṭ ī’-u ʾabadan
can-I-š stand-him at.all
‘I can’t stand him at all’

(46) ma-ʿī-š ḥ a’’ bānzīn
with-me-š money petrol
‘I don’t have the money for petrol’

Similar to Hoyt and Abu-Haidar, Lucas restricts this negation to pseudo-verbs and labial initial verbs, such as *b–*, *f–*. Though additionally, Lucas also includes the prohibitive *t–* (Lucas 2010: 186).

a. Contestations: Imperfective Pseudo-Verbal Negation With Sole Post-Positive *–š*

Lucas carried out fieldwork to investigate the syntax of negation in the Palestinian Arabic dialects spoken in and around Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories. While sole post-positive *–š* negation was widely accepted by his informants regarding the pseudo-verbs *fī* (labiodental), *maʿ* (bilabial), and *bidd–* (bilabial). *ʾil–* ‘to/for me’ was not produced and pharyngeal-initial pseudo-verb *ʿand* was almost universally rejected by the same informants (Lucas 2010: 173-174). Almost no informant in his Palestinian acceptability judgment questionnaire judged sole post-positive *–š* negation with the pseudo-verb *ʿand* to be acceptable, with 48% judging *ʿandī-š* as an odd construction and 48% judging it as an impossible construction, leaving

4%, or one respondent, finding it an acceptable construction (Lucas 2010: 174). Lucas disregards this one person, explaining that this individual volunteered the information that her response was influenced by her young children's usage (Lucas 2010: 173).[4] However, Lucas "ignores or discounts the evidence from the varieties of Levantine Arabic writ large, wherein other researchers have documented variability in the phenomenon, including negating *ʿand* with a [sole] post-positive *–š* (see for example, the isolated references in Driver 1925, Feghali 1928, Fleisch 1974, Obler 1975, Thackston 1996, Cowell 2005)" (Wilmsen 2014). In contrast to Lucas (2010), though similar to Obler (1975) and Thackston (1996), Wilmsen finds that *ʿand*, usually negated with *mā*, in fact occurs twice in his data with sole post-positive *–š* negation in his recorded Ḥōrāni dialect data (Wilmsen 2014):

(47) ʿand-ī-š šintān lā miqaṣ ṣ ab wa-lā mi<u>d</u>ahhab wa-lā miraqqaʿ
at-me-š pantaloons not embroidered and-not gold-threaded and-not patched
'I don't have a pair of gold-embroidered pantaloons or even a ragged pair'

(48) il-ʿālam ʿind-ā-š šġāl yaʿni
the people at/have-š concerns means
'As if people don't have other concerns?'

Thackston, too, notes that in addition to all verbs, "an optional alternative negative suffix *–š* may be added to all quasi-verbs (*bidd–, ʿind–*) that are negated with

4 Wilmsen (2014) questions whether the sole respondent may be from the Golan Heights, as Lucas says that his informants all come from parts of the Occupied Territories of Palestine, including the Golan Heights.

mā" (Thackston 1996: 145). He further explains that with the negative *–š* the *mā i*s optional. For example, 'I don't want' may be expressed as *ma bedd-i, ma bedd-īš, or bedd-īš* (though Thackston makes no mention of *a bedd-īš*) (Thackston 1996: 145).

8. Prohibitive Use With Sole Post-Positive –š

In Lucas's 2010 Palestinian dialect study, he had also found that the distribution could not be fully accounted for by means of a synchronic phonological rule whereby an underlying *mā* is deleted always and only before a following labial consonant; a very common context for the post-verbal construction is that of prohibitives, such as *txafī-š* 'Don't be afraid' (Lucas 2010: 175). Palva (2004: 227) finds that the prohibitive may use the full split-morpheme negation, or *mā* can be partially (*'a*) or completely dropped off. Similarly, from the database of Obler's corpus, it appears that negative imperatives are most likely to appear without *mā* (or *lā*) 10 out of 12 times (Obler 1975: 106):

(49) *txallīš išya barra* 'Don't leave any things outside'

(50) *tbiʿhāš* 'Don't sell her'

(51) *tiḥ kīš* 'Don't talk'

Likewise, Thackston finds *mā* to be optional with prohibitives. For example, 'Count me out (Don't count me)' may be expressed using the variety *ma tiḥ sabni*, *ma tiḥ sabnīš*, or *tiḥ sabnīš* (Thackston 1996: 145). Prohibitive forms with *t…–š* are abundant in Wilmsen's Ḥōrāni Arabic data, as well as in Palva (2004), Lucas (2010), and Obler (1975). However, contrary to most, Wilmsen finds that sole post-positive *–š*

negation of the prohibitive may be formed without the expected prefixed 2nd person marker *t–* (Wilmsen 2014):

(52) qul-ī-š inn ani hōn
say-you-š that I here
'Don't say that I'm here'

Likewise, Cleveland (1963: 61) remarks that the 2nd person marker prohibitive use of *t–* may be omitted with *xāfīš* 'Don't be afraid.'

D. Perfective Negation Use With *–š*

The consensus in the literature is that it is ungrammatical to negate perfective verbs with the sole post-positive *–š* marker. Many such as Obler (1975), Hoyt (2007, 2010), Lucas (2010), and Abu-Haidar find that the perfective may only be negated using the split-morpheme negation construction (Abu-Haidar 1979: 109):

(53) imm-i ma ʿallam-it-nī-š šiġl is-sinnāra
mother-my not teach-she-me-š work the-needle
'My mother did not teach me how to crotchet'

(54) hal matʿūm ma zahhar-š is-sini
this fruit.tree not flower-š the-year
'This fruit tree did not flower this year'

In Palva's 2004 Salṭ i example *bēn-ma aǧ i w-bēn-ma aǧ īš* 'It was touch and go whether to come or not,' he explains the negation of a perfective verb with sole post-positive *–š* usage: "the omission of the negative particle *mā* may be due to a sharply expressed contrast of *aji versus ajīš*, but also to euphonic reasons (<*bēn-ma ma-aǧ īš*)" (Palva 2004: 232). Similarly, Obler (1975: 32-33) notes that "the option of dropping negative *mā* when *–š* is suffixed is otherwise exclusive to Palestine and southern Lebanon, but there it does not apply to past tense verbs. Instead, perfective verbs must be preceded by *mā* or *lā*." Even though she states that perfective verbs cannot be negated with *–š* by itself, her corpus study does provide an example of *baqi* and *kan,* both perfective verbs (Obler 1975: 107):

(55) *hadolāk kūli bakū-š y-īj-u ʿalēna* 'Those people, say, wouldn't come to us'

(56) *iza kan-š is-sitti Nadya hanim...* 'If it is not Ms. Nadya...'

Lucas (2007: 176) also rules sole post-positive *–š* negation is not possible with perfective verbs in Palestinian, even with a bilabial consonant. Despite that in his sample, the same person who had found *ʿandī-š* as an acceptable construction also accepted the labial-initial perfective verb *mesaḥ nā-š* 'We didn't wipe'. Additionally, *akaltš* was "universally" found to be an unacceptable construction, with 48% of his informants rating it odd and 52% rating it impossible, whether read as an affirmative or a negative question. Concluding, Lucas finds that "negation in Palestinian can be expressed by means of the post-verbal construction with the imperfect (both with and without the *b–* prefix) but not with the perfect of regular verbs" (Lucas 2010: 176).

1. Perfective Usage With –š: Some Exceptions in the Literature

Thackston (1996: 145) notes that "an optional alternative negative suffix *–š* (actually characteristic of Palestinian Arabic but often heard in the Lebanon[5]) may be added to all verbs that are negated with *mā*," including the perfective. For example, he states that the perfective 'I wasn't' may be verbalized as *ma kuntiš* or *kuntiš*. Similarly, upon closer examination of the Ḥ ōrāni dialect data, Wilmsen shows that sole post-positive *–š* is applicable in the perfective (Wilmsen 2014).

(57) šuf-tū-š il-farq
saw-you–š the-difference
'Didn't (Do you not) you all see the difference?'[6]

(58) as-sayyida umm kulṯ ūm ḍ āt-ha ġanni-t-š ha-l-ġēniyya qadd-i
the-lady name self-her sang-she-š this-the-song extent-mine
'The lady Umm Kulthum herself didn't sing this song as often as I'

Driver explains that the enclitic *–š* often stands alone without pre-verbal *mā* in negative questions, not requiring bilabial prefix *b–* or *f–*, in contrast to what many have suggested (Driver 1925: 197):

5 Far from simply being 'often heard;' it is an integral part of some Lebanese dialects.

6 Negation of the past-tense *šaf*, such as *šaf-š* 'He didn't see' is widely cited in the literature, indicated that it may be a formulaic utterance (see Wilmsen 2014).

(59) naṭ ṭ ilt^{i-}š ʾijrai-k?

Washed-š feet-your?

‘Haven’t you washed your feet?’

E. Conclusion

The split-morpheme negation constructions *ma…–š*, *ʾa…–š*, and *–š* all exist to varying degrees in the Levantine Arabic dialects; however, various restrictions are placed upon its usage, depending on the negation construction, its verb aspect, and whether the negated verb begins with a labial or non-labial consonant. Abu-Haidar (1975) and Lucas (2010) note that imperfective negation is restricted to initial labial consonants. This study on the Zeitouni dialect investigates whether imperfective negation is negated with initial consonants other than those beginning with the labial consonants *b–* or *f–* or the prohibitive *t–*. Obler (1975), Lucas (2010), Abu-Haidar (1975), and Palva (2004) explicitly restrict perfective negation to the preverbal negator *mā*. Sole post-verbal enclitic *–š* is examined in this study to determine if it may be used to negate perfective verbs. Finally, specific verbs and pseudo-verbs are examined to determine the degree of formulaic negation in terms of negation construction usage and interrogatives, exclamations, and declarative sentences. The different accounts of Levantine Arabic usage of negative enclitic *–š* are illustrated in Appendix A.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

Imperfective and perfective negative verbs and pseudo-verbs in the Zeitouni dialect occur with and without post-verbal *–š*. There are ten negative markers in Zeitoun; these include the pre-verbal negator markers *mā* (and occasionally *lā*) and *ʾa*; the split-morpheme negators *ma…–š* (and occasionally *la…–š*), *ʾa…–š,* and *-š*; and the continuous *miš*, and less frequently used, the continuous *menn- and menn-š*. Some patterns of negation tend to formulaicity, including verbs of negative interrogatives, exclamations, and declarative sentences.

A. Nominal Negators *miš* and *menn–*

Usages of *miš* and *menn–* have not been accounted for in Table 1.1. In contrast to Abu-Haidar (1975: 10) who states *miš* does not negate the imperfective with prefix *b-*, my data contradict this in one instance: *miš btbelliš ʿašu hay?'* 'Don't start saying "what is this?"'. Doss (2008: 85) similarly notes that *miš* may negate the imperfective in Egyptian Arabic. For example (Doss 2008: 85):

(1) iťaxxar fi-l-kalam, miš biyitkallim lissa
late in-the-talking, miš b-he-talks
'He is late in talking, he does not talk yet'

Most literature seems to consider this a rare construction, while the *ma…–š* is more

commonly accepted. However, Brustad says that "if *miš-b* continues to spread, it may eventually lose its categorical status" and gain more prominence as an option for verbal negation (cited in Doss 2008: 85). Additionally, sole post-positive *–š* negation, *menni-š*, occurs once in the data.[7]

B. Imperfective and Perfective Negation in Zeitoun

The count of imperfective verbal negation is shown below in Tables 1.4-1.5 using a code adapted from Cleveland's (1963) study of the various ways *yqūl* 'he says' may be pronounced in Jordan. These are arranged as follows, in the imperfective:

- *ma byqul* represents indicative verbal negation with pre-verbal *mā*
- *ma byqulš* represents indicative verbal negation with the split-morpheme negation construction *ma….–š*
- *ʾa byqulš* represents indicative verbal negation with the split-morpheme negation construction *ʾa…–š*
- *byqulš* represents indicative sole post-positive verbal negation

In all of these imperfective cases, the */b/* represents the aspectual *b–* prefix that is placed before indicative verbs in the Zeitouni dialect.

7 *miš*, similar to *menn-* and *menn-ūš*, usually negates nominals.

Table 1.4 – Imperfective Verbal Negation in the Zeitouni Dialect

	ma byqul	*ma byqulš*	*ʾa byqulš*	*byqulš*	Total
Count	169	46	84	20	319

Table 1.5 – Imperfective Verbal Negation With *–š* in the Zeitouni Dialect

	ma byqulš	*ʾa byqulš*	*byqulš*	Total
Count	46/150 30.67%	84/150 56.00%	20/150 13.33%	150

The codes represent analogous negation patterns in the perfective, shown below in Tables 1.6-1.7.

Table 1.6 – Perfective Verbal Negation in the Zeitouni Dialect

	ma qult	*ma qultš*	*ʾa qultš*	*qultš*	Total
Count	48	134	22	15	219

Table 1.7 – Perfective Verbal Negation With *–š* in the Zeitouni Dialect

	ma qultš	*ʾa qultš*	*qultš*	Total
Count	134/171 78.36%	22/171 12.87%	15/171 8.77%	171

On initial consideration, as seen in Tables 1.4-1.5, negation in the Zeitouni dialect occurs most without the negative marker *–š*; *ma byqul* most commonly occurs at 169 times, compared to *ma byqulš* at only 46 times, *ʾa byqulš* 84 times, and *byqulš* 20 times. However, in Tables 1.6-1.7, perfective negation results in the opposite; *ma qult*

occurs only 48 times, while *ma qultš* occurs 134 times, *ʾa qultš* 22 times, and *qultš* 15 times. Thus, in the imperfective, *ma byqul* makes up the single most common verbal negation; however, in the perfective, *ma qultš* holds the greater majority. Though not included in the chart due to its minimal representation, preverbal *ʾa* (without *–š*) is also found to negate indicative verbs; it appears six times in the data, with four occurrences of *ʾa byaʿrif* and two of *ʾa byismaʿ*. Furthermore, as shown in Table 1.5, imperfective *ʾa…–š* negation accounts for the majority at 56%, while *ma…–š* accounts for 30.67% and sole post-positive *–š* at 13.33%. In Table 1.7, perfective *ma…–š* negation leads at a strong majority of 78.36%, followed by *ʾa…–š* at 12.87%, and sole-*š* at 8.77%. In total, imperfective and perfective negation without post-verbal negative *–š* occur at a total of 217 times, accounting for 40.33% of the data, whereas imperfective and perfective negation with post-verbal negative *–š* occur at a total of 321 times, accounting for 59.67%, the majority of the data.

In contrast to Abu-Haidar's 1975 study of the dialect of Baskinta, where her dialect under study does not contain verbal sentences negated without *–š* (with two exceptions), my collected data showed otherwise. As Abu-Haidar (1979: 110) explicitly says, "*mā* cannot occur in a negative context in Baskinta without the suffix *–š* or *ḥada*, 'one', forming a compound negative with the latter, thus *ma ḥada*, no one." For example, *ma ḥada xabbarni ʾinnak hawn* 'No one told me you were here.' Aside from *ḥada*, in some popular sayings, *mā* can occur without the suffix *–š*, such as *ya jabl ma yhizzak riiḥ* 'No wind will ever shake you, (imposing) mountain' (Abu-Haidar 1979: 110). However, in the Zeitouni dialect, even though a majority of negative *–š* is encountered, negation without *–š* constitutes a large portion of the data: occuring 217 times or 40.33% of the data. Notably, in the Zeitouni dialect, many conversations

interchanged between negation with and without negative *–š*. For example:

(2) ya reit ma šil-nā-hon-š, ya reit ma šil-nā-hon
I wish not took-we-them-š, I wish not took-we-them (no *–š*)
'I wish we didn't remove them, I wish we didn't remove them'

As mentioned previously, Thackston (1996: 145) notes that "with the *–š* suffix the negative *mā* is optional…." Similarly, Figure 1.2 (see Introduction: 4) shows that in some regions, verbal negation may be used interchangeably with *–š*.

C. Pseudo-Verbal Negation in Zeitoun

Nearly identical to verbs, pseudo-verbs are negated without negative *–š* at a count of 89 times, accounting for the single most common type in the data, compared to 52, 50, and 27 occurrences for the *ma…–š* construction, *'a…–š* construction, and sole post-positive *–š* respectively (see Table 1.8 below).

Table 1.8 – Count of Pseudo-Verbal Negation Types[8]

	ma pv[9]	*ma pv-š*	*a pv-š*	*pv-š*	Total
fi–	51	27	33	13	124
bedd–	26	7	14	11	58
il–	7	5	0	0	12
ʿand–	2	11	0	1	14
maʿ–	3	2	3	2	10
Total	89	52	50	27	218

However, as with imperfective and perfective verbs, when all negative *–š* constructions were compared in Table 1.9, *–š* negation was found to account for the majority at 129 times or 59.17% of the data. Negation without *–š* occurred 89 times, accounting for 40.83% of the data.

8 The pseudo-verb *la* 'to have' occurred a total of five times. Because of its minimal occurrence, it has not been included in the chart. In every instance used, it was verbalized with *ma…–š*, such as *ma la-ha-š* 'She doesn't have.'

9 Note in this and any other following tables, *pv* is an acronym for pseudo-verb. A pseudo-verb found negated with only *ma* is listed under *ma pv*; a pseudo-verb negated with the *ma…–š* construction is found under *ma pv-š*; a pseudo-verb negated with the *ʿa…–š* construction is found under *ʿa pv-š*; and finally, a pseudo-verb negated with sole post-positive –š is found under *pv-š*. Likewise, *ma v*, *ma v-š*, *ʿa v-š*, and *v-š* may be found in later charts containing the same meaning for verbal negation.

Table 1.9 – Count of Pseudo-Verbal Negation Types With Post-Verbal *–š*

	Without *–š*	With *–š*	Total
fi–	51 (41.13%)	73 (58.87%)	124
bedd–	26 (44.83%)	32 (55.17%)	58
ʾil–	7 (58.33%)	5 (41.67%)	12
ʿand–	2 (14.29%)	12 (85.71%)	14
maʿ–	3 (30.00%)	7 (70.00%)	10
Total	89 (40.83%)	129 (59.17%)	218

D. Imperfective Verbal Negation With Sole Post-Positive *–š*

Now that the overall count and types of verbal negation in the Zeitouni dialect have been charted, the research questions previously introduced in the methodology section will be addressed. When questioning whether the Zeitouni dialect restricts imperfective sole post-positive *–š* constructions containing the */b/* or */f/* prefix (labial consonants) and the prohibitive */t/*, this is false in Zeitoun. Table 2.1 lists the occurrence of imperfective verbal sole post-positive *–š* constructions, including the following forms: indicative prefix */b/*, prohibitive */t/*, prohibitive without */t/*, indicative non-labial, and non-prohibitive */t/*.

Table 2.1 – Imperfective With Sole Post-Positive *–š*

Imperfective Sole Post-Positive *–š*	Count
Indicative Prefix */b/*	12
Prohibitive */t/*	3
Prohibitive without */t/*	3
Indicative non-labial	1
Non-Prohibitive */t/* (indicative non-labial)	1
Total	20

1. Post-Positive –š Imperfective Negation With Non-Labial Consonants

Speakers of the Zeitouni dialect do not restrict sole post-positive *–š* imperfective verbal negation constructions with labial consonants */b/* or */f/*, such as *byijī-š* 'He doesn't come' or *btistaḥi-š* 'She isn't embarrassed' as many state, such as Lucas (2010), Abu-Haidar (1975), Blau (cited in Lash & Lucas 2010), Hoyt (2007, 2010), and Obler (1975). Although they are rare, indicative verbs without the bilabial */b/* and labialdental */f/* are present in my data:

a. Imperfective Verbal Negation Without Pre-Verbal Person Marker

Imperfective verbs without a pre-verbal person marker may be found with sole post-positive *–š*:

(3) kaf-ī-š!
enough-it-š
'It's not enough!'

b. Imperfective Verbal Negation: Non-Prohibitive Alevolar */t/*

One instance of imperfective verbal negation with sole post-positive *–š* does uncontroversially occur:

(4) ma Maureen t-akl-š min-on hōl
well Maureen she-eats-š from-them these
'Well Maureen doesn't eat these'

c. Imperfective Verbal Negation: Prohibitives Without */t/*

It has been noted with all authors (except Abu-Haidar) that prohibitive */t/* may be negated using sole post-positive *–š*; in my data I find three total instances, including *taklī-š ʿa Youssef!* 'Don't bother Youssef too much!'; *tʿmalī-š baʾa highlighting* 'Don't highlight [your hair]'; and *tinsī-š amīst-ik* 'Don't forget your shirt'. What is more, Wilmsen (2014), Driver (1925), and Cleveland (1963) note that prohibitives may be formed without the alveolar */t/*. Similarly, in my data, three separate cases are found:

(5) šīlī-š yā-hon
take-š them-them
'Don't take them'

(6) xaf-ī-š ʿa Maureen!
scared-you(f)-š about Maureen!
'Don't worry about Maureen!'

(7) jib-ī-le-on-š kil-on

bring-you(f)-to.me-them-š all-them

‘Don’t bring all of them’

E. Sole Post-Positive *–š* Perfective Verbal Negation

Speakers of the Zeitouni dialect use sole post-positive *–š* to negate perfective verbs. This occurred a total of fifteen times, including the following:

(8) laʾān barke waṣ ul-t-š ʿa Jbeil

Because perhaps arrived-I-š to Jbeil

‘Because maybe I won’t have arrived to Jbeil’

(9) awal ma ḥ akē-na kan-š naṣ eḥ

first not talked-us was-š overweight

‘The first we talked he wasn’t overweight’

(10) Maya redd-īt-š ʿley-yi daxl-ik?

Maya answer-she-š for-me you-think?

‘Maya didn’t answer me, right?’

(11) ʿṭ ā-it-ni-š, ēs b-ʿaṭ -ik, b-ʿaṭ -ik

gave-you-to.me-š, what I-give-you, I-give-you

‘You didn’t give me; whatever I give, I give’

Other perfective verbs negated with sole post-positive *–š* included: *daxalit-š* 'She didn't enter', *ʾilti-š* 'You didn't say', *ḥada'-š* 'It didn't turn sour', *ʿmlt-š* 'You didn't do', and *fiʾt-š* 'I didn't wake up.' The auxiliary verb *baʾ-āš* was found six times, usually with *fī* following, such as:

(12) baʾā-š fiy-ye axod nefs!
no.longer-š can-I take breath!
'I can't breathe any longer!'

(13) baʾā-š fī xiyarʿand-na?
no.longer-š there.is cucumber at-us
'We don't have cucumber any longer?'

Only one instance contained *baʾā-š* followed by a regular verb:

(14) baʾā-š yaʿrif ši
no.longer-š know a.thing
'He no longer knows anything'

F. Formulaic Uses of Negation

Do any verbs display formulaic uses of negation? A formulaic sequence is "a sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar" (Wray

2005: 9). Hunston and Francis (2000) show how the word ‘matter’ occurs formulaically in ‘a matter of V-ing’ (for example, ‘a matter of developing skills;’ ‘a matter of learning…;’ ‘a matter of becoming able to…’). Structures such as these are acceptable formulaic sequences (cited in Wray 2005: 25). There is a close link between formulaicity and idiomaticity, though it is uncertain if they contain a relationship of causality or just simply association. An expression is idiomatic if it “sounds right” and is “regularly considered by a language community as being a unit” (Wray 2005: 20). In addition to idiomaticity, indisputable formulaic strings *happy birthday* or *high time,* can be shown to have a high frequency. Thus, formulaic sequences can be defined by both idiomaticity and frequency; that is, higher frequency, when compared to other words’ frequencies in the same set of data. Frequency, in turn, may even be considered a determining factor in the identification of formulaic sequences (Wray 2005: 24). For example, Wilmsen (2014) speculates that *a biyiswāš* and *biyiswāš* ‘It won’t do’ and *a tistaḥīš* and *tistaḥīš* ‘Aren’t you ashamed?’ are formulaic.

1. Formulaic Negation in Zeitoun

In the Zeitouni dialect, verbs that appear mostly with *ma ...–š* or even *mā* alone are not formulaic, because they are behaving as expected. However, if negated verbs without *mā* begin to cluster around certain verbs, then these expressions may be on their way to becoming formulaic. In my data, there are instances where a selected amount of specific verbs seem to be influenced by formulaic negation; that is, these verbs seem to approach formulaic negation, and with time and use, may reach complete formulaic negation. Found below in Table 2.2, *a byaʿrif-š* is negated with the *ʾa…–š* construction 21 times or 31.45% of the data. With its high occurrence, *a byaʿrif-š*

demonstrates a pattern of formulaicity. Even though *ʿraf-š* occurs and is unexpected, it does not occur often enough to claim a type of formulaic negation. *ma baʾa* and *ma baʾā-š* both occur three times, *a baʾā-š* accounts for the majority of use, 21 times, while *baʾā-š* occurs six times. *a baʾāš* is certainly approaching formulaic negation, as its use would be less anticipated than the expected *ma baʾa* and *ma baʾāš.* *kan* 'to be' does not seem to be approaching formulaic negation, with 80% of negation (36 out of 45 uses) occurring under the form *ma kan-š*, an expected negation form*;* the rest are negated with *ma kan* nine times and *kan-š* one time. *ma ʿad* 'no longer' can only be negated with the construction *ma…–š* use or *ma ʿad-š*. In the Zeitouni dialect, *ma ʿad-š* is the only way to negate the verb; any other way would be an unexpected form (Abu-Haidar 1979: 111).

Table 2.2 – Potential Formulaic Negation

	baʾa	*kan*	*ʿad*	*ʿraf*
ma v	3	9	0	88
ma v-š	3	26	17	18
a v-š	21* [10]	0	0	50*
v-š	6	1	0	3
Total	33	36	17	159

G. Formulaic Negation: Sentence Types

Can a pattern of negation be found between negative interrogatives, exclamations, and declarative sentences? Is negative *–š* more likely to be found

10 The asterisk (*) symbol represents either a current formulaic pattern or tendency towards such a pattern.

with interrogatives, exclamations, or declarative sentences?

1. Interrogative Verbal Formulaic Negation

The dataset of interrogatives included various types of interrogatives, including indirect, rhetorical, polar, and direct interrogatives. Because most of these types of interrogatives in Arabic may have the same word order as statements, in my dataset, it was especially crucial to listen for specific variances in the participant's speech, namely that being the intonation marking an interrogative. Table 2.3 summarizes the total of negation occurrences with and without *–š* for each question type.

Table 2.3 – Occurrence of Verbal Negative Interrogatives With and Without *–š*

Question Type	With *–š*	Without *–š*	Total
Indirect	5	6	11
Rhetorical	4	2	6
Polar	20	11	31
Direct	15	3	18
Total	44	22	66

a. Indirect Questions in Verbal Constructions

Indirect questions made up 11 out of 66 possible interrogatives. Out of these 11, five were negated with *–š* and six negated without *–š*. Indirect questions, for example, may be characterized in Moroccan Arabic "by the fact that the interrogative structure is a dependent clause and is at the same time the complement of verbs such as *sewwel* 'to ask' [or] *xammem* 'to wonder'" (Ennaji 2006: 390). A similar

case can be illustrated with *barke* ‘maybe’ or *midre* ‘I wonder’ in the Zeitouni dialect:

(15) l’ān barke ma waṣ ul-t-š ʿa Jbeil

Because maybe not arrive-I-š to Jbeil

‘What if I didn’t arrive to Jbeil?’

(16) midre leš ma saxan-š?

I.wonder why not heat-š?

‘I wonder why it hasn’t heated?’

b. Rhetorical Questions in Verbal Constructions

Out of a total of six rhetorical questions, four contained *–š* and two did not contain post-verbal *–š*. Along with rising intonation pattern, one may need to be familiar with the context of the conversation in order to grasp whether rising intonation could be labeled as indeed an interrogative, or whether further must be understood in its context, such as sarcasm. For example:

(17) ana ma ʾalit-līk-š mojūʿa?

I not tell-you-š in.pain?

‘Didn’t I tell you I’m in pain?’ (The speaker is implying ‘I am in pain.’)

(18) a bit-ʿrf-š by-ij-o?

not you-know-š they-come-they?

‘Don’t you know they will come?’

(The speaker is implying ‘They will come’).

c. Polar Questions in Verbal Constructions

Interrogatives were further categorized under polar questions, when the interrogation implied a 'yes' or 'no' answer. Out of 31 polar interrogatives, 20 contained post-verbal *–š* and 11 did not contain post-verbal *–š*. For example:

(19) Maya red-īt-š ʿaley-ke daxlik?

Maya answered-you- š to-you I.wonder?

'Didn't Maya answer you, I wonder?'

(20) awlēk ʿa Kaslik ma raḥ -š?

I.wonder to Kaslik not-went-š?

'I wonder, has he gone to Kaslik?'

d. Direct Questions in Verbal Constructions

Direct questions occurred 18 times, with 15 occurring with post-verbal *–š* and three without *–š*. For example:

(21) leš a bit-ilbus-š mitl elyōm?

why not you-wear-š like today

'Why don't you wear something like today?'

(22) mīn ma tlaʿu-š xiyar?

who not get-them-š cucumbers?

'Who didn't get any cucumbers?'

2. Interrogative Pseudo-Verbal Formulaic Negation

Out of a total of 31 pseudo-verbal negative interrogatives, 17 negated with post-positioned *–š*, while 14 negated without *–š*. Interrogative pseudo-verbal negation was charted into four different categories: indirect, rhetorical, polar, and direct interrogatives (see Table 2.4 below).

Table 2.4 – Occurrence of Negative Pseudo-Verbal Interrogatives With and Without *–š*

Question Type	With *–š*	Without *–š*	Total
Indirect	0	0	0
Rhetorical	3	0	3
Polar	12	11	23
Direct	2	3	5
Total	17	14	31

a. Indirect Questions in Pseudo-Verbal Constructions

Pseudo-verbal interrogative negation did not occur in the form of indirect questions.

b. Rhetorical Questions in Pseudo-Verbal Constructions

Rhetorical interrogatives accounted for three occurrences, all with post-verbal *–š* negation. For example:

(23) a fī-yī-š?

not-can-I- š

I can't?

(Actual meaning: 'I should be able to')

(24) berke ma ʿand-kon-š ġeir-o

maybe not have-you(pl)-š different-than.it

'Perhaps you don't have a different one'

c. Polar Questions in Pseudo-Verbal Constructions

With 23 polar interrogatives, 12 negated with *–š* and 11 negated without *–š*:

(25) xale, ma ʿand-ak-š šamsiye inta?

Uncle, not have-you-š umbrella you?

'Uncle, don't you have an umbrella?'

(26) a fī-š marwaḥ a?

not there-š fan?

'There isn't a fan?'

d. Direct Questions in Pseudo-Verbal Constructions

With five direct interrogatives, two interrogatives negated with *–š* and three without *–š*.

(27) mīn ma ʿand-on-š?

who not have-they-š?

‘Who doesn’t have (any)?’

(28) leš a fīk-īš?

why not-can-you-š?

‘Why can’t you?’

3. Verbal Formulaic Negative Exclamations

All examples of exclamations negated with post-verbal *–š*; however, it is important to note this data only includes thirteen instances of exclamations. Negative exclamations were illustrated in examples, such as the following:

(29) ma kan-t-š ḥ elwe!

not-was-she-š pretty!

‘She wasn’t pretty!’

(30) a baʿrif-š ixt-e!

not know-š sister-my!

‘I don’t know, my sister!’

(31) kaff-īš!

enough-not!

‘It’s not enough!’

(32) ma klt-š ši!

not-eat-š anything!

‘I didn’t eat anything!’

4. Pseudo-Verbal Formulaic Negative Exclamations

Out of 12 pseudo-verbal negative exclamations, six were negated with *–š* and six were negated without *–š*. For example:

(33) fī-š byūt!

there-š houses!

‘There are no houses!’

(34) a fī-yī-š imše!

not-can-I-š walk!

‘I can’t walk!’

(35) ma il-ū-š alb!

not have-he-š heart!

‘He doesn’t have a heart!’

5. Declarative Verbal Formulaic Negation

Verbal declaratives were mainly negated with negative *–š* at 57.42% (263 out of 458 uses) of the data and without *–š* at 42.58% (195 out of 458 uses). These contained expected verbal negation usage, such as:

(36) ma kan-it-š tnam

not be-she-š sleep

‘She wouldn’t sleep’

(37) ma ġayar-t-š nōmt-e

not change-me-š sleep-my

‘It didn’t affect my sleep’

6. Declarative Pseudo-Verbal Formulaic Negation

Pseudo-verbal statements were mainly negated with negative *–š* at 111 uses, or 61.67% of the data and without *–š* at 69 uses, or 38.33% of the data. These contained expected pseudo-verbal negation usage, such as:

(38) ma fī-yu-š kil jumʿa

not can-he-š every week

‘He cannot every week’

(39) niḥ ne maʿ-nā-š xabar

we have-we-š news

‘We didn’t know’

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

Various studies have differing views on all aspects of negative *–š*. Where one author may find an acceptable form of negation, a different author may rule the same use unacceptable.

A. Comparison to Zeitouni Dialect Data

These disparities in the literature compel us to reanalyze the literature in light of the Zeitoun dialect data:

- Why may negation in Zeitoun occur without post-verbal *–š*, but Abu-Haidar's account of negation in Baskinta occurs strictly with post-verbal *–š*?
- Why do some agree that *ʿand-š* is acceptable, while others find this an impossible construction?
- Why do some researchers agree that sole post-positive *–š* negation can only occur with bilabial */b/*, labial */f/* or prohibitive /t/, while the Zeitouni dialect does not contain sole post-postive *–š* negation pre-verbal marker constraints?
- Why do most authors agree that post-positive *–š* be may not be used to negate perfective verbs, while the Zeitouni dialect shows otherwise?

1. Location of Study

Much of the extant literature covers countries that are located near but not in

or in close proximity to my research location. Blanc (Obler 1975), Blau (cited in Lash & Lucas 2010), Hoyt (2007, 2010), Lucas (2008, 2010) and Obler (1975) are concerned with the Palestinian dialect; Driver (1925) considers the Syrian and Palestinian dialects; Cleveland (1963) and Palva (2004) analyze the Jordanian dialect; Wilmsen (2014) covers the Syrian Ḥōrān Plateau dialects; only Thackston (1996) and Abu-Haidar (1975) cover Lebanese dialects. The literature thus spans a variety of countries, albeit all within the Levantine area; within that area are a variety of dialects, and thus, a variety of ways in which negation may be expressed, in not just each country, but each governorate, city, and town. Both Baskinta and Zeitoun are located in the mountainous regions of Lebanon; Baskinta is located in the El Metn region, geographically bordering Zeitoun's region of Keserwan to the South (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3 – Distance Between Zeitoun and Baskinta

Even though located in relatively close proximity, long and winding mountainous roads wind between each region. Before these roads were created, and later widened and improved, it was quite difficult to travel from one mountain to another, creating a barrier for language exchange or influence. Thus, this could be one possibility for the difference in post-verbal *–š* negation. Can it simply be that these locations, though geographically close, do retain considerable differences in negation technique?

2. Research Methodologies

The research methodology of various studies are reviewed, including researchers' responsibility in choosing the appropriate type of research, selecting the participant pool, correctly analyzing the data, and the specific issue of formulaic negation.

a. Type of Research

The main body of Abu-Haidar's work results of her "investigations in 1968 and 1969. During a third visit in 1974 [she] collected additional texts and further data on points of syntax" (Abu-Haidar 1979: 6). Therefore, we are left guessing exactly what kind of investigation she undertook; whether it was participant investigation of natural language, survey method, or questionnaire methods. It could be possible that she actively sought out what she had expected to hear: that negation is strictly used with post-verbal *–š*, missing out on the instances that participants may have negated without *–š* (excluding her two listed exceptions).

i. Diglossia in Arabic and Grammaticality Assessments

In the Arabic language, the issue of diglossia is quite pronounced. As Obler (1975: 5) stated, "most speakers are exposed to a standard language which differs at all levels from their colloquial tongue." In many speech communities, some speakers, under different conditions, use two or more varieties of the same language. In Arabic, for example, the colloquial language may be used between friends and family, but a variety closer to the standard language may be used in formal public occasions (Ferguson 1959: 325). A dialect thought to be closer to that of the standard language is found to be more "correct" than a dialect that is found to differ greatly from the formal language, allowing it to be labeled "incorrect" when one considers grammaticality. "A sound methodology would advise to first investigate in its natural setting before placing speakers in an artificial situation and asking them to do something entirely different from everyday language use" (Duffley 2009: 57). Anything other than natural observation may force participants to adjust their language to what is more "correct" rather than what is most natural.

Lucas (2010) compiled an acceptability judgment questionnaire, comprising 33 questions. Using such a procedure, he examined reactions to sentences that may rarely occur in examined speech, such as perfective post-positive *–š* negation. Duffley raises a serious objection to this method:

> the very nature of a questionnaire suggests a testing of the informants' ability to conform to some norm of expected behavior, and triggers the reaction of "what *should* one say in this situation." This question does not correspond necessarily to what the speaker actually says in a given situation. Thus, in any case, isn't what people actually say what we linguists are supposed to be explaining in the first place? (Duffley 2009: 57)

In other words, the availability of a written questionnaire offers the participant an opportunity to work through a question grammatically, which increases likelihood that he or she will lean towards answers that "ought to be right," as opposed to actual speech.

b. Participant Pool

Abu-Haidar (1979: 6) additionally avoided consulting any members of the community who had studied or worked outside of Baskinta. Though this may assist in researching a "purer" form of the Baskinta dialect, it nevertheless misrepresents the current dialect. It is quite unrealistic to study any one given region in Lebanon and to expect subjects not to have been influenced by other regions they have visited, lived in, worked in, or had some sort of connection with for at least a part of their lifetime. It is common knowledge in Lebanon that many Lebanese residents live in Beirut during the winters and escape to the mountains, their second residence, during the summers.

c. Data Analysis

In Lucas' Palestinian dialect account (2010: 175-177), perhaps as he explicitly states, the Palestinian dialect does not negate perfective verbs, pseudo-verb *ʿand*, and non-labials (excluding interrogative */t/*) with sole post-positive *–š*, unlike what was found in my Lebanese dialect data. Yet, a closer look at Lucas' data reveals that to the contrary, and very similar to what my data shows, perfective verbs and the pseudo-verb *ʿand* with sole post-positive *–š* do occur, but it is simply disregarded by Lucas. Because only one informative found *mesaḥnā-š* (perfective verb) and *ʿand-š* as acceptable negative verb constructions, Lucas (2010: 173) disregards its use since the informant

"even volunteered that her response was influenced by the kinds of structures that she recognized from the speech of her young children." As Gross (1979: 865) correctly observes, "It will not do to dismiss a sentence acceptable by those competent in a language, when theory suggests it should be unacceptable…[it is the] researcher's responsibility to demonstrate, either by experimental repetition under better conditions or by an analysis, that the given experimental result inconsistent with his hypothesis is in fact erroneous." If, I, too, had followed this same logic as Lucas, I would have disregarded the minimal times of negation for sole post-positive *–š* perfective verbs and the one-time occurrence of *ʿand-š* in my dataset. Even if we are only left with one informant or one example, this should not allow the researcher to completely discredit or ignore the construction.

d. Results and Analysis

Lucas considers that a rating of "odd" and "impossible" both mean "impossible." Lucas says:

> my impression while administering the questionnaire was that informants tended to make a binary choice for each sentence between fine or not, and if it was not fine then they appeared to choose a value of odd or impossible either at random or based on factors unconnected with the level of grammaticality of the string in question (Lucas 2010: 173).

Did Lucas ask respondents to explain their answers? It is researchers' responsibility to explain patterns that run counter to their own intuition. When no explanation may be found, researchers are likely to disregard it as noise (Wray 2005: 22). Perhaps he found the route of disavowal to be the easiest way out of answers that otherwise would not have made sense to him or that provide contradictions to the point he was trying to make. Lucas is too quick to dismiss the participants who label any one

construction as "odd" but not "impossible." Even in readings where *ʿandš* occurs it is rare (e.g. Wilmsen 2014), as I had similarly found in my study. In this case, I can imagine how *ʿandš* may have been regarded as "odd," but not "impossible." In light of this, thirteen of Lucas' participants found *ʿand-š* odd, leaving almost half of the participants (48%) not declaring it as an impossible construction.

e. Formulaic Negation

From a total of 102 various verbs under study, all other verbs not discussed in the analysis did not incur a high level of frequency. For example, verbs like *byaʿte* 'to give' occurred only four times, while others such as *byʿmal* 'to do' or *byeḥke* 'to talk' occurred only eight times. As with formulaicity of verbal negation, interrogatives, and especially exclamations did not incur at a high enough frequency during the recorded participant observation sessions. Out of a possible set of 760 sentences, only 97 contained interrogatives and a scant 25 contained exclamations. Though there does seem to be a slight association between interrogatives and exclamations and negator *–š,* in this study we cannot know the degree of the relationship, strictly due to the minimal data retrieved. Furthermore, as Wilmsen (2014) points out:

> It is also possible that, because this type of negation seems often to be used in forming idiomatic stock phrases, such as perfect forms like *šuftūš*; indicative forms like *biyiswāš* and *tistaḥīš*; and imperatives like *xāfš* and *qulīš*, what informants are rejecting are actually the very words and phrases researchers use in their questionnaires and not so much the usage itself.

Wilmsen (2014) concludes that "native informants' assessments may depend upon the idioms they are asked to assess, and not the grammaticality of the feature itself. Had

researchers chosen different collocations, their results may have been different."

Lucas discovers that only one respondent considered *akalt-š* to be an unacceptable construction. However, perhaps this verb's negation pattern does not tend to cluster around sole post-positive *–š*. Likewise, Lucas using the verb *mesaḥ nāš* to test whether sole post-positive *–š* may be used to negate a perfective verb is especially peculiar, as this verb in itself is very limited in use. If Lucas had used a very common verb to test the acceptability of perfective verbal sole post-positive *–š*, such as *ʿarfš*, perhaps he may have found completely different results.

B. Imperfective and Perfective Verbal Negation in Zeitoun

In my data of the Zeitouni dialect, a dichotomy arises between perfective and imperfective verbal negation. Why does imperfective *ma byqul* occur 169 times and *ma byqulš* occurs 46 times, whereas the opposite trend occurs in perfective verbs, with *ma qult* occurring 48 times and *ma qultš* at 134 times?

1. Occurrence of byaʿrf and ʿraf in Zeitouni Dataset

Shown below in Tables 2.5 and 2.6, when *byaʿrf* and *ʿaraf* are removed, the imperfective verbs are affected most; *ma byqul* occurs 84 times, *ma byqulš* 31 times, whereas *ma qult* occurs 45 times and *ma qultš* 131 times. Furthermore, imperfective verbs without *–š* negation amounts to 50.60% of the data and *–š* negation amounts to 49.40% of the data. However, perfective verbs without *–š* negation accounts for only 21.13% of the data, while *–š* negation accounts for 78.87% of the data. Even though the percentage share changes, the general pattern still holds true: the perfective is negated with *–š* much more often than the imperfective, and even more so when *byaʿrf* is taken

out of the data set.

Table 2.5 – Count of Verbs Including ‘to know’

ma byqul	ma byqulš	ʾa byqulš	byqulš	ma qult	ma qultš	ʾa qultš	qultš
169	**46**	84	20	**48**	**134**	22	15

Table 2.6 – Count of Verbs Excluding ‘to know’

ma byqul	ma byqulš	ʾa byqulš	byqulš	ma qult	ma qultš	ʾa qultš	qultš
84	**31**	34	17	**45**	**131**	22	15

a. Emphatic Quality of Post-Verbal Negative *–š*

Because *–š* has become heavily associated as a negative marker, could it be that the presence of post-verbal *–š* introduces an emphatic quality to the negated product, especially with perfective negation? Davies (1981: 292) supposes that the full form *ši,* as opposed to the enclitic *–š* introduces a certain emphasis. The Egyptian *ma-nimt ši di l-lēl* means ‘I haven’t slept at all tonight.’ Caubet (1993, II: 68) comes to the same conclusion with the Moroccan phrase *āna ma nāɛ əəs šäy* ‘Moi! Mais je ne dors pas du tout!’ (Me! I’m not sleepy at all!). Furthermore, Furthermore, Vrolijk (1998: 156) interprets it as an emphasizer of sorts, with the meaning ‘not at all’ or ‘not by any means.’ This effect may obtain in the Zeitouni dialect: when one of the participants of the study fell ill and was obliged to go to the hospital, many questioned whether she may have eaten something that caused the illness. In her own defense, the participant exclaimed *ya imme ma klt-š ši*! ‘I didn’t eat (anything) at all!’. To emphasize that she really had not eaten anything unhealthy, the participant felt the need to use *ši* ‘at all,’ here, not only a marker for negation, but also the understood word

'anything,' in addition to *–š*; just as *ši* may be a marker of emphasis, similarly, *–š* could also be a marker of emphasis. Returning to the dichotomy of the Zeitouni perfective and imperfective verbs, we can now see how this might make more sense. As we know, perfective verbs contain much more certainty than imperfective verbs, as what is being discussed has already occurred. Therefore, perfective negation with the split-morpheme construction creates even more certainty and clarity; whereas imperfective negation may be used without *–š*, as the action being talked about has not reached completion and is still ongoing, and therefore contains an amount of uncertainty. The uncertainty is revealed in the negation format; that is, negation occurs more often without split-morpheme construction. This would account for why the verb *ʿraf* 'to know' is negated in the imperfective tremendously more (153 times) than in the perfective (6 times). The phrase 'I don't know' in and of its meaning expresses a level of uncertainty, and thus, one would use it more in the imperfective than the perfective.

C. Verbal and Pseudo-Verbal Negation Frequency in Zeitoun by Sentence Type

In addition to formulaicity between negation and verbs, the data was analyzed against potential formulaicity with interrogatives, exclamations, and statements. As found in Table 2.1, interrogative verbal clauses negate with *–š* 44 out of 66 times, a majority of 66.67% of the data. Negation in verbal exclamations with *–š* occurred every time, and negative statements occurred with *–š* 57.42% of the time and without *–š* 42.58% of the time. Furthermore, pseudo-verbal negative interrogatives contain negative *–š* 17 out of 31 times, representing a slight majority of 54.84% of the data. However, negative pseudo-verbal exclamations were split down the middle, with 50% of uses with and without negative *–š*; once again, the data did not allow for enough exclamation use in order to draw a conclusion,

with only twelve occurrences for analysis. Finally, statements were negated with *–š* at 61.67% of the data and without *–š* at 38.33%. Overall, pseudo-verbal interrogatives and exclamations are negated with *–š* less often when compared to the verbal constructions. However, pseudo-verbal statements are negated with *–š* slightly more than their verbal counterparts. These are summarized in Table 2.7.

Table 2.7 – Occurrence of Verbal and Pseudo-Verbal Interrogatives, Exclamations, and Statements

	Interrogatives		Exclamations		Statements	
	V	PV	V	PV	V	PV
With *–š*	44	17	13	6	263	111
Without *–š*	22	14	0	6	195	69
Total	66	31	13	12	458	180
Percentage with *–š*	66.67	54.84	100.00	50.00	57.42	61.67
Percentage without *–š*	33.30	45.16	0.00	50.00	42.58	38.33

In Table 2.8, the data for verbal and pseudo-verbal interrogatives, exclamations, and statement constructions are summarized. There is a slight association with post-verbal *–š* in all sentence types, but especially interrogatives and exclamations. Negation with the split- morpheme construction occurs 61 times or 62.89% of the negative interrogatives, 19 times or 76% of exclamations, and 374 times or 58.62% of the statement data.

Table 2.8 – Occurrence of Interrogatives, Exclamations, and Statements (Verbs and Pseudo-Verbs)

	Interrogatives	Exclamations	Statements
With *–š*	61	19	374
Without *–š*	36	6	264
Total	97	25	638
Percentage with *–š*	62.89%	76.00%	58.62%
Percentage without *–š*	37.11%	24.00%	41.38%

1. Post-Verbal –š as an Interrogation Marker

As few have suggested, primarily Wilmsen (2013; 2014), post-verbal *–š* was originally a marker for interrogation. Even though Lucas (2007) analyzes Arabic and Berber dialects under the assumption that *–š* began as a function of negation, not interrogation, as a manifestation of the Jespersen's Cycle, nonetheless, in his 2010 study, he does acknowledge that post-verbal *–š* may be a marker for interrogation. In the case of the Cairene dialect, he finds in the following example that "the context makes clear that *–š* cannot be negative: (Lucas 2010: 169):

(1) bēt abū-ya huwwa fēn walla akun-š ġliṭ tʲ fi š-šāriʿ
house father-my it where or beš in the-street
'Where's my father's house? Or have I got the wrong street?'

In this above example, he does acknowledge that *akun-š* refers to interrogation, not negation, noting, "the speaker must be asking whether he is in the wrong street, not whether he has failed to get to the wrong street" (Lucas 2010:

169). Similarly, in the Zeitouni dialect, this may be reason that negative *–š* retains a slight association with the interrogative function. That is, the negative *–š* marker is not only a marker of negation, but it is an emphatic marker of interrogation, as well. Furthermore, as to the question of whether or not *–š* is primarily an interrogative or negative function, Lucas proposes that rather than being specifically a question marker, it is in fact a negative polarity item, similar to the English *at all*. So, Lucas cannot say that *–š* is indeed a complete negative marker, but that it has tendency towards negativity.

2. Emphatic Quality of Interrogatives and Exclamations

Why do interrogative and especially exclamations account for the majority of *–š* negation use, while statements contain only a slight majority? As was noted earlier, negative *–š* implies a certain emphatic quality that is also present with perfective verbs. The same correlation between *–š* and perfective verbs may be found between interrogatives and exclamations, as well. Interrogatives, especially polar interrogatives, are emphatic constructions. The early grammars of Egyptian Arabic of Spiita-Bey (1880) and Willmore (1901), analyze the following constructions as inherently negative (cited in Lucas 2010: 168-169):

(2) kun-t-^{i}š hināk?
be-you-š there?
'Weren't you there?'

(3) ʿand-ak-šʲqirš-ēn?

have-you-š penny-two?

'Don't you have two pennies?'

Exclamations are even more emphatic than interrogatives. The Zeitouni participant's *ya imme ma klt-š ši!* is emphatic not only because *–š* and *ši* are used together, but the emphasis is also marked by tone of voice. Because statements, on the other hand, hold no inherent emphatic quality, we would expect that negation with negative *–š* occurs less.

a. Linguistic Corpus Study

An observational study, while very effective and useful, does not always produce sufficient data for the phenomena we are most interested in. In this study, we may have greatly benefited from a linguistic corpus study of the Lebanese Zeitouni dialect in regards to the question of formulaicity. A corpus linguistics study is an effective and much more practical way to gather a very large sample of language use than observation alone may ever produce. A computer-assisted study could further facilitate answering specific questions, such as whether certain verbs follow certain patterns of formulaicity, as the corpus can be very large, ideally involving millions of searchable spoken words converted into text for research. For example, in my own personal data, *baʾa*, *kan*, and *ʿād* are all auxiliary verbs, but why is *baʾa* most commonly negated with the construction *ʾa…–š*, while *kan* and *ʿād* are most commonly negated with *ma…–š*?. If a corpus data had been available for the Zeitouni dialect, I could have searched for specific negation with these auxiliary verbs

to determine whether it was a production of formulaic negation or whether any other pattern emerged in the data.

D. Miscellaneous Findings in the Zeitouni Dialect

Numerous authors have commented on the Lebanese dialects, noting in passing certain features, some of those shared by the dialect of Zeitoun. Other features of the Zeitouni dialect appear to run counter to observed trends. Such features that have emerged during my observations are noted here:

1. Interrogative Pronouns of the Zeitouni Dialect

Though not the study's focus, it is worth noting the interrogative pronouns that are used in Zeitouni speech. For example, *eš* with a pronominal suffix:

(4) eš-in hōl ʿam t-akl-ī-on?
what-these these you-eating-you-them?
'What are these that you are eating?'

Additionally, it occurs as a direct question two separate times in the 2nd person singular form, *ešik* 'What are you?' As it appeared in my data, Feghali (1928: 227-288) attests *aiš (h)enne* in his survey of Lebanon, along with its alternate form *šu henne* 'What are they?'. He adds that *aiš–* is commonly used with a number of pronominal suffixes to form verbal interrogative expressions, such as:

(5) aiš-ne ḥ râme?

est-ce que-je.suis un voleur?

‘What am I a thief?’

(6) aiškon ta tšûru ʿláiyė?

que êtes-vous, vous-mêmes, pour me donner des conseils? .

‘Who are you to give me advice?’

He includes all other forms, such as *aišne*, *aišna*, *aišek*, *aišik*, *aišiye*, *aiškon*, and *aiš (h)iye* (Feghali 1928: 228). Barthelemy (1954: 9) additionally notes that *eš* may be composed with the pronouns *huwa*, *hiya*, and *henn*. For example, *ešš̆u had* derived from *eš huwa had* ‘What is this?’ and *aššiy* from *aš hiya* and *ešš̆enn*, from *eš henn*. Similarly, *šinu*, *šinhu*, *šnū*, *ešnu*, *škūn*, are all different variations of Zeitoun’s *ešin*, found in various parts of Syria, including Palmyra, Soukhne, ar Raqqa, Dēr izZōr, and al Hasake. (Behnstedt 1997: 568-569). *Ešš̆u* is found Palmyra, il Qaritēn, Aleppo, and Southwest Hama; while *əəšš̆u* is found in il Qaritēn and Aleppo. Finally, *ayšu*, *aššu*, *ašu*, *ešu* may all be found in Idlib. Additionally, other variations are found in Syria, including *ešši* and *ešši hay* (Barthelemy 1954: 9). Just as in Syria, *ašu* occurred in my data a total of 27 times. Compared to the occurrence of *šu* at 174 times and *eš* at 138 times, *ašu* occurred at a quite minimal occurrence. However, it is important to note that when *ašu* was used, it seemed to be imbued with a higher level of emphasis, as it was used as an expression for lack of comprehension (when a statement by someone was not heard the speaker says *ašu*, counting for the majority of usage at 15 separate utterances), exclamation, or with a degree of confusion, such as *ašu hey?* ‘What is this?’ Just as in Iraq where the

prefix *š–* ‘what’ may be interchangeable with *šinu* ‘What’, in Lebanon, *š–* may be interchangeable with *šu* or *eš*. In my data, *šʿarifne* ‘What do I know?’ occurred. Additionally, other interrogatives were found, including *šʿaleyah* ‘What’s it to me?’, *škan* ‘What was?’, *šmʿake* ‘What do you have?’, and *štrīd* ‘What do you need?’

Around the 7th century and later, those living in present-day Syria migrated to Al-Metn and Keserwan (Abu-Haidar 1979: 2). In the 17th century, around forty families from Bcharre, in North Lebanon, had moved to Aleppo, Syria (Behnstedt & Woidich 2005: 40). Additionally, in the mountainous Druze dialects of Ḥōrān, it is a frequent occurrence, though not mandatory, that the negated verb is followed by *–š*. Thus, it seems that through its relations with negative *–š* and interrogative *–š*, Iraq, Syria, the Ḥōrān, and Lebanon are all very closely related dialects, all descending from similar dialects.

2. Syllable Stress in Zeitouni Negation

The expected pronunciation of ‘to know’ is *báʿref*, with the stress falling on the first syllable. In most dialects, when negated with post-verbal *–š*, the stress moves from the first syllable to the very last syllable: *ma baʿréf-š*/ *a baʿréf-š*/ *baʿréf-š*. However, in contrast to this expected use, Zeitouni dialect speakers were found to interchange between both pronunciations; stress is interchangeable between the first syllable and last syllable in negation constructions. Thus, in Zeitoun, *a baʿréf-š* may be found pronounced with the stress on the first syllable: *a báʿref-š*. For example:

(7) a báʿrf-š ya imme, a báʿrf-š, a báʿrf-š

not know-š oh mother, not know-š, not know-š

‘I don’t know, oh Mother, I don’t know, I don’t know’

All three utterances of *a baʿrfš* were pronounced with stress on the first syllable. Is this limited to only Zeitoun? Does it occur in other areas of Lebanon or elsewhere in other countries which use negative *–š*?

E. Concluding Remarks

This study shows that sole post-positive *–š* does occur in imperfective and perfective negation. The more dialect studies are completed in the region, the more we will able to validate certain uses of negation and question others.

1. Where Does Zeitoun Fit in the Lebanese Dialects?

Like Thackston, Cantineau (1938: 27) also incorrectly points out that negative *–š* is a Palestinian variety. However, he additionally points out that it occurs in the Ḥōrān, South Lebanon, and Hermon, straddling the border between Syria and Lebanon in the Anti-Lebanon mountain range. As noted in Figure 1.2 (see Introduction: 4) from Behnstedt & Woidich’s distribution of Northern Levantine dialects, post-verbal *–š* negation is known to occur south of Beirut, including the coastline and stretching to encompass the entire South Governorate, as well as the southern regions of Mount Lebanon and the Beqaa Governorate’s southern parts, including all areas located south of Baalbek. Lebanese dialects that negate without *–š* include the city of Beirut, as well as north of Beirut along the coastline, stretching to parts of the Mount Lebanon

Governorate and the North Governorate (see Figure 1.2: 4). Though in contrast to the referenced map, I have witnessed *–š* negation usage in regions the map claims no *–š* negation use, such as Keserwan and Jbeil. Therefore, Behnstedt & Woidich must have understated which dialects in Mount Lebanon actually negate with *–š*.

A Lebanese local resident from Bikfayya, located in Mount Lebanon, tells me that she negates with *–š* regularly; however, once she steps foot in Beirut, she forces herself to negate the 'normal way;' hat being without *–š*. Moreover, I have heard the *–š* negator be referred to as a "hillbilly accent" by a professor from the American University of Beirut, which highlights its provincial nature. That being said, Zeitoun seems to be a mixed Lebanese dialect; it not only includes negation without *–š* found in the city and the coastline and northern Lebanon, but it also includes the "hillbilly" feature, as well, negation with *–š*.

2. Future Research

In specific reference to Abu-Haidar's account of the Lebanese dialect, a follow-up study in Baskinta would further clarify whether Abu-Haidar simply missed certain aspects of the dialect, or if there are indeed true and dramatic differences between Zeitouni and Baskintāwī negation. Even though I did find a slight association with interrogation and exclamation with negative *–š* usage, further research on the Zeitouni dialect is needed to collect a comprehensive dialectology of Zeitoun. Nevertheless, this study is the first of its kind for the Keserwan region and only the fourth in the Mount Lebanon Governorate.

APPENDIX A

A comprehensive layout of negative enclitic *–š* is illustrated below in Tables 2.9-3.3; the tables are divided amongst imperfective verbs, pseudo-verbs, prohibitive verbs, and perfective verbs.

Table 2.9 – Review of Imperfective Verbs

Source	***ma…–š***	***ʾa…–š***	**sole *ʾa***	**sole *–š***	**Comments**	**Location**
Cleveland	**x**			**x**	no mention of *ʾa…–š*	Jordan
Palva	**x**		**x**	**x**	Non-labial and labial constructions; though, negated verb is usually *b*-imperfect; no mention of *ʾa…–š*	Jordan
Blau				**x**	Occurs with *b–* prefix	Palestine
Hoyt				**x**	Occurs with *b–* or *f–* prefix	Palestine
Driver	**x**			**x**	Occurs with non-prohibitive *t–* and non-labials	Syria/ Palestine
Obler	**x**	**x**		**x**	Sole post-positive *–š* can obtain with *b*-imperfect verbs	Palestine
Lucas	**x**	**x**		**x**	Occurs with labials and *t–* prohibitives	Palestine
Wilmsen	**x**	**x**		**x**	*ʾa... –š* occurs with unmarked verbs, including *b–*; sole-*š* occurs with both labials and non-labials	Ḥōrān
Thackston	**x**			**x**	Occurs with all verbs regardless of prefix, including non-labials	Lebanon
Abu-Haidar	**x**	**x**		**x**	All must occur with *b–* prefix	Lebanon

Table 3.1 – Review of Pseudo-Verbs

Source	***ma…–š***	***ʾa…–š***	**sole *ʾa***	**sole *–š***	**Comments**	**Location**
Cleveland	**x**			**x**	no mention of *ʾa…–š*	Jordan
Cowell	**x**	**x**		**x**		Palestine
Palva	**x**	**x**	**x**	**x**	*bidd-/fi/bi* only mentioned	Jordan
Blanc	**x**			**x**	*ʿand-š* may obtain	Palestine (Galilee)
Driver	**x**					Syria/ Palestine
Obler	**x**			**x**	*ʿand-š* may obtain	Palestine
Lucas	**x**	**x**		**x**	Sole *–š*: *b–*, *f–* labial initials; *ʿand/ʾil* do not obtain	Palestine
Wilmsen	**x**	**x**		**x**	Sole *–š*: *ʿand* may obtain	Ḥōrān
Thackston	**x**			**x**	Sole *–š*: *ʿand* may obtain	Lebanon
Abu-Haidar	**x**	**x**		**x**	Sole *–š*: particles *b, fī,* and *maʿ*	Lebanon

Table 3.2 – Review of Prohibitive Verbs

Source	**ma…–š**	**ʾa…–š**	**sole –š**	**Comments**	**Location**
Cleveland			**x**	Prohibition may appear without the 2nd person *t–*	Jordan
Palva	**x**	**x**	**x**		Jordan
Driver	**x**	**x**	**x**	Uses *la…–š; ma…–š* is ungrammatical; 2nd person *t–* marker not mandatory	Syria/Palestine
Obler	**x**		**x**		Palestine
Lucas	**x**		**x**		Palestine
Wilmsen	**x**	**x**	**x**	Prohibitive *t–* not mandatory	Ḥōrān
Thackston	**x**		**x**		Lebanon
Abu-Haidar	**x**	**x**		Only includes example of *ʾa baʾāš*[11]	Lebanon

11 The majority of the literature says that *baqa* is a past-tense marker, however, Abu-Haidar (1975: 113) finds that it is additionally a prohibitive marker.

Table 3.3 – Review of Perfective Verbs

Source	**ma…–š**	**ʾa…–š**	**sole ʾa**	**Sole –š**	**Comments**	**Location**
Cleveland	**x**				Doesn't provide any other examples, but doesn't explicitly say either	Jordan
Palva	**x**				Sole *–š* negation: Introduces one example and dismisses it	Jordan
Driver	**x**	**x**		**x**	Occurs with labials and non-labials consonants – especially with interrogatives or *ʾa baʾāš*	Syria/Palestine
Obler	**x**			**x**	*Baqa/kan: ma…–š* and sole *–š* negation in free variation	Palestine
Lucas	**x**					Palestine
Wilmsen	**x**			**x**	Sole *–š* is not restricted to labial consonants and may occur with non-labial consonants	Ḥōrān
Behnstedt & Woidich	**x**	**x**	**x**		no mention of sole post-positive *–š*	Syria
Thackston	**x**			**x**	Gives example of *kan*	Lebanon
Abu-Haidar	**x**	**x**			Only gives example of *a baʾāš*	Lebanon

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