

INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48106

1322773

HARRAMA, ABDULGIALIL MOHAMED

SOME ASPECTS OF NEGATION IN MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

M.A.

1983

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

SOME ASPECTS OF NEGATION
IN
MODERN STANDARD ARABIC

by
Abduljalil Mohamed Harrama

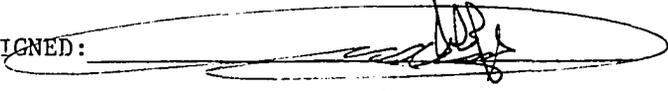
A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the
DEPARTMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
WITH A MAJOR IN ARABIC LINGUISTICS
In the Graduate College
THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

1983

STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

This thesis has been submitted in partial fulfillment of requirements for an advanced degree at The University of Arizona and is deposited in the University Library to be made available to borrowers under rules of the Library.

Brief quotations from this thesis are allowable without special permission, provided that accurate acknowledgment of source is made. Requests for permission for extended quotation from or reproduction of this manuscript in whole or in part may be granted by the head of the major department or the Dean of the Graduate College when in his judgment the proposed use of the material is in the interests of scholarship. In all other instances, however, permission must be obtained from the author.

SIGNED: 

APPROVAL BY THESIS DIRECTOR

This thesis has been approved on the date shown below:



WILLIAM J. WILSON
Associate Professor of
Oriental Studies

20-V-1983

Date

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to Dr. William Wilson, the chairman of my committee. I am indebted to him for his continued support, assistance, encouragement, patience, and generosity in giving me large portions of his time, valuable comments, and criticism, advice, and guidance throughout the graduate study program.

I also wish to express my sincere thanks to the other members of my committee: Dr. Hamdi Qafisheh and Dr. Anoop Chandola. I am indebted to Dr. Qafisheh for his generous help, support, advice, valuable comments, and suggestions; and to Dr. Chandola for his valuable comments and advice.

I also wish to express my thanks to the Libyan people and the University of Al-Fateh for granting me a scholarship to pursue my studies.

I also wish to express my special thanks to my wife Warda for her patience and her moral support throughout the time of my writing this paper.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	v
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Transcription	3
The Components of the Negative Sentence	5
The Negative Particles	7
Remarks on the Negative Particles	8
Classification of the Negative Particles	9
2. NEGATION OF VERBAL SENTENCES	12
<u>laa</u>	16
<u>lam</u> and <u>lammaa</u>	37
<u>lan</u>	52
<u>maa</u>	56
<u>laysa</u>	58
3. NEGATION OF NON-VERBAL SENTENCES	64
<u>laysa</u>	64
<u>maa</u>	77
<u>laa</u>	85
4. FURTHER REMARKS AND CONCLUSION	92
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	97

ABSTRACT

This paper is an attempt to shed some light upon various aspects of negation in Modern Standard Arabic. It is not, by any means, a thorough or a complete survey of all aspects of negation by all of the abundant negative particles in the Arabic language. Rather, the object is to give an account of different negative constructions by various devices. The classification of the negative particles according to their occurrences in the sentences, i.e., verbal or non-verbal sentences, and their syntactic positions in the sentences are set forth. Also, some remarks on the diversity of the negative elements in Arabic are given. The interchangeability of certain negative particles by others with or without resulting in different sentence meaning is taken into consideration. Whether the scope of negation is the entire sentence or just part of it or a constituent is to be looked at. Also, similar or different negative constructions with different or similar meanings, respectively, are to be accounted for.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with some aspects of negation in the Arabic Language. By Arabic, here, is meant Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), unless otherwise specified. MSA represents a linguistic continuum of classical Arabic (CA) and has not undergone any significant changes, whether morphologically, syntactically or even phonologically, as indicated by Semaan (1975) and some other scholars. Lexically, however, one can observe that many new lexical items have entered MSA through the processes of borrowing and new word formation. This may be due to modern technology and contact with other languages, especially Western languages. By contrast, some other lexical items from CA are no longer in use. Modern Standard Arabic is considered one of the unifying factors among the Arab people. It is used throughout the Arab World and is not exclusively written, but, to some extent, is spoken by educated Arab people in certain environments. It is used in books, periodicals, official documents, newspapers, news broadcasts, as well as formal speeches, religious ceremonies, literary debates, to name a few.

This study is aimed toward an investigation of some aspects of negation in Arabic by showing how negation operates, what the scope of negation is, and how different interpretations of a sentence can be accounted for by different means. Additionally, the discussion will focus on how similar negative constructions can be interpreted

differently or the same. The possibility of replacing some negative particles by other negative particles with or without change in the meaning and the structure of the sentence will also be examined.

Chapter 1 will be an introductory chapter. It will discuss briefly the components of negative sentence and the negative particles as a whole. Certain viewpoints regarding the diversity of the negative particles will be given. Their classification according to Arabic sentences will also be mentioned.

Chapter 2 will be devoted to negation of verbal sentences, including the particles laa, lam, lammaa, lan, maa, and laysa. The discussion will center upon their syntactic position in sentences, and the meaning that each one carries out in the sentence within the scope of negation.

Chapter 3 will deal with negation of non-verbal sentences. The negative particles laysa, maa, and laa and their syntactic behavior will be discussed. Also, the discussion will touch upon some prepositions which make negation more emphatic.

In Chapter 4, some further remarks on the negative particle will be presented. Also, a brief discussion of constituent negation, some adverbials of emphatic negation, and a conclusion will be given.

Transcription

The following symbols are used to transcribe the sentences
in this paper:

'	glottal stop
b	voiced bilabial stop
t	voiceless dental stop
θ	voiceless interdental fricative
j	voiced palatal affricate .
ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
x	voiceless velar fricative
d	voiced dental stop
<u>d</u>	voiced interdental fricative
r	dental flap
z	voiced dental fricative
s	voiceless dental fricative
<u>v</u> s	voiceless palatal fricative
<u>s</u> .	voiceless emphatic palatal fricative
<u>d</u> .	voiced emphatic palatal stop
<u>t</u> .	voiceless emphatic palatal stop
<u>z</u> .	voiced emphatic interdental fricative
c	voiced pharyngeal fricative
<u>g</u>	voiced velar fricative
f	voiceless labiodental fricative
q	voiceless uvular stop

k	voiceless velar stop
l	lateral dental
m	bilabial nasal
n	dental nasal
h	voiceless glottal fricative
w	bilabial glide
y	palatal glide
i	short high front unrounded vowel
a	short low central unrounded vowel
u	short high back rounded vowel
ii or \bar{i}	long high front unrounded vowel
aa or \bar{a}	long low central unrounded vowel
uu or \bar{u}	long high back rounded vowel

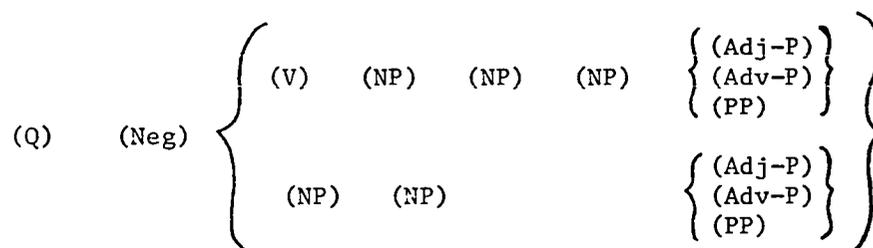
The Components of the Negative Sentence

Negative sentences are the counterparts of positive sentences, and negative particles play a crucial role in transforming sentences from positive to negative. The presence of a negative particle could be considered the foremost characteristic which allows us to recognize that a sentence is negative. The particles of negation are presumed to have sentence-initial position, but, as can be seen later, they take different positions in sentences. However, in order to determine what the components of negative sentences are, one has to take into consideration the type of the sentence that is negated. In other words, one has to see whether the negative sentence is an active negative sentence or a passive negative sentence; a negative request or a negative question; a negative passive question or a negative conditional sentence . . . and so forth. By determining the type of negative sentence, one can easily determine its components. Furthermore, one can establish certain syntactic categories which are fundamental in formulating sentences:

{	(VP)	(NP)	(Adj-P)	(Adv-P)	(PP)	}
		(Comp)		(Quantifier)		
			etc.			

From these syntactic categories, certain of their sub-categories, and certain other lexical items such as negative, interrogative, and conditional particles, one can form, by

selection, the appropriate negative sentence. Thus, the components of the negative sentence vary from one sentence to another depending on the type of negative sentence. One should also bear in mind that the different varieties of negative particles and different types of sentences (i.e. verbal and nonverbal sentences) in the Arabic language display a syntactic behavior which may be quite different from that of other languages. However, the different varieties of negative sentences can be formulated from the following chart:



The different negative sentences that can be formulated from the model above are subject to some changes by rearranging, deleting, or adding certain other components via transformation processes. At this point, however, I will not go further into a discussion of the transformation approach.

In addition to negation by negative particles, there is another kind of negation, that is, tacit negation, which is realized without having negative particles in the sentence. This study will not be concerned with this kind of negation.

The Negative Particles

The negative particles, as mentioned in the Arabic reference grammars under different topics according to the "doer or operative theory," include: 1) laa; 2) maa; 3) lam; 4) lan; 5) iammaa; 6) laysa; 7) laata; and 8) 'in. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, 1969). All of the above lexical items are considered to be negative elements by Arab grammarians. Some of the above elements may have more than one function; i.e., in addition to their behavior as negative particles, they are also considered by Arab grammarians to have certain other functions. For example, maa is considered to be a negative particle as well as an interrogative particle, an indefinite relative pronoun for non-humans except in some rhetorical expressions, and so forth. It seems, however, difficult to determine whether these multifunctions of some lexical items are a unique distinguishing feature of the language or not.

Before moving on to a new topic, one may pose a question concerning the use of these different varieties of negative particles by modern Arab writers. In other words, are all of these particles, which have been widely used by Medieval Arab grammarians, still in use in modern written Arabic? It seems unlikely that the answer will be yes. Rammuny, (1978, p. 257), has pointed out that not all of these particles are still in use by modern Arab writers. He states that the

. . . three so-called negative particles - 'in, hal, and laata, which indicate negation in an indirect or implied manner, have become very rare today.

He continues,

Nevertheless, modern reference grammars still mention these negative particles without making any reference to their rare usage. As a matter of fact, all the examples cited in these grammars are the same examples used in Medieval grammar sources, i.e., examples based on the Quran or medieval poetry.

Since this is the case, it is also difficult to find an appropriate answer or justification for the fact that they are not used as negative particles by modern Arab writers.

Remarks on the Negative Particles

It is not my intention here to argue about these varieties of negative particles and their origins. It seems, however, that certain other viewpoints in regard to this diversity of particles and their origins should at least be mentioned. However, Cantarino (1974, Vol. 1, p. 101) states that

. . . it is generally accepted by philologists that only the old Semitic laa is to be considered as being originally a negative particle. All others either are compounds of the negative laa, such as lam, lammaa, lan, and laysa, or have become negative particles only after their original meaning had become obscure completely or in certain positions as, e.g., with the interrogative particles 'in and maa.

Consequently, lan is a particle compounded from laa + 'an and contracted to lan. lam is compounded from laa + maa. lammaa is compounded from lam + maa. (cf. Ibn Manzuur, Vol. III, p. 400; Wright, 1964, Vol. I, p. 287; Tawfiiq, 1972).

In addition, laysa is compounded from laa + 'aysa. Wright (Vol. I, p. 96) states that,

. . . laysa is compounded of laa 'not' and the unused 'aysa or yisa signifying being, existence, as in the phrase laa ya^c rifu 'aysa min laysa, 'he does not know what is from what is not.'

Therefore, it has been pointed out by the above scholars that the original negative particle is laa. That this negative particle was found in other Semitic languages such as Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian has been indicated by Wright (1964). Wright also states that "Assyrian seems also to have the word isu, with its negative la⁻isu, in the double sense of 'to be' and 'to have'," (Vol. I, p. 96).

In addition, Ibn Manzuur (Vol. III, p. 326) indicates that al-Farraa', an old Arab grammarian, argued about the origin of lan and lam. He believed that the origin of lan and lam is laa, and that the long vowel aa of laa became n to produce lan and m to produce lam.

However, further remarks may be given later regarding the origin of some of these particles.

Classification of the Negative Particles

The negative particles can be classified according to their meaning, usage, and position in the negative sentence. Since, in Arabic, we have two kinds of sentences, verbal and nonverbal, the particles of negation are also classified according to this division.

1. The particles that negate only verbal sentences include:

- a) lam (not, has not)
 - b) lammaa (not yet, has not yet)
 - c) lan (will not)
2. The particle that negates only nonverbal sentences, i.e., equational sentences, is:
- a) laata (no, not)
3. The particles that can negate both kinds of sentences are:
- a) laa (no, not)
 - b) maa (no, not)
 - c) laysa (not to be, not)
 - d) 'in (not)

Having discussed the negative particles and their classification in Arabic sentences, it should be pointed out that these particles "may as in the Indo-European languages, deny any part of the sentence, the predicate, the subject, the object, the hāl or circumstantial expression, etc." (Wright, Vol. II, p. 299). In other words, the scope of negation could be the entire sentence or a constituent. In addition, these negative particles sometimes immediately precede the part of the sentence that they negate, but at other times they are separated from that part which they negate by certain other lexical items as will be seen later.

It might, however, be appropriate, in respect to this diversity of negative particles, to pose the following crucial question. Does the existence of many particles or lexical items

for negation in any language indicate a uniqueness or superiority over other languages which do not have so many negative elements? In other words, does a variety of negative particles in a particular language denote an abundance of lexical items through which the users of that language may better choose the appropriate element in the appropriate context to achieve effective stylistic variation? Or does the variety of negative particles simply make it more difficult to decide how they should be appropriately used? If the meaning and the function of two or three particles are virtually identical, it may be difficult to decide which particle to employ in the sentence, and where it should be most appropriately used. This may be a difficult question to answer.

CHAPTER 2

THE NEGATION OF VERBAL SENTENCES

It seems appropriate, I think, before dealing with different types of negative sentences, to present a brief discussion or an outline of word order in Arabic. Since Arabic sentences employ a number of different word orders, it is assumed that the basic form is (VSO), that is, Verb-Subject-Object. The other alternatives, such as SVO, VOS, and OVS, are considered to be stylistic variations and to be transformed from the above form of VSO. It should be borne in mind that there are certain restrictions or conditions outlined by Arab grammarians regarding the use of VOS and OVS order. Consequently, one can give certain basic rules by which the simple declarative, active, affirmative sentence could be generated. These rules have been known as Phrase Structure Rules (PS-Rules). PS-Rules specify the underlying syntactic structure, the way the kernel sentences of the language are generated.

S	→	Pred-P	NP ₁	(NP ₂)	(NP ₃)	(Adj-P)...
Pred-P	→	Aux	{ V Copula }			
Aux	→	Tense	(Aspect)	(Pre-V)	
V	→	{ V _{tr} V _{intr} }				
Pre-V	→	{ <u>sa-</u> <u>sawfa</u> }		(<u>qad</u>)	(<u>rubbamaa</u>)
NP	→	(Det)	N	(S)		

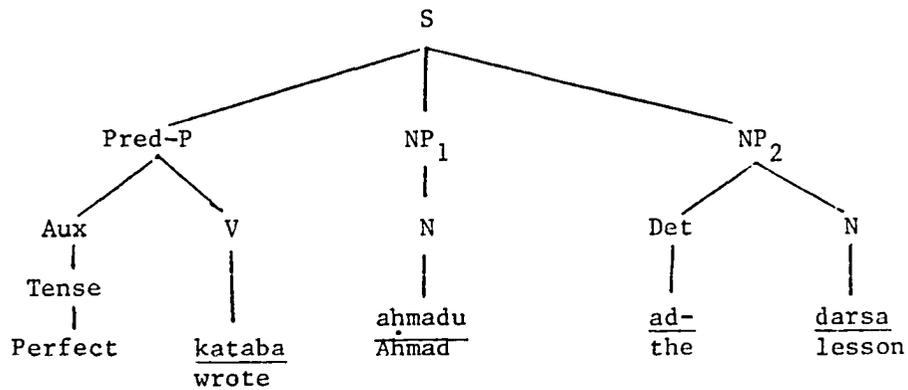
The abstract symbols used above stand for:

S	=	Sentence
Pred-P	=	Predicate Phrase
NP	=	Noun Phrase
Aux	=	Auxiliary
V	=	Verb
Pre-V	=	Pre-verb
Vtr	=	Verb Transitive
Vintr	=	Verb Intransitive
N	=	Noun
Det	=	Determiner

These rules are by no means adequate for generating every sentence in the language, and they are subject to change and further modification. But they can serve as a beginning step. They generate sentences like:

kataba ahmadu ad-darsa.
 wrote Ahmad the-lesson.
 'Ahmad wrote the lesson.'

However, we could present this sentence in a tree diagram as follows:

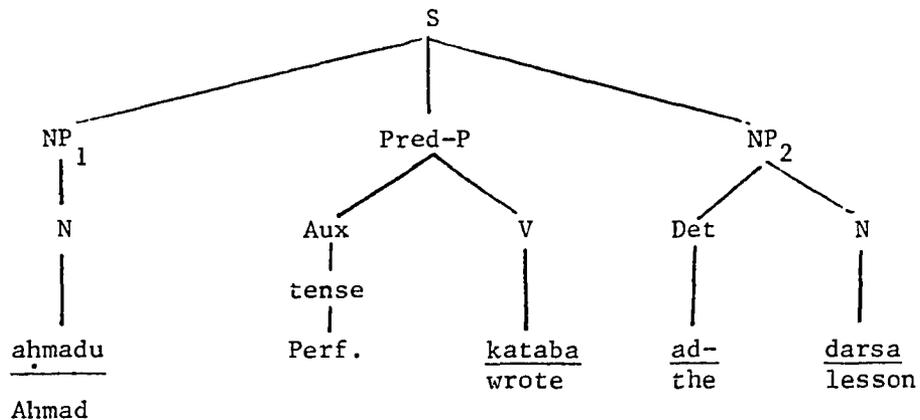


NP_1 , in the tree, is the subject of the sentence, or al-faa^cil, "the actor," as it is called by Arab grammarians. It is assigned a nominative case, and it is directly dominated by 'S' and

governed by the verb. NP₂, however, is the object of the sentence, and it is assigned an accusative case. It is also dominated by 'S' and governed by the verb. However, the sentence in discussion, which is considered to be a verbal sentence because it begins with a verb, can be transformed into a nominal sentence by assigning both its syntactic description (SD) and its syntactic change (SC) as follows:

SD:	X	Pred-P	NP ₁	NP ₂	Y	
SC:	X	NP ₁	Pred-P	NP ₂	Y	→
	1	2	3	4	5	→
			1	3 + 2 + ∅	4	5

The output of this transformation will look like:



This sentence is considered by Arab grammarians to be a nominal sentence, even though it contains a verb, because it begins with a noun. Since this is the case, the NP₁, which is dominated by S, is considered to be the subject of the sentence, or mubtada' as

it is called by Arab grammarians, and it is not governed by the verb as in the case of verbal sentences. Furthermore, the verb kataba 'wrote', as pointed out by Arab grammarians, implies a pronoun that must agree with the subject NP₁ in number, gender, and person. However, this implied pronoun can be recognized easily if the NP₁ is dual or plural. NP₂ is the object and it is still governed by the verb.

After this brief discussion of word order in Arabic, let us begin with the construction of negative sentences. But before starting, it should be borne in mind that I do not intend to present a complete or thorough survey or investigation of all negative constructions involving all the different particles of negation which have been discussed by Arab grammarians under different topics. Rather, as the title of this paper indicates, my intent is a discussion of some aspects of negation by showing how the negative construction operates in Arabic by different means or particles, and by showing the different positions of these particles and their behavior in the sentences, as well as showing the possibility of interchangeability of some particles by others, and so on.

In addition to what has been mentioned about the negative particles, it should also be noted that their basic position is the sentence-initial position, even though they may appear in different positions in surface structure. Therefore, the assumption is to be that they are generated sentence-initially and are

directly dominated by node labelled Pre-S (Pre-Sentence) (cf. Lasnik, 1976). Consequently, the above given rule should be modified to include the node Pre-S.

$$S \quad \longrightarrow \quad (\text{Pre-S}) \quad \text{Pred-P} \quad \text{NP} \quad (\text{NP}) \quad (\text{NP}) \quad \dots$$

The item in parenthesis is optional.

$$\text{Pre-S} \quad \longrightarrow \quad (\text{Neg}) \quad \dots\dots\dots$$

$$\text{Neg} \quad \longrightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{laa}} \\ \underline{\text{lam}} \\ \underline{\text{lan}} \\ \underline{\text{lammaa}} \\ \underline{\text{maa}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$$

Once again, since laa is considered to be the original particle of negation in Arabic, as has been pointed out earlier, the starting point will be with this particle.

1. laa

Consider the following examples:

1. laa yaqra'u ahmadu al-qisasa.

not read Ahmad the-stories.
'Ahmad does not read stories.'

2. laa yuriida ahmadu 'an yaqra'a hasanun al-maqaalata.

not want Ahmad that read Hasan the-article.
'Ahmad does not want Hasan to read the article.'

3. yuriidu ahmadu 'allaa ('an+laa) yaqra'a hasanun al-maqaalata.

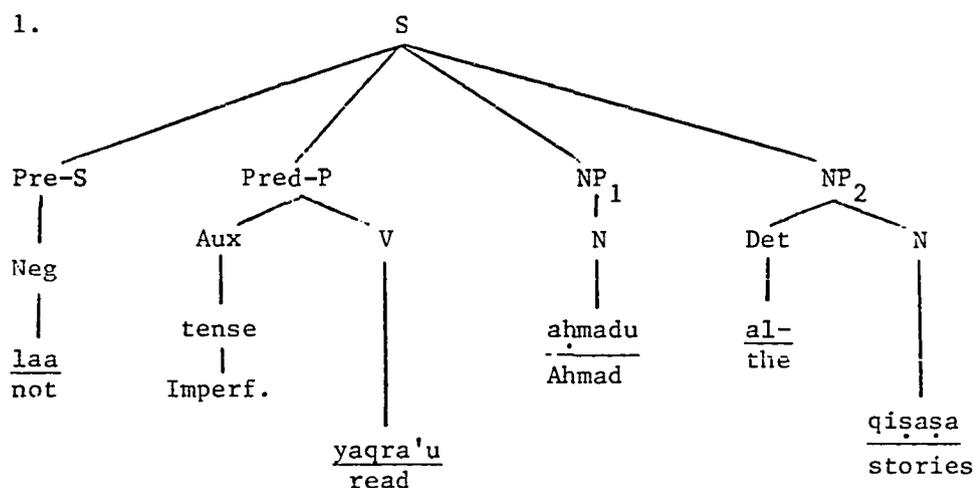
want Ahmad that not read Hasan the-article.
'Ahmad wants Hasan not to read the article.'

4. laa taf^c al haadaa.
 not do(m.s.) this.
 'Don't do this!'

In sentence 1, the negative particle laa precedes immediately the imperfect indicative verb yagra'u "read". However, when laa is used in such cases, it expresses ordinary or general negation in the present or in the future, as pointed out by Rammuny (1978). Sentence 1 seems to indicate general negation in the present. That is, it can be interpreted as follows: "Either he does not read stories because he is not interested in reading them; or the reason is not that he is not interested in reading them, but rather that there are other reasons, such as he does not have time to read them now; but he may start reading them sometime in the future, or he may not." In other words, laa negates the state in the present time and the future negation may be included. However, as can be seen later in this paper, different interpretations of a negative sentence can be accounted for. Further explanation of different negative constructions will be provided later.

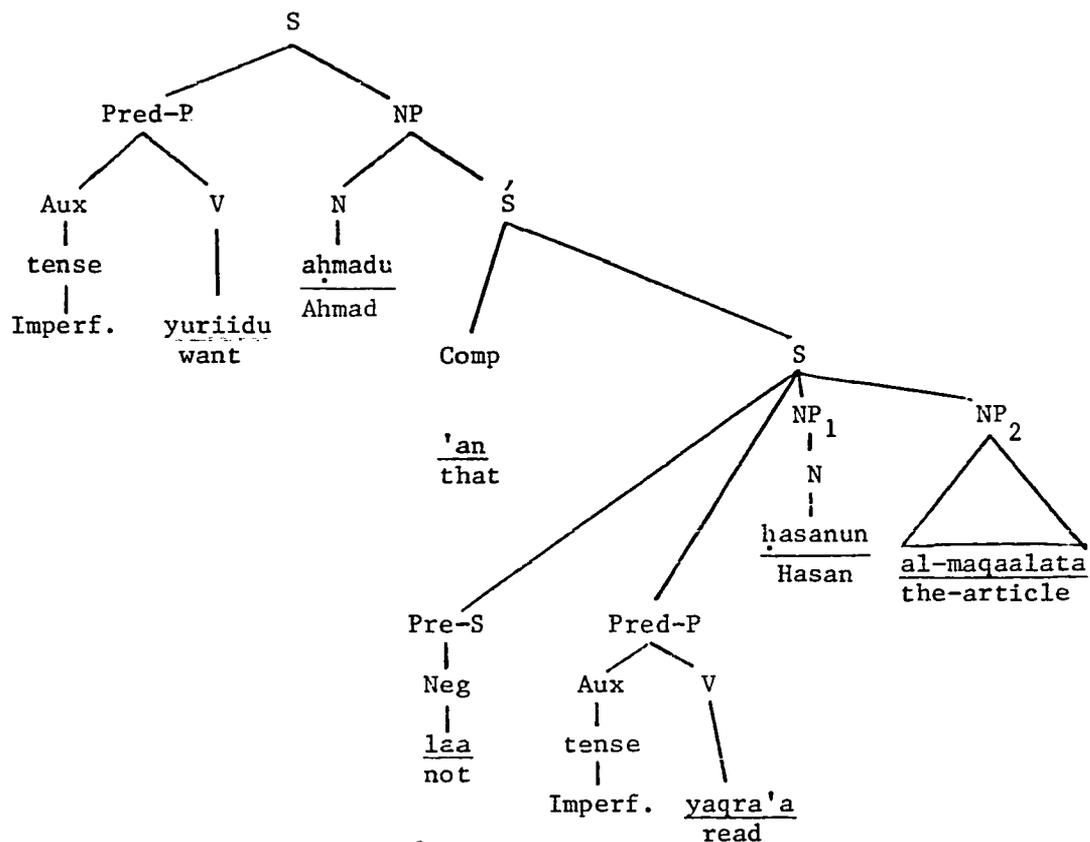
The negative particle laa in sentence 1 does not affect the form of the verb. That is, the verb remains in the indicative mood as it was before being preceded by such a particle. As can be seen later, some other negative particles also have no effect on the mood of the imperfect, while some others do.

Sentence 1 may have the following tree diagram:



NP₁ and NP₂, as stated earlier, are both dominated directly by S and governed by the verb. NP₁ is assigned nominative case, while NP₂ is assigned accusative case.

Sentences 2 and 3 are also examples of laa with the imperfect verb. The particle laa in sentence 2 is in the matrix, while in sentence 3 it is in the embedded sentence. That is, laa in sentence 2 is placed before the imperfect indicative verb yuriidu 'want'. In sentence 3, however, laa is followed immediately by the subjunctive verb yaqra'a 'read' because it is preceded by the complementizer 'an' 'that' which usually changes the imperfect verb from the indicative to the subjective mood. Thus, it seems that laa is used here to express future negation, or it may be used to express general negation in the present or the future, as stated previously. It is clear that laa has an initial position in sentence 2, but it also has an initial position in sentence 3, that is, in the embedded sentence, as can be seen from the following tree.



Sentence 4, on the other hand, represents another case of laa with the verbal sentence. Here laa is followed by an imperfect jussive to indicate a negative command or request. This laa is called "the laa of prohibition" by Arab grammarians, and it governs the imperfect verb in the jussive mood. Similarly, laa also occurs before the energetic jussive to indicate a strong negative command. For example:

5. laa taf^cala-nna haadaa!
 not do[energetic] this!
 'Don't do this!'

It should be noted that laa with the energetic imperfect is not widely used among modern Arab writers, as indicated by Rammuny (1978).

On the other hand, however, it should be borne in mind that the negative command in Arabic, unlike the negative command in English, requires that one specify or determine whether the second person is masculine or feminine, and whether it is singular, dual, or plural to form the appropriate negative command, i.e., the appropriate form of the verb. For example:

6. laa tadhahab!
Don't go! (masc. sing.)
7. laa tadhahab-ii!
Don't go! (fem. sing.)
8. laa tadhahab-aa!
Don't go! (masc./fem. dual)
9. laa tadhahab-uu!
Don't go! (masc. plur.)
10. laa tadhahab-na!
Don't go! (fem. plur.)

As can be seen from the above examples, the case endings of the verb differ depending on the gender and number of the second person that has been commanded not to go. It should be noted that

the imperfect verb in the above examples is in the jussive mood. This is so because it is preceded by the laa of prohibition.

A separate rule concerning the imperfect verb after the laa of prohibition exists, but will not be given here. A generalized rule of the different moods of the imperfect verb when preceded by different negative particles will be given later, and will include the laa of prohibition.

On the other hand, future negation can be obtained through certain temporal adverbials or by some future markers. Consider the following examples:

11. sawfa laa yaktubu al-waladu ad-darsa.
 will not write the-boy the-lesson.
 'The boy will not write the lesson.'
12. sawta laa yakuunu fii al-bayti ba^cda az-zuhri.
 will not he-be in the-house after the-noon.
 'He will not be home in the afternoon.'
13. *sa laa yadhabu 'ilaa al-madrasati.
 will not he-go to the-school.
14. *laa sawfa yakuuna fii al-bayti ba^cda az-zuhri.
 not will he-be in the-house after the-noon.

The last two sentences are marked with an asterisk to indicate their ungrammaticality, while the other two sentences are grammatical. They express negation in the future because of the future marker sawfa. In examples 11 and 12 laa is immediately

before the verb and separates it from the future marker sawfa and shows that it is possible for sawfa to be separated from the verb by laa. Unlike sawfa, the other future marker sa- is inseparable from the verb and this accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentence 13. Sentence 14 is considered to be ungrammatical because of the separation of laa from the verb by sawfa. In other words, laa can be preceded by sawfa but cannot be followed by it. It seems that the negative particle laa is more tied to the verb than the future marker sawfa, as can be seen from the above examples.

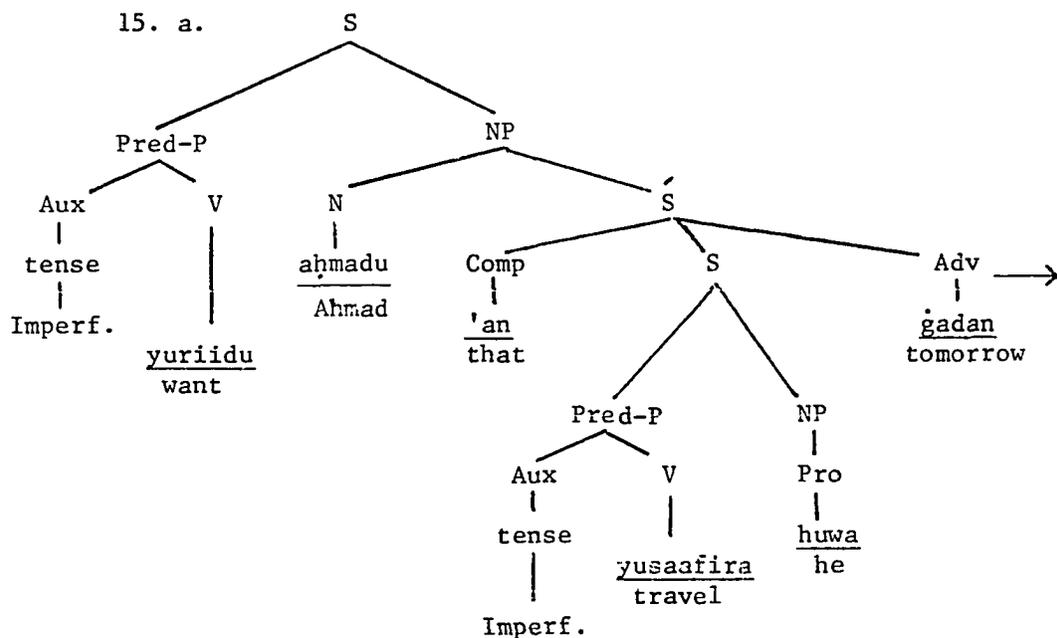
In addition, interrogative negative sentences can be formulated by placing the interrogative proclitic 'a- before the negative particle laa. When this occurs, an interrogative negative sentence, or an offer, can be accounted for. Consider the following:

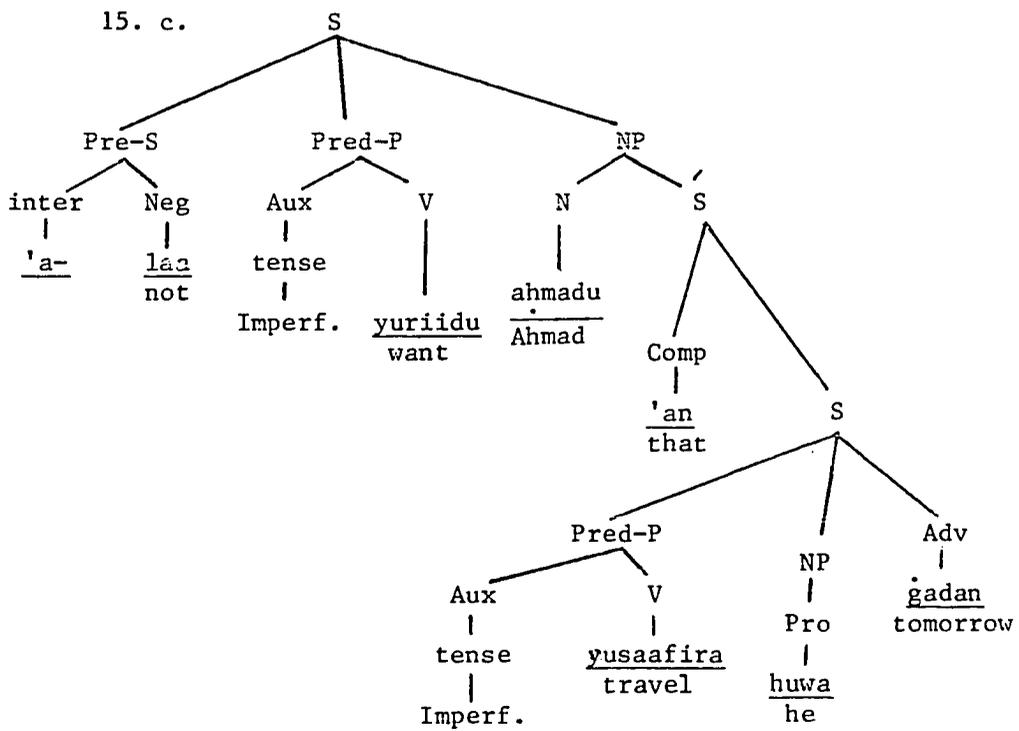
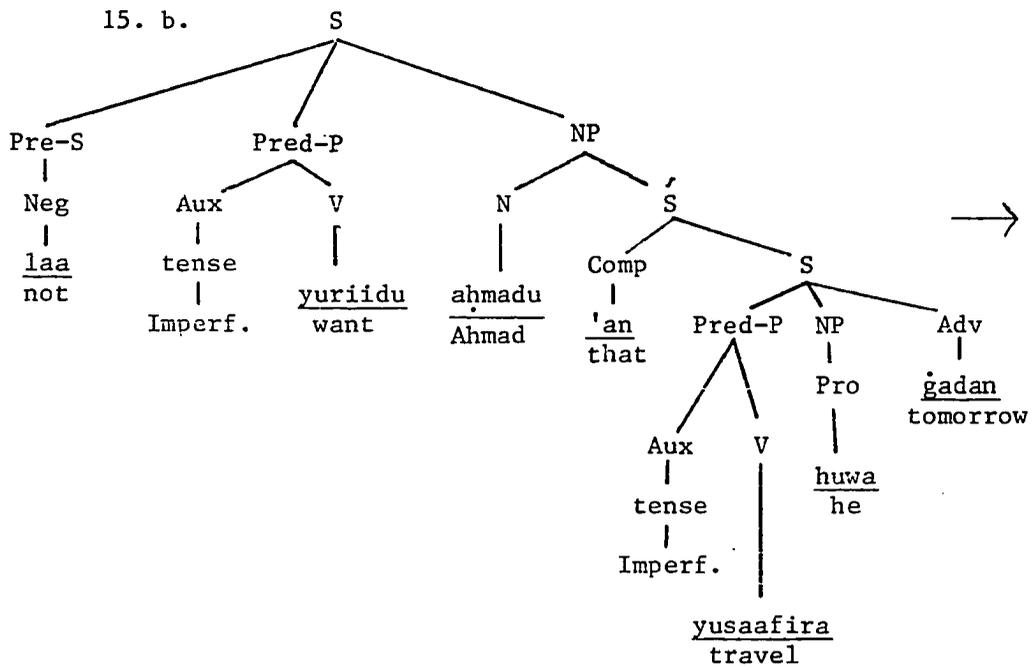
15. 'a-laa yuriidu aḥmadu 'an yusaafira ḡadan?
 interrog.-not want Ahmad that travel tomorrow?
 'Doesn't Ahmad want to travel tomorrow?'
16. 'a-laa tuṣaaḥibu-nii fii haadihi ar-riḥlati?
 interrog.-not accompany-you-me in this the-trip?
 'Don't you want to accompany me on this trip?'
 'Will you accompany me on this trip?'

Sentence 16 can be an interrogative negative sentence, or it can be considered an offer. However, when laa is preceded by 'a-, it does not always indicate or mean an interrogative, but it sometimes indicates an offer as sentence 16 illustrates. In

other words, the speaker in sentence 16 is not inquiring something, but he is presenting an offer to the addressee to accompany him on the trip. Unlike sentence 16, the speaker in sentence 15 is inquiring something, that is, whether or not Ahmad wants to travel. Moreover, sentence 15 indicates futurity through the use of the temporal adverbial ḡadan 'tomorrow'.

The construction of sentence 15 and 16, however, was subject to two transformational processes: the negative transformation, and the interrogative negative transformation. Consider the following configurations:





However, as the discussion of the negative particle laa with the verbal sentence goes on, several examples will be looked at in which some interpretations of different negative constructions can be accounted for. Consider the following:

- 18.a. 'a^Ctaqidu 'anna muḥammadan laa yujiidu al-faransiyyata.
 I-think that Muhammad not master (speak well) the-French.
 'I think that Muhammad does not speak French well.'
- 18.b. laa 'a^Ctaqidu 'anna muḥammadan yujiidu al-faransiyyata.
 not I-think that Mohammad speak well the-French.
 'I do not think that Mohammad speaks French well.'
- 19.a. 'a^Clamu 'anna zaydan laa yujiidu al-faransiyyata.
 I-know that Zayd not speak well (master) the-French.
 'I know that Zayd does not speak French well.'
- 19.b. laa 'a^Clamu 'anna zaydan yujiidu al-faransiyyata.
 not I-know that Zayd speak well (master) the-French.
 'I do not know that Zayd speaks French well.'

The above examples are presented here to account for the difference between the sentence pair 18a, 18b, and the sentence pair 19a, 19b. It appears obviously that the first two sentences (18a,b) are equivalent to each other and that they have almost the same meaning. Thus, semantically there is no difference between them. On the other hand, the sentence pair 19a,b represents another case; that is to say, they are not equivalent to each other semantically and hence their meanings are not the same.

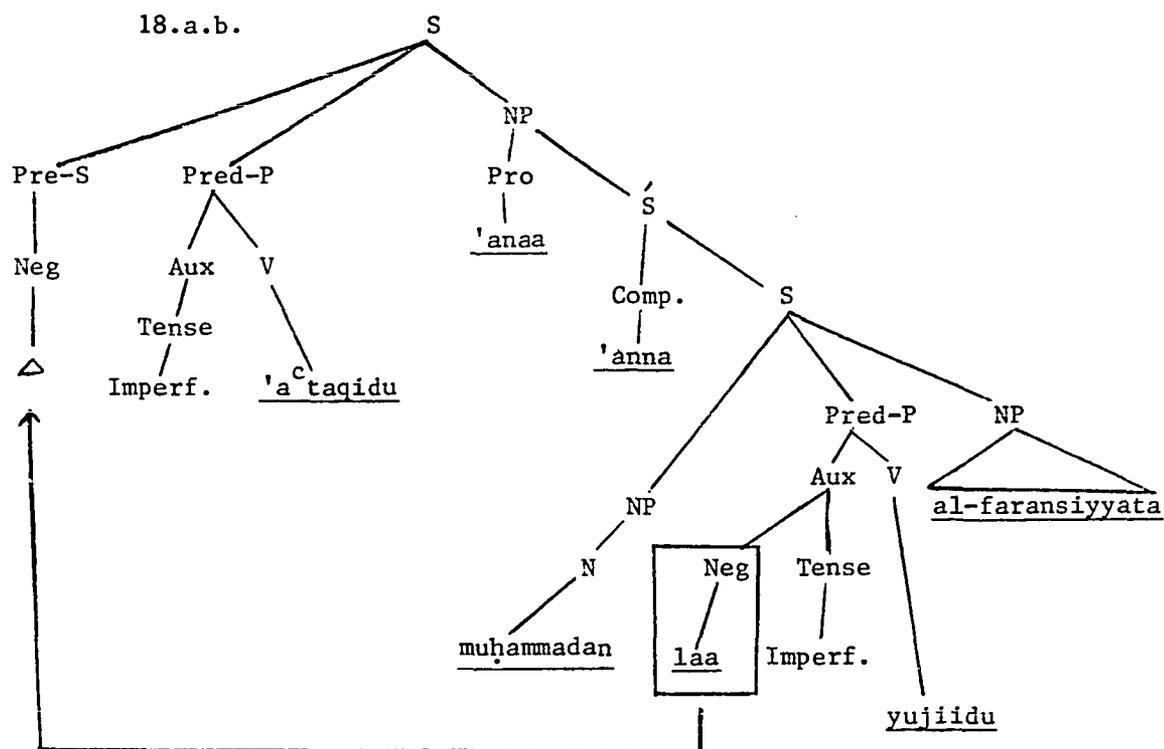
However, sentences 18b and 19b represent what has been known as Negative Raising or Negative Transportation, in which the negative particle laa is moved from the embedded sentences 18a and 19a into the matrix sentences 18b and 19b. Negative transportation, as pointed out by Lakoff (1974) is a "minor rule that applies to a relatively small number of subclasses of verbs -- non-factive verbs of mental state, and one or two intransitives" (cf. Lindholm, 1969, p. 176). She also points out that these subclasses of verbs exist in most languages. She states,

. . . the class of verbs within which the rule was applicable was the same in each language in which it is known to exist, but the set of verbs within this class that is subject to it varies from language to language. (p. 176).

Thus, the verbs in English, as pointed out by Lakoff and Lindholm, include think, believe, suppose, expect, guess, and want. Similarly in Arabic, the negative transportation rule applies to such verbs as 'a^Ctaqidu', 'azunnu', 'aftaridu', 'atawaqqa^Cu'. By applying this rule to sentence 18a above, the result will be 18b, for which at least one reading of 18b is synonymous with the respective 18a. This accounts for the similarity of meaning in 18a and 18b, and the difference in meaning in 19a and 19b, because the verb 'a^Clamu 'I know' is a factive verb.

As indicated above, only a few verbs in the language can take negative raising without resulting in a difference in meaning whether the negative particle is in the embedded sentence or in the matrix sentence. Hence, the negative transportation rule is

limited to certain verbs in the language in order to account for the similarity or sameness of meaning between any sentence pair that undergoes this rule. Once again, looking at the sentence pairs 18 and 19, we find that their syntactic structures are exactly the same, and the difference is only that the verb in the matrix or higher sentences is not the same semantically; hence, the different interpretations as mentioned above. To see how negative transportation operates, consider the following configuration:



The negative transportation in the above tree is indicated by the arrow. It seems clear that when negative transportation is applied to certain verbs in the language, it is to be considered meaning-preserving. It should also be borne in mind, as pointed out by

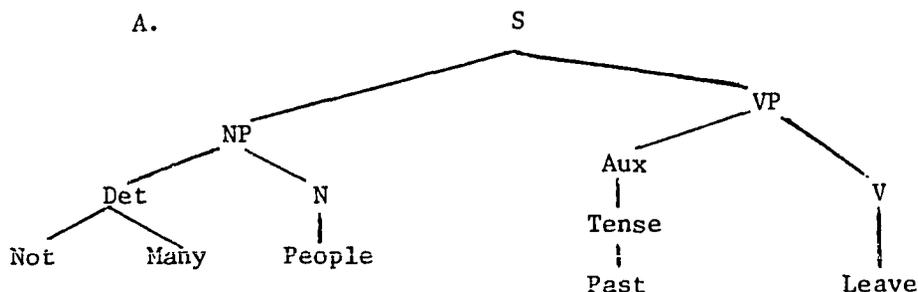
Emonds (1976), that if negative transposition exists as a transformational rule, it is clearly structure-preserving. That is to say, the negative particle is not moved to some arbitrary position within the matrix sentence, but to a position which the grammar ordinarily assigns to it within a single sentence.

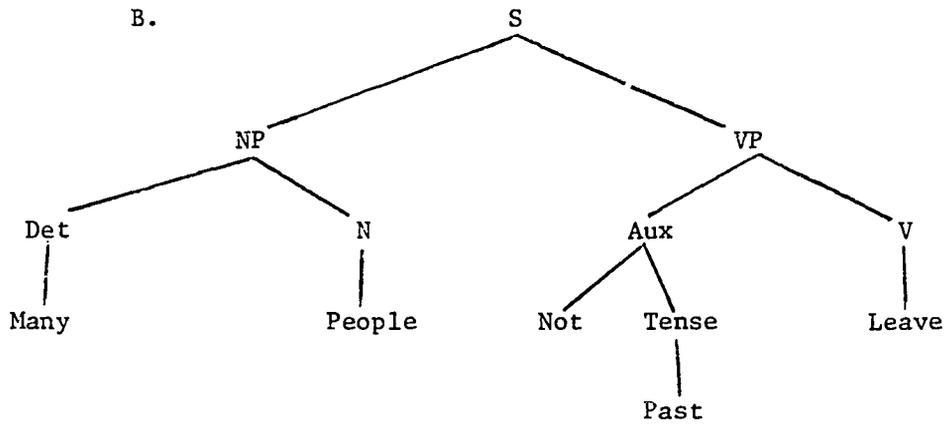
On the other hand, the tree above violates the claim which has been made earlier that the negative particle is generated sentence-initially. In this case, one has to adopt the so-called Determiner Theory, which was proposed for English. Lasnik (1976) states that the "Determiner Theory (DT) allows for the generation of not in the determiners of NP's and Adv-P's, as well as in the auxiliary" (p. 31). Consequently, the Determiner Theory can be applied to Arabic as well, and can account for the generation of the negative particle laa in the Aux node in the above tree.

To clarify this point, let us consider some examples from English presented in Lasnik (1976, p. 31) to account for the Determiner Theory:

- A. Not many people left.
- B. Many people didn't leave.

The relevant aspects of the underlying representations of these two sentences are given below.





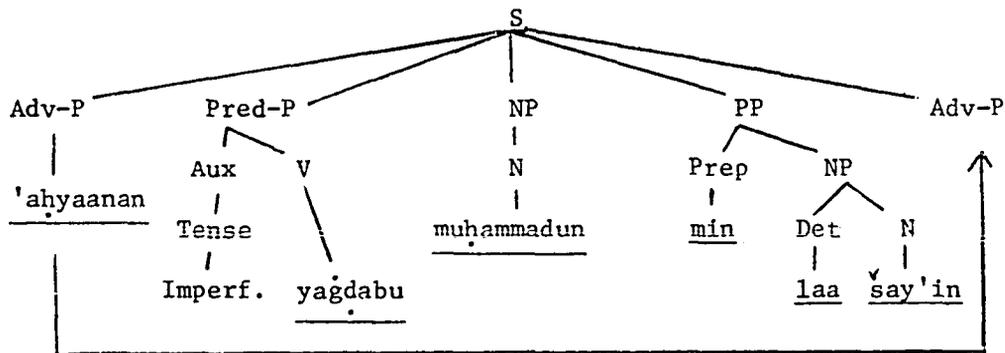
So, as can be seen from the above two trees, the negative particle "not" is generated in the Determiner of NP and in the Aux nodes, respectively.

Similarly, let us consider the following example from Arabic to see how the negative laa can be generated in the Determiner.

20. 'ahyaanan yaḡḡabu muḡammadun min laa ṡay'in.

sometimes angers Muhammad from no thing.

'Sometimes Muhammad gets angry about nothing.'



The negative particle laa in the previous example is considered the parenthetical laa between the preposition and the genitive, as pointed out by Arabic grammarians (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 270). Ibn Hishaam also mentions some other cases where laa can be considered a parenthetical laa, as for example the case in between the imperfect verb and the subjunctive or jussive particles. Furthermore, it seems that sentence 20 does not represent sentence negation, but rather constituent negation. In other words, laa is negating only the constituent šay'in 'thing'. If the particle laa is removed from its position in sentence 20 and placed before the verb, then sentence negation can be accounted for and the semantic interpretation of the sentence will differ from that of sentence 20, and hence the different meanings. Sentence 20 will have as one of its readings the following: 'It is not the case that he gets angry about specific things, but rather about nothing.' Sentence 20, however, presupposes that he sometimes gets angry.

It should also be pointed out that in the case of removing the negative particle laa in sentence 20 into a position before the verb, the particle 'ayy 'any' should replace laa in order to account for the perfect grammaticalization of the sentence. However, the particle 'ayy 'any' has the feature [+negative] in this context.

'ayy → [+negative] / Neg _____

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the particle 'ayy- also serves as a question word to mean "which" and has the feature [± Human].

To determine that the particle 'ayy has the feature [+Neg], consider the following two examples:

21. laa 'a^ctaqida 'anna 'ayya 'aḥadin qad jaa'a.

not I-think that any one already came.
'I do not think that anyone has come.'

22. *'a^ctaqidu 'anna 'ayya 'aḥadin qad jaa'a.

I-think that any one already come.
*'I think that anyone has come.'

Sentence 21 is perfectly grammatical, while sentence 22 is considered ungrammatical. The presence of 'ayy, which has the feature [+Neg], in an affirmative declarative sentence, accounts for the ungrammaticality of sentence 22. It seems, I think, that there is no other explanation for the ungrammaticality of sentence 22 except the one mentioned above. There is evidence to confirm that the ungrammaticality of sentence 22 is due to the presence of the particle 'ayy. That is, if 'ayy is to be removed, the sentence will be perfectly grammatical, as follows:

22. 'a^ctaqidu 'anna ∅ 'aḥadan qad jaa'a.

'I think that ∅ (some)one has come.'

Furthermore, let us consider some other examples as a basis for the coming discussion.

23. laa yuḥibbu aḥmadu as-safara bi-aṭ-ṭaa'irati.

not like Ahmad the-travel with-(by)-the-airplane.
'Ahmad does not like traveling by airplane.'

24. laa yaktubu aḥmadu aš-šī^vra.
not writes Ahmad the-poetry.
'Ahmad does not write poetry.'
25. laa yaktubu aḥmadu aš-šī^vra al-ḥadiiθa.
not writes Ahmad the-poetry the-modern.
'Ahmad does not write modern poetry.'
26. laa yaktubu aḥmadu aš-šī^vra al-ḥadiiθa fii al-ḥadiiqati.
not writes Ahmad the-poetry the-modern in the-garden.
'Ahmad does not write modern poetry in the garden.'
27. laa yaktubu aḥmadu aš-šī^vra al-ḥadiiθa fii al-ḥadiiqati
al-^caammati.
not writes Ahmad the-poetry the-modern in the-garden
the-public.
'Ahmad does not write modern poetry in the public garden.'

Example 23 can be interpreted as follows: 'It is not so that Ahmad likes traveling by airplane, nor is it the case that he does not like traveling at all, but the case is that he does not like an airplane to be his means of transportation.' laa in this sentence expresses general negation and the thing that has been negated is the specific means of transportation, i.e., the airplane. This sentence presupposes that Ahmad may like traveling by some other means of transportation, such as by car or by train. Sentences 24-27, on the other hand, represent different semantic interpretations. Sentence 24 denies that Ahmad writes poetry -- any kind of poetry; while sentence 25 implies that Ahmad may write poetry, but not modern poetry. Sentence 25 has at least the following reading:

'It is not the case that Ahmad does not write poetry at all. He may write classical poetry, but not modern poetry.' The modifier al-ḥadīi θa 'modern' which modifies the NP as-si^vra^c 'poetry' causes sentence 25 to be interpreted differently from that of 24.

Sentence 26 is semantically different from either 24 or 25. It is to be interpreted as having a different meaning from that of 24 or 25. Sentence 26, however, can be paraphrased as follows:

- a. 'It is not the case that Ahmad writes modern poetry in the garden, but in some other places.'
- b. 'It is not Ahmad who writes modern poetry in the garden, it is someone else.'

It implies that he writes modern poetry, but in places other than the garden. Moreover, by adding the modifier al-^cammati 'the public' to sentence 26, we get sentence 27 which has a different interpretation from that of 26. Sentence 27 may entail that he may write modern poetry in his own garden or in his friend's garden, or anywhere else, except the public garden. Thus, it seems that sentences 26 and 27 do not say that Ahmad does not write modern poetry, but they deny his writing modern poetry in specific places. Unlike 26 and 27, sentence 25 denies Ahmad's writing of modern poetry, but it does not negate his writing of classical poetry; while sentence 24 negates his writing poetry at all, whether classical or modern.

What this interpretation suggests is that the negation is not applied to the whole sentence. However, Jackendoff (1980) states that "often negation does not seem to apply to an entire sentence, but only to part of it." And this is exactly the case

of sentences 23, 25, 26, and 27, where only part of the sentence is being negated. It should also be kept in mind that these different interpretations to the above sentences are accounted for by stressing certain words in the sentences; i.e., when a word or a phrase in the sentence, as will be mentioned later in this paper, is stressed emphatically, different interpretations of the sentence will result.

In the cases covered so far, the negative particle laa with the imperfect verb (whether indicative, subjunctive, or jussive) has been discussed. Let us now consider laa with the perfect verb. It seems that the use of laa with the perfect verb is not as common as its use with the imperfect, because maa is more appropriate.

28. laa fakkar-tu fii haadaa.
 not thought-I in this.
 'I did not think about this.'



- maa fakkar-tu fii haadaa.
 not thought-I in this.
 'I did not think about this.'

It should be noted that in certain contexts laa is used appropriately. Such instances include prayer, oaths, etc. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 268; Wright, Vol. 2, p. 304). For example:

29. laa fudda fuuka.
 'How well you have spoken.'
30. wa-allaahi laa fa^c al-tu haadaa.
 'By God, I will not do this.'

In connected clauses by wa "and", laa is either used in both clauses, or used in the second clause when the first clause is negated by some other particles. Consider this example:

31. laa saddaqa wa-laa sallaa.
 not he-believed and-not he-prayed.
 'He neither believed nor prayed.'

According to Arab grammarians, laa in such cases has to be repeated to account for the grammaticality of the sentence. However, such repetition of laa will be mentioned again with non-verbal sentences.

At this point, the discussion of laa with the verbal sentence concludes, and we will now turn our attention to the use of some other negative particles in the language.

As far as the negation of the verbal sentence is concerned, the following discussion will focus on other negative particles and investigate them within the verbal sentences.

2. lam and lammaa:

The reason for introducing these two particles together is that they behave similarly, even though there are some distinctions between them. lam and lammaa, as indicated by Arab grammarians, are two negative particles which are peculiar to the verbal sentence only, and more precisely, to the imperfect form of the verb. Their regular syntactic position is to precede the imperfect verb immediately; consequently, some changes occur with regard to the verb. That is to say, lam and lammaa behave as follows.

A. They govern the verb in the jussive mood as illustrated below:

$$\begin{array}{l} V \\ +\text{Imperfect} \\ +\text{Indicative} \end{array} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{l} V \\ +\text{Imperfect} \\ +\text{Jussive} \end{array} / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{lam}} \\ \underline{\text{lammaa}} \\ \text{etc...} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ---}$$

The above rule says that the imperfect indicative verb becomes jussive i.e., it changes from the indicative mood to the jussive mood after lam, lammaa, etc. (The slash / notation means "in the environment of" and the dash notation indicates the place of the verb after lam, lammaa, etc.) At this point it should be kept in mind that there are some other particles which also govern the verb in the jussive mood, but since these particles are not negative particles and the subject

matter here is negation, they are not mentioned here and their mention is to be considered beyond the scope of this discussion.

B. The scope of negation with lam and lammaa, as well as with other negative particles, can be the entire sentence or just part of the sentence, as will be shown below.

C. lam and lammaa change the meaning of the imperfect, for the most part, from present or future meaning into past time meaning, or into the past connected with the present, respectively. In other words, lam is used to express negation in the past when there are no other temporal adverbials in the sentence. Similarly, lammaa is used to express negation in the past connected with the present, i.e., with reference to the present time. To illustrate this point, consider the following examples.

32. lam ya'ti zaydun.

not comes Zayd.
'Zayd did not come.'

33. saafara zaydun wa-lam yarji^c ba^cdu.

left Zayd and-not he come back yet.
'Zayd left and he has not come back yet.'

34. qaaraba zaydu al-madiinata wa-lammaa yadxul-haa.

approached Zayd the-city and-not yet he-entered-it.
'Zayd approached the city and he has not entered it yet.'

Apparently, sentence 32 expresses ordinary negation in the past while sentences 33 and 34 express negation in the present perfect. In sentence 33 the present perfect meaning is achieved by the adverbial ba^c du 'yet', while in sentence 34 it is achieved by the negative

particle lammaa itself. Lam in sentence 32 means 'did not' and in 33 it means 'has not'. In sentence 34 lammaa means 'has not yet'. However, Rammuny (1978) points out that, "when lam is used with present perfect meaning, present time is usually indicated by certain time markers such as ba^cdu, 'yet' and hattā al-'āna, 'until now, so far' (p. 250). In this particular case, [lam + temporal adverbials] is to be considered as equivalent to the negative particle lammaa because they convey almost the same meaning.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the imperfect verb after lam (when lam is not accompanied by any other temporal adverbials) is imperfect in form and perfect in meaning, and this is exactly the opposite of the negative copula laysa 'not to be' in that laysa is perfect in form and imperfect in meaning.

On the other hand, as there are some similarities between lam and lammaa, there are some distinctions between them with regard to their use, as stated in Arabic reference grammars. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, pp.308-314, and Hasan, Vol. IV, pp.388-393.) Among these distinctions one should note that lam can be preceded by some conditional particles such as 'in 'if', 'idaa 'if', law 'if', etc., while lammaa cannot be preceded by such particles. In other words, the sentence will be grammatical if lam were preceded by a conditional particle, but it will be ungrammatical if lammaa were preceded by such particle. Consider the following:

35. 'in lam taḥtarim al-qaanuuna fa-sa-tu^caaqab.

if not you-respect the-law will-you-be punished.

(M.S.)

(M.S.)

'If you do not respect the law, you will be punished.'

36. *'in lammaa taḥtarim al-qaanuna fa-sa-tu^caaqab.
 if not yet you-respect the-law will-you be punished.
 (M.S.) (M.S.)
 *'If you do not yet respect the law, you will be punished.'

As can be observed from sentence 35, the negative particle lam did not change the meaning of the imperfect into the perfect meaning, as in example 32 above. This is because the sentence contains the conditional particle, which signifies the verb in the future, and lam negates the sentence only. (cf. Hasan, Vol. IV, pp. 389-390, for more details and for the discussion of which particle 'in or lam governs the verb in the jussive mood.) Another difference between lam and lammaa is that the verb after lammaa can be elided, but after lam it cannot be elided, except from poetic necessity. Thus sentence 37 is considered grammatical by Arab grammarians while sentence 38 is not.

37. waṣala al-musaafiru ilaa al-madiinati wa-lammaa ∅.
 arrived the-traveler to (at) the-city and has not yet ∅.
 'The traveler arrived in the city and has not yet ∅.'
38. *waṣala al-musaafiru ilaa al-madiinati wa-lam ∅.
 arrived the-traveler to (at) the-city and-did not ∅.
 *'The traveler arrived in the city and did not ∅.'

The deleted verb in sentences 37 and 38 is to be yadxul-haa 'he (has not) entered it'. However, Arab grammarians gave no convincing account for the permissibility of the elision of the verb after lammaa, but not after lam. They provide no specific reasons for

the ungrammaticality of such sentences like 38 above. I do not see why they allowed the verb to be elided after lammaa but not after lam in prose only, because in poetry, as mentioned above, the elision of the verb after lam is allowed; Arab grammarians say that it is of poetic necessity. In any case, this is not an important point to discuss. Rather, let us provide some examples in order to account for different interpretations to some negative constructions.

39. lam yataḥaddaθ al-muḥaḍḍiru ḥattaa as-saa^Cati ar-raabi^Cati.
 not talk the-lecturer until four o'clock.
 'The lecturer did not talk until four o'clock.'
40. lam yaṣṭarik^v zaydun fii haḍḍaa as-sibaaqi faqaṭ.
 not participate Zayd in this the-race only.
 'Zayd did not participate in this race only.'
41. lam yaṣṭarik^v zaydun ḥattaa fii haḍḍaa as-sibaaqi.
 not participate Zayd even in this the-race.
 'Zayd did not participate even in this race.'
42. ḥattaa zaydun lam yaṣṭarik^v fii haḍḍaa as-sibaaqi.
 even Zayd not participate in this the-race.
 'Even Zayd did not participate in this race.'
43. zaydun faqaṭ lam yaṣṭarik^v fii haḍḍaa as-sibaaqi.
 Zayd only not participate in this the-race.
 'Only Zayd did not participate in this race.'
44. lam yajid^v muḥammadun kitaaba faṭimata^C alaa aṭ-ṭaawilati.
 not find Muhammad book Fatima on the-table.
 'Muhammad did not find Fatima's book on the table.'

Given the above examples, their interpretation could be as follows. Sentence 39 is ambiguous. That is, it has more than one meaning. It could have the following interpretations:

- a) The lecturer stopped talking sometime prior to four o'clock.
- b) The lecturer started talking at four o'clock.

The ambiguity of sentence 39 is accounted for by the presence of the negative particle. If the negative particle is removed from sentence 39, there will be no such ambiguity. However, in the case of removing lam from sentence 39, the verb has to be changed to perfect form because, as mentioned earlier, lam requires that the verb be in the imperfect form. With its removal from the sentence, the form of the verb has to be changed into perfect to account for the perfect meaning of the sentence. Sentence 39 after the removal of lam is rewritten as 39.

39. tahaddaṯa al-muḥaadiru ḥattaa as-saa^Cati ar-raabi^Cati.
 talked the-lecturer until o'clock four.
 'The lecturer talked until four o'clock.'

Sentence 39 is not ambiguous, and it has only one meaning, i.e., he started sometime before four o'clock and he stopped talking at four o'clock.

In contrast, the removal of the negative particle from sentence 45 below will account for its ungrammaticality.

45. lam yaṣil hasanun ḥaataa as-saa^Cati ar-raabi^Cati.
 not arrive Hasan until o'clock four.
 'Hasan did not arrive until four o'clock.'

46. *waṣala ḥasanun ḥattaa as-saa^cati ar-raabi^cati.
 arrived Hasa until o'clock fourth.
 *'Hasan arrived until four o'clock.'

Sentence 46 is a rewritten form of sentence 45 after the removal of lam 'not' from it. Sentence 46 is considered ungrammatical because of the elision of the negative particle, while sentence 39 is grammatical and unambiguous after the deletion of lam. In order for sentence 46 to be grammatical, the adverb ḥattaa 'until' has to be removed. Sentence 45, on one hand could also be ambiguous since it has more than one interpretation. It could be interpreted as 'he arrived at four o'clock,' or 'he arrived sometime later than four o'clock,' or 'he did not show up at all.' In other words, there is no strong presupposition that he arrived. On the other hand, sentence 39 presupposes strongly that he talked. Furthermore, it may seem that the ambiguity of such sentences containing the adverb 'until' is due to the adverb itself. That is, the adverb 'until' requires a certain environment to account for the disambiguity and the grammaticality of the sentence as, for instance, in the case of sentence 39. More often, it appears that this is a moot point and need not be discussed further.

Sentences 40 and 43 on the other hand, have the same components but are interpreted differently because of the adverb faqaṭ 'only'. Sentence 43, however, is a nominal sentence but is presented here for the purpose of comparison. It seems to suggest that the negation in sentence 40 operates on the word faqaṭ 'only'. That is, "only" is within the scope of negation. Sentence 40 is to be interpreted as follows: 'It is not the case that he participated

in this race, but the case is that he did not participate in this race only, and he did participate in previous races. Or, it could mean that in addition to his participation in this race, he had participated in other races.' Sentence 43 seems to suggest that Zayd is the only one among his friends, or whomever, who did not participate in the race, and there might be an expectation by his friends that he might participate, but he did not. Apparently, if the adverb faqat 'only' is to be elided from sentences 40 and 43, the meaning will be clearer.

Moreover, due to the existence of the adverb hattaa 'even' in sentences 41 and 42, they may be interpreted differently. In sentence 41, one expects Zayd to participate in this race, but he did not. Also, sentence 41 seems to indicate that he did not participate in previous races, while sentence 42 cannot presuppose that he did or did not participate in previous races. Sentence 42 infers that he did not participate and some other people did not participate either.

It may seem, however, that the different interpretations of the above sentences may be accounted for by the presence of special lexical items in those sentences, i.e., the adverbs hattaa 'until, even' and faqat 'only'. But it appears that, even without these adverbs, different interpretations of the sentence can be accounted for. For example, sentence 44 above is a good example. It is rewritten here as 44.

44. lam yajid muḥammadun kitaaba faatimata ^calaa at-ṭaawilati.
 not find Muhammad book Fatima on the-table.
 'Muhammad did not find Fatima's book on the table.'

This sentence looks like a normal negative sentence and can be interpreted as: 'It is not the case that Mohammad found Fatima's book on the table.' In contrast, if a word or phrase in this sentence is stressed, this will account for different interpretations of the sentence. Suppose that the (pp) ^calaa at-ṭaawilati 'on the table' is to be stressed, then the sentence will be interpreted as: 'it is not on the table that Mohammad found Fatima's book, but he might have found it on something else, for instance, on the chair.' If the preposition ^calaa 'on' is stressed, it will mean that he did not find it on the table but he found it under the table, for instance. If kitaaba faatimata 'Fatima's book' is stressed, the sentence will be interpreted as: 'It was Fatima's book that he did not find on the table; or it was not Fatima's book that he found on the table, but he might have found Ahmad's book, for instance.' If the word 'Mohammad' is to be stressed, this will account for the following interpretation: 'It is not the case that Mohammad is the one who found Fatima's book on the table. It is Mohammad who did not find the book on the table. It is not Mohammad who found Fatima's book on the table, but it was someone else.' If the word 'Fatima' is to receive stress, it can be explained as follows:

'It is not Fatima's book that he found, but rather someone else's, or it is not the case that the book which Mohammad found on the table belonged to Fatima.'

Therefore, it seems that the scope of negation goes directly to the stressed item(s) in the sentence, and hence the different interpretations are to be accounted for.

On the other hand, in formulating an interrogative negative sentence, the proclitic 'a-' has to precede the negative particle lam as seen below.

$$\text{'a-} + \text{lam} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{V} \\ \text{+imperfect} \\ \text{+jussive} \\ \text{+passive} \end{array} \right\} + \text{NP} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{PP} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{interrogative} \\ \text{negative} \\ \text{sentence} \end{array}$$

47. 'a- lam tasma^C al-xabara?

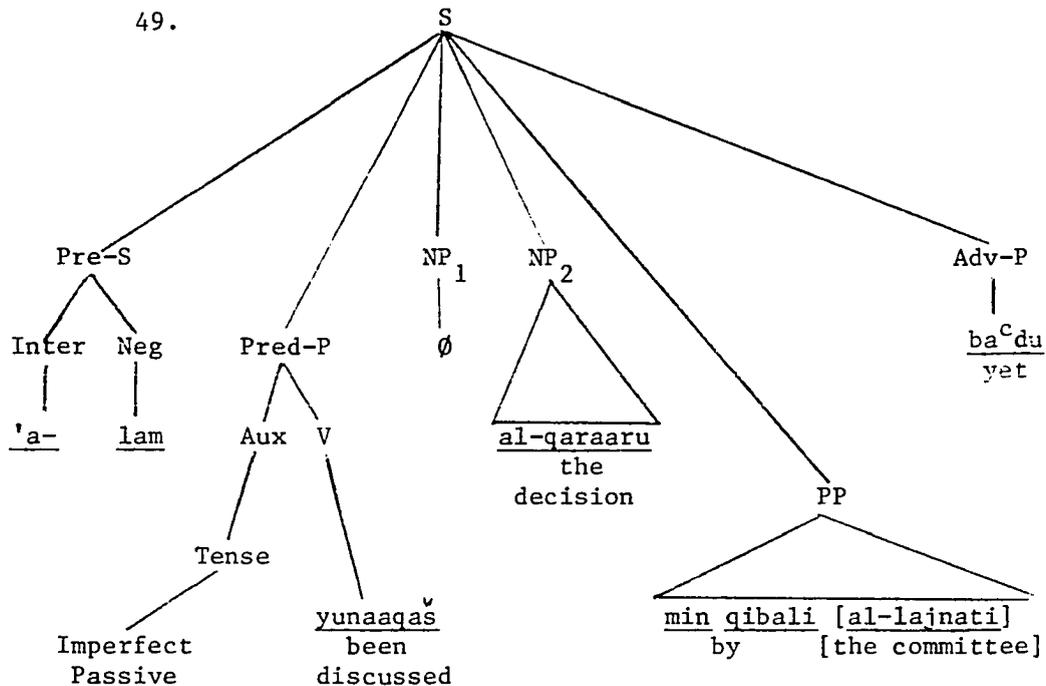
interrogative not you (M.S.) hear the-news?
'Didn't you hear the news?'

48. 'a- lam yunaqaš^V al-qaraaru ba^Cdu?

interrogative not been discussed the-decision yet?
'Hasn't the decision been discussed yet?'

Sentences 47 and 48 are examples of interrogative negative sentences in the active and the passive voice, respectively. However, due to the passive construction, there is a morphophonemic change with regard to the verb in sentence 48. It should also be noted that the deep or logical subject of sentence 48 can be mentioned after the prepositional phrase min qibali, min ṭarafi 'by'. The NP al-qaraaru 'the decision', however, is the surface subject, or

naa'ibu al-faa^cil 'representative of the doer' as termed by Arab grammarians. Consider the following configuration to see how the deep subject can be mentioned in the above sentence.



'Hasn't the decision been discussed by the committee yet?'

Given this, some syntactic changes can be accounted for. That is, the case ending of the logical subject changes from the nominative case into the genitive case because of the prepositional phrase which precedes it. Also, the accusative case of the logical object NP₂, which is now the surface subject, changes into a nominative case because of the position it takes in the sentence, since the subject is always in a nominative case.

With this in mind, negative questions can also be formulated. Consider the following:

50. limaadaa lam taf^cal haadaa?
 why not you (M.S.) do this?
 'Why didn't you do this?'

It seems, however, that the negative question with lam is limited to certain question words if not only to the question word mentioned above.

Moreover, the proclitic 'a- with lam can formulate what is known as rhetorical interrogative or interrogative implying a negation, as in the following example:

51. 'a- lam 'uxbir-ka bi-haadaa?
 interrogative-not I-tell-you (M.S.) with-this?
 'Didn't I tell you about this?'

The above sentence is to be used when the speaker knows that he has already told the addressee about that particular thing, but he wants the addressee to admit that he was told previously.

Aside from what has been mentioned, the particles laa and lam can be joined together. Such occurrences of laa and lam can be found in yes/no questions such as:

52. hal qaabal-ta muhammadan 'amsi?
 interrogative met-you (M.S.) Mohammad yesterday?
 'Did you meet Mohammad yesterday?'

53. laa lam 'uqaabil-hu.
 no not I-meet-him.
 'No, I did not meet him.'

Further, laa can join the particle lam in correlative constructions as pointed out by Cantarino (1974). He states that, "the second member of the correlative construction may be negated by laa before a perfect" (Vol. I: 128). He presents the following example:

54. walaakinnii lam 'afqid-i- al-'amala wa laa ya'istu.

'But I did not lose or give up hope.'

As can be observed from sentence 54, the verb after laa is in the perfect form while the verb after lam is in the jussive form. This accounts for an identical meaning since, as mentioned earlier, the jussive mood of the imperfect verb after lam has the meaning of a perfect verb.

On the other hand, it seems that I have discussed the negative particle lam more than I did with lammaa. I justify that by the fact that the particle lammaa compared to lam is not widely used as a particle of negation by either Arab grammarians or writers. This may be because some other negative constructions behave exactly like lammaa, as for instance:

a. lam -- ba^cdu (see above).

b. maa -- ba^cdu (cf. Cantarino 1974 and Rammuny 1978).

As an example of maa -- ba^cdu, consider the following:

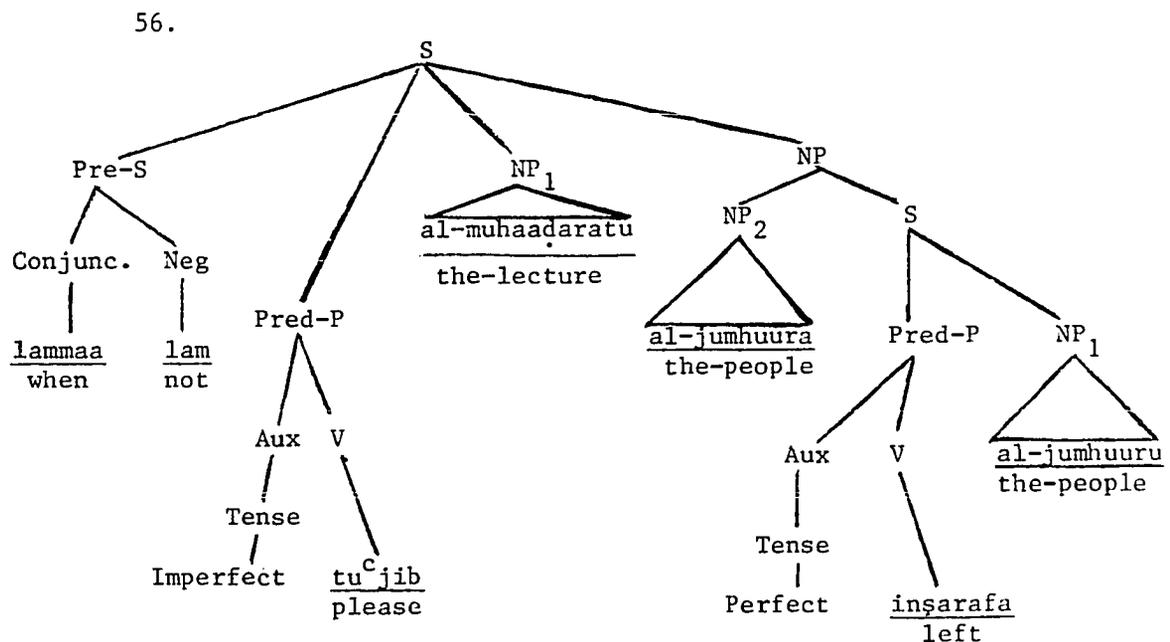
55. maa balag̃a aṣ-ṣabiyyu ba^cdu 'aṣudda-hu.

not he-reached (-attained) the-boy yet full-maturity-his.

'The boy has not yet attained his full maturity.'

It should also be mentioned that lam is only used as a negative particle while lammaa is used also as a conjunctive adverb in the sense of 'when' and as an exceptive particle with the sense of 'illaa 'unless, if not, except' Based on the above facts, there seems to be a logical reason for not using lammaa in the negative construction as frequently as lam.

Furthermore, another point with regard to lammaa should be mentioned here. That is, the thing that has been negated by lammaa is, in most cases, expected to happen, while this is not so in the case of lam. (cf. Hasan, Vol IV, p. 392-93; Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 309). However, lam and lammaa can occur together in one negative construction when the latter is used as a conjunctive, but lammaa has to precede lam. Consider the following configuration:



'When the lecture did not please the people, they left.'

It is to be noted from the above tree that NP₂ in the higher sentence and NP₁ in the embedded sentence are identical. However, NP₂ is in the accusative case because it is the object of the higher sentence, while NP₁ is in the nominative case and it is the subject of the embedded sentence.

On the other hand, before closing the discussion with lam, it seems appropriate to question whether or not lam can convey emphatic negation. Aniis (1972) argued that the negation with lam is more emphatic than the negation with maa, for instance. He points out that the negative particles in Arabic are of two kinds: simple and compounded of more than one particle. In general, he considers the negation with compounded particles to be more emphatic than the simple ones. Aniis considers lam to be constructed from [laa + maa]. However, Aniis does not mention lammaa, and Aniis also does not provide evidence or justification for his claim that lam is derived from [laa + maa], nor does he show how [laa + maa] become lam. The matter of whether lam expresses emphatic negation as Aniis claims, or whether it does not as pointed out by most Arab grammarians, is not an important issue here. This concludes the discussion of lam.

3. lan

The negative particle lan, as described by Arab grammarians, expresses negation in the future. It is peculiar to the verbal sentences, specifically to the imperfect form of the verb. Its syntactic position is to precede the verb immediately and to govern the verb in the subjunctive mood. (cf. Hasan, Vol. IV, p. 281; Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 314).

Given the above, it is appropriate to note that lan behaves in the opposite way of lam when lam is not accompanied by any temporal adverbials. In other words, both particles are restricted to the imperfect form of the verb, but one expresses future negation while the other signifies negation in the past.

However, the following rule applies to the negative particle lan with the imperfect verb.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V} & \longrightarrow & \text{V} \\ +\text{Imperfect} & & +\text{Imperfect} \\ +\text{Indicative} & & +\text{Subjunctive} \end{array} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{lan} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \text{-----}.$$

It is to be kept in mind, as mentioned earlier with lam and lammaa, that there are some other particles in the language that can govern the imperfect verb in the subjunctive mood as lan does. Because those other particles are not negative, they will not be discussed here.

Consider the following examples:

57. lan 'aqra'a haadihi al-maqaalata.
 will-not I-read this the-article.
 'I will not read this article.'
58. lan 'adhaba ilaa al-jaami^cati gadan.
 will-not I-go to the-university tomorrow.
 'I will not go to the University tomorrow.'
59. lan 'abraha haadaa al-makaanaa hattaa ya'tiya muhammadun.
 will-not I-leave this the-place until comes Muhammad.
 'I will not leave this place until Muhammad comes.'
60. lan yunaaqaša haadaa al-qaraaru hattaa aš-šahri 'al-qaadimi.
 will-not be-discussed this the-decision until the-month
 the-next.
 'This discussion will not be discussed until next month.'

All the above examples denote negation in the future. Sentence 57, however, is not clear whether the speaker means that he will not read the article forever, or whether he means he will not read it for a certain time and then he may read it later. This brings up the issue of whether or not lan conveys or expresses emphatic negation in the future. It appears that there is a disagreement among Arab grammarians concerning this particular point. Some of them consider lan to express emphatic negation while others point out that lan cannot convey emphatic negation. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 314; Hasan, Vol. IV, p. 281; Al-Saamarra'i, p. 64-65). On the other hand, Anis (1972) argues that lan conveys emphatic negation because, as he claims, it is a compound particle composed of two

negative particles [laa + 'in]. As has been mentioned earlier, Anis considers that negation with a compound particle is more emphatic than with a simple particle.

As a case in point, it may seem that lan may convey emphatic negation or it just expresses regular negation in the future, depending on the context of the sentence. Some utterances indicate regular future negation while other utterances may denote emphatic negation. Emphatic or strong negation, however, can be accounted for by adding some emphatic adverbs or expressions to sentences being negated by lan.

In sentence 58, the speaker has made up his mind that he will not go tomorrow, but he may go today. In other words, the scope of negation is operating on the word ḡadan, 'tomorrow'. It is to be interpreted as: 'It is not the case that I will go to the University tomorrow,' or 'It is tomorrow that I will not go to the University.' Sentence 59 seems to suggest that the speaker has placed conditions on leaving the place by Mohammad's coming, which is indefinite; i.e., he may come soon, or he may not. Sentence 60 is a negative sentence in the passive voice. It indicates that there is a definite time in the future when the decision can be discussed.

Moreover, as has been pointed out earlier with some other negative particles, the scope of negation with lan can be the entire sentence or can be just part of the sentence. It is to be mentioned here, as pointed out by Cantarino (1972, Vol I, p. 126) that

"it [lan] is the negative counterpart of the imperfect after sa- and sawfa." Cantarino also considers that lan ". . . has the meaning of a very strong negation of the future."

Consequently, a sentence containing the future markers sa- or sawfa is to be negated by lan to keep its future meaning, or it may be negated by laa. Consider the following.

61. sawfa 'astariku fii as-sibaaqi.
 will I-participate in the-race.
 'I will participate in the race.'
62. lan 'a^vstarika fii as-sibaaqi.
 will-not I-participate in the-race.
 'I will not participate in the race.'
63. sawfa laa 'a^vstariku fii as-sibaaqi.
 will not I-participate in the-race.
 'I will not participate in the race.'
64. *sawfa lan 'a^vstarik fii as-sibaaqi.
 will will-not I-participate in the-race.
 *'I will will not partipate in the race.'

Sentences 62 and 63 seem to be identical in meaning, but the difference is that in sentence 63 the future marker sawfa 'will' is still in the sentence, while it has been dropped from sentence 62. This accounts for the difference between the two negative particles, namely lan and laa, where lan can signify future negation by itself, but laa cannot. This also explains why sentence 64 is considered to be grammatically unacceptable because

sawfa indicates futurity and lan negates the action by itself in the future. There are some other instances in which lan occurs. However, what has been mentioned here seems to be sufficient for our purposes, and hence this concludes the discussion of lan.

4. maa

maa as a negative particle, negates both the perfect and the imperfect verb. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 335; Cantarino, Vol. I, p. 109). Its syntactic position is to precede the verb in a sentence initial position. When maa precedes the imperfect verb it has no effect on the verb form; i.e., it does not change the mood of the verb as lam or lan do. Hasan (1968) points out that maa with the imperfect verb expresses negation in the present time when there is no future reference in the sentence such as:

65. maa yaquumu zaydun.

not stands Zayd.
'Zayd is not standing up.'
'Zayd does not stand up.'

In addition, maa can be preceded by the interrogative proclitic 'a- to formulate an interrogative negative sentence such as:

66. 'a-maa ta^clamu 'anna ar-rahiila gadan?

interrog. not you (M.S.) know that the-departure tomorrow?
'Don't you know that the departure is tomorrow?'

maa in the above sentences can be replaced by the negative laa and the meaning will remain the same, with no change at all in the form of the verb. This may suggest that maa is similar to the negative

laa in some aspects. This may give a justification for not discussing maa in detail.

maa with the perfect is somehow similar to that of lam + imperfect; namely, they almost convey the same meaning despite the claim that has been made by some grammarians that lam negates the remote past while maa negates the near past. Consider the following example to see whether or not there is a difference in meaning.

67. maa 'ašraqat aš-šamsu.

not rose the-sun.
'The sun did not rise.'

68. lam tušriq aš-šamsu.

not rise the-sun.
'The sun did not rise.'

Examples like 67 and 68 seem to suggest that it is a matter of stylistic variation only, since the meaning is identical. It is true that maa + perfect does not always convey the same meaning that lam + imperfect expresses, but in some instances it does. If the adverb ba^cdu 'yet' is to be added to both sentences 67 and 68, the same meaning will be accounted for.

Furthermore, the scope of negation with maa can be part of or the entire sentence, and this is true with most particles, as has been pointed out earlier. Consider the following:

69. maa jaa'at faatimatu mubtasimatan.

not came Fatima smiling.
'Fatima did not come smiling.'

The negation in sentence 69 does not apply to the entire sentence, but rather to only a part of it. It is to be interpreted as: 'It is not the case that Fatima did not come but rather she was not smiling when she came.'

In addition, in correlative constructions laa can join maa when the latter negates the first part of the sentence:

70. maa iktaraθ-tu li-daalika wa laa fakkartu fii-hi.
 not concerned-I with-that and not thought-I about-it.
 'I did concern myself with that and I did not think about it.'
 'I neither concerned myself with that nor did I think about it.'

If the negative particles maa and laa are to exchange positions, sentence 70 may be considered unacceptable. The usual order is [maa . . . laa] and not [laa . . . maa].

Before concluding the discussion of maa, it should be noted that there may exist some other occurrences of maa with verbal sentences. However, the purpose of this study is not to cite all the examples in which maa might occur, but rather to give an account to certain negative constructions as set forth above. Hence, the discussion of maa concludes.

5. laysa

laysa is mainly used with equational sentences as a negative copula, but it is also used to negate verbal sentences as well. It should be kept in mind that there is a controversy among Arab grammarians regarding laysa. Some Arab grammarians consider laysa

as a stative verb while others consider it a negative particle like maa. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, p. 325; Al-Saamarraa'i, 1968, p. 68).

As a matter of fact, this disagreement among the Arab grammarians is due to the function of laysa itself. It acts both as a negative copula and as a negative particle. In verbal sentences, laysa is considered to be a negative particle. It negates sentences with either perfect or imperfect verbs. (cf. Hasan, Vol. I, p. 33 and p. 401; Cantarino, Vol. I, p. 125). Its syntactic position precedes the verb, but does not need to be followed by the verb immediately. As has been pointed out by Rummuny, laysa expresses absolute or strong negation in the present, future, or in the past, when it is followed by the imperfect or perfect verbs, respectively. Consider the following examples:

71. laysa ya^c nii-nii haadaa.
 not concern-me this.
 'This does not concern me.'
72. laysa saafara al-gariibu.
 not left the-stranger.
 'The stranger did not leave.'
73. lastu 'ansaa daalik al-yawma maa hayii-tu.
 not-I I-forget that the-day as live-I.
 'I will not forget that day as long as I live.'
74. laysa li-daalika da^c aw-tu-kum.
 not for-that invited-I-you (m.p.).
 'I did not invite you for that.' or
 'It is not for that (that) I invited you.'

Sentences 71-73 are examples of sentence negation, and laysa in these sentences can be replaced by laa, maa, and lan, respectively, with no change in meaning. It is also possible for laysa in sentence 73 to be replaced by laa or maa. However, it appears clear that laysa in sentences 71, 72, and 74 behaves like a negative particle, but it is not clear whether laysa in sentence 73 is to be considered as a negative particle only, or as an auxiliary verb, i.e., a negative auxiliary. This problem emerges from the personal pronoun -tu 'I' that is attached to it. In other words, do we consider lastu as an auxiliary verb since it is followed by a verb and has a personal pronoun attached to it, or do we neglect the personal pronoun as if it did not exist and consider lastu as a negative particle? Another option is to consider the personal pronoun to be its subject and the rest of the sentence to be its predicate, in which case lastu would be considered a negative copula. It seems that this matter is somehow complicated, and consequently, it is best to consider lastu an auxiliary verb in such cases, as indicated by Cantarino.

In sentence 74, the scope of negation is part of the sentence, in that it seems to operate on the word li-ḡaalika 'for that'. It is to be interpreted as: 'It is not the case that I did not invite you, but I invited you for something else other than that, or my invitation to you was not for that (particular thing) but for something else.'

In addition, in the case of personal pronouns being attached to laysa, there is a morphophonemic change which should be taken into consideration. That is:

$$\underline{\text{lays-}} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{-tu}} \\ \underline{\text{-ta}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{las-tu}} \\ \underline{\text{las-ta}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\}$$

laysa, like maa and negative laa, does not change the mood of the imperfect verb. In other words, the imperfect verb remains in its indicative mood, which is the original mood of the imperfect before being preceded by anything. At this stage, however, it may seem appropriate to give a generalized rule to the imperfect verb moods.

$$\left[\text{V} + \text{Imperfect} \right] \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \left[\text{V} + \text{jussive} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{lam}} \\ \underline{\text{lammaa}} \\ \underline{\text{(laa)1}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \\ \left[\text{V} + \text{subjunctive} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{lan}} \\ \text{etc.} \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \\ \left[\text{V} + \text{indicative} \right] / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{(laa)2}} \\ \underline{\text{maa}} \\ \underline{\text{laysa}} \\ \text{etc.} \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\} \text{---} \end{array} \right.$$

In the above rule, (laa)1 refers to the prohibitive laa, and the negative laa is indicated by (laa)2. ' \emptyset ' is used to show that the verb is not preceded by anything.

laysa can be preceded by 'a-' to formulate an interrogative negative sentence, such as in the following:

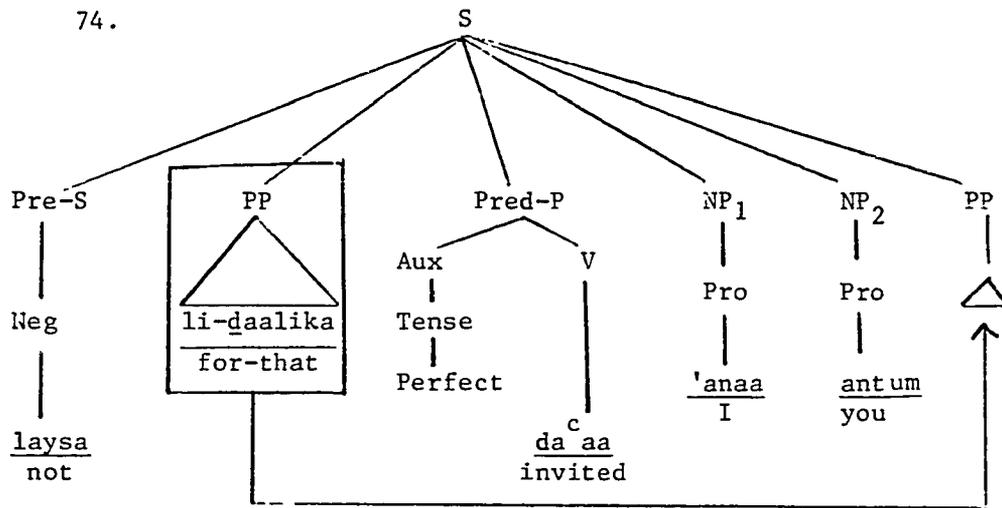
75. 'a-laysa yudnii-ka as-saharu?
 interrog.-not debilitate-you(m.s.) the-sleeplessness.
 'Doesn't sleeplessness debilitate you?'

76. 'a-lasta taḍkuru naṣiiḥata-hu?
 interrog.-not you(m.s.)-remember advice-his?
 'Don't you remember his advice?'

It seems very clear that laysa in these two sentences can be replaced, as mentioned earlier, by laa or maa with the same meaning. On the other hand, in this context, the interrogative proclitic 'a- cannot be replaced by the interrogative hal or by any other question word.

Based on the above examples, it may seem to suggest that laysa, maa, and laa exchange positions. That is, laysa is used in verbal sentences to express negation as maa and laa do, and can be substituted by them. In return for that, both maa and laa are to be used with equational sentences in the same manner as laysa; namely used as an equivalent to laysa, as will be shown later.

It was mentioned earlier that laysa can be separated from the verb by some other lexical items, but it seems that this is permissible in the surface structure, but not in the underlying structure. Let us look again at sentence 74 where (pp) separates laysa from the verb. Consider the following:



'I did not invite you for that.'

As can be seen from the above tree, the syntactic position of the (pp) is to be after NP₂. The attached pronouns 'tu 'I' and kum 'you' appear in the tree as free morphemes.

Therefore, it can be concluded that laysa acts as a negative particle with the verbal sentence.

This concludes the discussion of laysa and verbal sentences as well.

CHAPTER 3

NEGATION OF NON-VERBAL SENTENCES

This discussion will focus on the particles that negate non-verbal sentences. By non-verbal sentences here is meant equational and nominal, or topic comment, sentences. An equational sentence is here defined as a sentence that does not have a verb. A nominal or topic comment sentence, on the other hand, refers to a sentence that has a verb but begins with a noun as its subject or topic, i.e., the noun is not governed by the verb as in some cases where the object precedes the verb.

With this in mind, the discussion will center on the following negative elements: laysa, maa, and laa.

1. laysa

First of all, it should be pointed out that the reason for choosing laysa to be discussed first is that some other negative particles, as mentioned earlier, and as pointed out by Arab grammarians, have similar functions with laysa. In other words, those other negative particles negate equational sentences in the same manner of laysa provided that certain syntactic constraints are met.

In the context of equational sentences, laysa acts as a negative copula. laysa always has the perfect form, but its semantic meaning is the negation of existential present if there is no indication to the past or the future.

Arab grammarians consider laysa one of the sisters of kaana, and the negative counterpart of yakuunu 'to be' which is the imperfect form of kaana 'was'. laysa is also considered as an incomplete verb and requires a subject and a predicate to be in the nominative and the accusative case, respectively. (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I; Hasan, Vol. I). The subject of laysa can be a definite or an indefinite NP and its predicate can be NP, Adj-P, Adv-P, or PP. Furthermore, the syntactic position of laysa within equational sentences varies according to some syntactic constraints, as indicated by Arab grammarians. It seems that there are six different categories of word order regarding laysa and its subject and predicate, but some of these categories of word order are syntactically grammatical while others are not. Consider the following possibilities where laysa is referred to as (Neg) and its subject as (NP), while its predicate can be one of the different syntactic categories as NP, Adj-P, etc.

- A. (Neg) + (NP) + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$
- B. (NP) + (Neg) + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$
- C. (Neg) + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$ + (NP)
- D. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\}$ + (Neg) + (NP)

$$\begin{array}{l}
 \text{E. } *(NP) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + (\text{Neg}) \\
 \\
 \text{F. } * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} NP \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ PP \end{array} \right\} + (NP) + (\text{Neg})
 \end{array}$$

Observationally, the syntactic word order of A and C is grammatical while that of E and F is not. In the case of the word order of D, however, it is not clear as to whether or not it is an acceptable word order. This is so because there exists disagreement among some Arab grammarians with regard to the grammaticality of such constructions. Some Arab grammarians accept this construction while others reject it. (cf. Hasan, Vol. I, pp. 401-413, where he argues that it is most likely to be unacceptable). The NP in B, according to some Arab grammarians, is not to be considered the grammatical subject of laysa, but rather the subject of the sentence. Arab grammarians state that the subject or the agent cannot precede its doer. (For more information on these syntactic constraints, cf. Hasan, Vol. I, pp. 409-411). Whether the NP in B is to be considered as the subject of the sentence or the subject of laysa, it seems to suggest that this order is to be accounted for as a stylistic variation in the syntactic structure of the language.

The order A is the usual order of laysa within the equational sentence when the subject is definite. It should also be noted that the word order in A is sometimes obligatory when there are some syntactic

constraints being imposed concerning the word order of the sentence. For example, if the subject and the predicate of laysa are indistinguishable from each other syntactically, the word order of A becomes obligatory, as, e.g., the word šariikii 'my partner' and the word 'axii 'my brother' which have no overt case endings. Since this is the case with the word order A, order C seems to be of two types:

- A. C is optional if there are no syntactic constraints being imposed on the sentence.
- B. C is obligatory if the predicate is a (PP) or (Adv-P) and the subject is indefinite, or has a pronoun referring to the predicate. (cf. Hasan (1963) for more details).

As an illustration of what has been said, consider the following examples:

1. laysa ar-rajula fii al-bayti.
 is-not the-man in the-house.
 'The man is not in the house.'
2. laysa as-šir^vru taqliidan.
 is-not the-poetry imitation.
 'Poetry is not imitation.'
3. laysat al-fataatu jamiilatan.
 is-not the-girl beautiful.
 'The girl is not beautiful.'

4. laysa Aḥmadu hunaa.
is-not Ahmad here.
'Ahmad is not here.'
5. as-samaa'u laysat ṣaafiyatan.
the-sky is-not clear.
'The sky is not clear.'
6. laysa jamiilatan al-fataatu.
is-not beautiful the-girl.
'The girl is not beautiful.'
7. laysa fii ad-daari rajulun.
is-not in the-home (a) man.
'There is no man in the home.'
8. laysa fii al-bustaani haarisu-hu.
is-not in the-garden garden keeper-it.
'The garden keeper is not in the garden.'
9. *muḥammudun hunaa laysa.
Mohammad here is-not.
'*Mohammad here is not.'
10. *fii al-bayti muḥammadun laysa.
in the-house Mohammad is-not.
'*In the house Mohammad is not.'

The above examples illustrate the different syntactic positions of laysa with the equational sentence and hence the different stylistic variations of the language. As indicated above, some constructions are optional while others are obligatory. Also, some of the above

sentences are grammatically acceptable while other sentences, namely 9 and 10, are not acceptable grammatically. In sentences 7 and 8 the predicates fii ad-daari 'in the room' and fii al-bustaani 'in the garden' have to precede the subjects to account for the grammaticality of these two sentences. That is, the word rajulun 'man' in sentence 7 is an indefinite noun, and in such cases the predicate has to precede it. The resumptive pronoun -hu 'it', which is attached to the word haarisu 'garden keeper' in 8, refers to the NP al-bustaani 'the garden' and in such cases the subject has to be placed after the predicate. This is because the grammar of the Arabic language requires that the resumptive pronoun refer only to an antecedent in such cases as these to account for the grammaticality of the sentence.

Sentences 1-4 are examples of the word order of A above. It is possible for these sentences to have the word order of C without any change in meaning since there are no constraints imposed on the sentence word order. However, sentence 6 is a rewritten form of sentence 3, in which the C word order is applied where the predicate precedes the subject.

The ungrammaticality of sentences 9 and 10 is accounted for by the subject + predicate or the predicate + the subject preceding the negative copula, respectively. If the negative copula in sentences 9 and 10 is moved from its position into a front position, the sentences will be grammatical. On the one hand, if laysa in sentence 9 is placed between the NP and the Adv-P, the sentence will

be acceptable grammatically, even though the NP, as pointed out earlier, is the subject of the sentence rather than laysa. On the other hand, if laysa in sentence 10 is placed between the prepositional phrase and the noun phrase, there will be two accounts of the sentence:

- A. Grammatically acceptable.
- B. Grammatically unacceptable.

The reason for these two accounts is that this new construction of laysa, when placed between the PP and the NP, is parallel to the word order of D above. Arab grammarians disagree as to whether or not this is grammatically acceptable, and hence the two accounts result.

Furthermore, as shown in the above examples, laysa seems to negate the action or the state in the present time, or in the present and the future, or even in the past. Compare sentences 1 and 2. Sentence 1 means that 'the man is not in the house now, but he might have been in the house a moment ago, and he may come later.' By contrast, sentence 2 denotes that 'poetry is not imitation all the time,' meaning in the past, present, and future. By comparison, sentence 3 and 4 will also be interpreted differently, and so forth. This suggests that similar negative constructions may be semantically interpreted differently depending on the lexical items that the sentence is being constructed of.

An interrogative negative sentence can be formulated by placing 'a- before laysa as follows:

'a- + laysa + NP + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{NP} \\ \text{Adj-P} \\ \text{Adv-P} \\ \text{PP} \end{array} \right\} \longrightarrow \begin{array}{l} \text{Interrogative} \\ \text{Negative} \\ \text{Sentence} \end{array}$

11. 'a-laysa al-^cinabu faakihatan?

interrog. is-not the-grape fruit?
'Aren't grapes fruit?'

12. 'a-laysat jamiilatan al-fataatu?

interrog. is-not beautiful the-girl?
'Isn't the girl beautiful?'

It should be pointed out that laysa when preceded by 'a- has to take initial position. The order of its subject and predicate is optional where there are no syntactic constraints, as mentioned above.

In addition, the redundant bi, as Arab grammarians refer to it, can be introduced into the equational sentence when it is being negated to strengthen the negation. This bi is placed before the predicate and consequently, the predicate becomes in the genitive case. Consider the following:

13. laysa al-hilmu bi-balaadatin.

is-not the-patience stupidity/dullness.
'Patience is not stupidity (or) dullness.'

As indicated by Hasan (1963), the preposition bi in sentence 13 is introduced to make the negation more emphatic. In sentence 13 the preposition is placed before the predicate. However, according to Hasan (1963) it may be placed before the subject if the subject is preceded by the predicate. In other words, it can precede either one of them. But it should be pointed out that such occurrences of the latter case are very rare.

Since bi emphasizes the negation, it seems hard to justify calling it redundant. It would seem more appropriate to call it an emphasizing bi in the context of negation.

The preposition min may also precede the subject of laysa to emphasize the negation, as pointed out by Rummuny (1978). Consider the following:

14. laysa fii al-bayti min rajulin.

is-not in the-house (with) (a) man.
'There is not a single man in the house.'

The preposition min 'with', 'from', 'of', etc., cannot be translated into English literally because it is introduced for the purpose of strengthening the negation only, as pointed out earlier. This preposition is placed before the subject of laysa, which is an indefinite noun. It also governs the subject in the genitive case. However, since the subject is indefinite, the word order of the sentence is obligatory.

Aside from what has been mentioned, there are still some other cases regarding the use of laysa within equational sentences. Such cases may include the permissibility of the elision of the predicate or even the subject of laysa. For example:

15. laysa Ø 'ahadun.

is-not Ø (some)one.
'There is no one Ø.'

16. gaayatu al-'aadabi al-'insaaniyyatu wa laysa Ø al-jamaala.

aim the-literature the-humanity and is-not Ø the-beauty.
'The aim of literature is humanity, not beauty.'

The elided predicate in sentence 15 is to be determined as hunaa 'here' or fii al-bayti 'in the house,' etc. Sentence 15 is assumed to be a response to the question, 'Is there anyone here?' or 'Is there anyone in the house?' The elided predicate is understood by both the asker and the listener. In sentence 16, however, the elided subject is understood to be ġaayatu-hu 'its aim', which is a restatement of the original subject of the sentence, and if it is mentioned, the sentence will be redundant. As a case in point, one may ask why the subject of the sentence, or as it is often called, the 'theme', cannot be considered as the subject of laysa? The answer is that in cases such as these, it is not possible to do so because of the connective wa 'and', and because the clause before wa 'and' is a complete equational sentence. Thus, the subject of laysa has to be determined or understood by the context.

In addition, both the subject and the predicate of laysa can be pronominalized. Consider the following two examples which are cited in Cantarino, (Vol. 1, p. 120):

17. lastu 'iyyaahaa.

'I am not she.'

18. 'innaki lasti iyyaahaa.

'You are not she.'

The pronouns -tu 'I' and -ti 'you' (f.s.) in lastu and lasti are called connected or attached pronouns. The pronoun 'iyyaahaa 'she',

on the other hand, is a separate pronoun. It is not uncommon in Arabic, however, to have more than one pronoun in the sentence, whether attached pronouns or both attached and separate pronouns. Sometimes two or three pronouns can be attached to a verb to construct an acceptable grammatical sentence. Consider the following verbal sentences:

19. 'a^cṭay-tu-ka iyyaahu.
gave-I-you (m.s.) it.
'I gave it to you.'

20. 'a^cṭay-tu-ka-hu.
gave-I-you (m.s.)-it.
'I gave it to you.'

Sentences 19 and 20 are directed to someone who asks about something, for example, a book. Sentence 19, however, is preferable to sentence 20; but this does not mean that sentence 20 is ungrammatical, according to some Arab grammarians. Both sentences can be negated by either maa or laysa.

Furthermore, in correlative constructions, wa-laa 'nor' may introduce the second part of the sentence that is being negated by laysa, [laysa . . . wa-laa], 'neither . . . nor'. Consider this example:

21. laysa ^caliyyun mudarrisan wa-laa ^ctaaliban.
is-not Ali (a) teacher and-not (a) student.
'Ali is neither a teacher nor a student.'

The negation in sentence 21 can be emphasized by adding the preposition bi to the predicate, namely to the word mudarrisan, and also to the correlated word ṭaaliban.

In addition, laysa may express negation in the past even in equational sentences. That is, if there is a temporal adverb in the sentence, such as 'amsi 'yesterday', the negation will be in the past tense. Consider the following example presented by Hasan (Vol. I, p. 401):

22. laysa al-gariibu musaafirān 'amsi.

was-not the-stranger traveling yesterday.
'The stranger did not travel yesterday.' or
'The stranger was not traveling yesterday.'

The past tense meaning is achieved by the adverb. If the adverb is to be removed from the sentence, the present tense meaning will be accounted for, i.e., the negation which is expressed by laysa will be in the present. By contrast, if the adverb 'amsi is substituted by ḡadan 'tomorrow', laysa will signify the negation in the future time.

Ibn Hishaam (1969) and Al-Harawii (1971) point out that laysa can be used A) as an exceptive particle, and B) as a conjunctive particle. They also indicate that the exceptive particle may be interposed between the subject and the predicate. In such cases laysa, for the most part, will not have a subject and a predicate. Examples of the above will not be provided here because such uses of laysa as an exceptive or a conjunctive particle are very rare even in Arabic reference grammars. Also the latter case

of the use of laysa is not common, i.e., when the exceptive particle is interposed between its subject and predicate. Instead, maa with the exceptive particle 'illaa', is more commonly used. The combination of laysa with 'illaa' at the end of the sentence is mentioned by Rammuny (p. 256). He provides the following example where laysa 'illaa' means 'only, and nothing else.'

23. innahu su'u hazzin laysa 'illaa.
 'It is bad luck and nothing else.'

Before concluding the discussion of laysa with the equational sentence, it may seem appropriate to indicate that laysa may formulate a construction somewhat similar, in some respects, to what is known in English as a 'Tag Question.' In other words, if laysa is preceded by the interrogative 'a-' and followed by another word, and its position is the tag, then the positive equational sentence receives the negative tag. For example :

24. 'at-taqsu hasanun, 'a-laysa kaḍaalika?
 the-weather good, interrog. is-not so?
 'The weather (is) good, isn't it?'

It should be kept in mind that this is only one type of tag question, that is, when the sentence is a positive one. If the sentence is negative it may seem inadequate to form a tag question. Consequently, this case in Arabic may be called a semi-tag question.

This concludes the discussion of the negative copula laysa with the equational sentence. We will now turn our attention to another negative particle within equational sentences.

2. maa

As we saw in the laysa examples, the negation by maa within the equational sentence is signified in the present tense, provided that there are not indications in the sentence of specific time reference to the past or the future. In an equational sentence, maa can function as laysa. In other words, maa can be used in the same manner as laysa where it can have a subject and a predicate in the nominative and accusative cases, respectively (cf. Hasan, Vol. I, p. 428). However, in order for maa to act like laysa, Arab grammarians indicate that there are certain preconditions regarding maa and its subject and predicate which must be met. Among those preconditions are:

- 1) That the sentence word order should be as follows:
[maa] + [subject] + [predicate];
- 2) That the exceptive particle 'illaa is not to be interposed between the subject and the predicate; and
- 3) That maa is not to be followed by the redundant 'in (or the corroborative particle 'in as stated by Wright. cf. Hasan, Vol. I, p. 429; Wright, Vol. II, p. 104).

In addition, Hasan has also pointed out that if the predicate of maa is a (PP) or an (Adv-P), then the above word order of the sentence will not be obligatory. That is, the predicate may precede the subject and maa can either be considered to act as laysa, or

just a negative particle. Hasan also tried to explain the concept of the inserted 'in after maa. He denotes that if 'in is not redundant, but rather brought to the sentence to emphasize the negation, then maa can act as laysa, provided that there is evidence that 'in is being used for emphasis. Hasan also mentions some other preconditions regarding the usage of maa. (cf. Hasan, Vol. I, pp. 429-430).

Aniis (1972), on the other hand, states that the inserted 'in after maa should be considered negative, and it is compounded with maa to convey emphatic negation. However, he does not specify whether or not this maa can act as laysa in such cases.

It should be remembered that maa, which is used in the sense of laysa, is commonly known as the Hijāzī maa, i.e., it is peculiar to the dialect of Hijāz. By contrast, some ancient Arabic dialects, including the dialect of Tamīm, consider maa as a mere negative particle; in other words, it only negates the sentence and has no subject and predicate. Bearing this in mind, consider the following examples:

25. maa muḥammadun qaari'an aṣ-ṣaḥīifata.
 not Mohammad reading the-newspaper.
 'Mohammad is not reading the newspaper.'
26. maa qaari'un muḥammadun aṣ-ṣaḥīifata.
 not reading Mohammad the-newspaper.
 'Mohammad is not reading the newspaper.'

27. maa hindun fii al-bayti.
 not Hind in the-house.
 'Hind is not at home.'
28. maa fii al-bayti rajulun.
 not in the-house (a) man.
 'There is no man in the house.'
29. maa 'anta faa^cila-hu.
 not you(m.s.) doing-it.
 'You are not doing it.'

The above examples illustrate the syntactic position of maa and its behavior within equational sentences. In sentence 25 maa is used in the significance of laysa. The word muhammadun is its subject and qaari'an is its predicate. However, since one of the above preconditions is violated, maa in sentence 26 cannot be used in place of laysa. That is, the predicate in 26 has preceded the subject and in such cases maa is considered a negative particle only. In sentence 27 maa can be interpreted as being similar to laysa, or as merely a negative particle; in other words, the two possibilities can be accounted for. This is because the predicate is a (PP) and the word al-bayti 'the house' is in the genitive case because the preposition precedes it. In such cases, the (PP) could be the predicate of maa or could be the predicate of the sentence.

In sentence 28, the indefinite subject rajulun '(a) man' is preceded by the predicate which is (PP). maa in sentence 28 is to be interpreted in the same manner as it is in sentence 27. It

seems that the word order of sentence 28 is the most appropriate one because the subject is indefinite. However, maa in sentence 29 is similar to maa in sentence 25.

As can be seen from the above examples, the subject can be a proper noun, an indefinite noun, a personal pronoun, etc. The predicate can also be a (NP), a (PP), etc. Furthermore, as it is predictable in these examples, maa can be replaced by laysa with no change in meaning. If maa in sentence 26 is substituted by laysa, the word qaari'un has to be changed to the accusative case to become qaari'an.

Moreover, as has been pointed out earlier, the preposition bi 'with' can be introduced in sentences 25 and 29 and can be placed before the predicate to emphasize the negation conveyed by maa. Consequently, the predicate will be in the genitive case. Likewise, the preposition min 'from, of,' can be added to sentence 28 and placed before the subject rajulun '(a) man' to make the negation more emphatic. It should be kept in mind that the prepositions bi and min are added to the predicate and the subject in negative sentences only. That is, if one of these two prepositions is added to a negative sentence, and the negative particle has to be dropped from the sentence, then the preposition also has to be dropped from the sentence to make it grammatical. To see how this works, consider the following:

30. maa muhammadun bi-qaai'min.

not Mohammad standing.

'Mohammad (is) not standing up.'

31. Ø muhammadun Ø-qaa'imun.
 Ø Mohammad Ø-standing.
 'Mohammad (is) standing up.'

The deletion of maa in sentence 31 causes the deletion of the preposition bi which, in this context, as stated earlier, cannot be translated into English. If the preposition in sentence 31 is not deleted, the sentence will be grammatically unacceptable.

maa in the previous examples expresses negation in the present. Future negation, however, can be obtained by adding a temporal adverbial to the sentence, as in the following example:

32. maa 'aḥmadu musaafiran ḡadan.
 not Ahmad traveling tomorrow.
 'Ahmad is not leaving tomorrow.'

Negation in the past can be achieved by placing maa before the copula kaana 'was'. Consider this example:

33. maa kaana aθ-θa^clabu mayyitan bal mutamaawitun.
 not was the-fox dead but pretending death.
 'The fox was not dead but pretending death.'

This sentence is an equational sentence because kaana 'was' is being introduced to the sentence to signify past time only. If kaana is elided, the sentence will be perfectly grammatical, but the negation will be in the present. It should be observed that the adversative particle bal 'but' in sentence 33 introduces the second predicate of the sentence. That is, the word mutamaawitun 'pretending death' is considered the predicate to the elided subject,

which is understood by the subject of kaana; namely 'aθ-θa^clabu
'the fox'. However, in sentences such as 33, maa negates the
sentence only.

Consider the following examples:

34. maa fii al-bayti 'illaa xaalidun.

not in the-house except Khalid.
'Only Khalid is in the house.' or
'No one is in the house except Khalid.'

35. maa ^caliyyun jaa'a 'axuu-hu.

not Ali came brother-his.
'Ali's brother did not come.' or
'As for Ali, his brother did not come.'

36. maa al-kitaabu i^vstaraa-hu ^caliyyun.

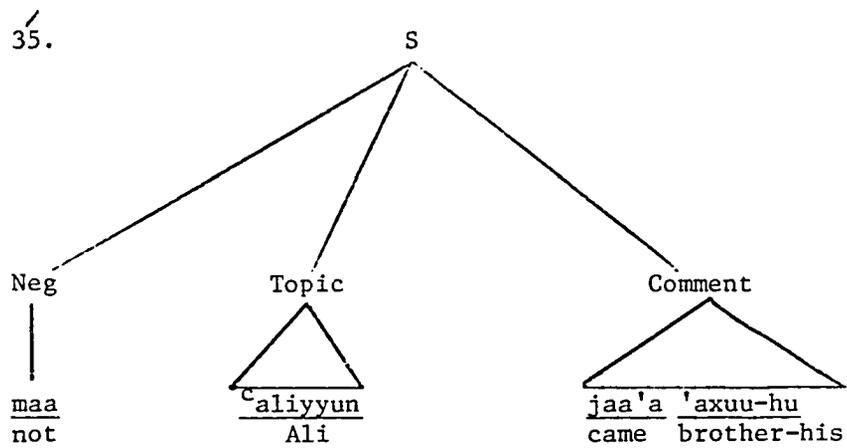
not the-book bought-it Ali.
'Ali did not buy the book.' or
'As for the book, Ali did not buy it.'

In these sentences maa is merely a negative particle and it cannot
be used in the significance of laysa. In sentence 34 the exceptive
particle is interposed between the predicate and the subject and
this violates the previous preconditions. Sentences 35 and 36 are
not equational sentences, but rather topic comment sentences. In
sentence 34, maa . . . 'illaa means 'only'. In other words, maa
negates the sentence, but 'illaa contradicts or "collapses" the
negation. Therefore, the sentence becomes positive.

Sentence 35 can be paraphrased as: 'it is not Ali's brother
who came, or it is not the case that Ali's brother came.' Hence,

maa denies the coming of Ali's brother. In sentence 36, however, maa denies the fact that Ali bought the book, but it does not deny the fact that the book was purchased by someone else. Sentence 36 can have the following reading: 'It is Ali who did not buy the book, or it is not the case that the book was purchased by Ali.' The resumptive pronoun -hu 'his' which is attached to the subject 'axuu-', refers to the topic ^caliyyun 'Ali' in sentence 35. Likewise, the resumptive pronoun -hu 'it' which is attached to the verb 'i'straa-' 'bought' refers to the topic al-kitaabu 'the book'. In other words, the resumptive pronouns and the topics are co-referential. These resumptive pronouns must be used in the sentences to account for the grammaticality of such sentences. However, if the resumptive pronoun in sentence 36 is elided, the sentence may be acceptable provided that the topic changes to an accusative case and, therefore, becomes the object of the sentence and is no longer considered as a topic.

Finally, before closing the discussion of maa, let us consider the following configuration which may be applicable to sentence 35.



As it appears, the comment stands as a sentence by itself. Arab grammarians consider the comment to be interpreted as the predicate of the sentence, while the topic is the subject of the sentence.

This concludes the discussion of maa in non-verbal sentences. Let us now direct our attention to another negative particle.

3. laa

As has been mentioned above with maa, the negative laa can be similar to laysa or used in its place. When this is so, certain grammatical restrictions are imposed regarding laa and its subject and predicate (cf. Ibn Hishaam, 1969; Wright, 1964, and Hasan, 1963).

It should be kept in mind that laa shares some syntactic features with maa. Both of them negate non-verbal sentences and can function like laysa. Both of them negate the state or the action in the present if there is no other time reference in the sentence. In other words, many syntactic characteristics which are applied to maa can also be applied to laa. For one thing, the subject and the predicate of laa are usually indefinite, but there are some exceptions. The difference between laa and maa is that laa can negate the whole genus, namely it signifies categorical negation, while maa cannot.

When laa is used to negate the whole genus, it acts in the same manner as 'inna. In other words, it will have a subject and a predicate in the accusative and nominative cases, respectively. But in order for laa to do so, there exist some preconditions and some syntactic restrictions which must be met, as stated in Arabic reference grammars (see Ibn Hishaam, 1969; Wright, 1964; and Hasan, 1963). The purpose here, however, is not to cite what has been mentioned in Arabic reference grammars, but rather to account for several negative constructions that exist in the language. Since

this is the case, consider the following:

37. laa rajulun gaa'iban.
 no (a) man absent.
 'No man is absent.'
 'There is no man absent.'
38. laa 'imra'atun fii al-bayti.
 not (a) woman in the-house.
 'No woman is in the house.'
 'There is no woman in the house.'
39. laa walada fii ad-daari.
 no (a) boy in the-home.
 'No boy is in the house.'
 'There is no boy in the house.'
40. laa kitaabun wa-laa qalamun^c alaa at-taawilati.
 no book and-no pen on the-table.
 'There is no book and no pen on the table.'
 'There is neither a book nor a pen on the table.'

In sentence 37 laa is used in the significance of laysa. The indefinite (NP) rajulun 'man' which is in the nominative case is the subject of laa, while the active participle gaa'iban 'absent' in the accusative case is the predicate of laa. Sentence 37 can be interpreted as: 'It is not the case that a single man is absent, rather that no one (of the men) is absent.' The negation seems to operate on the absence of a single man. Sentence 38 is similar to sentence 37. However, the predicate of sentence 38 is a prepositional phrase, whereas it is an active participle in sentence 37.

Example 39 represents another case of laa in which laa is used to deny the whole genus. According to Arab grammarians laa in sentence 39 differs from that of laa in 37 and 38, both syntactically and semantically. Syntactically, laa in 39 is similar to 'inna and, therefore, it governs the subject in the accusative case, as mentioned earlier; while laa in 37 and 38 is similar to laysa and it governs the subject in the nominative case. The subject of laa in 39 is always in the accusative case without "nunation". Semantically, laa in sentence 39 denies the whole genus, while laa in 37 and 38 does not.

Observationally, the English translation of sentences 38 and 39 do not show the difference in the sentence structure and hence, the difference in the meaning. On the other hand, in the Arabic sentence the difference is apparent. Sentence 39 indicates that there is not a single boy in the home; i.e., laa negates the whole masculine genus in the home. However, if the adversative particle bal 'but' is introduced as the second subject to the above sentences, the second subject will be determined according to the type of laa. Consider the following:

41. laa rajulun ġaa'iban bal rajulaani.

no man absent but two men.
'No one man is absent, but two men.'

42. *laa rajulun ġaa'iban bal imra'atun.

no man absent but woman.

43. laa 'imra'atun fii al-bayti bal 'imra'ataani.
 no woman in the-house but two-women.
 'No one woman is in the house, but two women.'
44. laa walada fii ad-daari bal bintan.
 no boy in the-home but girl.
 'No boy is in the home, but a girl.'

These examples show the difference between laa of genus negation and laa of individual negation. Sentence 42 is grammatically unacceptable because laa does not negate the whole masculine genus. Hence the subject which is introduced by bal 'but' cannot be of a different gender. In sentence 43, the introduced subject 'imra'ataani 'two women' cannot be replaced by rajulun '(a) man' for the same reason. By contrast, the subject after bal 'but' in sentence 44 has to be of a different gender, because laa denies the whole masculine genus and, therefore, the adversative particle has to introduce the opposite gender.

In sentence 40, laa is repeated and can be used in the significance of laysa or can be only a negative particle.

As has been mentioned above with laysa and maa, the preposition bi can also be introduced to the predicate of laa to emphasize the negation. Also, the preposition bi can be placed after laa to mean 'without'. For example:

45. laa haasidun bi-mustariihin.
 not envious (person) relaxed (at ease/tranquil).
 'No envious person is relaxed or at ease.'

46. ^cilmun bi-laa ^camalin ka-^vsajarin bi-laa
 knowledge with-no doing(practice) as-trees with-no
 'Knowledge without practicing is like trees without
amarin.
 fruit.
 fruit.'

The preposition bi- in sentence 46 is combined with laa to make the sentence grammatical, and it is not used to emphasize the negation as in sentence 45. That is, if the preposition bi is to be elided from both sentences, then sentence 46 will be ungrammatical while sentence 45 will remain grammatical. Thus, the purpose of introducing the preposition bi into sentence 46 is purely structural.

In addition, laa in sentence 45 can be replaced by laysa or maa, but it cannot be replaced by either of them in sentence 46 because of the new construction of laa with bi. On the other hand, laa in sentence 46 can be replaced by some other lexical items such as duuna or gayra, provided that they be preceded by bi to have the meaning of 'without'. Further, the negation expressed by laa and bi-laa in sentences 45 and 46 includes the present and the future as well as the past; i.e., the above state is not to be determined by a specific time.

Sometimes laa is used to negate the second part of the correlative construction if the first part is being negated by laysa or maa. In this case, laa can be used as laysa and can have

a subject and a predicate. Cantarino (Vol. I, p. 115) presents the following example:

47. maa 'anaa bi-ḥaalimin wa-laa al-kitaabu bi-kaadibin.
'I am not dreaming, nor is the book lying.'

In this example, note that the subject of laa, which is al-kitaabu 'the book', is a definite (NP). It is not usual for laa, when used in the significance of laysa, to have a definite subject. However, Arab grammarians disagree as to whether or not laa can be used as similar to laysa when the subject is definite (cf. Ibn Hishaam, Vol. I, pp. 264-265).

laa can also be used as a connective particle when it introduces the second predicate of the equational sentence, such as:

48. muhammadun kaatibun laa ṣaa^cirun.
Mohammad writer not poet.
'Mohammad is a writer, not a poet.'

laa in sentence 48 serves as a connective and as a negative particle at the same time. It negates the poetic attribute of Mohammad and affirms the attribute of writing to him.

In addition, Hasan indicates that the predicate of laa can sometimes be elided, e.g., if someone is speaking to a patient, he may say to him laa ba'sun ∅, to be understood as laa ba'sun ^calayka 'don't worry, don't be afraid; it won't do you any harm.' However, as the predicate of laa in the significance of laysa can be elided, the predicate of laa in the significance of 'inna can also be

deleted. For example:

49. laa 'ahada \emptyset .

'No one \emptyset .'

This example is a response to a question such as, 'Is there anybody in the house?' The deleted predicate is to be understood as fii al-bayti 'in the house'.

On the other hand, as laa negates the equational sentences, it can also negate the nominal sentences. In the latter case, laa may or may not be used in the significance of laysa. Consider the following example from Cantarino (Vol. I, p. 118):

50. laa al-bahru yaftahu lii galbahu wa-laa al-jabalu
yabašsu lii kasaabiqi cahdii bihimaa.

'No longer would the sea open her (its) heart to me,
nor the mountains smile on me (to me) as before.'

No literal translation is given to the above example. As can be observed from sentence 50, laa is repeated after the connective particle wa 'and'. The repetition of laa in such instances, however, seems to be obligatory to account for the grammaticality of the sentence. If the second laa in sentence 50 is dropped, the sentence will be ungrammatical.

There is still much to be said regarding laa in non-verbal sentences. But what has been presented here seems to be sufficient for the purpose of this study. Therefore, this concludes the discussion of the non-verbal sentences.

CHAPTER 4

FURTHER REMARKS AND CONCLUSION

Throughout the previous chapters different negative sentence types by different negative particles have been discussed. A few remarks have to be pointed out here. The previous discussion centered almost totally on sentence negation with the exception of a few examples which may be considered constituent negation. Also, the discussion has touched upon emphatic negation either by some particles per se or by adding certain prepositions to sentences.

With regard to constituent negation, there are many examples in Arabic which may represent this kind of negation. By constituent negation is meant that the scope of negation is not operating on the sentences but rather on a constituent. This type of negation is obtained by [laa + NP] without a predicate. Consider the following: laa + ṣakka, 'undoubtedly'; laa + mafarra, 'inevitable'; laa + rayba, 'undoubtedly'; laa + jarama, laa + budda, 'inevitable'; laa + ajaba, 'no wonder'; laa + ṣay'a, 'nothing'; laa + mubaalaata, 'indifference'; 'al-laa + markaziyyata, 'decentralization'; 'al-laa + su^vcuura, 'the unconscious'; 'al-laa + 'anaa, 'the nonego'; laa + diiniyyi, 'irreligious'; laa + tanziiima, 'no planning'; and so forth.

As can be observed, some of the above examples are preceded by the definite particle 'al-', 'the'. Also, it should be kept in mind that some of the above examples can be traced back to classical Arabic as cited in Arabic reference grammars, while others may be

considered as a result of contact with Western languages. The above examples of [laa + NP] can be considered as idiomatic expressions. Some of them may occur in different positions in the sentence, while some others may be considered as independent constructions (cf. Rammuny, 1978; Wehr, 1976).

Concerning emphatic negation, there are certain adverbials in the language that make the negation more emphatic, such as 'abadan, qaṭṭu, 'iṭlaaqan, 'al-battata, 'ever, never', to name a few. Consider the following:

1. lam 'af^cal daalika 'abadan.
not I-do that ever.
'I have never done that.'
2. lan 'af^cala daalika 'iṭlaaqan.
will-not I-do that ever.
'I will never do that.'

As can be seen, the emphatic negation in sentences 1 and 2 is achieved by the adverbs 'abadan and 'iṭlaaqan, 'ever'. However, if the negative particle is elided, the sentences will be grammatically unacceptable.

There are also some adverbs which convey negation without being preceded by a negative particle such as qallamaa, 'rarely, seldom', which is compounded from qalla + maa and that is why it can express negation per se (cf. Hasan, 1963). It should be noted that in using qallamaa as a negative element, there should be an indication of the appropriate context, e.g.,

3. qallamaa yuxlifu an-nabiilu wa^cda-hu.

seldom/rarely break the-noble promise-his.

'A noble person seldom (rarely) breaks his promise.'

4. qallamaa yuxlifu al-kaduubu wa^cda-hu.

rarely break the-liar promise-his.

'A liar rarely breaks his promise.'

The adverb qallamaa is used appropriately in sentence 3, but in sentence 4 it is used in an inappropriate context. Structurally, sentence 4 is grammatical while it is ill-formed semantically. This brings up the issue of selection restrictions. The speaker or the user of the language has to select the appropriate items from the lexicon to be used in the appropriate context. Also, the word wa^cda-hu, 'his promise', indicates that the subject of the sentence must be [+ human], that is, the promise cannot be obtained from non-human beings. At any rate, this does not concern us here, but it is presented for the clarification of sentence 4.

It should be pointed out that there are also some other negative particles in the language that have not been discussed above. Such particles include 'in, laata, hal, 'not', which are used in classical Arabic. Since laata is restricted to specific lexical items and is not used by modern Arab writers, as indicated by Rammuny, it was not discussed above. 'in and hal are not as commonly used as maa or laa, and hence they, too, were excluded.

Generally speaking, with regard to the negative particles discussed with various types of sentences, it seems, as pointed out earlier, that they manifest syntactic and semantic behavior which may be somehow different from that of other languages. That is, some particles are associated with special syntactic categories, such as lam, lammaa, and lan, where they are used with the imperfect verb only. Other particles are used without restrictions of special syntactic categories. It has been evidenced that some particles are interchangeable with no change either in meaning or in grammatical structure, such as, for example, maa and laysa in equational sentences or even in verbal sentences. Some particles are replaceable, but with different meaning and different moods of the verb; as lam and lan where each of them signify negation in a different tense. Some other particles can replace each other with almost the same meaning but with different verb forms, as in the case of maa and lam. Moreover, by adding some temporal adverbials to sentences negated by lam, for instance, the meaning will be similar to that expressed by lammaa. Also, maa + ^Vperfect + temporal adverbials conveys a meaning similar to that of lammaa. It has also been shown that one particle may signal different meanings, such as, for instance, maa, laa, and lammaa. For example, laa is used as a negative particle, a prohibitive particle, or connective and negative at the same time, and with optative meaning. It should also be mentioned that two negative particles can occur together and may formulate emphatic negation, as for example:

5. lam wa-lan 'af^Cala haadaa.

not and will-not I-do this!

'I will never do this!' or

'I have never done, nor will I ever do this!'

It has also been demonstrated that different interpretations of a negative sentence can be accounted for by different means. Further, by comparing some negative particles as laa and maa, it seems that laa is the most widely used negative particle in the language. This is so, it appears, because it is the original negative particle in the language, as mentioned above. As for laysa, although it negates verbal and equational sentences, it seems, I think, that it is primarily associated with the negation of equational sentences.

Finally, it is hoped that this study has, to some extent, illustrated certain aspects of negation in Modern Standard Arabic. A suggestion of further future research of the semantic meaning of the negative particles and their function in Arabic sentences is recommended.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AJ-Harawii, A. Kitaabu al-'azhiyyati fii 'ilmi al-ḥuruufi. 'Abdal-Muniim, M., (ed.). Dimāšq: Majma'u al-lugati al-ḥarabiyyati. 1971.
- Al-Saamarra'i, I. Fiḥu al-lugati al-muqaaran. Bayruut: Daaru al-'ilmi li-lmalaayin. 1968.
- Ambrose-Grillet, J. Glossary of Transformational Grammar. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, Inc. 1978.
- Anis, I. Min 'asraari al-lugati. 4th ed. al-Qaahira: Maktabatu al-'anglu al-miṣriyyati. 1972.
- Anshen, F. and Peter Schreiber. "A Focus Transformation of Modern Standard Arabic." Language. Vol. 44, pp. 792-797. 1968.
- Beeston, A. Written Arabic: An Approach to the Basic Structures. London: Cambridge University Press. 1968.
- Bornstein, D. An Introduction to Transformational Grammar. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers, Inc. 1972.
- Cachia, Pierre. The Monitor: A Dictionary of Arabic Grammatical Terms. Beirut: daaru al-galam. 1973.
- Cantarino, V. Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose. 3 Vols. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1974.
- Chisholm, W. Elements of English Linguistics. New York/London: Longman. 1981.
- Cowan, David. An Introduction to Modern Literary Arabic. London: Cambridge University Press. 1964.
- Crystal, D. A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. 1980.
- Culicover, P. Negative Curiosities. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club. 1981.
- Dillon, G. Introduction to Contemporary Linguistic Semantics. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1977.

- Emonds, J. E. A Transformational Approach to English Syntax: Root, Structure-Preserving, and Local Transformation. New York: Academic Press. 1976.
- Grinder, J. T., and Suzette Hedan Elgin. Guide To Transformational Grammar. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1973.
- Hanna, S. An Elementary Manual of Contemporary Literary Arabic. Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Press, Incorporated. 1964.
- Hasan, A. An-nahwu al-waafii. al-Qaahira: Daar al-ma^carif. 4 Vols. Vol. 1 and 2 (1963). Vol. 3 (1961). Vol. 4 (1968).
- Ibn Hishaam. Muğni al-labiibi ^can kutubi al-'a^caribi. Maazin Al-Mubaarak and Muhammad, A., (eds.) 2nd ed. al-Qaahira: Daar al-fikr. 1969.
- Ibn Manzuur. Lisaanu al-^carabi al-muħiiṭ. Yuusuf, K. and Nadiim, 'M., (eds.). 3 Vols. Bayruut: Daar lisaani al-^carab. 1970.
- Ibn Ya^ciish. Ṣarḥu al-mufaṣṣal. 10 Vols. Bayruut: ^cAalamu al-kutub.
- Jackendoff, Ray. Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. Fourth Printing. Cambridge: The MIT Press. 1980.
- Kamaal, A. Ḥuruufu al-ma^canii. al-Qaahira: Maktabatu al-ma^carif. 1971.
- Lakoff, Robin. "A Syntactic Argument for Negative Transportation." Semantic Syntax. Pieter A. M. Seuren, (ed.). London: Oxford University Press. 1974.
- Lasnik, Howard. Analysis of Negation in English. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Linguistic Club. 1976.
- Lindholm, James. "Negative Raising and Sentence Pronominalization." Papers From The Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society. Robert I. Binnick, Alice Davison, Georgia M. Green, and Jerry L. Morgan, (eds.). Chicago: Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago. 1969.
- Rammuny, Raji. "Functional and Semantic Developments in Negation as Used in Modern Literary Arabic Prose After World War II." JNES. Vol. 37, No. 3. Chicago: The University of Chicago. 1978.
- Semaan, K. "Foreword." Bibliography of Arabic Linguistics. London: M. H. Bakalla, Mansell Information/Publishing. 1975.

- Seuren, P. A. M. "Negative Travels." Semantic Syntax. Peiter A. Seuren, (ed.). Longon: Oxford University Press. 1974.
- Tawfiiq, A. 'Asaaliibu at-ta^cbiiri fii an-nahwi al-^carabiyyi. al-Qaahira: Matba^catu as-sa^cada. 1972.
- Wehr, Hans. A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic. J. Milton Cowan (ed.). 3rd ed. Ithaca, New York: Spoken Language Services, Inc. 1976.
- Whitman, Randal. English and English Linguistics. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1975.
- Wright, W. A Grammar of the Arabic Language. 2 Vols. 3rd ed. Cambridge: The University Press. 1964.
- Yushmanov, N. V. The Structure of the Arabic Language. Translated from the Russian by Moshe Perlmann. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics. 1961.