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Negation patterns in the Tihaamah dialects of Yemen: an assessment of Benmamoun (2000) as a model of comparative syntax.*

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0 Introduction

This paper seeks to provide an assessment of Benmamoun (2000) as a potential model of comparative syntax, in particular with respect to modelling the range of variation found among spoken dialects of Arabic. This aim is achieved by confronting the model with novel data from a group of dialects spoken in the Tihaamah coastal region of Yemen, as described in Simeone-Senelle (1996).

§1 gives a brief overview of Benmamoun (2000); §2 compares the Tihaamah dialect negation facts with those in other Arabic dialects, and explores the predictive power of B2000 with regard to typological variation; §3 presents the unusual behaviour of the focus particle [*qad*] in these dialects and explores potential solutions.

1 A model of Arabic comparative syntax - Benmamoun (2000)

Benmamoun (2000) (henceforth B2000) offers an account of three important groups of syntactic generalisations in Arabic dialects, relating to tense, sentential negation and agreement asymmetries, and does so within the general framework of the Minimalist program (Chomsky 1995). We will be particularly concerned here with the interaction of tense with sentential negation.

1.1 Feature-checking

In the Minimalist framework lexical items enter the derivation fully specified in their morphology, and these formal morphological features, reflected in many cases as overt morphological inflections, need to be formally licensed or 'eliminated'. This licensing is known as feature-checking and takes place when a feature on a functional head attracts a morphological feature on a lexical item, resulting in movement of the item and checking of the feature. Checking can occur when the lexical item raises to a position that is in one of two possible checking configurations with the functional head: i) merger with or insertion to an X^0 functional head position bearing the appropriate feature; or ii) insertion in the SpecXP position of the relevant projection, in which case checking occurs via Spec-head agreement with the X^0 head bearing the feature[1]. Features are said to be either [+interpretable] or [-interpretable] with respect to the LF (logical form) interface with semantics. A [-interpretable] feature which is argued to have a purely syntactic function, must be 'checked' and thus eliminated before LF where its visibility would cause the derivation to crash. Among [+interpretable] features, which are parametrically defined as strong or weak, only strong features need to be checked by overt movement in the syntax. The overt reflex of the presence of categorial features on functional heads is therefore movement of lexical items to positions in checking configuration with functional heads.

Categorial features on a functional head dictate what type of lexical item it will attract: a [+D] nominal feature will attract a [+D] item or an element with inherent [+D] properties; a [+V] verbal feature will attract a [+V] item. A semantically

* Thanks to Andrew Simpson & Carlo Colella for their comments on this paper. All errors are mine.
[1] Other checking configurations have also been proposed but are not relevant for the current discussion.

contentful categorial feature on a lexical item is [+interpretable]. Even after checking such a feature is not eliminated and the lexical item may be involved in further movement, attracted by other functional heads requiring checking of the same categorial feature.

1.2 The feature structure of tense

Benmamoun (2000) makes extensive use of the notion of categorial features to express generalisations regarding verb and noun phrase movement in Arabic dialects. In particular, whilst in Chomsky (1995) Tense in both French and English is characterised as having both [+V] and [+D] features, Benmamoun argues that since categorial features on functional heads have a purely syntactic function and are [-interpretable], there is no reason to assume that both features are universally present on all functional heads. He suggests that three options are logically possible for any functional head: [+V] and [+D], [+D] only, or [+V] only (B2000:38). He then proposes that in Arabic all three options are found on different tense-related functional heads: Tense $_{past}$ [+V,+D]; Tense $_{present}$ [+D]; Tense $_{imperative}$ [+V].

As evidence for this proposal Benmamoun cites the well-known phenomenon in Arabic of the absence of an overt copula in the present tense vs. its obligatory presence in the past tense (here in modern Standard Arabic - MSA):

{1} a) ʕumar muʃallim
omar teacher
"Omar is a teacher"

b) ʕumar ka:n muʃallim MSA
omar was teacher
"Omar was a teacher"

Whilst these facts have tended to be related to the existence of a putative null copula in the present tense (see for example Fassi Fehri 1993), it is claimed that this analysis ignores systematic differences between the past and present tenses in Arabic (see B2000:51-65):

{2} In the *present* tense the verb:
- may not merge with negation
- follows the subject in idioms
- has person agreement as a prefix

In the *past* tense the verb:
- must merge with negation
- precedes the subject in idioms
- has person agreement as a suffix

According to Benmamoun all of these generalisations can be accounted for under the assumption that Tense$_{present}$ lacks the [+V] feature that forces it to be paired with a verbal element, while Tense$_{past}$ *is* specified for this feature. In a similar way, for Benmamoun the lack of a [+D] feature on Tense$_{imperative}$ accounts for the fact that a positive imperative in Arabic as in many languages employs a default 'bare' imperfect verb that carries no '[+D]' agreement features (B2000:111-118).

1.3 The feature structure of negation

Benmamoun proposes that a Neg^0 functional head carries a [+D] (-interpretable) feature that requires it to be paired with a nominal element of some kind. It is this characterisation of Neg^0 that is argued to account for the distribution of discontinuous versus continuous sentential negatives in dialects of Arabic (an example would be [*ma-...-ši*] circumfixed around the verb, versus [*maaši*] linearly preceding it, analysed

by Benmamoun as different instantiations of a single complex lexical head, raised in [+D] Neg^0)[2].

In support of this proposal Benmamoun points out that negation frequently interacts with nominal elements. In MSA for example the negative marker [*laysa*] agrees in person with the subject. If agreement of a lexical head with the subject implies carrying a [+D] feature that is checked by the subject then this indeed suggests the presence of a [+D] feature on Neg^0 (B2000:78):

{3} a) laysa t-ta:lib-u mari:dan MSA
NEG-he the-student(ms)-NOM sick-ACC
"the student (m) is not sick"

b) lays-at t-ta:libat-u mari:datan
NEG-she the-student(fs)-NOM sick-ACC
"the student (f) is not sick"'

Similarly in many spoken dialects of Arabic negation can merge with pronouns or pronominal suffixes. Again, if movement that results in merger of lexical heads is driven by feature-checking then these pronominals must be able to check some feature in negation. Given that pronominals do not carry [+Neg], being neither negative polarity items nor quantifiers, and that NPs usually check case or [+D] features, it follows that Neg^0 must carry a [+D] categorial feature (B2000:78):

{4} Moroccan Arabic (MA)

ma-ni-ʃ	ma-nta-ʃ	ma-nti-ʃ	ma-huwa-ʃ
NEG-I-NEG	NEG-you(ms)-NEG	NEG-you(fs)-NEG	NEG-he-NEG

Egyptian Arabic (EA)

ma-ni:-ʃ	ma-nta:-ʃ	ma-nti:-ʃ	ma-huwwa:-ʃ
NEG-I-NEG	NEG-you(ms)-NEG	NEG-you(fs)-NEG	NEG-he-NEG

An important proposal made by Benmamoun concerns what types of lexical elements may check a [+D] feature on Neg^0. In many cases as we shall see the element that merges with the sentential negation marker is a verb. If the only categorial feature that negation is specified for is [+D] what feature on the verb is able to check this? Benmamoun notes that one feature on the verb that is capable of checking [+D] is person agreement (following Ritter 1995), and that in a null subject language such as Arabic agreement is generally assumed to be a nominal element. He therefore proposes that person agreement on a verb can check the [+D] feature of Neg^0 (B2000:82).

1.4 Comparative syntax

A major strength of Benmamoun's analysis is that with one model he tackles generalisations from three different dialects of Arabic: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), the formal language of government, education and broadcasting, and two

[2] It also accounts for the distribution of non-inflected vs. inflected negatives in MSA ([*laa*]/[*lam*]/[*lan*] vs. [*laysa*]), and for the asymmetry among imperatives whereby a negative imperative verb must carry person agreement but a positive imperative may not (B2000: ch. 6 & 7 respectively).

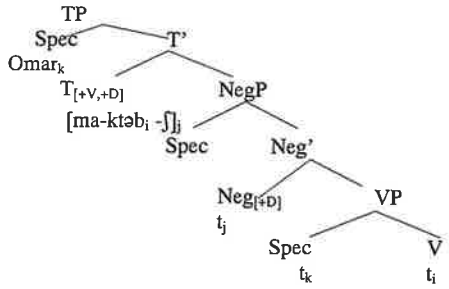
colloquial spoken dialects, Egyptian Arabic (EA) and Moroccan Arabic (MA). Since in this paper we will be tackling data from a regional spoken dialect also we will here sketch an outline of Benmamoun's analysis of EA and MA only. We will use as examples the interaction of negation with the past and present tenses, to illustrate firstly how the feature structure analysis works and then, in the next section, how dialectal variation is captured in the model.

In the past tense the two dialects behave identically – in both EA and MA a past tense verb must obligatorily merge with negation:

{5} a) ʕumar ma-ktəb-ʃ lə-bra MA
Omar NEG-wrote(ms)-NEG the-letter
"Omar didn't write the letter"

b) ʕumar ma-katab-ʃ ig-gawab EA
Omar NEG-wrote (ms)-NEG the-letter
"Omar didn't write the letter"

{6}



Merger of the verbal head with the complex negative head is obligatory because past tense has a [+V] feature that must be checked overtly by the verb, which must move through negation on its way to T^0. An alternative scenario in which the verb skips over negation and moves direct to tense is ungrammatical under minimality:

{7} a) * ʕumar ktəb ma-ʃi lə-bra MA
Omar wrote (ms) NEG-NEG the-letter

b) * ʕumar katab mi-ʃ ig-gawab EA
Omar wrote (ms) NEG-NEG the-letter

Under Chomsky (1995) minimality effects of this kind, in the context of head movement, are limited to instances where the intervening head shares a checking feature with the moved head; in such cases the attractor targets the closest available head. In the current analysis therefore, assuming Neg^0 to carry as [+D] feature, the fact that negation blocks verb movement to tense provides evidence for the presence of a [+D] feature on the verb in the form of person agreement features (B2000:82).

Note that in the past tense negation is realised in discontinuous form [*maa- -ši*], circumfixed to the verb. According to Benmamoun no dialect of Arabic allows a continuous negation marker form in the past tense, with [*ma-ši*] or [*miš*] linearly

preceding the verb. This generalisation falls out from the posited checking relation between agreement features on the verb and a [+D] categorial feature on the Neg^0 functional head, forcing head-to-head movement of the verb to Neg^0 (B2000:82).

1.5 Capturing dialectal variation

Turning to the present tense we see variation between the dialects in the behaviour of the negation element. In MA the verb must obligatorily merge with negation but in EA merger is optional:

{8} a) ʕumar ma-tayʃrəb-ʃ MA
Omar NEG-drinks (ms)-NEG
"Omar does not drink"

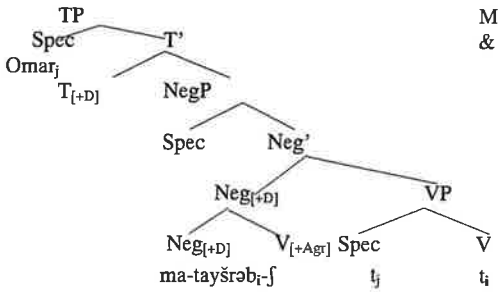
b) * ʕumar ma-ʃi tayʃrəb
Omar NEG-NEG drinks (ms)

c) ʕumar ma-biyiktib-ʃ EA
Omar NEG-write (ms)-NEG
"Omar does not write"

d) ʕumar mi-ʃ biyiktib
Omar NEG-NEG writes (ms)
"Omar does not write"

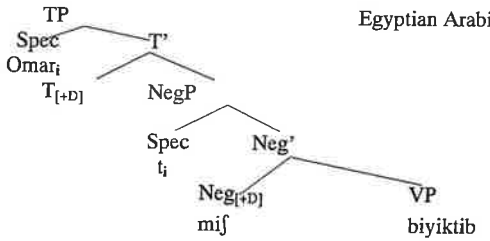
In Benmamoun's model, the difference between MA and EA reduces to how the [+D] feature of negation is checked. In the present tense either the subject (inherently [+D]) *or* the verb (carrying subject agreement features) are potential checkers of the [+D] feature of negation - the subject by movement to Spec NegP or the verb by head-to-head movement and merger with the negative head in Neg^0. Benmamoun notes that "MA seems to require to merger with the verb as a first option while EA seems to equally allow for either option" (B2000:85). It is not made explicit why this asymmetry of behaviour might occur. Nor is it clear why, when a [+D] carrying verb successfully checks Neg^0 it does not then move on to SpecTP to check the EPP [+D] feature of $Tense_{present}$. – according to Benmmamoun the subject also moves in these cases, contrary to the principle of economy. The two configurations are illustrated in {9} and {10} below.

{9}



Moroccan Arabic
& Egyptian Arabic

{10}



Egyptian Arabic only

Compare also the behaviour of negation in what Benmamoun calls 'verbless' sentences involving bare nominal/adjectival predicates (merger is possible in MA but ungrammatical in EA), and certain prepositions when inflected for agreement (merger with negation is possible in both dialects):

{11} a) ʕumar ma-ʃi kbir — MA
Omar NEG-NEG big
"Omar is not big"

b) ʕumar ma-kbir-ʃ
Omar NEG-big-NEG
"Omar is not big"

c) ʕumar mi-ʃ kibir — EA
Omar NEG-NEG big
"Omar is not big"

d) * ʕumar mi-kbir-ʃ
Omar NEG-big-NEG
"Omar is not big"

{12} a) ʕumar ma-ʃi fi-ha — MA
Omar NEG-NEG in-it
"Omar is not in it"

b) ʕumar ma-fi-ha-ʃ
Omar NEG-in-it- NEG
"Omar is not in it"

c) ma-ʕand-i:-ʃ kita:b — EA
NEG-with-me-NEG book
"I don't have a book"

As before this variation reduces to the choice between two possible checking configurations for [+D] Neg^0. In one scenario the subject moves to Spec NegP and the negative element with its checked [+D] feature is spelled-out in its continuous form. In the second option a nominal predicate (noun or adjective) merges with the negation

head. This latter option appears to be restricted to dialects whose morphology allows it, and Benmamoun (following Jelinek 1981) suggests that EA has a morphological constraint on the type of lexical elements that can host negation: in EA only verbs and inflected prepositions which carry person agreement features can support negation, whereas in MA all predicates can do so (B2000:85-86).

1.6 Summary

Benmamoun's model makes proposals about the feature structure of both Tense and Neg functional heads, which permit the interaction of tense with negation to be accounted for. As a result , the model is able to attribute dialectal variation in negation patterns to preferences between potential alternative feature-checking configurations.

The model is based on some crucial yet non-trivial assumptions: one is analysis of the negative marker [*maa-š*] as a single complex lexical head, in contrast with earlier analyses of the marker as generated separately, [*ma*] in Neg^0 and [*š*] in SpecNegP (see for example Fassi Fehri 1993); another is the assumption made by Benmamoun throughout that the NegP functional projection is situated between the TP and VP projections, again in contrast with alternative analyses (see Ouhalla 1991:136ff.; Shlonsky 1997:103ff.). For the time being, in applying the model to data from a new dialect the present paper will adopt these assumptions as they stand so as to focus on assessing the proposals made with regard to dialectal variation, functional categories and feature checking.

2 Yemeni dialectal variation - negation in Tihaamah dialects

Simeone-Senelle (1996) describes variation in the sentential negation patterns of some dialects of the Tihaamah region of Yemen. This sparsely populated province lies along the arid yet humid Red Sea coast, and although the dialects described are local to villages only miles apart they are nonetheless distinct. Simeone-Senelle provides data from seven villages in all, but mainly from just three, and these latter form the corpus for our investigations here: Mawshij (MJ) Baggaashi in the Wadi Rummaan (WR), and Hsii Saalem (HS).

In all three dialects the most common negation marker is [*maa- -š*], in both discontinuous and continuous forms (where it emerges variously as [*muuš*], [*muš*] or [*meš*]). In general, the continuous form is found in nominal, or verbless sentences, and the discontinuous form in verbal sentences both imperfect and perfect. Non-alternating simplex negation markers such as [*laa*] or [*-ši*] are also found.

In the sections that follow we will examine the interaction of sentential negation with tense in these dialects, taking the simplest cases first.

2.1 Negation of the past tense (perfect)

In the past tense, the most common marker used is [*maa- -š*], in its discontinuous form:

{13} a) anii maa-ʔareft-ʃ aɣanni — WR
I (f.) NEG-knew-NEG I-sing
"as for me, I don't know how to sing"

b) maa-gəduruu-ʃ yaʕlguu-hum — MJ
NEG-they-can-NEG they-cure-them
"they could not cure them"

c) əl-ʔarabiiya maa-wasalan-ʃ ʔand-hum HS
the-arabic NEG-she-arrived-NEG at-them
"classical Arabic did not arrive to them"

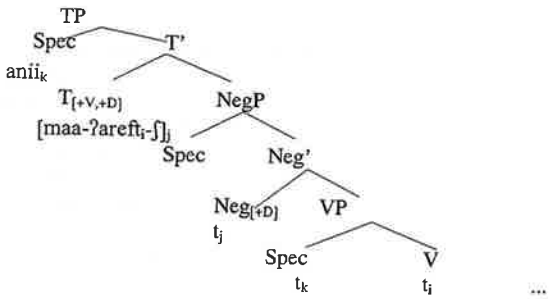
Simplex markers, prefixal [*maa*] and suffixal [*-š*], are also found with past tense verbs:

{14} a) maa-ʔarafəlloh [ʔaraft-l-oh] WR
NEG-I-knew-to-it
"I don't know how to use it"

b) faatma u-nuur raðiyuu-ʃ iʃtaɣiluu HS
Fatma and-Nur they-accepted-NEG they-work
"Fatma and Nur haven't accepted to work"

Nonetheless, when a complex negative head is employed, in the Tihaamah dialects it merges with the verb, resulting in a discontinuous circumfixed form. This patterns exactly with both EA and MA, and is predicted by Benmamoun's model: if $Tense_{past}$ carries both [+V] and [+D] features then the verb must move through [+D] Neg^0 on its way to Tense due to relativized minimality (see §1.4 above).

{15} WR



2.2 Negative imperatives

Benmamoun assigns a [+V] feature to $Tense_{imperative}$, resulting in the asymmetry between positive imperatives which bear no agreement features, and negative imperatives, where in his account it is the [+D] feature of Neg^0 which forces an agreement-carrying form of the verb to appear. In the Tihaamah dialects negative imperatives bear a variety of different markers yet all match Benmamoun's account in that negation hosts a verb carrying agreement features[3]:

{16} a) laa təʃtahii-ʃi WR
no you-are-heedless-NEG
"don't be heedless!"

b) trofi-ʃ ənt təʃtaɣel-ʃ HS
you-go-NEG you you-work-NEG
"don't go there, you, don't work!"

[3] There are no positive imperative data in the corpus to make a comparison however.

c) maa-trofi-ʃ HS
NEG-you-go-NEG
"don't go there!"

2.3 Negation of the present tense (imperfect)

The most common negative marker used in imperfect verbal sentences in the Tihaamah dialects is [*maa- -š*], used discontinuously:

{17} a) maa-iħabb-ʃ əl-fialiib WR
NEG-he-likes-NEG the-milk
"he doesn't like milk"

b) ən-naxla maa-təgii-ʃ ʔarbaʕiin sana MJ
the-palm-tree NEG-she-goes-NEG 40 years
"the palm-tree doesn't reach forty years old"

c) finaa maa-naʃməl-haa-ʃ HS
we NEG-we make-it-NEG
"as for us, we don't do it"

Single element markers also exist alongside [*maa- -š*], such as [*maa*] in WR, and enclitic [*-š*] in HS, and in all cases the negative marker is subject either to merger with the verb, for the enclitic, or adjacency to it, for [*maa*]:

{18} a) maa-yimkin nisaa WR
NEG-it-is-possible women
"it's not possible for women"

b) yəmʃii-ʃ kəssalu HS
he-goes-NEG lazy(m)
"he doesn't go (to work), he is lazy"

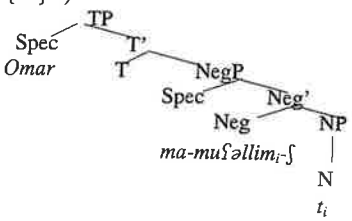
In present tense verbal sentences Benmamoun identified two potential configurations by which the [+D] feature of Neg can be checked (section §1.5 above). In MA the only option is by head-to-head movement of the verb resulting in merger; subject agreement features on the verb check the [+D] feature of Neg). In EA a second option is also possible whereby only the inherently [+D] subject undergoes any movement, raising to SpecNegP before moving on to SpecTP, and fulfilling the checking requirements of Neg^0 via Spec-Head agreement. In the Tihaamah dialects this second option does not appear to be available since we do not see free variation between the continuous and discontinuous forms of [*maa-š*] with imperfect verbs, such as is found in EA[4]. In the present tense then, the Tihaamah dialects pattern with MA in their choice of checking configuration of Neg^0 and therefore in their restrictions on merger of negation with imperfect verbs.

[4] There is one exception in HS, but with an emphatic reading: [laaʔ laaʔ muuʃ yəqtaʕ əl-qatib] (no no NEG-NEG he-cuts the-bunch) "no, no, he doesn't cut the bunch of dates".

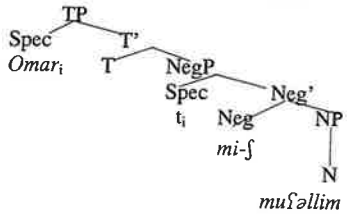
2.4 Negation of verbless sentences

Recall that EA and MA similarly display two possible patterns of negation in verbless sentences with bare nominal or prepositional predicates. These employ the marker [*maa- -š*] in either discontinuous or continuous form. In MA both forms are possible, which Benmamoun analysed as optionality with regard to how the [+D] feature of Neg^0 is checked: either, i) by an overt subject carrying inherent [+D] features raising from some (unspecified) lower position through Spec NegP, checking the [+D] feature of Neg^0 via Spec-Head agreement, before moving on to T to check the [+D] feature of Tense; or ii) by merger of a nominal predicate with the Neg^0 head. Both options are illustrated below.

{19} i)



ii) MA



ʕumar ma-muʃəllim-ʃ
Omar NEG-teacher-NEG
"Omar is not a teacher"

ʕumar miʃ muʃəllim
Omar NEG-NEG teacher
"Omar is not a teacher"

In EA, as we saw in §1.5 above, pattern ii) only occurs where the nominal predicate is an inflected pronoun, which Benmamoun attributed to a morphological constraint in the language restricting merger with negation to predicates carrying person features.

In the Tihaamah dialects it is pattern ii) which predominates:

{20} a) huu muuʃ qadiim qadiim WR
he NEG-NEG old old
"as for him, (he is) not very old"

b) əl-faʒrah yaʕni miʃ qariiya bess xabt MJ
'fazrah' it means... NEG-NEG village only wasteland
"the word 'fazrah' means.. not a village, only a wasteland, a desert"

The Tihaamah cases which employ pattern i), so that we see merger with negation, involve inflected pronouns, suggesting that in verbless sentences the Tihaamah dialects pattern with EA in restricting merger with negation to predicates that carry person features of some kind:

{21} a) maa-ʔanda-naa-ʃ madrasa ən-nisaa WR
NEG-at-us-NEG school the-women
"we do not have schools for women"

b) maa-be-haa-ʃ WR
NEG-to-her-NEG
"she hasn't got one "

2.5 Summary

The Tihaamah data highlight both strengths and weaknesses in Benmamoun's model as a tool for analysis of Arabic dialects.

Firstly, whilst in EA and MA a single lexical element is used in varying forms to mark sentential negation, allowing Benmamoun to predict how it will behave via different feature checking strategies, in the Tihaamah dialects it seems that more than one marker is available to speakers at any one time. Nonetheless each marker's behaviour can be seen to match the patterns Benmamoun predicts, assuming with him a complex-head analysis of [*maa- -š*], and a simplex head analysis of single element markers. For example in HS both [*maa- -š*] and [*-š*] are used interchangeably with both perfect and imperfect verbs ({13c} vs. {14b}, and {17c} vs. {18b} respectively) and either marker can be used to negate an imperative ({16b} vs.{16c}). These patterns of apparently free variation suggest that the two markers in HS should be analysed as distinct lexical items rather than varying instantiations of a single lexical element. Given this assumption, the model appears to be able to handle dialects of Arabic which display greater lexical variety than EA and MA.

With regard to the interaction between negation and tense, reflected in merger or non-merger of the verb or other appropriate predicate with the negative marker, Benmamoun's conception of these arising due to different checking configurations appears to capture the Tihaamah data as it does EA and MA. However as a tool for comparing dialects it is not clear how predictive the notion really is. In the past tense and in negative imperatives all three dialects behave in the same way; in the present tense, the Tihaamah dialects pattern with MA in forcing merger of the negation marker with the verb in all cases; in verbless sentences the Tihaamah dialects pattern with EA however, in imposing a morphological restriction on merger of the predicate with negation. In summary we see the following patterns:

{22} Patterns of variation – comparing EA, MA and the Tihaamah dialects.

		EA	MA	TDs
past	merger?	✓	✓	✓
	non-merger?	×	×	×
negative imperative	person agreement on the verb?	✓	✓	✓
present	merger?	✓	✓	✓
	non-merger?	✓	×	×
'verbless'	merger?	inflected prepositions only	✓	inflected prepositions only
	non-merger?	✓	✓	✓

Whilst there is *a priori* no reason for different dialects of Arabic to pattern similarly in their behaviour, what this comparison highlights is the fact that the model does not in itself help us to understand why a particular checking configuration is preferred (or outlawed, or required) in a particular dialect. In the case of verbless sentences Benmamoun suggests that the restriction on merger is morphological, but as we saw

he offers no explanation why present tense verbs in MA should be required to merge with negation whereas in EA (and in the Tihaamah dialects) merger is optional.

Nonetheless Benmamoun's model does provide a basis for comparison, which when applied to an increased database of dialects of Arabic might permit consistent patterns of variation to be identified. These in turn might shed light on the question of why a particular dialect may favour or forbid a particular checking configuration.

3 The puzzle of [*qad*]

We turn now to a small set of data from the Tihaamah dialects which presents a potentially more serious problem for Benmamoun's model. In the past tense, in the Tihaamah dialects, merger of the main verb with negation always occurs, matching Benmamoun's predictions with regard to the interaction of tense and negation. Crucially these predictions rely on the proposal that it is person agreement features on the verb or predicate which check the [+D] feature of Neg^0. In the following data however the particle [*qad*]/[*qud*] merges with negation independently of the main verb, despite bearing no obvious agreement features:

{23} a) əfina maa-qud-ʃ ʃufn-oh MJ
we NEG-*qad*-NEG we-saw-him
"as for us, we haven't seen him"

b) maa-qəd-ʃ taʔallam WR
NEG-*qad*-NEG he-learnt
"he hasn't learned"

As is now familiar, under Benmamoun's analysis movement to Neg^0 is driven by feature-checking of a [+D] feature, implying here that [*qad*] must carry some kind of [+D] feature, both to be itself raised to Neg^0, as well as to block (under minimality) movement of the main verb to Neg^0 instead. Further, since [*qad*] merges with the complex negative head independently of the matrix verb it must originate in a syntactic position that is lower then Neg^0 but higher than the verb. How does [*qad*] come to be analysed as bearing a [+D] feature and what kind of a particle is it?

3.1 How is [*qad*] analysed as bearing [+D] features?

In Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) [*qad*] can fulfil a number of functions (Holes 1995:189ff.):

{24} a) [*qad*] + perfect tense = proximate past MSA

qad ʔakaltu l-lafim
qad I-ate the-meat
I have (just) eaten the meat"

b) [*kaana*] "to be" (perfect) + [*qad*] + perfect tense = 'background' function

kaana qad ʔakala l-lafim
he-was *qad* he-ate the-meat
"he had eaten the meat"

c) [*qad*] + [*kaana*] "to be" (imperfect) + perfect tense = unrealised action

qad ʔakuːnu wasaltu wa l-layl
qad I-am I-arrived and the-night
"I may have arrived by the evening"

In both form and meaning the Tihaamah data in {23} appear to be instances of the first of these three functions of [*qad*], namely a 'present perfect' form.

An example of the particle in another Yemeni dialect, conveying the same interpretation, is reported in Old City Sanʕaani Arabic (OCSA), exclusively spoken within the old walled city of the capital of Yemen (Watson 1993:64):

{25} a) gad gambarat fawg-haː law-maː kammalat-haː OCSA
qad she-sat upon-it if-when she-completed-it
"she sat over it until she finished it"

b) al-jambiːyih fiaggiː gad sayfanat xalaːs
the-dagger my *qad* it-became-a-sword completely
"my dagger has become the real thing"

Unfortunately however if we are going to rely on analogy with patterns in neighbouring dialects we also have to deal with the following facts. In OCSA Watson reports a completely different pattern of negation involving [*qad*]. Here the whole <particle + main verb> complex merges with the negative marker (Watson 1993:267):

{26} ibniʃ maa gad ʒaːʃ OCSA
your(fs)-son NEG *qad* he-came NEG
"your (fs) son has not come"

In the more general dialect of the capital, Sanʕaani Arabic (SA), [*qad*] can fulfil a different role, appearing in collocation with an independent pronoun. In this role it is said to give rise to an emphatic interpretation (Qafisheh 1992: 217):

{27} a) gad huw haana b) gad hiy saarat SA
qad he here *qad* she she-left
"he is (already) here" "she has (already) left"

In some cases the <*qad*+ pronoun> complex reduces to an inflected particle (Qafisheh 1992:180):

{28} gadaani gad huw gad hiy gadifina gad hum SA
"I am" "he is" "she is" "we are" "they (m) are"

Watson (1993:266) reports the same phenomenon in the dialect specific to the old city of Sanʕaa[5]:

[5] In this dialect /k/ is pronounced /ʃ/.

{29} gadiʃ ʃiribti l-gahwih min al-yemen wallaa laaʔ OCSA
qad-you(fs) drank(fs) the-coffee from the-yemen or-indeed not
"have you (fs) drunk Yemeni coffee or not?"

In the Yemeni dialects spoken in Sanʕaa then, [*qad*] appears to be an inflectable particle. In Benmamoun's model the agreement features provided by inflection on the particle would be sufficient for it to check the [+D] feature of Neg^0 in these verbless sentences. It is not entirely surprising to find that in Sanʕaa inflected [*qad*] can merge with negation (yielding a "not yet" interpretation) (Qafisheh 1992:180):

{30} a) maa gadanaaʃ muhandis b) maa gadantʃ baaliɣ SA
NEG PART+me-NEG engineer NEG PART+you adult
"I am not yet an engineer" "you are not yet an adult

In the Tihaamah data, although we have no other data involving [*qad*] in our corpus, we now have the option of proposing that its overt 'inflectability' in SA is in some way reflected in neighbouring Tihaamah in the form of assignment of null agreement properties to the particle. This provides one possible explanation as to how an apparently invariant functional particle comes to be analysed by speakers as carrying a [+D] categorial feature sufficient to check the [+D] feature of Neg^0. In support of this proposal the Tihaamah corpus provides one example of another apparently uninflected particle which merges with the negative marker. This is the 'negation of existence', formed by merger of the particle [*fii*] 'there is' with the negative marker:

{31} a) maa-fii-ʃ telefizyoonaat ʕand-hum HS
NEG-there-is-NEG televisions at-them
"they have no television"

b) maa-fii-ʃ dəfiin laa tamr WR
NEG-there-is-NEG now no dates
"there are no dates, not now"

According to Qafisheh (1992:231) [*fii*] is probably in origin an inflected preposition: [*fi*] "in" + [*-ih*] "3rd.m.s.". He describes it as a 'pseudo-verb' and categorises it alongside other inflected prepositions that we have already seen, such as [*ʔanda-naa*] "at us" and [*be-haa*] "to her" (see {21} above). The interaction of [*fii*] in its present day form with negation suggests that Tihaamah speakers also analyse it in this way, with inflection carrying sufficient agreement features to check the [+D] feature of Neg^0. [6]

In the various Yemeni dialects then we have seen two, possibly distinct, functions of [*qad*]: as an emphatic particle supporting an independent pronoun or in a quasi-verbal auxiliary role preceding a perfect verb. Ingham (1997:96-7) outlines a similar alternation for the same particle [*gad*]/[*gid*][7] in the dialect of the Al-Murra bedouin tribes of the southern Najd, a dialect which is claimed to share many features

[6] Note that in EA negation of existence takes the identical form, implying that in EA also [*fii*] is analysed as carrying (null) person agreement features, an aspect of EA negation which Benmamoun does not mention: [mafiiʃ fayda] (NEG-there is-NEG benefit) "there's no point".

[7] In this dialect /q/ is pronounced /g/.

with southern Arabian dialects. According to Ingham, in the bedouin dialect the particle is used either as an emphatic particle preceding a perfect verb or preceding a nominal predicate where it serves as a copula (in a 'verbless' sentence).

When supporting a nominal predicate [*qad*] may palusibaly be assigned agreement features amounting to a [+D] feature by virtue of its inflectability. In the role of a quasi-auxiliary verb how does [*qad*] get assigned a [+D] feature? One possibility would be that in these dialects it is fully re-analysed as an auxiliary of light verb raised within the VP.

3.2 Is [qad] an auxiliary or 'light' verb?

This possibility arises within Benmamoun's model, which provides an example of an apparently invariant, uninflected particle merging with negation independently of the main verb: prospective present particles in MA (B2000:86-90). The prospective present, compare "going to" in English, is expressed in MA by means of a future particle + imperfect tense:

{32} ɣadi t-safər MA
going she-travel
"she will travel"

The particle [ɣadi] is in origin an active participle of the trilateral verbal root √ɣdy [ɣadaː] "to go" and exists in three variant forms in the present day spoken language. When the prospective present construction is negated three possible patterns emerge, according to which form of the future particle is used:

i) if an inflected form of [ɣadi] is used, merger of negation with the particle only is obligatory (note that the particle here agrees in number and gender only, not person):

{33} a) ma-ɣad-a-ʃ t-safər MA
NEG-going(fs)-NEG she-travel
"she is not going to travel"

b) *ma-ʃi ɣad-a t-safər
NEG-NEG going(fs) she-travels

c) *ma-ɣad-a-t-safər-ʃ
NEG-going(fs)-she-travels-NEG

ii) if an invariant (uninflected) form is used, then merger with negation can involve either the particle alone or the <particle + verb> complex:

{34} a) ma-ɣadi-ʃ t-safər MA
NEG-going-NEG she-travel
"she is not going to travel"

b) ma-ɣadi-t-safər-ʃ
NEG-going-she-travel-NEG
"she is not going to travel"

iii) if a reduced form of the motion predicate is used, [ɣa], then merger of negation with the <particle+verb> complex is obligatory, and merger with the particle only is ungrammatical:

{35} a) ma-ɣa t-safər-ʃ MA
NEG-going-she-travels-NEG
"she is not going to travel"

b) *ma-ɣa-ʃ t-safər
NEG-going-NEG she-travels

The inflected form of the particle eg [ɣada] can only merge alone with negation (pattern A). The uninflected form of the particle [ɣadi] can merge alone (pattern A) or together with the verb (pattern B). The reduced form of the particle [ɣa] can only merge together with the verb (pattern B):

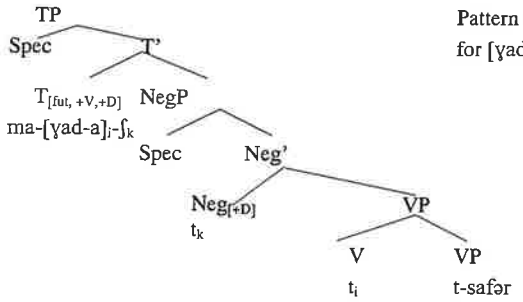
{36}

		[ɣada]	[ɣadi]	[ɣa]
Pattern A	NEG particle NEG verb	✓	✓	*
Pattern B	NEG particle verb NEG	*	✓	✓

Benmamoun suggests that the MA future particle is in the process of being grammaticalised into a pure future marker generated directly in T^0 either in its invariant form [ɣadi] or in reduced form [ɣa]. Nonetheless in MA the option still exists to form a future with an *abstract* tense morpheme generated in T^0, in which case an inflected marker, [ɣada], generated within the VP and carrying [+V] features, raises to T^0 to check the [+V] feature of Tense (B2000:89-90).

If we integrate negation into this analysis, in the case of inflected [ɣada] the particle will raise to T^0 because it is the closest available [+V] element but must merge first with [+D] Neg^0 due to minimality[8]; the whole complex then raises to T^0:

{37}

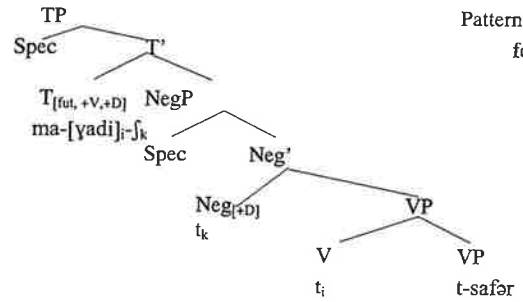


Pattern A
for [ɣada]

[8] Assuming that the number and gender agreement features that it carries are sufficient to check the [+D] feature of Neg^0.

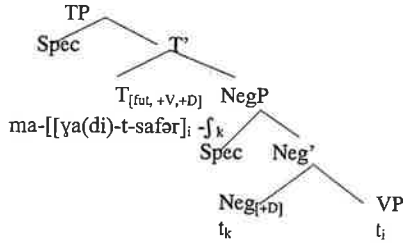
In the case of [ɣa] the only possible grammatical merger is of negation with the whole <particle + verb> complex; Benmamoun states that [ɣa] is generated in T^0 and that the main verb raises via Neg^0 (to check the [+D] feature there) to T^0 (to check the [+V] feature there). Two patterns result - pattern A for inflected [ɣadi] and pattern B for reduced [ɣa]; invariant [ɣadi] occurs in either pattern:

{38}



Pattern A
for [ɣadi]

{39}



Pattern B
for [ɣa(di)]

How does the invariant particle [ɣadi], when analysed as an auxiliary, check the [+D] features of Neg^0, since it carries no overt agreement features of any kind? We must assume that speakers who analyse [ɣadi] as an auxiliary verb also assign it null agreement features as well as a null [+V] feature, such that it is able to check both the [+D] of Neg^0 and the [+V] of T^0.

If we now compare the behaviour of [*qad*] in the Tihaamah data with the patterns of negation found in MA prospective present constructions we find that in MJ and WR it is Pattern A that we see (in the data of {23} reproduced here as {40}):

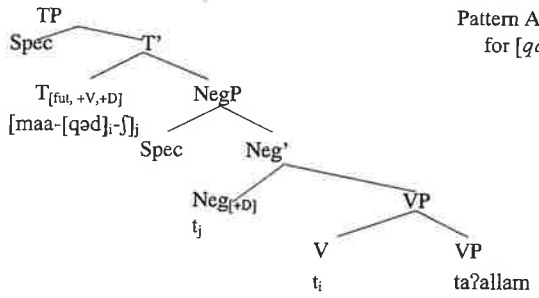
{40} a) əfina maa-qud-ʃ ʃufn-oh MJ
we NEG-*qad*-NEG we-saw-him
"as for us, we haven't seen him"

b) maa-qəd-ʃ ta?allam WR
NEG-*qad*-NEG he-learnt
"he hasn't learned"

In MA we assumed that in Pattern A the invariant particle functions as an auxiliary verb or is analysed by speakers as such and so is able to check both the [+D] of Neg^0

and the [+V] of T^0. If we are able to make the same assumption in respect of [*qad*] then we have an interim solution to our puzzle:

{41}



Pattern A for [*qad*] in WR

Unfortunately the arguments for [ɣadi] being analysed as an auxiliary verb cannot necessarily be applied to [*qad*]. The Tihaamah dialect particle is unlikely to have evolved via a productive morphological process from a lexical root in the way that [ɣadi] has; [*qad*] has two consonant radicals rather than the three usually found in Arabic lexical roots, often an indication that a word is 'old' and from a closed set of functional or grammatical words.

The analysis also has another serious problem, namely how to explain the fact that the <NEG-qad-NEG> complex linearly precedes a tensed verb. In {41} the verb [taʔallam] remains in its base generated position within the VP yet has a tensed (past) interpretation. For tense on the verb to be licensed via feature-checking the verb must move to T^0, which according to Benmamoun is higher in the syntactic tree than Neg^0, so the verb should linearly precede negation. A possible solution to both problems lies in the emphatic qualities of [*qad*].

3.3 Is [qad] a focus particle?

Ouhalla (1993) discusses the interaction between focus, modality and negation with respect to modern Standard Arabic (MSA). He lists [*qad*] and [*ʔinna*] among a group of particles which were known by traditional Arab grammarians as [al-muʔakkida:t] "the corroborative (reinforcing) morphemes", and glosses them as focus markers (FM) (Ouhalla 1993:280):

{42} a) ʔinna zaynab-a laa t-ʔullifu ʃiʕr-an MSA
FM Zaynab-ACC NEG she-writes poetry-ACC
"(I assert that) Zaynab (indeed) does not write poetry"

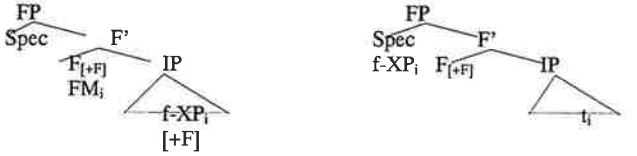
b) qad wasal-a zayd-un
FM he-arrived Zayd-NOM
"(I assert that) Zayd has arrived"

According to Ouhalla, "the presence of [*ʔinna*]/[*qad*] implies a context of uncertainty or claims to the contrary, which is not necessarily implied by equivalent sentences which lack [*ʔinna*]/[*qad*]" (ibid.). In his analysis insertion of an overt focus marker is

one of two strategies by which a [+F] focus feature situated in the head of a Focus Phrase can be identified (ibid.):

i) a [+F] feature can be identified by merger with Foc^0 of an overt focus marker which is co-indexed with an (optionally) accented in-situ [+F] focus phrase;
ii) alternatively, a [+F] feature can be identified (via Spec head agreement) by pre-posing of an (optionally) accented [+F] focus phrase to Spec FocP:

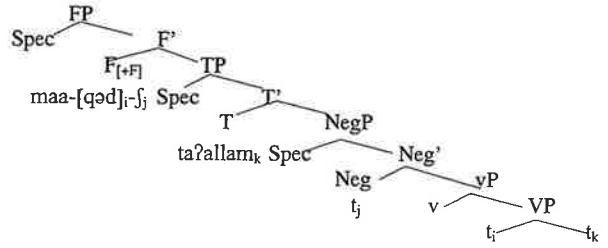
{43}



However, if we continue to assume that NegP is between TP and VP, and if [*qad*] is generated in Foc^0, a projection higher than NegP therefore, it is difficult to see how the particle could end up merged with negation – we need [*qad*] to be generated in a position lower than Neg^0. Ouhalla suggests that perhaps a focus marker may alternatively be generated "attached to the IP and moves along with it to Spec FP" (ibid.:289) however that predicts a situation in which always and only the <particle+verb> complex merges with negation en route to SpecFocP, which is not the case in the Tihaamah dialects: *[maa-qəd-taʔallam-ʃ][9].

Nonetheless we can take Ouhalla's insight that [*qad*] has focus properties forcing it to raise to a projection in the higher functional field above Tense, and add this to our existing analysis of [*qad*] as a 'light' or auxiliary verb generated within the VP or a vP shell to account for the linear order of NEG-*qad*-NEG preceding a tensed verb:

{44}



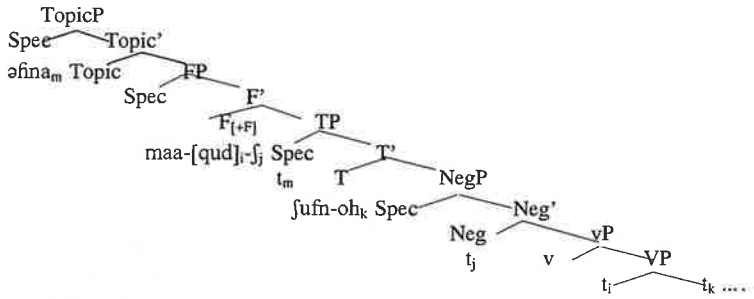
With {44} we can analyse the data in {41b} [maa-qəd-ʃ taʔallam] (NEG-*qad*-NEG learnt-3m.s.) "he hasn't learned" – a sentence without an overt subject. However how are we to account for the data in {41a} reproduced here as {45} where an overt subject linearly precedes the <NEG-*qad*-NEG> complex?

{45} əfina maa-qud-ʃ ʃufn-oh MJ
we NEG-*qad*-NEG we-saw-him
"as for us, we haven't seen him"

[9] Though this configuration does appear in OCSA (see {26}).

The location of negated [*qad*] between a pre-verbal subject and T^0, forces an important conclusion - that a pre-verbal subject in Arabic is topicalised. Evidence to support this comes from the interpretation of this particular sentence, in which the preverbal subject is given an "as for me" topic-like gloss. Compare also the preference for definite subjects in preverbal position in Arabic - 'new' indefinite items cannot appear in topic position[10]. If we propose a Topic projection in the higher functional field, above the Focus phrase, then we have an analysis of {45}:

{46}



3.4 Summary

Although we have no evidence in this corpus demonstrating the use of [*qad*] with pronouns or with pronominal inflection, this function may exist or have existed in the language, and by analogy with other regional dialects it is plausible to propose that speakers now analyse the particle in this role as being enriched with null person agreement features.

Similarly, although [*qad*] is not itself verbal in origin it is analysed as a quasi-verbal auxiliary, which we propose is generated as a light verb within the VP or in a vP-shell configuration. This results in a pattern A type structure, where [*qad*] is generated within the VP as a pseudo-verbal auxiliary and raises independently of the matrix verb to check the [+D] feature of Neg^0, merging with the complex head negative marker.

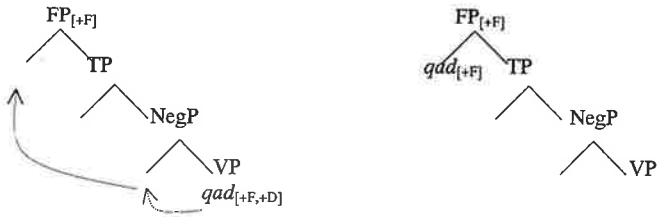
To account for linear ordering of the <NEG-*qad*-NEG> complex before the tensed verb in Tihaamah dialects we appeal to the fact that [*qad*] is in origin a focus or emphatic particle, and suggest that it therefore raises to check a +F feature in a focus projection situated above TP. Preverbal subjects are analysed as being topicalised to a Topic projection higher still than the focus projection.

Whilst this is not the only possible analysis of the interaction of [*qad*] with negation in the Tihaamah dialects, it forces us to consider how a functional, focus-type particle comes to be generated in a relatively 'low' syntactic position - it is unusual for a particle to be re-analysed *downwards* in this way. One explanation would be to posit that [*qad*] is more than a functional particle in origin after all and that it is in fact the south Arabian dialects that generate [*qad*] in its original VP-internal syntactic position. It would keep its dual auxiliary~emphatic function in these dialects, resulting in movement to Neg^0 in negative sentences and to $Focus^0$ in all

[10] For example: ??[muʕəllim biyitkallim] 'a teacher is talking' vs. [il-muʕəllim biyitkallim] 'the teacher is talking'.

cases, resulting in the surface patterns that we have highlighted here. It would therefore be other Arabic dialects that have re-analysed [*qad*] *upwards* so that it has a purely emphatic interpretation and is base-generated in a high syntactic position:

{47} Base-generated position of [*qad*]



South Arabian dialects other dialects of Arabic

Finally, an alternative analysis of the [*qad*] 'merger with negation' puzzle is in fact possible if we abandon Benmamoun's assumption that NegP is situated between TP and VP. Ouhalla (1991) has argued that the ordering of functional heads, and of NegP with respect to TP and VP in particular, is subject to parametric variation. If NegP is higher than TP & VP then we no longer need to assume an auxiliary verb analysis of [*qad*]: assuming a dense functional field it could be generated in a focus position lower than NegP but higher than TP. This would result in merger of [*qad*] with negation rather than of the verb with negation, and would call into question the proposal of a [+D] categorial feature on Neg^0. It remains to be seen whether the relative simplicity of this competing analysis would outweigh the apparent disadvantage of losing some of the other generalisations afforded by Benmamoun's conception of Neg^0 as bearing a [+D] feature.

4 Conclusions

This paper aimed to assess the usefulness of Benmamoun (2000) as a model of comparative Arabic syntax by applying it to a set of novel data from a new regional dialect – that of the Tihaamah dialects of Yemen. In so doing we have shown both the strengths and limitations of the model.

A strength of the model is that we are able to use it to capture almost all of the basic generalisations contained in the Tihaamah corpus. Whilst in itself Benmamoun's model makes no strong typological predictions as to the how or why a particular dialect might show a particular syntactic pattern, nonetheless, in laying out a basis for comparison Benmamoun has provided a means of potentially identifying these generalisations in future. To do this the model should be applied to further data from more dialects of Arabic.

In a similar way the model has provided the motivation and some of the tools for analysing the problematic particle [*qad*], whose interaction with sentential negation presents such a challenge for Benammoun's [+D] feature structure of negation hypothesis. Further investigation is needed to evaluate the relative advantages and disadvantages of the possible analyses presented here of the unusual behaviour of [*qad*] in the dialects of this region.

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"Japanese-style" languages and adjective ordering restrictions

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1.0 Introduction

The aim of this paper, a version of Scott 2002c and Chapter 5 of Scott 2002b, is basically to provide a first attempt at answering the question of why some languages display adjective ordering restrictions (henceforth AOR) and others do not.

In joint work (Chao, Mui & Scott, in preparation) I have argued that we only see "direct" modification structures (in terms of Sproat & Shih, 1998 and 1991) within hierarchical configurations — i.e., when the adjective occupies either a head or Spec position of an AOR-related functional projection (see Scott, 2002a). In Chao, Mui & Scott (in preparation) we suggest that indirect modifiers are "real" adjuncts (however these are to be represented: e.g., as adjoined phrases or as specifiers of DP-related projections) and we posit a direct link between overt modification patterns in Chinese and Tenny's (2000) notion of Semantic Zones. Thus, the restriction found in Chinese against two directly modifying adjectives of the same degree of absoluteness can be restated, we argue, as a restriction on the number of heads that can be instantiated in the nominal functional projection: adjectives that S&S characterise as *absolute* (colour, shape, material), are those definitely linked to the *inner core* projections. A relative adjective like *hao* ('good') instantiating Quality or Subjective Comment is clearly linked to the outer core projections.

We also argue (following ideas originally outlined in Scott,2002c) that natural language displays two types of modification pattern: "hierarchical" and "lexical" or, the "Cinquean" and the "Fukuian" respectively (originating from Fukui & Speas, 1986 and developed in Fukui, 1995: henceforth called "Fukuian" style projections for short). I shall present a very brief and basic outline of our research project later in this paper.

In this paper, I take that research program further. I argue that it is simply not the case that all natural languages have the fixed schemata whereby lexical projections are projected above functional (hierarchical) projections (which is what we argue in Chao, Mui & Scott, in preparation). Instead, I propose the *The Semantic Zones Hypothesis*. This basically states that the (DP-internal) functional hierarchy — the hierarchical field of Semantic Zones — is capable of being completely suppressed in some languages (i.e., Japanese), resulting in only lexical projections · la Fukui for those languages; certain other languages (such as English) are incapable of suppressing the functional hierarchy and display the full array of functional projections at all times, resulting in only "Cinquean" style projections. Other languages (for example, Chinese and Greek) display mixed systems and have the option of suppressing or not suppressing the Semantic Zones hierarchy.

One consequence of this hypothesis is that, in the case of Japanese, it lends direct support to Fukui's (1995) "N'" analysis for the Japanese "DP" (which I reanalyse in terms of ModP in the sense of Rubin, 1994 and 2002). I also claim that when a language suppresses the functional Semantic Zones hierarchy, the functional system collapses, triggering the use of ModP. A consequence of this use of ModP is that modification "linkers" (overt and morphological) must be used to signal modification structures. In this respect, *The Semantic Zones Hypothesis* is able to account for why we find two classes of adjective in Japanese. Lastly, one further, and