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# Expansion and Reduction of Functionality in Secondary Grammaticalization: The Case of the Negative Laa in Rural Jordanian Arabic

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## Abstract

Secondary grammaticalization is commonly viewed as a process of expansion in functionality or morpho-phonological reduction. This paper investigates the secondary grammaticalization of the negative particle *laa* in Rural Jordanian Arabic. It demonstrates that *laa* in this vernacular variety is a case of secondary grammaticalization as expansion in functionality. It shows that *laa* acquired three functions, namely conditionality, warning and introducing a proposition. Further, the paper shows that the peculiarity of *laa* is that it exhibits reduction in functionality. More specifically, despite acquiring three new functions, it nevertheless lost its function as a negative particle in declarative sentences. Evidence for expansion and reduction is synchronic. From a cross-linguistic perspective, this implies that secondary grammaticalization as reduction is not necessarily morpho-phonological. It can also be functional/meaningful. Finally, this paper, consistent with Hopper (1991) and Smirnova (2015), argues with the proposal that a grammaticalization path can be non-linear, as divergence from the linear path is possible.

**Keywords**: Secondary Grammaticalization, Expansion and Reduction of Functionality, Negative Laa, Rural Jordanian Arabic, Non-Linear Grammaticalization Path.

## 1. Introduction

Grammaticalization is a type of language change that is cross-linguistically common. It is generally viewed as the process of grammar formation from lexical or grammatical source (Bybee et al. 1991; Narrog 2012). It typically occurs in paths and encompasses some sub-processes, such as desemanticization (or semantic bleaching). In the relevant literature, some researchers propose that grammaticalization should branch into two sub-types, primary and secondary (cf. Givón 1991; Traugott 2002; Waltereit 2011; Norde 2012, 2019; Smirnova 2015). Primary grammaticalization is viewed as the shift from the lexical domain to the functional/grammatical domain, such as the evolution of the Old English lexical verb of volition *willan* 'to want/to wish' and the Arabic motion verb *raaħ* 'went' to the modal verb *will* and the modal-like verb *raħ* that denote futurity (Tagliamonte et al. 2014; Jarad 2014).[1] This sub-type is generally characterized by the following sub-processes: (1) decategorization, which is the

shift from a major category into a minor category accompanying by loss of inflections (Hopper and Traugott 1993; Norde 2019) and (2) desemanticization (or semantic bleaching) which is the loss or reduction of the lexical meaning of an item. On the other hand, secondary grammaticalization does not target a lexical item. Its input is rather a grammatical(ized) element. Thus, the input of each sub-type is a main difference between them (Breban 2015).

Analogous to grammaticalization, it is also reported in the relevant literature that secondary grammaticalization should branch into two sub-types. The first sub-type is secondary grammaticalization as expansion in functionality. It is characterized with acquiring new grammatical meanings, such as the expansion in the functionality of the ability-denoting modal verb *can* in English, as in *he can speak two languages* to mean possibility, as in *it can be true* (Ziegeler 2011; Narrog 2012). The second sub-type of secondary grammaticalization is marked with non-trivial phonological and/or morphosyntactic reduction. This sub-type increases morphosyntactic bondedness, such as reducing *will* into the clitic *'ll* and reducing the adverbial *ħatta* into the pro-clitic *ta-* in Rural Jordanian Arabic (henceforth RJA) (Jaradat 2021).

The current paper provides a case of secondary grammaticalization as expansion in functionality from RJA. It investigates the grammaticalization and the interpretations of the functional item *laa*, which is a case of polysemy, in RJA. It demonstrates that the functionality of this particle in this vernacular Arabic variety was expanded, with no phonological or morphological reduction. More precisely, it acquired new functions, namely, conditional, warning-expressing and proposition-introducing function.

Moreover, the current paper provides an interesting observation: This particle indicates that secondary grammaticalization can also be accompanied by reduction in functionality, which is rare, to the best of the researcher's knowledge. It can no longer act as a negative particle in RJA, unlike in Standard Arabic (SA). Based on this observation, the peculiarity of the case of *laa* in RJA is that it involves both expansion and reduction in functionality in its path of grammaticalization. Additionally, this study, consistent with Hopper (1991) and Smirnova (2015), argues that a grammaticalization path is not always linear. Divergence away from the linear path is possible. Noteworthy is that evidence to the main claims of this paper is exclusively synchronic. Diachronic evidence to the expansion and reduction of the functionality of the particle *laa* is out of the scope of the current paper due to restrictions on data collection (i.e., the lack of written and oral data from RJA that are recorded at differnet temporal stages).

The outline of the current paper is as follows: Section 2 discusses secondary grammaticalization and its sub-types. Section 3 explores the interpretations (or functions) of *laa* in SA and RJA. The current study relies on a number of data sources including the intuition of the researcher as a native speaker of RJA and naturally occurring data elicited from Twitter and Facebook free speech and RJA television series. With respect to SA, data of this variety is collected from various Arabic grammar textbooks. In Section 4, it is argued that the secondary grammaticalization of *laa* comprises both expansion and reduction in functionality. Section 5 is the conclusion.

## 2. Secondary grammaticalization

In the relevant literature, it is reported that secondary grammaticalization can lead to expansion in the functionality of a grammatical item (Detges & Waltereit 2002; Kranich 2010; Waltereit 2011; Breban 2014, 2015) by assigning it a new function. For example, Heine (2003) proposes that it is common cross-linguistically that (a) present tense and imperfective markers are derived from progressive markers, and (b) epistemic modality markers are derived from markers of deontic modality and/or future and past tense markers (see Bybee, 1985; Bybee & Dahl 1989 for further discussions of the derivation of tense markers from aspect markers). Consider the following examples of secondary grammaticalization as expansion in functionality:

(1) a. The development of the vocative *ja:* to a disjunctive coordinator in positive bisyndetic construction (Jaradat 2021c) and the negative particle *maa* into a discourse linker (Jaradat 2021a) in RJA.

 b. The development of the English *-ly* that was originally used to form manner adverbs to a suffix that can form sentence adverbs (Killi 2015).

 c. The development of the auxiliary verb *dâštan* 'have' functioning primarily as a progressive aspect marker in durative situations, into a prospective marker with achievement verbs (Davari and Naghzguy-Kohan 2017).

On the other hand, secondary grammaticalization may result in increasing morphosyntactic bondedness and morphophonological reduction (Traugott 2002; Norde 2012, 2019; Jaradat 2021b). This occurs once a grammatical item undergoes further grammatical restrictions by changing its morphosyntactic status (e.g., from a free grammatical item into a clitic) through phonological reduction. This in turn makes the grammatical item that underwent secondary grammaticalization morpho-syntactically more dependent on its surroundings in the containing grammatical structure. For example, a pronoun in its full form, such as the Arabic 3rd person masculine pronoun *huwa* 'he', can stand alone in a sentence; however, its phonological reduction into the clitic *-hu* causes its submission to more structural restrictions. In other words, it cannot stand alone and must have a host, in *la-hu* 'to-him'.[2] Another case of secondary grammaticalization as reduction is the development of affixal determiner from free demonstrative in the Scandinavian languages (Börjars & Harries 2008, Norde 2019). Note that the output of secondary grammaticalization as reduction does not always lead to the development of items that are morpho-phonologically more contingent on the surrounding components. To illustrate, the secondary grammaticalization of *will* results in the emergence of the clitic *'ll*, whereas the secondary grammaticalization of *going to* into *gonna* keeps the output a free morpheme (Norde 2019).

This research paper demonstrates that the secondary grammaticalization of *laa* in RJA is a case of expansion in functionality. The significance of this paper is in proposing that secondary grammaticalization may involve functional reduction, in addition to functional expansion and morphosyntactic reduction.

## 3. Functions of *laa*

This section investigates the functions of *laa* in SA and RJA.

*3.1 Functions of the particle laa in Standard Arabic*

According to most Arab grammarians, the particle *laa* in SA has several types. They conventionalized these types based on the functions/interpretations of *laa*. First, if it rules out the occurrence of an event or action, as shown in (2a), it is a negating particle so-called *laa ʔal-naafijah* 'negative *laa*' in the Arabic literature.[3] On the other hand, if it prevents the occurrence of a certain event or action (i.e., the speaker is strongly asking the hearer not to do a certain action), as in (2b), it functions as a negative imperative particle (or according to Arab grammarians *laa ʔal-naahijah* 'forbidding *laa*').

(2)    a. *laa*         (*judʒiid-u*)       (*ʔudʒiid-u*)       *ʔal-sibaaħah*

        NEG         master.3SG.M-NOM     master.1SG-NOM     DEF-swimming

        '(He) (I) cannot swim.'

        b. *laa*    *tasbaħ*

        NEG    2.SG-swim.M

        'Do not swim!'

Both types of *laa* precede imperfective verbs. Nevertheless, the imperative *laa* can only be combined with 2nd person inflected imperfective verbs, as shown in (2b), unlike the negative *laa* which can be followed by any imperfective verb regardless of its person inflection (1st, 2nd or 3rd person), as exemplified in (3).

(3)    a. *ʔana laa*   *ʔasbaħ*

       NEG  NEG   1.SG-swim

       'I don't swim.'

       b. *ʔanta laa*   *tasbaħ*

        you         NEG   2.SG-swim.M

       'You do not swim.'

       c. *huwa laa*   *jasbaħ*

        he          NEG   swim.3SG.M

       'He does not swim.'

Moreover, the negating *laa* branches into two sub-types. The first sub-type, so-called *naafijah l-il-dʒins* 'kind negating' among Arabic grammarians, rules out the possibility that any member of a kind did a certain action. As shown in (4a), kind-negating *laa* indicates that none of the students is at school. This type of negation is also known as absolute negation (Ryding 2005). Note that kind/absolute negating *laa* must be followed by a nominal whose case is accusative. On the other hand, the second sub-type is called *naafijah l-il-wiħdah* 'member-negating'. It denotes that there is no single member did a certain action or has a certain description. As shown in (4b), member-negating *laa* indicates that there is more than one student in the school (at least two). Syntactically, member-negating *laa* leaves its following nominal in the nominative case, as in (4b).

(4)       a. *laa*     *tˁaalib-a-n*          *f-il-madrasat-i*

              NEG     student-ACC-INDEF     in-DEF-school-GEN

              'There isn't any student in the school.'

       b. *laa*     *tˁaalib-u-n*          *f-il-madrasat-i*

              NEG     student-NOM-INDEF     in-DEF-school-GEN

              Intended: 'There is more than one student in the school.'

Further, *laa* can act as a disjunctive coordinator. For example, *laa* in (5a), as a disjunctive coordinator, combines the two nominal conjuncts, *ʔal-fiizjaaʔ-a* 'Physics' and *ʔal-handasat-a* 'engineering'. It is a coordinator that has a negative sense. It denotes that the second conjunct is excluded (e.g., the speaker in (5a) will not study engineering). Evidence for this coordinating function of *laa* comes from structural case copying in the context of coordination by *laa*. To illustrate, the accusative case of the first disjunct, which is the object of the transitive verb *ʔadrus-u* is copied to the right edge of the second conjunct. Consequently, assigning the nominative case to the second conjunct in (5b) renders the structure ungrammatical.

(5)       a. *sa-ʔadrus-u*          *ʔal-fiizjaaʔ-a*   *laa*     *ʔal-handasat-a*

              FUT-study.1.SG-NOM  DEF-physics-ACC  NEG     DEF-engineering-ACC

              'I will study physics but not engineering.'

       b. *sa-ʔadrus-u*          *ʔal-fiizjaaʔ-a*   *laa*     *ʔal-handasat-*u*

              FUT-study.1.SG-NOM  DEF-physics-ACC  NEG     DEF-engineering-*NOM

In this sub-section, it has been demonstrated that *laa* is a case of polysemy in SA. It can be a negative particle in declarative sentences, negative imperative particle or disjunctive coordinator.


### 3.2 Functions of laa in Rural Jordanian Arabic

It has just been reported that in SA *laa* can rule out the occurrence of an event or action in a declarative sentence, and it can act as a negative imperative particle. In RJA, *laa* can only perform the second function. Therefore, the structure in (6a) is grammatical in RJA, as *laa* is a negative imperative particle, whereas the structure in (6b) is unattested in this dialect, as *laa* cannot act as negative particle in declarative sentences.

(6)       a. *laa*     *tiħki*

              NEG     talk.2SG.M

              'Don't talk!'

       b. *sami*  *laa*    *jidrus*

              Sami          NEG    study.3SG.M

              Intended: 'Sami does not study (or is not studying).'

Alternatively, RJA uses the negative particle *maa* to rule out the occurrence of an event/action, as shown in (7).[4]

(7)       *sami*    *maa*    *bidrus*

Sami    NEG    study.3SG.M

'Sami does not study (or is not studying).'

With regard to the disjunctive *laa* in RJA, it is not attested in the structure in (8). Instead, the negative functional item *miʃ* 'not' is typically used in this exact context:

(8)    *badrus    fiizja        \*laa/miʃ handaseh*

Study.1SG        Physics    NEG            enginering

'I study physics not engineering.'

However, this disjunctive use of *laa* can only surface in the structure in (9). In this structure, which should be considered a negative bisyndetic coordinating construction, *laa* repeats at the left of each conjunct, yet it undergoes vowel reduction and fusion with the conjunction *ʔu* 'and' at the left of the second conjunct producing *wala*. This entails that RJA did not lose the disjunctive function of *jaa*, but its use as a disjunctive coordinator is restricted in the current form of this variety.

(9)    *laa    bisoolif, wa-la        bixalli        ħada    jsoolif*

NEG    talk.3SG.M    and-NEG        allow.2SG.M    one    talk.3SG.M

Intended: 'He neither talks nor allows anybody to talk.'

In the remainder of this section, the interpretations (or sub-types) of *laa* that are attested in RJA, but not in SA, are discussed.

### 3.2.1 Conditional laa

The first sub-type of *laa* that exists in RJA, but not in SA, is the conditional *laa*. As exemplified in (10), *laa* is somehow equivalent to the common conditional particle in Arabic *ʔiða* 'if'; however, it is closer in denotation to the English conditional *once* or *when*, as seen in the translations in (10). As observed in the examples in (10), the conditional clause headed by *laa* is typically located in sentence-internal position (i.e., the conditional clause comes last). Furthermore, the conditional *laa* is exclusively compatible with perfective verbs, such as *ʃuft* 'saw' in (10).

(10)    a. *taʕaal        la-hoon, laa    ʃuft-ni        rafaʕit        ʔiidi*

Come.2SG.M    to-here,  once    saw-1SG        raise.PST.1SG    hand.1SG.POSS

'Once you see me raising my hand, come here.'

b. *soolif,        laa    ʃufit-ni    xallasʕit*

talk.2SG.M,        once    saw-1SG        finish.PST.1SG

'Once I finish talking, you may talk.'

c. *ʔabuu-h        badd-u jiʃtarii-l-u        sajjaarah, laa*

father-3SG.M.POSS        want-3.SG.M    buy-to-3.SG.M    car,        once

*nidʒiħ*

succeeded.PST.3SG.M

'His father will buy him a car when he passes (his exams).'

It is worth discussing here how the conditional *laa* and *ʔiða* in RJA are different in terms of use and denotation. First, the conditional *laa* expresses certainty. This entails that the speaker is certain that the

action or event expressed by the verb following the conditional *laa* will happen. For instance, the use of *laa* in (10c) indicates that the speaker is certain that the father will buy a car to his son once he graduates.

On the other hand, the conditional clause headed by *ʔiða* typically expresses uncertainty (or possibility). The replacement of *laa* with *ʔiða* in (10c) implies that the speaker is not certain whether the son will graduate or not. Likewise, the use of *ʔiða* in (11) indicates that it is not necessary that the speaker will raise his hand, unlike the use of *laa*, which signifies certainty.

(11)     *taʕaal*        *la-hoon, ʔiða/laa        ʃuft-ni        rafaʕit*

        Come.2SG.M        to-here,    if/once  see-1SG raise.PST.1SG

        *ʔiidi*

        hand.1SG.POSS

        'Come here if you see me raising my hand.'

Another point of difference is that the conditional *laa* is exclusively a property of temporally conditioned contexts. To illustrate, all the conditionals in (10), which are headed by the conditional *laa*, are temporal conditionals; that is, the occurrence of the action or event of the independent clause is conditioned by the time of the occurrence of the action or event of the conditional clause. Based on this discussion, conditional *laa* is incompatible with conditional sentences that comment, for example, on truth condition. In (12), the occurrence of conditional *laa* is unattested in RJA as the containing conditional clause questions the truth condition of certain news. This context is compatible with the conditional *ʔiða*.

(12)     *\*laa/ʔiða*        *ʔil-xabar*        *ha*ð        *sˤaħiiħ, laazim*        *ʔil-kull*

        once/if        DEF-news        this        true,        obligatory        DEF-all *juuxuð*

*ʔil-matˤʕuum*        *b-agrab wagit*

        take        DEF-vaccine        in-closest        time

        Intended: 'if what you have said is true, all must take the vaccine very soon'.

To wrap up, *laa* is a conditional particle that denotes certainty and is restricted in use in RJA, i.e., it is a temporal conditional particle that is somehow equivalent to English *once*, unlike *ʔiða* that cannot guarantee the occurrence of an action or event and can be used in conditionals that have varying denotations.

*3.2.2 Warning laa*

Earlier in this research paper, it has been shown that *laa* can be a negative imperative particle. In this case, it occupies imperative statement-initial position. In (13), *laa* follows another imperative statement *diir baalak* 'be careful', which is used to express general warning. In this example, an exclamation mark is located to the right of *diir baalak*, as this warning statement is independent from the following negative imperative statement headed by *laa*. Further, there should be a break (full pause) after *diir baalak*. If these conditions are met, the statement *laa tiksir ʔil-kaas* is a negative imperative statement that means that the speaker is commanding the hearer not to break the cup, and thus *laa* is a negative imperative particle.

(13)     *diir*          *baalak*!              *laa*     *tiksir*          *ʔil-kaas*!

    Turn on  thinking-2SG.M.POSS     NEG     break.2SG.M     DEF-cup

    Meaningful: 'Be careful! Don't break the cup!'

On the other hand, if *diir baalak* co-exists with *laa tiksir ʔil-kaas* in the same statement (i.e., no break between them), as shown in (14), *laa* is not a negative imperative particle, as it is not in imperative statement-initial position. It is rather warning particle embedded in the imperative statement headed by the imperative verb *diir*. Consider the translations in (13&14) to figure out the difference between the negative imperative *laa* and the warning *laa*.

(14)     *diir*          *baalak*                   *laa*     *tiksir*          *ʔil-kaas*

    Turn on  thinking-2SG.M.POSS     NEG     break.2SG.M     DEF-cup

    Meaningful: 'Be careful! You are about to break the cup unintentionally.'

Based on the previous discussion, the diagnostic that can distinguish between the negative imperative *laa* and the warning *laa*, is that the former must occupy an imperative statement-initial position. On the contrary, the latter can only appear in an imperative-statement-non-initial position (medial position).

Another piece of evidence supporting the proposal that *laa* can be a warning particle (not necessarily a negative imperative particle), is that this warning particle is compatible with declarative sentences. For exemplification, consider the presence of the copula-less declarative sentence *ana xaajif* to the left of *laa* in (15). In this case, the statement *laa laatiksir ʔil-kaas* is a declarative sentence embedded in the matrix clause *ana xaajif*. This implies that *laa* is not a (negative) imperative particle in this sentence, as it does not start an imperative statement. It is well documented that imperatives cannot be embedded in subordinate clauses (Katz and Postal 1964; Sadock and Zwicky 1985).[5] Therefore, it should be noted that if *laa* is a negative imperative particle, the copula-less sentence *ana xaajif* or *laa* should not be inserted, as they are incompatible in the same sentence.

(15)     *ʔana*     *xaajif*          *laa*     *tiksir*          *ʔil-kaas*

    I          afraid          NEG     break.2SG.M     DEF-cup

    'I am worried that you will unintentionally break the cup.'

It is worth highlighting here that the occurrence of a complementizer, such as *ʔinno* 'that' between the matrix clause and the embedded clause headed by the warning *laa* is ungrammatical, as shown in (16a). Only one of them can surface, as exemplified in (16b&c). Note that in (16b), *ʔinno* can be inflected for person (i.e., *ʔinn-ak* 'that-2SG.M').

(16)     *a. ʔana xaajif*     *ʔinno*          *laa*     *tiksir*          *ʔil-kaas*

    I               afraid     that          NEG     break.2SG.M     DEF-cup

    'I am worried that you will unintentionally break the cup.'

    b. *ana*     *xaajif*     *ʔinno*          *tiksir*          *ʔil-kaas*

    c. *ana*     *xaajif*     *laa*               *tiksir*          *ʔil-kaas*

This complementarity in distribution of the complementizer *ʔinno* and the warning *laa* implies that they occupy the same syntactic position. In other words, from a syntactic perspective they are two

manifestations of the head C of CP of the embedded conditional clause. However, it should be admitted here that the use of the complementizer *laa* is very restricted in comparison with that of *ʔinno*. *laa* is only used with matrix clauses that shows concern, such as *ʔana xaajif* and *ʔana galgaan* 'I am worried'. Hence, *laa* in this subsection has a warning denotation from a meaningful perspective, and syntactically speaking it is a complementizer in RJA.

The previous discussion implies that *laa* in RJA can be used to express warning, yet in this case it is not an imperative particle, as it can only occur in imperative statement-internal position or with in a declarative sentence (more specifically, within a relative clause).

### 3.2.3 Proposition-introducing laa

In addition to its conditional and warning function in RJA, *laa* as a case of polysemy, may introduce catch-up propositions. As shown in (17), the speaker is introducing a late assumption. More specifically, in the first sentence *ħakaali ʔinno mariiðˤ*, he thought that the employee told him that he is sick without any other intentions. However, in the second sentence, which starts with *laa*, the speaker is changing his mind. He assumes that the employee told him that he is sick as an indirectly request to leave. Yet, this assumption is not necessarily the intention of the employee. (17) *(Context: in company meeting, an employee has informed his manager that is sick, and the manager is thinking why the employee did so.)*

(17)     *ħakaali    ʔinno    mariiðˤ.    laa    jruuħ    baddu*
　　　　Said-to-1SG    that    sick.    NEG    AUX    need-3SG.M

　　　　*jiʕtaðir    ʕan    ʔil-ʔidʒtimaaʕ*
have excuse    about    DEF-meeting

'He told me that he is sick. Does that mean that he was trying to take a leave.'

The (catch-up) proposition-introducing *laa* is not compatible with all verbs. It can only be combined with auxiliary verbs, such as *jruuħ* in (17) and *jkuun* in (18&19). Further, the resulting structure in (17-19) is interrogative. In other words, the speaker is asking himself or hearers whether his proposition/assumption is true or not.

(18)     *maa    smiʕ-na    ʕanno    min    zamaan.    laa    jkuun    saafar*
　　　　NEG    hear-1PL    that    from    long time    NEG    is    travelled

　　　　*w    maa    gaal    la    ħada*
　　　　and    NEG    said    to    one

'We have not heard anything about him since a long time. Does that mean that he travelled without telling anyone?'

(19)     *miʃ    ʃaajif ħada    b-il-ʃaariʕ.    laa    jkuun    fiih    ħaðˤir*
　　　　NEG    see    one    in-DEF-company .    NEG    is    there    quarantine.

　　　　'There is no one in the company. Does this mean that the quarantine has started'.

If *laa* co-exists with a contentful verb, such as *jsaafir* 'travel' in (20), it is not to introduce a proposition. It is rather to expressing warning, as discussed in 3.2.2.

(20)    *maa*    *smiʕ-na*    *ʕanno*    *min*    *zamaan.*    *laa*    *jsaafir*

      NEG    hear-1PL       that    from    long time.    NEG    travel

      *w*    *maa*    *jguul*    *la*    *ħada*

      and    NEG    say    to    one

'We have not heard anything about him since a long time. Be careful! He may travel without telling anyone.'

A final remark is that the proposition-introducing *laa* is always optional. This implies that it can be omitted in the examples in (17-19).

## 4. Secondary grammaticalization of *laa* in Rural Jordanian Arabic

This section discusses the secondary grammaticalization of *laa* in RJA. In 4.1, I argue that *laa* is a case of reduction in functionality; that is, it lost its negating function within declarative sentences. On the other hand, it is presented as a case of expansion in functionality in 4.2, as it has gained three functions that are not attested in SA.

### *4.1. laa as a case of reduction in functionality*

In Section 3, it has been demonstrated that *laa* in RJA, akin to its use in SA, is a negative imperative particle. However, in this vernacular dialect it cannot perform the negating function in declarative sentences that is common in SA. In accord with that, I propose that *laa*, as a case of polysemy, has lost its negative function in declarative sentences in RJA, and the particle *maa* has taken over as the typical negating particle in declaratives. Hence, the use of *laa* in the declarative sentence in (21) is ungrammatical.

(21)    *maa*/*\*laa*    *badd-u*    *jiħki*

      NEG/*NEG    want-3SG.M    talk

      'He does not want to talk.'

What supports the proposal that *laa* had a negating function in RJA, but lost it gradually, is that, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, it can be used in one special construction in the current form of RJA, namely, disjunctive construction. In (22), and as shown in (12) above, *laa* is used as a negative particle to the left of each declarative conjunct. The observation that *laa* can only be a negative particle with declaratives in such a coordinating construction indicates that this function of *laa* is maintained in this context, and it was lost in the other context in RJA, which is simple declarative sentence involving no coordination.[6]

(22)    a. *laa*    *badd-u*    *jiħki,*    *wala*    *baddu*    *jismaʕ*

      NEG    want-3SG.M    talk,    and    want-3SG.M    listen

      'He wants neither to talk, nor to listen.'

      b. *laa*    *buuxuð, wala*    *biʕtʕi*

      neither    take,    nor    give

      Intended: 'it is too difficult to talk with him.'

Now, it is of great importance to elaborate on the structure in (22). It is obvious in the structure of these sentences that *laa* obligatorily occurs at the left of each conjunct. The deletion of one of them renders the sentences ungrammatical, as exemplified in the ungrammatical structures in (23).

(23)    a. *\*badd-u*         *jiħki,*     *wala*     *baddu*            *jismaʕ*

       want-3SG.M         talk,         and         want-3SG.M         listen

       'He wants neither to talk, nor to listen.'

       b. *\*laa badd-u*  *jiħki,*     *wa*     *baddu*            *jismaʕ*

       NEG     want-3SG.M         talk,         and         want-3SG.M         listen

       'He wants neither to talk, nor to listen.'

Based on this discussion, *laa* in the structures in (22) is an integral part of coordinating construction, especially after its fusion with the conjunction *ʔu* at the left of the second conjunct. Thus, the construction *laa X, wala Y*, which is very similar to the English negative bisyndetic coordinating structure *neither X, not Y*, should be rendered in Haspelmath's (2004, 2007) terms as a negative bisyndetic coordinating structure that requires the occurrence of *laa* at the left of each conjunct.

The previous argument shows that the negative *laa* in declarative sentences has not been completely abandoned or lost in the current form of RJA. It is still used in one special construction. This observation should be taken as synchronic evidence that supports the proposal that the negative function of *laa* was productively used in declarative sentences in an earlier form of RJA. Thus, the negative *laa* in RJA is a case of reduction in functionality. In other words, its use is restricted to one grammatical construction.

*4.2 laa as a case of expansion in functionality*

The main topic in this part is how *laa*, which is originally a negative particle, gained new functions in RJA. It can be conditional, warning and proposition-introducing. I argue below that the negative meaning, in a way or another, is partially maintained in *laa* when performing these functions. Hence, the meaning of the negative particle *laa* has not be totally bleached out. This explains why that there should be a path of secondary grammaticalization of this functional item. I propose that the conditional and warning *laa* are the output of the secondary grammaticalization of the negative imperative *laa*, whereas the proposition-introducing *laa* is the product of the secondary grammaticalization of the negative *laa* of declarative sentences.

With regard to the conditional *laa*, what supports its evolution from the negative imperative *laa* is the negative connotation and prohibition expressed by this particle. In (24), *laa* at the left edge of the conditional clause carries a negative meaning, which is temporary prohibition. It indicates that the hearer is not allowed to move until he gets the permission from the speaker by raising the speaker's hand.

(24)    a. *taʕaal*         *la-hoon, laa*     *ʃuft-ni*           *rafaʕit*           *ʔiidi*

       Come.2SG.M   to-here,  once       see-1SG raise.PST.1SG       hand.1SG.POSS

       'Once you see me raising my hand, come here!'

This explains why conditional *laa* is incompatible with the sentence in (25) in RJA. The cause of the ungrammaticality of *laa* in (25) is that the sentence does not denote prohibition. It only questions the truth condition of a certain news.

(25)  *\*laa/ʔiða*      *ʔil-xabar*      *hað*      *sˤaħiiħ, laazim*           *ʔil-kull*
        once/if           DEF-news        this       true,                  obligatory    DEF-all *juuxuð*

*ʔil-matˤˤuum*      *b-agrab wagit*
        take      DEF-vaccine    in-closest            time

        Intended: 'if what you have said is true, all must take the vaccine very soon'.

Likewise, the warning *laa* has been evolved from the negative imperative *laa*, as it also has a negative/prohibitive connotation. To illustrate, the intention of the speaker is to prevent the occurrence of a certain action or event. In (26), for instance, *laa* is warning not negative imperative; however, it indicates that the speaker does not want the hearer to break the cup unintentionally.

(26)  *diir*            *baalak*                         *laa*      *tiksir*         *ʔil-kaas*
        Turn on  thinking-2SG.M.POSS    NEG     break.2SG.M    DEF-cup

        Meaningful: 'Be careful! You are unintentionally about to break the cup.'

With respect to the proposition-introducing function of *laa*, it should have been developed from the negative *laa* of declarative sentences (the one that negates the occurrence of an action or event). As shown in (27), the sentence that begins with the proposition-introducing *laa* indicates that the speaker has changed his mind. He thought there is no any hidden message when one of the employees told him that he is sick. Then, he realized that the employee, may be, wanted to take a leave. This implies that this *laa* still has a negative meaning in this context. More precisely, the speaker is ruling out or suspecting his first thought (that there are no hidden messages) and replacing with another thought (that the employee is indirectly asking for a leave). More generally, this *laa* negates a certain idea/proposition, and this is very similar to the function of the negative *laa* that negates the occurrence of an action or event. It does not denote any prohibition or prevention, and thus the negative *laa* (the non-imperative one) should be the source of the secondary grammaticalization of the proposition-introducing *laa*.

(27)  *ħakaali ʔinno*   *mariiðˤ. laa*   *jruuħ*   *baddu*
        Said-to-1SG      that      sick.    NEG    AUX     need-3SG.M

*jiʕtaðir ʕan*        *ʔil-ʔidʒtimaaʕ*
        have excuse       about    DEF-meeting

        'He told me that he is sick. Does that mean that he was trying to take a leave.'

The previous discussion entails that all the new functions that *laa* acquired in RJA are linked to its most common functions (i.e., negation and prohibition). Since the three functions discussed above are not found in SA, I assume that the acquisition of these three functions is a case of secondary grammaticalization as expansion in functionality without being accompanied by morpho-phonological reduction.

Furthermore, consistent with Smirnova (2015) and Hopper (1991) I propose that the grammaticalization path of *laa* in RJA is non-linear it is branching, as exemplified in (29) below. First, I
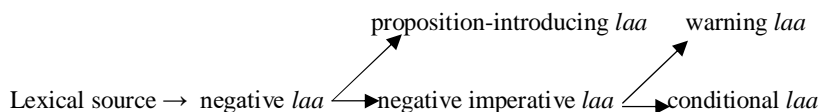
suggest that *laa* might have a lexical source that is still anonymous. From this lexical source, the negative *laa* with declarative sentences evolved first, and then the negative imperative type developed. What supports this claim is that the former in some Arabic varieties (e.g., SA) is compatible with verbs inflected for any sub-types of person (i.e., 1st, 2nd and 3rd person), as shown in the SA sentence in (28).

(28)    a. *ʔana laa    ʔatʕab*

        I          NEG    tired

    'I do not get tired.'

    b. *ʔanta laa    tatʕab*

        You       NEG    tired

    'You do not get tired.'

    c. *hua*         *laa*    *jitʕab*

        he         NEG    tired

    'He does not get tired.'

On the other hand, the negative imperative *laa* is only compatible with verbs inflected for the 2nd person (the hearer). The restricted use of the negative imperative *laa* should imply that the original grammatical meaning of *laa* is to negate the occurrence of an action or event, and then the negative imperative function was acquired:

(29)

<br>

proposition-introducing *laa*    warning *laa*

Lexical source → negative *laa* ——→negative imperative *laa* ——→conditional *laa*

<br>

Then, the negative imperative *laa* acquired the conditional and warning functions in RJA, and the proposition-introducing *laa* is evolved from the negative *laa*, which is currently very restricted in use this variety. The grammaticalization non-linear path in (29) implies that there a grammaticalization path can be non-linear, as secondary grammaticalization may split (in Hopper's (1991) terms). In (29), divergence from the linear path occurred twice.

## 5. Conclusion

Secondary grammaticalization is viewed as a process of expansion in functionality (Givón 1991; Detges & Waltereit 2002; Kranich 2008, 2010; Waltereit 2011; Breban 2014, 2015) or morpho-phonological reduction (Traugott 2002; Norde 2012, 2019). This paper has shown that the secondary grammaticalization of the negative particle *laa* in RJA is a case of secondary grammaticalization as expansion in functionality. It shows that this item acquired three functions, namely conditionality, warning and proposition introducing. Further, it has also been demonstrated in this paper that the case of *laa* in this dialect is peculiar, as it is also characterized by reduction in functionality, which is not common cross-linguistically. More specifically, despite its acquisition to three new functions, it lost its

function as a negative particle that negates the occurrence of an action or event in declarative sentences. On this basis, the reduction of secondary grammaticalization is not necessarily morphosyntactic and phonological. It can also be functional/meaningful.

**التقعيد الثّانويّ بَيْن التَّوسُّع والتقلص الوظيفي: لاالنَّافِيَةَ مِثَالًا**

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**الملخص**

يُقدَّم التقعيد الثانوي على أنّه توسُّع في الوظيفة أو تقليصٌ في الشكل الصوتي والصرفي كما بدا من الدراسات السابقة، أما في هذه الدراسة فقد حُلِّلَ التقعيد الثانوي لأداة النفي "لا" في اللهجة المحكيّة الأردنيّة، وقد تَبَيَّنَ أنّ هذا التقعيدَ يَشْتَمِلُ على نَوْعين من التطوُّر، وهما التوسُّع والتقليص في الوظيفة، أمَّا التوسُّعُ الوظيفي، فقد اكتسَبَتْ هذه الأداة في اللهجة الأردنيّة وظائفَ شرطيّة وتحذيريّة واستهلاليّة، وأمَّا ما يُمَيِّزُ هذه الأداة، فهو فقدانها وظيفة النفي في الجمل الخبريّة في هذه اللهجة، ويشير هذا إلى أنّ التقعيد الثانوي ليس صوتيّاً وصرفيّاً في كل اللغات بالضرورة من حيث التقليص، إذ إنَّهُ يمكن أن يكون تقليصاً وظيفيّاً ودلاليّاً. وتشير هذه الدراسة إلى أنّ التَّقْعيدَ ليس تطوراً تاريخيّاً خطّيّاً بالضرورة، إذْ إنّه من الممكن أن يكون تشعبيّاً كما هو الحال في المسار التاريخي المقترح لأداة النفي "لا" في هذه الدراسة بما يتَّسق مع دراسة (1991) Hopper و(2015) Smirnova.

**الكلمات المفتاحيّة:** التقعيد الثانوي، التّوسُّع والتقليص الوظيفيّ، مسار التقعيد التشعُّبيّ.

## Endnotes

[1] Another prominent example of primary grammaticalization is the development of the Old English verbs *cunnan* and *magan* that used to denote ability to the modal verbs *can* and *may* that mean permission (Véliz Campos 2007: 217).

[2] Another example on secondary grammaticalization as reduction in RJA is the reduction of the polysemous *hatta* into the proclitic *ta-* (Jaradat 2021).

[3] See Shlonsky (1997), Benmamoun, (2000) and Ouhalla & Shlonsky (2002) for more detail of negation and negative elements in Arabic.

[4] It is worth noting here is that the particle *maa* in RJA can be used as an alternative to the prohibiting *laa*:

> *a. maa     tiħki*
>   NEG     talk.2SG.M
>   'Don't talk.'

[5] See Kruger (2012) for further details of the exceptional cases where imperatives can be subordinated.

[6] Note that the use of *laa* in (22) is optional, as it can be substituted with the negating *maa*.

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