miš yinfaʿ – a change in progress?

A study of extended usage of the negation marker *miš* in Cairene Arabic

Eva Marie Håland

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Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages

University of Oslo

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the negation system of the Cairene Arabic dialect, in which the two main negation markers are *miš* and *ma—š*. Their main distribution is as following: *ma—š* is used for negation of verbal predicates except for the *ḥa*–imperfect, which indicates future tense, as well as quasi–verbs in terms of prepositional phrases when they are inverted predicates. *miš* is used for nominal negation, the *ḥa*–imperfect and quasi–verbs in terms of active participles. For *bi*–imperfect verbs people tend to use both negation markers. In addition to these core rules, studies show that the negation markers can change places in order to express specific pragmatic functions.

New observations have been made of non–standard usage of the negation marker *miš*, where it contradicts traditional rules in Cairene Arabic. In these observations, *miš* is used for negation of *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs as well as prepositional phrases. This usage appears to be common in the neighbouring Šarʾiyya district, but, at least traditionally, not in Cairo. This thesis investigates whether there is a change in progress in distribution of the negation markers in the Cairene dialect, or whether the non–standard practices are cases of different pragmatic functions for the negation markers.

The study shows that non–standard usage of *miš* has become a more frequent phenomenon in recent times. However, it does appear to be restricted to certain speech groups and contexts, and does not seem to be widely accepted by speakers of the Cairene dialect. Whether this linguistic phenomenon will spread, become widely accepted and constitute a change in progress in the Cairene dialect, will be interesting to observe in the future.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Topic and research question

My first meeting with the Arabic language was in Saudi Arabia, where I spent a year and a half as a child. I learned a few basic phrases in Saudi (Hijazi) dialect, which have stayed in my memory ever since. During a travel to Egypt years later, I was at first excited about being able to use my basic Arabic knowledge. However, I was surprised, as well as disappointed, by the great differences I felt existed between the two dialects. The famous phrase *ma–fi muškila* "no problem" in Saudi dialect, where the stress in *muškila* is on *u*, and which I had heard countless times, suddenly changed to *ma–fīš muškila*. The suffix *–š* was added to *ma–fi*, and the stress in *muškila* had changed to *i*. At that point, the difference in negation and word stress gave me the impression that the two dialects were very different from each other, and that the Egyptian dialect sounded very strange, almost "wrong".

Throughout my years as a student of Arabic, Cairene Arabic has become the dialect I am most familiar with. While studying dialect in Cairo, learning to control the discontinuous negation of verbs was one of the most challenging aspects. One had to take into account the shortening or lengthening of vowels when conjugating and suffixing pronouns and prepositions. Using the negation marker *miš* was considerably less complicated.

Searching for a topic for my master thesis, my supervisor Gunvor Mejdell referred me to an article written by Madiha Doss (2008) about evolving uses of *miš* in the Cairene dialect. The evolving uses Doss observed violates the "standard rules" for negation in Cairene dialect, where normally *ma–* precedes *y–*imperfect and perfect verbs, followed by the suffix *–š*. The "new observations" are cases where the negation marker *miš* precedes these verbs as well as prepositions in prepositional phrases (so–called "quasi–verbs").

On the other hand, I became aware of studies on different pragmatic functions where *miš* can precede the verb without violating the "standard rules". The question is then whether the observations of evolving usage can be explained by such pragmatic functions, or whether the negation system of Cairene dialect is facing a change in progress.

1.1.1 Research question: Change in progress?

I seek to investigate the following research questions in this thesis:

Are we witnessing a change in progress concerning distribution of the negation markers *miš* and *ma—š* in the Cairene dialect, and is the continuous marker *miš* expanding on behalf of the discontinuous marker *ma—š?*

In order to answer these questions, I investigate the categories where the new usage has been observed: with perfect verbs, *y*–imperfect verbs and prepositional phrases. A fourth category concerns the possible change in regard to negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs. I also look into distribution of the negation markers with regard to other constituents, such as nominal negation and negation of quasi–verbs.

Doss does not include negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs with *miš* in her examples of evolving usages, but rather in her presentation of "standard" usage. However, she adds that most grammars consider this usage to be of rare occurrence (Doss 2008: 85). In order to investigate the four categories, I shall first look at negation as it is described in the various grammars and studies of Cairene and Egyptian dialect. This will be compared to acceptability judgments made by Cairene informants on constructed example sentences containing constructions with the "evolving usage". In addition, I will look at examples noted through my own observation, and discuss whether the usage can be described as new usage, or corresponds to observed cases of pragmatic usages of *miš*.

1.2 Dialect, varieties, levels: terminological issues

The term "Cairene dialect" is often used interchangeably with the term "Egyptian dialect". According to Wilmsen and Woidich (2007: 1), Cairo Arabic "serves as Standard Egyptian Colloquial". Mughazy (2003: 1144) uses the term "Egyptian Arabic" in his study, although he refers to "the spoken colloquial variety of Arabic used by educated middle class Egyptians in Cairo in informal contexts". In this thesis I will use the terms "Cairene Arabic" or "Cairene dialect" to distinguish between the dialect spoken (and written) by Cairene speakers, and the other regional dialects of Egypt. Wilmsen and Woidich (2007: 1–2) operate with the common division between Bedouin, urban and rural dialects. They make a further division into seven dialects under the areas of Lower Egypt, Middle Egypt, Upper Egypt and the Oases, of which the Cairene dialect belongs to the group for Lower Egypt.

The other term for the spoken variety, ʿāmmiyya "vernacular/colloquial", is used here to refer to the colloquial variety as opposed to fuṣḥā, Standard Arabic (SA). ʿāmmiyya in Egypt is a variety with a wide range of application, in not only spoken but also written domains. Previously, its written usage was commonly restricted to poetry (šiʿr ʿāmmi) and prose dialogues, but today its scope has expanded to cover "various genres, including autobiographies, novellas, and literary critiques" of literary writing (Doss 2004: 55), as well as non–literary writing such as essays, advertisements and electronic media (ibid.: 57).

Egypt is described as a diglossic speech community which is characterised by the high variety, fuṣḥā, and the low variety, ʿāmmiyya. Subdivisions are often made within these two varieties. Badawī (1973) suggested a division into five levels, emphasising that these levels "do not exist isolated from each other, within closed borders"[1] (ibid.: 92). His levels within the low variety are:

ʿāmmiyyat al–muṯaqqafīn	"the colloquial of the intellectual"
ʿāmmiyyat al–mutanawwirīn	"the colloquial of the enlightened"
ʿāmmiyyat al–ʾummiyyīn	"the colloquial of the illiterate"

Wilmsen and Woidich (2007: 11) explain that there are a number of varieties of the spoken ʿāmmiyya in Egypt, and that the speakers need to have a perception of a certain standard in order to recognise that there are distinctions between the varieties. This standard is then "the spoken vernacular of the professional classes of the capital city, Cairo" (ibid).

In addition to the regional and social varieties of the vernacular, there is a "social phenomenon" described as luġat aš–šabāb "youth language" (Rizk 2007). Rizk (2007: 296) explains that the studies that have been done on this phenomenon focus on young students in urban Cairo, but she does not exclude that it is used elsewhere in Egypt. She also states that this "luġa" is "considered non–standard compared to colloquial Arabic and is generally stigmatized, particularly by those who represent the symbolic linguistic authorities" (ibid.: 293).

During my fieldwork for this thesis, I was often told that there are no correct answers to my questions, followed by the comment il ʿāmmiyya ma–lhāš qawāʿid "the vernacular does not have rules (of grammar)". Although the Cairene dialect does not have an official codification,

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[1] My translation.

several grammars have been written for the dialect dating at least back to Spitta–Bey's grammar from 1880. I use these grammars, as well as textbooks for Egyptian colloquial Arabic, as basic references.

1.3 Language change

> All language change has its origins in variation. The possibility of a linguistic change exists as soon as a new form develops and begins to be used alongside an existing form. If the new form spreads, the change is in progress. If it eventually displaces the old form, the change has become a "fait accompli" – it has gone to completion.
>
> (Holmes 2008: 205–206)

A great number of variations are stable, and do not indicate a change in progress (Holmes 2008: 216). If the variation leads to an increase or decrease in use of a form over time, it may be an indication of change in progress. In order to investigate change over time, one may compare the speech of the older generation to the speech of the younger generation, because the latter will use a potential new form more frequently. Holmes (2008: 178) and Milroy and Gordon (2003: 36) emphasise the importance of being aware of the forms which characterise a certain age–group and not confusing this with possible change in progress. McMahon (1999: 226) shows that there are "correlations of language variation with geographical region, sex, age, social class and ethnic group".

In the process where a potential change takes place, two or more forms may coexist over time. This stage of coexistence is referred to as "layering" or "variability" by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 124). Variability may lead to the disappearance of the older form, which means that a change has taken place. However, it does not necessarily result in disappearance of one form, but the forms may also "remain to coexist with and interact with new layers" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 125).

1.3.1 Some types of change

1.3.1.1 Lexical and semantic change

One type of semantic change is "extension" (also generalisation or broadening), which "increases the number of contexts in which a word can be used" (McMahon 1999: 178). The latest expression I was introduced to during my fieldwork in Cairo, *āxir ḥāga* (may be

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restricted to "youth language"), appears to be a case of semantic extension. The literal translation of this expression is "last thing", but it is now also used meaning "a lot" or "very much". The film comedy *rāmi iliʿtiṣāmi* (Rāfiʿ 2008) provides numerous examples where this expression is used: *haysam, da mitġāz minnak āxir ḥāga, ma–tiddilūš furṣa yistafizzak* "Haysam, he is very annoyed with you, don't give him the opportunity to provoke you". Another type of semantic change is "restriction" (also specialisation or narrowing), where "a restricted form is applicable to fewer situations but tell us more about each one" (McMahon 1999: 178). Examples of lexical change are "borrowing" and "innovation". An important source of lexical innovation is the increasing use of computers and social media. In Cairene there has been a creation of new verbs such as *yisayyif* "to save" and *yihannig* "to hang", originating from English verbs (Woidich 2006a: 332).

1.3.1.2 Phonological change

An example of phonological variation in Cairene Arabic is palatalisation, which "affects allophones for the dental stop phonemes /t, d/ and /T, D/ [/ṭ, ḍ/]" (Haeri 1994: 88). Haeri reports that palatalisation is a sound change in progress, and that women are its innovators (ibid.: 99–100). Examples of palatalisation of /t/ are even found in the novel *ʿayza atgawwiz*:

<div dir="rtl">

نهى دي حبيبتشي
</div>

(ʿAbd al–ʿĀl 2008: 136)

<div dir="rtl">

في دبي يا حبيبتشي بلد الشوبنج..ههه!
</div>

(ibid.: 46)

1.3.1.3 Morphological change

One type of morphological change is "analogy", of which there is "analogical extension" and "analogical levelling" (McMahon 1999: 70–74). "Analogical extension" is described by McMahon (ibid.: 71) as "the generalisation of a morpheme or relation which already exists in the language into new situations or forms". She points to the generalisation of the plural –*s* from some nouns to many nouns in English to demonstrate analogical extension. "Analogical levelling" is explained as levelling out diversity within paradigms which are caused by sound change applied to certain, but not all, forms in a paradigm (ibid.: 73).

1.3.1.4 Syntactic change

According to Miller (2010: 230), "[i]t is widely maintained that reanalysis is the primary mechanism of syntactic change". Reanalysis is defined by Langacker (in Hopper and Traugott 2003: 51) as "change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation". One example of reanalysis involving syntactic change presented by Hopper and Traugott (2003: 55–58) is "[t]he development of the English auxiliaries", where "what was originally one category of verbs had been reanalysed as two: main verbs and auxiliaries".

1.3.2 Motivations for change

Rather than use of the terms "internal" and "external" motivations for language change, Hopper and Traugott (ibid.: 44–45) prefer the term "contact–induced" for "change that arises out of contact and affects multiple subsystems of a language", and "natural" or "evolutive" change for other changes.

Other terms used in connection with motivation for change are "change from above" and "change from below". McMahon (1999: 244–245) explains change from above as changes which "operate above the level of conscious awareness". Change from below signifies the opposite, i.e. change which begins "below the level of conscious awareness".

1.3.2.1 Contact–induced change

One contact–induced change is "borrowing", "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in others" (Haugen in McMahon 1999: 200). Borrowing can include both "lexical borrowing" and "structural borrowing". McMahon (1999: 201–202) points to necessity being the most common motive for lexical borrowing, and social motivation in terms of prestige being the second most common motivation. "Convergence" is another contact–induced change, in which converging languages share features and "become markedly similar in structure", but not in lexicon (ibid.: 213–214). McMahon further explains that the converging languages need to be seen as socially equal, and gives "ease of learning" and "communicative efficiency" as motivations for this type of change.

An important motivating factor for contact–induced change from above may be the perception of prestige. "Overt prestige" describes "[p]restige based on norms set by the upper classes",

whereas "covert prestige" denotes lower–class varieties which inspire changes (McMahon 1999: 246). "Levelling" in Arabic signifies a process to which prestige may be one motivating factor. It denotes replacement of some dialect features with features from another variety or dialect which is more widespread or considered more prestigious (Bassiouney 2009: 117–118).

1.3.3 Spread of change

Spread of change is also referred to as "implementation" or "transmission" (McMahon 1999: 47). There are two distinguishable forms of spread: "spread across linguistic contexts" and "spread across genres and social groups" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 46). Two types of spread across linguistic contexts are "generalisation of grammatical function" and "generalisation of meaning". The former signifies spread of a grammatical function from one specific construction or usage "to an increasing number of new contexts" (ibid.: 104). Spread across genres and social groups constitutes change that spreads over the dimensions of an age group, region or social group into another group via speakers who are connected to several of these groups (Holmes 2008: 211).

1.3.4 Grammaticalisation

Grammaticalisation was described by Meillet (in Miller 2010: 68) as "the passing of an autonomous word to the role of a grammatical element". Two examples of grammaticalisation provided by McMahon (1999: 160) are the nouns *hād* "state, quality" and *līc* "body" in Old English. These nouns have grammaticalised and turned into the suffixes *–hood* and *–ly* in Modern English. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 50) point to reanalysis and analogy as "mechanisms" for change and factors that induce grammaticalisation. One case of grammaticalisation that has been widely referred to is the negation renewal in French. The hypothesis of Jespersen's Cycle and negation in French will be presented in what follows.

1.3.4.1 The hypothesis of Jespersen's Cycle

The hypothesis of "Jespersen's Cycle", also called "Jespersen Cycle" or "Negative Cycle", signifies "the process of negator renewal" (van der Auwera 2010:75). This process has been observed in several languages, of which the French case is frequently referred to.

Miller (2010: 68) presents the development of negation in French as follows:

Pre–Latin *[2]*n (e) oinom* "not one" > OLat. *noenum* > Lat. *nōn* "not" > OFr. *ne… (pas)* "not (a step" (etc.) > Fr. *ne…pas* "not" > *(ne)… pas* "not".

The noun *pas* had the original meaning of "a step" and was added after the negated verb, as were other nouns such as *mie* "crumb", *goutte* "drop", *point* "point", *rien* "thing" and *personne* "person" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 117). Hopper and Traugott (ibid.: 118) explain it as likely that these different nouns were connected to specific verbs, such as *mie* "crumb" with eating. They further argue that *pas* was connected to "a verb of motion: 'he hasn't gone a step'". The process in which *pas* lost its semantic meaning and became a negative marker is referred to as "bleaching" (McMahon 1999: 165). The motivation for why these nouns were added is explained by van der Auwera (2010: 76) as that "languages probably always have ways to emphasize the negation". The two words that are still used with negation are *pas* and *point*, of which *pas* is "unmarked" and *point* "denotes emphatic negation" (Hopper and Traugott 2003: 117). *Pas* has "become fully grammaticalized" and acquired the function of a negative marker (ibid.).

Van der Auwera (2010: 76) operates with three stages for the development from *ne* to *pas*, although he also shows models of transition stages, i.e. layering, where these forms coexisted (ibid.: 78–79).

<div align="center">

Stage 1→ Stage 2 → Stage 3

ne   ne…pas   pas

</div>

According to van der Auwera (ibid.: 76), the motivation for dropping of *ne*, which leaves *pas* as the only negation strategy, is loss of emphatic effect:

> If speakers overuse the emphatic strategy, the latter may lose its emphatic effect and become as neutral as the simple strategy. From then on the language has two neutral negative strategies, and there is the option […] that the older construction loses out, both as a negator as its own (i.e., *ne*) and as part of a complex strategy (i.e., *ne…pas*).

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[2] Miller (2010) uses (*) to show that the form is reconstructed from a proto–form.

1.4 Organisation of thesis

In Chapter Two I discuss the origin of the two negation markers *miš* and *ma—š* and the different descriptions of distribution of these markers, focusing mainly on the four categories *bi*–imperfect, *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs, and prepositional phrases. I also look at nominal negation and negation of active participles (quasi–verbs). Thereafter I give an account of the pragmatic functions for the discontinuous marker *miš*, in accordance with the available literature. In the last part of this chapter I give an account of the observations of non–standard usage of *miš* made by Doss (2008), on which the research question is based. In Chapter Three, I account for my fieldwork, the method which was used, the informants I interviewed as well as other sources. In Chapter Four I present the results of the interviews made during the fieldwork and provide an analysis of these findings as well as observations of non–standard usage of *miš*. In this chapter I also explore one tentative explanation suggested for the observed "irregular" use of *miš*. In the concluding Chapter Five I compare the description of distributions of the negation markers as found in grammars and textbooks of Egyptian Arabic with the findings from my fieldwork.

1.5 System of transcription

The phonology of the dialects differs somewhat from the phonology of *fuṣḥā*. For instance, the SA phoneme /q/ is usually realised as a glottal stop in the Cairene dialect, except for certain words where /q/ is kept, such as *ilqāhira* "Cairo", *ilqurʾān* "the Qurʾān", *qarn* "century", *qawmi* "national", *qarya* "village" (Watson 2002: 17), *qānūn* "law" and *istaqall* "to be independent" (Al–Tonsi et al. 2010: 4). Several of the words have different meanings when /q/ is realised as a glottal stop: *ʾarn* "horn", *ʾānūn* "a musical instrument" *istaʾall* "to undervalue" (ibid.). The SA affricate /j/ is realised /g/ in Cairene dialect, and is an accepted variant also in not too formal Egyptian SA. SA interdental /t̲/ is realised either /s/ or /t/ in Cairene, such as the number "three", which is pronounced *talāta*, or "revolution", which is pronounced *sawra*. Similarly, /d̲/ is realised /d/ or /z/, in example "sin" becomes *zanb/zamb,* and "gold" is pronounced *dahab*.

I have chosen to follow Woidich's (2006b) system of transcription (see next page). Long vowels are transcribed by the use of an overline, i. e. *ā*. Assimilation of the definite article is noted, and the definite article is not hyphenated when the transcription is from *ʿāmmiyya*. The

first part of the discontinuous negation marker *ma—š*, i.e. *ma–*, is hyphenated, whereas the enclitic *–š* is attached to the word. The negation marker *ma–* without the enclitic *–š* is also hyphenated. The emphatic counterparts to /r/, /b/, /m/ and /l/, namely /ṛ/, /ḅ/, /ṃ/ and /ḷ/ (Woidich 2006b: 11) e.g. *fiṛān* "Backöfen", *ṃayya* "Wasser", *ḅāḅa* "Papa", *ḥaḷḷa* "wie wundervoll", are, however, not applied in my study.

Table 1.1 Transcription system

Consonants:

ʾ	b	t	g	ḥ	x	d	r	z	s
š	ṣ	ḍ	ṭ	ẓ	ʿ	ġ	f	q	k
l	m	n	h	w	y				

Vowels:

a	e	i	o	u
ā	ē	ī	ō	ū

However, I only note initial glottal stops, (ʾ), when they are reflexes of ق.[3]

The future prefix *ḥa–* is transcribed with *ḥ*, in accordance with Woidich (2006b). However, it is important to note that this prefix is often pronounced *ha–*, and it has become more common to write ه and transcribe with *h* as well. The latter is found in in the teaching manuals *Kallimni ʿArabi fi Kull Haaga* (Louis 2009) and *Meyya Meyya* (Hegazi 2006), as well as in all three novels that have been used for examples in this thesis: *ʿayza atgawwiz* (ʿAbd al–ʿĀl 2008), *ilḥitta bitaʿti* (ʿAṭā Allāh 2010) and *ʾahwit ilmaṣriyyīn* (Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009).

Names of places are transcribed according to Cairene pronunciation, and where alternative pronunciations in Cairene or another Egyptian dialect in mention exist, these are given in footnotes. Titles of books and movies are transcribed according to the Cairene pronunciation, e.g. *ʾahwit ilmaṣriyyīn*, not *qahwat al–maṣriyyīn*. English loanwords pronounced in English are not transcribed. The numerous examples taken from different grammars are converted to the same transcription as in my examples, in order to avoid confusion due to the many different transcription systems found in these grammars. The examples taken from written social media and literature are cited in their original form.

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[3] In transcription from *fuṣḥā*, the stop is noted when it is not elided (e.g. *ʿāmmiyyat al–ʾummiyyīn*).

Chapter Two: Negation in Cairene Arabic

2.1 Cairene Arabic negation forms

This thesis will mainly focus on the two negation markers *miš* and *ma—š* in Cairene Arabic. In addition, *ma–* without the enclitic *–š* is also used in the dialect. However, its usage is limited to phrases or words "expressing an oath, a wish or a period of time" in certain situations (Gadalla 2000: 227). Negation with *ma–* will be examined further in section 2.3.1: "Emphatic negation". The other negative markers in Cairene Arabic are "*la ...wala ...*, *wala*, *ġēr* and *la*'" (Woidich 2006b: 334), however, they will not receive any attention here.

2.1.1 *ma—š*

The discontinuous negation marker *ma—š* (also called "bipartite" negative marker) is used in Cairene Arabic, as well as it (or its varieties) is present in other Arabic dialects from Morocco to Palestine as well as parts of Yemen and Oman (Lucas and Lash 2010: 383). The prefix *ma–* originates from the negation marker *mā*, while the enclitic *–š* originates from the word *šayʾ* "thing", and is often compared to the French negation *ne...pas* (e.g. Spitta–Bey 1880: 241; Benmamoun 2000: 71; Gairdner 1926: 25; Dirr 1912: 45). Davies (2005:XXXIV) noticed, from his study of 17th century Egyptian Arabic, more frequent use of *šayʾ*, meaning "thing", and "absence of the modern equivalent *ḥāga*". The development from negation with *mā–* to *ma—š* corresponds to stage 1>2 in the hypothesis of Jespersen's Cycle (Lucas and Lash 2010), as seen in the previous chapter. Lucas and Lash (2010) argue that the course from negation with *ma–* only, to the discontinuous *ma—š* in several Arabic dialects is not motivated by internal change only, but to contact as well. They point to the presence of a discontinuous negative construction in Coptic language, and that contact between Coptic and Arabic speakers led to the creation of a (different) discontinuous negation in Arabic spoken in Egypt (ibid.: 409). Furthermore, they argue that this construction spread from Egypt to the other dialects of North Africa through contact. The dialects that do not have this feature are the dialects which were not influenced by contact with Egypt (ibid.: 399). For the dialects in Yemen and Oman that have the feature of double or discontinuous negation, Lucas and Lash

(2010: 401) argue that this change is due to contact with speakers of Modern South Arabian languages which had discontinuous negation as well.

2.1.2 *muš*, *meš* or *miš*?

The continuous negation marker is transcribed in three different ways in the grammatical literature and teaching manuals for Egyptian dialect: *meš*, *muš* and *miš*. One can assume that *meš* and *miš* are two different ways of spelling the same sound, as the vowel often is pronounced like a sound that lies between /i/ and /e/, and that this sound is written differently depending on the writer's preference. *muš*, on the other hand is clearly distinguished from *miš/meš*. Phillott and Powell (1926: 67) state that *muš* is "a corruption of" *mā šayʾ*. Malina (1987: 23) claims that *miš* is derived from *ma hiyya šayʾ*, and *muš* similarly from *ma huwwa šayʾ*. Probst (1898: 74) also agrees that *muš* and *miš* originate from the personal pronouns *huwwa* and *hiyya* negated by *ma—š: ma–huwwāš* and *ma–hiyyāš*. This is in accordance with Spitta–Bey (1880: 414), although he only mentions *muš*, not *miš*. O'Leary (1946 [1925]: 36) gives a list of the personal pronouns negated by *ma—š*, adding that "[t]he 3rd sing. masc. mush is in very general use as a negative particle and may be found with the other persons". This explanation is also found in Vollers (2010 [1895]: 44). Davies (2005: XXXIV–XXXV) observes that *miš* and *muš* were developed at a later stage than *ma—š*, as the establishment of –*š* as a negative enclitic had to be completed prior to the development of *miš* and *muš*.

The fact that *muš* and *miš* derive from discontinuous negation of the personal pronouns *huwwa* and *hiyya* is not unique to the Egyptian dialect. Spitta–Bey (1880: 170) compares it to Syrian dialect where the non–verbal negation is *mu*, which he points to is derived from *ma hu* (*huwwa*). This is also the case in Maltese, where the independent negation *mhux* [*mhuš*] "is composed of the discontinuous negative *ma–x* and the pronominal *hu,* which carries the third masculine singular features." (Benmamoun 2000: 79). Simeone–Senelle (1996: 209) provides the same explanation for the negation markers *mūš* and *mīš* in the Yemeni dialect of Tihāma, namely that they derive from *mā+ hū/hī + š*. Furthermore, Benmamoun (2000: 79–80) refers to Holes, who reports that in some Gulf dialects, the negation may vary between *mu,* which is a merge of the negation marker *ma* and the pronoun *hu* with masculine subjects, and *mi*, the merge of *ma* and the pronoun *hi*, for feminine subjects. I have not found any reports of a similar distinction between *miš* and *muš* for negation of masculine and feminine subjects in Cairene dialect. Malina (1987: 23) claims that the interchange between them "is done

completely arbitrary and is not dependent on the environment"[4]. Gamal–Eldin (1967: 51) refers to *miš* as a dialectal variant of *muš*. (Abdel–Hamid Youssef has a quite different suggestion to the origin of *miš*, namely that it derives from an ancient Egyptian root, with the Coptic writing ⲘⲈϢⲈ, which is transliterated *bw rḫ* (2003: 10).)

2.1.2.1 Distribution of *miš* and *muš*

According to Malina (1987: 23), the two variants *miš* and *muš* are equally frequent in Cairo, and some speakers do not keep to one of the variants, but use both interchangeably. Doss (2008: 84) says *muš* nowadays is "of rare use", but that it can be heard in songs. Mejdell (2006: 240–241) notices a gradual transition from *muš* to *miš* in negatives reported from the older to the more recent books. This can be seen by looking at for example Spitta–Bey's grammar from 1880, or Gairdner's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* from 1926, where the continuous negation marker appears as *muš* in the conversations and grammar explanations, whereas *miš* is not even mentioned as an alternative (Spitta–Bey 1880; Gairdner 1926). Mitchell (1956) writes *muš* consistently, but he does add *miš* in brackets as an alternative. In Woidich's doctoral dissertation from 1968 on negation in Egyptian Arabic, he gives *miš* as an "optional variant" of *muš* (1968: 30), whereas in Woidich and Heinen–Nasr's textbook of Egyptian dialect, *kullu tamām!* (2004), the authors only list and give examples with *miš*. In Woidich's grammar of Cairene Arabic from 2006, he writes that "in addition to *miš*, *muš* occurs, which appears to have been frequent earlier, because in older texts, {mwš} is often written"[5] (Woidich 2006b: 334).

In the interviews I conducted during my fieldwork, the continuous negation marker was almost exclusively pronounced "*miš/meš*". Based on this, I will use *miš* consistently throughout this thesis, except in examples taken from other literature or from quotes where the other variant was used.

2.2 Unmarked negation

The terms "unmarked" and "marked" forms can be used in several areas of linguistics. "Generally speaking, a **marked form** is any linguistic form which is less usual or less neutral than some other form – the **unmarked form**" (Trask 2007: 163). I have adopted these terms

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[4] My translation.
[5] My translation.

from Brustad (2000) who uses "unmarked" to describe the "normal" distribution of the negation markers, and "marked" to describe negation which deviates from this distribution.

In the following I give an account of the distribution of the negation markers in its unmarked forms. I classify the distribution according to nominal, verbal and quasi–verbal negation, similar to Brustad's (2000) presentation, and not according to each negation marker. This is done in order to give each of the categories in which the new usage was observed extended focus.

2.2.1 Nominal negation

By nominal negation I refer to negation of nominal predicates or other non–verbal constituents of a sentence. This includes nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, adverbs, participles and prepositional phrases in S+P structure. Active participles and prepositional phrases will be further dealt with in 2.2.3: "Quasi–verbal negation". Usage of *ma—š* for negation of personal pronouns will be discussed in 2.3.1: "Emphatic negation".

In the unmarked usage, *miš* is usually used for nominal negation:

fahmi miš ustāz	"Fahmi is not a professor"
issabab miš maʿrūf	"The reason is not known"

<div align="right">(Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 137)</div>

ilwād miš fi lbēt	"Der Bub ist nicht zu Hause"
ma hu miš maʿʾūl	"es ist doch nicht möglich"

<div align="right">(Malina 1987: 24)</div>

bi šuġlāna miš baṭṭāla	"mit einer nicht schlechten Arbeit"

<div align="right">(ibid.: 26)</div>

laʾ miš ʾadīm	"No, (it's) not old"

<div align="right">(Brustad 2000: 279)</div>

hiyya miš sahla	"es ist nicht leicht"

<div align="right">(Woidich 2006b: 336)</div>

A non–verbal constituent which may be negated by *ma—š* is the noun *ḥadd* "someone": *ma–ḥaddiš* "no one". Woidich (2006b: 53) points to that *ḥadd* has to precede the predicate if negated by *ma—š*:

> *ma–ḥaddiš gih*   "niemand ist gekommen"

> *ma–ḥaddiš yiʾaṭiʿni w ana bakkallim*   "niemand soll mich unterbrechen, wenn ich rede!"

2.2.2 Verbal negation

2.2.2.1 Perfect

The fact that in Cairene Arabic, a perfect verb is negated by the discontinuous *ma—š* in its unmarked usage, is not disputed. Each and all of the grammars and textbooks I have consulted agree on this.

Examples:

> *ma–gūš imbāriḥ*   "they didn't come yesterday"
>
> > (Woidich and Heinen–Nasr 2004: 207)
>
> *ma–katabš*   "He did not write"
>
> > (Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 135)
>
> *ma–fhimtiš*   "I didn't understand"
>
> > (Mitchell 1956: 44)

As Mughazy (2003: 1146) points to, Benmamoun (2000:81) shows that using *miš* to negate a perfect verb is ungrammatical. Usage of *miš* for negating perfect verbs has been observed, but only when it is used as a tool to give the phrase a certain pragmatic function. These different pragmatic functions will be considered further in 2.3.

2.2.2.2 *y*–imperfect

The *y*–imperfect in Cairene Arabic is the non–prefixed imperfect, as opposed to imperfect prefixed by *bi–* or *ḥa–*. The *y*–imperfect form indicates modal and/or dependent aspect. It is also the form used when expressing the negative counterpart of the imperative: prohibition. Vollers (2011 [1895]: 44) states that verbs are "more rarely" negated by *miš*, giving examples

with *y*–imperfects verbs. However, the majority of grammars and textbooks I have looked into only mention *ma—š* for negation of *y*–imperfect verbs in unmarked usage:

> *ma–yiʿrafš yirūḥ*   "He does not know how to go"
>
> <div align="right">(Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 135)</div>
>
> *ʿalašan ma– titʿabš*   "so that you mayn't tire"
>
> <div align="right">(Gairdner 1926: 67)</div>

2.2.2.2.1 Prohibition

Prohibition in Cairene Arabic is expressed by the *y*–imperfect and the discontinuous negation *ma—š* (Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 135; Woidich 1968: 45–46; Brustad 2000: 295). All the grammars agree that this is the only possible way to express prohibition in Cairene dialect[6]. Brustad (2000: 295) mentions the negation *lā—š* being used in the Egyptian Delta, but claims that in Cairo, only *ma—š* is used. Examples of prohibition:

> *ma–tidfaʿīš aktar min mitēn*   "Don't pay more than two hundred"
>
> <div align="right">(Brustad 2000: 295)</div>
>
> *ma–tiktibš*   "Don't write!"
>
> <div align="right">(Abdel–Massih 1992 [1975]: 145)</div>
>
> *ma–tisʾalnīš ʿan ḥāga*   "Frag mich nichts!"
>
> <div align="right">(Malina 1987: 19)</div>

2.2.2.3 *bi*–imperfect

The *bi*–imperfect verb indicates habitual or progressive aspect. Concerning the origin of the *bi*–prefix in Egyptian dialect, two possibilities mentioned are the preposition *bi* (according to Spitta–Bey 1880), or an origin similar to the origin of the Yemeni *bi*–prefixes, which is *baynā or baynamā* (Stewart 1998).

Negation of a *bi*–imperfect verb form can apparently be done using both *ma—š* and *miš*. The grammars hold somewhat different opinions concerning the frequency of *miš* in this function in Cairene Arabic, and whether using *miš* has any specific pragmatic function or whether it gives the phrase any different meaning.

Gairdner (1926) states that negative indicative with *bi* is negated with *ma—š*, as in the example *ma–biyirkabš* "he isn't riding", and does not give *muš* as an alternative. For negative

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[6] Except for when rephrasing by using words such as *balāš* or *iwʿa,* see Gadalla (2000: 230).

questions, on the other hand, he gives one alternative example with *muš* and *bi*–imperfect: *muš bitismaʿ*? "don't you hear?" (Gairdner 1926: 67). This may be intended as a negative rhetorical question, c.f. 2.3.6. Probst (1898: 73–74) does not explain the distribution of the negation particles in a detailed manner, but says that *ma—š* is verbal negation, and that *muš* is used to negate individual words. Tomiche (1964: 205) also reports that *miš* negates verbs prefixed by *ḥa*–, but that *ma—š* negates all other verb forms. Gamal–Eldin (1967: 85) gives a similar description: "*muš* precedes active participles and *ha*– forms, *ma…š* precedes all other verbal forms". In the teaching manual *Colloquial Arabic of Egypt* (Wightwick and Gaafar 2004: 124), only *ma—š* is given for negating the *bi*–imperfect, however, the students are made aware of that other combinations can occur in the Egyptian dialect.

Salib (1969: 109) says that the *bi*–imperfect can be negated by either *miš* or *ma—š*, adding in brackets that *miš* is used "particularly when it signifies 'action in progress'", pointing to the example *miš biyitkallim* "he is not talking" versus *ma–biyitkallimš* "he does not talk". Ten years later, Salib (1979: 71–72) simply says that *miš* is used as an alternative to *ma—š* with *bi*–imperfect, "optionally, though not very commonly". Eisele (1999: 119) also acknowledges the use of *miš* with the *bi*–imperfect, but to "a limited extent". Gadalla (2000: 227) sees that the continuous negation marker *miš* alternates with the discontinuous *ma—š*, adding that *miš* is more common with *ḥa*–imperfect, whereas *ma—š* is more frequent with *bi*–imperfect.

According to Abdel–Massih et al. (2009 [1979]: 137), "[t]he form *miš ~ muš* is used before *bi*– as an alternative to the use of *ma–...–š*", with no mention of any particular function or semantic difference. In Wise's (1975: 10) opinion, the choice of *miš* or *ma—š* is "of no semantic significance" and they are "equally acceptable" with *bi*–imperfect in Cairene Arabic, while it may constitute a difference in the other Egyptian dialects. Bassiouney (2006: 70) claims that *miš* and *ma—š* can be used "in free variation" with *bi*–imperfect verbs.

Woidich (1968) does not give *miš* as an alternative to *ma—š* for negating *bi*–imperfect in unmarked usage. However, he does give some examples of *miš* negating *bi*–imperfect in marked usage, c.f. 2.3. Brustad (2000: 284) also says that *ma—š* is the usual unmarked negation marker for *bi*–imperfect, but she gives some examples of marked usage of *miš* with *bi*–imperfect as well, c.f. 2.3.

Malina (1987: 25) suggests that negation of *bi*–imperfect with *miš* is a new tendency in the language. She adds, however, that in declarative sentences *bi*–imperfect is preferably negated

with *ma—š*. Woidich (2006b: 335) also reports that *miš* with *bi*–imperfect represents new usage: "In recent times, it is not rare that *miš* is used instead of *ma–…–š* for the bi–imperfect"[7]: *ana miš baḥibbu* "ich liebe ihn nicht", *ana miš baḥlam* "ich träume nicht", *bandahlik miš bitruddi lē*? "ich rufe dich, warum antwortest du nicht?". This is found in Woidich and Heinen–Nasr as well, who focus on that *ma—š* is the main negation marker for *bi*–imperfect, but that recently, *miš* is also possible: "*ma–biyruddiš ~ miš biyrudd*" "he doesn't answer" (Woidich and Heinen–Nasr 2004: 140). In his article "Cairo Arabic" in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, Woidich claims that "[a]s to the *bi*–imperfect, there is a tendency nowadays to replace *ma–…+š* by *miš*: *ma–byiʿmilši ḥāga ~ miš biyiʿmil ḥāga* (Woidich 2006a: 327).

In *Meyya Meyya: Egyptian Colloquial Self Learning Approach*, Hegazi (2006: 68–69) teaches the students of Arabic that there are two ways to negate verbs in *bi*–imperfect. He gives examples of the same sentences being negated with both the continuous *miš* and the discontinuous *ma—š*. Additionally, Hegazi explains that there is one situation where it would be more appropriate to use the continuous negation marker *miš*, namely when one does not want something that is offered. He claims that using *ma—š* in this situation would sound "slightly aggressive" (ibid.: 69). His example is that one should say *šukran, ana miš bākol laḥma* "thank you, I don't eat meat", and not *ana ma–bakulš laḥma* (ibid.).

In *Let's Chat in Arabic: A practical Introduction to the Spoken Arabic of Cairo* from 1982, used for teaching Arabic to foreigners at The American University in Cairo, Hassanein and Kamel also give two alternatives to the students: *miš* or *ma—š.* No difference in usage is mentioned. The teaching manual *Kalaam Gamiil* by Al–Tonsi, Al–Sawi and Massoud (2010: 13–14) teaches that *miš* may be used to negate *bi*–imperfect verbs. Doss (2008: 85) says that in addition to *ma—š*, *miš* is also used for negating *bi*–imperfect verbs, but points to that there are various descriptions of its usage in the different grammars.

2.2.2.4 *ḥa*–imperfect

In Cairene Arabic, an imperfect verb prefixed by *ḥa*– indicates the future tense. Most of the grammars say that this verb form is only negated with the continuous negation marker *miš* in the Cairene dialect. Woidich (2006b: 334) reports that *ma—š* is rarely used with *ḥa*–imperfect. According to Abdel–Massih (1992 [1975]: 146), usage of *miš* or *ma—š* is optional

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[7] My translation.

with *ḥa–*imperfect verbs. However, Abdel–Massih et al. (2009 [1979]:135) claim that *ma—š* is used with "all verb forms except those which have the prefix *ḥa–*". According to Salib (1969: 110), the *ḥa–*imperfect verb may (rarely) be negated by *ma—š*, "in which case the negative element is stronger".

> *miš ḥarūḥ maṣr issanādi*
> "I will not go to Egypt this year"
>
> (Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 137)

> *miš ḥayibʾa ḥilw ʿalayya*
> "It won't look good on me"
>
> (Brustad 2000: 285)

> *wi Šawkat Bē ṭabʿan muš ḥayuskut*
> "und Šawkat Bē wird natürlich nicht schweigen"
>
> (Woidich 1968: 31)

> *miš ḥaktib – ma–ḥaktibš*
> "I will not write"[8]
>
> (Abdel–Massih 1992 [1975]: 146)

According to Brustad (2000: 285), *ḥa–*imperfect verbs are negated by the discontinuous *ma—š* in certain dialects of southern Egypt: *ma–ḥangulš!* "We won't tell!". It is, however, not made clear how widespread this usage is. Nishio (1994: 85, 268) only gives examples of cases where *miš* negates *ḥa–*imperfect verbs in the dialect of Qifṭ. Brustad (2000: 303) also says that *ḥa–*imperfect verbs were negated by *ma—š* in the Cairene dialect earlier, but has undergone a change from *ma—š* to *miš*.

The motivation that Woidich (1968) and Benmamoun (2000) give for the future tense verb being negated with *miš* is that it is due to the origin of the prefix *ḥa–*. Woidich shows to its origin from the form *raḥa* (*rayḥa)* in Upper Egypt, using an example from Baʿrān: *miš raḥa–yarǧaʿ* "er wird nicht zurückkommen" (1968: 31). Benmamoun (2000: 86) agrees that the prefix *ḥa–* originates from the active participle *rāyiḥ*. He explains the reason for *ḥa–*imperfect verbs being negated by *miš* being that the prefix is derived from an active participle, and active participles are not negated by *ma—š* in the Cairene dialect, but rather *miš*. Vollers (2011 [1895]: 40) explains that "[w]hen the action is about to take place in the immediate

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[8]My translation.

future, *rāḥ* is placed before the verb", and that *rāḥ* is contracted from the active participle *rāyiḥ*. He adds that *ḥa* "gives the same signification as *rāḥ* to the verb". Vollers' (ibid.: 44) description of negation of active participles is as follows: "In sentences constructed with the pronoun and the active participle *mā—sh* must be attached to the pronoun, which undergoes in consequence certain changes". He gives examples of negation of active particles with *ma—š* attached to all pronouns, such as *mānish fākir* "I do not remember" *mantish fākir* "thou dost not remember" *mush fākir (*or *fakra)* "he (or she) does not remember". He further adds that "*mush* can be used for all Persons, where no ambiguity can arise" (ibid.)

2.2.3 Quasi–verbal negation

The terms "quasi–verbs" or "pseudo–verbs" are used to describe elements that have some of the properties of a verb, but do not have its morphological properties (Comrie 2008: 739). A common way to determine whether a word qualifies for belonging to the group of quasi–verbs is the way it is negated, as quasi–verbs normally are negated by verbal negation (Brustad 2000: 154), which in Cairene Arabic is the discontinuous *ma—š*.

2.2.3.1 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases are included in the category of quasi–verbal negation due to their possible verb–like functions in the sentence. Brustad (2000: 288) uses the term "pseudo–verb" to describe a number of prepositional phrases that can have this function. Eisele (1999: 122) says that the prepositional complements can be seen as "predicators" [verbal elements] or "quasi–predicators" based on that they can be negated with the negative marker *ma—š*, which is reserved for verbal elements only.

As Mejdell (2006: 241) points to, Woidich (1968), amongst others, argue that the sentence structure determines whether the continuous or the discontinuous negation marker is used for negation of predicates consisting of a preposition and a pronominal suffix. They claim that *miš* is used for negation of a preposition with pronominal suffix if the structure is S+P (subject + predicate), whereas *ma—š* is used when the structure is P+S (predicate + subject), i.e. an inverted predicate (Woidich 1968: 34; Malina 1987: 20; Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 135). Example: *ikkitāb miš ma ʿāya* and *ma–ma ʿīš kitāb*[9].

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[9] My constructed example.

In *Lessons in colloquial Egyptian Arabic* (Harrell et al. 1963: 29.3), the authors focus on the semantic content of the prepositions in deciding whether *miš* or *ma—š* is the correct negation form. Concerning the preposition *ʿand* together with the different pronominal suffixes, they say that "[w]hen these forms are used in the sense of 'to have', the negation is formed as for verbs by prefixing *ma–* and suffixing *–š*". "When used in the sense of 'with' or 'at the home of', etc., the forms of *ʿand* are negated with a preceding *miš* 'not'". The same claim is made for the prepositions *maʿa* and *li* (ibid.: 29.4). Hegazi (2006: 115) treats negation of prepositions with a pronominal suffix similarly, listing negation of "possession" with *ma—š* and negation of "location" with *miš*.

Woidich (1968: 36) argues against this way of explaining the distribution of the negation markers:

> Auch die Annahme, daß *ma–..–š* nur bei übertragener Bedeutung der Präposition gebraucht wird, ist nicht gerechtfertigt, weil diese übertragene Bedeutung lediglich ein Phänomen der Übersetzung und nicht des Äg.–Arabischen ist. Präpositionale Prädikate wie *ʿandu*, *maʿāk* usw. stellen nichts anderes als Ortsangaben dar, die je nach der Phraseologie anderer Sprachen übersetzt werden müssen.

Examples of negation of prepositional phrases:

ma–lūš ḥadd	"He doesn't have anyone"	
		(Brustad 2000: 288)
iḥna ma–ʿandināš fiṣāl	"bei uns gibt es kein Handeln"	
āsif muš ʿandi	"leider, ich habe (es) nicht/(es) ist nicht bei mir"	
		(Woidich 1968: 36)
ma–ʿalikš zanb	"You (ms) are not to blame"	
		(Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 135)
ilḥaʾʾ miš ʿalēk	"The fault is not yours"	
		(ibid.: 137)

The existential *fī(h)* "there is" is in unmarked usage also negated by the discontinuous negation *ma─š*:

ma–fīš hāga ma–ʾultahāš	"Es gibt nichts, was du nicht gesagt hast"
ma–fīš xuṭūba yaʿni ma–fīš gawāz	"Es gibt keine Verlobung, d.h. keine Hochzeit"
	(Malina 1987: 21)

Eisele (1999: 125) explains that the existential *fī(h)* is most likely negated by *ma—š* due to its verb–like function:

> The use of *ma—š* with the existential *fī(h)* is due to the fact that it is closely associated with indefinite nominal subjects (although it is not exclusively used with them), which has led to extraposition being obligatory with all "subjects" of *fī(h)*, whether indefinite or definite.[…]What this means is that the existential *fī(h)* is always sentence or clause initial, with a following extraposed or inverted subject, and with an empty or dummy object–pronoun suffix which functions as a kind of impersonal quasi–subject marker. All of these characteristics have led to its being sufficiently predicator–like to attract the use of the *ma—š* particle.

Malina (1987: 22) reports of one example of *fī(h)* negated by the continuous *miš*: *miš fī taʿdīl wizāri* "Gibt es etwa kein Minister–Revirement?". This is however interpreted as marked usage in a rhetorical question, c.f. 2.3.6.

2.2.3.2 Active participles

Active participles in Cairene Arabic can also sometimes be considered "quasi–verbs" or "pseudo–verbs" when they have verbal function, carrying verbal meaning, and taking direct objects. In Cairene dialect, active participles are always negated by the continuous negation form *miš*, not the discontinuous *ma—š* which is used for negating verbs:

ana miš ʿārif	"ich weiß nicht"	
		(Woidich 2006b: 334)
miš māši	"(er) geht nicht"	
		(Malina 1987: 25)
miš ʿayza tiṭlaʿ tāni	"It doesn't want to come out again"	
		(Brustad 2000: 154)

Brustad (2000: 291) refers to Behnstedt and Woidich, who show that negation of participles follows a division line between southern and northern Egypt, more specifically north and south of ilMinya. In the south of Egypt, she says that negation of active participles is done by *ma—š*, referring to Behnstedt and Woidich's examples: *mā–xābirhūš* "I don't know him/it", *ma–ṣāyidš* "I am not fishing" (ibid.). Behnstedt and Woidich's (1985b:111) dialect atlas indicates the existence of active participles negated by *ma—š*, such as *maʿarifš* from ilMinya

and south. They add, however, that "[a]llerdings kommt auch in dem *ma–ˁarifš* Gebiet *miš ˁārif* als Parallelform vor" (Behnstedt and Woidich 1985a: 83).

That *ma—š* is used for negating active participles in dialects in the south of Egypt may explain why the *ḥa*–imperfect is negated by *ma—š* in southern Egyptian dialects as well, c.f. 2.2.2.4. As seen above, the future prefix *ḥa*– is derived from the active participle *rāyiḥ*, and usage of *miš* for negating *ḥa*–imperfect verbs in the Cairene dialect is explained by usage of *miš* for negating active participles.

2.3 Marked negation, pragmatic uses

In order to give a phrase a different pragmatic function than what is understood from the standard or unmarked sentences, the negation markers can be used in non–standard or marked positions or structures. The different marked usages of the negation markers are here divided into the following categories: emphatic negation, "affective" negation, metalinguistic negation, contrastive negation, and negation in rhetorical questions.

2.3.1 Emphatic negation

"Emphatic negation" is mentioned in several grammars on Egyptian/Cairene Arabic. The term is often used to describe negation with the form *ma*– without the enclitic –*š* (Mitchell 1956: 47; Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 133). Mughazy (2008a: 92) uses the term for both negation with *ma*– and discontinuous negation of a personal pronoun. According to Mughazy, the pragmatic function of emphatic negation is "where the speaker strongly asserts his/her commitment to the truthfulness of a negative sentence" (ibid.). I will also include negation with the single *ma*– and discontinuous negation of a personal pronoun in the category emphatic negation.

2.3.1.1 Emphatic negation with *ma–*

Brustad (2000: 306) places negation with the non–suffixed *ma*– in her category "categorical negation", by which she means "absolute, unqualified negation", whereas Woidich (1968: 52) refers to *ma*– as the emphatic negation particle. Emphatic negation with the single *ma*– is usually expressed together with another word phrase often implying time, an oath or wish (Gadalla 2000: 227; Brustad 2000: 307).

walla ma–ʿraf

"By God, I don't know"

ya rētu ma–rāḥ

"I wish he hadn't gone"

(Gadalla 2000: 227)

ʿumri ma–šuftu sakrān

"I never saw him drunk"

ya rabb ma–yīgi

"I hope he will not come"

(Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 134)

ʿumru ma–ḥass innu huwwa agnabi

"Never has he felt that he was foreign"

(Brustad 2000: 307)

wi nnabi law ma–kunti sitt ma–kunt atgawwiz

"beim Propheten, wenn ich keine Frau wäre, würde ich nicht heiraten"

(Woidich 1968: 53)

When comparing to negation in French, the single negation form *ne*, without *pas*, is according to van der Auwera (2010: 78) also still used in some contexts. He gives the verb *pouvoir* as an example and *je ne saurai vous dire* "I couldn't tell you", which he compares to the relic English forms *I kid you not* and *She loves me not.*

2.3.1.2 Personal pronouns negated by *ma–š*

As mentioned above, the discontinuous negation marker *ma—š* is in its unmarked usage almost restricted to negate perfect, *y*–imperfect, and *bi*–imperfect verbs as well as prepositional phrases. However, in marked usage it can be used for emphatically negating a personal pronoun. Brustad (2000: 298), who categorises discontinuous negation of a personal pronoun as the "negative copula", says that their pragmatic function is "contradicting a presupposition, by targeting the subject pronoun and emphatically negating the applicability of the predicate to the subject". Example: *ilʿumra ma–hiyyāš farḍ, ilʿumra sunna* "the ʿumra

(minor pilgrimage) is **not** an obligation, the ʿumra is sunna (imitating the practice of the Prophet)" (ibid.).

Eisele disagrees with Brustad's classification of personal pronouns negated by *ma—š* as "negative copulas". He argues that they are rather the "emphatic counterpart to the simple morpheme *miš*", that is "emphatic negative particles" (Eisele 1999: 119). His argument is based on that these negated personal pronouns can be followed by a verb, as in *ma–huwwāš biyiktib iggawāb* "he is not writing the letter", a characteristic that according to Eisele does not apply to copulas (ibid.: 118–119).

Woidich (1968: 67; 2006: 336) gives two alternatives for negation when a personal pronoun is subject in a nominal phrase: *ma—š* for the pronoun or *miš* for the predicate, one example being *mā–nīš ʿawzāk taʾḍīlī ḥāga* "ich will nicht, daß du mir etwas bringst" and *ana muš ʿawzāk tigīnī hina abadan* "ich will überhaupt nicht, daß du zu mir hierher kommst" (Woidich 1968: 67). Woidich does not, however, mention a pragmatic function for discontinuous negation of a personal pronoun.

Abdel–Massih et al. (2009 [1979]: 135) emphasise that discontinuous negation with a personal pronoun does not occur when the pronoun alone is negated, but only when a complete sentence is negated: *ma–ntāš fahimni* "you don't understand me" compared to *mīn illi kasar ilkubbāya? miš ana illi kasartaha* "Who broke the glass? I am not the one who broke it".

According to Gamal–Eldin (1967: 51), *ma—š* is used for negation of a personal pronoun "when the subject is of considerable length and the pronoun is introduced with a resumptive function":

> *ilhudūm illi gat min ʿand ilmakwagi mbāriḥ ma–hiyyāš bitaʿti*
> "the clothes that came from the laundry yesterday are not mine"

(Gamal–Eldin 1967: 51)

Mejdell (2006: 241) reports that Mitchell (1962) "does not mention any special function of this construction, but his examples may in fact be interpreted as contradicting a presupposition". The same can be seen in Gairdner (1926: 25), where he apparently gives two equal options for negating personal pronouns. In his examples, *ma—š* is used consistently for negating personal pronouns, as well as personal pronoun + *muš* is added in brackets as the

alternative. However, all the cases of negated personal pronouns in the conversation seem to be contradicting a presupposition with emphatic negation (ibid.:23):

> *muš ana ʿāl ya sitt? la, ma–ntāš ʿāl, inta wiḥiš*
> "Aren't I fine, ma'am? No, you're *not* fine, you're bad!"

According to Mughazy (2008a: 92), discontinuous negation of personal pronouns expresses a specific pragmatic function: it is emphatic negation and signalises denial. His example:

> *ma–ntāš gayy maʿāna*
> "You are NOT coming with us"

Doss (2008: 90) mentions the description of *miš* being generally used with personal pronouns in Mitchell's grammar, as an indication of that the usage of *miš* is spreading. Looking at even earlier descriptions of negation, such as O'Leary (1946 [1925]: 36) and Dirr (1912: 48), it appears that application of *ma—š* with personal pronouns was done more frequently and did not express any specific function.

2.3.2 Nominal negation with *ma—š*

Woidich (2006b: 337) points to some cases where *ma—š* may be used for nominal negation, in example negating the nouns *ism* "name", *ʾaṣd* "intention" and *ḥīla* "means" when they take possessive suffix and are subjects for nominal predicates, e.g.:

> *ma–smūš wād ya Hind, da smu dduktūr ʿĀṭif*
> "der heißt nicht 'Junge', Hind, der heißt 'Doktor ʿĀṭif'"
>
> *ana ma–ʾaṣdīš ḥāga*
> "ich habe keine (bestimmte) Absicht"

Brustad (2000: 292–293) sees that there is a difference between rural Egyptian dialects and the Cairene dialect in cases where *ma—š* is used for negating non–verbal entities. She explains that in the rural dialects, this kind of negation is unmarked, giving the following example from Behnstedt and Woidich:

> *ʿalašān ma–ḥāgāš tixuššu*
> "So that nothing can enter it"

(in Brustad 2000: 292)

However, in the Cairene dialect, she suggests negation of non–verbal predicates represents a marked usage expressing "denial of a presupposition" (ibid.: 293). She points to examples similar to the above examples provided by Woidich:

ma–smīš sayyid
"My name is **not** Sayyid"

ma–ʾaṣdīš aʾūl kida
"I **don't** mean to say that"

(ibid.)

Brustad (ibid.: 292) also points to examples from Moroccan dialect, where non–verbal entities negated by the "verbal negator" are interpreted to represent cases of marked negation.

2.3.3 "Affective" negation

In order to distinguish between emphatic negation with *ma–* and *ma—š* negating personal pronouns, and emphatic negation with *miš*, the following category is called "affective" negation. It describes use of *miš* with *bi*–imperfect, *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs in affective expressions. Malina (1987: 25) provides an example of usage of *miš* which deviates from the rules for distribution of the negation markers with *miš* negating a perfect verb: *inta ziʿilt — miš ziʿilt* "Bist du böse? — Ich bin nicht böse". She also provides an example with a *y*–imperfect verb: *min šahr wāḥid ʾult miš niʿraf baʿḍ* "Vor einem Monat habe ich gesagt, wir kennen uns nicht". She states that according to her informants, *miš* can negate imperfect and perfect verbs "wenn eine subjektiv affektbetonte Aussage gemacht wird" (ibid.).

Woidich (1968: 57) argues that an "analytische Tendenz" could be the explanation for the occasional use of *miš* instead of *ma—š* which he has observed: "Die Tendenz, in affektischen Ausdrücken ein Wort durch mehrere Wörter zu ersetzen, ist aus mehreren Sprachen bekannt. Sie ist sicher auch der Grund dafür, daß im Äg.–Arabischen in Sätzen, die eine Kundgabe bezwecken, gelegentlich *muš* für *ma–..–š* verwendet wird."

...ani ṭabʿan miš bagātil
„...so streite ich doch nicht"

miš yigūz tifarʾaʿ fi–ḥaddi timawwitu
„es geht nicht an, daß sie vor jemandem explodiert, sodaß sie ihn tötet"

ana muš bahazzar

„ich scherze nicht!"

<div align="right">(Woidich 1968: 57)</div>

For the description of "analytische Tendenz", Woidich refers to Wilhelm Havers (1931). According to Havers (1931: 157), who again refers to Klinghardt, the usage of more words instead of one to express something in affect leads to the tension being released twice:

> Die Bed. und Tr. für diese "Analysis" sind mannigfacher Art, aber sicher ist, daß auch die mit dem Bedürfnis nach Spannungsentladung verbundene Tendenz nach Schallfülle und voller Artikulationsenergie hierbei eine Rolle spielt, vgl. H. Klinghardt (…), der darauf hinweist, daß sich bei dieser Umschreibung die Energie der Expirationsdruckes zweimal entlädt, und daß jeder Teil seinen besonderen Ton bekommt, „wodurch der auf dem Ganzen ruhende Nachdruck notwendig gesteigert wird"

In Youssi's (1992: 105) grammar and glossary for Moroccan Arabic, one can find similar functions for the continuous negation marker when used for negating a verb: "cette variante à membres conjoints du synthème de négation exprime une valeur de dépit, d'outrage, de ressentiment ou simplement d'emphase par rapport au procès exprimé par le verbe".

Woidich (2006b: 340) mentions use of *miš* for emphasis (Nachdruck) where he gives examples in which *miš* precedes a noun, preposition and demonstratives:

> *iggōz wi ggōza miš tamalli yḥibbu baʿḍ*
> "es ist nicht immer so, daß Mann und Frau sich lieben!"

> *gozha rigiʿ miš fi maʿādu*
> "ihr Mann kam nicht zur gehwohnten Zeit zurück"

Further examples of usage of *miš* for emphasis is given by Woidich (2006b: 341). He describes this usage to be when "ein negierter und ein positiver Sachverhalt antithetisch gegenübergestellt werden". However, these examples will be dealt with in the category for contrastive negation: 2.3.5.

2.3.4 Metalinguistic negation

Horn's definition of the pragmatic function of the negative operator in "metalinguistic negation" is that it is "a device for objecting to a previous utterance on any grounds whatever — including its conventional or conversational implicata, its morphology, its style or register, or its phonetic realization" (Horn in Mughazy 2008: 93). As for what is meant by implicata, Horn (2001 [1989]: 145–146) explains:

> [B]oth conventional and conversational implicata are part of what is meant or conveyed by a given speaker in a given utterance at a given place and time of utterance, without being part of what is said or literally expressed by that speaker in that utterance.

A simplified definition of metalinguistic negation provided by Mughazy (2003: 1143) is "a specialized use of the negative operator where it functions as a device for registering an objection to a preceding utterance on any ground other than its truth–conditional content".

In metalinguistic negation in Cairene, negation is always expressed continuously with *miš* for any category of the predicate (Mughazy 2008a: 94), which is contradicting the "rules" for unmarked negation which we have seen above. Mughazy explains that in this type of negation, "the negative operator is not truth functional, since it does not change the truth value of the first sentence" (ibid.: 93).

> *murād biyḥibb mona. da miš biyḥibbaha – da biymūt fīha*
> "Murad loves Mona. He does not love her – he is madly in love with her"
>
> (Mughazy 2008a: 94)

> *ana miš šuft ilmara – ana šuft issit*
> "I didn't see the woman – I saw the lady"
>
> (Mughazy 2003: 1146)

In one of Brustad's examples of marked usage of *miš* with *bi*–imperfect, she explains that it is a case where a speaker "uses this construction to deny an assumption expressed by her interlocutor that she is refusing his request": *ana miš baʾūl laʾ* "I'm not saying no" (Brustad 2000: 303). Mughazy (2003: 1147) argues that this particular example is a case of metalinguistic negation based on that the speaker is denying the assumption, not the truth–conditional material of an utterance.

Doss (2008: 86) gives an example of *miš* preceding a perfect verb, where she says that this does not contradict the "rules" for distribution of the negation markers because *miš* negates a whole clause: *da ana miš ittafaʾt maʿāh wi bass, da ana maḍḍētu ʿala waraʾa* "I have not just agreed with him, I also had him sign a paper". The negation in this sentence is not truth–functional, as the speaker is not negating that he agreed with the person in *ittafaʾt maʿāh*, rather that he did not *only* agree with him. The speaker also provides a rectification clause.

"Typically, an utterance that involves use of MN is followed by a rectification that provides the grounds for the objection" (Mughazy 2003: 1144). However, Mughazy (ibid.: 1148) explains that this rectification is not necessary in Egyptian Arabic because the metalinguistic function can be understood from the structure of the utterance. He adds that "the addressee still needs to recognize the motivation for the objection" (ibid.).

The example from Malina (1987: 25), which was mentioned in 2.3.3: "affective" negation, is an example of an utterance which may also be interpreted as metalinguistic negation, although it is difficult to assert due to the lack of rectification clause: *inta ziʿilt – miš ziʿilt* "Bist du böse? —Ich bin nicht böse". It is possible that the speaker is not negating the truth–conditional material of the first utterance, but rather i.e. the lexical choice. However, without a rectification clause it is not possible to confirm this. According to Doss (2008: 88), this appears to be "a case in which *miš* negates a whole clause: *inta ziʿilt?* "Did you get upset?" *miš ziʿilt* "It is not that I got upset".

Metalinguistic negation is apparently not restricted to Cairene or Egyptian dialect either. Ouhalla (2008: 358) gives examples of constituent negation "with contrastive focus reading" in Moroccan dialect. The following example he provides appears to be a case of metalinguistic negation where the negated material is the lexical choice of *btasm*: *ma–ši btasm (ḍḥak)* "He did not smile. (He laughed)" (ibid.).

2.3.5 Contrastive negation

Another construction where *miš* may be used contradicting the rules of unmarked negation, is when one negated and one positive fact stand in contrast to each other (Woidich 2006b: 341). Woidich (ibid.: 338) explains that the negation can take place in all parts of the sentence, with the contrasting constituent both following and preceding. Thus, there are examples of cases where *miš* negates perfect, *y*–imperfect and *bi*–imperfect verbs:

lākin Faṭma kān ġaradha tiggawwiz miš tinām wayyā

"aber Faṭma hatte die Absicht zu heiraten, nicht mit ihm zu schlafen"

iḥna gayyīn niḥayyaṣ miš nitxāniʾ

"wir kommen um uns zu vergnügen, nicht um zu streiten"

(Woidich 2006b: 338)

rabbina subḥānu wa taʿāla muš xalaʾni, da šalfaṭni

"Gott, Preis sei ihm, hat mich nicht erschaffen, der hat mich entstellt!"

(ibid.: 341)

da muš biyḥibbak, da biyḥibbi nafsu

"der liebt nicht dich, sondern der liebt sich selbst"

ana muš baʾra ana badawwar ʿala ḥāga muhimma

"ich lese nicht, sondern ich suche nach einer wichtigen Sache"

(Woidich 1968: 58)

Some of these examples of contrastive negation may resemble the examples of metalinguistic negation. The main feature that separates these two pragmatic functions of negation is truth–functionality. Metalinguistic negation is non–truth functional, what is negated is not the truth–condition of the utterance. In contrastive negation however, the truth–conditional material is what is being negated and contrasted[10]. Another distinction between metalinguistic and contrastive negation is the conjunction *bass* "but". According to Mughazy (2003: 1150), this conjunction is only used contrastively, not metalinguistically.

2.3.6 Negative rhetorical questions

The fourth category where the negation marker *miš* is used in a marked position giving the sentence a different pragmatic function is in negative rhetorical questions. "The term rhetorical question describes different uses of interrogative constructions where the speaker's intentions do not include eliciting new information, as is the case with felicitous informationseeking queries" (Mughazy 2008a: 95). In these questions, *miš* can precede all

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[10] There are, however, different understandings regarding the non–truth functionality of the negative operator in metalinguistic negation, see discussion in Mughazy (2003:1152–1153).

verb forms and prepositional phrases in P+S structure, which is contrary to the "rules" of unmarked negation:

miš ašraḥ laha
"Soll ich (es) ihr etwa nicht erklären?!"

ʿammiti miš mātit issana lli fātit
"Ist meine Tante etwa nicht voriges Jahr gestorben?!"

<div align="right">(Malina 1987: 27)</div>

muš qultilak taʿāl hina?
"did I not tell you to come here?"

<div align="right">(Phillott and Powell 1926: 125)</div>

ḥaḍritak muš lak ʿiyāda hina fi lmarkaz?
"haben Sie etwa nicht Sprechstunde hier im Büro?!"

<div align="right">(Woidich 1968: 63)</div>

miš tiʾūm takullak luʾma?
"Won't you get up and eat a bite?"

<div align="right">(Abdel–Massih et al. 2009 [1979]: 137)</div>

miš gibti badla?
"Didn't you get a suit?"

<div align="right">(Brustad 2000: 304)</div>

miš ʾultilak innu miš ḥayīgi?
"Didn't I tell you that he won't come?"

<div align="right">(Doss 2008: 87)</div>

muš tiṭlaʿ fōq ʿand ilbāša?
"gehst du nicht hinauf zum Pascha?"

<div align="right">(Spitta–Bey 1880: 416)</div>

The International Language Institute in Cairo uses a series of teaching books called the *Kallimni ʿArabi* series. In the book *Kallimni ʿArabi fi Kull Haaga* (Louis 2009: 113–118), the

use of *miš* + the verb *kān* is explained to express an *iqtirāḥ* (suggestion) or *šakwa* (complaint)[11]:

<div dir="rtl">

ما قولتيليش ليه؟ مش كنتي تديني فكرة

</div>

"Why didn't you tell me? Couldn't you/you should have let me know"

<div dir="rtl">

مش كنت تدور كويس في المنطقة؟

</div>

"Shouldn't you search good/thoroughly in the area?"

Brustad (2000: 306) also gives one example of continuous negation with a *y*–imperfect verb: *miš tisallimi?* "Shouldn't you say hello?". She concludes that "as a marked strategy, predicate negation [continuous negation] negates a verbal argument as a whole, embedding it within a new overarching predicate structure" (ibid.).

The examples given here may be classified in subgroups of rhetorical questions, such as Mughazy's (2008a: 100–101) category of speech acts, or exhortations as according to Abdel–Massih et al. (2009 [1979]: 137). Other subgroups could be suggestions and complaints such as in Louis (2009). However, they are all structurally similar. The difference which Mughazy (2008a: 101) points to is the fact that speech acts do not allow the question marker *huwwa*, and take only subjunctive verbs.

2.3.7 *miš* and *ma—š* in marked usage

From the previous sections about marked usage, we can see that when the negation markers change places, they represent marked usage. *miš*, which is used for negation of nominal predicates, represent marked usage when used for verbal predicates. Likewise, *ma—š*, which is reserved for verbal predicates, negates nominal constituents such as the personal pronoun or nouns, i.e. *ʾaṣd*, *ism* and *ḥīla*, in marked usage. Brustad (2000: 313) points this out:

> In the case of Arabic, it appears that the two basic unmarked negation strategies, verbal and predicative, share that function [denying a presupposition or a proportion] in the following manner: each is used as the marked form of negation of the other category.

She also points to that this tendency is seen in other Arabic dialects as well, where the verbal negator negates nominal predicates, and the nominal negation marker negates verbal predicates in marked usage (ibid.).

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[11] My translation.

2.4 New Observations by Madiha Doss

Madiha Doss published the article "Evolving uses in Cairene Egyptian Arabic negation forms" in 2008, where she presents examples of usage of the negation form *miš* that are not according to the rules that grammars on Egyptian dialect describe (Doss 2008). She began to notice the occurrence of these evolving usages of *miš* in 2005, and has gathered a number of examples of phrases containing non–standard negation in unmarked sentences. The evolving usages of the continuous negation form are found with *y*–imperfect verbs, perfect verbs and prepositional phrases in P+S structure:

y–imperfect:

miš yinfaʿ	"It does not work"
miš yixallīha tištaġal	"He doesn't let her work"
miš tizaʿʿaʾ fīna	"Do not shout at us"
miš tirmīhum	"Don't throw them"
miš tixāfi	"Don't be afraid"
miš tinzili ššuġl ʿala ṭūl	"Don't go to work immediately"
miš tixalli fi nafsik ḥāga	"Don't deprive yourself from anything"

Perfect:

miš daxalit	"She did not enter"
di miš ʿamalit ḥāga	"She has not done anything"
miš istawa	"It did not cook"
miš kalit lē?	"Why didn't she eat?"
miš nimt bīha	"I didn't sleep with it"
miš kānit ḥatinḍaf	"It was not going to become cleaner"
fataḥtīh wala miš fataḥtīh?	"Did you or did you not open it?"

Prepositional phrases:

miš līha manẓar	"It does not look good"
miš ʿandi raṣīd	"I don't have credit"
adi nnās illi miš ʿandaha ḍamīr	"Here are the people who do not have integrity"
miš ʿandi istiʿdād inn ana ṣaliḥha	"I have no intention of making up with her"

miš ʿandi lmubayl bitaḥḥa	"I don't have her mobile number"
miš ʿanduhum arqām	"They don't carry numbers"
wāḥid bastirma miš ʿalēh gibna[12]	"One with bastirma, with no cheese"
ana miš warrāya ḥāga bukra	"I have nothing to do tomorrow"
miš maʿāya karru	"I don't have a cart"
miš fī sabab muḥaddad	"There is no special reason"

In line with Doss' new observations, Brustad predicts that the range of use of negation with *miš* might expand. She says that negation in Egyptian Arabic appears to be undergoing a larger historical process, "in which the syntactic environments of /miš/ appear to be expanding at the expense of /mā…š/" (Brustad 2000: 285). She refers to that the urban Egyptian *ḥa*–imperfect is negated by *miš*, the nominal negator, which is an exception compared to other Arabic dialects where all verb forms are negated by the verbal negation marker. She further points to the fact that there are examples of cases where *bi*–imperfect verbs are negated by *miš*, which she labels "categorical", and that if this usage "continues to spread, it might lose its categorical status" (ibid.: 303). Furthermore, she refers to the fact that active participles (pseudo–verbs) are negated by *miš* in Cairo and *ma—š* south of ilMinya as an indication of that "Cairene speakers favor predicate negation over verbal negation" in several constructions, and that this is "a phenomenon which points to a process of historical change" (ibid.: 314).

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[12] Doss (2008) adds that this sentence was immediately followed by *min ġēr gibna* "without cheese".

Chapter Three: Methodology

From October till December 2010 I spent two and a half months in Cairo conducting fieldwork. The aim of the fieldwork was to interview Cairene speakers and elicit responses to example sentences with the negation marker *miš* in different constructions, as well as to observe the distribution of the negation markers *miš* and *ma—š* in everyday conversation. This chapter will give an account of how and where the interviews took place, how speakers were selected for interviews, how the questionnaire was constructed, and discuss advantages and disadvantages regarding the application of the chosen methods.

3.1 Interviews

3.1.1 Location

Since the Cairene dialect is the dialect in focus for this thesis, the interviews were conducted in the Egyptian capital. A typical meeting with an informant would be at a café or coffee–shop where the sound level was not noticeably loud and it thus would be possible to record the conversations. Other interview locations were Cairo University and the informants' workplaces.

According to Woidich (in Doss 2008: 89), the use of the continuous negation marker *miš* for negating a prefect verb was observed in the province of Šarʾiyya. Doss (ibid.) lists "expansion of regional usage" originating in the Šarʾiyya dialect as a tentative explanation for the evolving use of *miš* in the Cairene dialect. I therefore found it of great interest to visit this province as well. The dialect of Šarʾiyya belongs to the East Delta (ED) dialects. I was able to spend one day in Zaʾazīʾ[13], the capital of the governorate of Šarʾiyya, which belongs to the dialect group ED1: east and center of Šarʾiyya, according to the classification by Wilmsen and Woidich (2007: 2–3). While one day admittedly is a short stay in the field, I sought to observe as much as possible in Zaʾazīʾ, and I was fortunate to be invited to a private home for tea.

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[13] Also pronounced *zagazīg*.

3.1.2 Informants

I interviewed 24 speakers of Cairene, 12 male and 12 female. The speakers have either grown up in Cairo or lived there a significant part of their lives. They come from different areas of Cairo. Their age varies from 18 to 38 years, with an average of 24. Studies show that young speakers often are leading in implementing change, meaning that they are more frequent users of new forms (Holmes 2008: 216–217; Milroy and Gordon 2003: 38–39). I therefore chose to interview relatively young speakers.

From 2007, I spent one year in Cairo studying Arabic at The American University in Cairo, and at the same time I became part of a big salsa dancing community. Through this community I was acquainted with a great variety of people from different parts of Cairo. When I started doing the fieldwork, it was natural to begin with interviewing the contacts I already had and who met the criteria I had set. After interviewing some of my contacts, I asked them to introduce me to friends or acquaintances and asked if they would be willing to participate in my research. I also met some of the informants through visiting local shops, restaurants and coffee–shops. Table 3.1 gives a record of the speakers who were interviewed, listed according to age.

Table 3.1 Informants

Gender	Age	Occupation/Education
M	18	Student: law
M	19	Waiter
M	19	Student: wireless institute
F	19	Student: law
F	20	Student: law
F	21	Student: law
F	21	Student: media
F	21	Student: pharmaceutics
F	21	Student: political science
F	21	Student: law
F	22	Waitress
M	22	Studied marketing and commerce
M	23	Student: management
M	25	Architect
M	25	Architect
M	25	Dentist
M	25	Actor
M	25	Aircraft engineer
M	27	Salesperson
F	30	Accountant
F	30	Housewife, diploma in commercial studies
F	31	Personal assistant
F	35	Salesperson
M	38	Waiter

Haeri lists four social classes in her study on Cairene Arabic: lower middle class, middle middle class, upper middle class and upper class. She bases her division on the speaker's school, neighbourhood, occupation and parents' occupation (Haeri 1997: 37). To classify according to each of these four social classes requires more information about the speakers' background than what was provided from my informants. Therefore, I only divide them into two groups: one group for middle and lower middle class, and one group for upper middle and upper class. I base this division on education/occupation and on which type of university the speaker has attended: private or public. The distribution of gender and group of social class among the informants is as follows:

Table 3.2 Distribution of the informants according to gender and social class

	Male	**Female**
Lower middle ─ middle middle class	5	4
Upper middle ─ upper class	7	8

Due to the short duration of my stay in Zaʾazīʾ, I was not able to do systematic interviews of an even number of speakers. Thus the number of informants from there is restricted to three young students: one male (aged 16) and two female (aged 19). The answers provided by these speakers will not be included in the findings for the Cairene dialect; however they will be included for the purpose of comparing the distribution of the negation markers in the dialect of Šarʾiyya with the corresponding distribution in Cairene dialect.

The informants were not offered financial compensation for their participation, as I am convinced that this would be looked upon as an insult in most cases. However, I offered to pay for any food and beverage that was consumed during the interviews, which was also only rarely accepted.

Only one speaker who was asked to participate turned down my request, referring to his discontent with me writing my thesis on a subject in *ʿāmmiyya*. He explained that he is personally a supporter of *fuṣḥā* and does not see the benefit in doing research based on the colloquial variety. This reaction to requests for participation in an interview was, however, an

exception. Several of the speakers were eager to participate and to be able to express their thoughts and viewpoints on the subject.

3.1.2.1 Arabic teachers

In addition to the interviews, I found it useful to discuss the potential evolving usage of negation markers with native speakers that had linguistic training. Since Egyptian Colloquial Arabic is not taught in Egyptian schools, I chose to consult two institutes that teach foreigners Modern Standard Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic: the International Language Institute (ILI) and Kalimāt, which are both located in the area of ilMuhandisīn. I was fortunate to get the opportunity to speak to four different teachers, three at ILI and one at Kalimāt. My motivation for consulting them was to investigate what they teach foreign students, especially with regard to negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs, and to ask whether they had noticed the evolving usage which Doss (2008) describes. I also asked for their personal opinion about claims that using *ma—š* with a *bi*–imperfect verb when negating an offer sounds "slightly aggressive", c.f. 2.2.2.3.

3.1.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire used for the interviews was organised in four parts: 1) *bi*–imperfect verbs, 2) *y*–imperfect verbs, 3) perfect verbs and 4) prepositional phrases. In the first section, the informants were given seven sentences with different *bi*–imperfect verbs which they were asked to negate. I constructed sentences 1–6 while sentence 7 was an example taken from Abdel–Massih et al. (2009 [1979]: 137). As was mentioned in chapter 2, several grammars and textbooks agree that *miš* can be used as an alternative to *ma—š* for negating *bi*–imperfect verbs, but several of them also state that *ma—š* is more frequent. It has also been claimed that continuous negation of a *bi*–imperfect verb represents a marked usage. The purpose of giving the informants sentences to negate, and not sentences to assess, was to investigate the speaker's natural choice of negation marker for negation of a *bi*–imperfect verb. The informants were then asked whether they sense a difference between the phrases, as negated by *miš* or by *ma—š*.

1)

١ هو بيحب السمك

٢ أنا باشرب شاي

٣ أنا باشرب شاي كتير

٤ إحنا بنتكلم إنجليزي مع بعض

٥ هي بتروح المدرسة

٦ أنا بشوفه دلوقتي

٧ بشوفه يوم الحد

For the remaining parts of the questionnaire, acceptability tests were used. The informants were given sentences which they were asked to evaluate according to acceptability. Some sentences had constructions such as we have seen for marked negation described in the previous chapter, while the majority of the sentences were examples of the evolving usage described by Doss (2008), and therefore contradicted these rules. The informants were asked whether they felt that the sentences sounded correct (*maẓbūṭa*, *salīma*), and whether sentences like these could be used (*mumkin titʾāl?*). Depending on the different responses, follow–up questions were given concerning whom the informants thought might use these constructions with regard to age and gender, and whether this usage is restricted to certain situations.

For section 2) with *y*–imperfect verbs, the informants were given twelve sentences containing constructions where the continuous negation marker *miš* negated a *y*–imperfect verb. Seven of the sentences expressed prohibition; two sentences were formed as rhetorical questions while the remaining three sentences were declarative. Sentence 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 were taken form Doss' (2008) examples of evolving usage. Sentences 1–3 and 11 were constructed by me. When I first started the interviews, sentence 10 was initially *miš yinfaʿ*, as in the example from Doss (2008). After watching a few Egyptian movies (and completed 11 interviews), I noticed the sentence *miš yinfaʿ ninām fi ššāriʿ* in the movie *rāmi iliʿtiṣāmi*. Because this sentence was longer, I chose to add *inn ninām fi ššāriʿ* to the original sentence. I was aware that it is not advisable to make changes to the questionnaire, but I took note of which of the interviewees were given the sentences with the additional phrase. Unfortunately, I had misunderstood the sentence to be *inn ninām fi iššāriʿ*, although the character does not include the complementiser *inn*. Rather, he emphasises the beginning of the word *ninām*. When the informants were asked to judge this sentence, it did include the complementiser *inn*. However, I do not believe that the presence of this word affected the informants' judgments in relation to the negation. Sentence 12 was taken from Brustad's (2000: 306) examples.

2)

١ مش تقول كده

٢ مش ترجع متأخر

٣ مش نروح بدري أحسن؟

٤ مش تزعق فينا

٥ مش ترميهم

٦ مش تنزلي الشغل على طول

٧ مش تخافي

٨مش تخلي في نفسك حاجة

٩ مش يخليها تشتغل

١٠مش ينفع (إن ننام في الشارع)

١١ مش أقدر أشوفه دلوقتي

١٢ مش تسلمي؟

Section 3), which consisted of example sentences with constructions where *miš* negated a verb in the perfect tense, resembled the latter section. Three of the sentences were interrogative questions; one was formed as a rhetorical question while seven were declarative sentences. Sentences 1– 4 were constructed by me, while sentences 5–11 were examples taken from Doss (2008). The informants were asked to assess these sentences as well, followed by the same questions as in the previous section.

3)

١ البنت مش راحت المدرسة

٢ أنا مش شفت حاجة

٣ مش كنا نتقابل بكرة؟

٤ مش قابلته ليه؟

٥ مش دخلت

٦ دي مش عملت حاجة

٧ مش استوى

٨ مش كلت ليه؟

٩ مش نمت بيها

١٠ مش كانت حتنضف

١١ فتحتيه ولا مش فتحتيه؟

42

Section 4) had example sentences consisting of prepositional phrases in the P+S structure. The first six sentences involved two alternatives for negating a prepositional phrase with the P+S structure: with *miš* or with *ma—š*. Here, the informants were asked to provide comparative judgments on the two alternatives. The first two sets of sentences, 1–4, were examples taken from Eisele (1999: 121–122), who says both alternatives are possible. I constructed sentences 5–6. These were followed by nine sentences where *miš* preceded the prepositional phrase. These nine sentences were taken from Doss' (2008) examples, although one modification was made with regard to lexical choice in sentence 14. The sentence was originally *miš maʿāya karru* "I don't have a cart", which I modified to *miš maʿāya muftāḥ* "I don't have a key (with me)" due to that I was not particularly familiar with the word *karru*, and changed it to what I thought would be a sentence everyone could relate to. The informants were asked to judge the acceptability of these sentences.

4)

١محمد مش عنده كتاب   و   ٢ محمد ماعندوش كتاب

٣ مش له أخ   و   ٤ ملوش أخ

٥ مفيش حاجة معينة   و   ٦ مش فيه حاجة معينة

٧مش ليها منظر

٨ مش عندي رصيد

٩ دي الناس اللى مش عندها ضمير

١٠ مش عندي استعداد إن أنا أصالحها

١١ مش عندي المبايل بتاعها

١٢ مش عندهم أرقام

١٣أنا مش ورايا حاجة بكرة

١٤مش معايا مفتاح

١٥مش فيه سبب محدد

In order to avoid sentences being deemed unacceptable due to inappropriate lexical choice (Mithun 2001: 48), I consulted a native speaker regarding the lexical choices of the sentences that I had constructed myself.

3.1.4 Acceptability judgments

The method that was chosen for this thesis aims at giving speakers example sentences which they are asked to judge according to what they consider acceptable. The overall aim of the

thesis is to investigate whether there is a change in progress in the distribution of the negation markers, focusing on potential evolving usage of one specific negation marker. It is not clear how widespread the usage is, whether it is restricted to certain contexts or speech communities, or whether it is pragmatically related. Therefore, there is no guarantee that this feature would occur with sufficient frequency if I were to gather information from conversation samples or base the research on observation alone. As Schütze (1996: 2) puts it, "by eliciting judgments, we can examine reactions to sentence types that might occur only very rarely in spontaneous speech or recorded corpora".

Another advantage of judgment elicitation is the access to negative information which "scarcely exists within normal language use at all" (Schütze 1996: 2). In other words, it provides information about which constructions are unacceptable, which is a conclusion that cannot be drawn only on the absence of these constructions in recorded speech (Fromkin et al. 2000: 94).

Another possible method for eliciting information about distribution of the negation markers is to give the informants sentences to translate from English. However, this would have been challenging for two reasons; one is that I would have to restrict my research to speakers who have competence in English, which would exclude some of the speakers I have interviewed. The second disadvantage of using this method is that it would not provide negative information.

3.1.4.1 Disadvantages

One of the disadvantages in using judgment elicitation is explained thoroughly by Schütze (1996:3–4): "Not only is the elicitation situation artificial, raising the standard issues of ecological validity, but the subject is being asked for a sort of behaviour that, at least on the face of it, is entirely different from everyday conversation". One challenge I encountered in regard to this was that owing to the artificiality of the situation, some informants focused on the semantic content of the sentences, taking focus away from the sentence structure and negation form.

What I experienced as the most important factor to be aware of concerning eliciting acceptability judgments was that some informants appeared to give judgments based on what they believe is correct, and not what they consider acceptable, as is mentioned by Fromkin et

al. (2000: 94) as a possible confusion among native speakers. It seemed important for some informants to display their competence in the grammar of the language. Fromkin et al. also mention that "[n]aive speakers may also have other biases, such as to impress or please the linguist" (ibid.). This became clear after observing some instances where an informant deemed a sentence containing a certain construction unacceptable, and then used this very construction at a later occasion.

Another aspect, which contradicts the latter point, was that the informants could give judgments while taking into consideration that I am a foreigner and non–native speaker of Arabic. As Mithun (2001: 48) points out, "ungrammatical sentences may be accepted because they represent a laudatory effort by a non–native speaker". The informants could judge a sentence to be acceptable based on the fact that they understood what was intended to say, and overlook what they might think of as grammatical errors since these are common among foreigners[14]. However, I believe this only posed a problem in one interview, where a section of the questionnaire had to be repeated.

One challenge which I occasionally had to face during interviews was interaction by others than the interviewee. At several occasions other people, often friends of the interviewee or myself, approached us while recording, something which could lead to interruption of the interview.

3.1.5 Ethical aspect

The informants were given a clear explanation of the research project and the purpose of the project prior to the interview. They were informed that they would remain anonymous and that they could decide to stop the interview at any time. The speakers were also given an explanation about the purpose of recording the conversation, and gave their verbal consent to participate in the research before the recording started. Two of the informants from Zaʾazīʾ were not comfortable with being recorded, and preferred their judgments to be written.

One informant was below the age of 18. In his case, I had a conversation with his father as well as the informant, explaining the purpose of the interview, the dictation machine and the research.

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[14] Woidich (1968:57) speaks of "xawagāti"–phrases, in which incorrect use of *miš* is a common feature.

3.2 Observation

Besides eliciting judgments from informants, the fieldwork also included observation. I paid close attention to the language and distribution of negation markers in all conversations I listened to or participated in, as well as in printed literature, movies and television. Owing to my previous studies in Cairo, I had made many good friends there. They provided me with the opportunity to spend time with groups of friends or with their families, and participate in everyday conversations. The dialect is always used in these situations, and it is also spoken when I am present. I attempted to write down any occurrence of the evolving usage of *miš* described by Doss (2008), and whenever the opportunity was there, I would ask the speaker why he or she had used *miš* in that specific utterance. I also discussed the phenomena when I made new acquaintances, given that they were not going to participate in an interview.

Observation was fundamental in Zaʾazīʾ as well. I focused on paying attention to the distribution of the negation markers while doing touristic activities like visiting shops and coffee–shops with the two Egyptian friends with whom I travelled. While in Zaʾazīʾ we drew a great deal of attention from curious children who wanted to talk with us. The observation in Zaʾazīʾ thereby provided insight into child language in the Šarʾiyya dialect, in addition to the adult language.

3.2.1 Other sources

In addition to interviews and observation of conversations, I have made use of some other sources which provide examples of negation in the Cairene dialect. These are Egyptian movies, novels, as well as the social networking website Facebook, a blog and a forum. The movies I have used examples from are *ilxurūg* "Cairo Exit", a recently screened movie which was banned in Egypt, *rāmi iliʿtiṣāmi* "Ramy the striker"[15], and *išāʿit ḥubb* "A rumor of love". The variety spoken in Egyptian movies is generally *ʿāmmiyya*, except if the movie portrays scenes such as speeches or sermons, where other variants might be spoken. The movie *išāʿit ḥubb* was released in 1960 and is therefore a source to the variety spoken 50 years ago. The movie *rāmi iliʿtiṣāmi* revolves around a young man who actuates a strike. He involves several different groups of people from all levels of the Egyptian society, and the characteristics for these speech varieties are represented through the characters.

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[15] My translation.

The novels I used were picked randomly, with the criteria that they were published recently and are written at least partly in ʿāmmiyya. ʿayza atgawwiz is written nearly entirely in ʿāmmiyya, while in ilḥitta bitaʿti and ʾahwit ilmaṣriyyīn, the dialogues are written in ʿāmmiyya, while the narrative contains elements from both fuṣḥā and ʿāmmiyya.

I also used Facebook as a source, because there is a large number of speakers of the Cairene dialect on Facebook, and thus a great amount of examples of language use. However, when using Facebook as a source of language usage, one has to be aware that the users may be speakers of different Egyptian or Arabic dialects. The Egyptian users of Facebook write both fuṣḥā and ʿāmmiyya, written in Arabic letters, Roman letters or with what Reichmuth (2009: 516) describes as "graphemic" transcription.

Chapter Four: Findings and analysis

In this chapter I shall present the findings from the interviews in form of graphs showing the informants' judgments. I will discuss these judgments as well as examples from observations made during my fieldwork and from the other sources mentioned in the previous chapter. The findings are presented according to the four sections into which the questionnaire was divided: *bi*–imperfect, *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs and prepositional phrases. The findings from Šarʾiyya will be presented separately from the findings from the Cairene dialect. I will also give an account of the perceptions the informants had concerning non–standard usage of *miš*. At the end of this chapter I will discuss one tentative explanation given by Doss (2008) to the evolving uses of *miš*, which she has observed.
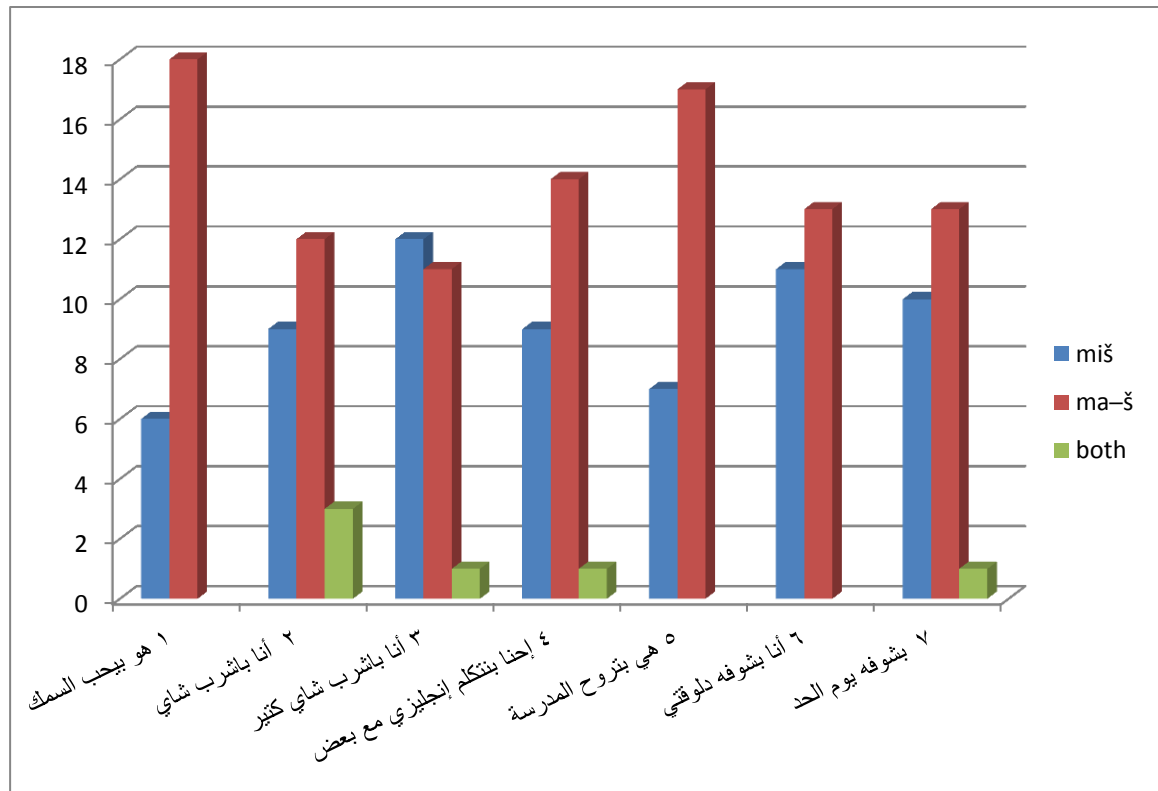
4.1 *bi*–imperfect

4.1.1 Teachers' comments

Three teachers at ILI and one teacher at Kalimāt were consulted concerning what they teach foreign students of Arabic in relation to negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs. One teacher at ILI informed me that the procedure at their institute is to teach negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs with *ma—š*, and not with *miš*. They do, however, make the students aware that *miš* is also used by some speakers. In this teacher's opinion, *miš* negating *bi*–imperfect verbs is "neither right nor wrong". She told me she had noticed that *miš* is used quite frequently, but that it is not preferable to teach foreign students this way of negating, due to verb conjugation. Her explanation as a teacher was that one of the challenges when learning ʿāmmiyya is conjugation of verbs in combination with the prefix–suffix negation *ma—š*. If they were to teach the students to negate *bi*–imperfect verbs with *miš* in addition to *ḥa*–imperfect verbs and active participles, only perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs would require negation by *ma—š*. Thus, the students would have less practice in verb conjugation with the discontinuous negation marker. The three other teachers informed me that they focus on the discontinuous negation for *bi*–imperfect verbs as well, and that they also acknowledge that negation with *miš* occurs.

4.1.2 Interviews and questionnaire

The following graph shows the informants' choices of negation marker in sentences with *bi–*imperfect verbs:

Table 4.1 Negation of sentences with bi–imperfect verbs

As we can see from this graph, for all sentences with the exception of sentence 3, the majority of the informants negated the *bi–*imperfect verbs with the discontinuous negation marker *ma—š*. However, occurrence of *miš* was also frequent, and some informants negated some of the sentences twice, with both *miš* and with *ma—š*, in order to show that their natural choice could be either of the markers. Three informants chose the negation marker *miš* for all seven sentences, while nine informants used *ma—š* for all the sentences. The remaining twelve informants did not keep to one negation marker for all the sentences, but alternated between the two markers.

All the informants who were asked whether they sensed a difference when *miš* is used and when *ma—š* is used replied that they did not sense a difference. When they were asked why they used the marker they did, some informants said that *ma—š* is more common (*darga*

aktar), while others said they were more accustomed to using *miš*. Several informants gave responses similar to the following explanation:

> *ilitnēn yinfaʿu, ana baʾūl ġāliban illi biyīgi ʿala damāġi, mumkin marra yīgi kida, wi mumkin marra yīgi kida, ma–fīš tarkīz fi lmawḍūʿ*

"Both may work, I usually say what comes to mind. One time it may come like this, and another time like that. There is no focus on this matter"

In Doss' (2008) article about evolving uses of *miš*, the majority of the phrases containing the evolving usages were uttered by women. She also points to Haeri's study, where it is concluded that "in situations of 'change in progress', women will use the 'non–standard' forms more frequently than men, in urban environments" (Doss 2008: 91). El–Tonsi (in Brustad 2000: 303) reports specifically that usage of *miš* for negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs is more common among female speakers than male. Thus, it is interesting to see whether the same tendency is present among the informants I have interviewed. The following graph shows the distribution of the informants who negated the sentences with *bi*–imperfect verbs with *miš* or used both negation markers according to gender.

Table 4.2 Distribution of the informants who negated the bi–imperfect verbs with miš according to gender
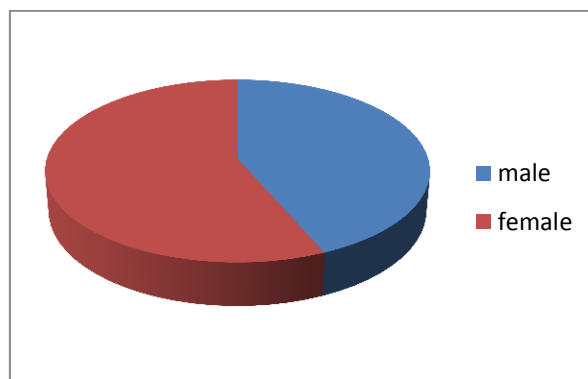
The graph shows that 57% of the informants who used *miš* or both *miš* and *ma—š* were female and 43% were male. This indicates that there is not a striking difference among these informants between the genders regarding choice of negation marker for negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs.

4.1.3 Observation

During my fieldwork in Cairo, usage of *miš* for negating *bi*–imperfect verbs was heard frequently. The examples provided here are taken from different sources: Facebook, literature written partly or entirely in the vernacular, and movies.

1)

> *hwa e7na <u>msh bnetarya2</u> 3al ragel nafso enama el tarya2a 3ala en el sha3b el masry byseeb el 7agat el kebeer w ymsek f as3'ar 7aga w mafeesh ay 7aga kanet mwagaha l sha5so...bas asfeen kollena law kan ze3el.*

> "We are <u>not making fun of</u> the man himself, the mocking is rather about the Egyptian people leaving the big issues and focusing on the smallest thing, and nothing was directed at the person…but we are all sorry if he got upset."

> (Facebook)

2)

> أنا مش مقتنعة بحكاية إنك متفرغ للكتابة دي... يعني إيه روائي و لا قاص..مين بيقرا؟ و المردود المالي لكتابتك إيه؟
>
> أنا <u>مش بقلل</u> منك على فكرة بس...

> "I am not convinced by the story of you being a full–time writer … what is a story–writer or a narrator… who reads? And what is the financial profit from your writing? <u>I'm not underestimating</u> you by the way"

> (Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009: 115)

3)

> محمد...أنا <u>مش بقولك</u> سيب الكتابة .. بس اعمل حاجة جنبها عشان تجيب مصاريفك...اشتغل صحفي مثلا.

> "Muḥammad…<u>I am not telling you</u> to give up writing…just to do something extra to earn your expenses…work as a journalist for example"

> (Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009: 116)

4)

> – *Lūsī <u>miš biykallim</u> illuġāt di wi bass*
> – *baġannīhum*

> – "*Lūsī* <u>doesn't</u> only <u>speak</u> those languages"
> – "I sing (in) them (as well)"

> (ʿAbd al–Wahhāb 1960)

Mughazy (2008a: 91) argues that when the continuous negation marker *miš* is used with perfective and imperfective verbs, "it is a non–truth functional discourse marker conventionally associated with particular presuppositions about the addressee's background knowledge". As we have seen in Chapter Two, Mughazy gives examples of *miš* used for

pragmatic functions such as to express for instance metalinguistic negation. The examples above where *miš* negates *bi*–imperfect verbs could correspond to these pragmatic functions. Example 1) may be interpreted as contrastive negation, where one negated and one positive fact stand in contrast to each other, c.f. 2.3.5. In example 2), the speaker appears to be negating the possible implicata of that she is underestimating her interlocutor (which may be understood from her preceding utterance), which means that *miš* is used metalinguistically. Furthermore, in example 3) she could be negating the implicata that she wants him to quit writing. The conversation in which this utterance is made revolves around a discussion about the protagonist's writing and the income it brings. His interlocutor questions his choice of occupation, and it is understood by the protagonist as if she is asking him to quit writing. Thus, in the example where she says *ana miš baʾullak sīb ilkitāba* "I'm not telling you to quit writing", she may be negating the implicata, thus metalinguistic negation. Example 4) is an example from the movie *išāʿit ḥubb* (ʿAbd al–Wahhāb), released in 1960. In this conversation, apparently *miš* is used metalinguistically as well; the character does not deny the fact that *Lūsī* speaks many languages, she denies the implicata in that the only thing he masters concerning the languages is to speak them, which is implied in the clause *wi bass* "only". *Lūsī* himself provides the rectification clause: *baġannīhum* "I sing (in) them (as well)".

The examples above show that *miš* negating *bi*–imperfect verbs may often be cases of metalinguistic or contrastive negation. However, there are several other examples of *miš+ bi*–imperfect where *miš* does not seem to have a pragmatic function, but is rather unmarked use of negation.

6)

    bas watch it 3ala youtube nafso l2no <u>msh byshtghl 3al fb dunnu why</u>

    "But watch it on YouTube itself because it <u>doesn't work</u> on fb [Facebook] I don't know why"

                                               (Facebook)

The following example is from the article "اللغه المصريه الحديثه" from the Egyptian Wikipedia[16]

7)

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[16]http://arz.wikipedia.org/wiki/اللغه_المصريه_الحديثه (entered 22.04.11).

اللغه المصريه الحديثه هي لغه معترفه بيها المنظمه الدوليه للتوحيد القياسي(OSI) و كود اللغه arz بالنسبه لقانون المنظمه الدوليه للتوحيد القياسي(إيزو 639) بس لحد دلوقتي مالهاش صفه رسميه من الحكومه المصريه اللى <u>مش بتعترف</u> بيها على انها لغه مستقله.

"The modern Egyptian language is an acknowledged language by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) and the code for the language is **arz** according to the law of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO 639) but it still does not have an official status from the Egyptian government which <u>does not acknowledge</u> it as an independent language."

8)

علاء بتشوفه كل يوم فى الكليه و نانسى <u>مش بتشوفها</u> لا فى احلامك

"You see ʿAlāʾ every day at the university, while <u>you don't</u> see Nancy except for in your dreams"

(Facebook)

9)

المصابيين اللى <u>مش بيتعالجو</u> دول

"The wounded that are <u>not being treated</u>"

(Facebook)

10)

3ashan keda <u>mesh betrod</u> 3ala my SMS's
"That's why you <u>don't reply</u> to my SMSs'"

(Facebook)

11)

أوحش حاجة فينا أننا <u>مش بنصدق</u> اللي حصل للي قبلنا

"The worst thing about us is that <u>we don't believe</u> what happened to the ones before us"

(Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009: 119)

12)

ليه بيقولوا البنت زى الولد – رغم إن عمرهم ما كانوا زى بعض (الولد <u>مش بيلبس</u> جيبة و <u>مش بيحط</u> روج <u>ومش بيبقى</u> حامل)؟

"Why do they say that a girl is like a boy – although they have never been the same (a boy <u>doesn't wear</u> skirts, he <u>doesn't wear</u> lipstick and he <u>doesn't get pregnant</u>)

(ʿAṭā Allāh 2010: 37)

13)

لما البنات <u>مش بتحب</u> الكدب.. ليه لما يجيلها تليفون من مامتها و هى قاعدة مع صاحبها تبقى "ماما.. دكتور التاريخ حط فى الجدول محاضرة النهاردة.. "

"If a girl <u>doesn't like</u> lies… why then, if her mother calls while she is with her (boy)friend, she goes "mum, the history professor scheduled a lecture today...""

(ʿAṭā Allāh 2010: 41)

14)

هو حضرتك ليه <u>مش بتودي</u> العرسان اللى بتجيبيهوملي دول لسوسن بنتك؟

"Why <u>don't you bring</u> the grooms that you bring for me for your daughter Susan?"

(ʿAbd al–ʿĀl 2008: 46)

15)

ana iktašaft inn ana <u>miš bahibbak</u> āxir ḥāga

"I have discovered that <u>I don't love you</u> all the way"

(Rāfiʿ 2008)

4.1.3.1 Negation of *bi–*imperfect in the novel *ʾahwit ilmaṣriyyīn*

Several of the examples above showing *miš* negating *bi–*imperfect verbs are taken from the novel *ʾahwit ilmaṣriyyīn* (Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009). There is a total of 17 instances of negated *bi–*imperfect verbs in the book. 5 of these are negated by *miš*, while 12 are negated by *ma—š*. The interesting point is that the 5 cases where the *bi–*imperfect verbs are negated by *miš* are all found on a sequence of 5 subsequent pages. On these 5 pages, the story is concentrated around the protagonist and his fiancé who are having a disagreement. In order to investigate whether there is a specific reason for the usage of *miš* + *bi–*imperfect on these exact pages, I consulted the authors of the book. One of them informed me that *miš* is always used for negating future verbs and that *ma—š* is used to negate perfect and imperfect verbs as well as for prohibition. However, he added that a speaker is not obliged to follow these rules. His opinion on the usage of *miš* and *bi–*imperfect verbs in his book is as follows:

أعتقد أن الأمر يتوقف على طريقة كل كاتب فى صياغة جمله بالعامية وأحيانًا الأمر يكون خاضع للغة الشخصية التى يكتب على لسانها الكاتب

"I think the case depends on the way every writer forms his sentences in *ʿāmmiyya*, and sometimes it may be dependent on the personal language which the writer uses."

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### 4.1.4 *miš* + *bi*–imperfect when declining an offer

As mentioned in Chapter Two, Hegazi (2006) teaches that when declining an offer by negating a *bi*–imperfect verb, it is more polite to negate the verb with *miš*, and that *ma—š* in this case could sound slightly aggressive. I found this point interesting, and therefore asked a number of speakers and teachers of Arabic about their opinion on this matter. Some speakers did agree with Hegazi, however, the majority of the speakers consulted disagreed with him and claimed that this is solely his personal opinion, or that it is rather depending on the intonation of the utterance. One informant suggested that it sounds more polite when more words are used, and that this may be a potential explanation to Hegazi's claim. This issue may, as suggested by Elena Canna (personal communication), be related to semantic strategies of refusals rather than the distribution of *miš* and *ma—š*. What the informant suggested concerning usage of more words resembles what Woidich (1968) describes regarding an "analytical tendency", where one word is replaced by several words, c.f. 2.3.3, although Woidich mentions it being used for "affective negation".

4.2 *y*–imperfect

4.2.1 Interviews and questionnaire

The following graph gives an account of the informants' judgments of the sentences with *y*–imperfect verbs negated by *miš*:

Table 4.3 Acceptability judgments for sentences with y–imperfect verbs
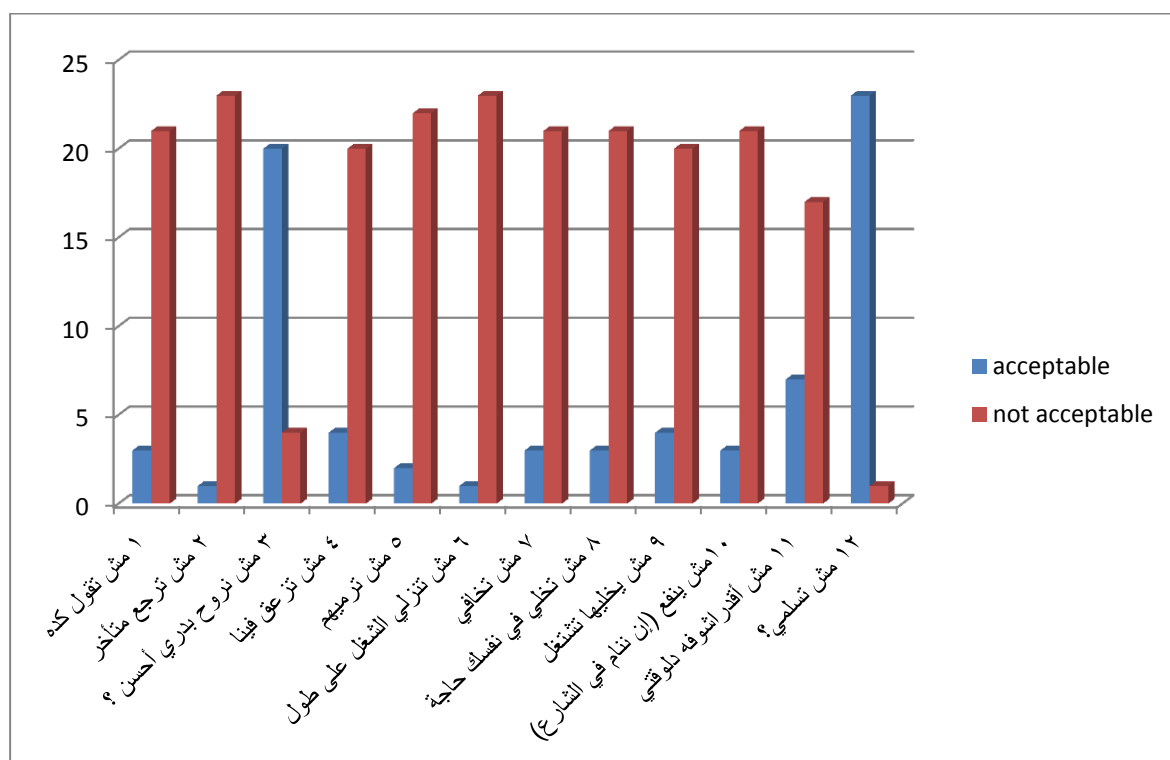
The graph shows that a majority of the speakers judged ten out of twelve sentences as unacceptable. Sentence 10, which was initially *miš yinfaʿ* "it can't go", was judged as acceptable by one out of eleven informants. After the sentence was changed to *miš yinfaʿ (inn) ninām fi ššāriʿ* "it can't go that we sleep in the street", it was judged as acceptable by two out of thirteen informants. The two sentences which were considered acceptable by the majority of the informants are: *miš nirūḥ badri aḥsan?* "wouldn't it be better if we went early?" and *miš tisallimi?* "shouldn't you say hello?". It is likely that these two sentences were perceived as rhetorical questions. One of the informants who did not judge these sentences as acceptable said he would rather say *nirūḥ badri aḥsan* "It is better for us to go early" without the use of *miš*, and *ma–tsallimi* "say hello (then)" instead of *miš tisallimi?*

"shouldn't you say hello?". Mughazy (2008b: 680) explains that the use of *ma–* instead of *miš* in this context involves a "lesser degree of politeness".

One informant who judged sentence 4, *miš tizaʿʿaʾ fīna* "do not shout at us", as acceptable commented that "it is possible, but the most common is to say *ma–tzaʿʿaʾš fīna*". Another informant, who judged sentence 5, *miš tirmīhum* "don't throw them", as unacceptable, said that if the sentence was supposed to be prohibition, it would be unacceptable. However, if the intention was for it to be read as a suggestion, it would be acceptable. This attitude repeated itself, and several informants asked whether a question mark was intended after the sentences, and if not, they judged them as unacceptable.

Although the majority of the informants judged almost all non–rhetorical sentences where a *y*–imperfect verb is negated by *miš* as unacceptable, several speakers reported that they had noticed its usage, and that they knew people who used these structures where the continuous negation marker negates a *y*–imperfect verb. One female informant who was asked whether she had heard this usage of *miš* with *y*–imperfect verbs commented:

> *samiʿt innās byulūha bass ana baḥiss innaha miš ṣaḥḥ (mīn biyūlha?) waḥda ṣaḥbiti aʿrafha, kitīr min aṣḥābi byulūha, bass ʿašān iḥna kunna ʿala ṭūl binit ʿallim bil–English fa miš ilʿarabi bitaʿhum saʿāt biyitlaʿ kida ġalaṭ (…) saʿāt mumkin titlaʿ minni kida, bass ana ʿarfa hiyya bitibʾa ġalaṭ, bass fī nās bitibʾa ashal lahum inn hiyya bitʾūl kida badal ma ṭḥuṭṭ iššin fi lāxir.*

> "I have heard people saying it, but I feel that it is not correct (who says it?) One of my friends, many of my friends say it, but because we were studying in English, their Arabic sometimes comes out wrong like this (…) sometimes I might say it like that, but I know that it is not correct. But for some people it is easier if they say it like that instead of placing *šīn* at the end."

4.2.2 Observation

The following passage is taken from Facebook:

<div dir="rtl">

عايزين نروح بكرة نقول لأ نعمل الدستور دلوقتى و كلنا منتصرين <u>مش نعمله</u> متأخر و في طرف فايز و يا خوفى يكون الوطنى و أطراف مهزومة هتعمل صراع رهيب و تضيع الاستقرار عمل دستور و الكراسى فاضية أنسب من عملها و في رئيس و برلمان سيحاولون الحفاظ على وجودهم و صلاحياتهم في الدستور الجديد الدستور أولا هيحدد معايير للبرلمان و صلاحيات للرئيس <u>مش تجييهم</u> على.... نظام قديم لا لوضع مصر في خطر و احتمالية عودة القديم و سرقة البلد.

</div>

"We want to go tomorrow and say no, let us make the constitution now, that way we will all be winners. We <u>will not make it</u> later when there is already a winning party, and I am afraid it would be the national, and the defeated sides will make a terrible struggle to destroy stability. To make a constitution while the chairs are empty is more suitable than when there is a president and parliament who will try to preserve their presence and their authority in the new constitution. The constitution will first of all determine criteria for the parliament and the authority of the president, and <u>not bring</u> them to an old system. No to exposing Egypt to danger and to the possibility of a return to the old and the "stealing" of the country.""

The first case of *miš* negating a *y*–imperfect verb here may be a case of usage of *miš* in "affective" utterances as is described in section 2.3.3. The writer of this passage appears to be dedicated to the topic which she gives her opinion on. The second case where *miš* negates a *y*–imperfect verb could be a case of contrastive negation where one negative and one positive fact stand in contrast to each other, c.f. 2.3.5.

Another example of *miš* negating a *y*–imperfect verb is in the following passage taken from a discussion about the topic of the novel *ʿayza atgawwiz* in a blog written in 2008[17]:

<div dir="rtl">

عايزة اتجوز

يعني دي سنة الحياة و شريعة ربنا و احنا اتخلقنا عشان نعمر الارض <u>مش نقول</u> ده مقرف و لا جواميس يا شيماء في جوازات كتير صالونات ناجحة و كتير فاشلة و جوازات كتير عن حب ناجحة و كتير فاشلة ده مش مقياس ده نصيب، ربنا لو كاتب لحد يتجوز حد هايتجوزه سواء بقى كان جواز جواميس ولا بهايم و اللى مش عايز يتجوز ها قول له كلمة واحدة بكرة تندم يا جميييييييل

</div>

"I want to get married

(I) mean it is the sunna of life and the law of our Lord and we were created in order to populate the earth, <u>(we should) not say</u> that that is disgusting or buffaloes. Šaymāʾ, there are many successful salon [i.e. arranged] marriages, and many failed ones, and many marriages based on love which are successful and many failing. That is not measurement, it is destiny. If our Lord has written that someone is to marry a person, he will marry that person. No matter if it is buffalo marriage or domestic animals. And to those who do not want to get married, I will say one thing: tomorrow you regret, beautiful".

The use of *miš* in this passage may also be a case of "affective" negation where the author is dedicated to the topic and has a clear opinion on it, and therefore emphasises the negation.

4.2.2.1 *miš yinfaʿ*

The only *y*–imperfect verb I personally heard being negated by *miš* instead of *ma—š* in Cairo was the verb *yinfaʿ*. The expression *miš yinfaʿ* "it can't go" appeared several times and in

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[17] http://mohaly.blogspot.com/2008/05/394–3ayza–atgawez–book.html.

different contexts. *miš yinfaʿ* is one of the examples Doss (2008: 88) gives of evolving use of *miš*. Not long after I arrived in Cairo, some friends asked me what the subject for my thesis was, to which I replied very generally that it is about negation in *ʿāmmiyya*. One friend commented *āh, zayy masalan miš yinfaʿ?* "Oh, like for example *miš yinfaʿ?*". He was quickly corrected by another friend who told him that *ma–yinfaʿš* is the correct way of negating *yinfaʿ*. Another incident where this expression was heard was during a conversation with a taxi driver, telling me about his brother living in Norway. He continued by *bass miš yinfaʿ asāfir nurwīg* "but it won't go that I travel to Norway". For a non–native speaker it may be easy to mistake *miš ḥayinfaʿ* for *miš yinfaʿ* when it is uttered quickly. Thus, I asked the speaker whether he had said *miš yinfaʿ* or *miš ḥayinfaʿ* to be assured that he had used a *y*–imperfect verb. At another occasion, I noticed a girl in her early twenties say *laʾ, miš yinfaʿ*, "no, it can't go" in a reply to a request.

Furthermore, sentence 10 in section 2) of the questionnaire is an example taken from the movie *rāmi iliʿtiṣāmi* (Rāfiʿ 2008) where *miš yinfaʿ* appears again in the sentence *miš yinfaʿ ninām fi ššāriʿ* "we can't sleep in the street". I discussed this particular sentence with an informant who had judged it as unacceptable when given the questionnaire. I informed him that I had heard this exact sentence in the movie *rāmi iliʿtiṣāmi.* The informant knew the movie very well and replied that if that was the case, surely it had to be one specific character in the movie who had uttered it. It is an interesting point because the character in the movie who utters this sentence is a relatively feminine boy, whose gesticulation and utterances could be described as womanlike. I also asked another friend to watch the sequence from the movie to be assured that he also heard *miš yinfaʿ* and not *miš ḥayinfaʿ.* He confirmed that the verb was used in its *y*–imperfect form, but added that there is a reason for why this specific character utters the sentence using this construction. In this movie, there are representatives from different levels and groups in the society, and my informant was of the opinion that this character is supposed to represent someone he describes as خنثى, *xunṯa* "effeminate" (Badawi and Hinds 1986: 267). This thread leads us to "*banāt bititdallaʿ*" and the various perceptions the informants have in relation to who might use *miš* in the non–standard positions that are being discussed. These perceptions will be discussed in paragraph 4.5.

One possible explanation for why the continuous negation marker is heard with the verb *yinfaʿ* in particular, is its semantic content. The translation of the expression *miš yinfaʿ* according to Badawi and Hinds (1986: 877) is "it is no good", "it won't do". These

expressions are likely to be uttered in affect, and as we have seen in 2.3.3, Woidich (1968) and Malina (1987) explain that *miš* can be used with perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs to express negation in affective utterances.

Although usage of *miš yinfaʿ* was observed several times, only 3 out of 24 informants considered the sentence as acceptable, which might indicate that there is a divergence between what is considered acceptable and what is actually used.

4.3 Perfect

4.3.1 Interviews and questionnaire

The following graph shows the informants' judgments of the sentences in section 3) of the questionnaire with usage of *miš* for negation of perfect verbs.

Table 4.4 Acceptability judgments for sentences with perfect verbs
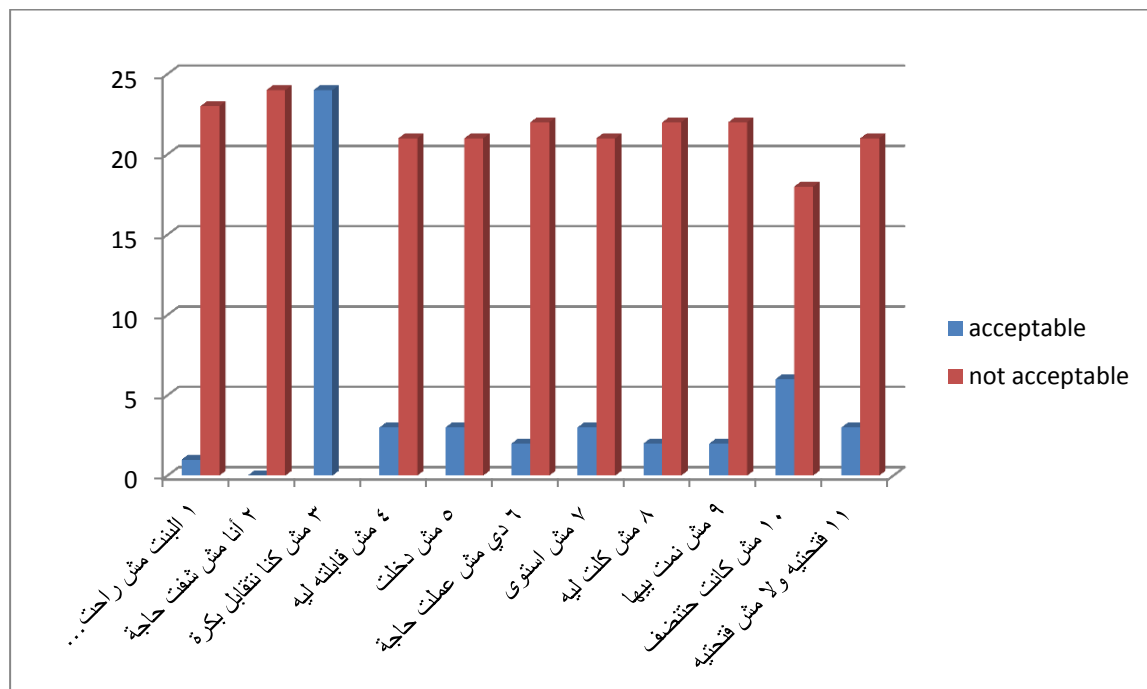
The graph shows that a large majority of the informants have considered 10 out of 11 sentences to be unacceptable. In sentence 3, which was unanimously judged as acceptable, *miš* is used rhetorically: *miš kunna nitʾābil bukra?* "weren't we supposed to meet tomorrow/shouldn't we meet tomorrow?"

Several informants commented that if the remaining sentences were formed as questions, thus rhetorical, they might have been acceptable. One informant who judged sentence 5, *miš daxalit* "she didn't enter", as acceptable, commented that it is acceptable if it is used in a sentence similar to in example *di miš daxalit min hina, di daxalit min hina* "she didn't enter from here, she entered from here". Considering Mughazy's (2003; 2008a) description of metalinguistic negation in Egyptian Arabic, c.f. 2.3.4, one can argue that in this example sentence, *miš* is used in metalinguistic negation where the objection is to the implicata of the exact reading of where she entered from, and not the truth–conditional material. As in Mughazy's example *da ana miš akalt xamas sandawitšāt; ana akalt sitta* "I didn't eat five sandwiches, I ate six", he points out that the negated material here is not truth–functional, but that the "exactly reading of cardinal numbers in EA is an implicata that is negated metalinguistically" (2003: 1155).

Sentence 9, *miš nimt bīha* "I didn't sleep with it" was reported to be acceptable if the context had been as follows: *fēn itT–shirt bitāʿik? ya māma, miš nimt bīha?* "where is your T–shirt? But mum, didn't I wear it to sleep? (I wore it to sleep)". This is once again a rhetorical question. Sentence 10, *miš kānit ḥatinḍaf* "it was not going to become cleaner", was distinguished from the other sentences by the fact that six informants considered it as acceptable. A possible explanation may be that the construction *miš* + the verb *kān* is frequently used for forming an *iqtirāḥ* "suggestion", c.f. 2.3.6. It may also be connected to the combination of the perfect verb *kān* and the future prefix *ḥa–* for the next verb. As we have seen above, *miš* is used for negating *ḥa*–imperfect verbs in Cairene Arabic, and some informants may have confused negation of the perfect verb *kān* with negation of the *ḥa*–imperfect verb *ḥatinḍaf*.

4.3.2 Observation

I did not personally observe *miš* being used for negating a perfect verb in its unmarked use in Cairo. I did receive one report from a friend after I had left Cairo, who told me his manager had uttered the sentence *huwwa miš ʿamal kida* "he didn't do that". However, with the lack of context or possible rectification clause, it is difficult to identify whether this is an unmarked sentence, or pragmatic usage of the negation marker. There are several examples from the literature where *miš* is used for negating a perfect verb. They are, however, only marked usage in rhetorical questions:

انت <u>مش قلت</u> مستني اصحابك؟

"<u>Didn't you say</u> you were waiting for your friends?"

(Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009: 33)

أنا <u>مش قلت</u> الصوت؟ هم البهوات ما بيفهموش عربي ولا إيه؟

"<u>Didn't I say</u> the voice? (Didn't I ask you to lower your voices?). Don't the gentlemen understand Arabic or what?"

(Ḥasan and al–Ḥusaynī 2009: 104)

بس لو كنتي ارتبطي بحد من زمايلك في الكلية <u>مش كنا</u> خلصنا؟

"But if you had made a commitment to one of your colleagues at college, <u>wouldn't we've</u> been done?"

(ʿAbd al–ʿĀl 2008: 41)

4.4 Prepositional phrases

4.4.1 Interviews and questionnaire

In the first part of section 4) of the questionnaire the informants were asked to provide comparative judgments on three sentences with the two alternatives *miš* and *ma—š:*

1 محمد مش عنده كتاب – 2 محمد معندوش كتاب

3 مش له أخ   – 4 ملوش أخ

5مفيش حاجة معينة   – 6 مش فيه حاجة معينة

The following graph shows their choices:

Table 4.5 Comparative judgments of 6 prepositional phrases
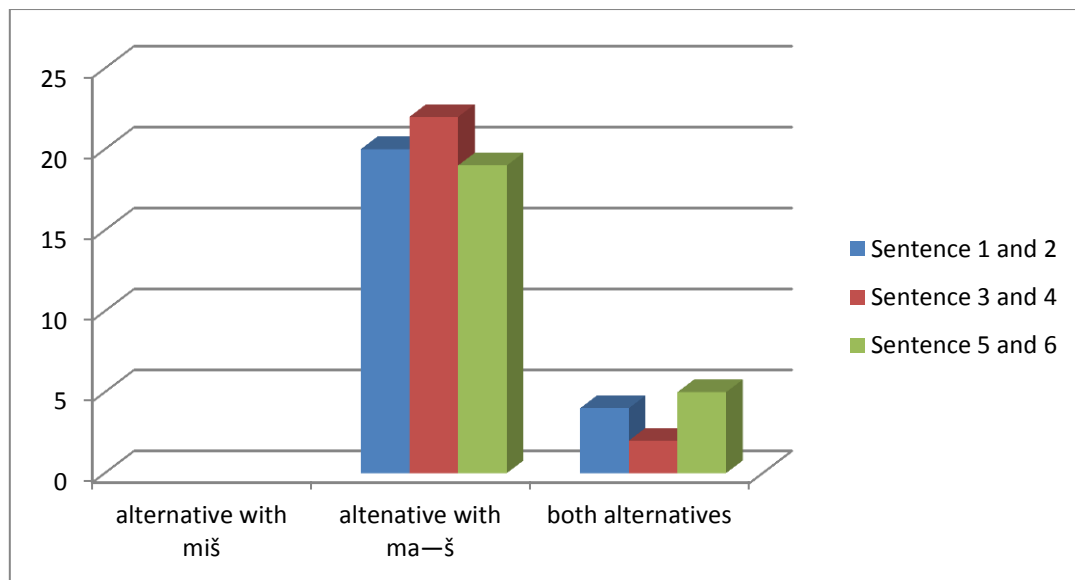
We can see from the graph that none of the informants chose the alternative with *miš* only, although a small number of the informants reported that both alternatives could be used. For the speakers who said that both alternatives were acceptable, the least acceptable was sentence 4, *miš luh aḥ* "he doesn't have a brother".

Table 4.6 Acceptability judgments for prepositional phrases
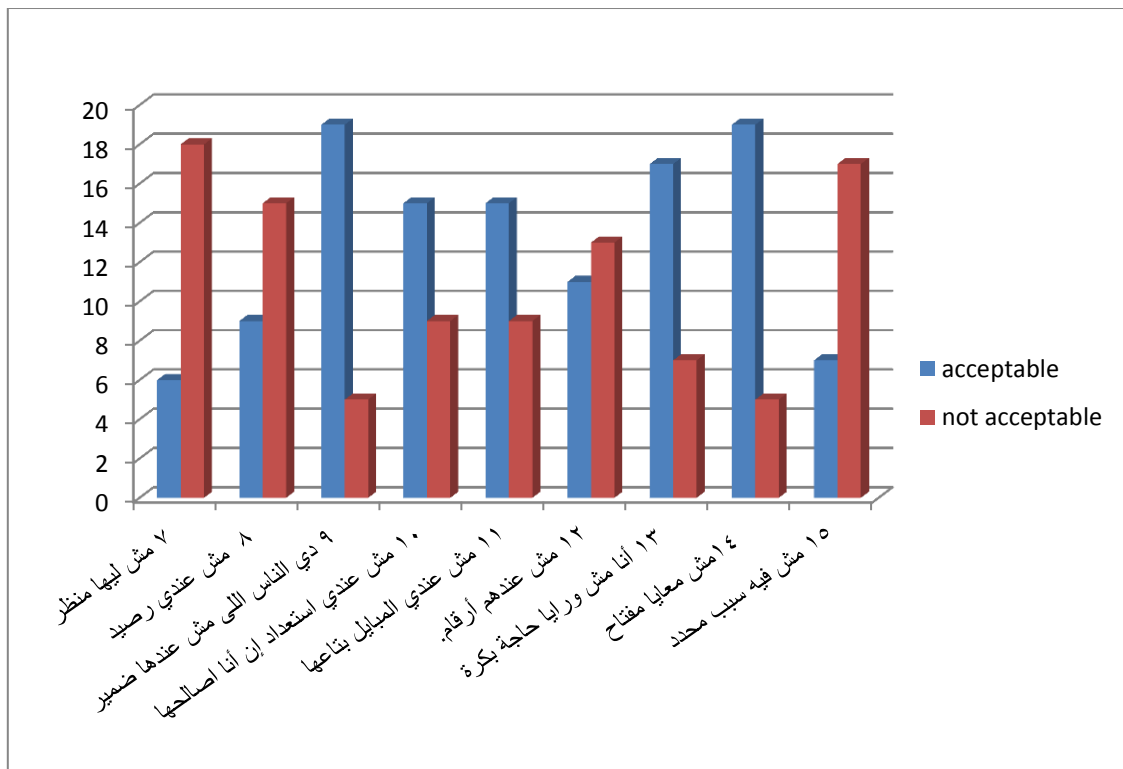
Part two of section 4) of the questionnaire received more varied judgments than the remaining sections, where the tendencies of the judgments were clearer. Although the sentences are structurally similar, they received different judgments. It should be noted that several of the informants who judged these sentences as acceptable added that they are acceptable, although they felt that using *ma—š* in this context would be *aqwa* "stronger".

Several informants who felt that these sentences were unacceptable added, as for section 2) and 3), that if they had been questions, they would be acceptable. The prepositions in the sentences which were judged as acceptable by the highest number of informants are *maʿa, wara* and *ʿand*. However, some of the sentences containing the preposition *ʿand* were judged as more acceptable than other sentences containing the same preposition. The sentences which were judged to be acceptable by the fewest number of informants contained the preposition *li* and the existential marker *fī(h)*. One of the speakers who judged sentence 15, *miš fī sabab muḥaddad* "there is no particular reason" as acceptable added:

> *kilma barḍu salīma lākin iḥna binʾūl ma–fīš sabab muḥaddad… di ġāliban suʾāl, lamma ana asʾal: fī sabab muḥaddad ʿašān tiʾūli laʾ? laʾ, miš fī sabab muḥaddad, aw ma–fīš, lākin ilaqwa fi llisāni lmaṣri ma–fīš.*

> "Also a sound phrase, but we say *ma–fīš* (there is no) particular reason…that one is usually for a question, when I ask: Is there a specific reason for you to say no? No, *miš fī* (there is no) specific reason, or *ma–fīš* (there is no). But the strongest in the Egyptian dialect is *ma–fīš* (there is no)"

4.4.2 Observation

One observation of *miš* with the existential *fī(h)* was made in a meeting with a taxi driver. I asked him whether he had a taximeter, to which he replied *laʾ, miš fī* "no, there is not". After a conversation about my home country and my purpose of visiting Cairo, I asked him why he had said *miš fī* and not *ma–fīš*. Contrary to the other speakers whom I asked the reason for their usage of *miš*, this speaker denied saying *miš*, insisting on that he had said *ma–fīš* because he felt that *miš fī* would have been incorrect. I also noticed a friend uttering *miš fī niẓām hina* "there's no system here". He was surprised as well when I made him aware of his usage of *miš*. Unfortunately, I did not take notes on the context in which *miš fī niẓām hina* was uttered, and it is therefore difficult to recognise whether this use had a special function or if it was an unmarked sentence. Another incident where *miš* was used in a prepositional phrase was a female student telling her interlocutor *bass miš maʿāya naḍḍāra* "but I don't have glasses with me".

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Following are a few examples from the literature and a movie of usage of *miš* in prepositional phrases where the structure is P+S:

1)

بالنسبة لكل الأرقام دي و بما إني <u>مش معايا</u> "دبلون".. يبقى الحمد لله لسة قدامي شوية شوية على ما أحمل اللقب

"Regarding all those numbers and that <u>I don't have</u> a diploma ... then thank God

I still have some time until I get the title"

(ʿAbd al–ʿĀl 2008: 145)

2)

بس <u>مش معای</u> أى فلوس

"But <u>I don't have</u> any money"

(ʿAṭā Allāh 2010: 23)

3)

<u>*miš maʿāya* ġēr mitēn ginēh</u>

"<u>I don't have</u> more than two hundred pounds"

(as–Sāwī 2011)

Four of the examples above contain the preposition *maʿa*, which is interesting in relation to a comment given by one of the informants on this matter. She was of the opinion that it is more common and acceptable to say *miš maʿāya* and *miš warrāya* than *miš ʿandi* due to that *ma–maʿīš* and *ma–warrayīš* are longer and thus its pronunciation more complex than *miš maʿāya and miš warrāya.* Furthermore, she said that to pronounce *ma–ʿandīš* is simple, and thus there is no need to replace it with *miš ʿandi.*

4.5 Informants' opinions

The majority of the informants whom I have interviewed seem to agree that the use of *miš* for negating perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs is unacceptable. However, when asked whether they knew someone who used these constructions, several did, and some expressed a negative view on the usage. This attitude towards non–standard usage of *miš* was found on different sources on the internet as well. The existence of the content found on these sources indicates that the phenomenon is somewhat widespread, in order to create reactions such as the following. The following post was found on an Egyptian forum:

زهقتوني يافتوكات..مسمهاش مش اعرف اسمها معرفش..اوف

زي ماهو باين من العنوان..

كل شويه ادخل توبيك الاقي واحده بتحكي في مشكلة جد الجد وبين كلمه والثانية تقول (مش قلت) (مش شفت) .. ايه ده .. انا مش عارفه هم فاكرين كده يعني دلع؟ الي اعرفه ان الاطفال الي لسه بتتهجى الكلام ولسه بتتعلم مخارج الحروف هي الي بتتكلم بالطريقة دي بينما الناس الكبيرة الناضجه بتقول معرفش ومشفتش ومقلتش

مش عارفة انا لوحدي الي شايفه الحكايه دي سقيلة ومفتعله ولا ده طبيعي والدنيا تغيرت وبقت هي دي لغتنا المصرية

بصراحه .. مش عرفت..

"I am tired, "fatakats".. it is not called *miš aʿraf* (I don't know), it is *maʿarafš* (I don't know)..ugh

As is evident from the title..

Now and then I enter a topic and find someone who talks seriously about a problem, and between a word and the other she says *miš ʿirift* (I didn't know), *miš ʾult* (I didn't say), *miš šuft* (I didn't see)..what is this?.. I don't know, do they think that this is "coddling"?…All I know is that small kids who are still spelling the words and learning how to pronounce the letters, they are the ones who talk like that, but grown–up people say *ma–aʿrafš* (I don't know) and *ma–šuftiš* (I didn't see) and *ma–ʾultiš* (I didn't say)

I don't know, am I the only one who sees this as a something heavy and artificial, or is it normal and the world changed and this is now our Egyptian language

Honestly.. *miš ʿirift* (I didn't know).."

The other indication that it is a well–known phenomenon is that there exists a "community" on Facebook named *ilʿayyāl ilfaṣīla illi bitʾūl – miš aʿraf wi miš yinfa*[18] "The disconnected kids who say – *miš aʿraf* (I don't know) and *miš yinfaʿ* (it can't go)". The description of the community reads as follows:

الحملة القومية للمكافحة تفشى العيال اللى بتقول :
مش اعرف
مش ينفع
مش خدته
مش عملت
مش رحت
مش اتفرجت
مش .....
....

علشان الحكاية مش ناقصة فصلان

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[18]I first discovered this "community" June 17th 2011. The number of members who "like" the community was then 72. Three days later, it had increased to 126, and on August 23rd it had reached 162 "likes".

"The national campaign to fight the spreading of kids who say:

miš aʿraf   "I don't know"
miš yinfaʿ   "It can't go"
miš xadtu   "I didn't take it"
miš ʿamalt   "I didn't do/make"
miš ruḥt   "I didn't go"
miš itfarragt   "I didn't watch"
miš....
….
because the story is not lacking disconnection"

My informants had perceptions about who might use these non–standard constructions, in addition to explanations to why they think they use them. The different explanations that were given are very varied and some of them contradict each other. I have gathered the explanations and divided into the following categories: foreign language schools, class, *banāt bititdallaʿ* and youth.

4.5.1 Foreign language schools

Some informants point to education as an explanation to why speakers tend to do "mistakes" when negating. They explain that due to their frequent exposure to English or French during their childhood, it is not as easy to form correct sentences in Arabic, and that using *miš* is easier than the prefix–suffix combination *ma—š*. One informant provided the following explanation:

> *bussi, miš tiʾūl kida hiyya ṭabʿan ġalaṭ yaʿni definitely ġalaṭ bass ilmuškila innu, yaʿni maʿa i l... fakra lamma kallimna ʿan ʿala ismu ēh da ...ʿala how we are exposed to ḥagāt kitīr min barra fi lmadrasa wi kida, sometimes things like that happen, bi sabab ilmawdūʿ da. ana masalan ʾaʿadt 16 sana fi madrasa faransāwi ana saʿāt mumkin aʾūl miš tiʾūl kida. ḥāga min itnēn bitiḥsal saʿātha, yaʾimma ana miš bafakkar fa baʾūlha ġasban ʿanni yaʾimma ana baḥāwil adallaʿ ka–bint yaʿni.*

> "Look, *miš tiʾūl kida* (don't say that) is of course wrong, I mean definitely wrong, but the problem is that… remember when we talked about what's it called... about how we are exposed to a lot of things from outside when we are in school and like that, sometimes things like that happen, because of that. I, for example, spent 16 years in a French school, and sometimes I might say *miš tiʾūl kida* (don't say that). One of two things happens when I say it. Either I am not thinking and say it without knowing, or I am trying to flirt, like a girl I mean."

She added that whenever she said sentences with these constructions, her friends would correct her. Another informant provided the following point of view:

fī nās bitʾūl kida bass da, ḥatta ka–ʿāmmiyya miš ṣaḥḥ. nās kitīr, muʿẓamhum biykūnu xarrigīn ilgamaʿāt aw madāris amrikiyya

"There are people who talk like that, but it is not correct even in *ʿāmmiyya*. Many people, most of them have graduated from American schools or universities

A third informant provided the following explanation to who might use the non–standard structures, which she considers unacceptable:

fī nās biyiʿmilu nafsuhum kaʾinn ilʿarabi bitaʿhum ḍaʿīf šwayya wi biykallimu English bass. biyibʾuʾaṣdīn biyiʿmilu structure gumla ġalaṭ, di ḥāga bitbawwaz illuġa. di ḥāga maʿa lwaʾt ḥatxalli nnās tikallim bi ṭarīʾa ġalaṭ

"There are people who pretend like their Arabic is a bit weak and that they only speak English. They make the structure of the sentence wrong on purpose. This is something that destroys the language. It is something that after some time will make people talk in a wrong way."

This phenomenon of pretending, or the impression that someone is pretending for it to sound like their Arabic is weak due to strong influence from foreign languages, may be connected to perceptions of social class in Cairo. Foreign language proficiency plays a role in defining social class in Egypt, especially proficiency in English and French. Proficiency in English indicates that a person has attended a private school and maybe travelled abroad, which requires that the family is relatively well off. Knowledge of French suggests that the person is "either from the remnants of the aristocracy […] – or from the Christian upper class" (Wilmsen and Woidich 2007: 9). One teacher at ILI also suggested that this way of negating is connected to foreign language schools and that students may translate directly from English to Arabic due to their being accustomed to speaking English. He referred to the example: I didn't go → *ana miš ruḥt.*

4.5.2 Class

From some informants I was given the impression that they viewed the non–standard usage of *miš* as a feature associated with a certain level of the society or social class. However, the descriptions did not match each other and two of the explanations contradicted one another. A girl with the following point of view belongs to what she claims is the "real" middle class. Her explanation of what kind of speakers might use constructions with *miš* negating a perfect or *y*–imperfect verb is as follows:

miš tiʾūl kida di gumla miš salīma xāliṣ wi li lasaf qāʿ lmugtamaʿ biystaxdimha kitīr giddan, hiyya qāʿ lmugtamaʿ, yaʿni lmugtamaʿāt ilmunḥadira. hiyya miš tiʾūl kida ma–bititʾalš kida, ma–fīš ḥāga ismaha kida. da taʾlīf, da ismu taʾlīf. ismaha ma–tʾulši kida (…) innās ilmubīʾa min saqāfa muʿayyana, nās miš musaqqafa ʿayza taʿmil nafsaha bitnaḍḍaf ikkalām yaʿni ʿayza taʿmil nafsaha tikallim kalām biṭarīʾa šīk musaqqafa

miš tiʾūl kida (don't say that) is not a good sentence at all, and unfortunately, the lower parts of the society uses it a lot, that is the lower parts of the society, it means the declining societies. *miš tiʾūl kida* (don't say that) is not supposed to be said like that, there is nothing like that. That is just made up, it is called making up…It is supposed to be *ma–tʾulš kida* (don't say that)… vulgar people from a certain culture, unintellectual people who want to pretend like they "clean their words", they want to pretend as if they talk in a chic and intellectual manner"

In contrast, another informant who works as a waiter at a local restaurant had the following suggestion as a response to who might use sentences with structures as the sentences in section 2) of the questionnaire:

mumkin innās illi hum raqiyyīn ʾawwi aw innās illi hum iṭṭabaʿa rraqya

"Maybe people who are really refined or those who belong to the upper class"

The phenomenon described by the first informant could be a case of "hypercorrection" which results from "speaker's and writer's desire to speak and to write a more prestigious variety and to avoid stigmatized forms" (Hary 2007: 275).

4.5.3 *banāt bititdallaʿ*

The most frequent response I was given to who might use the discontinuous negation marker *miš* with perfect or *y*–imperfect verbs was *banāt bititdallaʿ*. The verb *itdallaʿ* has three different explanations in Badawi and Hinds' dictionary (1986: 300): 1. "to behave or be treated like a spoiled child", 2. "to behave frivolously", 3. "to act coquettishly". A native speaker explained that *banāt bititdallaʿ* usually has one of two meanings: either girls who act "sassy", or that they are flirting. Several informants claim these are relatively young girls who play with the language in order to act "funny, silly and cute". Following are comments from two different informants.

miš tiʾūl kida di asmaʿha min ḥagtēn, min šaxṣ agnabi lissa biyitʿallim illuġa lʿarabiyya wi ma–yiʿrafš kwayyis yitkallim izzāy bi lqawāʿid wi nnaḥw, aw bint bititdallaʿ. ilbint lamma bititdallaʿ ʿandina titkallim kida bi ṭṭarīʾa di (…) bint aktar, lamma tikūn dammaha xafīf (…) flirting with someone.

miš tiʾūl kida (don't say that) is something I hear from one of two sorts: from a foreign person who is still in the process of learning Arabic and doesn't know the grammar well, or from a girl who is flirting. The girls here, when they flirt, they talk this way, mostly girls, when they have a sense of humour (…) flirting with someone"

banāt bititdallaʿ wi fakrīn inn kida illuġa ḥatibʾa šaklaha aẓraf aw inna humma yaʿni biyiʿmilu ḥāga ġarība aw gidīda.

"Girls who are flirting and think that it this way the language will sound nicer[19] and that they are doing something strange or new."

4.5.4 Youth

Several informants pointed to the speakers' age as a factor regarding the negation patterns, and claimed that this negation structure is used amongst teenagers and young adults only. They also claimed that it is not restricted to girls, but that boys use it as well. The age groups mentioned varied between ages 12–20. One teacher at ILI had noticed her teenage sister using *miš* in non–standard positions. When asked whether they thought these young speakers would continue to use *miš* when they grow older, some informants were certain that this is a feature they would stop using when they enter university. The teacher who was consulted had an interesting response to the question of whether she thinks this means that the Egyptian dialect will change. She responded hesitantly at first, due to my mistaken use of the word *taṭawwur* "development" instead of *taġyīr* "change". If this would lead to change, which she thought it might, it would not necessarily be positive change, as is implied from the word *taṭawwur*.

4.5.5 Šarʾiyya

The fifth explanation I was given as to whom may use *miš* for negating perfect or *y*–imperfect verbs, was that this is used by "people from the countryside". Some of the informants who pointed to the countryside were not able to pin–point the areas. However, three informants mentioned the area of Šarʾiyya specifically. As Doss (2008: 89) points to, Woidich reports that *miš* + perfect verbs had been observed in Šarʾiyya. In the article she refers to, "Zum Dialect von il-ʿAwāmra in der östlichen Šarqiyya (Ägypten)", Woidich (1979: 93) reports the following about negation in ilʿAwāmra:

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[19] *ẓarīf*: pleasant, agreeable, delightful (Badawi and Hinds 1986: 556).

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> Öfter findet man die Negation *miš*, wo nach Kairener Muster *ma–…–š* zu erwarten wäre. Die Beispiele sind aber zu wenige, um mehr als nur konstatieren zu können: *miš saddagtūni* "ihr habt mir nicht geglaubt", *miš fīha ʾilla girid* "darin war nur ein Affe", *ma–hu miš ligi l–māl* "er hatte doch das Vermögen nicht gefunden"

The acceptability judgments made by three informants in Zaʾazīʾ differed to a great extent from those in Cairo. The two girls in Zaʾazīʾ used *miš* in all but two instances for the *bi*–imperfect sentences. Together they judged all of the *y*–imperfect sentences as acceptable except for one. In section 3) all the sentences were acceptable to them, and in the first part of section 4) they said both alternatives were good. The remaining prepositional phrases were also considered acceptable. The young boy I interviewed negated six of the *bi*–imperfect sentences with *ma—š*, and one with *miš*. To him, four sentences were acceptable and eight unacceptable with regard to the *y*–imperfect sentences. For the sentences with perfect verbs, only four sentences were considered acceptable according to this informant. In regard to the prepositional phrases he sensed that two of the sentences ought to be negated by *ma—š*, while one could be negated by either of the markers. In the second part, he considered four sentences to be unacceptable, and five acceptable.

However, it is possible that this last informant did not respond to the questionnaire according to the dialect of Zaʾazīʾ, but rather to the Cairene dialect. It could seem as if he wanted to show his knowledge of the Cairene dialect, and in fact, he emphasised several times that the dialect in Zaʾazīʾ is not like the dialect in Cairo. Another reason for this assumption is that for the section for perfect verbs, he said that several sentences were unacceptable although he uttered *miš kānu* "they were not" as soon as we had completed the interview and returned to casual talk.

While visiting their home, I had a long conversation with a middle–aged woman and her 19 year old daughter, who talked about their lives in Zaʾazīʾ. During this conversation, there were several instances where the negation marker *miš* was used with perfect verbs and prepositional phrases:

bass Abu Aḥmad miš riḍi	"But Abu Ahmad didn't approve"
miš kān lazimna ḥāga	"We didn't need anything"
miš ʿandi bint	"I don't have a daughter"
miš kānit ġawya	"She wasn't enthusiastic"
miš fī šuġl hina	"There are no jobs here"

In the streets of Zaʾazīʾ we were approached by two young girls selling lemons, who may have been 6 or 7 years old. One of my friends asked permission to take photos of them, to which they replied simultaneously:

  laʾ miš yinfaʿ   "No, it can't go"

Furthermore, a 13 year old girl uttered the following comment to explain why I continued asking people language–related questions:

  lissa miš xadit ʿala lluġa   "She hasn't gotten used to the language yet"

In a different context she told her friend:

  miš tikallim yaʿni!   "It means that you shouldn't talk!"

4.5.6 Negation in Arabic child language

It is not clear whether the utterances provided by the children in the previous section can be considered examples of negation in the dialect of Šarʾiyya. They could just as well be examples of negation in Arabic child language. Walter (2006: 378) says the choice between *miš* and *ma—š* for negation of verbs is optional. Mohamed and Ouhalla (1995) have studied negation in child Arabic in the Palestinian dialect in Nablus, which is different from the Cairene dialect in several aspects. However, they claim that "in major respects the facts are not fundamentally different in most other spoken dialects of Arabic" (1995: 71). The results of their study show that nominal sentences are negated as in adult language, but that for verbal sentences children switch between negating with *miš* and with *ma—š*. Some examples provided from their studies are:

  miš ašūf   "I don't want to see"
  miš akalit   "I haven't eaten"
  miš rāḥ   "He hasn't left"
  miš sakkru   "Don't shut it"

             (Mohamed and Ouhalla 1995: 80)

4.6 From double to single negation

De Swart (2010: 10) states that "[t]ypologically speaking, discontinuous negation does not occur in many languages, and when it does, it is usually not very stable in a diachronic sense". She points to Modern English, spoken French and colloquial Welsh for examples of languages where the discontinuous negation has been lost. She further argues that the motivation for the rarity of discontinuous negation is that it is uneconomical (ibid.).

Doss (2008: 89–90) gives three tentative explanations to the extended use of the continuous negation particle *miš* which she has observed. These are:

- Expansion of regional usage observed in the Šarʾiyya province.
- Single negation taking over for double negation as in other languages such as French.
- The different syntactic environments where *miš* is used with *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs, which "could yield the acceptance of the 'non standard' succession in other cases as well" (Doss 2008: 90).

In order to explore Doss' second tentative explanation, I will look closer at the path from (single to) double negation to single negation in (spoken) French in comparison to the observations made for Cairene Arabic. As was seen in sections 1.3.4.1 and 2.1.1, in French and some Arabic dialects including Cairene, the negation has gone through a development which has been called Jespersen's Cycle. In the Cairene dialect, the negation has reached stage 2 of the cycle in Lucas' (2010) terms, where the word *šayʾ* "thing" has grammaticalised and obtained the function of a negation marker. If the same were to take place in Arabic as in French, the next development, stage 3, would be the deletion of *ma–* from the discontinuous *ma—š* construction, as has happened in spoken French where *ne–* is elided. Lucas explores this option in the Palestinian and Cairene dialects, and according to his study, the enclitic *–š* without *ma–* may be used with the *bi*–imperfect, the prohibitive, the pseudo–verbs *maʿ* and *bidd* as well as the existential *fī(h)* in the Palestinian dialect (Lucas 2010: 178). For Cairene dialect, the indications are different, and Lucas points to some examples of use of only enclitic *–š* in the grammatical literature:

> *ʿandakš qiršēn*
>
> "Don't you have two pennies?"

(Spitta–Bey in Lucas 2010: 169)

ma–ʿrafš kān mawgūd walla kānš

"I don't know if he was present or not."

Lucas points to some scholars claiming that the single *–š* is only a question marker while others claim that it is used for negative questions. Lucas (2010: 171), however, concludes as follows:

> The presence of *–š* without *ma* in Cairene is restricted to conditional and interrogative clauses. Where it is found in interrogative clauses it can either express negation or merely lend the question a "doubtful sense", whereas in conditionals it can only express negation.

Lucas also concludes from his analysis of usage of *–š* in Cairene "in questions and conditionals in Cairene is part of a much wider cross–dialectal phenomenon that is not restricted to varieties with bipartite negation. Hence it seems likely that this use of *–š* is prior to, and separate from, its grammaticalization as part of the bipartite construction" (ibid.:183).

I did observe the omission of *ma–* in one specific negative construction which is *ma–maʿīš ~ maʿīš*. It is, however, more likely that this is a case of ellipsis (Woidich 2006b: 23), and not an indication of stage 3 of Jespersen's Cycle.

According to van der Auwera (2010: 83–84) the omission of the first part of the discontinuous negative construction is not the only possibility for stage 3 of Jespersen's Cycle. He points to an example from mid twentieth century Belgian Brabantic Dutch where the negative construction can take a third negative element:

> Pas op dat ge *niet en* valt *nie*
> fit on that you NEG NEG fall NEG
> "Take care that you don't fall"

He further explains that more cases of tripling of negation have been found in the Lewo language, North Italian dialects and Kanyok, a Bantu language (ibid.: 84). Van der Auwera does not give any examples where the discontinuous negative construction is replaced by another element, a merger of a personal pronoun and the discontinuous negation, such as *miš/muš*.

On the other hand, when discussing non–verbal and existential negation, van der Auwera (ibid.: 94) points to Croft, who hypothesises a "negative–existential cycle in which a special negative existential form arises (A > B), comes to be used as a verbal negator (B > C), and then is supplemented by the positive existential predicate in its existential function, restoring a "regular" negative + existential construction (C > A)" (Croft 1991: 6).

Furthermore, when discussing the hypothesis which has been named Croft's Cycle, it appears that Miestamo (2005: 222) suggests that a negative copula may enter the same cycle as Croft describes for negative existentials:

> The fusion of a copula and a negative marker has been hypothesized to be behind the Proto–Uralic negative auxiliary. In the light of Croft's Cycle this would be a natural development and might provide a plausible scenario for the development of negative verbs in other languages too; the negative copular function has first extended its function to SN (change from B to C) and later lost its copular function (change from C to A).

In her article about pronouns in Cairene Arabic, Eid (1983: 205–206) argues that in sentences such as *illi saraʾ huwwa da* "The one who stole is this" and *irrāgil illi šatam huwwa ilmudarris* "The man who insulted is the teacher", the pronouns are "'copula pronouns' whose basic function is to separate the subject of an equational sentence from its predicate". Furthermore, as seen in 2.3.1.2, Brustad (2000) describes pronouns negated by *ma─š* as "the negative copula".

With regard to Croft's Cycle, it would be interesting to attempt to apply this hypothesis to the development of negation in Cairene Arabic, by exchanging the existential construction for the "copula pronouns" *huwwa* and *hiyya*. Croft divides his "cycle" into four types or stages. Type A describes a stage where "there is no special existential negative form, and the negative existential construction is the positive existential predicate plus the ordinary verbal negator" (Croft 1991: 6–7). If we were to operate with the copula pronouns *huwwa* and *hiyya*, Croft's Type A would be the stage where the negative copula form consists of the positive copula pronouns *huwwa* and *hiyya*, negated by the ordinary verbal negation marker *ma*. This negation marker developed at one stage as according to Jespersen's Cycle to a discontinuous negation marker when *–š* from *šayʾ* "thing" was added c.f. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2. Using Eid's (1983) example as seen above, stage A could be: *irrāgil illi šatam ma–huwwāš ilmudarris*.

"In the synchronically variable stage A~B, a special existential form, usually but not always a contraction or fusion of the verbal negator and the positive existential form, is found in addition to regular existential negative form" (Croft 1991: 7). As was mentioned in 2.1.2, several grammars point to the fact that *muš* and *miš* are derived from *ma–huwwāš* and *ma–hiyyāš*, which means that the special copula pronoun form could apply to *muš/miš*, a fusion of the verbal negator and the positive copula pronoun form.

In Croft's Type B, "there is only a special negative existential form" (ibid.: 9). If this were to apply to Cairene Arabic, *muš/miš* would be the only negative copula form, which is not the case as *ma–huwwāš* and *ma–hiyyāš* are still used. However, as discussed in 2.3.1.2, discontinuous negation of personal pronouns has apparently acquired a specific function over time, and is now used emphatically. Example: *irrāgil illi šatam miš/muš ilmudarris – irrāgil illi šatam ma–huwwāš ilmudarris*.

According to Croft (1991: 9), the intermediate stage B > C involves that "a special negative existential begins to be used for ordinary verbal negation". He explains that the two negatives, the special negative existential and the verbal negator "may compete". In light of the descriptions and observations of negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs, the special negative copula *miš/muš* may be described as competing with the verbal negator *ma─š*. Example: *ana ma–baḥibbiš issamak – ana miš baḥibb issamak*.

Croft's Type C is a stage where "the negative existential form is the same as the ordinary verbal negator" (ibid.:11). For Cairene Arabic, we have seen that the verbal negator *ma─š* is used for negating perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs in unmarked usage. At the same time, it appears that *miš* may be used for negating *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs within certain speech groups and contexts. If the application area of the continuous *miš/muš* were to expand and begin to be used more widely for negation of these verb forms as well, one could suggest that Cairene Arabic was evolving towards Type C of Croft's Cycle. A wider application of *miš/muš* for verbal negation has, as discussed in 4.5.5, been observed in the area of Šarʾiyya.

The motivation that Croft (1991: 13) gives for the existential negator replacing the ordinary verbal negator is, as has been seen for Jespersen's Cycle, emphasis, overuse and bleaching. Different pragmatic usages of the continuous negation marker *miš* with *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs were described in Chapter Two, of which one function is that it may be applied in "affective" utterances, c.f. 2.3.3.

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The last transition in Croft's Cycle is from Type C to Type A, "in which the negative–existential–cum–verbal–negator begins to be reanalysed as only a negator, and a regular positive existential verb comes to be used with it in the negative existential construction" (ibid.:12). In Cairene Arabic, this would imply *miš/muš*, which is reanalysed as only a negator, replacing *ma–huwwāš/ma–hiyyāš* and start to be used with the positive copula pronouns *huwwa* and *hiyya*. Example: *irrāgil illi šatam miš huwwa ilmudarris.*

Chapter Five: Summary and conclusion

This chapter gives a summary of Chapter Two to Four and seeks to provide a conclusion to the research questions:

Are we witnessing a change in progress in the distribution of the negation markers *miš* and *ma—š* in the Cairene dialect, and is the continuous marker *miš* expanding on behalf of the discontinuous *ma—š*?

The research question was based on Doss' observations of evolving usages of *miš* in Doss (2008). We also found Brustad (2000) mentioning the possibility of *miš* expanding on behalf of *ma—š*, referring to the fact that *ḥa*–imperfect verbs and active participles are negated by *miš* and the apparently increasing use of *miš* with *bi*–imperfect verbs.

5.1   Marked negation

In Chapter Two, we saw that *miš* can be used with all verb forms and prepositional phrases for marked usage expressing different pragmatic functions such as "metalinguistic negation", i.e. "a specialized use of the negative operator where it functions as a device for registering an objection to a preceding utterance on any ground other than its truth–conditional content" (Mughazy 2003: 1143). Other marked constructions are "contrastive negation", in which one negated and one positive fact stand in contrast to each other, "rhetorical questions" meaning "different uses of interrogative constructions where the speaker's intentions do not include eliciting new information" (Mughazy 2008a: 95) and "affective negation", where *miš* can be used to negate perfect and imperfect verbs in "affektischen Ausdrücken" (Woidich 1968: 57). My objective has been to investigate whether the new usages that have been observed might be classified as cases of these functions, or whether they are cases of unmarked negation and thereby represent new and expanding kinds of usage.

5.2 *bi*–imperfect verbs

In section 2.2.2.3, we saw that the reports about *miš* for negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs are varied: some grammars do not mention this option at all, while other grammars claim that when *miš* is used for negating a *bi*–imperfect verb, it is marked usage and has a specific function. A third group lists *miš* as an optional alternative to *ma—š*, and makes no mention of

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semantic or pragmatic differences. The earliest grammars, such as Spitta–Bey (1880) and Probst (1898), only give examples of *ma—š* negating *bi*–imperfect verbs, with no mention of *miš*. Later works, such as Woidich (1968), do report of *miš* negating *bi*–imperfect verbs, but in marked usage. Malina (1987) and Woidich (2006b) refer to the use of *miš* + *bi*–imperfect as a new tendency in the language. Abdel–Massih (1992 [1975]) says the use of *miš* or *ma—š* with *bi*–imperfect is optional, and Brustad (2000) notices cases of *miš* + *bi*–imperfect verbs which she describes as marked usage. In the most recent teaching manuals for Egyptian Arabic, such as Al–Tonsi et al. (2010) and Hegazi (2006), the two negation forms are apparently given as equal alternatives.

Usage of *miš* for *bi*–imperfect has been frequently observed, and some examples from novels, movies and social media show that *miš* may be used with *bi*–imperfect verbs to express pragmatic functions such as described above. On the other hand, examples from similar sources show apparently *miš* being used for negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs in unmarked usages, i.e. without any additional pragmatic function.

The judgments made by my informants showed that 12 of the informants negated at least one of the seven sentences with *bi*–imperfect verbs with *miš*, and three of these informants negated all seven sentences with *miš*. The informants who were asked reported that they did not see any clear distinction between *miš* and *ma—š* for negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs.

The diachronic change to be deducted from grammars, in addition to observations and judgments, seems to indicate that what Brustad (2000: 303) predicts in fact has taken place: "if /miš b–/ continues to spread, it may eventually lose its categorical status".

Doss (2008: 90) suggests that the fact that *miš* can be used in different syntactic (and pragmatic) environments with perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs may "yield the acceptance of the 'non standard' succession in other cases as well". The diachronic change which has been noticed may indicate that this is what has taken place in regard to *miš* + *bi*–imperfect; that it has gone through a process in which it initially was used for specific pragmatic functions, as the ones we have seen, and gradually lost its restriction to these specific functions, and also that its usage now is no longer marked or "non–standard".

Another aspect supporting the suggestion that *miš + bi*–imperfect is spreading is that it is reported to have been used mostly by women, c.f. 4.1.2. Among the informants I interviewed, the percentage of female speakers negating *bi*–imperfect verbs with *miš* was only 14 per cent higher than male speakers. This could mean that if its usage was initially favoured by female speakers, this variation has spread across the genders and is used by male speakers as well as female.

5.3 *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs

The two categories *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs are treated together in this chapter due to the similarities both in the description of negation in the grammars, and in the findings, for both verbal tenses. In Chapter Two we saw that there is agreement in the grammars that *ma—š* is used for negating *y*–imperfect verbs. The same applies to perfect verbs. The acceptability judgments made by 24 Cairene informants indicated an almost full agreement that in unmarked usage, application of *miš* with *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs is unacceptable. There were some exceptions to these judgments, to which I have considered tentative explanations, c.f. 4.2.1 and 4.3.1.

In light of the informants' judgments of unacceptability with regard to the example sentences they were given, it is reasonable to think that the usage of *miš* in the examples Doss (2008) gives is marked usage in pragmatic functions, and not unmarked sentences. However, her examples of new usage of *miš* are not given in context, and we have no information about intonation used when the sentences were uttered. If the sentence *miš tirmīhum* were uttered with a rising intonation, the meaning could be "shouldn't you/aren't you going to throw them?" instead of "don't throw them". Likewise, the sentence *miš istawa* "it didn't cook" could have been the rhetorical question "didn't it cook?". However, from the translations provided by Doss, it is clear that the sentences are not perceived as rhetorical. As the sentences are not given in their context, we cannot know whether they are followed by rectification clauses or whether they are preceded by an utterance which carries an implicata. Thus, it may be a possibility that some of these examples could have been cases of metalinguistic negation, in which the truth–functional material is not what is negated. They could also be cases of contrastive negation, in which the negated material stands in contrast to a positive fact. If, for instance, the sentence *miš yixallīha tištaġal* "he doesn't let her work" were followed by the rectification clause *da yišaggaʿha* "he encourages her", this would be a

case of metalinguistic negation in which the negated material is the lexical choice of *yixalli* and the implication which lies in "to let", thus non–truth functional. It is however difficult to imagine the pragmatic function of *miš* in the question *miš kalit lē?* "why didn't she eat?"

The feature of *miš* negating *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs was familiar to several of the Cairene informants, and a few of them admitted to using these structures. However, the informant's comments and perceptions about who might use such structures, as well as the community on Facebook, indicates that the usage of these constructions is stigmatised and not widely accepted.

5.4 Prepositional phrases

In Chapter Two we saw that there is inconsistency among the grammars with regard to what determines the distribution of negation markers in negation connected with prepositional phrases. Some claim that the semantic content determines which marker is used, and that when the prepositional phrase conveys a verbal meaning such as "to have", negation by *ma— š* is required. Likewise, when the prepositional phrase conveys the meaning "at", "with" etc., it is negated by *miš.* Others, among them Woidich (1968), claim that the sentence structure determines which negation marker should be used, and that when the sentence structure is predicate + subject, *ma—š* is used. When the structure is reversed, namely subject + predicate, *miš* is used.

The sentences given to informants for acceptability judgments contained the structure P+S, and the prepositional phrases conveyed verbal meanings such as in the example sentence *miš ʿandi raṣīd* "I don't have credit". The informants were also given three sentences in P+S structure, negated by both *miš* and *ma—š*, to which they were asked to make comparative judgments.

These judgments showed that *ma—š* is the preferred negation marker for prepositional phrases in P+S structure. However, five out of nine sentences containing *miš* received a higher score of acceptability than of unacceptability. The prepositions *ʿand*, *maʿa* and *wara* appeared to be more acceptable with *miš* than the preposition *li* and the existential *fī(h)*, according to my informants. Several informants did say that to use *ma—š* sounded more correct. However, their attitudes towards usage of *miš* with these structures appeared to be more positive than towards use of *miš* for negation of *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs, and

usages of *miš* with these prepositional phrases are not listed on the Facebook community in which non–standard usage of *miš* is criticised. We have also seen some examples of *miš* negating the preposition *maʿa* in prepositional phrases with P+S structure in literature, movies and other observed examples from natural speech.

5.5 Speech groups and contexts

Concerning the perceptions the informants and other speakers had about what kind of persons may use the non–standard constructions with *miš*, two groups stand out. I have labelled these "*banāt bititdallaʿ*" and "youth".

5.5.1 *banāt bititdallaʿ*

A great number of the informants as well as other consulted speakers mentioned non–standard usage of *miš* among *banāt bititdallaʿ*, and it was referred to as a very common phenomena. This particular way of speaking was also imitated in a movie where the character represents a relatively feminine man. Additionally, as we have seen in the translation of the word *itdallaʿ* in Badawi and Hinds (1986), one of the translations is "to behave or be treated like a spoiled child". Furthermore, it has been confirmed that this usage of *miš* occurs in Arabic child language. This may suggest that the usage in the context described as *banāt bititdallaʿ*, characterises girls imitating children's use of the negation particles in contexts where they are flirting or acting "sassy".

5.5.2 Youth

The other group that was associated with non–standard constructions with *miš* is youth. Non–standard usage of *miš* occurs, as already mentioned, in Arabic child language. In addition, although I did not personally observe it, several of my informants claimed to have noticed this feature among teenagers and young adults up to 20 years of age. In 1.3, "Language change", we saw Holmes (2008) admitting that a variant observed within one specific group is not necessarily indication of change in progress. As some informants claimed for this case, the form may be age–related, i.e. a feature that is lost when the speakers grow older. However, from the blog and community on Facebook, which we saw criticise the non–standard usage of

miš, it appears to be a new phenomenon, and not a feature that has been common among youth for a long period of time.

5.6 Tentative explanations

Doss' (2008) tentative explanations to the evolving usage of *miš* are 1) expansion of regional usage (Šarʾiyya), 2) development from double to single negation such as in French, and 3) the different syntactic environments in which the non–standard usage is permitted.

5.6.1 Expansion of regional usage

Doss (2008) suggests that the observations she made of non–standard usage of *miš* may be an expansion of the usage of negation markers in the area of Šarʾiyya, where Woidich (1979) has observed cases of *miš* for negation of perfect verbs. To explore this further, I made acceptability judgments in Zaʾazīʾ. Two out of three informants in Zaʾazīʾ judged the majority of the sentences containing non–standard usage of *miš* as acceptable. The negation marker *miš* was also observed for negation of perfect verbs, the existential *fī(h)*, and *y–*imperfect verbs, but the sentences with *y–*imperfect verbs which I observed were uttered by children only. As mentioned in 1.3, contact between speech groups from different geographical areas may motivate the spreading of a new form. It is reasonable to assume that Cairene speakers are in relatively frequent contact with speakers from the Šarʾiyya area, as one can easily commute between the two areas in less than half a day. Thus, it is plausible that a new form used in one of the two areas in mention may spread to the other area. However, one major motivation for contact–induced spread is the perception of prestige, something which indicates the unlikeliness that young Cairene speakers would adopt features from a smaller and less urban dialect such as the one of Šarʾiyya. This suggests that a potential change in progress in distribution of negation markers in Cairene dialect would not be due to contact, but separate from the development of negation in the dialect of Šarʾiyya.

5.6.2 From double to single negation

The second explanation Doss (2008) provides is the possibility of a change from double negation to single negation, as has taken place in French. The hypothesis of Jespersen's Cycle was looked at in Chapter One. In section 4.6, we saw that negation in the Cairene dialect has

reached what is described as stage two of Jespersen's Cycle and looked into the possible development of stage three of the cycle. According to this principle and the process that took place in French, stage three would be elision of the prefix *ma–*, not the spreading of another negation marker such as *miš*. Lucas (2010) showed that this is the case in the Palestinian dialect, but concluded that cases where only *–š* is used in the Cairene dialect do not represent stage three of Jespersen's Cycle, but is rather restricted to conditional and interrogative clauses and is part of a wider cross–dialectal phenomenon which applies to dialects without the bipartite negation as well.

Van der Auwera (2010) claims that the elision of the first part of the discontinuous negation marker is not the only possible turn the cycle may take, and shows to cases where a third negative marker is added to the bipartite negative construction. An alternative stage three of Jespersen's Cycle, in which the bipartite structure is replaced by a negative marker such as *miš/muš* is, however, not mentioned.

We have further seen that Croft (1991) describes a cycle in which a special negative existential construction becomes a regular verbal negator. This cycle was applied to negation in Cairene Arabic, although with the negative "copula pronouns" instead of the existential construction. This was done as an attempt to explore whether Croft's Cycle could be a possible explanation for a potential future expansion of the application area of the continuous negation marker *miš*. The attempt showed that if the Croft's Cycle can be applied, Cairene Arabic would at this moment correspond to Croft's intermediate stage B > C, which includes a stage where the special negative form "begins to be used for ordinary verbal negation" (Croft 1991: 9). The verbal negation in mention would refer to negation of *bi–*imperfect verbs, and if *miš* were to expand and be used instead of *ma—š* for negating perfect and *y–*imperfect verbs as well, this could correspond to Croft's stage C, in which the special negative form *miš* has become the verbal negator.

To explore this hypothesis further, it would be interesting to do a study of the available early literature written in the Cairene dialect in order to investigate the diachronic sequence in which *ma–huwwa* and *ma–hiyya* evolved into *miš* and *muš*.

5.6.3 Generalisation

The third tentative explanation provided by Doss (2008: 90) is that due to the fact that *miš* may be used to negate perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs in different environments, which have been treated here as metalinguistic negation, "affective" negation, contrastive negation and negation in rhetorical questions, it may be gradually accepted in other environments as well. If this is the process which has taken place in regard to negation of *bi*–imperfect verbs, one should not disregard the possibility of the process taking place in regard to perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs and prepositional phrases as well. In other terms, what would take place is generalisation of the grammatical function, where *miš*, which is used for negating *ḥa*–imperfect and now *bi*–imperfect verbs, would generalise further to comprise *y*–imperfect verbs, perfect verbs and quasi–verbs as well.

5.7 Change in progress?

In section 1.3, it was noted that language change starts with variation. If the usage of a new form develops parallel with the existing one, there is a possibility of language change in progress. If we were to place the different usages of *miš* within this line, it would mean that there may be a change in progress in regard to *miš* negating *bi*–imperfect verbs, because it is beginning to be used alongside the existing form *ma—š* in all functions, not limited to express pragmatic functions. Nevertheless, it has not taken over for the older form, and the change has therefore not gone to completion, c.f. 1.3.

The usage of *miš* with prepositional phrases containing certain prepositions may, as indicated by informants and observations, also be an alternative form. However, the evidence does not show that it has reached a level where the alternative form is used alongside the existing form *ma—š*, and it is therefore too early to say whether it is a possible change in progress.

miš negating *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs appears to be more complex. The majority of my informants did not consider it to be an acceptable alternative to *ma—š* in unmarked usage, only, however, in the mentioned pragmatic functions. Nevertheless, it appears that the usage may be an alternative form within certain speech groups or contexts: child language, among youth and *banāt bititdallaʿ* (in addition to foreigner talk). Non–standard usage of *miš* outside (as well as within) these speech groups and contexts seems to be stigmatised, at least according to some of my informants (of which all are young university students). To predict

whether *miš* will be applied to perfect and *y*–imperfect verbs, and whether it will spread from the mentioned speech groups and contexts to others and be regarded as acceptable, is an impossible task. We can therefore not conclude that *miš* + *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs or prepositional phrases in P+S structure is a change in progress, although we should be aware that this possibility is present.

Negation of personal pronouns has not been discussed as thoroughly as the different verb tenses and quasi–verbs. It is, however, mentioned by Doss (2008) as a support to the indication of that *miš* is spreading. As seen in section 2.3.1.2, it appears that negation of personal pronouns with *ma—š* used to be more common according to the earlier grammars, and that it now represents marked usage. Looking at this and *miš* + *bi*–imperfect, it is reasonable to say that the range of application of *miš* may be expanding on behalf of *ma—š*. It is, however, premature to claim that it will expand further at the expense of *ma—š* with *y*–imperfect and perfect verbs in unmarked usage in the Cairene dialect. Whether the usage will spread from the mentioned speech groups and become more widely applied, is a process which will be followed with keen interest in the future.

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http://www.facebook.com/pages/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%81%D8%B5%D9%8A%D9%84%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%89-%D8%A8%D8%AA%D9%82%D9%88%D9%84-%D9%85%D8%B4-%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%81-%D9%88-%D9%85%D8%B4-%D9%8A%D9%86%D9%81%D8%B9/170524439669517?sk=wall (entered 19.08.2011).

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Appendix: Questionnaire

<div dir="rtl">

<u>أرجوك أن تنفي الجمل التالية لو سمحت</u>

1 هو بيحب السمك

2 أنا باشرب شاي

3 أنا باشرب شاي كتير

4 إحنا بنتكلم إنجليزي مع بعض

5 هي بتروح المدرسة

6 أنا بشوفه دلوقتي

7 بشوفه يوم الحد

– ليه اختارت ____ و ماختارتش ____؟ إنت بتحس إنك لو استخدمت النفي التاني، بيغير معنى الجملة؟

<u>في رأي حضرتك إن الجمل التاليا مظبوطة؟</u>

1 مش تقول كده

2 مش ترجع متأخر

3 مش نروح بدري أحسن؟

4 مش تزعق فينا

5 مش ترميهم

6 مش تنزلي الشغل على طول

7 مش تخافي

8 مش تخلي في نفسك حاجة

9 مش يخليها تشتغل

10 مش ينفع (إن ننام في الشارع)

11 مش أقدر أشوفه دلوقتي

12 مش تسلمي؟

</div>

<u>في رأي حضرتك إن الجمل التاليا مظبوطة؟</u>

1 البنت مش راحت المدرسة

2 أنا مش شفت حاجة

3 مش كنا نتقابل بكرة؟

4 مش قابلته ليه؟

5 مش دخلت

6 دي مش عملت حاجة

7 مش استوى

8 مش كلت ليه؟

9 مش نمت بيها

10 مش كانت حتنضف

11 فتحتيه ولا مش فتحتيه؟

سمعت جمل زي دي أو استخدام "مش" مع فعل ماضي في أي مكان تاني في مصر؟

<u>حضرتك شايف في رأيك إن الجمل التاليا مظبوطة ؟ في فرق بين معنى الجملة الأولى و التانية؟ و بين التالتة و الرابعة؟ و بين الخمسة و الستة؟ ممكن تستعمل كل الجمل دي؟</u>

1محمد مش عنده كتاب   و   2 محمد ماعندوش كتاب

3 مش له أخ   و   4 ملوش أخ

5 مفيش حاجة معينة   و   6 مش فيه حاجة معينة

7 مش ليها منظر

8 مش عندي رصيد

9 دي الناس اللى مش عندها ضمير

10 مش عندي استعداد إن أنا أصالحها

11 مش عندي المبايل بتاعها

12 مش عندهم أرقام

13أنا مش ورايا حاجة بكرة

14مش معايا مفتاح

15مش فيه سبب محدد

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