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Heads of a feather “Agree” together: 
On the morphosyntax of negation in Standard Arabic

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Abstract  Head movement (HM) has always posed a problem to the minimalist program because of its apparent incompatibility with formal feature licensing considerations. Using categorial features (e.g., [N] and [V]) to motivate HM is a “coding” of the problem rather than an explanation. In addition, categorial features create what is called a “traffic rule” problem in syntactic derivations. It has been recently suggested, therefore, that HM be part of the phonological component (Chomsky 2001a; Boeckx and Stjepanović 2001). In this paper, I revisit the morphosyntactic properties of the negation paradigm in Standard Arabic (SA), where HM has been typically proposed (Ouhalla 1991, 1993; Benmamoun 2000), and argue instead for an alternative analysis whereby certain properties of the negation paradigm follow from minimalist mechanisms of formal feature licensing (in particular, the operation Agree), while other properties follow from morphophonological considerations. The proposed division of labor between syntax and morphophonology is then shown to have several empirical advantages, while facing none of the theoretical problems typically associated with HM. If correct, the analysis provides further support for an Agree-based minimalist syntax, since head movement (or at least the type involved in relations between functional heads) can now follow from the operation independently needed for formal feature licensing in the grammar.

1 Introduction: Head movement in the minimalist program

Since the inception of the Government-Binding (GB) framework (Chomsky 1981), different movement operations were considered as instances of a single operation of Move α. But instantiations of this operation have been often noted to exhibit different behavior. In this respect, XP-movement and X0-movement (the latter typically called head movement) have characteristically behaved differently with regard to the general properties and constraints on movement operations. Consider the
abstract illustrations of how XP-movement and \(X^0\)-movement change structures, as shown in (1) and (2), respectively (HM = head movement):

(1) a. A pre-XP-movement structure: b. A post-XP-movement structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(1) a. A pre-XP-movement structure:} & \quad \text{b. A post-XP-movement structure:} \\
\hspace{1cm} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2) a. A pre-HM structure: b. A post-HM structure:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(2) a. A pre-HM structure:} & \quad \text{b. A post-HM structure:} \\
\hspace{1cm} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Within the minimalist program, however, the derived structure in (2b) has always been problematic, for several reasons.

First, HM violates the *Extension Condition* (EC) in the sense of Chomsky (1995), which states that movement operations have to target the root of the tree. Second, HM creates a *non-uniform* chain in the sense of bare phrase structure theory (Chomsky 1995, Chap.4): The trace of \(Z\) in (2b) is a minimal category, but \(Z\) itself is both minimal and maximal, therefore violating chain uniformity. Perhaps the most serious problem
with HM within the minimalist framework is that the operation just does not seem to be minimalistically driven by formal feature licensing. Using categorial features (e.g., [+V] for verbal features, or [+D] for nominal features), as proposed in Chomsky (1993, 1995), has come to be seen as a “coding” of the problem rather than an explanation of it. In addition, categorial features have been argued to create a “traffic rule” problem, as noted in Chomsky (2001a). For example, in the pre-movement structure in (3a) below, if T has both a [+D] and [+V] feature, the standard way of licensing these features is for a DP (e.g., the boy) to move to SpecTP to license the [+D] feature, and for a verb (e.g., ate) to move to T to license the [+V] feature, as shown in the post-movement structure (3b):

(3) a. The pre-movement structure:  

```
TP
  T_{+[D/+V]}  VP
    DP  V'
      V...
```

b. The post-movement structure:

```
TP
  DP  T'
    T_{+[D/+V]}  VP
      V  T  t_{DP}  V'
t_{V}
```

As it turns out, however, there is another viable way for checking the categorial features of T in (3a): Move a VP to SpecTP to check the [+V] feature, and move a D head to T to check the [+D] feature, thereby generating the unwanted post-movement structure in (4):

(4)
While movement of a VP to SpecTP (as in VOS languages for example) and of D to T (as in cliticization in Romance and similar languages) have been suggested in the literature, the co-occurrence of both operations as in (4) is not empirically attested. What we need then is a way to regulate feature licensing in structures such as (3a), such that only (3b), but not (4), emerges as the post-movement structure.

Finally, it has been pointed out that while XP-movement is typically assumed to potentially have semantic effects (e.g., raising allows anaphor binding to take place, as in “The boysi seem to each other [t, to like Mary]”), HM, by contrast, does not seem to be associated with similar effects, e.g., verb raising in French and its lack thereof in English do not seem to correlate with any semantic differences that the two languages have, which again seems to suggest that perhaps the two operations are not of the same type (cf. Chomsky 2001a).

To solve the problems associated with HM, one suggestion has been to eliminate HM from the syntax and treat it instead as an operation of the morphophonological component, perhaps driven by the affixal.

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2 The relevant language would be one in which tense is realized on the D head of the subject DP, with the verb appearing in a non-tensed form. As far as I know, no such language exists.
properties of the relevant functional heads (Chomsky 2001a; Boeckx and Stjepanović 2001). While this might escape the theoretical problems mentioned above, it still requires empirical validation. In essence, we need to make sure that all the phenomena treated under syntactic HM before still follow under the morphophonological HM approach.

In this paper, I revisit the morphosyntactic properties of the Standard Arabic negation paradigm, a classical HM phenomenon, showing that a syntactic analysis of the facts is still possible if we extend the realm of the operation Agree to include relations holding not only between heads and substantive categories, but also between functional heads and other functional heads in syntactic representations. Significantly, the proposed analysis will not face any of the above mentioned theoretical problems associated with HM, while accounting at the same time for a range of empirical facts in the language.

The paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I present the morphosyntactic facts of clausal negation in SA. In Section 3, I discuss Benmamoun’s (2000) analysis of negation in Arabic dialects, pointing out a few problems with his analysis concluding, contra Benmamoun, that in Arabic dialects, the negation morpheme Neg is structurally higher than (T)ense. In Section 4, I discuss a morphophonological approach to negation in SA and point out a few problems with it. In Section 5, I present an Agree-based analysis of the SA negation facts. Section 6 discusses theoretical and empirical consequences that further support the proposed analysis. In Section 7, I sum up the conclusions of the paper.
2 The facts: Negation paradigms in SA

There are three strategies for clausal negation in SA: (a) negation with tense-inflecting laa (which takes different forms depending on the tense of the clause), (b) negation with φ-inflecting laysa (which shows agreement in person, number, and gender), and (c) negation with non-inflecting maa. I discuss each below, with examples and the morphosyntactic properties associated with each.

2.1 Tense on Neg and φ on V: The case of laa and its variants

The negation particle laa in SA is tense-inflecting. Depending on the tense of the clause, it will surface as lam (for negation in the past), lan (for negation in the future), or laa, the elsewhere form. This is illustrated in the data below:3

(5) a. laa ya-qra?-u Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
   Neg IMPER-read 3sgmas-IND Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
   “Zayd is not reading the book.”

   b. lam ya-qra?-Ø Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg IMPER-read 3sgmas-JUS Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
      “Zayd did not read the book.”

   c. lan ya-qra?-a Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg IMPER-read 3sgmas-SUB Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
      “Zayd will not read the book.”

3 I will use the following abbreviations in the paper, particularly in the glosses of the Arabic data: 1, 2, 3 = first, second, and third person; mas = masculine; fem = feminine; sg = singular; du = dual; pl = plural; NOM = nominative; ACC = accusative; DAT = dative; IND = indicative; SUB = subjunctive; JUS = jussive; FUT = future; IMPER = imperfective; Asp = aspect; T = tense; C = complementizer; Neg = negation particle; SUBJ = subject; OBJ = object; IMP = imperative.
Notice here that the verb always appears in the non-tensed imperfective form, inflecting for what is traditionally called “mood-marking”, though a better term is Fassi Fehri’s (1993) “temporal Case”, which I will use here, to avoid confusion with mood/modality notions, which are obviously not involved here, since all the sentences in (5) have the same illocutionary force (i.e., all are negative declarative sentences that only differ in tensehood properties). Notice from the data in (5) that there are three temporal cases: the (default) indicative markers (5a), the jussive (5b), and the subjunctive (5c).

As we should expect, occurrence of a tensed verb with tensed Neg is disallowed, as the ungrammaticality of (6a,b) shows:

   Neg read 3sgmas (Past) Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
   “Zayd did not read the book.”
   
   b. *lan sa-ya-qra?-a Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg FUT-IMPER-read 3sgmas-SUB Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
      “Zayd will not read the book.”

Notice further that there is an adjacency requirement on the negation particle and the verb, such that no intervening material (e.g., a DP) can occur between the two:

      Neg Zayd-NOM IMPER-love 3sgmas-IND the-reading-ACC

   b. *lam Zayd-un ya-qra?-Ø ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg Zayd-NOM IMPER-read 3sgmas-JUS the-book-ACC

   c. *lan Zayd-un ya-qra?-a ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg Zayd-NOM IMPER-read 3sgmas-SUB the-book-ACC
2.2 $\phi$-agreeing Neg without adjacency: The case of laysa

In the so-called present tense contexts, an alternative way of negating the clause is by means of the negation particle *laysa*,\(^4\) which inflects for agreement, as shown in (8):\(^5\)

(8) a. laysa  Zayd-un  yu-hibb-u  ?al-qiraa?at-a
      Neg 3sgmas  Zayd-NOM  IMPER-like 3sgmas-IND  the-reading-ACC
      “Zayd does not like reading.”

    b. laysa-t  Hind-u  tu-hibb-u  ?al-qiraa?at-a
      Neg 3sgfem  Zayd-NOM  IMPER-like 3sgfem-IND  the-reading-ACC
      “Hind does not like reading.”

    c. las-naa  nu-hibb-u  ?al-qiraa?at-a
      Neg 1pl  IMPER-like 1pl-IND  the-reading-ACC
      “We do not like reading.”

Notice here that *laysa*, unlike *laa*, does not require adjacency with the verb, as shown by the possibility of having a DP between *laysa* and the main verb in (8a) and (8b). Notice also that *laysa* cannot occur in non-present-tense contexts, as the ungrammaticality of the two sentences in (9) indicates:

(9) a. *las-tu  qara?-tu  ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg 1sg  read 1sg  the-book-ACC
      “I didn’t read the book.”

    b. *las-tu  sa?-a-qra?-u  ?al-kitaab-a
      Neg 1sg  FUT-IMPER-read 3sgmas-IND  the-book-ACC
      “I won’t read the book.”

\(^4\) Semantically, there seems to more emphasis associated with verbal negation with *laysa*, compared to *laa*. I will not discuss this here, however.

\(^5\) The negation particle *laysa* is typically treated as a (defective) verb in Arabic traditional grammar, because it behaves likes verbs with regard to agreement, and it shows the often discussed subject-verb agreement asymmetry associated with word order alternation in SA.
2.3 Non-inflecting Neg: The case of *maa*

A third negation particle in SA is *maa*, which does not inflect for tense or agreement, is compatible with all verb forms (10a-c), and does not impose adjacency requirements on the following verb (11a-b):

(10) a. maa qara?a Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
    Neg read 3sgmas Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
    “Zayd did not read the book.”

    b. maa yu-hibb-u Zayd-un ?al-qiraa?at-a
    Neg IMPER-love 3sgmas-IND Zayd-NOM the-reading-ACC
    “Zayd does not like reading.”

    c. maa sa-yu-safir-u Zayd-un ?ad-an
    Neg FUT-IMPER-love 3sgmas-IND Zayd-NOM tomorrow-ACC
    “Zayd is not traveling tomorrow.”

(11) a. maa Zayd-un qra?a ?al-kitaab-a
    Neg Zayd-NOM read 3sgmas the-book-ACC
    “Zayd did not read the book.”

    b. maa ?aadat-an na-naam-u mubakkir-an
    Neg usually-ACC IMPER-sleep1pl-IND early-ACC
    “We do not usually go to bed early.”

    c. maa ?ad-an sa-nu-saafir-u
    Neg tomorrow-ACC FUT-IMPER-travel 1pl-IND
    “We will not travel tomorrow.”

2.4 Descriptive generalizations

Clausal negation in SA can be summarized in the following descriptive generalizations:

(12) a. *lāa* inflects for Tense and forms a morphological compound with the verb, which appears in the non-tensed imperfective form.
b. *laysa* inflects for φ-agreement, occurs only in present tense contexts, and does not form a morphological compound with the verb.

c. *maa* does not inflect for tense nor φ-agreement, is compatible with all tense forms, and does not form a morphological compound with the verb.

3 A head movement analysis of SA negation

The standard analysis of tense-inflecting negation in SA is in terms of head-to-head movement between T and Neg (Ouhalla 1991, 1993; Shlonsky 1997; Benmamoun 2000). Since T and Neg merge, the tense feature of the clause will appear on Neg, rather than on the verb, thereby accounting for why the verb has to appear in its non-tensed imperfective form. For illustration, I present and discuss Benmamoun’s (2000) analysis of the tensed negatives here.

Benmamoun makes three crucial assumptions in his discussion of negation in SA:

(13) a. First, T is higher than Neg in the clausal hierarchy in SA.

b. Second, T\[^{\text{Past}}\] and T\[^{\text{FUTURE}}\] have a [+V] feature that requires checking by verb raising to T, whereas T\[^{\text{Present}}\] does not have such feature, hence no V-to-T raising is required.

c. Third, Neg has a [+N] feature that requires checking by a nominal.
Given these assumptions, V in past and future tense contexts raises to T, adjoining to Neg on the way (due to minimality considerations), thereby forming the complex [Neg+V]+T]. Since it is a Neg complex that adjoins to T, the tense feature appears on Neg, not on the V contained within the Neg complex, as desired. By contrast, in present tense contexts, V raises only to Neg, but no farther than that, and both Neg and V will appear in their default forms in this case. A derivation is given in (14) below:

(14)   a.  TP
       /   \   /
      T  NegP /
      /     /
     Neg VP
     /   \
    SUBJ V'
     \   
      V   ...

b.  TP
    /   \   /
   SUBJ T' /
   /     /
  [T[+D/+V]+[Neg[+D]+V]] NegP
   /     /
 tSUBJ Neg'
 /     \
 tNeg VP
 /     \
 tSUBJ V'
   \   
    tV   ...

Benmamoun relies on negation facts from modern Arabic dialects such as Egyptian Arabic (EA) to motivate his assumption that T is higher
than Neg in Arabic dialects. In these dialects, there are typically two negation markers: circumfixal *ma...š* and the non-affixal morpheme *miš*. Examples from EA are given below for illustration:

(15) a. xaalid ma-?araa-š əl-kitaab
   Khalid Neg-read (Past).3sgmas-Neg the-book
   “Khalid did not read the book.”

   b. xaalid miš bi-yə-?raa l-kitaab
   Khalid Neg ASP-IMPER-read.3sgmas the-book
   “Khalid is not reading the book.”

Benmamoun’s account for the contrast in (15) is based on the main background assumption in (13b) regarding the difference in verb-raising in structures with present T and those with non-present T. Now, given that Neg is lower than T under Benmamoun’s analysis, the verb is predicted to merge with Neg on its way to T in past tense contexts, as shown in (16a), but not so in present tense contexts, since, by assumption, there is no verb raising in the latter, as shown in (16b):

(16) a. TP                  b. TP
    T_{PAST [+V]}   NegP   T_{PRESENT[-V]} NegP
    Neg              VP              Neg              VP
    SUBJ V'          V              SUBJ V'          V
    V ...            ...            V ...            ...

As it turns out, there is a range of data from these Arabic dialects that show that this analysis cannot account for all the facts. First, in EA,
present tense forms can actually occur with the circumfixal Neg, such that (15b) is interchangeable with (17) below:

(17) xaalid ma-bi-yə-raa-ʃ ?al-kitaab  
    Khalid Neg-ASP-IMPER-read.3sgmas-Neg the-book  
    “Khalid is not reading the book.”

If Benmamoun is correct about Neg being lower than T and about present tense T being [-V], then the grammaticality of sentences such as (17) remains a mystery.

Furthermore, in EA, the independent Neg morpheme miš has to precede the future verb form, contrary to what Benmamoun’s analysis predicts:

(18) xaalid miš (f-əl-yaalib) ha-yə-ra l-kitaab  
    Khalid Neg (probably) FUT-IMPER-read 3sgmas the-book  
    “Khalid won’t probably read the book.”

In fact, what (18) shows is that Neg must be higher than T in clause structure.

Similarly, in at least one dialect of EA spoken in the Shareqeyya province, miš can actually occur with past tense verb forms:

(19) xaalid miš ?ara l-kitaab  
    Khalid Neg read (Past) 3sgmas the-book  
    “Khalid did not read the book.”

If T in past tense contexts has a [+V] feature, it is not clear then why in this dialect non-affixal Neg appears.
Furthermore, even in those EA dialects where sentences like (19) are ungrammatical, the independent Neg morpheme does in fact occur with past tense verb forms in negative yes-no questions:

(20) miš xaalid ?ara l-kitaab?
    Neg Khalid read (Past) 3sgmas the-book
    “Didn’t Khalid read the book?”

If Neg is lower than T, the structures in (18), (19), and (20) are simply underivable.

I conclude then that Neg is higher than T in Arabic clause structure, and that the dialectal variation observed in the modern dialects may follow from whether V moves to T only, thereby giving us the non-affixal morpheme, or to T then Neg, thereby giving us the circumfixal morpheme. Notice, however, that if Neg is higher than T, then we need to explain the ungrammaticality of the SA examples in (21) below, where tense is realized on V, rather than on Neg (cf. the data in (6)):

    Neg read (Past) 3sgmas Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
    “Zayd did not read the book.”

b. *lam qra?a Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
    Neg read 3sgmas (Past) Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
    “Zayd did not read the book.”

c. *lan sa-ya-qra?-a Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
    Neg FUT-IMPER-read 3sgmas-SUB Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
    “Zayd will not read the book.”
4 Deriving tensed negatives in the morphophonology

Another approach to clausal negation in SA is to treat it as a purely morphophonological phenomenon that does not involve any syntactic operations. Assume, for example, that the sentence we are interested in is the SA example in (5b), repeated in (22) below, where past tense is realized on Neg, while the verb appears non-tensed, but with φ-features and the jussive marker:

(22) lam ya-qra?-Ø Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
     NegPAST IMPER-read 3sgmas-JUS Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
     “Zayd did not read the book.”

We may assume that the syntax has built the structural representation in (23) below, ignoring irrelevant details:

(23) [NegP Neg [TP T[+Past]φ [VP … V …]]]

Now, the question is: How does HM take place in this instance, so we derive the surface structure in (22)? One possible account is as in (24):

(24) a. Move T to Neg:
     [NegP [Neg+[T[+Past]φ] [TP [VP … V …]]]

b. Move V to the [Neg+T] complex:
     [NegP [[Neg+[T[+Past]φ]+V] [TP [VP …]]]]


A few questions arise, however, with regard to (24). First, we do need to make sure that T moves to Neg prior to V moving to the whole complex;
otherwise, we would generate the bad sentences in (21). Also, even with
the correct output of morphophonological HM, we do need to explain
why V realizes the \( \phi \)-features on T, but not the tense feature.
Alternatively, why can’t Neg realize both the \( \phi \)-features and tense
associated with T? In addition, despite the similarity between tensed Neg
and \( \phi \)-agreeing Neg, we are forced to treat them differently: the former in
the morphophonology, the latter in the syntax, thereby missing a
traditionally noted generalization. Also, under this analysis, the
occurrence of temporal cases on verbs can only be treated as lexical,
despite its regularity. Finally, in embedded clauses of the so-called
subjunctive type (\( \text{\'al-} \text{muDaari} \text{'al-} \text{manSuub} \)), tensed negatives are not
possible, as the data in (25) below show:

(25) a. \( ?\text{arad-a} \quad \text{Zayd-un} \quad ?\text{alla} (=\text{\'an+laa}) \)
\( \text{wanted 3sgmas} \quad \text{Zayd-NOM} \quad \text{C+Neg}_{\text{Present}} \)
\( \text{ya-rhal-a} \quad \text{\'amr-u} \)
\( \text{IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB} \quad \text{Amr-NOM} \)
"Zayd wanted Amr not to leave."

b. *\( ?\text{arad-a} \quad \text{Zayd-un} \quad ?\text{allam} (=\text{\'an+lam}) \)
\( \text{wanted 3sgmas} \quad \text{Zayd-NOM} \quad \text{C+Neg}_{\text{Past}} \)
\( \text{ya-rhal-a} \quad \text{\'amr-u} \)
\( \text{IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB} \quad \text{Amr-NOM} \)

c. *\( ?\text{arad-a} \quad \text{Zayd-un} \quad ?\text{allan} (=\text{\'an+lan}) \)
\( \text{wanted 3sgmas} \quad \text{Zayd-NOM} \quad \text{C+Neg}_{\text{Future}} \)
\( \text{ya-rhal-a} \quad \text{\'amr-u} \)
\( \text{IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB} \quad \text{Amr-NOM} \)
The question now is: How can we account for the facts in (25) in morphophonological terms?

To summarize, while an analysis in terms of syntactic HM can account for sentences with tensed negatives in SA, further assumptions are needed to prevent it from overgenerating $[\text{Neg}_{\text{non-tensed}}]^+ V_{\text{tensed}}$ strings. A morphophonological HM account, by contrast, forces us to treat tensed Neg and $\phi$-agreeing Neg differently, even though they both seem to exhibit a similar pattern. Also, neither analysis explains the presence of temporal case features on the verb in these contexts. In the next section, I present an alternative analysis of the negation paradigm in SA which accounts for the facts without running into the theoretical or empirical problems that each of the two analyses runs into.

5 A minimalist analysis: Agree in the syntax, HM in the morphophonology

Unlike in the GB model and early minimalism (e.g., Chomsky 1993, 1995), Chomsky (2000, 2001a, 2001b) proposes that licensing of formal features such as case and agreement is induced via Agree, a primitive operation built in the grammar.\(^6\) Agree is an operation that establishes a relationship between an element $\alpha$ (call it a Probe) with uninterpretable features $[uF]$ and an element $\beta$ (call it a Goal) with matching interpretable features $[F]$ in the c-command domain of $\alpha$, whereby the uninterpretable

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\(^6\) For an elaborate discussion of formal feature licensing and arguments for Agree and against earlier approaches, see Soltan (2007) and references cited there.
features on the Probe are *valued* by the matching interpretable features on the Goal, as in the diagram given in (26):

(26)

Typical examples of uninterpretable features are φ-features (i.e., person, number, and gender) on T, wh-features on interrogative C(omplementizer), or Case features on nominals. For example, nominative case to subjects is licensed under Agree with T, whereas accusative case to objects is licensed under Agree with v:

(27) \[CP [TP T [vP Subj v [v' V Obj]]]]

Agree is also assumed to be subject to an “activity” condition: To get into an Agree relation, both Probe and Goal have to be “active,” that is, each has to have an uninterpretable feature or features to value as a result of the operation, e.g., Agree between T and a nominal that has an unvalued case feature is permissible, but Agree between T and a nominal that has already valued its case feature (perhaps via a prior Agree relation with another head or via lexical case-assignment) is not allowed. In SA, for example, verbs of deontic modality select a PP for its Experiencer argument. Since the DP within the Experiencer PP is assigned case by the preposition, that DP is no longer accessible for Agree operations. As it
turns out, in these constructions, Agree takes place with the Theme argument instead, assigning nominative case to it.\footnote{A question arises with regard to the optionality of gender agreement in (28). Notice, however, that this is not confined to these particular constructions, but is true of all cases of gender agreement where the verb and the agreeing DP are not adjacent at surface structure. In Soltan (2007) I propose that this can be accounted for in terms of a morphological rule that allows gender agreement to drop in non-adjacency contexts. Syntactically, though, agreement does take place, as evidenced by its actual appearance as well as the appearance of nominative case on the Theme argument.}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{(28)} yajib-u/tajib-u \alaa \al-mu?miniina \al-Salaat-u
  \begin{itemize}
    \item must.3sgmas/fem-IND on the-believers\text{	extsubscript{DAT}} the-praying-NOM
    \item “The believers have to pray.”
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Despite the opacity of the Experiencer PP in sentences such as (28), the possibility of agreement and nominative case assignment follows from the presence of another Goal for T to Agree with, that is, the Theme DP, as shown in the tree below:

\begin{itemize}
  \item (29)
  \begin{itemize}
    \item CP
    \item TP
    \item C
    \item T
    \item VP
    \item P Experiencer
    \item V
    \item Theme
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

To sum up, Agree is a syntactic operation that takes place between syntactic elements within a local domain in sentence structure, subject to the activity condition, resulting in the licensing of formal features on the
functional heads and substantive categories involved. In the rest of this paper, I propose that Agree be extended to contexts in which functional heads engage in relationships with one another, which typically gives rise to morphological fusion. I argue that this is indeed the case in the negation paradigm of SA.

One thing we observe about inflecting negatives in SA is that the phenomenon has the flavor of formal feature licensing in the minimalist sense. For one thing, there is no reason to believe that \( \phi \)-features on Neg are different from \( \phi \)-features on T, or any other functional head for that matter. Similarly, a tense feature on Neg is presumably a formal feature as well. If this is the case, then we should wonder if we can treat the phenomenon in terms of the mechanisms of formal feature licensing utilized in minimalist syntax. A Spec-head approach to these phenomena is obviously not viable. On the other hand, we have already seen that feature licensing through HM gives rise to a number of theoretical problems that have remained unsolved (cf. Section 1 of this paper). The question now is: How does Agree-based syntax fare in this respect? If Agree is a head-head relation, as Chomsky (2001a,b) argues, then it should not be constrained to apply only between functional heads and substantive categories. Rather, any two elements in the structure should be able to engage in a Probe-Goal relation if the conditions for such a relation are met, i.e., that they both have uninterpretable features that require valuation. I would like to argue here that Neg in SA can in fact engage in an Agree relation with T in certain contexts, thereby giving rise
to tensed negatives. $\phi$-agreeing negatives, on the other hand, follow from Neg having $\phi$-features that require valuation in an Agree relation with a DP. Non-agreeing Neg is simply an inactive head that does not engage in any syntactic operations. I discuss each case below.

5.1 Deriving tensed negatives in SA: The case of laa

Given the facts of the negation paradigm presented in Section 2, I will make the plausible assumption that Neg in SA may enter the derivation with an uninterpretable Tense feature [uT] or uninterpretable $\phi$-features [u$\phi$], each of which requires licensing in the syntax under standard minimalist assumptions. Let’s see how this analysis works.

Consider the case of tensed Neg first, as in the following example:

(30) lam ya-qra?-Ø Zayd-un al-kitaab-a
     NegPAST IMPER-read 3sgmas-JUS Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
     “Zayd did not read the book.”

Suppose we assume that in these cases, Neg has a [uT] feature. Recall also that in contexts of tensed negatives, the verb appears inflected for what we called temporal case, following Fassi Fehri. Since such a feature is also uninterpretable, let us assume that T has some unvalued temporal case feature, call it [uTC]. Now, if Neg is higher than T, as we concluded in the discussion in Section 4, then at the point of the derivation where Neg is introduced we have the following structure, irrelevant details ignored:8

---

8 The $\phi$-features on T will be valued through Agree with Subj in the regular fashion. This is not shown here, though.
This is a standard Probe-Goal relation that requires Agree to apply, valuing both the tense feature on Neg and the temporal case feature on T, leading to the following representation:

\[
(32) \quad [\text{NegP Neg}_{+Pass} [\text{TP T}_{+Pass} \phi \text{[aTC]} [\text{VP Subj VROOT} \ldots]]]
\]

Notice, however, that the representation in (32) is problematic: It predicts that [+Past] would still appear on T (hence on the verb) as well as on Neg, which is false, as indicated earlier with regard to the data in (6), repeated below:

\[
(33) \quad \begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad *\text{lam qra}\,a \quad \text{Zayd-un} \quad ?\text{al-kitaab-a} \\
& \quad \text{Neg} \quad \text{read 3sgmas (Past)} \quad \text{Zayd-NOM} \quad \text{the-book-ACC} \\
& \quad \text{“Zayd did not read the book.”} \\
\text{b.} & \quad *\text{lan sa-ya-qra}\,a \quad \text{Zayd-un} \quad ?\text{al-kitaab-a} \\
& \quad \text{Neg} \quad \text{FUT-IMPER-read 3sgmas-SUB} \quad \text{Zayd-NOM} \quad \text{the-book-ACC} \\
& \quad \text{“Zayd will not read the book.”}
\end{align*}
\]

Obviously, what we need to do here is capture the standard distinction between \(X_0\)-XP relations and \(X_0-X_0\) relations. Remember that Agree between a head H and a substantive category XP results in feature valuation on H, where valuation is a process of feature copying, e.g., Agree between T and a DP results in copying the \(\phi\)-features of the DP onto T. Suppose, then, in order to capture the distinction between \(X_0\)-XP relations and \(X_0-X_0\) relations, needed in any theory anyway, that an interface condition (let’s call it the Head Agreement Condition, HAC) ensures that in induced-by-Agree \(X_0-X_0\) relations the copied feature is
pronounced on Probe P, but interpreted on Goal G, when G is the head of the sister of P. This will ensure that the valued feature on the Probe gets deleted, thereby allowing the derivation to converge at LF, but at the same time the (now silent) feature on the Goal remains available, so it gets interpreted at LF. Such a condition is, in essence, Hale and Keyser’s (2002) *Strict Complementation Condition* on conflation processes, and also the *Head Movement Generalization* of Pesetsky and Torrego (2001).⁹

To give a concrete example, let’s revisit the problem with the structural representation in (32), repeated below:

(34)  \[ \text{[NegP Neg}_{\text{+[Past]} [TP T}_{\text{+[Past]}/\emptyset [uTC] [VP Subj V\text{ROOT} . . .]]]} \]

Now bearing the HAC in mind, the problem with (34) disappears, since [+Past], while appearing on both Neg and T, will be pronounced only on the former, but interpreted on the latter, in compliance with the HAC, since the Goal, T, is the head of the sister of the Probe, Neg. This way we

---

⁹ If Agree is indeed involved in these cases as proposed here, then we have to assume that the difference between prototypical Agree configurations (i.e., those between a head and a substantive category) and the head-head configurations discussed in this paper, is probably locality, or anti-locality for that matter. Agreeing with the head of your sister is pretty much like Agreeing with your sister, and perhaps there is an anti-locality effect prohibiting the same feature from appearing multiply within too local a domain, as Grohmann (2000, 2003) suggests. Now, when the sisterhood relation is not involved, then both elements in the Agree relation can, or perhaps must, spell-out the relevant features independently, e.g., T spells out the \( \phi \)-features that are also spelled out on the agreeing DP. I believe that this is the intuition behind Hale and Keyser’s (2002) analysis for conflation. One may also speculate that incorporation in the sense of Baker (1988) is of that nature. As far as I know, we do not see incorporation of an object coupled with spell-out of that object separately inside the same VP (e.g., no instances of “John meat-ate the meat”). It remains, however, to find out what relevant feature is involved in incorporation, if we want to extend the Agree-based analysis proposed here to such cases.
predict the ungrammaticality of sentences where both tensed Neg and
tensed V co-occur. While the HAC might seem *ad hoc*, I will provide
further empirical evidence later in the paper that it does indeed exist.\(^\text{10}\)

We have now managed not only to predict that tense will appear
on Neg, but also to prevent multiple tense-marking in negative sentences
in SA. The rest of the derivation could be handled in the
morphophonological component. For example, verb movement to T and
Neg is probably driven by the affixal features of both heads, which results
in the observed adjacency requirement.\(^\text{11}\) Notice also that V will end up
hosting the \(\phi\)-features on T, while appearing in the non-tensed
imperfective form (or the HAC would be violated). Finally, as a result of
Agree, the temporal case features on T are valued, which explains the
presence of these formal features on verbs in such contexts.

In sum, the Agree-based analysis proposed here accounts for the
properties associated with tensed negatives in SA. First, tense appears on
the negation particle as a reflex of the valuation of an uninterpretable
feature on Neg. Second, the verb has to appear in the imperfective non-
tensed form since Neg realizes the tense feature. Third, adjacency is
accounted for in terms of morphophonological head movement that
requires V to raise to T and Neg, to license their affixal features. Finally,

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\(^{10}\) See also fn. 9 above for what the HAC might follow from.

\(^{11}\) There is evidence that Neg by itself is not an affix in the language, as we will see later
in the discussion of the negation particle *maa*. We may assume here that it is the tense
feature on Neg that actually renders it affixal, hence requiring it to be part of the verbal
complex.
the Agree relation leads to the valuation of the temporal case on T, resulting on what has been traditionally called mood-marking on the verb.

5.2 Deriving φ-agreeing negatives in SA: The case of laysa

Recall that laysa, unlike laa, shows φ-agreement, is only compatible with present tense contexts, and does not require adjacency with the verb. The examples are repeated below:

    Neg 3sgmas Zayd-NOM IMPER-like 3sgmas-IND the-reading-ACC
    “Zayd does not like reading.”

    b. laysa-t Hind-u tu-hibb-u ?al-qiraa?at-a
    Neg 3sgfem Zayd-NOM IMPER-like 3sgfem-IND the-reading-ACC
    “Hind does not like reading.”

    c. las-naa nu-hibb-u ?al-qiraa?at-a
    Neg 1pl IMPER-like 1pl-IND the-reading-ACC
    “We do not like reading.”

Given the presence of φ-features on laysa, we have to assume that Neg in such contexts enters the derivation with uninterpretable φ-features that require valuation. I will assume that Neg in this case Agrees with a DP target in the same way that T does. For example, in (35a), it agrees with the subject Zayd-un, in (35b) with the subject Hind-u, and in (35c) with a null subject pro.

It has been noted in the literature on SA negation that laysa is actually a composite form, consisting of the negation particle laa and the extinct present tense copula lays (Wright 1898:96; Ouhalla 1993). If this is the case, then this is probably why laysa is only compatible with
present tense contexts. Given these assumptions, the structural representation when Neg is introduced into the derivation is as in (36), again ignoring irrelevant details: 12

(36) \[
\text{NegP Neg}[^{u\phi}/^{uT}] [TP T^{\phi=0}[\text{PRESENT}]^{uTC} [VP Subj V_{\text{ROOT}}\ldots]]
\]

Agree takes place between Neg and Subj in the usual fashion, valuing the former’s \(\phi\)-features. Agree also takes place between Neg and T, valuing the former’s tense feature, and licensing T’s temporal case in the process. By the HAC, tense can only be pronounced on Neg, as desired. In the morphophonological component, the copula morpheme /ays moves to host affixal Neg, forming the composite negation particle laysa.

Notice, however, that if present tense T has no \(\phi\)-features (cf. fn. 12), then we have no explanation for why the main verb appears with \(\phi\)-features as well, as the data in (35) show. An answer is readily available when we consider multiple agreement configurations in aspectual structures in SA (37a) and Egyptian Arabic (37b):

---

12 I will assume here that present T, unlike past T, is “\(\phi\)-feature inert,” i.e., it has no \(\phi\)-features, hence presumably nonaffixal. I suspect that this is precisely the reason why verbless sentences in this language occur only in present tense contexts, the reason being that there are no features on T that require a verbal host. Past and future T are, by contrast, \(\phi\)-active and hence affixal, thus always requiring a verbal host. This assumption will prove useful later in the discussion in this section.
(37) a. kaana-t Hind-u ta-lʕab-u
   was 3sgfem Hind-NOM IMPER-play 3sgfem-IND
   “Zayd was playing in the garden.”

b. ʔal-wilaad kann-u bi-ʕa-lʕab-u
   the-boys was 3plmas Asp-IMPER-play 3plmas
   “The boys were playing in the garden.”

To account for multiple agreement, I suggested elsewhere (see Soltan 2007), that such structures actually contain an Asp(ectual) projection, which is also φ-active, thereby explaining presence of multiple agreement on both the auxiliary and the main verb.\(^{13}\) Now, given that laysa-constructions are confined to aspectual contexts, particularly habitual or progressive aspect, it follows that they also must have a φ-active Asp, which hosts the verb in sentences such as those in (35). A full structural representation of a laysa-negative with Agree relations and verb movement will be along the lines in (38):

(38) \[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{Neg} \ [\text{Neg}_\phi[uT]} \ [\text{TP} \ \text{Asp}_\phi \ [\text{VROOT} \ [\text{VP} \ \text{Subj} \ \ldots \ \text{V}]]]
\end{array}
\]

Notice, finally, that the Asp projection has to be present also in the cases of tensed negatives with laa in present tense contexts where an aspectual reading is also available, as in (39) below:

\(^{13}\) Notice that the aspectual head is expressed overtly in EA: the bi- morpheme in (37b).
Unlike the case with *laysa*, however, there is no lexical head to support affixal Neg, and therefore the [Asp+V] complex has to raise to host Neg, merging on the way with T, which explains the adjacency requirement in this type of negation. That this is correct is supported directly by the fact that in case an auxiliary *kwn* (≡BE) is available, morphological merger with the [Asp+V] complex is not needed, since the auxiliary is a closer host to the Neg affix, and adjacency is no longer required:

(40) a. lam ya-kun-Ø Zayd-un ya-lṣab-u
    Neg IMPER-BE3sgmas-JUS Zayd-NOM IMPER-read3sgmas-IND
    “Zayd was not playing.”

b. lan ya-kuun-a Zayd-un ya-lṣab-u
    Neg IMPER-BE3sgmas-SUB Zayd-NOM IMPER-read3sgmas-IND
    “Zayd will not be playing.”

In sum, the properties of the *laysa*-type negation in SA can be accounted for in terms of the Agree-based analysis proposed here. First, agreement on *laysa* is the result of φ-feature valuation with the subject DP. Second, the exclusive occurrence of this negation particle with present tense contexts is due to its composite form, which includes a present tense lexical copula. Third, lack of adjacency between *laysa* and the verb is the result of Neg being hosted by the lexical copula, thereby preventing the verb from moving all the way up to Neg, raising instead only to Asp, hence showing φ-agreement as well.
5.3 Deriving the non-inflecting negative in SA: the case of *maa*

The last negation particle in the SA negation paradigm is *maa*. Recall that *maa* inflects neither for tense nor agreement, is compatible with all verb forms, and does not require adjacency with the verb. Here are the earlier illustrative examples:

(41) a. maa qra?a Zayd-un ?al-kitaab-a
    Neg read 3sgmas Zayd-NOM the-book-ACC
    “Zayd did not read the book.”

b. maa yu-hibb-u Zayd-un ?al-qiraa?at-a
    Neg IMPER-love 3sgmas-IND Zayd-NOM the-reading-ACC
    “Zayd does not like reading.”

c. maa sa-yu-safir-u Zayd-un yad-an
    Neg FUT-IMPER-love 3sgmas-IND Zayd-NOM tomorrow-ACC
    “Zayd is not traveling tomorrow.”

To account for the behavior of *maa*, it is reasonable to assume that it has no uninterpretable features and hence does not take part in any Agree relation. If so, then we should expect it to be compatible with all verb forms (past, present, and future), given that the tense feature will remain on T and then appears on V when the verb raises. This also explains why no adjacency effect is observed with *maa*, under the assumption that Neg is only affixal when hosting formal features (see fn. 11).

5.4 Summary

In this section I have shown that the morphosyntactic properties of the negation paradigm in SA can be accounted for in terms of what may be described as a hybrid analysis, whereby some head-head relations (particularly those between functional heads) are driven by the need to
license formal features such as tense and \( \phi \)-features on Neg, whereas movement of lexical verbs to host affixal heads is done in the morphological component. The analysis has the virtue of accounting for the three types of negative sentences in the language: tensed negatives, \( \phi \)-agreeing negatives, and non-inflecting negatives. If correct, the analysis presents further evidence that something like Agree does exist in the grammar as a mechanism for formal feature licensing, not only between functional heads and substantive categories, but also in a subset of the head-head relations that have been typically treated as cases of head movement, specifically those holding between functional heads. In the next section, I show that there is further empirical evidence that this proposal is correct.

6 Some consequences of the Agree-based analysis of SA inflecting negatives

In this section, I discuss both the theoretical and empirical advantages of the Agree-based analysis of the negation paradigm in SA presented in the previous section.

6.1 Theoretical consequences: No HM-related issues

Since the proposed analysis does not involve any “actual” head movement in the syntax, but only feature valuation, the theoretical problems discussed in Section 1 with regard to HM disappear. For one thing, if chain uniformity indeed holds as a principle of grammar, there is no violation of uniformity here because there is no movement, hence no
chain. Similarly, if the extension condition does hold for adjunction, the
current proposal is compatible with that, since Agree does not create an
adjunction structure. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the operation
is “minimalist” since it is driven by the requirement to check the formal
features of functional heads.

6.2 Empirical consequences

6.2.1 Negation in “verbless” sentences

One prediction that the current analysis makes is that only Neg heads that
do not require verb raising, i.e., laysa and maa, will be compatible with
the so-called “verbless” copular constructions. This is because Neg in
such cases is either nonaffixal and therefore does not need a verb to host
it, which is the case of maa, or because the Neg head can be hosted by a
lexical T, which is the case of the composite form laysa. Tensed Neg,
being affixal, as in the case of laa, is, by contrast, predicted to be
incompatible with verbless sentences. The predictions are borne out: maa
and laysa can negate verbless sentences; laa cannot:

(42)  a. maa Zayd-un fii ?al-dar-i
      Neg Zayd-NOM in the-house-DAT
      “Zayd is not in the house.”

      b. laysa Zayd-un fii ?al-dar-i
         Neg 3sgmas Zayd-NOM in the-house-DAT
         “Zayd is not in the house.”

c. *laa/lam/lan Zayd-un fii ?al-dar-i
   Neg Zayd-NOM in the-house-DAT
6.2.2 Interaction between C, Neg, and T

Another prediction made by the current proposal is that other functional heads should, in principle, be expected to engage in Agree relations like Neg does. I would like to argue here that C in SA may also appear with an uninterpretable tense feature, hence requiring valuation through Agree (see Pestesky and Torrego 2001 who argue that C has a [uT] feature). Evidence for this comes from the complementizer system in the language.

As Aoun (1981) discusses, there are two types of embedded Cs in SA: َanna and َan. The behavior of the two Cs differs, however. While َanna is compatible with all verb forms in the embedded clause, َan, by contrast, can only occur with non-tensed imperfective verb forms (i.e., َal-muDaariََ al-manSuub, in the Arabic grammar terminology):

(43) a. َانُانتُعِ َانَنَنا حَنَدَّآ كَاتِبَالتَأَثِر َالرِّسَالَتَأَثِر
    thought-1sg C Hind-ACC wrote 3sgfem the-letter-ACC
    “I thought that Hind wrote the letter.”

b. َانُانتُعِ َانَنَنا حَنَدَّآ تاَكتِبَتَأَثِر َالرِّسَالَتَأَثِر
    thought-1sg C Hind-ACC IMPER-write 3sgfem-IND
    “I thought that Hind is writing the letter.”

c. َانُانتُعِ َانَنَنا حَنَدَّآ ساَتَاكتِبَتَأَثِر
    thought-1sg C Hind-ACC FUT-IMPER-write 3sgfem-IND
    “I thought that Hind will write the letter.”
Second, while *'anna does not require adjacency with the verb, *'an, by contrast, does require adjacency with the verb. The sentences in (43b-c) above show lack of adjacency between *'anna and the embedded verb, while the following data show the ungrammaticality of *'an in absence of adjacency with a verb:

(45) a. *'araad-a Zayd-un *'an ya-rhal-a
    wanted 3sgmas Zayd-NOM C IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB
    *'amr-u
    Amr-NOM
    “Zayd wanted Amr to leave.”

b. *'araad-a Zayd-un *'an ya-rhal-a
    wanted 3sgmas Zayd-NOM C left 3sgmas
    *'amr-u
    Amr-NOM

c. *'araad-a Zayd-un *'an sa-ya-rhal-a
    wanted 3sgmas Zayd-NOM C FUT-IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB
    *'amr-u
    Amr-NOM

"Zayd wanted Amr to leave tomorrow."
The contrasting behavior of ʿanna and ʿan thus parallels that of the tensed negation particle laa, as opposed to the non-tensed maa. One may speculate, then, that the difference between the two types of C is also tense realization: ʿanna does not realize the tense of the embedded clause, while ʿan carries the tense feature of the embedded clause. As it turns out, there is good evidence that this is true from the interaction of negation with both types of C. While ʿanna can co-occur with all forms of tensed negation (i.e., laa, lam, lan), ʿan, by contrast, can only occur with laa, the default form. Compare (46) and (47):

(46) a. Ḍan-an-tu ʿanna Hind-a lam
   thought-1sg C Hind-ACC Neg
   ta-ktub-Ø ʿal-risaalat-a
   IMPER-write 3sgfem-JUS the-letter-ACC
   “I thought that Hind did not write the letter.”

b. Ḍan-an-tu ʿanna Hind-a laa
   thought-1sg C Hind-ACC Neg
   ta-ktub-u ʿal-risaalat-a
   IMPER-write 3sgfem-IND the-letter-ACC
   “I thought that Hind is not writing the letter.”

c. Ḍan-an-tu ʿanna Hind-a lan
   thought-1sg C Hind-ACC Neg
   ta-ktub-a ʿal-risaalat-a
   IMPER-write 3sgfem-SUB the-letter-ACC
   “I thought that Hind will not write the letter.”
(47) a. ?araad-a Zayd-un ?alla (=?an+laa)
    wanted 3sgmas Zayd-NOM C+NegPresent
    ya-rhal-a Ŷamr-u
IMP-IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB Amr-NOM
“Zayd wanted Amr not to leave.”

b. *?araad-a Zayd-un ?allam (=?an+lam)
    wanted 3sgmas Zayd-NOM C+NegPast
    ya-rhal-a Ŷamr-u
IMP-IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB Amr-NOM

c. *?araad-a Zayd-un ?allan (=?an+lan)
    wanted 3sgmas Zayd-NOM C+NegFuture
    ya-rhal-a Ŷamr-u
IMP-IMPER-leave 3sgmas-SUB Amr-NOM

The contrast between (46) and (47) can be accounted for if we assume that ?an is the result of C absorbing the tense feature of the embedded clause. Specifically, Neg Agrees with T in tense, followed by C Agreeing with Neg in tense as well. By the HAC, the tense feature has to be realized on the highest head, which is C in this case, therefore explaining the absence of tense-inflecting negation particles with this complementizer, as well as the required adjacency between C and the verb. The complementizer system in SA thus provides further support for the Agree-based analysis of head movement, whereby relations between functional heads can be licensed via minimalist mechanisms of formal feature licensing, Agree in the present context.
Further evidence for the correctness of the current analysis comes from the behavior of imperatives in SA, as argued in Soltan (to appear). As has been traditionally noted, positive imperative verb forms in Arabic dialects appear without the person prefix \(-ta\). Compare the second person imperfective forms to the positive imperative verb forms in (48) below:

\[(48) \]  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperfective (indicative)</th>
<th>Positive Imperative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sgmas ( ta-ktub-u )</td>
<td>( ?u-ktub-Ø )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgfem ( ta-ktub-ii-na )</td>
<td>( ?u-ktub-ii )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2dumas/fem ( ta-ktub-aa-ni )</td>
<td>( ?u-ktub-aa )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plmas ( ta-ktub-uu-na )</td>
<td>( ?u-ktub-uu )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2plfem ( ta-ktub-na )</td>
<td>( ?u-ktub-na )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“write”</td>
<td>“Write.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Soltan (to appear), I argue that this is yet another case where two functional heads (imperative C and T) engage in an Agree relation, as schematically represented below:

\[(49) \]

In particular, I argue that imperative \( C_{IMP} \) has an uninterpretable Person feature. \( T \) Agrees with Subj in the usual fashion, licensing the \( \phi \)-features

---

\[14\] Imperative verbs appear in the so-called jussive mood (or temporal case in Fassi Fehri’s terminology). Notice also that the initial glottal stop as well as the following vowel in the positive imperative verb forms are epenthesized for syllabification purposes.

\[15\] Whether this can be tied to the fact that imperative structures are for the most part second person in nature is unclear. Perhaps the inherent properties of imperative C is compatible with it being the locus of the formal feature of (second) person, but this is at best a mere speculation.
on T. Now, C Agrees with T in Person, thereby licensing C’s Person feature as well as the temporal case on T, as evidenced by the occurrence of the jussive mood marker on imperative verb forms (cf. fn. 14). Since T is the head of the sister of C, then, by the Head Agreement Condition, the Person feature has to be realized on the probing head, C in this case, which explains its absence on the verb. Interesting consequences arise in both negative imperatives (e.g., laa ta-ktub-Ø) and so-called *li-*imperatives (e.g., li-ta-ktub-Ø) in SA, as well as with regard to cross-linguistic variation in the morphosyntax of imperatives, which I will not discuss here, referring the reader to Soltan (to appear) for an elaborate discussion.

7 Conclusions

In this paper, I have discussed the interesting (and rather intricate) negation paradigm in SA, arguing for a hybrid analysis in terms of an Agree relation holding between the two functional heads Neg and T, coupled with morphophonological movement of the lexical verb to host affixal Neg. I have shown that this analysis derives the three different types of negation, as well as their associated morphosyntactic properties. I have also shown that the analysis escapes all the theoretical problems associated with syntactic head movement, while accounting for a set of interesting empirical facts regarding negation in verbless sentences, interaction between negation and C in embedded clauses, as well as the agreement properties of positive and negative imperatives.
References


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