Grammatical Aspects of Rural Palestinian Arabic

by

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ABSTRACT

This study explores some grammatical aspects of Rural Palestinian Arabic (RPA), spoken in the vicinity of the city of Tulkarm in the Northwest part of the West Bank, and compares the variety to Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) and Urban Palestinian Arabic (UPA). The study introduces an overview of the Arabic language and its colloquial dialects and the status of diglossia in the Arab world. Subject-verb agreement in MSA and RPA is also discussed.

The focus of this study is on the pronominal system and negation in both MSA and RPA. It investigates the correlations between dependent subject pronouns and independent pronouns and their phonological and syntactic relationships. I argue that dependent subject pronouns are reduced forms of the independent subject pronoun. The study explains how dependent subject pronouns are formed by deleting the initial syllable, except for the first person singular and the third person masculine plural, which use suppletive forms instead. Dependent object pronouns are also derived from their independent counterparts by the deletion of the second syllable, with the exception of third person plural pronouns, which take the same form as clitics attached to their hosts.

I argue that dependent subject pronouns are agreement affixes used to mark verb argument features, whereas pronominal object and possessive pronouns are clitics attached to their hosts, which can be verbs, nouns, prepositions, and quantifiers. This study investigates other uses of subject pronouns, such as the use of third person pronouns as copulas in both MSA and RPA. Additionally, third person pronouns are used as question pronouns for yes/no questions in RPA.

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The dissertation also explores the morphosyntactic properties of sentential negation in RPA in comparison to sentential negation in MSA. The study shows that the negative markers *ma:* and -i*š* are used to negate perfective and imperfective verbs, while *muš* precedes non-verbal predicates, such as adjectives, prepositional phrases (PPs), and participles. The main predicate in the negative phrase does not need the noun phrase (NP) to raise to T if there is no need to merge with the negative element.

Keywords: Standard Arabic, Rural Palestinian Arabic, Urban Palestinian Arabic, independent pronouns, dependent pronouns, pronominal clitics, copula pronouns, negation

DEDICATION

To the loving memory of my parents and my brothers, Durar and Hamdan, whose dream

were to see me achieve this success, which has inspired me every day to continue

working towards my goals

To my family, Abdulfattah, Amaneh, Abeer, Mohammad, Bakir and Ibrahim, for their

continuous love and support

To the Palestinian people, whose resilience and spirit has pushed me beyond my

expectations

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations Used in Glosses

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
*	ungrammatical
ACC	accusative
ASP	aspect
F	feminine
FUT	future
FCA	first conjunct agreement
GEN	genitive
IMPF	imperfective
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
JUSS	jussive
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative
PART	participle
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
Q	question
SG	singular
SUB	subjunctive

Other Abbreviations

A	adjective
AP	adjective phrase
CA	Classical Arabic
D	determiner
DP	determiner Phrase
EA	Egyptian Arabic
IP	inflectional phrase
JC	Jespersen Cycle
KA	Kuwaiti Arabic
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic

NegP	negative phrase
NP	noun phrase
O	object
P	phrase
PA	Palestinian Arabic
PP	prepositional phrase
PRON	pronominal
RPA	Rural Palestinian Arabic
S	subject
SA	Syrian Arabic
Spec	specifier
T	tense
TP	tense phrase
UPA	urban Palestinian Arabic
VP	verb phrase

STANDARD ARABIC CONSONANTS IPA

Arabic Consonants	IPA	Descriptions
ء	ʔ	voiceless glottal stop
ب	b	voiced bilabial stop
ت	t	voiceless dental stop
ث	θ	voiceless dental fricative
ج	j	voiced palatal fricative
ح	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	x	voiceless velar fricative
د	d	voiced dental stop
ذ	ð	voiced dental fricative
ر	r	voiced alveolar trill
ز	z	voiced alveolar
س	s	voiceless alveolar fricative
ش	š	voiced alveolar fricative
ص	sˤ	voiceless alveo-dental emphatic fricative
ض	dˤ	voiced alveo-dental emphatic stop
ط	tˤ	voiceless alveo-dental emphatic stop
ظ	ðˤ	voiced alveo-dental emphatic stop
ع	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	voiced velar fricative
ف	t	voiceless labiodental fricative
ق	q	voiceless uvular stop
ك	k	voiceless velar stop
ل	l	voiced alveolar lateral
م	m	voiced bilabial nasal
ن	n	voiced alveolar nasal
ه	h	voiceless glottal fricative
و	w	voiced bilabial glide
ي	y	voiced palatal glide

STANDARD ARABIC VOWELS

Arabic vowels	IPA	Descriptions
ا	a:	low long front vowel
و	u:	high long back vowel
ي	i:	high long front vowel
َ	a	low short front vowel
ُ	u	high short back vowel
ِ	i	high short front vowel

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Modern Standard Arabic (hereafter MSA) and other Arabic dialects have been studied by many linguists. Versteegh (1997) claims that Arabic and Hebrew have been studied more than any other language within the Semitic language group. Different aspects of the Arabic language have been investigated, such as syntax, morphology, and phonology. Many of these dialects, such as Egyptian, Moroccan, Lebanese, and others, were included in these studies. Palestinian Arabic (hereafter PA) is one of the Levantine dialects that has thus far been understudied in the literature.

In section 1.1 of this chapter, the scope of the study and the research questions are introduced. The research gap in the literature regarding the PA in general and the rural variety in particular is discussed in section 1.2. In section 1.3, the data collection methodology is explained. Finally, section 4 describes the organization of the dissertation and provides a summary of the main points of each chapter.

1.1   Scope of the Study and Research Questions

The focus of this study is a dialect spoken by people originally from the Northwest part of the West Bank in Palestine, specifically in the vicinity of the city of Tulkarm. I will follow the descriptive analytical approach where several theoretical points regarding the discussed topics are raised. An overview of the Arabic language and the colloquial dialects is introduced. Diglossia is explained, as formal and informal varieties of Arabic co-exist for different communicative purposes. In addition, I discuss the history and sociolinguistics of the Palestinian speech community. Furthermore, the political factors that forced the people of Palestine to leave their homeland and move to

other countries are explained. The complex history of Palestine has led to a discrepancy in the sociolinguistics and linguistics of PA, making it a good example of dialectal variation. I explore the topic of word order and subject-verb agreement in MSA and PA as one of the most controversial topics in formal and informal Arabic syntax. I discuss the categorization of the dialects of PA into urban, rural, and Bedouin as well.

In addition to the previous topics, I introduce an analysis of the grammatical aspects of Rural Palestinian Arabic (hereafter RPA). The study focuses on two grammatical aspects in RPA: negation and pronominals. These aspects are analyzed and compared to MSA. The main morphosyntactic differences between negation in MSA and RPA are discussed, as are the syntactic distributions of the negative markers in RPA and other syntactic categories that they interact with. Types of pronouns used in both MSA and RPA are discussed. I also show that dependent subject, object, and possessive pronouns are related to their independent counterparts in both varieties. The main differences in the functions of pronouns are explained as well.

Thus, the aim of this dissertation is to tackle the following questions:

1) How are dependent subject pronouns, object and possessive pronouns related to their independent counterparts in both MSA and RPA?

2) What are the main differences in the functions of pronouns in both varieties?

3) What are the main differences between negation in MSA and RPA?

4) What are the syntactic distributions of the negative markers in RPA? What other syntactic categories do they interact with?

In the next section, I explain the lack of studies in RPA, which is a research gap in the literature.

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1.2 Research Gap

Many studies have been conducted on MSA and Arabic dialects in general. PA, specifically RPA, is understudied; only a few linguistic studies on the dialect exist, unlike for other Arabic dialects. By conducting this study, I hope to fill the gap in the literature by being the first to tackle the grammar of RPA in the vicinity of the city of Tulkarm and to encourage others to study this dialect.

Britain (2009) explains that the study of any language of different dialects often involves a comparison between urban and rural varieties and a discussion of the contact between them. This claim can be applied also to dialects with different varieties as well. PA is a dialect with three different varieties: urban, rural, and Bedouin. The urban variety is spoken in the main cities, while the rural is spoken in the villages around these cities. The Bedouin dialect is spoken in the southern parts of the Gaza Strip and in some villages around the city of Hebron, Galilee and Negev. Each variety has its own phonological and morphosyntactic features. Horesh (2014) claims that all varieties of PA are understudied, including the varieties spoken in the three areas of the 1948 region, West Bank, and Gaza. He indicates that PA is a great example of dialectal variations due to the political issues caused by the Israeli occupation and the wars in 1948 and 1967. He explains that:

> While Palestinians are a group worthy of a uniform terminology to describe the
> international identity, their macro-political convictions, their cultural and familial
> backgrounds "Palestinian" is not quite parallel to … "Egyptian" or "Iraqi" or
> "Saudi". Palestinians, many of whom are speakers of what is typically known as
> Palestinian Arabic, do not have their own state and are most prominently residents

of one of three places: The West Bank, the Gaza Strip and the so-called State of Israel. (p. 12)

Few studies have been conducted on PA in general that differentiate between its varieties. Most studies focus on the phonological differences between the three varieties (Abd-El-Jawad, 1987; Amara, 2005; Annuri, 1979; Cotter, 2013). These studies explain that speakers adopt the urban phonological features as a prestigious choice, based on their age, gender, education, religion, and/or migration. Mohammad (2000) and Aoun et al. (2010) ignore these differences and use examples from one variety to represent PA as a whole. These studies of the grammatical structure of PA use examples without considering the differences between the different varieties of the dialect. Mohammad (2000) and Aoun et al. (2010) both provide examples from the Bedouin variety, which has its own features differentiating it from the other two varieties. The differences are noticeable in the phonological features of the data. For example, the three dialects use different reflexes of the standard uvular stop /q/. Rural Palestinians pronounce it as a voiceless velar stop [k], Bedouins pronounce it as a voiced velar stop [g], and the glottal stop [ʔ] is a characteristic of the urban dialect. In addition to the phonological differences, there are also major morphological, syntactic, and lexical differences.

Few studies focus on the grammatical aspects of RPA. It is worth noting that these studies focus on varieties with different linguistic features from the variety that is the focus of this study. These studies discuss the phonology and grammar of varieties of RPA spoken in areas that are different from the area studied. Most studies have been conducted on the phonemic system of the dialect, as it is the easiest way to distinguish between the three varieties, as discussed above. The first study is by Shahin (1995), in

which she discusses the grammatical aspects of the Palestinian dialect of the village of Abushusha in central Palestine (a village in the occupied region in 1948). The main focus of her book is on the phonology of the language. She discusses other topics briefly, such as word order, clause structure, and morphology. Another study was conducted by Hoyt (2005) on negation in the rural Palestinian Arabic of the area of Bir Zeit (a town in the central West Bank north of Ramallah). The phonology and morphology of dialect in this town is different from the area of my study. Seeger (2009) conducted a study on the dialect of the villages around Ramallah city in the southern part of Palestine, which focuses on the phonemic system of the dialect. Majadly (2012) studied the phonology and the morphology of the residents of Baqa al-Gharbiyya (a village in the occupied region in 1948). It is worth noting that the speech communities in the previous studies have different linguistics features from the dialect that is the focus of the current study. By conducting this research, I hope to fill a gap in the literature by being the first to tackle the morphosyntax of RPA and to encourage others to study this dialect.

1.3   Data Collection

The data in this study is a collection of genuine examples uttered by native speakers of RPA. Examples are from two WhatsApp groups that I am a member of on my personal smartphone.

Arizona State University's Institutional Research Board (IRB) approval was received on August 14, 2018, allowing me to use the Arabic dialects' data from the WhatsApp groups. The age of the subjects is considered in this study. Data for RPA is collected from subjects whose age is above 50 years. Eckert (1997) argues that age is an important factor in studying PA. Abd-El-Jawad (1987) and Amara (2005) show that young speakers

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tend to switch from their own dialect to the more prestigious urban dialect. Examples from the younger generation and people from the city are considered to be Urban Palestinian Arabic (hereafter UPA).

Text messages were screenshotted and placed in a document on my personal computer. The screenshots were analyzed and organized into an anonymized spreadsheet. Data was used in the research as a corpus without any reference to the subjects' personal information, such as names or phone numbers.

Other examples of Urban Palestinian Arabic (UPA) are from the corpus of the Palestinian Arabic "Curras" at http://portal.sina.birzeit.edu/curras/index.html. The corpus is a mixture of the three varieties and doesn't differentiate between them because, most of the time, the phonology is not clear as some of the sounds are not part of the Standard Arabic and they are only spoken. Therefore, users should be careful about the morphology, syntax and lexical differences. The data is written and there is no recording to tell the difference.

MSA examples are from literature and some are invented by the author relying on grammar books and the judgment of Arabic grammarians. The discussion of RPA examples in this paper is primarily based on the author's and other native speakers' judgement. Sentences are analyzed specifically for the morphosyntax of negation, pronouns.

1.4   Organization of the Study

In Chapter 2, I provide an overview of SA and the spoken dialects in different Arabic-speaking regions. The diglossia of Arabic is explained, where two varieties (one standard and one spoken) are used side-by-side for different purposes. There are noticeable

differences between MSA and regional dialects in vocabulary, phonology, syntax, and morphology. Furthermore, the history and sociolinguistics of PA is discussed. I categorize the Palestinian dialect into urban, rural, and Bedouin. I also discuss how speakers of the dialect switch from one variety to another based on age, gender, religion, and migration. The migration of Palestinians from their homeland to other places after the wars of 1948 and 1967 is an important factor in dialectal variation, causing speakers to adopt new dialects of the host community. Chapter two also explores the topic of word order and subject-verb agreement in both MSA and PA. I show that MSA has multiple word orders, while the spoken dialects have fixed word order. In Chapter two, I also explain subject-verb agreement in MSA and other dialects. In MSA, the subject has full agreement with the verb in nominal sentences only, while in dialects, there is full agreement in both nominal and verbal sentences.

In Chapter 3, I investigate pronominals in both MSA and RPA. Dependent subject, object, and possessive pronouns are shown to be reduced forms of the subject independent pronouns. I argue that dependent subject pronouns are agreement affixes used to identify verb argument features, whereas object and possessive pronouns are clitics that attach to a host. Other uses of subject pronouns in RPA, such as copulas and question pronouns, are also discussed.

In Chapter 4 the topic of negation in MSA and PA is discussed. I show that the distribution of negation depends on the position of the negative particle and the negated element. The negative markers *ma:* and *–iš* are used to negate perfective and imperfective verbs; *mush* is used to negate adjectives, participles, and prepositional phrases. Negation in RPA went through three stages, in accordance with the Jespersen Cycle (1917). In the

first stage, *ma:* was used to express verbal negation. In the second stage, *ma:* was weakened and a new element *–iš* was used for support. The first element *ma:* is dropped in the third stage and *–iš* is used by itself. In addition, I show that the main predicate in a negative sentence does not need the noun phrase (NP) to raise to T if there is no need to merge with the negative element.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I conclude the study with a summary of the main points and discuss implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

ARABIC, DIALECTS AND DIGLOSSIA

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of SA and the categorization of Arabic dialects. The social role of both MSA and Arabic dialects is discussed as well. PA and its varieties as one of the Levantine dialects that is spoken by Palestinians is introduced. Diglossia as one of the internal challenges faced by MSA is discussed; the study presents the diglossia status in the Arab world by discussing the social role of MSA and other Arabic dialects in the society and the relationship between diglossia and its role in the education system as well. In addition, the history and sociolinguistics of the Palestinian speech community is tackled. Section four explores the topic of word order and subject-verb agreement in both MSA and PA.

2.1   An Overview of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Arabic is a Semitic language, part of the Semitic family that branches from the Afro-Asiatic language family; Afro-Asiatic consists of more than 300 languages (Abu-Absi, 1986). Varieties of Arabic are spoken in North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, and other parts of the Middle East. MSA is the official language of 22 countries and one of the six official United Nations' world languages, alongside Chinese, Russian, English, French, and Spanish. Arabic holds an important role among millions of Muslims worldwide due to the fact that Arabic is their liturgical language and the Quran is written in Arabic.

On the other hand, Arabic has unique linguistic features. Some features of Semitic languages are writing from right to left, the dual and feminine plural forms for verbs, nouns, and adjectives, and the root system.

Arabic has gone through different stages of development, producing three different forms: Classical Arabic (hereafter CA), MSA, and dialectal varieties of Arabic. The next section discusses these stages.

2.1.1 Classical Arabic (CA)

According to Hole (2004), CA is traced back to the sixth and seventh century as the language of pre-Islamic poetry and the Holy Quran. He adds that the only resource for the linguistic structure of pre-Islamic Arabic is in transmitted poetry. Ryding (2005) explains that the revelation of the Quran and the rise of Islam have also played a fundamental role in the development of Arabic. Holes (1995) explains that collecting classical poetry started in the middle of the eighth century after the birth of Islam by some grammarians from Iraq. CA is not spoken or used in education or other formal settings except for religious purposes, such as teaching the Quran in mosques and other religious institutions. Farghaly (2010) claims that SA became a prestigious and an important world language after the Islamic conquests, the period that follows the Prophet Mohammed's death.

2.1.2 Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

Versteegh (1997) claims that MSA, which is descended from CA, emerged as the official language of 22 Arab countries in the nineteenth century. CA and MSA share similar morphological and syntactic features, such as the dual and the feminine plural forms for verbs, nouns, and adjectives, feminine and masculine forms, broken plurals, emphatic consonants, and unmarked word order (VSO); however, each has some differences in respect to vocabulary and style. MSA has a simpler structure than CA, since it became less synthetic.

A large portion of CA vocabulary disappeared over time, and was replaced by new vocabulary due to the influence of other Arabic dialects and other languages with which Arabic has been in contact. Due to globalization, many new terms related to medicine, technology, and politics, as well as terms in many other fields, were introduced to the Arabic dictionary. MSA is not a spoken language as all Arabs grow up learning their own dialects to use in their daily life communications. Instead, it is primarily used in reading and writing in education and other formal settings, like media and administration.

2.1.3 Dialectal Arabic

In every Arab country where Arabic is spoken, there is a colloquial variety that Arabic speakers learn as their first language to use in everyday life. The variety of dialects differs from one Arab country to another, and sometimes within the same country, producing a wide variety of Arabic dialects. Differences between varieties are based on different factors in terms of terms of ethnicity, religion, social status, gender, age and education. There are many differences between these dialects to the extent that many dialects are unintelligible for speakers of other dialects. The spoken dialects compete with MSA as a prestigious form (Abdel Jawad, 1987; Ibrahim, 1986).

Much has been written about the Arabic dialects. Most studies categorize the dialects geographically, such as Levantine Arabic, spoken in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine, Gulf Arabic, spoken in Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates, North African Arabic, spoken in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, Egyptian Arabic (EA), spoken in Egypt and Sudan, and Saudi Arabic, spoken in Saudi

Arabia and has Hijazi and Najdi varieties. In contrast, some argue for a distinctive dialect for each Arab country, e.g., EA, Jordanian Arabic (JA), Moroccan Arabic (MA), etc.

Blau (1992) claims that the Arabic dialects face a number of changes in the morphological system, including the loss of case endings. MSA has nominative, accusative, and genitive case marking on nouns, while dialectal Arabic has lost all these cases. He adds that some dialects have lost the feminine plural forms in pronouns, adjectives, and verbs. Versteegh (1997) argues that most dialects have become analytic, while MSA is more synthetic. He introduces an example of possession: MSA has synthetic possession, but most of the dialects have developed an analytical form of expressing possession, using certain words to show the possession relationship.

To sum up, MSA is considered to be a prestigious language among Muslims worldwide because of its religious status as the language of the Holy Quran. Major changes have occurred in Arabic over centuries as a result of contact with other Arabic dialects and languages, such as Turkish, English, French, and others throughout different periods of time.

In the following section, I tackle the topic of Arabic diglossia and its social and educational role in the Arab society.

2.2   Diglossia of Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic has faced many external and internal challenges; one external challenge is the influence on Arabic from exposure to other languages. This was a result of the British, French, Italian, etc. colonization that influenced the education system and other aspects of people's lives in these countries. The internal challenge that faces the Arabic language is diglossia (Amara et al., 1999). The term was first introduced

by Ferguson (1959) to describe a situation where two different varieties of the language are used for different communicative purposes. In addition to the primary spoken dialects of the language, there is a standard variety used for reading and writing within the same speech community. This standard variety has a more complex structure and is primarily learned in formal education. It is used for writing purposes and is not used by the communities for informal communication purposes. This variety is mainly used in literature, religious and political speeches, and other formal occasions.

Ferguson (1959) claims that the standard variety usually has more "prestige" than the local dialects. He uses the term "High" for the variety that is used formally and "Low" for the variety used for daily oral communication. In the literature of sociolinguistics, there is an understanding that the standard variety is seen as prestigious and as the superior dialect and that spoken dialects are seen as less prestigious.

The definition of diglossia, of using two different varieties side-by-side in the same speech community, can be applied to the context of Arabic, where MSA co-exists with different local dialects, such as EA, Moroccan, Syrian, and so on. The former is used in schools, formal speeches, and administration, and the latter is used in everyday oral communication and sometimes in media, such as TV shows, plays, and poetry. Children learn MSA in formal education settings, whether in public or private schools, while they gain their mother tongue dialect at home from their parents. There are great linguistic differences between MSA and the local dialects, particularly in phonological, morphological, and syntactic features. At the same time, dialects differ from one country to another to the extent that the Moroccan dialect, for example, is unintelligible for

Jordanian dialect speakers. The following example by Palmer (2007), the phrase "I want to go now", is a good example of unintelligibility between Arabic spoken dialects:

Table 1

"I want to go now" (Palmer, 2007, p.113)

Areed aruuH haessa	Iraqi
Biddi ruuH haellae(q)	Syrian
Biddi aruuH haellae(q)	Jordanian
Aawiz aruuH dilwa'ti	Egyptian
Bgheet nimshi daaba	Moroccan
Ureedu an ath-haba alaan	MSA

Palmer (2007) argues that the concept of language prestige is the main reason that spoken Arabic is not taught in schools and universities. He adds that dialects are also the varieties of language that are sometimes considered to be unworthy of linguistic attention or research. This contributes to the feeling that the spoken varieties of Arabic should not be taught in schools, in or outside the Arabic-speaking world less worthy and should not be taught or studied even they are used in everyday conversations in the Arab world (p. 112).

Younes (1995) and Al-Batal and Belnap (2006) explain that if the goal of learning Arabic as a foreign language is to prepare learners to be able to communicate effectively in their daily life, then they should be taught both MSA and at least one of the spoken dialects at the same time from the beginning of the course.

The literature of Arabic sociolinguistics from different Arabic countries shows that colloquial Arabic also has its own prestigious local varieties that have certain

linguistic features that make them stigmatized as the "Low" form compared to other varieties of the same dialect within the same speech community. It is worth mentioning here that these dialects are open to borrowing from different languages, such as English and French, in order to keep up with modernization.

Now that I have provided a brief discussion about diglossia and its important role in the development of the colloquial Arabic, in the next section, I discuss the sociolinguistics of the Palestinian dialect.

2.3   Sociolinguistics of the Palestinian Dialect

PA is one of several dialects of Levantine Arabic and is widely spoken by Palestinians in the West Bank, the occupied territories of 1948, Gaza, and by Palestinian diaspora populations around the world. According to Cadora (1992), PA is categorized sociolinguistically into three varieties: urban (*madani*), rural (*fallahi*), and Bedouin (*badawi*). This study focuses on the dialect that is spoken by people originally from the Northwest part of the West Bank, specifically in the villages surrounding the city of Tulkarm.

Figure 1 below shows the main cities in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Figure 1

Map of Palestine, Including Major Cities

(https://encryptedtbn2.gstatic.com/images?q=tbn:ANd9GcTMJTQUG64jYwKMVGCSN
ZrLMxzGHCSz1r8BAXzwxyHZPNZO7OlF).
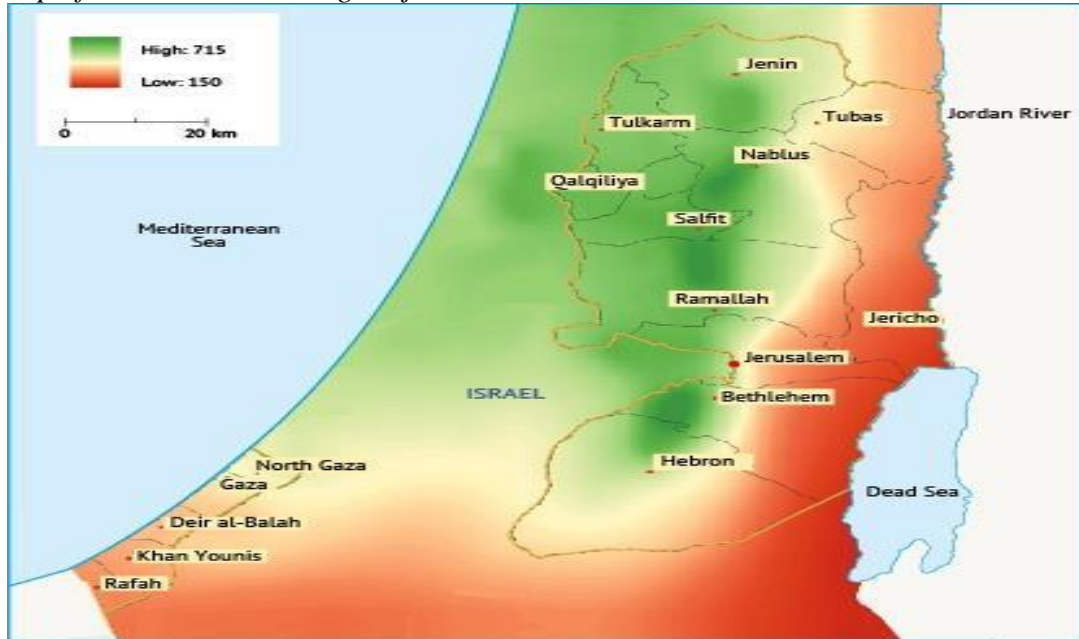
Like any other Arabic-speaking country, Palestine has other varieties besides the

MSA that is used in schools, media, and other formal settings. The area that is under

Israeli occupation since the year of (1948) is an exception, because Hebrew is the official

language taught in schools and is used in other formal settings. Therefore, the Palestinian

communities who live in those areas are Arabic-Hebrew bilingual speakers. PA has

different varieties that are categorized into urban, rural, and Bedouin. Each variety is

recognized by its own phonological and morphosyntactic features. The urban variety is

considered to be more prestigious and speakers of other varieties especially young

generations switch to it.

Over time, Palestine has faced many political transformations that have left an

impact on its language and culture. It was controlled by the Assyrian, Babylonian,

Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires at different times. After World War I, starting

in 1922, Palestine was under the mandate of the United Kingdom. The modern history of

Palestine started after the termination of the British Mandate and the creation of Israel,

dividing Palestine into three areas in 1948, which began the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Transjordan was under the control of Jordan, Gaza was under the control of Egypt and

the occupied area (known as the area of 1948) under the control of Israel. The

establishment of Israel after the war of 1948 (known as al-Nakba) between Israel and the

Arab countries, which ended with the defeat of the Arab countries, has impacted the

structure of the Palestinian community. The Israeli occupation resulted in the separation

of people from each other as they were forced to leave their own homeland. Amara

(2005) reports that 750,000 Palestinians in the region of 1948 were forced to leave their

own homeland, which was occupied by Jews who came from different countries around

the world. Palestinians migrated as refugees to the eastern parts of Palestine, now called

the West Bank while to be controlled by Jordan government, while some migrated to

Gaza Strip that became under the control of Egypt, whereas, some Palestinians stayed in

Israel (1948) and they got their Israeli citizenship. Others migrated to other countries like

Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Kuwait, and Egypt, while others migrated to America and other

European countries

      After Israel won the second war of 1967, Israel seized control from Jordan and

Egypt over the West bank and Gaza and occupied the areas. After the Oslo B Agreement

between Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization in 1995, Israel withdrew from

the West Bank towns and villages, leaving them under the rule of the Palestinian

Authority. People in the West Bank have less contact with Hebrew compared to people

who live in the 1948 region who mostly communicate in Hebrew, as it is the official language of Israel. However, some people in the West Bank can also communicate in Hebrew, as they learned it by interacting with Jews through their work relationships. Palestinians mostly work in factories, agriculture, and construction in Israel. Hebrew is also picked up while spending time in Israeli prisons as political prisoners. As a result of communication between Palestinians of the West Bank and Palestinians and Jews who live in Israel, numerous Hebrew vocabulary items have been borrowed into PA and are used in daily life.

During the British mandate on Palestine, English was an official language alongside Arabic at that time. After the creation of Israel in 1948, English as a second language was taught in government schools (Tushyeh, 1990a). It was the only foreign language taught in government schools in both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Other foreign languages besides English, such as Hebrew, German, Italian, French, and others, were introduced in universities and private schools (Al-Masri, 1988). English used to be taught starting in fifth grade, but currently starts as early as kindergarten. English became the main language of international communication, and it is the medium of instruction in sciences, engineering, and other fields in some universities in Palestine (Tushyeh, 1990b). PA has borrowed a tremendous amount of English vocabulary and is used in the daily lives of Palestinians.

Cotter (2013) and Horesh (2014) indicate that PA is a great example of dialectal variation due to the migration that was caused by the Israeli occupation and the wars in 1948 and 1967. Relocation has caused those speech communities to switch to and adopt new dialects as a result of contact with other host speech communities. Meanwhile, PA

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has influenced other dialects of the countries that speakers moved to. Abd-el Jawad (1987) conducted a study on the phonological and lexical variations in Amman. He claims that Jordanians have adopted the UPA spoken by refugees, who are originally from Jaffa (a town in the occupied 1948 region of Palestine) as a prestigious choice, in order to associate with the social group and feel socially secure.

A study by Annuri (1979), regarding the dialect change of the people from Nablus (a city in the West Bank), explains the change from rural to urban dialects as a result of the contact with people who migrated from the 1948 area, taking into consideration gender, age, and mobility factors. He explains that one of the most distinctive linguistic features of the dialect of Nablus used to be the use of the voiceless uvular stop [q], just like the standard /q/, but it changed to glottal stop [ʔ]. He found that switching to the urban dialect with the instead of uvular stop /q/ is typical. Annuri (1979) shows that women and younger men favor the use of this dialect as a level of prestige. Other local dialects in Palestine use other reflexes of this standard /q/: [k] is characteristic of rural Palestinians, [g] is characteristic of the Bedouin variety, and the glottal stop [ʔ] is typical of the urban variety.

PA, specifically the Nablusi dialect, plays a critical role in the development of the urban variety in Amman. The migration and population changes of the Palestinians have had an impact on the urban dialect revolution in Jordanian cities. Speakers from different dialect backgrounds moved to various Jordanian cities. The Jordanians switch to UPA considering this dialect to be superior and more prestigious, and the rural and Bedouin dialects to be less prestigious.

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Amara et al. (2005) argue that studies on Palestinian dialects indicate that phonological, morphological, and lexical differences are based on different factors, such as age, gender, education, occupation, religion, and in particular migration. In his study, Amara et al. (1999) investigated the sociolinguistics of PA in the town of Bethlehem in the West Bank, which has both Christian and Muslim residents. The town of Bethlehem witnessed a major demographic change after refugees from other towns and villages migrated there from their own homelands after the war of 1948. He reports that there were major changes in the phonology of the local dialect, moving toward the standard and urban dialects. Residents who moved to Bethlehem from other Palestinian villages tended to switch to urban and standard varieties. The results of the study show that women, especially younger generations, and Christian men tended to switch to urban dialects. The study also shows that educated young Muslim men switched to MSA.

Cotter (2013) discusses changes to the Gazan dialect and examines the contact between the Gazan dialects and refugees from the city of who left their homeland after the Arab-Israeli war and Jaffans who stayed in Jaffa. The study was based on differences in dialect background, gender, and age of different stages of Palestinian history. He examined two phonological features that correlate with each dialect, gender, and age group, alongside the demographic categorizations; he studied the uvular stop /q/ and the feminine ending –ah. He concludes that /q/ correlates with dialect background and gender and that women and speakers of Jaffan descent showed a greater tendency to favor using the [ʔ] variant instead of [q]. Specifically, women with a Jaffan background showed the highest interest in using the [ʔ] variant, while in general, men, regardless of their dialect backgrounds, showed interest in using the [q] variant. For the other linguistic feature,

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speakers from a Jaffan background favored a raised [e] for the feminine ending, but it was less favored by new generations. On the other hand, Gazan speakers were not influenced by Jaffan speakers and tended to maintain their unraised [a] ending. He noticed that the change in using the raised [e] as a feature of the urban dialect is becoming less common as a result of the contact of the two dialects.

Horesh (2014) argues that populations from Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Haifa represent the urban Palestinian reflex of historical Arabic /q/ as [ʔ]. Their migration to other parts of Palestine, to refugee camps around the main cities like Nablus, and to other countries like Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon has influenced the contact between PA and other Arab dialects. For those who stayed in Jaffa, their dialect was influenced by Hebrew. In this study, Horesh analyzed Jaffan speech for those who stayed in Jaffa after the Israeli war (1948) and Palestinians in the West Bank from Ramallah and Jerusalem. The analysis showed that Jaffan speakers have maintained their dialect features, believing that it reflected their prestige identity. He reports that the Jaffan dialect is influenced by Hebrew as a result of daily contact.

From previous studies mentioned above about PA, it is noticeable that phonological differences place an important role in the categorization of different varieties of the dialect. Some examples of the phonological differences between rural and urban varieties are discussed above. Other consonants are produced differently in different varieties. Table 2 illustrates the consonants that are not found in English IPA, while table 3 summarizes the major phonological differences between MSA, rural and urban PA.

Table 2

Arabic Sounds that do not Match English IPA Symbols

Arabic consonants	IPA	
ح	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	x	voiceless velar fricative
ص	sˤ	voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative
ض	dˤ	voiced alveo-dental emphatic stop
ط	tˤ	voiceless alveo-dental emphatic stop
ع	ʕ	voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	ɣ	voiced velar fricative
ق	/q/	voiceless uvular stop

Table 3

Phonological Differences in SA, RPA and UPA

Arabic Symbols	MSA	RPA	UPA
ث	θ	θ	s/t
ج	j	j	dʒ
ذ	ð	ð	d/z
ض	dˤ	ðˤ	dˤ
ظ	ðˤ	ðˤ	dˤ
ق	q	k	ʔ
ك	k	k/tʃ	k

In summary, the language and culture in Palestine have been influenced by the political issues faced by the Palestinians, especially the Israeli wars in the year of 1948 and 1967. People were forced to leave their own towns to other places, either in Palestine

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or other neighboring Arab countries. PA is categorized into urban, rural, and Bedouin varieties; each variety has its own lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic systems. Studies show that speakers from other varieties tend to switch to UPA, as it is considered to be the prestigious choice, based on different factors such as gender, age, religion, and migration. The prestigious dialects act like the standard form in informal settings. Studies show that women do not use the standard form as much as men; instead, they tend to switch to the urban dialect as a prestigious choice.

In the next section, I discuss the word order and subject-verb in MSA and the Palestinian Arabic. This topic is considered to be one of the most controversial issues in Arabic syntax.

2.4 Word Order and Subject-Verb Agreement

Word order is one of the most controversial issues studied by many Arabic linguists. Due to the rich overt case marking and the reduced agreement features which determine the function of each word regardless of the word order, MSA allows multiple word orders. Mohammad (2000) explains that Arabic has two types of sentences: verbal sentences, where the verb precedes the subject, and nominal sentences, where the subject precedes the predicate; the predicate can be verbal or nominal. Examples (1) and (2) are considered nominal sentences, despite of the verbal predicate in (1):

(1)   ʔahmad-u   **jaʔa**   MSA

         Ahmed-NOM   came.3SG.M

         'Ahmed came.' (Mohammad, 2000, p. 2)

(2)   ʔahmad-u   tabib-un   MSA

          Ahmad-NOM tabib-NOM

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Ahmad-NOM   tabib-NOM

'Ahmad is a doctor.'   (Mohammad, 2000, p. 2)

Sentence (1) becomes verbal if it starts with the verb.

(3)   **jaʔa**   ʔahmad-u   MSA

      came.3SG.M   Ahmed-NOM

   'Ahmed came.' (Mohammad, 2000, p. 2)

   Arabic grammarians consider VSO to be the basic word order in MSA, but other word orders are also acceptable. Aoun et al. (1994), Mohammed (1989, 2000), Ouhalla (1994), and Aoun et al. (2010) claim that Arabic has both VSO and SVO word orders, with differences in strong and weak features being responsible for the different word orders. Mohammed (2000) adds that if a sentence has two arguments, subject and object, six word orders are possible and all are considered grammatically correct. These orders are VSO, VOS, SVO, SOV, OSV and OVS. More word orders are available if more arguments are involved, such as adjective phrases, adverbials, or prepositional phrases. The following examples illustrate different word orders in MSA as mentioned above, respectively.

(4)   قرأ أحمد الكتاب   MSA

      qaraʔa   Ahmad-un   al-kita:b-a

      read.3SG.M   Ahmad-NOM   the-book-ACC

      'Ahmad read the book.'

(5)   قرأ الكتاب أحمد   MSA

      qaraʔa   al-kita:b-a   Ahmad-un

      read.3SG.M   the-book-ACC   Ahmad-NOM

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'Ahmad read the book.'

(6) أحمد قرأ الكتاب   MSA

Ahmad-un   qara?a   al-kita:b-a

Ahmad-NOM   read.3SG.M   the-book-ACC

'Ahmad read the book.

(7) أحمد الكتاب قرأ   MSA

Ahmad-u   al-kita:b-a   qara?a

Ahmad-NOM   the-book-ACC   read.3SG.M

'Ahmad read the book.'

(8) الكتاب أحمد قرأ   MSA

al-kita:b-a   Ahmad-un   qara?a

the-book-ACC   Ahmad-NOM   read.3SG.M

'Ahmad read the book.'

(9) الكتاب قرأ احمد   MSA

al-kita:b-a   qara?-a   Ahmad-un

the-book-ACC   read.3SG.M   Ahmad-NOM

'Ahmad read the book.'

Different word orders in MSA does not influence the semantic aspect of the sentence tremendously, but they require different agreement features on the verb.

There are limits to available word orders if the case marking is difficult to be realized phonologically on both the subject and the object is due to the syllable structure. Sentences (10) and (11) become ambiguous since their case markers are not spelled out overtly especially when both subject and object have the same gender and number.

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Another reason that makes identifying the subject and the object difficult is due to the syllable structure; the two nouns *Isa* and *Musa* end with a long vowel that does not accept the case markers. Subject-verb agreement is identified via verbal morphology. Therefore, it is difficult to tell if the word order is VSO or VOS.

(10) qabala   Musa   ʕisa   MSA

met.3sg.m   Musa   Isa

'Musa met Isa.'

(11) qabala   ʕisa   Musa   MSA

met.3sg.m   Isa   Musa

'Musa met Isa.' (Mohammad, 2000, p. 3)

Sentences (12) and (13) are not ambiguous due to the difference in gender between the subject and the object. The verb carries the third person feminine singular features to agree with subject *Layla* in both VSO and VOS.

(12)   قابلت ليلى عيسى   MSA

qabal-**at**   layla   ʕisa

met-3SG.M   Layla   Isa

'Layla met Isa.'

(13)   قابلت عيسى ليلى   MSA

qabal-**at**   ʕisa   layla

met-3SG.M   Isa   Layla

'Layla met Isa.'

Word order in dialects has less freedom due to the loss of case marking and reduced agreement features. Mohammad (2000) gives the following examples from PA, which only has VSO, VOS, and SVO word orders:

(14)   gabal   Ahmad   Muna   PA

        met.3SG.M   Ahmed   Mona

        'Ahmed met Muna.'

(15)   gabal   Muna   Ahmed   PA

        met.3SG.M   Mona   Ahmed

        'Ahmed met Muna.'

(16)   Ahmed   gabal   Muna   PA

        Ahmed   met.3SG.M   Mona

        'Ahmed met Muna.'   (Mohammad, 2000, p. 7)

He adds that these examples are not ambiguous as the third person masculine singular marker is expressed on the verb, showing that *Ahmed* is the subject and *Muna* is the object. If the subject and the object have similar features, VSO and VOS become ambiguous. Therefore, the VSO word order is more acceptable in order to avoid ambiguity.

Aoun et al. (2010) explain that OVS, OSV, and SOV are not acceptable in certain Arabic dialects, such as Lebanese, Moroccan, and PA (17). These word orders become acceptable if there is a resumptive pronoun on the verb that agrees with the object as it is shown in (18).

(17)   *Mona   gabal   ʔhmad   PA

        Mona   met.3SG.M   Ahmed   (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 47)

(18) Mona   gabal-**ha**   ʔahmad   PA

      Mona   met.3SG.M-her   Ahmed

      'Mona, Ahmed met her.'   (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 48)

Shahin (1995), in her study of rural Palestinian in the village of Abushusha (a village occupied by Israel in 1948), reports that VSO is the unmarked word order of RPA and that SVO word order is also permitted. OVS and OSV are also permitted but are marked with an object marker on the verb.

Mohammad (2000) argues that non-specific NPs cannot occur in sentence-initial position in MSA, which is also applies to other dialects such as Palestinian, Moroccan, and Lebanese. He argues that the verbal sentence in (19) is considered grammatical in MSA, whereas, sentence (20) is ungrammatical since an indefinite subject occupies sentence-initial position.

(19) dʒaʔa   **walad-un**   MSA

      came.3SG.M   boy-NOM

      'A boy came.' (Mohammad, 2000, p. 9)

(20) *walad-un   dʒaʔa   MSA

      boy-NOM   came.3SG.M

      'A boy came.' (Mohammad, 2000, p. 9)

Data from RPA proves that the use of a definite subject is obligatory as it is shown below:

(21)   الزلمة بشتغل برة   RPA

      l-zalami   b-štɣil   barra

      the-man   ASP-work.3SG.M   outside

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'the man works outside.'

On the other hand, the following example is ungrammatical since the subject is indefinite.

(22)   * زلمة بشتغل برة

zalami   b-štɣil   barra

man   ASP-work.3SG.M   outside

'A man works outside.'

Sentence (23) becomes acceptable if an adjective is added to make the subject *zalami* specific.

(23)   زلمة غريب بشتغل برة   RPA

zalami   ɣar:b   bi-štɣil   barra

man   strange   ASP-work.3SG.M   outside

'A strange man is working outside.'

Research on the topic of subject-verb agreement was conducted by linguists such as van Gelderen (1996), Mohammad (1990, 2000) and Aoun et al. (2010), among many others. Their claim is that subject-verb agreement in MSA differs based on the word order where it is a full agreement in person, gender, and number in SV structure and partial agreement in person and gender, but not number in VS word order. Subject-verb agreement is the same on both perfective and imperfective verbs. On perfective verbs, it is realized via suffixes on the verb, while on imperfective verbs, the agreement is realized via prefixes for person and gender and suffixes for number. Aoun et al. (2010) explain that the suffix on perfective verbs only carries agreement features and does not carry tense. The following examples show the difference between SV, where it has a full agreement, and VS, where it has a partial agreement:

(24)   T-Taalib-at-u   Ɂkal-**na**   MSA

the-students-fpl-NOM   eat.past-3f.pl

'The students ate.'

(25)   *T-Taalib-at-u   Ɂkal-**at**   MSA

the-students-SG.F-NOM   eat.past-3SG.F

(26)   Ɂkal-**at**   T-Taalib-at-u

eat.past-3SG.F   the-students-PL.F-NOM

'The students ate.'

(27)   *Ɂkal-**na**   T-Taalib-at-u   MSA

eat.past-3PL.F   the-students-PL.F-NOM

'The students ate.'   (Benmamoun, 2000, p. 9)

Aoun (2010) and Mohammed (2000) argue that person and gender features on the verb are considered to be weak, while the number feature is strong. In SV full agreement, the verb has to check its strong feature overtly. The checking cannot be done unless the subject and the verb are raised to TP. The subject and the verb movement from VP to TP results in SV order. The agreement relationship between the Spec and the head, where the subject is in the Spec and the verb is in the head projection, results in full agreement as it is illustrated in tree (28) for the above example (24).

(28)

```
                          TP
                     ┌────┴─────┐
                   Spec          T'
                    ↑        ┌───┴──────┐
                    │        T          VP
                    │        ↑     ┌────┴────┐
                    │        │   Spec        V'
                    │        │     │         │
                    │        │  T-Taalibat-u  V
                    │        │                │
                    │        └─────────── ?akal-na
                    └────────────────────────┘
```

In VS partial agreement, in which the number feature is not spelled out phonologically by an affix, the verb moves to TP and the subject stays within the VP projection where the strong number feature cannot be checked. van Gelderen (1996) following the minimalist theory by Chomsky (1995) argues that strong features require overt movement, but weak features do not. The lexical subject stays in the Spec of VP and does not have to move to the Spec of TP. Because of the NP movement covertly, the verb checks its number feature with an expletive in the specifier that is always singular. Considering that the expletive is not fully specified, the verb waits until the NP moves and joins the expletive at LF to check the verb features and then no morphological features is required. Benmamoun (2000) argues that when the verb moves in a position higher than the subject, it loses the number feature. The following tree (29) explains example (26) above.

(29)
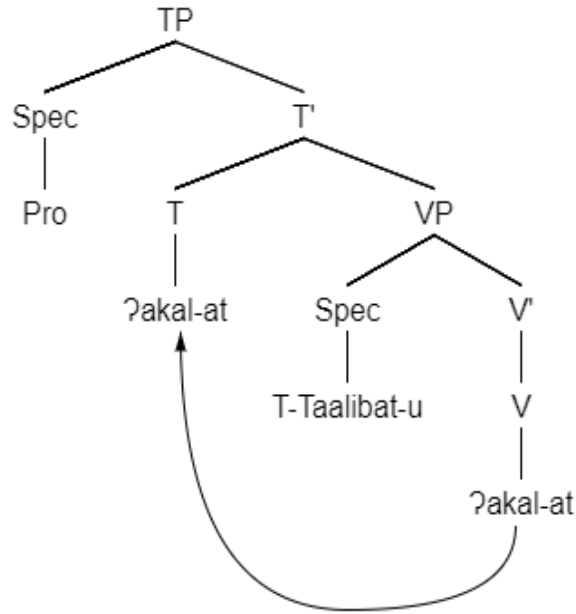
       Aoun et al. (2010) claim that number agreement is also obligatory when the post-verbal subject is phonologically null, as in a wh-trace; the pronominal –*uu* on the verb marked the agreement feature with subject that "deploys the resumptive pronoun strategy" that refers to the object *l-kuttabu*, as shown in (30):

(30)   raʔaytu   l-kuttabu   llðina   zaar-uu   l-žaamiʕita   MSA

        saw.1SG the-authors   who.PL.M   visited-3PL.M   the-university

      'I saw the authors who visited the university.' (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 79)

       Fasi Fahri (1988) argues that full agreement is required when the subject is an overt pronominal, as shown in (31):

(31)   jaʔ-**u:**   **hum**   la   iẖwatu-hum   MSA

        came-3PL.M   they   NEG   brothers-their

      'They came, not their brothers.' (Fasi Fahri, 1989, p. 109)

Full agreement can also occur when the subject is null, on both the auxiliary and the verb (Benmamoun, 2000), as illustrated in (32):

(32)   kun-**na**   ya-ʔkul-**na**   MSA

       be-3PL.F   3-eat-PL.F

       'They were eating.' (Benmamoun, 2000, p. 126)

If a plural subject occurs between the auxiliary and verb (33), the main verb *yalʕab-u:n* agrees with the subject *l-atˤfa:l-u* and the auxiliary *ka:na* is singular. Otherwise, if the subject precedes the auxiliary (34), full agreement between the subject and auxiliary is obligatory. The complement bears accusative case in both word orders.

(33)   كان الأطفال يلعبون   MSA

       ka:na   **l-atˤfa:l-u**   yalʕab-**u:n**

       was.SG   the-children-NOM   play-3PL.M

        'The children were playing.'

(34)   الأطفال كانوا يلعبون   MSA

       l-atˤfa:l-u   ka:n-**u:**   yalʕab-**u:n**

       the-children-NOM   were-3PL.M   play-3PL.M

        'The children were playing.'

When the complement of *ka:na* is nominal or adjectival, it bears accusative case. Example (35) shows that the adjective *taʕba:ni:n,* the predicate of *ka:na*, bears accusative case.

(35)   الأطفال كانوا تعبانين   MSA

       l-atˤfa:l-u   ka:nu: taʕba:n-**i:n**

       the-children-NOM   were   tired-3PL.M.ACC

'The children were tired.'

According to Benmamoun (2000), the agreement asymmetry applies also to the inflected negative particle *laysa,* as shown in (36) and (37). Similar to *ka:na*, *laysa* bears the accusative case to its nominal and adjectival predicates.

(36)   ليس الأولاد في البيت   MSA

laysa   l-ʔawladu   fi   l-bayt-i

NEG   the-boys   in   the-house-GEN

'The boys are not in the house.'

(37)   الأولاد ليسوا في البيت   MSA

l-ʔawladu   lays-**u:**   fi   l-bayt-i

the-boys   NEG-3PL.M   in   the-house-GEN

'The boys are not in the house.'

More details regarding the negative particle *laysa* can be found in Chapter 4.

Mohammad (2000) argues that in dialects that have been studied, such as Moroccan, EA, and PA, full agreement occurs in both SV and VS word orders. The following VS word order example from RPA shows that the verb agrees with the plural subject *l-wla:d* 'boys' in person, gender, and number, unlike MSA:

(38)   أجو لولاد من المدرسة   RPA

ʔaj-**u:**   l-wla:d   min   l-madrasi

came-3PL.M   the-boy   from   the-school

'The boys came from school.'

Like MSA, full subject-verb agreement in SV word order is illustrated in (39), from RPA.

(39)   لولاد أجو من المدرسة   RPA

     l-wla:d   Ɂaj-**u:**   min   l-madrasi

     the-boys   came-3PL.M   from   the-school

     'The boys came from school.

Within the limited data of this study, RPA speakers prefer VS word order.

     In RPA, the past tense auxiliary also shows full agreement with the subject if it precedes or follows the subject. As in (40) and (41), the auxiliary *baku*: and the main verb both agree with the subject in both word orders.

(40)   بكو لولاد يلعبو   RPA

     baku: l-wlad   yalʕab-**u**

     were   the-children   play-3Pl.M

     'The children were playing.'

(41)   لولاد بكو يلعبو   RPA

     l-wlad   **baku:** yalʕab-**u**

     the-children   were   play-3Pl.M

     'The children were playing.'

     Herbert and Bahloul (2002) address first conjunct agreement (FCA) in MSA and other dialects. They claim that in MSA, the verb always agrees with the leftmost coordinated subject even in the context of reflexive and control verbs that require the conjoined subjects to be involved.

(42)   التقى أحمد وليلى   MSA

     Ɂltaqa   Ahmad   wa-layla

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met.3S.F   Ahmad   and-layla

'Ahmad and Layla me.'

The verb *ʔltaqa* 'met' in (41) agrees with the leftmost subject *Ahmad*, yet the context of

the verb needs both subject to be involved. Example (42) becomes ungrammatical if the

verb has plural agreement plural (43).

(43)   التقوا أحمد وليلى*

     ʔltaqu: Ahmad   wa-layla

     met.3PL.F   Ahmad   and-layla

Aoun et al. (2010) explain that in dialects such as Moroccan and Lebanese, the

leftmost coordinated subject agrees with the verb and that full agreement is also an

option. RPA is one of the dialects that has FCA (44) and full agreement (45).

(44)   راح محمد وعبد عالمحل   RPA

     ra:ħ   Mohammad   wa-ʕabid   ʕ-l-maħal

     went.3SG.M   Mohammad   and-Abed   on-the-store

     'Mohammad and Abed went to the store.'

(45)   راحو محمد وعبد عالمحل   RPA

     ra:ħu: Mohammad   wa-ʕabid   ʕ-l-maħal

     went.3SG.M   Mohammad   and-Abed   on-the-store

     'Mohammad and Abed went to the store.'

FCA is not compatible with verbs that require conjoined subjects, such as *ysha:rak*

'share' or *yiltki* 'meet', where the plural form of the verb is obligatory (46).

(46)   التكو محمد وفاطمة فبيتنا   RPA

     ltak-**u:**   Mohammd   w-Fatmi   f-bait-na

met-3PL.M   Mohammd   and-Fatmi   in-house-our

'Ahmad and Fatmi met in our house.'

To sum up, in MSA, the verb shows full agreement features with the subject in SVO word order, whereas, in VSO, the verb carries partial agreement features with the subject in person and gender not number. On the other hand, Arabic dialects have a rigid word order because of the missing case marking. The case marking in MSA determines the function of the words regardless where it occurs in the sentence, whereas in dialects, the lack of case marking makes it difficult to differentiate between the subject and the object. Therefore, word order in dialects is limited to SVO and VSO.

2.5. Conclusion

Arabic is a Semitic language that is spoken in 22 countries. It has two varieties, MSA, which is used mainly in formal settings, and the spoken varieties that are used in everyday communication. PA is a Levantine dialect spoken by Palestinians in the occupied territories (1948), the West Bank, Gaza, and by the Palestinian diaspora populations around the world. It is categorized into three varieties: urban, rural, and Bedouin. PA is a great example of dialectal variations due to the political issues caused by the Israeli occupation and the wars in 1948 and 1967 that forced Palestinians to move to different parts of Palestine or to neighboring countries like Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon. Others chose to move to Europe, North America, or Australia. This relocation has caused those speech communities to switch and adopt new dialects as a result of contact with their host speech communities.

The term *diglossia* was introduced by Ferguson (1959). It describes two varieties of the language that are used by speakers depending on the situation. The first variety is

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the standard and is used in formal settings such as schools, administration, and formal speeches, while the second variety consists of the spoken regional dialects that are used in daily life communication. The standard variety is different from the spoken dialects throughout the Arab world. These differences appear in vocabulary, phonology, syntax, and morphology. Ferguson considers the standard variety to be more prestigious than the spoken dialects. He used "High" for the formal variety and "Low" for the spoken variety.

Arabic sociolinguistic studies show that speakers switch from their local dialect to a different dialect as a choice to use a more prestigious variety. The phonological, morphological, and lexical differences of PA are affected by different factors, such as age, gender, education, religion, and migration. Women and younger men tend to switch to the urban dialect as a prestigious choice. Other studies show that Christian men switch to urban dialects, while young educated Muslim men favor switching to MSA. The migration of Palestinians to Jordan plays an important role in the development of the urban dialect in Amman. Jordanians tend to switch to UPA, believing that this dialect is more prestigious than the rural and Bedouin dialects.

MSA has more flexible word order than RPA. Six possible word orders are acceptable for a sentence with two arguments, while only two-word orders are possible in RPA. Choices of word orders are limited when it is difficult to realize the case ending phonologically as when both the subject and the object end with a long vowel that cannot carry case markers. Subject-verb agreement in MSA is based on the word order. There is full agreement in person, gender, and number in SV structure and partial agreement in VS order, which agrees in person and gender but not in number, whereas there is full agreement in both SV and VS word orders in RPA. In SV full agreement, the subject and

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the verb have to move to TP to check the strong number feature overtly with the noun, and that results in SV order. In VS partial agreement, if the number feature is not spelled out phonologically by an affix, then the verb must move to TP and the subject stays within the VP projection, where the strong number feature cannot be checked. On the other hand, RPA has full agreement in SV and VS orders.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRONOMONAL SYSTEM

3.1 Introduction

This comparative study investigates different categories of pronouns used in MSA

and RPA and shows how they are related. I show that subject pronouns can be classified

into independent and dependent versions. I investigate the origin of the dependent subject

pronouns and pronominal clitics and show that they are related to their independent

pronouns' counterparts. In addition, I explore the similarities and differences of pronouns

in MSA and RPA, providing examples from each variety. In section 3.2, I discuss the

differences between clitics and affixes. I argue that dependent subject pronouns are

agreement affixes used to mark verb argument features such as person, gender and

number, whereas pronominal object and possessive pronouns are clitics attached to their

hosts, such as verbs, nouns, prepositions, or quantifiers. In section 3.3, I explain the

origin, morphology, and functions of pronouns in MSA. Dependent and independent

pronouns in RPA are discussed in section 3.4. In section 3.5, I provide a summary and

conclude the chapter.

As dependent pronouns are categorized into clitics and affixes and are the main

focus of this chapter, I explain the main differences between both categories in section

3.2.

3.2 Clitics vs. Affixes

In Arabic, a word may be constructed out of a stem, clitics, and affixes.

According to van Gelderen (2011) and Zwicky and Pullum (1983), a clitic originates

from a word that loses some of its characteristics over time, such as its syllable structure

or stress, and attaches to a host word. They can be attached to different words and have the characteristics of free morphemes. According to van Gelderen (2011), and Zwicky and Pullum (1983), at the intermediate stage of this process, the word can be described as a "clitic". Marantz (1988) explains that a clitic is "an independent syntactic constituent which shows up phonologically as part of a derived word" (p. 253). It is a morpheme that has the same characteristics as a word but is always attached to a word that it is phonologically dependent on. It has a grammatical meaning other than syntactic meaning. Gerlach (2002) explains that "a clitic is generally understood to be a word that cannot stand on its own and 'leans' on a host word" (p. 2). Therefore, a clitic has the same features of a lexical item. It has the ability to attach to different lexical categories, such as nouns and prepositions, and has the characteristics of free morphemes. Clitics are created for phonological or morphological alternations.

Both clitics and affixes are bound morphemes that cannot stand on their own. However, there are characteristics that distinguish them from each other. Zwicky and Pullum (1983) summarize these differences and claim that clitics do not select their hosts, but affixes attach to words that are connected to them semantically. Another difference is that clitics do not change from one word to another, while affixes are more selective, they may not occur with certain words. Additionally, clitics follow the morphophonological rules of the language, but affixes may be irregular. Finally, clitics can be attached to words that already have other clitics and affixes; affixes can attach to other affixes, but not clitics.

Gerlach (2002) claims that cliticization appears with determiners, conjunctions, prepositions, question particles, negation, object and possessive pronouns. Object and

possessive pronouns are the most dominant clitics in Arabic, which is the focus of this chapter. Clitics appear in two different categories: proclitics occur at the beginning of a morpheme and enclitics occur at the end of a morpheme. In Arabic, there can be up to four proclitics attached to the stem, as in the following example from Classical Arabic (CA):

(1)   أفبالباطل   CA

a-**fa**-**bi**-**el**-ba:tˤel-i

?-then-by-the-false-gen

'Then by the false?'   (Alotaiby et al., 2010, p. 596)

From the previous example, we notice that more than one clitic can be integrated into the host word. The first four morphemes *a*, *-fa, -bi* and *-el* are proclitics that belong to different functional categories that attach to the base word *ba:tˤel-i.* The clitic *a* is an interrogative particle for yes/no question, *-fa* is a conjunction, -bi is a preposition and finally -el is a definite article.

Classical Arabic is one of the languages that is also rich in the other type of clitics (enclitics) as shown in (2):

(2)   وهبتنيها   CA

wahab-**ta**-**ny**-**ha**

 Gave-2m-1sg-3f

 'You gave it to me.'

The previous example has the affix *–ta* which is a second person masculine dependent subject pronoun, *–ny* 'my' and *–ha* 'her' are object pronoun clitics. Example (1) and (2) show that clitics can be attached to the base word that already has clitics and

affixes while the same cannot be applied to affixes. It is worth to mentioning here that such complex structures as in Classical Arabic are hardly ever used in MSA and most dialects.

Affixation occurs in subject-verb agreement on perfective and imperfective verbs. On perfective verbs, subject-verb agreement is realized via verbal suffixes for person gender and number, while on imperfective verbs, agreement is realized via verbal prefixes for person and gender and suffixes for number.

In the next section, I discuss independent and dependent pronouns in MSA. Furthermore, the origin and morphology of dependent pronouns is also explained.

3.3 Pronouns in Modern Standard Arabic

Pronouns in MSA have different functions: subject, object, and possessive. Subject pronouns have two different forms: independent forms that are frequently dropped from the sentence and dependent forms that appear as affixes attached to verbs, identifying person, gender, and number features. Object and possessive pronouns are clitics that can attach to verbs, nouns, quantifiers or prepositions. According to Afghani (1981), *ʔiyya* is the only independent object pronoun in Arabic. It is used in MSA and other dialects, such as EA and Levantine. Badawi et al. (2004) consider *ʔiyya* to be a "dummy pronoun", as it does not have any of the interpretable features that other pronouns do. Instead, it gets these features via other clitics.

3.3.1 Subject Pronouns

Personal subject pronouns in Arabic have different forms: independent pronouns and dependent pronouns occur as prefixes and suffixes attached to verbs to reflect subject-verb agreement features. Fassi Fahri (1993), van Gelderen (1996), and Shlonsky

(1997) refer to independent pronouns as "strong pronouns" and to dependent pronouns as

"weak pronouns". Arabic has twelve independent pronouns, as shown in Table 4 below.

Table 4

Independent Subject Pronouns in MSA

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic
1st person SG.M/F	ʔana:	أنا
2nd person SG.M	ʔanta	أنتَ
2nd person SG.F	ʔanti	أنتِ
3rd person SG.M	huwa	هو
3rd person SG.F	hiya	هي
2nd person dual M/F	ʔantuma:	أنتما
3rd person dual M/F	huma:	هما
1st person PL.M/F	naħnu	نحن
2nd person PL.M	ʔantum	أنتم
2nd person PL.F	ʔantunna	أنتن
3rd person PL.M	hum	هم
3rd person PL.F	hunna	هنّ

These pronouns are divided into three different categories: first person, second

person, and third person. MSA has singular, dual, and plural number marking. As can be

seen in Table 4, first person pronouns are gender-neutral. In addition, there is no gender

distinction in second and third-person dual pronouns, whereas second and third person

pronouns distinguish between masculine and feminine in both singular and plural forms.

They are strong forms that occupy a position similar to noun phrases (NPs) and

determiner phrases (DPs).

Dependent subject pronouns are highly selective affixes as they only associate

with verbs. They are a type of inflectional markers in MSA and RPA, which reflect

subject-verb agreement features of person, gender and number. In perfective verbs, the agreement features appear in suffixes, whereas in imperfective verbs, they appear as prefixes and suffixes. Subject-verb agreement can be full or partial depending on if the sentence is nominal or verbal. 8m

Table 5 provides a summary subject dependent pronouns suffixes in perfective verbs.

Table 5

Agreement Suffixes of MSA Perfective Verbs

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic
1st person S.M/F	katab-**tu**	كتبتُ
2nd person S.M	katab-**ta**	كتبتَ
2nd person S.F	katab-**ti**	كتبتِ
3rd person M.S	katab-**a**	كتبَ
3rd person S.F	kataba-**at**	كتبتْ
2nd person dual M/F	katab-**a:**	كتبا
3rd person dual M/F	Kataba-**ta:**	كتبتا
1st person PL.M/F	katab-**na**	كتبنا
2nd person PL.M	katab-**tum**	كتبتُم
2nd person PL.F	katab-**tunna**	كتبتنَّ
3rd person PL.M	katab-**u:**	كتبوا
3rd person PL.F	katab-**na**	كتبنَ

According to Zwicky and Pullum (1983), dependent subject pronouns originated from independent subject pronouns. Some originated after the deletion of a syllable. For example, the second person pronouns are reduced from their independent counterparts by eliminating the first syllable. Second person –*ta*, –*ti* are derived from *?anta and ?anti.* Second person dual –*tuma:* is from ʔa*ntuma:* and the plural forms –*tum* and –*tunna* are reduced from ʔ*antum* and ʔ*antunna*. In addition to that, third person dual –*aa* and third

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person feminine plural *–na:* are reduced from the independent pronouns *huma:* and

hunna, respectively, by deleting the initial syllables *hum* and *hun*. On the other hand,

some are suppletive forms, such as the first person pronoun *–tu* and the third person

masculine plural *–u:*. The third person singular dependent pronoun is null.

Benamoun (2000) and Aoun et al. (2010) explain that suffixes on perfective verbs

are agreement features and don't carry tense. Benmamoun explains that the negative

particle *laysa* that carries the same suffixes of perfective verbs and is used only on

present tense sentences is a proof of the claim.

On the other hand, agreement features appear on imperfective verbs as prefixes

and suffixes as it is illustrated in table 6.

Table 6

Agreement Prefixes and Suffixes of MSA Imperfective Verbs

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic
1st person SG.M/F	**ʔa**-ktub-**u**	أكتب
2nd person SG.M	**ta**-ktub -**u**	تكتبُ
2nd person SG.F	**ta**-ktub-**i:na**	تكتبينَ
3rd person SG.M	**ya**-ktub-**u**	يكتب
3rd person SG.F	**ta**-ktub-**u**	تكتب
3rd person dual M	**ya**-ktub-**a:ni**	يكتبان
3rd person dual F	**ta**-ktub-**a:ni**	تكتبان
3rd person dual M/F	**ta**-ktub-**a:ni**	تكتبان
1st person PL.M/F	**na**-ktub-**u**	نكتب
2nd person PL.M	**ta**-ktub-**u:na**	تكتبون
2nd person PL.F	**ta**-ktub-**na**	تكتبن
3rd person PL.M	**ya**-ktub-**u:na**	يكتبون
3rd person PL.F	**ya**-ktub-**na**	يكتبن

Ryding (2005) and Abboud and McCarus (1983) explain that mood inflections are only associated with imperfective verbs. They categorized mood into indicative, subjunctive, jussive, and imperative. The indicative mood occurs in the context of narratives and factual statements. Table 6 above provides verbs in the indicative mood, where the suffix -i:na is attached to the second feminine singular verbs, a:ni to second and third person dual verbs, and u:na to second and third person masculine plural verbs. The subjunctive mood occurs when the verb is preceded by the future negative particle lan to express attitude toward actions, such as hope or ability. The jussive mood is used when the verb is preceded by the negative particle lam or the prohibitive la:. Finally, the imperative mood is used in commands. In the subjunctive, jussive, and imperative, the final verbal final suffixes are dropped. The following examples illustrate the mood categories in MSA.

(3)   الأولاد يدرسون للامتحان   MSA

Ɂal-Ɂawlad-u   ya-drus-**u:-na**   li-l-Ɂimtiħan-i

the-boys-NOM   3-study-PL.M-IND   to-the-exam-GEN

'The students are studying for the exam.'

(4)   الأولاد لن يدرسوا للامتحان   MSA

Ɂal-Ɂawlad-u   lan   ya-drus-**u:**   li-l-Ɂimtiẖan-i

the-boys-NOM   NEG   3-study-PL.M.SUB   to-the-exam-GEN

'The students will not study for the exam.'

(5)   الأولاد لم يدرسوا للامتحان   MSA

Ɂal-Ɂawlad-u   lam   ya-drus-**u:**   li-l-Ɂimtiẖan-i

the-boys-NOM   NEG   3-study-PL.M.JUS   to-the-exam-GEN

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'The students did not study for the exam.'

(6) أدرسوا للامتحان   MSA

ʔu-drus-**u:**   li-l-ʔimtiḫan-i

study-3PL.M.IMP   to-the-exam-GEN

'Study for the exam!'

Note that in example (3), the verb keeps the suffix *-na* is attached to the verb in the indicative mood, whereas the final inflections of the verbs are deleted in (4), (5), and (6), based on the mood of subjunctive, jussive, and imperative, respectively.

Arabic is a pro-drop language where the subject is frequently dropped whenever it can be inferred from the context and verb agreement. Abu-Cakra (2007) argues that Arabic strong pronouns are always nominative. Therefore, they can replace the subject in nominal sentences. He argues that it is not mandatory to include strong pronouns unless they function as an "appositive", adding emphasis when they precede the verb and can be considered to be a focus element as in sentence (7).

(7) a. أنا أكلتُ التفاحةَ   MSA

ʔana: ʔakal-**tu**   t-tufa:ḥat-a

I   ate-1SG   the-apple-ACC

 'I ate the apple.'

b. أكلت التفاحة   MSA

ʔakal-**tu**   t-tufa:ḥat-a

ate-1SG   the-apple-ACC

'I ate the apple.'

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The examples in (7) have the same meaning. The first sentence (7a) has an independent subject pronoun *ʔana:* 'I' that occupies the DP of the VP, and the bound morpheme (suffix) *–tu* (1.SG) reflects agreement with the subject. Using *ʔana:* supports the dependent pronoun *–tu* by adding a contrastive focus on the subject. Tree (8) for sentence (7a) shows that the independent pronoun *ʔana:* 'I' occupies the subject position in the Spec of the VP.

(8)
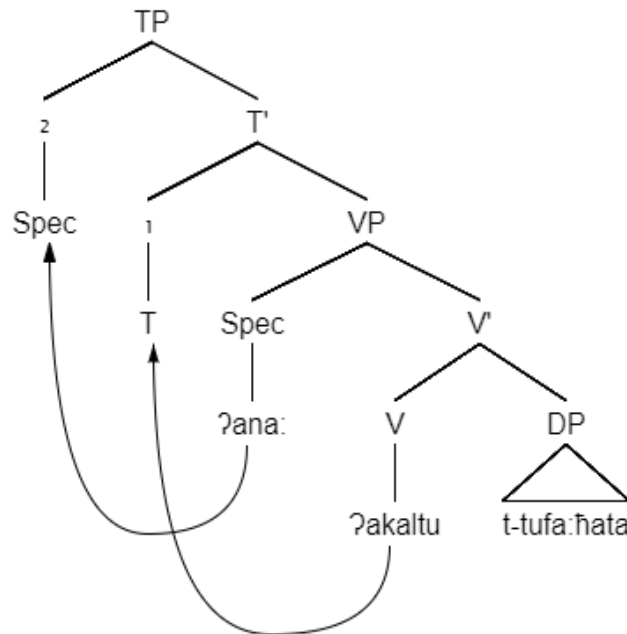
In (7b), the independent subject pronoun is dropped; the subject agreement *–tu* attached to the verb reflects the person, gender, and number features of the subject. Another example in Arabic of mandatory pro-drop is the imperative verb (9).

(9) إشربي العصيرَ   MSA

  ʔi-šrab-**i:**   el-ʕasˤira

  Mood-drink-2SG.F the-juice-ACC

'Drink the juice.'

It is understood from this example that the dropped subject is *ʔanti* (you.F.SG), due to the suffix *-i:* on the imperative verb.

Independent third subject pronouns can be used as copulas where agreement in person, gender, and number is required between the subject and the copula, as in (10):

(10) a.   أحمد هو أخو ليلى   MSA

        Ahmad-un   **huwa**   ʔa-xu: Layla

        Ahmad.nom   he   brother-1SG.NOM   Layla.GEN

        'Ahmad is Layla's brother.'

    b.   الاولادُ هم اخوة ليلى   MSA

        ʔal-ʔawla:d-u   **hum**   ʔixwat-u   Layla

        the-boys-NOM   they   brothers-NOM   Layla.GEN

        'The boys are Layla's brothers.'

In (10), third person pronouns (*huwa* and *hum*) are used as copulas to connect the subject to the predicate. A copula can be used when the predicate is definite, as (10). In both sentences, definite phrases are used in the construct state form, which is referred to in Arabic as *idˤa:fa*. It is also possible to produce both sentences without copulas. However, if the predicate is indefinite, a copula cannot be used.

In summary, subject pronouns in MSA have independent and dependent forms. Independent pronouns can be dropped whenever the subject can be interpreted from the dependent pronouns that mark the subject-verb agreement features. Independent pronouns can be used as copulas in equative sentences if the predicate is definite.

In section 3.3.2, I turn to object and possessive pronouns in MSA, as they are the most prevalent clitics in Arabic. I also explain the origin and the uses of these pronouns.

3.3.2 Object and Possessive Pronouns

Gerlach (2002) states that "a clitic is generally understood to be a word that cannot stand on its own and leans on a host word" (p. 2). Thus, a clitic has nearly the same characteristics as a word. In Arabic, neither object nor possessive pronouns are freestanding. Dependent object pronouns are less selective as they can be attached to verbs, nouns, preposition, or quantifiers, a typical feature of clitics. Object pronouns are attached to verbs to replace direct or indirect objects; van Gelderen (2011) states that "Arabic cannot have an object pronoun without object marking on the verb" (p. 101). They are also found attached to quantifiers or prepositions. On the other hand, possessive pronouns are only attached to nouns. Both forms are similar, except in first person singular, which uses *-ni* in the object form and *-i* in the possessive. Table 7 contains a list of possessive pronouns in MSA.

Table 7

Possessive Pronominal Clitics in MSA

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic
1st person SG.M/F	kita:b-**i:**	كتابي
2nd person SG.M	kitabu-**ka**	كتابكَ
2nd person SG.F	kitabu-**ki**	كتابكِ
3rd person SG.M	kita:bu-**hu**	كتابه
3rd person SG.F	Kita:bu-**ha**	كتابها
2nd person dual M/F	kita:bu-**kuma:**	كتابكما
3rd person dual M/F	kita:bu-**huma**	كتابهما
1st person PL.M/F	kita:bu-**na:**	كتابنا
2nd person PL.M	kita:bu-**kum**	كتابكم

2nd person PLF	kita:bu-**kunna**	كتابكن
3rd person PL.M	kita:bu-**hum**	كتابهم
3rd person PL.F	kita:bu-**hunna**	كتابهن

In Table 7, it can be seen that these pronouns likely originate from their independent pronoun counterparts. Zwicky &and Pullum (1983) and van Gelderen (2011) claim that clitics originate from words that have lost its syllable or stress and then attach to a host word. Clitics are able to be attached to different word categories and have the characteristics of free morphemes.

The basic syllable structures in Arabic are CV, CVV, and CVC; all syllables begin with a consonant (Watson, 2007, p. 56). Based on this, I provide examples of the changes from strong pronouns to clitics, as explained by JapenSarage and Kasiyarno (2015). The pronoun *naħnu* for example, consists of two syllables *naħ* and *nu*, with stress on the first syllable. When it loses its stress and second syllable, the remaining syllable is *na:*, which becomes an enclitic and attaches to the end of a word, as in *kitabu-na:* "our book". The first person singular pronoun *ʔana:* "I" consists of two syllables: *ʔa and na:*. The second syllable is deleted, and the remaining syllable is *ʔa*. It is no longer a free morpheme and has attach to the end of its host, forming an enclitic. As a clitic must not get a stress, the glottal sound /ʔ/ weakens and merges with the vowel /a/ to form /i/. Thus, the weak form *-i:* is a clitic for the first person singular, as in *kitab-i:* "my book". Alternatively, when the clitic attaches to a noun, it can also attach to a preposition, such as *l-i:* "I have". When a clitic has the characteristics of a word, it can be attached to different categories of words, such as verbs, nouns, prepositions and quantifiers.

The second person singular independent pronouns *Ɂanta* and *Ɂanti*, which refer to masculine and feminine forms, respectively, consist of two syllables *Ɂan* and *ta* and *Ɂan* and *ti*. In this case, the first syllables deleted, leaving *ta* and *-ti*. The consonant /t/ weakens and becomes /k/. Thus, the clitic *-ka* represents the second person masculine singular, as in *kita:bu-ka* (your book) and *-ki* represents the second person feminine singular clitic pronoun, as in *kita:bu-ki* "your book".

The strong third person singular masculine pronoun *huwa* and the feminine pronoun *hiya* have the syllabic forms CV, CV *hu-wa* and *hi-ya*. In this case, the second syllable is deleted and the remaining syllables are *-hu* and *-hi*, and the latter changes into *-ha:*. Therefore, *-hu* and *-ha:* became third person singular clitics, as in *kita:bu-hu* "his book" and *kita:bu-ha:* "her book".

There is another group of clitics that has not changed from their free morphemes. This includes the third person dual independent pronoun *huma:*, which is gender-neutral; *hum* and *hunna* are the third person plural strong pronouns for masculine and feminine, respectively. These pronouns take the same forms as clitics that attach to their hosts.

Note that the formation of clitics and affixes is very similar. Both are formed from their independent pronouns' counterparts, and both cannot stand alone and must rely on a nearby word. Clitics are smaller than independent pronouns, and affixes are similar or even smaller than clitics. The process is explained by Klavans (1995) as shown below:

(11)   lexical item → clitic → affix

Model (11) shows that a pronoun loses its independence over the time, first by losing a syllable or stress, becoming a clitic. The final stage of this grammaticalization process is that the clitic becomes an affix marking subject-verb agreement features.

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Example (12) shows the attachment site of pronominal clitics to verbs:

(12)   يشاهده   MSA

yu-sha:hid-u-**hu**

3SG.M-watch-ind-3SG.M.ACC

'He watches it.'

In example (12), the pronominal clitic *-hu*, which originates from the strong

pronoun *huwa*, is attached to the verb, marking the direct object. In this case, no other

object pronoun can be attached to the verb as *yusha:hiduhu* is not ditransitive. For

ditransitive verbs, object pronouns in CA and MSA behave differently. They also vary

from one dialect to another. In CA, the use of object pronouns is more complex. It is

possible to attach two pronominal objects directly to the verb. A hierarchy of first >

second > third is observed; Wilsmen (2010) claims that "in classical Arabic writing, two

pronominal objects may be affixed directly to the verb, provided that the sequence 1st>

2nd> 3rd person is observed, regardless of which is the beneficiary" (p.102). Wilsmen

provides examples (7) and (8) from the Holy Qur'an that show that having more than one

pronominal object attached to the verb is possible:

(13)   أنسانياه   CA

Ansa-**niya**-**hu**

made.forget-1SG-3SG.F

'He made me forget it.' (Wilsmen, 2010, p. 102)

(14)   أعطيتكاه   CA

ʔaʕtaytu-**ka**-**hu**

I.gave-2-3

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'I gave it to you.' (Wilsmen, 2010, p. 102)

MSA tends to have a simpler structure: if there is a need to use two pronouns in

MSA, *ʔiyya:* is used to separate the two pronouns. Afghaani (1981) claims that *ʔiyya:* is

the only independent object pronoun. MSA tends to separate the second object from the

first, attaching it to the particle *iyya:*. Sentences that have this type of verb are called

double object constructions (Soltan, 2011). Radford (2009) explains that pronouns should

have interpretable person, number, and gender features and they do not need any affixes

to maintain these features. Calling *ʔiyya:* an independent object pronoun is not

convincing because it gains its features via affixation. Fassi Fahri (1993) similarly argues

that *ʔiyya:* is just a particle used to host clitics that does not have any meaning. It gains

person, number, and gender features via cliticized object pronominals (Table 8)

Table 8

ʔiyya: with Cliticized Object Pronouns

features	singular	dual	plural
1st person	إياي *(ʔiyya:-ya)*	——	إيانا *(ʔiyya:-na:)*
2nd person (m)	إياك *(ʔiyya:-ka)*	إياكُما *(ʔiyya:-kuma:)*	إياكُم *(ʔiyya:-kum)*
2nd person (f)	إياكِ *(ʔiyya:-ki)*	إياكُما *(ʔiyya:-kuma:)*	إياكُنَ *(ʔiyya:-kunna)*
3rd person (m)	إياهُ *(ʔiyya:-hu)*	إياهُما *(ʔiyya:-huma:)*	إياهُم *(ʔiyya:-hum)*
3rd person (f)	إياها *(ʔiyya:=ha:)*	إياهُم *(ʔiyya:=huma:)*	إياهُنَ *(ʔiyya:=hunna)*

In (15), the particle *ʔiyya:* is used to separate pronouns and to place the indirect object -

hum before the direct object -*ha:*.

(15) هذه الأشياء التي سلمتهم إياها

ha:ðih-i   el-ʔašyaʔ-u   ʔallati: sallam-tu-**hum**   **ʔiyya:**-ha:

this-F   the-papers-NOM   that   gave-1SG-3SG.M   part3SG.F

'These are the papers that I gave to them.'

Using a preposition is another way to separate the two pronouns. In the prepositional dative construction with pronominal pronouns, the direct object –*ha:* is found before the indirect object –*hum*, as in (16):

(16) هذه الأشياء التي سلمتها لهم

ha:ðihi   el-ʔašyaʔ-u   allati: sallam-tu-**ha:**   la-**hum**

this.F   the-papers-NOM   that   gave-1SG-3SG.F   to-3PL.M

'These are the letters that she had given to him.'

Object pronouns are the only pronouns can be used as the object of preposition (17). In this case, the preposition ʕ*ind* assigns genitive case to the object pronoun *i:*.

(17) عندي سيارةٌ

ʕind-**i:**   sayya:rat-un

at-me   car-NOM

'I have a car.'

Object pronominals can also be attached to prepositional proclitics, as *l:* "to", which cannot stand by itself and is typically considered to be the base word, as in (18):

(18) لهم بيتٌ كبير

la-**hum**   bayt-un   kabe:r-un

to-them   house-NOM   big-NOM

'They have a big house.'

Possessive pronouns attach to nouns as in (19):

(19)   كتابها على الطاولةِ   MSA

   kita:b-u-**ha:**   ʕala   etˤ-tˤa:wilat-i

   book-NOM-3SG.F.POSS   on   the-table-GEN

   'Her book is on the table.'

They can be attached also to quantifiers as it can be seen in (20).

(20)   كلهم حضروا الإجتماع   MSA

   kul-**hum**   ħadˤar-u: l-ʔijtimaʕ-a

   all-them   attended-3PL.M   the-meeting-ACC

   'They all attended the meeting.'

   From these examples, we can see that dependent object pronouns are derived from their independent counterparts by the reduction of syllables or some kind of phonological change. Object pronouns can attach to different lexical categories, such as verbs, nouns, prepositions, or quantifiers. This is evidence that they are clitics.

   In section 3.4, I discuss both independent and dependent pronouns in RPA, providing examples of each type.

3.4   Pronouns in Rural Palestinian Arabic

   Like MSA and other varieties, RPA has different categories of pronouns: subject, object, and possessive pronouns. Independent subject pronouns are also used as subjects, copulas and question particles. The dependent forms are affixes to verbs, reflecting person, gender, and number features. Object and possessive pronominals are clitics attached to verbs, nouns quantifiers, or prepositions.

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3.4.1 Subject Pronouns

Personal subject pronouns in PA are very similar to MSA, with some phonological differences. Tables 6 shows the independent freestanding pronouns that can be dropped from the sentences considering the agreement features on the verb. Strong pronouns are divided into three different categories: first person, second person, and third person. RPA has singular and plural number marking. As can be seen in Table 9, singular and plural first-person pronouns are gender-neutral. In addition, the second person singular pronoun *ʔinti* is gender-neutral, while in the urban variety, *ʔinta* is used for masculine and *ʔinti* for feminine. One of the main differences between MSA and RPA is that independent and dependent dual pronouns are not found in RPA. Instead, the plural form is often used. The word *θnen* "two" is often added to clarify the dual number.

(21) همي الثنين أجو   RPA

     hummi   **l-θnen**   ʔaj-u:

     they   the-two   came-3PL.M

     'They both came.

Table 9

Independent Subject Pronouns in RPA

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic forms
1st person SG.M/F	ʔana:	أنا
2nd person SG.M	ʔinti	أنتِ
2nd person SG.F	ʔinti	أنتِ
3rd person SG.M	huwwi	هوي
3rd person SG.F	hiyyi	هيي
1st person PL.M/F	ʔiħna:	احنا

2nd person PL.M	ʔintuː	أنتو
2nd person PL.F	ʔintin	أنتن
3rd person PL.M	humiː	همي
3rd person PL.F	hinniː	هنّي

The following tables (10-11) illustrate the dependent pronouns affixed to both

perfective and imperfective verbs. As it can be seen, dependent pronouns appear as

suffixes in perfective forms that carry agreement features, whereas they are prefixes and

suffixes imperfective verbs. The initial *b-* in imperfective verbs reflect aspect.

Table 10

Agreement Features in RPA Perfective Verbs

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic
1st person SG.M/F	katab-**it**	كتبِت
2nd person SG.M	katab-**it**	كتبِت
2nd person SG.F	katab-**ti**	كتبتي
3rd person SG.M	katab	كتب
3rd person SG.F	katb-**at**	كتبتْ
1st person PL.M/F	katab-**na**	كتبنا
2nd person PL.M	katab-**tu**	كتبتوا
2nd person PL.F	katab-**t-in**	كتبتن
3rd person PL.M	katab-**u**	كتبوا
3rd person PL.F	katab-**in**	كتبن

Table 11

Agreement Features in RPA Imperfective Verbs

person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic
1st person SG.M/F	**b-a-**ktib	بكتِب
2nd person SG.M	**b-ti-**ktib	بتكتِب
2nd person SG.F	**b-ti-**ktib-**iː**	بتكتبي
3rd person SG.M	**b-i-**ktib	بِكتِب
3rd person SG.F	**b-ti-**ktib	بِتكتب
1st person PL.M/F	**b-ni-**ktib	بِنكتب

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2nd person PL.M	**b-ti**-ktib-**u:**	بتكتبوا
2nd person PL.F	**b-ti**-ktib-**in**	بتكتبن
3rd person PL.M	**b-i**-ktib-**u:**	بكتبوا
3rd person PL.F	**b-i**-ktib-**in**	بكتبن

Both types of subject pronouns are shown in (22):

(22)   همي راحو عالسوق   RPA

    hummi: raħ-**u:**   ʕa-s-su:q

    they   went-3PL.M   to-the-market

    'They went to the market.'

Example (22) contains both forms of the subject pronouns, which are syntactically different, the independent form *hummi* (3PL.M) and the dependent form –*u:* (3PL.M). The independent pronoun is not obligatory, but functions as a focus element. Given the contrast between the two forms, it is natural to assume that dependent subject pronouns are DPs occupying an external argument position. Since they are bound, such pronouns must move from their original position and adjoin to the lexical heads that host them. In RPA, masculine plural pronouns and verbs are commonly used for the feminine plural.

(23)   صاحباتي أجو   RPA

    sˤaħb-a:t-i: ʔaj-**u:**

    friend-PL.F-my   came-3PL.F

    'My friends came.'

In (23), no subject-verb agreement for gender is required. Instead of the feminine plural verb *ji:n*, the third person masculine plural *ʔaju:* is used. This example shows subject-verb agreement in person and number, but not in gender. Example (24) is considered

ambiguous since it can be used for both masculine and feminine third person. The gender would be understood from the context.

(24) راحو عدارهم   RPA

     hummi: raħ-**u:**   ʕa-da:r-hum

     they   went-3PL.M   on-house-3PL.M

     'They went to their house.'

As in MSA, pro-drop is also found in RPA, especially for first person, because of the agreement morphology on the verb that reflects the person, gender, and number of the intended subject. In this case, the subject can be omitted, as in (25):

(25) أنا رحت عالسوك مبيرح   RPA

     ʔana: ruħ-**it**   ʕa-s-su:q   mbariħħ

     I   went-1SG   on-the-market   yesterday

     'I went to the market yesterday.'

(26) رحت عالسوك مبيرح   RPA

     ruħ-**it**   ʕa-s-su:k   mbariħ

     went-1SG   on-the-market   yesterday

     'I went to the market yesterday.'

The subject pronoun *ʔana:* is optional to use and can be used to add emphasis to the argument, especially if the subject is known from the context.

In the next section, I will discuss the subject pronouns when they act like copulas in present equative sentences.

3.4.2 Copula Pronouns

Eid (1992), Shlonsky (2002), and Aoun et al. (2010) discuss the use of personal pronouns as copulas in different Arabic dialects. They claim that personal pronouns are only used as copulas in present equative sentences and that only the third person subject pronouns can be used as copulas. RPA is one of the dialects that commonly use third person pronouns as copulas. Example (27) shows the third person pronouns *huwwi* 'he', *hiyyii* 'she', and *hummi* 'they' used as copulas when the subject NP is a noun:

(27) a.   احمد هوي الأستاذ لجديد   RPA

        Aħmad   **huwwi**   lu-sta:ð   li-dʒde:d

        Ahmad   he.COP   the-teacher.M   the-new.SG.M

        'Ahmad is the new teacher.'

    b.   هدى هي البنت لجديدة   RPA

        Huda   **hiyyi**   el-binit   li-jdi:d-i

        Huda   she.COP   the-girl   the-new-F

        'Huda is the new girl.'

    c.   هذول الناس همي المعروفين في البلد   RPA

        haðu:l   n-na:s   **hummi**   el-maʕruf-i:n   fi-el-balad

        these   the-people   they.COP   the-known-3PL.M   in-the-town.

        'These people who are well-known in the town.'

In examples like (27), person, gender, and number agreement between the subject NP, copula, and the predicate NP is required. The subject is in SpecIP and the copula occupies the head of the predicate NP as it is shown in tree (28) for sentence (27b).

(28)
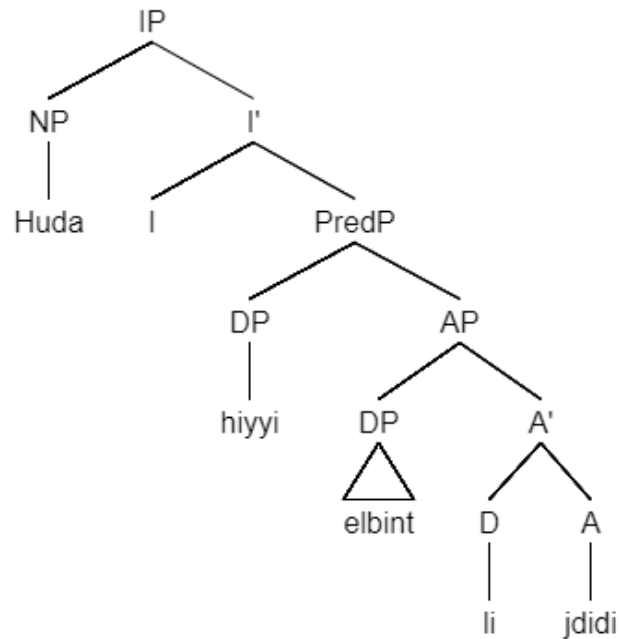
A copula can be also used in another context when the subject NP is a pronoun. Gender
and number, but not person, agreement is required, as in (29):

(29)   أنتو همي المسؤولين عن المشكلة   RPA

ʔintu   **hummi**:   el-masʔu:l-i:**n**   ʕan   el-muškili

you.PL.M   they.COP   the-responsible-PL.M   about   the-problem

'You who are responsible for the problem.'

Note that, in (27) and (29), the copula must be followed by a definite NP
predicate. If the predicate NP is indefinite, the copula pronoun functions as a question
pronoun, as discussed in section 5.1.2. Eid (1992) explains that the copula pronoun
cannot originate in the same position as the question pronoun if the predicate NP is
definite and that violates the restrictions.

If pronouns are used for both subject and predicate, there is no agreement required in gender, number, or person between the copula and predicate NP. The third person singular subject pronoun *huwwi* is used in all cases. Eid (1992) also argues that in EA, the third person masculine pronoun *huwwa* is used as a copula when both subject and predicate are the second person feminine singular pronoun, as in (30):

(30)   ʔinti **huwwa** ʔinti   EA

      'you (fsg) are you (fsg).' (Eid, 1992, p. 122)

Huwwi can be used as a copula when *ʔana:* is used for both subject and predicate (27a) and *huwwi* can also be used as a copula for second masculine plural *ʔintu* (27b):

(31)   a.   انا هو أنا وما بتغير   RPA

        ʔana: **huwwi**   ʔana: w-ma: ba-tɣayyar

        I   he.COP   I   and-NEG   ASP-change

        'I am me and I don't change.'

      b.   انتو هو انتو   RPA

        ʔintu: **huwwi**   ʔintu:

        You.PL.M   he.COP   you.PL.M

        'You are you.'

As was explained previously, copulas must be followed by a definite NP. If an indefinite NP follows, the pronoun is interpreted as a question pronoun instead**.** Therefore, it must occupy an interrogative position. The use of singular and plural third person pronouns in RPA instead of the interrogative particle *hal* in yes/no questions in MSA is discussed in section 3.4.3.

3.4.3   Question Pronouns

Third person pronouns are used in yes/no questions to introduce questions in RPA. This phenomenon does not occur in CA or MSA, where the interrogative particle *hal* is used instead. According to Eid (1992), interrogative particles for yes/no questions are not used in colloquial Arabic; rising intonations or third person pronouns are used instead. She explains that the question pronouns in EA and Moroccan are not obligatory; rising intonation can be used instead.

Given the contrast between copulas and question pronouns, if the item is followed by an indefinite NP, it must be a question pronoun and cannot originate from within the predicate structure. Instead, it must occupy the interrogative position. The following examples show the difference between both categories:

(32)   a.   هوي أحمد أستاذ؟   RPA

   huwwi   Ahmad   ʔustað

   he   Ahmad   teacher.M

   'Is Ahmad a teacher?'

   b.   أحمد هوي أستاذ؟   RPA

   Ahmad   **huwwi**   ʔustað

   Ahmad   he   teacher.M

   'Is Ahmad a teacher?'

In (32), *huwwi* is a question pronoun because the predicate NP is indefinite. If *huwwi* follows the subject NP, the sentence is still considered a question, due to the rising intonation. In other examples when the subject NP is a noun, person, gender, and number agreement between the question pronoun and subject is required, as shown in (33a). The

third person feminine pronoun *hiyyi* is used as a question pronoun, agreeing with the

subject NP "Layla". Example (33b) is ungrammatical because *huwwi* is used in the place

of *hiyyi*, where there is no agreement in gender with the subject NP.

(33)   a.   هي ليلى دكتورة؟   RPA

hiyyi   Layla   daktoor-a

she   Layla   doctor-SG.F

'Is Layla a doctor?'

b.   *هو ليلى دكتورة؟

huwwi   Layla   daktoor-a

he   Layla   doctor-SG.F

Example (34) shows person, gender, and number agreement between the question

pronoun *hummi* "they" and the plural subject NP *zlam* "men":

(34)   همي الزلام طلعو؟   RPA

hummi   ez-zlam   Tilʕ-u?

they   the-men   left-3PL.M

'Did the men leave?

huwwi is used as a question word whenever the subject NP is a pronoun. Therefore,

agreement between the question pronoun, subject, and predicate is not required. The

following examples show the use of *huwwi* with different subject pronouns:

(35)   a.   هوي انتِ مش جعانة؟   RPA

huwwi   ʔinti   mush   jaʕan-i

he   you.SG.F   NEG   hungry-SG.F

'Aren't you hungry?'

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هوي انتو مش جعانين؟ RPA

huwwi ʔint-u mush jaʕan-iːn

he you.PL.M NEG hungry-PL.M

'Aren't you hungry?'

c. هوي احنا مش رايحين عالحفلة؟ RPA

huwwi ʔiħna mush rayħiːn ʕa-l-ħafli

he we not going to-the-party

'Aren't we going to the party?'

I conclude that when the subject NP is a pronoun, *huwwi* is a question pronoun. In this case, it is the head of the NP, and there is no person or number agreement in between the subject pronoun and the question pronoun.

Example (35) shows person, gender, and number agreement between the question pronoun *hummi* "they" and the plural subject NP *zlam* "men":

From the data provided, dependent subject pronouns are derived from their independent counterparts. The use of independent pronouns is optional in verbal sentences to add emphasis on the subject. Third person pronouns are used as copulas to connect the subject and predicate in equative sentences. Additionally, they are used as question pronouns in yes/no questions, replacing *hal*, which is used in SA.

In section 3.4.4, I discuss the origin and the functions of the object and possessive pronouns in RPA.

3.4.4 Object and Possessive Pronouns in RPA

There are similarities in pronominal clitics between RPA and MSA. As in Table 12, the first person singular *-i/ni* and plural *-na* are the same in both varieties. In addition,

the second person plural -*kum* and third person plural -*hum* are also similar. The other

pronouns that end in a short vowel moved the vowel before the consonant. Thus, second

person masculine singular

-*ka* changed to -*ak*, while second person feminine singular -*ki* changed to -*ik*, which is

produced by young people who tend to switch to the urban dialect, while -*itʃ* is produced

by rural people, especially the elders, *ik* is used instead by urban speakers (Palva, 1984).

The third person singular masculine -*hu* changed to -*u* while the feminine form -*ha* is the

same in both varieties. The second and the third person feminine plural -*kunna* and -

hunna changed to -*kin/tʃin* and -*hin*, where -*tʃin* is produced by the elders. These changes

occurred only when a consonant preceded the ending.

Table 12

Possessive Pronouns in RPA

person/number/gender features	IPA	Arabic
1st person SG.M/F	kta:b-**i:**	كتابي
2nd person SG.M	Ktab-**ak**	كتابك
2nd person SG.F	ktab-**itʃ**	كتابتش
3rd person SG.M	kta:b-**u**	كتابه
3rd person SG.F	Kta:b-**ha**	كتابها
1st person PL.M/F	kta:b-**na:**	كتابنا
2nd person PL.M	kta:b-**kum**	كتابكم
2nd person PL.F	kita:b-**tʃin**	كتابتشن
3rd person PL.M	kta:b-**hum**	كتابهم
3rd person PL.F	kta:b-**hin**	كتابهن

Similar to MSA, object and possessive pronminals in RPA are clitics attached to

verbs, nouns, quantifiers, or prepositions. Some dialects, like EA, allow more than one

attached pronoun to the verb; a pronominal direct object, affixed to the verb, must precede a pronominal indirect object, as in (36).

(36)   تديهاني   EA

    tidi-**ha**-**ni**

    you.gave-3SG.F-1SG

    'You gave it to me.'   (Wilmsen, 2010, p.305)

Egyptian Arabic has similar morphology to CA, attaching two pronominal pronouns to the verb. The indirect object clitic *-ni* (me) follows direct object clitic *-ha* (3f). Example (2) is repeated here as (37) from CA:

(37)   وهبتنيها   CA

    wahab-ta-**ny**-**haa**

    gave-2M-1SG-3F

    'You gave it to me.'

On the other hand, RPA only allows one object pronoun attached to the verb:

(38)   أعطيتها لكتاب   RPA

    ʔa-ʕtˤʕit-**haa**   li-ktaab

    I-gave-her   the-book

    'I gave her the book.'

The indirect object *-ha:* (her) is attached to the verb, followed by the direct object *kta:b* (book). When both the direct object and indirect objects are pronouns, the direct object must be attached to the particle *yya:* (ʔiyya: in MSA). As I explained earlier, MSA tends to use the particle *ʔiyya:* or a preposition if there is a need to use two object pronouns. The same happens in RPA: *yya:* is used to separate the two pronouns. Following Soltan

(2009), Radford (2009), Badawi et al. (2004) and Fassi Fahri (1993), I argue that *ʔiyya:* is

a particle that has no meaning and is used to separate the two pronominal objects. It does

not have any interpretable person, number, or gender features, unlike pronouns.

Therefore, it must get these features by attaching a pronominal pronoun as an enclitic, as

in (39):

(39)   اعطيتها ياه   RPA

       ʔa-ʕtˤit-**haa**   yya-**h**

       I-gave-her   PART-3SG.M

       'I gave it to her.'

The indirect object *-haa* (her) is attached to the verb, while the direct object pronoun *-h*

(3msg) is encliticized to *yya:*.

In some cases, RPA prefers the opposite order of the object pronouns if a preposition is

used:

(40)   أعطيته إلها   RPA

       ʔaʕtˤit-**uh**   ʔil-**ha**:

       gave-3SG.M   to-her

       'I gave it to her.'

       The direct object *-uh* encliticizes to the verb and the indirect object *-ha*

encliticizes to the preposition. Arabic does not allow a gap in prepositional pronoun

object position, as in (40), where pronominal clitic attaches to the preposition –*ʔila* "to"

as its complement.

       In negation where the negative particle *-š* is used to negate pseudo verbs, the

object pronouns are cliticized to PPs as it is shown in the following examples:

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(41)   معيش مصاري

maʕ-**i:**-š   masˤaːri

with-me-NEG   money

'I don't have money.'

(42)   فاطمة معهاش ولا إشي

Fatmi   maʕ-**ha**-š   wa-la-ʔiši

Fatmi   with-her-NEG   and-NEG-thing

'Fatmi does not have anything.'

(43)   الزلام معندهمش شغل اليوم

z-zlam   ma-ʕind-**hum**-iš   šuɣul   l-yom

the-men   NEG-at-their-NEG   work   the-day

'The men don't have work today.'

From the previous examples, it is noticeable that the agreement in person, gender and number between the subject and the resumptive pronoun is required. For example, in (43) the third person masculine object pronoun -*hum* agrees with the subject *z-zlam* 'the men'. Object pronouns can be also used as a complement for quantifiers, as in (44):

(44)   كلهم أجو

kul-**hum**   ʔaju

all-them   came

'All of them came.'

The third person masculine plural -*hum* is the complement to the quantifier *kul* "all", constituting a definite construct state.

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On the other hand, clitics are used as possessive pronouns if they are attached to nouns as it is shown in the following example:

(45) كتابها عالطاولة   RPA

    kta:b-**ha**   ʕa-   tˤ-tˤaawli

    book-her   on   the-table

   'Her book is on the table.'

In summary, object and possessive pronominal clitics in RPA are derived from independent subject pronouns. One object pronoun is allowed to be attached to the verb. If both direct and indirect objects are used, the particle *yya:* or a preposition must be used as the head. Furthermore, they are used as a complement of prepositions and quantifiers.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter investigates dependent and independent pronouns in MSA and RPA. Linguists refer to independent subject pronouns as "strong pronouns", as they occupy the same position as NPs and DPs. These pronouns are marked for first person, second person, and third person and singular, dual, and plural. Independent pronouns can also be used as copulas in both MSA and RPA, when the pronoun is followed by a definite predicate. They can be used as interrogative pronouns in RPA if they are followed by an indefinite predicate. Arabic is a pro-drop language whose subject is frequently dropped whenever it can be inferred from the context. Independent subject pronouns can be dropped because of the subject-verb agreement features of person, gender, and number.

Dependent pronouns originated from their dependent counterpart by the deletion of a syllable; some of them instead have suppletive forms. They are known as "weak pronouns". They occur as affixes to verbs, reflecting subject-verb agreement features.

Object and possessive pronouns are the second category of dependent pronouns. They are

clitics that originated from independent subject pronouns by the deletion of a syllable.

They can be attached to different categories, such as verbs, nouns, and prepositions. They

can be used as resumptive pronouns when there is agreement between the subject and

pronominal. Most linguists consider *iyya* to be the only independent object pronoun, but

Badawi et al. (2004) considers *ʔiyya* to be a "dummy pronoun" because it does not carry

any of the interpretable features of other pronouns but instead gets these features via

other object pronominals. MSA and RPA prefer to use the particle *iyya* or a preposition to

separate the direct and indirect object. The object pronominal can be also cliticized to PPs

that already have the negative particle -*š*.

CHAPTER 4

THE MORPHOSYNTAX OF NEGATION

4.1   Introduction

Negation is one of the basic concepts of any language. Every language has its

own negative system that involves negative particles and negated elements. Many studies

have been conducted on negation in MSA and other Arabic dialects from a

morphosyntactic perspective. The distribution of negative particles in verbal and

nonverbal sentences have been explored by many linguists, such as Al-Tamari (2001),

Aoun et al. (2010), Bahloul (1996), Benmamoun (1992, 2000), Eid (1993), van Gelderen

(2008), Fassi Fehri (1993), Shlonsky (1997), and Ouahalla (1991, 1993), among many

others. Brustad (2000) studies negation in four Arabic dialects; Egyptian Arabic (EA),

Moroccan Arabic (MA), Syrian Arabic (SA), and Kuwaiti Arabic (KA) from a

dialectological perspective. She explains that these dialects have three different

categories of negation: verbal negation, predicate negation, and categorical negation. The

history of negation in these dialects is also discussed by other linguists, such as Lucas

(2007, 2010) and Wilmsen (2013).

The goal of this chapter is to present a description of negation in MSA and RPA.

Examples from UPA are introduced for comparison. The variety of negation particles,

their functions, and morphosyntactic distributions of negative particles and negated

predicates in MSA and RPA are discussed in this chapter.

This chapter is divided into five sections. In the second section, I discuss the

literature on the properties of negative particles in verbal and non-verbal clauses in MSA

and examples of each negation particle and its function. In the third section, I discuss the

distribution of the negative elements in the RPA and introduce examples from UPA. In the fourth section, I discuss the data and their implications from a syntactic point of view for negation in RPA and UPA. In the final section, I conclude.

4.2   Negation in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA)

The morphosyntactic system of negation in MSA is different from those in Arabic dialects (Fassi Fehri 1989). Table 13 shows the available verbal and non-verbal negative particles in MSA. Some of these particles, like *ma:* and *la:*, are also used in many Arabic dialects, while others, like *lam*, *lan*, and *laysa*, are replaced by different particles, like *–iš* and *muš*, which are presented in section 3.

Table 13

Negative Particles in MSA

IPA	Arabic	Function
la:	لا	Imperfect tense, imperative/prohibitive, nominal
ma:	ما	Perfective aspect, nominal
lam	لم	Perfective aspect
lan	لن	Future aspect
laysa	ليس	Imperfective, nominal, adjectival, participle and prepositional predicates

Walker (1896) argues that *la:* and other Arabic negation particles that have *l* as an essential part are originally from the Semitic negative stem *l.* It also occurs as a negative particle in other Semitic languages such as Hebrew. According to van Gelderen (2008), negative particles in Arabic dialects originate from interrogative pronouns and *ma*: is one of them. She adds that *ma:* is used in positive rhetorical questions in MSA, is not used as

an interrogative in modern dialects, and is the most common used negative particle. She explains that:

> in Classical Arabic, the negative pre-verbal elements are the heads *laysa, laa, lam, lan* (where lam and lan are marked for past and future respectively, *laysa*- bears agreement, and *la* is not marked), or the pre-verbal *maa*. The latter has become the general form in modern varieties of Arabic (Fischer 1982: 85), with a post-verbal *-sh*, as in Moroccan Arabic. (van Gelderen, 2008, p. 230)

The negative markers occur with different mood of the imperfective form: *la:* occurs with indicative verbs, *lam* occurs with jussive verbs, and *lan* occurs with subjunctive verbs. (See chapter 3 for more details on mood in MSA).

4.2.1 The Negative *la:*

la: is the default non-tensed negative particle and one of the main preverbal negation particles categorized for the imperfect tense, as illustrated in (1):

(1)   لا يدرس الولدُ   MSA

    la: ya-drus-u   el-walad-u

    NEG   3SG.M-study-IND   the-boy-NOM

    'The boy doesn't study.'

It may also function as a negative imperative or a prohibitive particle and thus called the *la:* of prohibition, which is not tensed (2).

(2)   لا تلعب بالكرة   MSA

    la: ta-lʕab   bi-l-kurat-i

    NEG   2SG.M -play   with-the-ball-GEN

    'Don't play with the ball.'

Aoun et al. (2010) claimed that *la:* is used for 'constituent negation', as in (3), taken from Moutaouakil (1993).

(3) **la:** rajulun fi: d-da:ri   MSA

NEG man in the-house

'No man in the house' (p. 86)

Benmamoun et al. (2013) describes different uses of *la*: in Arabic: to answer questions ('no') (4a), as a negative quantifier (4c), and in negative discourse expressions (4d, e).

(4) a. hal nabaha l-kalb-u?   MSA

Q barked.3MS the-dog-nom

'Did the dog bark?'

b. **la:**

'No.'

c. **la:** ʔahad

NEG one

'No one'

d. **la:** bʔas

NEG harm

'No harm!'

e. **la:** ʕalay-k

NEG on-you

'Don't worry!' (p. 88)

4.2.2. The Negative lam and lan

lam and lan are used to negate past tense and future tense, respectively. They are both marked for tense; therefore, the verb is in the imperfective form rather than the perfective or future form. The following examples illustrate the use of each particle:

(5)   لم يأكل أحمدُ   MSA

lam   yaʔkul   Ahmad-un

NEG   3SG.M eats.JUS   Ahmad-NOM

'Ahmad didn't eat'.

(6)   لن يأكل أحمد   MSA

lan   ya-ʔkul-a   Ahmad-un

NEG.FUT   3SG.M-eats-SUB   Ahmad-NOM

'Ahmad will not eat.'

In the previous examples, the past tense or the future tense are not realized on the verb but on the negative particles *lam* and *lan*; thus, the infinitive form of the verb is used instead. These different tense interpretations of these negatives result from the fact that "tensed verbs are in complementary distribution with tensed negatives. When the negative particle inflects for tense the verb cannot do so" (Benmamoun 2000: 96).

4.2.3. The Negative ma:

Unlike *la:* and *lan*, *ma:* is used for past tense negation (7). However, *ma:* is not inflected for tense; instead, the verb has perfect tense.

(7)   ما أكل أحمدٌ   MSA

ma: ʔakala   Ahmad-un

NEG   ate.3SG.M   Ahmad-NOM

'Ahmad didn't eat.'

In Classical Arabic (CA), *ma:* is used to negate imperfective verbs, as in the following

example from the Quraan (2:9):

(8)   **ma:**   yaḫdaʿūna   ʾillā   ʾanfusa-hum   CA

      NEG   deceive.IMPF.3PL.M   except   self.PL.ACC-3PL.M

      'They only deceive themselves.' (Lucas, 2015, p. 3)

Aoun et al. (2010) claimed that *ma:* is used also to negate the subject in nominal

sentences (9).

(9)   **ma:**   Muhammad-un   ka:tib-un   MSA

      NEG   Muhammad-NOM   writer-NOM

      'Muhammad is not a writer.' (p. 116)

4.2.4. The Negative laysa

In addition to the pre-verbal negative particles mentioned above, *laysa* 'not' is a

negative existential particle that is used to negate nominal, adjectival, participle, and

prepositional predicates. Macelaru (2003) claims that *laysa* is derived from the

combination of the negative particle *la:* and the existential particle *-ys* 'there', which is

inherited from an Afroasiatic language. The two particles *la:* and *-ys* were

grammaticalized to *laysa* in Proto-Semitic.

According to Aoun et al. (2010), traditional grammarians analyze *laysa* as a verb.

This is because the subject agreement features that *laysa* has are similar to those that

verbs in the past tense have. Benmamoun (2000) argues that *laysa* is not a verb but is

formed by the combination of the negative particle *laysa* with a pronominal subject

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through the process of encliticization. He adds that *laysa* does not carry verbal features

but is a negative particle that combined with a subject pronoun that historically began to

take a subject agreement marker that cliticized to *laysa*. Ouali (2014) claims that *laysa* is

used in CA to negate imperfective verbs, as in (10):

(10)   لست أدري   (10)   CA

        las-**tu**   Ɂadri:

        NEG.1SG   1SG-know

        'I don't know.' (p. 135)

Example (10) supports the fact that *laysa* is a negative existential particle and not

a verb, as some traditional Arabic grammarians have claimed. This negative particle

agrees with the subject in person, number, and gender and bears accusative case to the

predicate when it is nominal.

There is also evidence from some Arabic dialects that use negative particles, such

as *mu:/miš/muš*, equivalent to *laysa*, to negate perfective and imperfective verbs. Brustad

(2010) and Aoun et al. (2010) provide examples from EA and SA dialects, which are

discussed in the next section. Table 14 below shows the agreement features that *laysa*

carries with different subjects.

Table 14

Laysa with affixed Subject Pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
1st person	لَسْتُ (*las-**tu***)	——	لَسْنَا (*las-**na:***)
2nd person (m)	لَسْتَ (*las-**ta***)	لَسْتُمَا (*las-**tuma:***)	لَسْتُمْ (*las-**tum***)
2nd person (f)	لَسْتِ (*las-**ti***)	لَسْتُمَا (*las-**tuma:***)	لَسْتُنَّ (*las-**tunna***)
3rd person (m)	لَيْسَ (*lays-**a***)	لَيْسَا (*lays-**a:***)	لَيْسُوا (*lays-**u:***)

3rd person (f)	لَيْسَتْ (lays-*at*)	لَيْسَتَا (lays-*ata:*)	لَسْنَ (las-*na*)

The following example shows that *laysa* is used with an affixed subject pronoun -*at* that agrees in person, gender and number as a feminine singular with its complement *muʕallimatan.* It is worth mentioning here that *laysa* assigns the nominative case to its subject and accusative case to its predicate.

(11)   ليست معلمة   MSA

lays-**at**   muʕallim-at-an

NEG.3SG.F   teacher-F-ACC

'She is not a teacher.' (Aoun et al., 2010, p. 111)

In the following example, we notice that *laysa* has a different suffix that has to agree with the masculine plural noun *al-ʔawla:d-u.*

(12)   الأولاد ليسوا في البيت   MSA

al-ʔawla:d-u   lays-**u:**   fi   el-bayt-i

the-boys-NOM   NEG-3PL.M   in   the-house-GEN

'The boys are not home.'

From example (12), it is noticeable that *laysa* shows a full agreement features in person, number and gender with the subject if it follows the subject. Whereas, *laysa* shows a partial agreement with the subject in person and gender and not number if it precedes the subject as it can be seen below:

(13)   ليس الأولاد في البيت   MSA

laysa   ʔl-ʔawla:d-u fi   el-bayt-i

NEG.3SG.M   the-boys-NOM in   the-house-GEN

'The boys are not home.'

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laysa is used also to negate pseudo-verbs such as *ʕind* 'at/have'. The following sentence shows that the third person masculine singular form of *laysa* is used that does not need a cliticized pronoun at the end.

(14)　ليس عندي سيارة　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　MSA

　　　laysa　ʕindi　　　　　sayyar-at-un

　　　NEG　at.POSS.1SG　　car-F-NOM

　　　'I don't have a car.'

Laysa cannot be treated as a copula for two reasons: it is inherently [+present], while the copula can be used in past, present, and future tenses, and it is inherently negative, unlike the copula. In MSA, there is no copula in present tense sentences; it only appears in past tense form. The MSA copula *ka:na* 'was' can be negated in different ways based on the aspect and tense using different negative particles. Three different patterns can be used with *ma*, *lam* and *lan*. The following examples illustrate these patterns.

(15)　ما كان الجو جميلا　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　MSA

　　　ma　ka:na　l-jaww-u　　　　jami:l-an

　　　NEG　was　the-weather-NOM　　beautiful-ACC

　　　'The weather wasn't beautiful.'

(16)　لم يكن الجو جميلا　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　MSA

　　　lam　yakun　　　　l-jaww-u　　　　jami:l-an

　　　NEG　be.3MSG　　the-weather-NOM　　beautiful-ACC

　　　'The weather wasn't beautiful.'

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(17) لن يكون الجو جميلا   MSA

lan	yakuna	l-jaww-u	jami:l-an
NEG	be.3SG.M	the-weather-NOM	beautiful-ACC

'The weather wasn't beautiful.'

Similar to *laysa*, the copula *kana* must agree with the subject in person, gender, and number if it follows the subject, whereas, it agrees with the subject only in gender and person, not number, when it occurs before the subject, as in (18) and (19). The copula *ka:na* also assigns nominative case to its subject and accusative case to its complement.

(18) الأولاد ما كانوا في البيت   MSA

al-ʔawla:d-u	ma:	kan-**u:**	fi	el-bayt-i
the-boys-NOM	NEG	were-3PL.M	in	the-house-GEN

'The boys are not home.'

(19) ما كان الأولاد في البيت   MSA

ma:	**kana**	al-ʔawla:d-u	fi	el-bayt-i
NEG	was.3SG.M	the-boys-NOM	in	the-house-GEN

'The boys are not home.'

To conclude, the particle *la:* does not carry tense and is used for imperfective tense imperative/prohibitive and nominal negation, whereas the tensed particles *lam* and *lan* are used to negate past tense and future tense, respectively. The verb in the imperfective form is used rather than the perfective aspect or future tense. The particle *ma:* is not marked for tense; therefore, a perfective verb is used. On the other hand, *laysa* is used to negate nominal, adjectival, participle, and prepositional predicates and pseudo-verbs. Copular sentences using *ka:na* 'was' in MSA are negated in different ways based

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on the aspect and tense: *ma:*, *lam*, and *lan* for perfective verbs, past imperfective verbs, and future tense, respectively. Both *laysa* and *ka:na* assign accusative case to their predicates.

In the next section, I discuss the different forms of negation in RPA and explain how it is related to negation patterns in MSA.

4.3. Negation in Rural Palestinian Arabic (RPA)

Negation in RPA is not straightforward similar to other Arabic dialects. Benmamoun (2013) explains that many Arabic dialects express negation by means of combinations of the morphemes *ma:* and *-iš*. He added that MA and EA use the enclitic *-iš* accompanied by the proclitic *ma:*, *while -iš* is not used in other dialects, such as the Gulf varieties. He argued that the use of *-iš* in Levantine dialects varies: some use it, while others use *ma:* only.

According to van Gelderen (2008), *ma:* is mainly used in MSA in the past tense. She adds that it was originally an interrogative pronoun, but not used in Arabic dialects for questions; it became the most common negative particle combined with the verbal suffix *-iš*. According to Lucas (2007), van Gelderen (2008), and Aoun et al. (2010), *-iš* developed from the noun *šayʔ* "thing". Lucas (2007) claims that *-iš* was recorded for the first time in the eighth century and was introduced as a negative element attached to the verb in Egypt, Palestine, or Tunisia. He explains that *šayʔ* has various forms in different dialects: *-še*, *- ši - š*, or *-iš*. He adds that in most dialects, the enclitic *-ši* has been reduced to *-š*.

Shlonsky (1997), Lucas (2007), and Gelderen (2008) use the term Jespersen

Cycle (JC), which describes the diachronic changes of negation as having three different

stages, as explained by Jespersen (2017):

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the

following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then

found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional

word, and this in turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in the

course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (p. 4)

Lucas (2007) explains that other languages, such as French, have undergone three

stages of negation. Example (20) shows that, at stage one, one negation preverbal particle

ne is used:

(20)   Jeo   **ne**   dis

         I   NEG   say

         'I do not say.'

In the second stage, the discontinuous particle *pas* is used to support the first particle *ne*,

as is shown in (21):

(21)   Je   **ne**   dis   **pas**

         I   NEG   say   NEG

         'I do not say'

At stage three, the original particle *ne* is optional:

(22)   Je   dis   **pas**

         I   say   NEG

         'I do not say' (Lucas, 2007, p. 399)

Benmamoun (2000) claims that these negation patterns also occur in dialects like MA, EA, Yemini, and Palestinian Arabic (PA). According to him, the negative particle in these dialects is the head of its own syntactic projection, and sentential negation occupies the position between TP and VP.

According to Awwad (1987), in PA, either *ma:-* or *-š* can be elided in certain categories, and either morpheme can be used to express negation. He adds that the only context in which *ma-* is obligatory is with perfective verbs. There does not appear to be any contexts in which *-š* is obligatory. In RPA, I show that this pattern is not applied to verbal negation only, but it is also applied to other contexts, such as the negation of certain pseudo-verbs and nominals.

Negation in RPA is not limited to a single form but has different variations; different strategies can be employed to express imperfect and perfect verb negation. The particle *ma:* precedes the verb to negate both perfective and imperfective verbs; with *ma-…-iš*, *ma-* procliticizes and *-iš* encliticizes to the verb. The enclitic *-iš* on its own is used only for imperfective and pseudo-verbs. From now on, I use *ma:* when it is used as an independent negation particle and *ma-* when it is used with *-iš* as a verbal proclitic, since the vowel is short. The negative particle *la:* is used to negate imperative/prohibitive verbs and nominals. The particle *muš* is used to negate nominal, adjectival, participle, and prepositional predicates. It is also used to negate imperative/prohibitive verbs. Table 15 below illustrates the negative particles available in RPA.

Table 15

Negative Particles in RPA

IPA	Arabic	Functions
ma:	ما	perfective and imperfective aspect/prohibitive, copulas
ma-…-iš	ما..ش	perfective and imperfective aspect, imperative/ prohibitive, pseudo-verbs, copulas, nominals
-iš	ش...	imperfective aspect, imperative/ prohibitive, some pseudo-verbs, copulas
muš	مش	nominal, adjectival, participle and prepositional predicates, imperative/ prohibitive
la:	لا	imperative/prohibitive, nominal

Next, I discuss the negative particles *ma:*, *ma-…-iš,* and *-iš* which are used to negate different categories such as perfective and imperfective aspect, imperative/prohibitive, pseudo-verbs, nominals and copulas.

4.3.1. The Negative Particles ma:, ma-…-iš, and -iš

According to Onizan (2005), the discontinuous negative morpheme *ma-…-iš* is used for both perfective and imperfective verbs equally, as can be seen in (23)-(25). The negation of an imperfect verb is expressed by using *ma:* (23), *ma:-…-iš* (24), or *-iš* (25). Note that *ma:* is pronounced with a short vowel (*ma-*) when it is used as a proclitic; it is pronounced with a longer vowel (*ma:*) when it is used as an independent particle because it is stressed. Note also that imperfective verbs start with *b-*, indicating imperfective aspect.

(23)   ما بعرف   UPA

ma-ba-ʕrif

NEG-ASP-know.1SG

'I don't know.'

(24)   مَبعرفش   RPA

ma-ba-ʕrif-**iš**

NEG-ASP-know.1SG-NEG

'I don't know.'

Using *ma:* is optional with imperfect verbs, as shown in (25)**:**

(25)   أحمد بعرفش   RPA

Ahmad   ba-ʕrif-**iš**

Ahmad   ASP-know.1SG-NEG

'Ahmad doesn't know.'

Patterns (24) and (25) are used more in RPA, while example (23) is more common in UPA. The deletion of *-iš* occurs when the stress falls on the negation.

      The negative particle *ma-…-iš* is affected by aspect. When the verb is perfective, there are two different forms available in RPA. Negation can be formed by the first part alone or by the discontinuous morpheme. *ma:* can be used as an independent negation particle (26); *ma-* can also be used as a proclitic, with *-iš* as an enclitic (27). In the imperfective, *-iš* is used as an enclitic; it does not occur with perfect aspect where it is considered ungrammatical in both RPA and UPA, as shown in (28).

(26)   ما أكل احمد   (26)   UPA

ma: ʔakal   Ahmad

NEG   ate.3SG.M   Ahmad

'Ahmad didn't eat.'

(27)   مأكلش احمد   (27)   RPA

ma-ʔakal-**iš**   Ahmad

NEG-ate.3SG.M -NEG   Ahmad

'Ahmad did not eat.'

(28)   *اكلش أحمد   RPA

*ʔakal-**iš**   Ahmad

ate.3SG.M-NEG   Ahmad

'Ahmad didn't eat.'

In MSA, *ma:* is only used with perfect aspect; it is used in perfect, imperfect, and the imperative in RPA. There is no example from the data shows that *la:* is used in RPA to negate imperfect aspect like in MSA or other dialects. There are many examples in RPA that show that *ma:, ma-iš,* or *-iš* are used for negative imperatives and prohibitives, as in (29)-(30):

(29)   ما تروح معهم   RPA

ma-tru:ħ   maʕ-hum

NEG-go.2SG.M   with-them

'Don't go with them.'

(30)   ما تروحش هناك   RPA

ma-truħ-**iš**   hinak

NEG-go.2SG.M-NEG   there

'Don't go there.'

The negative suffix *-iš* carries the meaning of leniency in addition to negation. The difference between examples (29) and (30) is the presence/absence of the suffix *-iš,* which implies a difference in the strength of the prohibition. Example (30), with the

suffix -*iš,* is considered a lenient form of prohibition. Example (29) is a stronger way of prohibition because the negative suffix -*iš* is dropped.

The same form is also available by dropping *ma-* and using -*iš* on its own.

(31)   تروحش هناك   RPA

        truħ-**iš**   hinak

        go.2SG.M-NEG   there

        'Don't go there.'

Palva (2004) claims that prohibitive verbs are not the same as imperfective verbs, which have an imperfective prefix *b-*. Prohibitives start with *t-*, marking second person masculine in imperfective verbs.

        Other examples from RPA show that the particles -*iš* can be is attached to the object clitic in verbs as it is shown in (32). The particle -*š* is attached to the object pronoun -*ha*.

(32)   ما حبيتهاش هالمرة   RPA

        ma-ħabit-**ha**-**š**   ha-l-mara

        NEG-liked.1SG-her-NEG   this-the-woman

        'I didn't like this woman.'

        These instances of negation in RPA are a result of the fact that the dialect underwent the historical stages introduced as the JC (Jespersen, 1917) in negation. The first stage is represented by only one element to express negation for imperfect and perfect verbs (*ma:*). The second stage occurs when the first marker is weakened and a new element is added to support the first one, in this case the verbal enclitic -*iš*. During the third stage, the first element is dropped and the new one expresses negation by itself.

In this case, the third stage is only relevant to imperfect verbs and not perfect verbs, as illustrated in (25) and (28).

Other examples of non-verbal negation include pseudo-verbs, which are prepositional phrases and adverbials that act like verbs. Psuedo-verbs have three negative patterns: *ma:* can be used as an independent particle (33), both *ma-* as a proclitic and *-iš* as an enclitic (34) and *-iš* can be used on its own (35).

(33)   ما معي مصاري   UPA

       ma   maʕ-i: masˤa:ri

       NEG   with-me   money

       'I don't have money.'

(34)   ممعيش مصاري   RPA

       ma-maʕ-i:-**š**   masˤari

       NEG-with-me-NEG   money

       'I don't have money.'

(35)   معيش مصاري   RPA

       ma-ʕi:-**š**   masˤari

       with-me-NEG   money

       'I don't have money.'

There is an exception in the negation of the pseudo-verb *ʕind* 'at/have': using *-iš* by itself as an enclitic is considered ungrammatical (36), while stages one and two are possible.

(36)   * عنديش مصاري

       ʕind-i:-**š**   masˤari

at-me-NEG money

Wilmsen (2013) explains that the pseudo-verb *ʕind* and perfect verbs can be negated with the enclitic *-š* by itself in Upper Egyptian varieties.

In MSA and other Arabic dialects, there is no copula in the present tense, but there is one in the past tense. The copula *baka* is used in the past tense in RPA. Note that the copula *baka* originated from the verb *baqiya* 'stayed' in MSA, grammaticalizing to an auxiliary in the Arabic dialects. Past tense copular sentences are negated via the use of the negative morphemes *ma:*, *ma-…-iš,* or *-iš*. The copula must agree with the subject in person, number, and gender, as shown in examples (37) and (38).

(37)   مبكاش محمد يشتغل امبيرح في المحل   RPA

ma-baka-**š**   Mohammad   mberiħ fi-el-maħal

NEG-was.3SG.M-NEG   Mohammad   yesterday   in-the-store

'Mohammed wasn't in the store yesterday.'

(38)   بكتش فاطمة بالحفلة   RPA

 baka-t-**iš**   Fatmi   bi-l-ħafli

was-3SG.F-NEG   Fatmi   in-the-party

'Fatmi wasn't in the party.'

Similar to MSA, the copula *ka:na* is used in UPA, as shown in (39) and (40):

(39)   وعمر العيد ما كان سعيد   UPA

w-ʕumr   el-ʕi:d   **ma**   ka:n   saʕi:d

and-never   the-holiday   neg   was.3SG.M   happy

'The holiday never was happy.'

(40)   UPA   الشباب ما كانو يشتغلوا مزبوط

el-šabab   **ma**   kan-u: ye-štiɣl-u   azbootˤ

the-young.guys   NEG   was-3PL.M   IMP.work-3PL.M   right

'The young guys didn't work right.'

In (39) and (40), note that person, gender, and number agreement on the copula and main verb is obligatory. In (40), both the verb *ye-štiɣl-u* and the copula *ka:nu* agree with the subject *el-šabab*; both are in the third person masculine plural form. Agreement also occurs when the sentence starts with the auxiliary *ka:na*. Unlike MSA, Arabic dialects have full agreement in both VS and SV word orders; see (41).

(41)   UPA   ما كانو الشباب يشتغلوا مزبوط

ma   kan-**u**:   el-šabab   ye-štiɣl-**u**   mazbootˤ

NEG   was-3PL.M   the-young guys   IMP.3M.work-3PL.M   right

'The young guys didn't work right.'

Mohammad (1998) argues that the nominal element *ħada* 'one' as a subject exceptionally hosts the negative particle *ma-…-iš*. There are no examples in RPA of *ma-had-iš* 'no one', even though it is common in Mohammad's (1998) study of PA. It is worth mentioning here that Mohammed (1998) does not clarify the region or whether the variety of PA is rural or urban. Few examples are found in WhatsApp messages of urban speakers using *ma:-…-iš* with *ħada,* even though that it is reported that this stage of negation is more common in rural varieties, especially in verbal negation.

(42)   UPA   بس بحكي محدش بسمع

bas   ba-ħki: **ma**-ħadd-i**š**   bi-smaʕ

when   ASP-talk.1S   NEG-one-NEG   ASP-listen.3SG.M

'when I talk, no one listens.'

Example (43) from RPA shows that *ma* on its own can be used to negate the noun *ħada*. Exceptionally, the short version *ma-* attaches to *ħada* even though *-iš* is not used.

(43)   محدا أجا مبيرح   RPA

    ma-ħada   ʔaja   mbairi<u>ħ</u>

    NEG-one   came.3S.M   yesterday

    'No one came yesterday'

    The following examples illustrate the fact that the existential preposition *fi*: 'in' allows the three different patterns of negation. The first stage is mostly used in UPA.

(44)   ما في حدا رايح عالحفلة   UPA

    ma: fi: ħada   ra:yiħ   ʕa-el-ħafli

    NEG   in   one   going.PART   to-the-party

    'No one is going to the party.

The second stage is represented by *-iš* supporting *ma-* and is used mostly by RPA speakers:

(45)   مفش ولا حدا رايح   RPA

    ma-fi-**š**   wala   ħada   ra:yiħ

    NEG-in-NEG   NEG   one   going.PART

    'No one is going.'

In the following example, the third stage is used when the enclitic *-iš* is used and *ma-* is dropped:

(46)   فش إشي فالبيت   RPA

    fi-**š**   ʔiši   fi-el-bait

in-NEG thing   in-the-house

'There is nothing in the house.'

The topic of copula pronouns has been discussed by some Arab linguists, such as
Eid (1992), Shlonsky (2002), and Aoun et al. (2010). They claim that the copula
pronouns occur between the subject and predicate in present tense equative sentences. On
the other hand, Abdel-Razaq (2012) argues that these subject pronouns should not be
treated as copulas since the language allows verbless sentences without a copula.
Shlonsky (1997) and Ouhalla (1997b) explain that there is another mode of expressing
negation in which *ma-…-iš* is cliticized to copular pronouns. The negation cliticizes to the
subject pronouns just as it cliticizes to regular verbs and prepositions. Shlonsky claims
that the negative pronouns are available in dialects, such as EA and Southern Palestinian.
This pattern is also found in KA and MA (Brustad, 2000). These negative pronouns are
used with non-verbal predicates, such as participles, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and
nouns. In this construction, the pronoun must agree with the subject in person, gender,
and number. This pattern does not exist in RPA but is available in UPA, as shown in (47)
and (48): the negative morpheme *ma-…-iš* cliticized to the pronoun, which agrees with
the subject:

(47)   أحمد مهوش معلم

Ahmad   **ma**-hu-**š**   m?allem   UPA

Ahmad   NEG-he-NEG   teacher

'Ahmad is not a teacher.'

(48)   ماانتاش رايح عالشغل اليوم؟   UPA

ma-nta:-**š**   ra:yiẖ   ʕa-šuɣul   el-yoam

95

NEG-you.SG.M-NEG   going.PART.2SG.M   to-work   the-day

'Aren't you going to work today?

Aoun et al. (2010) claim that dependent subject pronoun incorporated into the negation carries the subject agreement features, as illustrated in (47), in which the pronominal -*hu* agrees with the subject *Ahmad*. The subject can also be null, as in (48), where the number and gender of the subject is implied by the context. The negative pronoun in Arabic dialects is similar to *laysa,* which carries subject agreement features in MSA. The negative particle *ma-…-š* occupies the head of its syntactic projection and can host subject clitics, which is a property of heads.

Instead of using *ma-…-š,* RPA uses *muš* to negate independent subject pronouns (49).

(49)   أحمد مش هو اللي جابلنا لغراظ   RPA

Ahmed	**muš**	huwwi	illi	jab-il-na	li-ɣraðˤ
Ahmed	NEG	he	who	brought-to-us	the-stuff

'Ahmed is not the one who brought us the stuff.'

There is another context where *ma-* and/or *-iš* are cliticized to the adverbial *ʕumr* 'ever'. According to Hoyt (2005), *ʕumr* originated from the noun 'age' or 'life'. If the particle *ma:* is used to express negation, it comes either before or after *ʕumr*. In RPA, *ma:* more commonly follows *ʕumr,* as in (50):

(50)   عمري ما شفت هالإشي بحياتي   RPA

ʕumri ma:	šuf-it	ha-l-iši	b-ħayat-i
ever NEG	seen.1SG	this-the-thing	in-life-my

'I never seen such a thing in my life'

Different ways to express negation using *ʕumr* in UPA are illustrated in the following

examples. *ma:* can occur on its own (51), *ma-…-š* can be used (52), or *-š* by itself can be

used (52).

(51)   ما عمري رحت عندهم   UPA

    ma: **ʕumr-i**   ruħit   ʕindhum

    NEG   ever-my   went.1SG   at-them

    'I never went to them.'

(52)   ما عمريش سمعت هالأخبار   UPA

    ma-ʕumr-i-**š**   smiʕ-it   ha-l-xabar

    NEG-ever-my-NEG   heard-1SG   his-the-news

    I never heard this news.'

(53)   عمريش شفت ناس هيك   UPA

    ʕumr-i-**š**   šufit   na:s   haik.

    ever-my-NEG   saw   people   like.this

    'I never seen people like this.'

One of the main differences between RPA and UPA is the use of *-iš* for perfect,

imperfect, or pseudo-verbs. Based on my limited data, it is clear that UPA is less likely to

use *-iš* as a postverbal clitic; RPA is more likely. Instead, UPA is more likely to use *-iš* in

nominal negation. It appears that the younger generations of RPA speakers tend to use

stage one in verbal negation as a prestigious choice, switching to urban dialects. It was

reported that stage three is very common in rural dialects, such as the sˤaʕīdī dialect in

Egypt (Khalafallah, 1969), the dialect of esˤsˤalṭ in Jordan (Palva, 2004), and in Southern

Lebanese dialect (Abu Haidar, 1979).

Note that in most of the negation categories, using *-iš* as an enclitic is optional.

Two meanings were presented in explaining the deletion of the enclitic *-iš*. The first is

emphatic negation, when the stress falls on the first morpheme, as presented by Abulhaija

(1989) for JA. The second was introduced by Brustad (2000), who explained that the

deletion of *-iš* in MA and EA is categorical negation. I believe that emphatic negation

presents the person's point of view while categorical negation is mostly impersonalized.

The data shows that the negative particle *ma-…-iš* especially in verbal negation, is the

most common type of verbal negation among RPA speakers.

4.3.2.   The Negative Particle **muš**

The negative particle *ma-…-iš* is sometimes reanalyzed as the independent

negative particle *muš,* which is used mostly in constituent negation in nonverbal

sentences in RPA. *muš* is a negative auxiliary used to negate nonverbal predicates, such

as nouns, adjectives, participles, and prepositional phrases. There are some examples

where *muš* is used also in verbal sentences as a prohibitive particle. Note that urban

speakers use that *miš* instead of *muš*.

Example (54) shows the use of *mu*š in the negation of the nominal predicate:

(54)   مش مشكلة   RPA

    muš   muškili

    NEG   problem

    'No problem.'

The following example illustrates the use of *mu*š in the negation of the adjectival

predicate:

(55)   انا مش جعانة   RPA

    ʔana: **muš**   jaʕan-i

    I   NEG   hungry-3SG.F

    'I am not hungry.'

Brustad (2000) argues that the negative particle *miš* in EA is a non-discontinuous particle that cannot be separated; *muš* cannot be replaced by *ma-…-iš*. Splitting *muš* into two is ungrammatical, as in (56):

(56)   * انا ما جعانش

    *ʔana: **m**a   jaʕan-**iš**

    I   NEG   hungry-NEG

The ungrammatical example in (56) shows that the negative *ma:* cannot be followed by the adjective phrase (AP) *jaʕani*. The right morpheme to be used is *muš,* as shown in (55).

(57)   *أنا ما جعانة

    *ʔana **ma:**   jaʕa:ni

    I   NEG   hungry

    'I am not hungry.'

muš also can be used to negate PPs and participles and occupies the head of the NegP as in (58) and (59):

(58)   انا مش فالبيت   RPA

    ʔana: **muš**   fi-l-bait

    I   NEG   in-the-house

    'I am not in the house.'

(59) مش رايح عالسوك RPA

muš ra:jiħ ʕa-s-su:k

NEG go.PART.F/M to-the-market

'I am not going to the market.'

In RPA, *mu*š is also used in the future tense. The future tense is represented by the

auxiliary *ra:jiħ* 'going'; it has been grammaticalized as a future tense auxiliary:

(60) انا مش رايح أطبخ اليوم RPA

ʔana **muš** **ra:yiħ** ʔatˤbux el-yoam

I NEG go.PART.F/M cook.1SG the-day

'I am not going to cook today.'

Note that examples (59) and (60) are ambiguous, as RPA uses the masculine form

for both male and female first person singular. Both examples were produced by females.

However, there is a distinction between masculine and feminine in UPA.

One of the main differences between RPA and UPA in future tense negation is that

in UPA, a grammaticalized auxiliary *raħ* is mostly used, rather than *ra:yiħ*. It is possible

to use either *ma:* or *miš* to negate future tense, as it is shown below:

(61) ما / مش رح اوكل بالمطعم اليوم UPA

ma:/miš raħ ʔaukil bi-l-matˤʕam el-yoam

NEG will eat.1SG in-the-restaurant the-day

'I am not going to eat in the restaurant today.'

The negative particle *muš/miš* cannot be separated in the negation of the future

tense. For example, (62) is ungrammatical when the negative particle *ma:-…-iš* is used

with the infinitive mode to express the future tense, whereas *ma:* can be used, as in (61) from UPA.

(62)   ما رح اوكلش بالمطعم اليوم*   UPA

    ***ma:**   raħ   ʔaukil-**iš**   bi-l-matˤˤam   el-youm

    NEG   will   eat.1SG-NEG   in-the-restaurant   the-day

    Other examples are found in RPA that use *muš* as a negative particle if the sentence uses the active participle *ka:ʕid* as a progressive marker and the main verb is in the imperfective form. The word *ka:ʕid* means 'he is sitting' is grammaticalized from an active participle (63) to a progressive maker (64).

(63)   لولاد كاعدين برة   RPA

    li-wlad   kaʕd-:n   barra

    the-boys   sitting-3Pl.M   outside

    'The boys are sitting outside.'

(64)   لولاد كاعدين بوكلو   RPA

    li-wlad   kaʕd-:n   bu-:kl-u

    the-boys   sitting-3Pl.M   ASP-eat-3PL.M

    'The boys are eating.'

(65)   لولاد مش كاعدين بوكلو   RPA

    li-wlad   ***muš***   **kaʕd-i:n**   bu-:klu

    the-boy   NEG   sitting-3PL.M   ASP-eat-3PL.M

    'The boys are not eating.'

In example (65), *muš* is used to negate the progressive marker *kaʕd-:n* that agrees with the subject in person, gender and number.

Few examples are found of *mu:* used as adjectival predicate negation, unlike in other

dialects, such as EA, KA, and SA (Brustad, 2000).

(66)   انا مو شايف اي مشكلة   UPA

    Ɂana   **mu:**   ša:yif   Ɂay   muškili

    I   NEG   see.PART.SG.M   any   problem

    'I don't see any problem.'

    This can be analyzed as a type of dialect code switching (Abdel-Jawad, 1986).

Abdel-Jawad argues that speakers switch from their own local dialect to a dialect they

believe is prestigious. In this case, speakers switch to MSA, believing that it is a

prestigious dialect.

Benmamoun (2000) shows that *mi*š is used in EA with present tense verbs and the present

tense may not combine with negation, as in (67):

(67)   مش بيكتب   EA

    miš   bi-yi-ktib

    NEG   ASP-IMPF.3SG.M-write

    'He isn't writing.' (p. 4)

Aoun (2010) also provides another piece of evidence that *mu:* is equivalent to *miš/muš*

with perfective verbs in SA, as in (68):

(68)   مو خلّص   SA

    mu: Xallasˤ?

    NEG   finished.he

    Didn't he finish? (p.100)

Brustad (2000) claims that *mu:* is also used in KA for verbal negation, as in (66):

(69)   خل بالك على محمد – مو يييني   KA

   xal   ba:lak   ʕala   Muhammad   **mu:**   yiyi:ni

   let   attention-your   to   Muhammad   NEG   he.comes.to.me

   'Pay attention to Mohammad—he [had better] not show up!' (p. 281)

   From the previous examples, we can assume that using *muš/miš/mu:* in verbal

negation is similar to *laysa* in present tense negation in CA.

There are few examples in RPA where *muš* is used as a prohibitive particle as in (70):

(70)   مش تقطع الكهربا   RPA

   muš   tiqtˤaʕ   elkahraba

   NEG   cut.2SG.M   the.electricity

   Don't cut off the electricity!

Example (71) shows that *muš* can be used also in tag questions:

(71)   مش جاية معنا؟   RPA

   muš   ja:y-i   maʕ-na

   NEG   come- PART.SG.F   with-us

   'Aren't you coming with us?'

Different uses of *muš* is presented and discussed, In the next section, the negative particle

la: is discussed.

4.3.3.   The Negative Particle la:

   The MSA *la:* is cognate with the RPA *laʕ* and the UPA *laʔ* and are all used as

"no" to answer yes/no questions. UPA prefers using it without the support of *-iš* as a

verbal enclitic for negative imperatives and prohibitives, as in (72):

(72) لا تروح معهم   UPA

    la: tru:ħ   maʕ-hum

    NEG   go.2SG.M   with-them

    'Don't go with them.'

The negative particle *la*: can be used to negate nominals, such as the word *ʔiši* 'thing', meaning 'nothing':

(73) ولا إشي حظرت للسفر   RPA

    wala: ʔiši   ħaðˤðˤar-it   la-s-safar

    NEG   thing   prepared-1SG.F   for-the traveling

    'I didn't prepare anything for travelling.'

    The negative particle *la*: can also be used with the noun *ħada* 'one' as a negative quantifier in UPA. No examples are found in RPA, but *ma* is used instead.

(74) ولا حدة حكى إشي عن الموضوع   UPA

    wala   ħada   ħaka   ʔiši   ʕan   el-mawdˤu:ʕ

    NEG   one   said.3SG.M   thing   about   the-topic

    'No one said anything about the topic.'

    In summary, RPA has different verbal and non-verbal negation patterns. The most common form is *ma-…-iš,* which is used to negate both perfective and imperfective verbs. All three JC stages can be found in the case of imperfective aspect, whereas the third stage is not found with the perfective aspect. The morphemes *ma*: and *-iš* are also used to negate nominals, such as *ħada* and *ʔiši,* pseudo-verbs, and pronominals.

To negate non-verbal sentences, *muš* is used instead. It is used to negate nominal, adjectival, participle, and prepositional predicates. Occasionally, it is used to negate imperative/prohibitive verbs.

In the next section, some of the examples from RPA are discussed from a syntactic point of view.

4.4.   Data Discussion and Implications

The aim of this section is to present the syntactic analysis of negation and the distribution of the negative morphemes in RPA. Most of the studies on sentential negation in Arabic dialects have adopted the NegP Hypothesis of Chomsky (1995), Benmamoun (1992), Shlonsky (1997), Ouhalla (1991), Pollock (1989), among many others. This hypothesis states that negative morphemes head their own functional projection located between the tense and the verb, as shown in (71). This functional projection blocks the merger of the tense and verb. Benmamoun et al. (2013) explain "grammatical categories such as tense and negation occupy syntactic projections above the lexical categories that contain the thematic head and its associated arguments" (p. 85). (75)
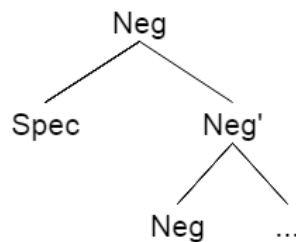
Arabic linguists are focused on the location of NegP and the relation between VP and NegP. Aoun et al. (2010) claimed that there are two types of sentential negation in Arabic dialects: negation is hosted by the verb or negation is independent and is treated

as a head of its own syntactic projection. Two of the most common negative particles used to negate verbal sentences in RPA are the morphemes *ma-…-i*š and *ma:*. They are both used with both perfective and imperfective verbs. The enclitic *-iš* negates imperfective but not perfective verbs. These negative particles are syntactically generated in the same position and serve the same function. The particle *muš* is used in nominal, adjectival, participle, and prepositional predicates and in the imperative/prohibitive occupies the head of NegP. Some of these negation examples will be analyzed from a syntactic point of view in the following sections.

4.4.1. The Negative Particles ma, ma-š, -iš

I start my discussion with analyzing the syntax of verbal negation focusing on *ma:* by itself in the perfect tense, as in (26) is repeated below (76).

(76)   ما أكل احمد   UPA

    ma: ʔakal   Ahmad

    NEG   ate.3MS   Ahmad

    'Ahmad didn't eat.'

According to Ouhalla (1993), Benmamoun (1992, 2000), Bahloul (1996), and Aoun et al. (2010), *ma:,* used for sentential negation in different Arabic dialects in both perfective and imperfective verbs, is the head of NegP. This sentential negation occupies a position between TP and VP. The verb does not need to be clicized to the independent negation particle. Therefore, the verb does not need to move to NegP to pick up the negative particle, instead moving to Asp, as shown in the tree below.

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(77)
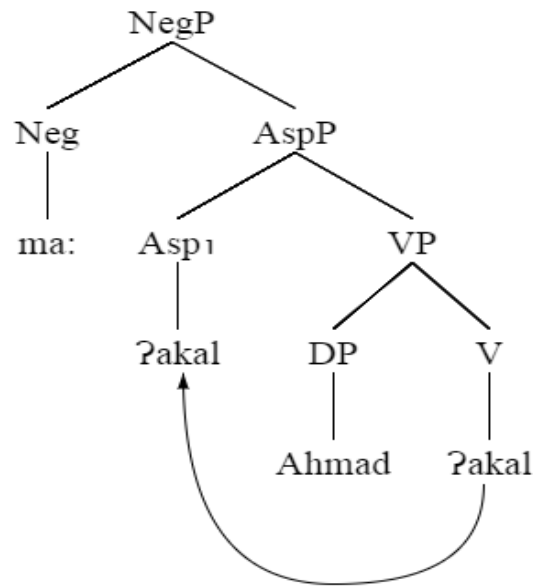
The negative particle *ma:-…-iš* does not behave the same regarding aspect. When the verb is perfective, either *ma:-…-iš*, as in (27) is repeated below as (78), or *ma:*, as in (76), can be used. The enclitic *-iš* on its own is not available in RPA, as it is in other Arabic dialects. On the other hand, when the verb is in the imperfective mode, all three different choices are available, as discussed earlier.

(78)　　　مأكلش أحمد　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　RPA

　　　ma-ʔakal-**iš**　　　　　　Ahmad

　　　NEG-ate.3SG.M-NEG　　Ahmad

　　　'Ahmad did not eat.'

Using *ma-…-i*š in some dialects, like RPA, is debatable. Some analyze it as an adverb like *pas* in French (Lucas 2007; Pollock 1989; Shlonsky 1997). Benmamoun (1992), Ouhalla (1990, 1993), and Shlonsky (1997) claim that *-iš* occupies Spec of NegP and *ma-* occupies the head. Thus, the verb moves to Neg before moving to T; the proclitic

ma- cliticizes to the verb and then move to pick up the enclitic – *iš* and then move together to T. This analysis is illustrated in tree below.

(79)
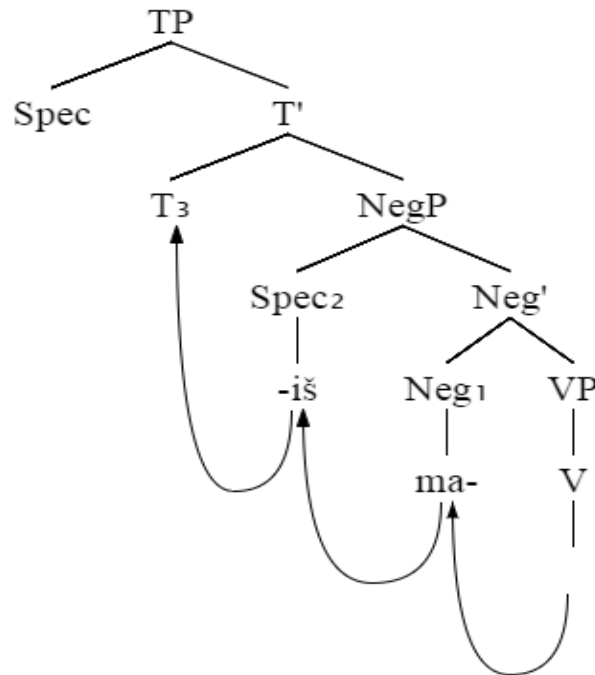
Following Benmamoun (2000) and Al-Tamari (2001), I argue that both *ma-* and -*iš* occupy the head of the NegP, as in (80) for example (78). The verb cannot cross the Neg head and move to T due to minimality. Therefore, it must merge with the Neg head to check the [+D] feature and then move to T to check the [+V] feature. The subject and verb occupy Spec of VP and V, respectively. Tree (80) shows that the perfect tense negation in RPA may also be expressed by using the two negatives, *ma-* as a verbal proclitic and -*iš* as a verbal enclitic, as discontinuous negation. Al-Tamari (2001) states that in Jordanian Arabic (JA) negation, *ma*: and *ma-…-iš* are generated in the same position and serve the same function.

(80)
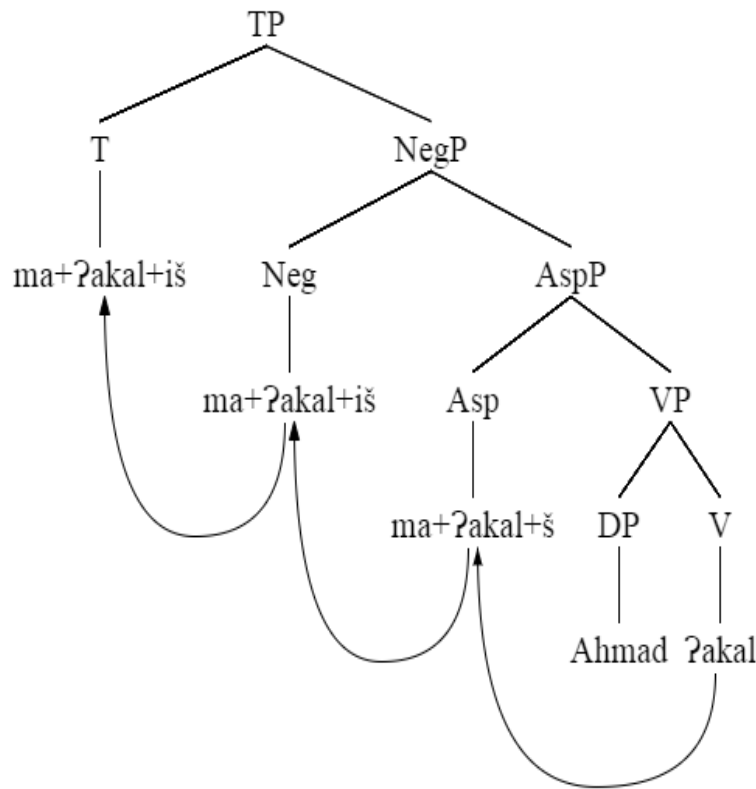
The negative enclitic *-iš* is optional, but the use of both *ma:-…-iš* is more common in RPA. In UPA, *ma:* is used in most of the examples; if *-iš* is used, it is mostly used because the stress falls on it. As it was mentioned earlier, *ma:* is pronounced with a short vowel *ma-* when it is used as a clitic and with a longer vowel when it is used as an independent particle.

Imperfective verbs can also be encliticized by *-iš* without the proclitic *ma-,* as in (25), repeated below in (81); this is not allowed in the perfective aspect. This supports the fact that *-iš* must occupy the head of NegP, as in (82).

(81)   أحمد بعرفش   RPA

   Ahmad   bi-ʕrif-**iš**

Ahmad   ASP-know-NEG

'Ahmad doesn't know.

(82)

TP
├─ DP₁
│   └─ Ahmad
└─ T'
    ├─ T₄
    │   └─ bi+ʕrif-iš
    └─ NegP
        ├─ Neg₃
        │   └─ bi+ʕrif-i
        └─ AspP
            ├─ Asp₂
            │   └─ bi+ʕrif
            └─ VP
                ├─ DP
                │   └─ Ahmad
                └─ V
                    └─ ʕrif
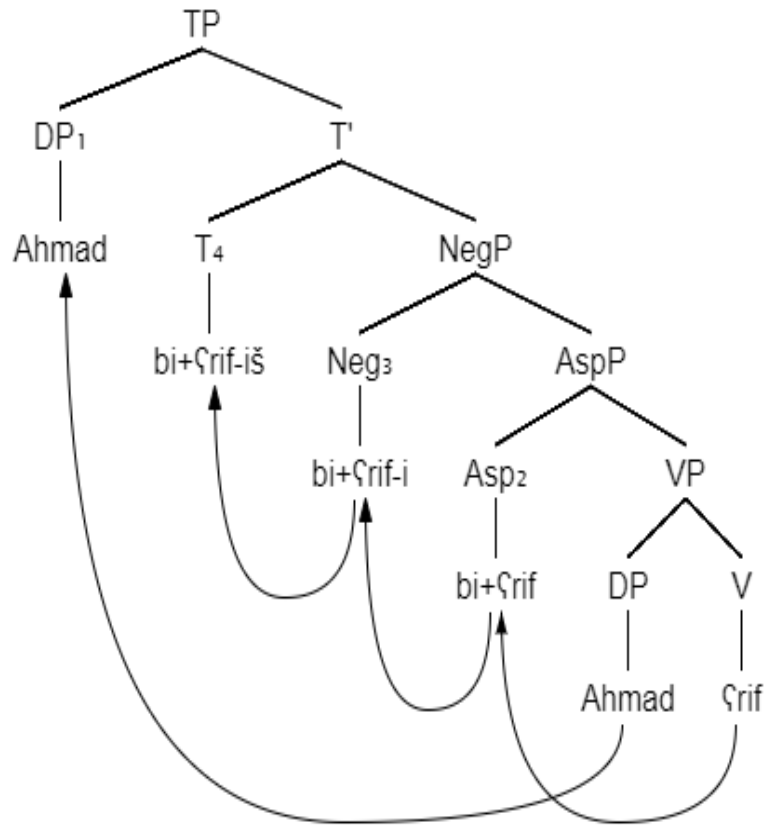
For the negation of non-verbal predicates, *muš* is used, which is a combination of the negative particle *ma-…-iš*. Aoun et al. (2010) argue against Ouhalla's (1990, 1993) Spec-head theory and follows Bahloul (1996) and Benmamoun (2000), who argue that *ma-…-iš* is one morpheme that occupies the same Neg head.

In the next section, the syntax of the particle *muš* that is used with nominal, adjectival, participle, and prepositional predicates and in imperative/prohibitive is discussed.

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4.4.2. The Negative Particle muš

In non-verbal sentences (equational or predicative), neither *ma:* nor *-iš* is used. Instead, the negative particle *muš* (a combination of *ma-…-iš*) occupies the head of NegP to negate nonverbal predicates, such as adjectives as it is shown in (84).

(83)   أنا مش جعانة   RPA

Ɂana   **muš**   jaʕa:n-i

I   NEG   hungry-F

I am not hungry.'

(84)
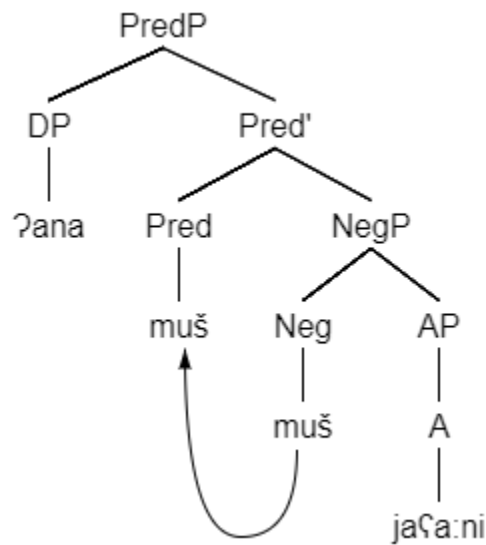
muš also occupies the head of NegP when it is used to negate PP or participles. *muš* as an independent particle that occurs in the head of the NegP is evidence that *ma:-…-iš* occupies the head of NegP as well.

To conclude, when *ma:* occupies the head of NegP, the past tense does not need to merge with it. Therefore, the verb doesn't need to move to NegP and pick up the negative particle and move to Asp. On the other hand, *ma-…-iš* occupies the head of

NegP. Therefore, the verb must move to NegP head and then move to T. In non-verbal predicates, *muš* is used as an independent negative particle that occurs as a result of the combination of *ma-…-iš and* occupies the head of NegP.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter explored the morphosyntactic properties of sentential negation in in MSA and RPA. It showed that the distribution of negation differs depending on the position of the negative particle as well as the negated element. Different forms of negation are used in MSA for verbal and non-verbal sentences. The unmarked negative particle *la*: is in the imperfective aspect. The negative particle *ma*: is in the past perfective aspect. The particles *lam* and *lan* are marked for past imperfective and future tense, respectively. As far as non-verbal present tense sentences are concerned, the negative particle *laysa,* which carries the agreement features of the subject, is used instead. There was evidence in the literature that *laysa* is used in CA in the imperfect aspect.

RPA has different negation strategies. The negative particle *ma-…-iš* is used in the perfective and imperfective aspect. The deletion of part of the negative particle *ma-…-iš* is associated with verb type. In perfective aspect, only *ma*:- or *ma-…-iš* is acceptable. In the imperfective, using either affix or both together is possible and acceptable. To conclude, the optional negative suffix *-iš* can be used on its own with all verbs and pseudo-verbs that are negated with *ma-* except perfective verbs and the pseudo-verb *ʕind*.

Abulhaija (1989) and Brustad (2000) propose that the deletion of *-iš* in all categories indicates emphasis or absolute negation. From the collected data, it was found

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that the use of the enclitic *-iš* with perfect and imperfect verbs and prepositional phrases is more common in RPA than in UPA.

From a syntactic point of view, when *ma:* is used in the perfect aspect, it occupies the head of NegP. Therefore, the verb doesn't need to move to NegP to pick up the negative particle and move to Asp. On the other hand, when *ma-…-iš* occupies the head of the NegP, the verb merges with NegP head and then they all move to T.

muš is used to negate adjectives, participles, and prepositional phrases and developed from the combination of *ma:* and *-iš.* Some examples are recorded of *muš* in the imperative/prohibitive. *muš* also occupies the head of NegP when it is used to negate adjectives, PPs, or participles. The main predicate in negation clauses (adjective, participle, or verb) does not need to raise to T when there is no need to merge with negation.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I compared the morphosyntax of pronominals and negation in RPA to MSA. The study investigated the origin of dependent pronouns and their functions and how they are related to their independent counterparts and the negative morphemes and their syntactic distribution in both MSA and RPA. Some examples from UPA are presented to highlight the distinction between the two varieties of PA.

In the first section of this chapter, I conclude the study by summarizing the main points of each chapter. In the second section, I present the limitations of the study and provide a few suggestions for future research and possible topics related to this dissertation.

5.1 Chapter Summaries

In Chapter 1, I introduced the focus of the study by presenting the main research questions. The research gap in the literature regarding the PA varieties was discussed; I explained that most of the studies conducted on the dialect do not focus on the morphosyntactic differences between UPA and RPA. Some studies on RPA were found in the literature, but they focus on different towns in Palestine that have different linguistic features. The data collection and methodology used in the study were explained. WhatsApp messages from different groups who are from towns neighboring the city of Tulkarm were used. The messages were analyzed and presented without referring to the subjects' personal information. Finally, the organization of the study and the main focus of each chapter were presented.

Chapter 2 gave an overview of the Arabic language and its colloquial dialects. It also introduced a brief history of Palestine and the sociolinguistics of Palestinian Arabic varieties. Its diglossia status and role in the Arab countries were discussed. Finally, I discussed subject-verb agreement in MSA and RPA.

Arabic is a Semitic language spoken in 22 countries; it is one of the official languages of the United Nations. Arabic went through different development stages over time. CA is traced back to the sixth century, where it was used in pre-Islamic poetry. The rise of Islam was a turning point in the development of Arabic, as the language of the Islam's holy book, the Quran. CA nowadays is not used in any context except for religious teachings in mosques and other Islamic institutions. As a result of modernization and the influence of other Arabic dialects and languages, CA lost much of its original vocabulary, which was replaced by new vocabulary related to politics, technology, and other modern fields. CA and MSA are similar in their linguistic features, but MSA is more analytic. Like CA, MSA is not a spoken dialect; instead each Arab country has its own dialect with different varieties. MSA is used only in reading and writing and in formal settings, such as education, the media, and administration.

As mentioned above, colloquial dialects are used for everyday communication. Some categorize these dialects based on geographical considerations, such as Levantine Arabic, which includes the Arabic spoken in Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. Others categorize them based on the country, such Jordanian Arabic, Lebanese Arabic, Syrian Arabic, and Palestinian Arabic. Within each dialect, there are different varieties, categorized based on area, age, education, religion, social class, and other factors.

In Chapter 2, diglossia (introduced by Ferguson, 1959) is discussed. Diglossia is particularly relevant to Arabic as (at least) two varieties are used side-by-side by all communities in the Arab world. MSA is the official variety used in formal settings; local dialects are used in non-formal settings. The differences between the two varieties are noticeable in the choice of vocabulary, phonology, and morphosyntax. MSA is considered to be the prestigious variety, whereas the local dialects are less prestigious forms of the language. The terms "High" and "Low" are used to differentiate between the standard and local dialects.

Palestinian dialect is one of the Levantine dialects; it is spoken in Palestine and other areas where Palestinian people live. It is categorized into three different varieties, urban, rural and Bedouin, based on the linguistic characteristics of each. The wars in Palestine had a great influence on dialect changes. The political issues that Palestine has gone through have influenced the history and use of the dialect. Palestine at different periods has been under the control of the Assyrians, the Romans, the Ottoman Empire, the United Kingdom, and lastly Israel. The Israeli wars and occupation during the years of 1948 and 1967 divided Palestine into three different areas. The Israeli occupation forced Palestinians to leave their homelands and move to different areas of Palestine or other neighboring countries, such as Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, and others. Some moved to Europe, Australia, North America, and South America. This migration caused speakers of PA to adopt new languages and dialects to adjust to their new life. It is worth mentioning here that PA is influenced tremendously by Hebrew since there are Palestinians who still live in the area of 1948 and Hebrew is the official language there. Palestinians in the

West Bank also communicate with people of Israel on a daily basis as a result of their work with them or due to spending time in their prisons.

Studies show that women and young men in Palestine have adopted the urban dialect, believing that it is the prestigious choice. In the meantime, PA has influenced the dialects of other Arab speech communities as a result of the migration of Palestinians to other countries.

In Chapter 2, I also discussed subject-verb agreement in MSA and RPA. Multiple word orders are available in MSA due to the rich overt case ending that determines the function of words regardless of where they occur in the sentence. However, in RPA, the available word orders are limited to VSO and SVO due to the lack of case markers in all Arabic dialects (including RPA). Subject-verb agreement in MSA is based on the word order: there is full agreement in person, number, and gender in nominal sentences and partial agreement in verbal sentences, where number agreement is not required; there is no difference between perfective and imperfective verbs regarding the agreement between the subject and the verb. On the other hand, subject-verb agreement in RPA is full in both verbal and nominal sentences. In MSA, if the sentence has a plural subject preceded by an auxiliary and followed by a main verb, the main verb must agree with the subject, but not the auxiliary; when the auxiliary follows the subject, both the auxiliary and main verb show full agreement with the subject. On the other hand, in RPA, the auxiliary agrees with the subject regardless of the subject's position of the subject. In sentences with a coordinated subject, the verb has to agree with the leftmost subject in MSA. RPA is more flexible in this context; the verb can have full or partial agreement with coordinated subjects.

In MSA sentences with full agreement, the subject moves to SpecTP and the verb moves to T to overtly check the strong number feature; the result is SV word order. If there is partial agreement between the subject and the verb and the number feature is not spelled out phonologically, the verb must move to T and the subject stays in the VP projection; the strong feature of number cannot be checked. In RPA, full agreement occurs in both SV and VS orders.

Chapter 3 focuses on the morphosyntax of sentential negation in MSA and RPA. Different negative morphemes are used in each variety to negate verbal and non-verbal elements, as illustrated in Table 16 below.

Table 16

Negative Particles in MSA and RPA

MSA			RPA		
la:	لا	imperfect tense, imperative/prohibitive, nominal	la:	لا	imperative/prohibitive, nominal
ma:	ما	perfective aspect, nominal	ma:	ما	perfective and imperfective aspect/prohibitive, copulas
lam	لم	perfective aspect	ma-…iš	ما..ش	perfective and imperfective aspect, imperative/ prohibitive, pseudo-verbs, copulas, nominals
lan	لن	future aspect	-iš	ش -	imperfective verbs, imperative/ prohibitive, some pseudo-verbs, copulas
laysa	ليس	imperfective verbs, nominal, adjectival, participle and prepositional predicates,	muš	مش	nominal, adjectival, participle and prepositional predicates, imperative/ prohibitive

Both *la:* and *ma* are unmarked negative particles used to negate the imperfective

and perfective aspect respectively; the particles *lam* and *lan* are marked used to negate

perfective and future aspect. Since they are marked for tense, the imperfective verb can

be negative via either particle. These particles occur with different patterns of

imperfective mood. *la:* occurs with indicative verbs, *lan* occurs with subjunctive verbs,

and *lam* occurs with jussive verbs.

The negative particle *laysa* is used to negate nominal, adjectival, participle, and

prepositional predicates and imperfective verbs. *laysa* carries the same agreement

features of perfective verbs; it fully agrees in person, gender, and number with the subject

if the subject precedes *laysa* and partially agrees with the subject if the subject follows

laysa.

In MSA, there is no copula in present tense sentences; a copula only appears in

the past tense. Copular sentences using *ka:na* 'was' in MSA are negated via different

negative morphemes, based on tense and aspect. Similar to *laysa,* the past tense copula

kana also must show full agreement with the subject if it follows the subject and partial

agreement when it occurs before the subject. Both *laysa* and *ka:na* assign nominative

case to their subject and accusative case to their predicate.

RPA has different negative morphemes. The most commonly used one is the

negative particle *ma-…-iš,* which is used to negate perfective and imperfective verbs.

There are other options: RPA can use either *ma*: or *-iš* in for imperfective verbs; *-iš*

cannot be used by itself for perfective verbs. The negative particle *ma-…-iš* is also used

to negate pseudo-verbs, such as *ʕind* and *fi*:; *fi*: can also use *-iš* only, while *ʕind* cannot.

Another context where *ma-…-iš* is used is with the past tense copula *baka* and with

nouns such as *had* 'one' and *ʕumr* 'never'. In UPA, *ma-…-iš* is also used with independent subject pronouns. The negative particle *ma-…-iš* is sometimes reanalyzed as one independent negative particle *muš,* which is used to negate adjectives, participles, and sometimes prohibitives.

Negative morphemes in Arabic head their own functional projection between TP and VP, which blocks the attachment of tense to the verb. If *ma*: is used on its own, it occupies the head of NegP, and there is no need for the verb to move to Neg to pick up the negative particle and move to Asp. On the other hand, when *ma-…-iš* occupies the head of NegP, the verb has to pick up the negative particle and move to Asp. The situation is different when *muš* is used to negate adjectives and participles: the predicate does not need to merge with the negative particle and move to T.

Chapter 4 explored dependent and independent pronouns in MSA and RPA. Independent subject pronouns are always nominals occupying the same subject positions as NPs and DPs. They are used also as copulas in equative sentences in both MSA and RPA when the pronoun is followed by a definite predicate. Agreement in person, gender, and number between the copula and subject is required. In addition, the third person singular masculine pronoun *huwwi* is used as a question pronoun in RPA with an indefinite predicate NP. As shown in Table 16 below, the independent pronouns in each variety are very similar, but there are some phonological differences. The dual forms in second and third persons are not used in RPA, and plural pronouns are used instead. In addition, masculine plural independent (and dependent) pronouns are commonly used for the feminine plural in RPA as well.

Table 17

Independent Subject Pronouns in MSA and RPA

person/number/gender	MSA		RPA	
	IPA	Arabic	IPA	Arabic
1st person singular	ʔana:	أنا	ʔana:	أنا
2nd person singular	ʔanta	أنتَ	ʔinti	أنتِ
2nd person feminine singular	ʔanti	أنتِ	ʔinti	أنتِ
3rd person masculine singular	huwa	هو	huwwi	هوي
3rd person feminine singular	hiya	هي	hiyyi	هيي
2nd person dual	ʔantuma:	أنتما	_	_
3rd person dual	huma:	هما	_	_
1st person plural	naħnu	نحن	ʔiħna:	احنا
2nd person masculine plural	ʔantum	أنتم	ʔintu:	أنتو
2nd person feminine plural	ʔantunna	أنتن	ʔintin	أنتن
3rd person masculine plural	hum	هم	humi:	همي
3rd person feminine plural	hunna	هنّ	hinni:	هنّي

Arabic is a pro-drop language; subjects are frequently dropped whenever they can be inferred from the context. Independent subject pronouns can be dropped because there are subject agreement features on the verb. Using independent pronouns emphasizes the subject.

Dependent subject pronouns are mainly affixes that originated from independent pronouns by deletion of a syllable; however, some are suppletive forms, such as the first-personsingular pronoun -*tu* and the third person masculine plural -*u*. These agreement features occur on the verb to reflect person, number, and gender and do not carry tense. The dependent subject forms in RPA and MSA can be found in Table 18.

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Table 18

Independent Subject Pronouns in MSA and RPA

person/number/gender	MSA		RPA	
	IPA	Arabic	IPA	Arabic
1st person singular	katab-**tu**	كتبتُ	katab-**it**	كتبِت
2nd person masculine singular	katab-**ta**	كتبتَ	katab-**it**	كتبِت
2nd person feminine singular	katab-**ti**	كتبتِ	katab-**ti**	كتبتي
3rd person masculine singular	katab-**a**	كتبَ	katab	كتب
3rd person feminine singular	kataba-**at**	كتبثْ	katb-**it**	كتبثْ
2nd person dual	katab-**a:**	كتبا	_	_
3rd person dual	kataba-**ta:**	كتبتا	_	_
1st person plural	katab-**na**	كتبنا	katab-**na**	كتبنا
2nd person masculine plural	katab-**tum**	كتبتُم	katab-**tu**	كتبتوا
2nd person feminine plural	katab-**tunna**	كتبتنَّ	katab-**t-in**	كتبتن
3rd person masculine plural	katab-**u:**	كتبوا	katab-**u**	كتبوا
3rd person feminine plural	katab-**na**	كتبنَ	katab-**in**	كتبن

In imperfective verbs, agreement features in MSA and RPA occur as prefixes and suffixes, as shown in Table 19 below.

Table 19

Agreement Prefixes and Suffixes of Imperfective Verbs

person/number/gender	MSA		RPA	
	IPA	Arabic	IPA	Arabic
1st person singular	**ʔa**-ktub-**u**	أكتب	**ba**-katib	بكتِب
2nd person masculine singular	**ta**-ktub -**u**	تكتبُ	**b**-ti-ktib	بتكتِب
2nd person feminine singular	**ta**-ktub-**i:na**	تكتبينَ	**b**-t-ktib-i:	بتكتبي
3rd person masculine singular	**ya**-ktub-**u**	يكتب	**b**-i-ktib	بِكتِب
3rd person feminine singular	**ta**-ktub-**u**	تكتب	**b**-ti-ktib	بتِكتب
2nd person dual	**ya**-ktub-**a:ni**	يكتبان	_	_
3rd person dual	**ta**-ktub-**a:ni**	تكتبان	_	_

1st person plural	**na**-ktub-**u**	نكتب	**b**-ni-ktib	بنِكتب
2nd person masculine plural	**ta**-ktub-u:**na**	تكتبون	**b**-tiktib-**u:**	بتكتبوا
2nd person feminine plural	**ta**-ktub-**na**	تكتبن	**b-ti**-ktib-**in**	بتكتبن
3rd person masculine plural	**ya**-ktub-**u:na**	يكتبون	**bi**-ktib-**u:**	بكتبوا
3rd person feminine plural	**ya**-ktub-**na**	يكتبن	**bi**-ktib-**in**	بكتبن

Object and possessive pronouns are clitics that originated from their independent counterparts via the loss of a syllable or its stress and that attach to a nearby word. Possessive pronouns are attached to nouns only, while the host word for object pronouns can be a verb, preposition, or quantifier. The only difference between the two forms of pronouns is that first person singular uses *-ni* in the object form and *-i* in the possessive. Dual pronouns are not used in RPA and plurals are used instead. Table 20 contains a list of possessive pronouns in both MSA and RPA.

Table 20

Possessive Pronouns in RPA and MSA

	MSA		RPA	
person/number/gender	IPA	Arabic	IPA	Arabic
1st person singular	kita:b-**i:**	كتابي	kta:b-**i:**	كتابي
2nd person masculine singular	kitabu-**ka**	كتابكَ	ktab-a**k**	كتابكْ
2nd person feminine singular	kitabu-**ki**	كتابكِ	ktab-**itʃ**	كتابتش
3rd person masculine singular	kita:bu-**hu**	كتابه	kta:bu-**hu**	كتابه
3rd person feminine singular	kita:bu-**ha**	كتابها	kta:bu-**ha**	كتابها
2nd person dual	kita:bu-**kuma:**	كتابكما	_	_
3rd person dual	kita:bu-**huma**	كتابهما	_	_
1st person plural	kita:bu-**na:**	كتابنا	kta:b-**na:**	كتابنا
2nd person masculine plural	kita:bu-**kum**	كتابكم	kta:bu-**kum**	كتابكم
2nd person feminine plural	kita:bu-**kunna**	كتابكن	kita:b-**tʃin**	كتابتشن
3rd person masculine plural	kita:bu-**hum**	كتابهم	kta:b-**hum**	كتابهم
3rd person feminine plural	kita:bu-**hunna**	كتابهن	kta:b-**hin**	كتابهن

Pronominal clitics are treated differently in CA and other dialects, such as Egyptian, which prefer to attach double object pronominals to the verb. MSA and RPA prefer to separate the direct and indirect objects by suffixing one of the objects to the particle *ʔiyya* or to a preposition.

5.2   Limitations and Future Research Directions

Data collection was the most difficult issue faced in conducting this study. Data was collected from WhatsApp messages on my personal phone. Most of the subjects speak the rural variety; a few subjects speak the urban dialect and are originally from the city or are members of a younger generation from rural areas who later adopted the urban dialect. It was difficult to find enough UPA examples in each category. There was a suggestion to use the Curras Palestinian corpus (http://portal.sina.birzeit.edu/curras/index.html) as a data source. Few examples were found of the urban variety. It was very difficult to spot phonological differences between the varieties because some of the sounds in the colloquial speech are not part of the Arabic alphabet and are therefore not written. I was careful in choosing my data to recognize differences by examining the morphology and lexicon of the examples. WhatsApp messages are easier to use as I know the subjects of both groups and also speak with them on the phone. My suggestion to improve the Palestinian corpus is to add recorded files alongside the written text so that the dialect can be identified.

In future research, I would use a different method for data collection to guarantee more authentic data, such as interviews or natural observations. I would like to conduct more comparative research involved the three varieties of the Palestinian dialect, urban, rural and Bedouin, addressing different grammatical aspects of the dialect, such as

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interrogatives and the phonological systems. The sociolinguistics of the dialect should

have more consideration in future research. Differences in subjects' gender, age,

education, occupation, religion, migration, and other factors should also be considered in

further studies.

I hope this dissertation contributes to the field of linguistics research in RPA and fills

a gap in the literature. The focus of most studies in the literature has been the

phonological differences among urban, rural, and Bedouin varieties. Other studies that

were conducted on the morphology and syntax do not examine dialectal differences, as I

noted; examples from each variety are used.

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APPENDIX A

DATA COLLECTED SEPTEMBER 2018-JANUARY 2019

IRB EXEMPTION

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Elly Van Gelderen
English
480/965-3535
ellyvangelderen@asu.edu
Dear Elly Van Gelderen:
On 8/14/2018 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	The Grammatical Aspects of Rural Palestinian Arabic
Investigator:	Elly Van Gelderen
IRB ID:	STUDY00008603
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Form-Social-Behavioral-Protocol (2).pdf, Category: IRB Protocol; • participation consent.pdf, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal
Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 8/14/2018.
In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the
INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).
Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Neimeh Mousa

        Elly Van Gelderen