

Sentential Negation Marking in Palestinian and Moroccan Arabic

A Study in Comparative Morphosyntax

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1 Introduction

This paper is a comparison of negation marking in indicative clauses in the Palestinian and Moroccan dialects of Arabic. These two dialects use nearly homophonous negation morphemes which have a superficially similar distribution, but which turn out to differ in important ways.

In Section 2 (p.3) I compare the morphological constraints that characterize negation in the two dialects, first noting what they have in common, and moving on to differences. In 2.1 (p.6) I look at negation morphology in Palestinian Arabic in detail, and then turn to a comparison with Moroccan in 2.2 (p.9). Then in Section 3 (p.12) I turn to the positioning of negation within the clause, first for Palestinian in 3.1 (p.12), and then Moroccan in 3.2 (p.22).

The general conclusion that I reach is that the constraints on the expression and positioning of negation morphology in Palestinian Arabic are largely prosodic, having to do with stress and position relative to the edges of prosodic constituents. In Moroccan, by contrast, the expression of negation seems to be constrained much more in terms of syntactic and semantic factors such as the categorial function that an expression plays in the clause, and the kind of interpretation that it has with respect to negation.

The implication of the study is that although the negation morphemes in Palestinian and Moroccan come from the same etymological source, they have been grammaticized in surprisingly different ways in the two dialects.

1.1 A note on data and transcription

Most of the Palestinian Arabic examples are from the Bir Zeit dialect of *Rural Palestinian Arabic* as depicted in Schmidt & Kahle (1918) and Schmidt & Kahle (1930)¹. Elicited data are from speakers

¹The term *Rural Palestinian Arabic* (Younes 1982, Younes 1984, Awwad 1987, Herzallah 1990, Younes 1993, Younes 1994, Younes 1995, Shahin 1995) has been used to describe varieties of Arabic spoken in rural communities

of Rural Palestinian dialects spoken in the rural areas outside of Nablus and Jenin. These dialects seem to be very close to the Bir Zeit dialect in most respects, although there are some differences in pronunciation, particularly with respect to the vowels in pronouns.

A note on transcription conventions is in order. While I have generally retained the original transcription given in Schmidt & Kahle (1918) and Schmidt & Kahle (1930), there are several ways in which I depart from them.

Schmidt & Kahle distinguish between the characters <ḏ>, <ḏ̤>, and <ẓ> in their transcription, but note in the introduction of Schmidt & Kahle (1918) that these are not distinct in pronunciation, but rather are all pronounced as the voiced pharyngealized alveolar fricative [ḏ]: “I have distinguished between <ḏ> and <ḏ̤> in the transcription in order for it to be possible to recognize the original word, but in pronunciation there is no difference” (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, p.48*). Accordingly, I have substituted [ḏ] for all instances of [ḏ] and [ẓ] in the examples.

Schmidt & Kahle use two different characters in the two editions to represent the voiceless uvular fricative [χ]; for the sake of consistency I have used the character <χ> to represent this sound. Next the reader should note that <ḵ> and <k> are not distinct: both represent a voiceless velar stop [k]. Schmidt & Kahle use the under-dot convention in order to convey that they represent distinct phonemes corresponding to Classical Arabic [q] and [k].

Lastly, Schmidt & Kahle use two separate symbols for representing vowel length in the texts: a “caret” < ^ >, and a macron < ¯ >. The caret indicates a length mark provided by Jirius Abu Yusif, the Bir Zeit native who assisted Schmidt in his fieldwork, while the macron indicates length which Schmidt added himself where he apparently thought that Abu Yusif should have included it or to indicate unpronounced phonemic length.

The reader should also be aware that the transcription conventions that Schmidt & Kahle use are partially phonemic and partially morphemic, meaning that in some instances, they indicate sounds in the text which are not pronounced. The most common of these is a [h] representing the 3rd-person-masculine singular clitic pronoun. Following vowels, this is not pronounced but rather is expressed through vowel length. However, Schmidt & Kahle include it apparently to make clear that there is a pronoun morpheme.

Elicited examples of Palestinian Arabic are given in phonetic characters following the APA (Americanist Phonetic Alphabet) conventions, and represent my informal impressions of speakers’ pronunciation. Also, I have used the “†” symbol to indicate expression (either individual words or whole phrases) which are not attested, but which are expected to have the form given. In the case of phrasal expressions, they are marked as unattested to indicate that at the time of writing I had not had the opportunity to elicit judgements from a native speaker about them.

The Moroccan data are from published sources and in a few cases from the internet. The

of the northern portion of the West Bank, roughly from Jerusalem in the south to Jenin in the north.

reader will notice great inconsistency in the transcription conventions. I have simply followed the conventions used by the source authors. Internet examples are given using Standard Arabic values for the characters. For descriptions of the sounds used in Moroccan, see Harrell (1962, 1965), Harrell & Sobelman (2004), and Brustad (2000)².

2 Negation Morphology

In both Palestinian and Moroccan Arabic, sentential negation is expressed by some combination of the affixal morphemes **ma**...**-sh**³:

(1) *Affixal Negation in Palestinian:*

- a. **uma** šāfhâš
and-not see.perf.3MS-cl3MS-neg
“He didn’t see her.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §36.2)
- b. **maḥadâš** biʔrífni miḥl mārati.
not-one.MS-neg indic-know.impef.3MS-cl1S like wife-cl1S
“No one knows me like my wife.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §30.4)

(2) *Affixal Negation in Moroccan:*

- a. Omar **ma**-ktəb-š lə-bra.
Omar not-wrote.3MS-neg the-letter
“Omar didn’t write the letter.”
(Benmamoun 2000, p.81)
- b. **ma**-ġada-š tsafər.
not-fut.FS-neg travel.3FS
“She is not going to travel.”
(Benmamoun 2000, p.88)

The second mode of expressing negation has the **mâ**- and **-š** morphemes affixed to a pronominal stem. These have been referred to as the “pronouns of negation”, and consist of the **ma**...**š** morphemes attached to a personal pronoun. The pronouns of negation in the Bir Zeit dialect are as follows:

²For comments on interdialectal variation in Moroccan Arabic (in particular with regard to negation morphology), see Footnote 13 (p.24).

³The use of **mâ**...**-š** for expressing sentential negation is very widespread in the modern Arabic dialects. It is used in one way or another in all the North African dialect regions (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, Chad), as well as in most sedentary (urban and rural) dialects of Israel/Palestine and Jordan, in the Druze dialects spoken in Lebanon and Syria, and in the southern Arabian dialects (Yemen, Oman). However, aside from the Druze, sedentary dialects in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, the Gulf States, and Saudi Arabia use only the **mâ**- morpheme. The **-š** morpheme also does not seem to be much used in Bedouin dialects of the Middle-East and Gulf. For discussion, see Cowell (1964), Woidich (1968), Holes (1995), Brustad (2000), among others.

PERSON	GENDER	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1st		manîš , mâni	“I am not”	† <i>maḥnâš</i> , † <i>maḥna</i>	“we are not”
2nd	<i>masc</i>	mantîš , † <i>mantî</i>	“you [MS] are not”	† <i>mantûš</i> , mantu	“you [MP] are not”
	<i>fem</i>	mantîš , † <i>mantî</i>	“you [FS] are not”	† <i>mantinniš</i> , † <i>ma intin</i>	“you [FP] are not”
3rd	<i>masc</i>	† <i>mahûš</i> , ma hu	“he is not”	† <i>mahimmiš</i> , ma himm	“they [MP] are not”
	<i>fem</i>	mahîš , † <i>ma hi</i>	“she is not”	† <i>mahinniš</i> , † <i>ma hinn</i>	“they [FP] are not”

The negative pronouns are used with “non-verbal” predicates, including participles, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and nouns:

(3) *1st-person singular:*

- a. **umanîš** *ḳâdir asriḳ* *iši min dârak*.
not-pro.1S-neg able.MS steal.impef.1S thing from house-cl2MS
“I am not able to steal anything from your house.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §22.4)
- b. *wallâhi min ḳuddâm halmōḳâde* **mâni** *miṭḥalḥil*.
by-God from before this-hearth not-pro.1S be.moved.actpart.MS
“By God, from in front of this hearth I will not be moved.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §95.5)

(4) *2nd-person singular and plural:*

- a. *ḳâlle* *wâḥad ya ḥağğ mâlak?*
say.perf.3MS-to-cl3MS one.MS voc Hajj what-to-clSMS
[**mantîš** *ʕa-sawa-lyôm*; **mantîš** *imṣalli?*]
not-pro.2MS-neg at-weight-the-day not-pro.2MS-neg pray.actpart.MS
“One said to him ‘Hey Hajj, what’s wrong? You’re not yourself today; haven’t you prayed?’”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §58.2)
- b. *lammin čibru* *ḳâl* *ilwâlad: yâ yamma!*
when grow-up.perf.3MP say.perf.3MS the-boy voc mother
[*inti imbâiyin* **mantîš** *immi*].
you.2FS appear.actpart.MS not-pro.3FS-neg mother-cl1S
“When they had grown up, the boy said ‘Mother, it appears that you are not my mother.’”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §46.7)
- c. *ḳâl* **mantu** *dâr iššêḫ?*
say.perf.3MS not-pro.2MP house the-sheikh
“He said ‘aren’t you the house of the sheikh?’”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §51.13)

(5) *3rd-person singular and plural:*

- a. $\dot{k}\dot{a}l$: $\dot{b}iddi$ $\dot{a}ma\dot{s}\dot{s}i\dot{s}$ $il\dot{f}i\dot{g}le$,
 say.perf.3MS want-cl1S nurse.imperf.1S the-calf.FS
 [**ma $\dot{h}\dot{i}\dot{s}$** $\dot{m}istah\dot{d}ye$ $\dot{f}ala$ $\dot{b}izz$ $\dot{i}\dot{p}\dot{p}or$].
 not-pro.3FS-neg find-way.actpart.FS upon teat the-bull
 “He said ‘I want to nurse the calf, it isn’t finding it’s way to the bull’s teat.’”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §117.2)
- b. $\dot{h}\dot{a}\dot{d}\dot{a}$ **ma hu** $\dot{s}\dot{a}yif$ $il\dot{m}\dot{a}\dot{s}\dot{a}yib$.
 this.MS not pro.3MS see.actpart.MS the-catastrophes
 “He has never seen [any] catastrophe.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §62.3)
- c. $\dot{k}\dot{a}l$ $\dot{t}aiyib$, $\dot{h}alif\dot{d}aw\dot{i}ye$ $\dot{b}ir\dot{u}\dot{h}\dot{u}$ $\dot{f}assama$ $\dot{w}illa$ $\dot{f}a\dot{g}\dot{h}annam?$
 say.perf.3MS OK these-partisans indic-go.imperf.3MP to-the-heaven or to-hell
 $\dot{k}\dot{a}l$ $\dot{b}ir\dot{u}\dot{h}\dot{u}$ $\dot{f}assama$.
 say.perf.3MS indic-go.imperf.3MS to-the-heaven
 [$\dot{k}\dot{a}l$: $\dot{l}\dot{e}\dot{s}$, **ma himm** $\dot{h}ar\dot{a}m\dot{i}ye?$]
 say why not pro.3MP thieves
 “He said, ‘OK, these partisans, are they going to Heaven or to Hell?’ He [the other] said
 ‘they’re going to Heaven.’ He [the first] said ‘Why? Aren’t they thieves?’”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §61.5)

The pronouns of negation in Moroccan are as follows (Brustad 2000, p.296):

PERSON	GENDER	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st		mānīs “I am not”	māḥnās “we are not”
2nd	<i>masculine</i>	māntās “you are not”	māntumās “you [pl.] are not”
	<i>feminine</i>	māntīs “you are not”	
3rd	<i>masculine</i>	māhuwwās “he is not”	māhumās “they are not”
	<i>feminine</i>	māhyyās “she is not”	

(6) *Negative pronouns in Moroccan:*

- a. $\dot{m}\dot{a}n\dot{i}\dot{s}$ $\dot{m}\dot{a}n\dot{h}\dot{n}\dot{a}$.
 not-pro.1S-neg from-here
 “I’m not from here”
 (Brustad 2000, p.298)
- b. **ma-huwa-š** $\dot{h}\dot{n}\dot{a}$.
 not-pro.3MS-neg here
 “He is not here.”
 (Harrell & Sobelman 2004, p.153)
- c. **ma-ḥna-š** $\dot{d}rari$ $\dot{g}alsin$ $\dot{m}\dot{f}a-k$.
 not-pro.1P-neg children sitting.P with-cl2MS
 “We aren’t children sitting with you.”
 (Harrel 1962, p.155)

The last way of expressing negation has the **mâ-** and **-š** attached to each other, forming a single free morpheme which I refer to as a *negative auxiliary*:

(7) *Negative auxiliaries in Palestinian:*

- a. hâða **miš** mumkin.
 this.MS not possible.MS
 “This is not possible.”
 (*elicited data*)
- b. ilmara bâḳye mizūḳa
 the-woman.FS be.actpart.FS pretty.FS
 [uḡôzha **muš** imṭalliḳha].
 and-spouse.MS-cl3FS not divorce.actpart.MS-cl3FS
 “The woman was pretty and her spouse had not divorced her.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §31.2)
- c. uhaðôla **mâš** fârfât wên irúḥin.
 and-these not know.actpart.FP where go.imperf.3FP
 “And they didn’t know where to go.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §44.5)

(8) *Negative Auxiliaries in Moroccan:*

- a. **maši** ḥna.
 not here
 “[He] is not here.”
 (Harrell & Sobelman 2004, p.153)
- b. hiya **maši** mizyana.
 she.3FS not pretty.FS
 “She is not pretty.”
 (Harrell & Sobelman 2004, p.75)

In terms of the examples given so far the two dialects are quite similar in terms of the negation morphemes they use. However, once one starts to look more closely significant differences emerge.

2.1 Negation morphology in Palestinian Arabic

In Palestinian, either **mâ-** or **-š** can be omitted in certain contexts, showing that either morpheme is sufficient for expressing negation (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, Blau 1960, Awwad 1987):

(9) *With mâ- only:*

- a. ḳâl-ilbádawi: wallâhi **ma** bintâm fi baládċim!
 say.perf.3MS-the-bedu.MS by-God not sleep.pass.imperf.3MS in village-cl2MP
 “The Bedu said ‘By God, your village can’t be slept in’.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §24.6)

- b. hâḏa ʕumre **ma** hu šāyif ilmaṣāyib.
 this.MS ever-cl3MS not pro.cl3MS see.actpart.MS the-catastrophes
 “He has never seen catastrophe.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §62.3)

(10) *With -š only:*

- a. ḳâlat ana bihūn-lîš fik.
 say.perf.3FS I indic-neglect.imperf.1S-to-cl1S-neg in-cl2MS
 “She said ‘I will not neglect you.’”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §88.21)

- b. kâl ay hâḏi barrîye ubitʕîš laḥâlha
 said oh this.FS wild.FS and-indic-live.imperf.3FS to-self-cl3FS
 wilbistân hâḏa mitʕawwid ʕa-ssḳîye
 and-this-garden.MS this.MS accustomed.MS to-the-watering

[ubiḳdariš iʕîš bala ʕidme.]
 and-indic-be.able.imperf.3MS-neg live.imperf.3MS without service

“He said ‘Oh, it is wild and lives on its own, while this garden is accustomed to being watered and cannot live without being taken care of.’”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §72.14)

The factors which determine which is used seem to have to do with stress placement, intonation, and speaker choice (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, Blau 1960, Cowell 1964), but are to a large extent optional. The only context in which **ma-** seem to be obligatory is with verbs in the perfect stem (c.f. Awwad 1987), and there do not appear to be any contexts in which **-š** is obligatory.

For example, Schmidt & Kahle (1918) note that:

The negation particle frequently is augmented with **š** (a shortening from **šaiʔ** > **ši**). The **-š** is appended to verbs, to prepositions with a pronoun suffix when they have verbal force, to personal pronouns, and to **ḥada** “one” when it is the subject... Very often negation occurs in the texts without the appended **-š**, and in particular the **-š** is usually missing when sentential stress falls on the negation... there is always some nuance or other in the sentence, depending on whether the **-š** is present or absent. (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, p.93*)

In contrast, Blau (1960) claims that:

The negation **ma-** can be continued through **-š**, by means of it being appended to the word following **ma-**. Its introduction is always facultative... and appears (contrary to Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §29g) to express no particular nuance. In general, it appears that the addition of **-š** is more seldom after the y-imperfect and in particular after the b-imperfect than after the perfect. (Blau 1960, p.193)

The following table from Hoyt (2000) breaks down the all occurrences of negation with **ma-** in Schmidt & Kahle (1918) according to whether or not they include the **-š** morpheme:

“He said ‘didn’t I tell you not to speak?’”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §67.6)

It might be that the omission of **ma**- altogether developed from its reduction to **a**-, at least in front of verb stems or prefixes beginning with labial obstruents.

In sum, the expression of negation with **ma**- and **-š** in Palestinian Arabic is subject to a great deal of variation in terms of which of these morphemes are expressed, and the phonological form that they take. The fact that either can be used indicates that either is sufficient for the expression of negation, and which the speaker chooses seems to depend on largely prosodic factors.

2.2 Negation Morphology in Moroccan Arabic

Turning to Moroccan Arabic, **ma**- must always be present to express negation and the **-š** suffix is subject to strict distributional constraints. In particular, it is in complementary distribution with indefinite nouns (12-13) and polarity sensitive expressions including **ħadd** “anyone,” **ħammar** “ever” (14), **ħaġa** “anything,” **gaġ** “at all” (15) and others. As the (b) examples indicate, inclusion of **-š** is unacceptable:

- (12) a. **ma**-radd-l-i kəlma.
 not-answered.3MS-to-cl1S word
 “He didn’t answer me a word.”
 (Marçais 1977)
- b. ***ma**-radd-l-i-š kəlma.
 not-answered.3MS-to-cl1S-neg word
- (13) a. **ma**-žbeṛt flus.
 not-found.1S money
 “I didn’t find any money.”
 (Harrel 1962, p.154)
- b. ***ma**-žbeṛt-š flus.
 not-found.1S-neg money
- (14) a. ħəmmr-u **ma**-ža.
 ever-cl3MS not-came.3MS
 “He never came.”
 (Benmamoun 2000, p.73)
- b. *ħəmmr-u **ma**-ža-š.
 ever-cl3MS not-came.3MS-neg
- (15) a. gaġ **ma**-ta-tħrəž bərra.
 at-all not-asp-go.out.3FS outside
 “She doesn’t go outside at all.”
 (Marçais 1977,)
- b. *gaġ **ma**-ta-tħrəž-š bərra.
 at-all not-asp-go.out.3FS-neg outside

This extends to examples in which the meaning of an indefinite noun or negative polarity item is understood without it being expressed overtly, usually by means of a relative clause (16a-b) or a question-word (16c):

- (16) a. lli yʃawnk **ma**-kayn w-illi yəḥənn fi-k ma-kayn.
 rel help.3MS not-exists and-rel pity.3MS in-cl2MS not-exists
 “Who would help you does not exist, and who would take pity on you does not exist,”
 “There is no one to help and no one to take pity on you.”
 (Brustad 2000, p.307)
- b. **ma**-ʃnd-ək ma tʃuf.
 not-at-cl2MS what see.2MS
 “There’s that you would see,”
 “There’s nothing for you to see.”
 (Brustad 2000, p.308)
- c. **ma**-ḡadi fayn.
 not-going.MS anywhere
 “I’m not going anywhere.”
 (Harrel 1962, p.214)

What these sentences all have in common is that their interpretation entails negation of the existence of a class of objects relative to the situation, or to put it differently, they entail the emptiness of the of particular set of objects or eventualities denoted by the NPI or noun. Accordingly, the prohibition on using *-š* can be stated as follows (c.f. Ouhalla 1997*b*):

Generalization: Moroccan *-š* cannot be used in sentences in which the existence of an object as a member of a particular set is negated.

If there is no negative polarity item or other such expression, then the *-š* is obligatory:

- (17) a. ma-žbeṛt-š le-flus.
 not-find.perf.1S-neg the-money
 “I didn’t find the money.”
 (Harrel 1962, p.154)
- b. *ma-žbeṛt le-flus.
 not-find.perf.1S the-money

Likewise, the *-š* is obligatory in sentences in which an NPI or indefinite noun is understood elliptically, such as in fragment answers. For example, (18b) and (18c) are both answers to the question in (18a). (18b) includes an indefinite noun and as expected *-š* does not appear. However, (18c) and (18b) have equivalent meanings even though no noun is expressed, but *-š* is required:

- (18) (Harrel 1965, p.204)
- a. kaynin le-uqid?
 exist.P the-matches.P
 “Are there [any] matches?”

- b. la, ma-kaynin **wqid**.
no, not-exist.P matches
“No, there isn’t [any] matches.”
- c. la, ma-kayen-ṣ̌.
not not-exist.P-neg
“No there aren’t any.”

Given that (18b) and (18c) have equivalent meanings, the constraint on the appearance of -ṣ̌ cannot be attributed just to meaning. Instead, it seems to be a condition on the actual spoken syntax of the clause.

Therefore, the expression of negation in Moroccan Arabic is subject to a constraint which requires that the **ma-** morpheme be accompanied either by -ṣ̌, or by some expression which denotes a set of objects or eventualities.

The -ṣ̌ suffix itself is derived from the negative polarity item ṣ̌i “thing,” although as a suffix is no longer has an independent interpretation. Likewise, indefinite nouns have a polarity sensitive interpretation within negative sentences (1962, 2000). Accordingly, the constraint can be restated as follows:

Generalization:

In Moroccan Arabic, the **ma-** morpheme has to be augmented by an expression which is sensitive to negative polarity.

This is a fundamentally syntactic constraint, and one which seems to be fairly rigid, given the descriptions given in the quoted sources. This contrasts with the flexibility of the distribution of -ṣ̌ in Palestinian.

2.3 Summary

To summarize Section 2, although Palestinian and Moroccan use homophonous morphemes for expressing negation, how these morphemes are used differs in important ways between the two dialects:

- (19) a. In Palestinian, any permutation of **mâ-** and -ṣ̌ can be used to express negation, and which is used has to do with prosodic factors;
- b. In Moroccan, **ma-** must be used to express negation, and the distribution of -ṣ̌ is determined by syntactic and/or semantic factors.

In the next section, I describe differences in word order constraints on the negation morphemes in the two dialects. These show even more dramatic differences between the two dialects.

3 Negation morphology and word order

In addition to differing in terms of *when* the individual negation morphemes are expressed, Moroccan and Palestinian also differ in terms of where in the clausal word-order the negation morphemes can appear⁴.

3.1 Negation and word-order in Palestinian

In Palestinian, the negation morphemes are always affixed to the left-most *word-sized* stem in the *clausal constituent* (c.f. Awwad 1987). By “clausal constituent” I mean the subconstituent of a sentence which excludes *topicalized* and *focused* expressions. Topicalized expressions (which I indicate with a “T” in the diagrams below) are those which occur at the “left-edge” of the sentence and which bind a resumptive pronoun somewhere within the clause (indicated with a “C”). Focused expressions (indicated with an “F”) are those which occur at the left edge of the sentence (usually following topicalized elements) and which are not associated with a resumptive pronoun, but rather with a *gap* (missing constituent) elsewhere in the clausal constituent. They typically include fronted question words, prepositional phrases, or in some cases predicate phrases⁵

For example, in (20a) both **ana** “T” and **had-dîn** “this religion” are topics because each binds a pronominal expression within the bracketed constituent. In (20b), only **hâđi** “she, this woman” is a topic, while the subordinate clause **lemmin aḵfa řan ilhifte** “when he had gone a ways from the hole” appears to be focused:

- (20) a. **ana haddîn liřwağ ma** bidđi iyâh!
 I this-religion.MS the-crooked.MS not want-cl1S obj-cl3MS
 “[as for] me, this crooked religion, I don’t want it.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §)
- b. **hâđi** lammin aḵfa řan ilhifte, libsit-iřḵâl sminnha zalame
 this.FS when distance.perf.3MS from the-hole put-on.pef.3FS-headdress as.if-cl3FS man
 uitlaḅpamat.
 and-muffle.perf.3FS
 When he had gone off a ways, she put in an *iřḵâl* as if she were a man and covered her face.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, 38.20)

⁴In discussing the syntactic permutations of negation, I make reference to *constituents*, by which I mean discrete groupings of words which are acted upon as a unit by various rules or constraints. I do not assume any theory of syntactic grammar for this discussion, but I do assume it to be uncontroversial that Arabic sentences contain constituents, and that reference to constituents must be made in order to capture certain generalizations about the structure of an Arabic sentence. In order to refer to sub-sentential constituents clearly, I will include some very simple tree diagrams which merely show how the words are grouped together.

⁵I use the terms “topic” and “focus” following Bakir (1980) and Ouhalla (1997a). For detailed discussion of topics and foci in Standard Arabic see Khan (1988) and Abdul-Raof (1999). For discussion of topic, focus, and sentence type in the dialects see Brustad (2000).

In (21), the question word **mîn** and the predicate phrase **asraḵ minhîm** “more thievish than them” are focused but are interpreted as if they were in positions to the right of the negation:

(21) *Fronted constituents:*

- a. ḵâl lámme, yamma sâylîha inċân biddha titġáwwaz,
 say.perf.3MS to-mother-cl3MS voc-mother, ask.imperf-cl3FS if-that want-cl3FS marry.imperf.3FS

[**umîn** biddha tôχið.]
 and-who want-cl3FS take.imperf.3FS

“He said to his mother, ‘Mother, ask her if she wants to get married, and who she wants to take.’”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §38.9)

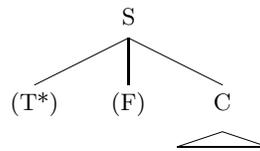
- b. haððla-nnawar [**asraḵ minhîm] ma fîš!**
 these-the-gypsies more-thievish from-cl3MP not expl-neg

“These gypsies, more thieves than them there is not!”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §20.2)

I assume that sentences in Palestinian Arabic have two “slots” or positions available for Topic and Focused constituents which precede the clausal constituent⁶:

(22)



The parentheses around “T” and “F” indicate that the Topic and Focused constituents need not always appear. The “Kleene Star” on “T” indicates that more than one Topic is possible (as in 20a above).

Returning to negation, the **mâ-** morpheme always follows topicalized (23) and focused (24) elements:

- (23) a. uḵaḵad hāðða yiřzim hannâs uiċill minhîm
 and-sit.perf.3MS this.MS invite.imperf.3MS these-people and-all from-cl3MP
 yiřmad minsaf illaḵim uirruzz
 go.straight.imperf.3MP plate the-meat and-the-rice

[uṭabχit halḵadas **ma** ḵadâš mōmi fîha.]
 and-the-dish these-lentils not one.MS-neg reach.actpart.MS in-cl3FS

“...and he began to invite these people and all of them went straight for the plate of meat and rice and the rice dish, no one was reaching for it.”

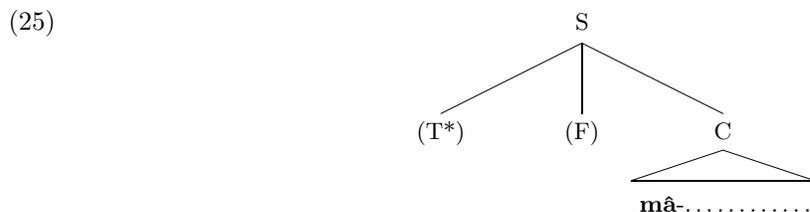
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §35.7)

- b. * **ma** ṭabχit halḵadas ḵada mōmi fîha.
 not dish these-lentils one.MS not reach.actpart.MS inc-3FS

⁶See Lalami (1996) for a similar generalization about Moroccan Arabic.

- (24) a. $\dot{\text{k}}\text{allha}$ $\dot{\text{g}}\text{ôzha}$ [**lêš** **ma** $\dot{\text{g}}\text{ibtîš}$ dist?]
 say.perf.3MS spouse.MS-cl3FS why not-bring.perf.2FS-neg kettle
 “Her husband said to her ‘why didn’t you bring a kettle?’”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §63.4)
- b. ***ma** **lêš** $\dot{\text{g}}\text{ibtîš}$ dist?
 not why bring.perf.2FS-neg kettle

This suggests that the **ma**- morpheme can be expressed no further to the left in the sentence than at the left-edge of the clausal constituent:



Based on this generalization, any particle which occurs to the left of negation is a Topic or Focus, and any constituent which occurs to its right is inside the clausal constituent.

There is, however, one complication with this generalization involving the distribution of **ma**- and the adverbial **ʕumr** “ever.” In clauses containing **ʕumr** negation can precede either on this particle or the following word⁷:

- (26) a. **ma**-ʕumr-i:-š šuft-u.
 not-ever-cl1S-neg see.perf.1S-cl3MS
 “‘I never saw him,’ ‘I have never seen him.’”
 (*Elicited datum*)
- b. ʕumr-i **ma**-šuft-u.
 ever-cl1S not-see.perf.1S-cl3MS
 “‘Same.’”
 (*Elitited datum*)

The question is whether **ʕumr** is in the same position in each of (26a-b) and therefore whether the negation morpheme is in different positions, or whether the negation is in the same position in each, and **ʕumr** is in different positions.

To address this question, consider that it is possible for a noun to come between **ʕumr** and negation⁸:

- (27) a. uintu bit $\hat{\text{k}}$ ulu **ʕumr**-ilmašâyib **ma** šâbatni.
 and-you.MP indic-say.imperf.2MP ever-the-catastrophes not hit.perf.3FS-cl1S
 “... and you all say ‘never have catastrophes struck me’.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §62.11)

⁷Woidich (1968, 54) reports the same for Egyptian Arabic.

⁸Woidich (1968, 54) reports that in Cairene Arabic, **ʕumr** can only be followed by a pronoun clitic.

- b. ʕaleiy ittalāk biḵbalâḵ uçill mâ ḥallat tiḥrim
 upon-cl1S the-divorce with-the-three and-every that be.allowed.perf.3FS be.forbidden.imperf.3FS
 inni lamîtak môte
 that-cl1S to-kill.imperf.1S-cl2MS death.FS

[illi **ʕumur** ḥada **ma** mâtha].
 rel ever one.MS not die.perf.3MS-cl3FS

“I have to do hte three-fold divorce, and every time that it is allowed, it should be forbidden that I kill you a death that no one ever has died before.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §121.1)

- c. **ʕumr** issêf **mâ** ṭâḥ min çitfi.
 ever the-sword.FS not stray.perf.3MS from shoulder-cl1S

“The sword has never strayed from my shoulder.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §93.33)

- d. kâl lammin ḥabba-lmêde illi anzaltha ʕalêḥ laḵâni yôm
 say.perf.3MS when hide.perf.3MS-the-table rel send.perf.1S-cl3FS upon-cl3MS to-second day
 ṣâr baḵîl
 become.perf.3MS greedy

[u**ʕumur** baḵîl **ma** budḥul malakût issama].
 and-ever greedy not indic-enter.imperf.3MS kingdom heaven

“He said ‘when he hid the table that I sent him [on the] second day he became greedy, and the greedy never enter the Kingdom of Heaven.’”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §61.6)

ʕumr is etymologically derived from the noun **ʕumr** “age, life” which frequently occurs in *idâfa*-constructions with a following noun:

- (28) a. çân fi kadîm izzamân usâbiḵ ilʕaṣr wilawân
 be.perf.3MS in old the-time and-preceding the-age and-hours
 tâġîr isme nâṣîr-iddîn katîf lâ walad walâ talad
 merchant name-cl3MS Nasir-al-Din solitary.MS no child and-no offspring
 [ubaḵa **ʕumre** ḥame usittîn sane].
 and-be.perf.3MS age-cl3MS five and-sixty year

“Once upon a time there was a merchant named Nasir al-Din [who was] solitary, [having] neither kith nor kin, and he was five-and-sixty years old.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §47.1)

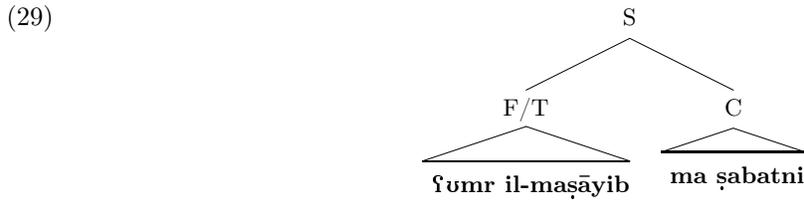
- b. [lammin biṣîr **ʕumur maratak** sabîn sane]
 when indic-become.3MS age wife-cl2MS seventy year

btunḳul ubitġîb walad ubitsammîh dâûd
 indic-conceive.imperf.3FS and-indic-bring.3FS son and-indic-name.imperf.2MS Da’ud

“When your wife comes to be seventy years of age she will conceive and bear a son, and you will name him ‘Da’ud’ and he will become your adversary.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §42.1)

It is possible that the examples in (27) above show **ʔumr** and the following noun in *iḍâfa*, and that they are one constituent. For example, the constituent structure of (27a) would be like this:



However, it is also possible for **ʔumr** to appear alone preceding negation:

- (30) a. baḡa ʔindi faddân baḡar badawiyât
 be.perf.3MS at-cl1S yoke oxen bedouin.FS
 [**ʔumr ma** wâḡad ḡâl ʔalêhin].
 ever not one.MS come.between.perf.3MS upon-cl3FP
 “I had a pair of wild oxen [that] nobody had ever been able to catch.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §18.2)
- b. ubaḡaf ʔalêh min ʔînên innâs,
 and-indic-fear.imperf.3MS upon-cl3MS from eyes the-people
 [lalyôm **ʔumr ma** ḡada šâfe].
 to-the-day ever not one.MS see.perf.3MS-cl3MS
 “...and he feared for him from the people eyes [i.e., from the Evil Eye], and to this day no one has ever seen him.”
 (Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §47.3)

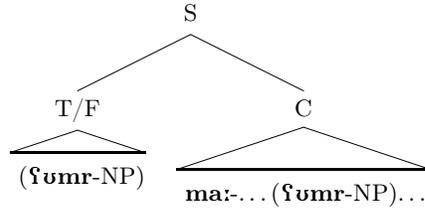
In (30) **ʔumr** cannot be in *iḍâfa* because there is no *muḡâf ʔilayhi* preceding the negation.

A possible explanation for the appearance of **ʔumr** both in *iḍâfa* with another noun, and by itself is that there are really two **ʔumr**’s: one which is still syntactically a noun although it has lost its original meaning, and one which has been reanalyzed as an adverb which occurs in pre-verbal position in negative sentences. In the latter case, adverb **ʔumr** would be in the Topic or Focus position, and therefore outside the clausal constituent (31a), while nominal **ʔumr** could be either outside or inside the clause (31b)⁹:



⁹This is exactly the analysis that Woidich (1968, p.56) proposes for similar data in Cairene Arabic. Woidich suggests that **ʔumr-ma** may have developed as a syntagm under analogy to the numerous prepositional adverbs such as **baʔd-ma** “after which,” **ʔabl-ma** “before which,” etc. that include the subordinating particle **ma-**. This particle is homophonous with the negation particle.

b.



This analysis predicts that *adverbial ʕumr* should not be able to host negation because it always would occur in a position preceding negation. To put it differently, **ʕumr** should only be able to host negation if it is in *idafa* either with a pronoun clitic or with a free noun.

- (32) a. **ʕumr ma-**šuft-hu.
 never not-see.perf.1S-cl3MS
 “I never saw him.”
 (*Elicited data*)
- b. * †**ma-ʕumr** šuft-u.
 not-ever see.perf.1S-cl3MS
- (33) a. **ʕumr-i: ma-**šuft-u.
 ever-cl1S not-see.perf.1S-cl3MS
 “I never saw him.”
- b. **ma-ʕumr-i:-š** šuft-u.
 not-ever-cl1S-neg see.perf.1S-cl3MS
 “Same.”

On the basis of this, I tentatively conclude that when **ʕumr** follows **mâ-**, that it is in a clause-internal position. On that basis the generalization can be maintained that **mâ-** always occurs at the left-edge of the clausal constituent¹⁰.

To summarize this discussion of **ʕumr**, it seem to have two syntactic distributions but one interpretation. The first distribution is as a noun in *idâfa* with another noun or pronoun, and which can either precede or follow the verb. The second is as an adverbial particle which generally if not always precedes the negation morpheme. **ʕumr** is always in a Topic or Fronted position when it precedes negation, then the generalization can be maintained that the negation particle **ma:-** never occurs further to the left in the sentence than the left edge of the clausal constituent.

¹⁰On point about **ʕumr** which I have not addressed is that when it occurs in *idâfa*, it almost always seems to be coreferential with the subject of the clause. Woidich (1968, p.54) notes the same in Cairene Arabic, saying the **ʕumr** preceding negation “carries a possessive suffix which agrees with the subject of the clause. However, he gives at least one example in which the pronoun on **ʕumr** does not agree with the subject of the clause:

- (1) betna ʕumru ma-daʕalu ward.
 house-cl1P ever-cl3MS not-enter.perf.3P flowers.P
 “Our house, roses have never come into it,”
 “roses have never come into our house.”

Here the pronoun on **ʕumr** agrees with the topic **betna** “our house.”

“There are none in the world like them.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §46.4)

- c. **ma** **ḥadāš** rádd ʔalêha.
not-one.MS-neg answer.perf.3MS upon-cl3MS
“No one answered her.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §30.11)

If **mâ-** is used without the **-š** particle, then **mâ-** can also precede “bare” indefinite nouns and propositional phrases with independent objects¹¹:

- (37) a. kâmat hâđi ʔaḳḳat **ma** fi-ʔe:nha balle umâtat.
rise.perf.3FS this.FS fall.perf.3FS not in-eye-cl3FS drop and-die.perf.3FS
“So then she fell — there was not a drop in her eye – and died.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §45.10)
- b. uallâh **ma** fi hallêle banâm ʔindak.
by-God not in-this-night indic-sleep.perf.1S at-cl2MS
“I won’t steep with you this night.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §90.6)
- c. wallâh **ma** fi lêliti banam ʔindič wala badûslič frâš.
by-God not in night-cl1S indic-sleep.imperf.1S at-cl2FS or indic-step.imperf.1S-to-cl2FS bed
“By God, I won’t sleep with you this night or step into bed on your behalf.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §90.8)
- d. **ma** fi-lyadd walâ ḥîle.
not in-the-hand not.even trick
“I have no more excuse.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1930, §117.5)

Nominal clauses cannot be negated by attaching negation to a non-verbal predicates, such as participles, adjectives, nouns, or prepositions with independent noun objects. Instead, one of the negative auxiliaries must be placed before the predicate, or a negation hosted by **ḥada**:

- (38) a. nabbah ʔalêh auwal ʔaṭra u-ʔāwad nabbah ʔalêh
wake.perf.3MS-cl3MS upon-cl3MS first time and-again.3MS waken.3MS-cl3MS upon-cl3MS
ḥalaḥ ʔaṭrât uḳalle:
three times and-say.perf.3MS-to-cl3MS
[hāđa ʔilm **muš** ḥilm].
that.MS truth not dream

¹¹Note that the use of **mâ-** express negation is not to be confused with the use of **mâ-** as an exclamative particle.

- (1) a. ma-ssamâr biḥibb yiđall yitʔallak.
excl-the-ram indic-like.imperf.3MS remain.imperf.3MS hang.imperf.3MS
“How the ram likes to stay dangling!”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §56.3)

“He woke him up the first time, and then woke him up three times and said to him: ‘this is true, not a dream’.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §42.1)

- b. *ma-ḥilim-iš.
not-dream-neg

- (39) a. **mantīš** ʕa-sawa-lyôm.
not-pro.2MS-neg at-weight-the-day
“You are not yourself today.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §58.2)

- b. *ma-ʕa-sawâ-š il-yôm.
not-at-self-neg the-day

- (40) a. **ma** ḥadâš mōmi fîha
not one.MS-neg reach.actpart in-cl3FS
“No one was reaching into it.”
(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §35.7)

- b. uḳâlátle iṣḥa-l-faras ṣâr-lha áĉḅar min ʕiṣrîn yôm
and-say.perf.3FS-to-cl3MS beware-the-mare.FS happen.perf.3MS-to-cl3fs more than twenty day

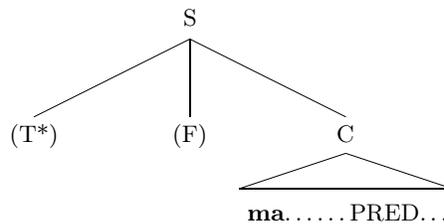
[**ma** ḥáda ʕála ʔáhirha].
not one.MS upon back-cl3FS

“Beware lest the mare passes more than twenty days which no one is on her back.”

(Schmidt & Kahle 1918, §39.11)

The predicates which require negation by means of one of the negative auxiliaries are also the predicates which generally require an overt subject, and the subject position is to the left of the predicate in nominal sentences. The failure of non-verbal predicate to host negation might therefore be attributed to the fact that they are not in the left-most position in the clause:

(41)



The generalization that emerges from consideration of these data is that **ma**:- always precedes whichever is the left-most element of the clausal constituent.

Turning to -š, when it appears at all, it only attaches to the following:

- (42) a. Inflected verbs stems (i.e., verbs in the perfective or imperfective stems), both hosting object pronouns and not;
b. Inflected prepositions;
c. Pseudo verbs like **bidd**- “want”;

- d. Auxiliary verbs;
- e. The existential particle **fi**;
- f. The pronoun **ħada**;
- g. The adverb **ʔumr**;

This is exactly a subset of the kinds of words which **ma**- precedes but excluding bare nouns and complex prepositional phrases.

What the expressions in (42) have in common is that they all seem to be *words* in the morphological sense, meaning that they are syntactically atomic, consisting of a word-stem and any affixes it may host and in particular object pronouns. Therefore, I suggest that the distribution of -š can be stated in terms of the following generalization:

Generalization:

The -š suffix attaches to the left-most word in the clause.

The reader may object that I have contradicted myself here because I stated above (p.18) that **ma**- must be the left-most expression in the clause, and if -š attaches to the word following **ma**- then the correct generalization should be that it attaches to the “next-to-left” word in the clause. However, there is good reason to believe that **ma**- is an affix as well, although it attaches to a different size constituent than is the case for -š. This is not reflected in Schmidt & Kahle’s (1918, 1930) transcription conventions, which in almost all cases shows **ma**- as an independent word. However, Schmidt & Kahle do show **ma** with varying vowel lengths, with the variation in most cases correlating with the syllable structure or stress pattern of the following word. Vowel shortening in non-stressed syllables is a familiar word-internal process in Palestinian and other Levantine dialects (Younes 1995). Therefore, even though Schmidt & Kahle generally represent **ma**- as a free morpheme, they show participating in word-internal phonological processes with the word following it. This suggests that it is an affix, the orthography notwithstanding.

Supposing then that **ma**- is an affix, it still can precede a wider range of expressions that -š can follow, including prepositional phrases with independent noun objects. Therefore, **ma**- and -š are distinct in terms of the kinds of constituents they can attach to. In particular, **ma**- seems to be what Pullum & Zwicky (1988) have called a “phrasal affix,” a bound morpheme which attaches to a constituent which can consist of more than one word. In contrast, -š seems to be a “word-level” affix which can only attach to word-sized constituents.

Given these assumptions the correct generalizations concerning the Palestinian negation morphemes should be as follows:

- (43) a. The **ma**- prefix must attach to the *right-edge* (“beginning”) of the *constituent* in the clausal constituent;
- b. The -š suffix must attach to the *left-edge* (“end”) of the *left-most* word in the clause.

Of course, stated this way the constraints do not capture the fact that *-š* cannot attach to bare noun stems other than **ḥada** “one.” Given that **ḥada** is a simple noun, one might expect it to be able to attach to other simple nouns. Particularly telling is its failure to attach to **waḥad** “one,” which is synonymous with **ḥada** and overlaps with it distributionally. A possible analysis for this idiosyncrasy is to suggest that **ma-ḥada** has become fused as a single expression **maḥada**, comparable to English **nobody** or **nothing**.

Aside from **ḥada**, all the words which *-š* can attach to are either verbs or words hosting pronoun suffixes. If we assume that the agreement marking on verbs is pronominal, then the correct generalization for the distribution of *-š* is that its host must include a pronoun suffix¹², or at least the etymological reflex of a pronoun suffix (in the case of existential **fi**). As such, the distribution of *-š* can be restated in terms of the presence of pronominal morphology: *-š* must attach to the left-most *word* in the clause which includes a pronominal morpheme.

This discussion of negation and word order in Palestinian Arabic can be summarized as follows:

- (44) a. The **ma**:- negation morpheme must attach to the left-edge of the left-most constituent in the clausal (C) constituent;
 b. The *-š* negation morpheme must attach to the right-edge of the left-most word-sized constituent in the clause which is also marked with pronominal morphology.

As such, the distribution of *-š* in Palestinian looks like it could be an example of a “Wackernagel clitic” in Arabic: a clitic the position of which is determined relative to the first constituent of a certain kind within the clause.

More generally, the data have shown that the distribution of negation morphology in Palestinian is best described in terms of edge of constituents, rather than in terms of attachment to particular categories of syntactic objects (such as verbs or auxiliaries). In the next sub-section, we shall see that the situation is quite different in Moroccan Arabic.

3.2 Negation and Word Order in Moroccan

In Moroccan Arabic, negation can appear on *any* predicate stem, including verbs, participles, adjectives (45), nouns (46), and prepositions (47). Facts supporting this assertion have been reported by Harrel (1962), Marçais (1977), Benmamoun (1997, 2000), Ouhalla (1997*b*) and Brustad (2000):

- (45) a. Omar **maši** kbir.
 Omar not big.MS
 “Omar isn’t big.”
 (Benmamoun 1997,)
 b. Omar **ma**-kbir-š.
 Omar not-big.MS-neg

¹²This has been suggested by Eid (1993) in her analysis of negation marking in Egyptian Arabic.

“Same.”

(Benmamoun 1997,)

(46) a. Omar **maši** mudir.
Omar not director.MS
“Omar is not a director.”

b. Omar **ma-**mudir-š.
Omar not-director.MS-neg
“Same.”

(47) a. Omar **maši** fi-ha.
Omar not in-cl3FS
“Omar is not in it.”
(Benmamoun 2000, p.84)

b. Omar **ma-**fi-ha-š.
Omar not-in-cl3FS-neg
“Same.”

This is in marked contrast to the distribution of negation morphology in Palestinian Arabic.

Also, Benmamoun (2000, p.90-92) reports that affixal negation cannot bracket what he refers to as *branching* constituents, where by “branching” he means constituents which contain two or more independent words:

(48) a. Omar **maši** [ʔamm Nadia].
Omar not uncle Nadia
“Omar is not Nadia’s uncle.”

b. *Omar **ma-**[ʔamm-š Nadia].
Omar not- uncle-neg Nadia

(49) a. Omar **maši** f-d-dar.
Omar not in-the-house
“Omar is not in the house.”

b. *Omar **ma-**f-d-dar-š.
Omar not-in-the-house-neg

(50) a. Omar **maši** [mudir ʔaw muʔəllim].
Omar not director or teacher
“Omar is not a teacher or director.”

b. *Omar **ma-**[mudir-š ʔaw muʔəllim].
Omar not- director.MS-neg or teacher

Brustad (2000, p.287) reports apparently conflicting data from Moroccan Arabic in which negation seems to be able to attach to branching constituents such as predicate PPs (51b):

(51) a. b-šarʔ **mā** tšūf-fi-hā-š.
with-condition not see.2S-in-cl3FS-neg
“...on the condition that you don’t look at her.”

- b. **mā** f-rās-ī-š
 not in-head-cl1S-neg
 “[It’s] not in my head,” “I don’t know.”

(51) shows the preposition **f-** “in” which seems to function entirely as a proclitic in Moroccan (at least based on the orthography used by the authors cited here). In (51a) it is attached to the object clitic **ha** “her,” while in (51b) it is attached to the noun **rās**, which also hosts the possessive pronoun clitic **i** “my.” If Moroccan **f-** is in fact a prefix, then it is not clear whether Brustad’s (51b) is really a branching constituent or not. Instead, it may simply consist of the noun **rās** “head” hosting a number of affixes, but from a syntactic perspective still consisting of an atomic word.

In addition to being able to attach to a larger variety of categories, Marçais (1977) has reported that Moroccan negation can attach to either an auxiliary element or on the main verb or predicate in a clause with compound tense¹³:

- (52) a. **ma-kæn-š** fhəm.
 not-be.perf.3MS-neg understand
 “He didn’t understand.”
- b. kæn **ma-fhəm-š**.
 be.perf.3MS not-understand-neg
 “Same.”
- (53) a. **ma-künt-š** nərbəḥ.
 not-be.perf.1S-neg ?? .imperf.1S
 “I wasn’t winning.”
- b. күnt **ma-nərbəḥ-š**.
 be.perf.1S not-win.imperf.1S-neg
 “Same.”

¹³Marçais’ description is intended to apply to the western dialects in general, including Libyan, Tunisian, Algerian, and Moroccan. He notes “negation is expressed in the *Maghrebi* dialects in a homogeneous way, and the examples given for the use of **la**, **ma**, **mā**. . . **ši**, **maši** certainly apply to the whole of North Africa, and certainly understood everywhere. It remains to indicate the particular usages in the dialects.” (*L’expression de la négation se présente dans les parlers maghrébins de façon assez homogène, et les exemples donnés ci-dessus pour illustrer les emplois de la, de ma, de mā. . . ši, de maši, pourraient être relevés dans l’ensemble de l’Afrique du Nord, et certainement partout compris. Restent cependant à signaler des usages particuliers à tel out tel dialecte.* Marçais 1977, p.279). Elsewhere he notes that “Moroccan speech as a whole presents a rather uniform character. It is possible to say that, roughly speaking, the Moroccan speech is the speech of Rabat, and in particular of Fes” (*Les parlers marocains, dans leur ensemble, présentent un caractère assez unitaire. Et on peut dire, grosso modo, que parler marocain, c’est parler l’arabe de Rabat, surtout celui de Fès, centre dont le rayonnement a été éclatant et le demeure.* Marçais 1977, p.xii). The form of Arabic that Harrel (1962) describes is “that of the educated urban speakers of the northwestern part of Morocco. In actual fact, the author has worked exclusively with speakers from Fez, Rabat, and Casablanca” (Harrel 1962, xxii). By implication then, the data which Marçais cites in (52-54) should apply to the dialect(s) described by Harrell. Of course, implication does not constitute proof, so this matter must await more detailed study.

- (54) a. **ma**-ʔad-š iži.
not-anymore-neg come.imperf.3MS
“He didn’t come anymore.”
- b. ʔad **ma**-yǧī-š.
anymore not-come.perf.3MS
“Same.”

Marcais’ report conflicts with what has been described by Benmamoun (Benmamoun 1997, Benmamoun 2000) and Ouhalla (1997*b*). However, Ouhalla (1997*b*) notes that clauses with the so-called “copular pronoun” can have negation marked either on the pronoun, or on the predicate of the clause:

- (55) a. Omar **ma**-huwwa-š mariḍ.
Omar not-he.3MS-neg sick.MS
“Omar isn’t sick.”
- b. Omar huwwa **maši** mariḍ.
Omar he.3MS not sick.MS
“Same.”

It is not clear what kind of grammatical function the copular pronoun is filling here. Several analyses have been proposed which claim the copular pronouns in Arabic to be auxiliary elements. These include Eid (1991, 1993) for Egyptian Arabic, and Awwad (1987) and Shlonsky (1997) for Palestinian Arabic. If these analyses are correct, then the examples in (55) support a generalization to the effect that auxiliary elements host negation in Moroccan.

On the other hand, Ouhalla (1997*a*) has argued that the “copular” pronoun is simply a pronoun in the subject position of the clause, and the erstwhile subject (c.f. **Omar** in 55) is really a topic. I am not presently aware of any data points which would help decide between these two analyses.

Moroccan negation can also appear further to the left of the auxiliary in sentences including the particle **ʔammer** “ever.” This particle — cognate with Palestinian **ʔumr** — still retains some aspects of nominal syntax. If the clause lacks an overt subject (56a), or if the subject precedes **ʔammer** in a left-dislocated position (56b), then the particle hosts a possessive clitic which agrees with the subject in person, gender, and number. Otherwise, the subject follows **ʔammer** immediately in what looks like an *iḍāfa* construction (56c):

- (56) (Harrell & Sobelman 2004)
- a. **ʔammer**-u ma-ka-šʔeb.
ever-cl3MS not-asp-drink
“He never drinks.”
- b. ʔa **ʔammer**-u ma-ka-šʔeb.
father-cl1S ever-cl3MS not-asp-drink
“My father never drinks.”

- c. **ʔammer** ḅba ma-ka-šreḃ.
 ever father-cl1S not-asp-drink.3MS
 “My father never drinks.”

This **ʔammer** particle can host **ma-** morpheme instead of the verb:

- (57) a. **ma-**ʔammer-ni šeft-hom.
 not-ever-cl1S saw.1S-cl3P
 “I never saw them.”
 (Harrell & Sobelman 2004)
- b. ʔammer-ni **ma-**sheft-hom.
 ever-cl1S not-saw.1S-cl3P
 “Same.”
 (Harrell & Sobelman 2004)

Benmamoun (2000, p.74) treats **ʔammer** as a “verbal” element, presumably a kind of auxiliary. This would be very convenient for stating a generalization for the distribution of negative elements in Moroccan, because if copular pronouns are also auxiliary elements, then Moroccan negation has the following distribution:

- (58) In Moroccan Arabic, the negation morpheme(s) attach to:
- a. Auxiliary elements; or
 - b. Clausal predicates

Of course, if Benmamoun (2000) is wrong about **ʔammer** being a verbal element then the generalization is not so straight-forward, especially if the copular pronoun is not to be analyzed as an auxiliary element either. Should this be the case one would still want to account somehow for the fact that negation morphology in Moroccan cannot attach to nominal elements like **ḥadd** “anyone,” because this is a major contrast between Moroccan and Palestinian. It might be that **ma-** and **ʔammer** have fused into one expression **maʔammer** (and likewise for the negative pronouns) and that this fusion is an auxiliary element even if **ʔammer** and the pronouns are not on their own.

This discussion of negation and word order in Moroccan Arabic can be summarized as follows:

- (59) a. The Moroccan negation morphemes seem to be positioned relative to individual words, rather than relative to the left edge of the clause, as was the case in Palestinian;
- b. The items which host negation in Moroccan are auxiliary or predicative elements, and in perhaps some cases nominal-like elements which have fused with the negation;

While certain points are not clear as yet, one overall theme emerges which contrasts Moroccan Arabic with Palestinian. This that negation in Moroccan is constrained by largely syntactic factors, such as the kind of categorial role that an expression plays in the clause (such as auxiliary, predicate, etc.), while in Palestinian the expression of negation is limited by what seem to be largely prosodic constraints. This is in keeping with the conclusions reached in Section 2 (p.3).

4 Summary

Although Palestinian and Moroccan Arabic make use of nearly homophonous morphemes for expressing negation, the two dialects impose different conditions on their distribution.

- (60) a. In Palestinian Arabic, the negation morphemes are constrained to appear at the left edge of the “core” clause, and must be hosted by a verb or word-sized constituent; which of the two negation morphemes is used depends on prosodic and phonological factors and is to some extent a matter of speaker discretion;
- b. In Moroccan Arabic, the negation morphemes can appear on auxiliaries, predicates of various categories, and possibly on some polarity-sensitive expressions (depending on how these expressions are to be analyzed syntactically). Like in Palestinian, the negation morphemes appear to require a “word-sized” host. The **ma-** morpheme is always required for expressing negation, while the **-sh** morpheme is in complementary distribution with expressions which denote empty sets.

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