d) Euphemism: *bint (hegg) al-zodat* lit. 'girl of holiness', i.e., prostitute, public girl, (Heb.) *qideh* (40a). (Heb.) *hagom* 'wise, sage' stands for *h.k.m.*, acronym of the Arabic phrase *himār kahir mulāggham* 'big, bridled donkey' (102b). By crying out *yā hāṣīm ubāk* 'O "intimate one" of your father!' one hides the intended curse *yā-hāṣīm = yā(ḥ)āṣīm ubāk* 'damn your father!' (91a).

e) Usage of a synonym of a Hebrew word which might reveal one's intention: Since *qīrs*, pl. *qurus*, 'Maria Theresa thaler', or *riyaP* (392b) sounds like (Heb.) *qaras* 'plank, board', Jews would resort to its synonym (Heb.) *daff* as a cant for *qīrs* (152a), which like its Aramaic counterpart *dappa* has an alloseme – 'page' of a book etc.

To sum up, the intricate life of Yemeni Jews as keepers of the glowing ember of Judaism in a remote and hostile diaspora, a life that was reflected by their devotion to religious values and by preserving themselves from the Zaidite rule, placed them in a situation wherein they were compelled to use apppellations expressive of their innermost feelings and their everyday life within their community on one hand, and on the other, to secretly express the texture of their psycho-social relations with, and their definition of, the Muslim majority, which on its part vented its supremacy and arrogance in various apppellations disgracing the Jewish community.

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A. Primary sources


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B. Secondary sources


0 Abstract

Negation in Yemeni Arabic, based on the dialect of Ṣanʿāʾ, includes negating perfect and imperfect forms of the verb by the particle /mā/ in pre-verbal position and the verb normally takes the suffix /-s/. /mā/ is also used in two verbal constructions joined by /wa/ 'and'. Such constructions are negated by /mā ... wa-mā .../ or /lā ... wa-lā .../. In constructions with /illa/ 'except' /mā/ is used to negate the verb, and such constructions have the meaning of 'nothing' or 'nobody ... except' or 'not ... anything or anybody except.' /mā/ also negates pseudo verbs: there is/are, 'to have', etc. /lā/ followed by the imperfect form of the verb negates an imperative. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, and prepositional phrases are negated by /mis/, /lā ... wa-lā .../ or /mā ... wa-mā/ is used with the meaning of 'neither ... nor'. There will be a lot of illustrative sentences, and some proverbial phrases.

1 Introduction

1.1 Informants and Material

The native speakers ('informants') whose speech served as the data selected for inclusion in this article are unsophisticated bona fide speakers of Ṣanʿāʾi Arabi. They are male and their ages range between twenty and forty. A frequency word list of approximately 2,000 vocabulary items was compiled from native speakers in different situations, such as greetings, telephone conversations, comments, interviews, etc. On most occasions the informants talked to each other either in their homes during gāḥ sessions or in such places as office buildings, coffeehouses, etc. There was a search for tales, fables, anecdotes and stories from story tellers, poets and informants. In informant interviews the question, "How do you say ...?" was avoided as much as possible for the sake of authenticity. Indeed, some of them had the tendency to emulate my dialect or other Arabic dialects, especially Egyptian and Palestinian1. I have run across contrast of styles in the same speakers on different

1 It should be pointed out that most of my informants have come in direct contact with a number of Arab immigrants working in Ṣanʿāʾ, especially Egyptians and Palestinians. I was on the lookout for "speech emulation", e.g., one informant said, *bakēt šagayir*, 'a package of cigarettes' on one occasion and *gafas šagayir* on another occasion. The latter is the SA form. In instances such as this one, I would check with the informant again, or another informant would contribute saying, "we do not use this in our
occasions. Because of limitations of time and for circumstances beyond my control no children or female informants were interviewed.

A limited but careful use was made of the following secondary data, including texts, word lists, grammars, etc.: Rossi (1938 and 1939), Nāmi (1946 and 1953), al-Akwātī (1967), and Renaud (1977).

Rossi's L'Arabo Parlato a Sanca' (1939) is based on the speech of Sanca' and the immediate vicinity. It presumes to some extent a knowledge of literary Arabic. There is a good selection of text materials in transcript, which covers a wide range of phrases and dialogues on common subjects, proverbs, stories, popular songs, and poetry. A lexicon lists words under various headings, followed by a vocabulary of about 1,000 items. The major drawback of the book is that it is too short; the grammar part is only forty-six pages long. Only eight pages are devoted to phonology. The phonology part does not discuss the following topics, which are essential features in any study of the phonology of SA: phonological processes (such as pausal glottalization, pausal diphthongization, devoicing of voiced geminates, epenthesis, etc.), consonant clusters, diphthongs, and features of /r/, /l/, /g/ and /h/. The chart (on page 1) does not include the glides /w/ and /y/. It labels /s/, /z/, and /s/ as dentals, and the glottal stop, /h/, /h/ and /h/ as laryngeals. The morphology also suffers from an inadequate treatment of verb forms, derivation and inflection of nouns, noun modification, pronouns and particles. Moreover, the book does not include any description of syntax, which includes negation.

The Sancan Arabic of today differs from that Rossi described. Rossi (1939) lacks a modern linguistic treatment and reflects theory and practice of some fifty years ago, in addition to its shortcomings. It is not a description of the speech of present urban semi-educated San'a'is.

1.2 Data Treatment and Limitations of the Study

This study is a descriptive analysis of major negative forms in SA; it is essentially synchronic. No attempt has been made to refer to any diachronic facts. Features that are not mentioned in this presentation may be assumed to be either similar to those in other Arabic dialects or needing further investigation, which lies beyond the scope of this study, which is a sketch of the chief or salient features of negative forms in SA.

2 Negation in Yemeni Arabic

2.1 Negating Verbs

2.1.1 Perfect and Imperfect

The perfect and imperfect forms of the verb are usually negated by /mā/, which always precedes the verb; the verb normally takes the suffix /-s/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Why didn't you (m.s.) chew qat?</td>
<td>limīḥ mà ḥazzants?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can't come at five.</td>
<td>mà ʿaqdar āqi sāʿat hams.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We didn't go to the market today.</td>
<td>mà sirnās as-sūg al-yawm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honestly, I didn't understand.</td>
<td>wāllahi mà fihimts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He doesn't want.</td>
<td>mà yikīṭ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It won't work; it is not suitable or proper.</td>
<td>mà yisbir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one harms oneself.</td>
<td>iblis mà yḥarrīb daymatīḥ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too many cooks spoil the broth.</td>
<td>ʾignayn mà yimṣīḥ lahām markab.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperfect verb forms that denote a passive-potential sense are also negated by /mā ... -s/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>This cannot be changed.</td>
<td>dayya mà yīṭgāyyar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can it be made stronger or not?</td>
<td>yīṭgawwa walla mà yīṭgawwās?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It cannot be priced; it is priceless.</td>
<td>mà yīṯjīmman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It cannot be read.</td>
<td>mà yīṯtara'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He cannot be interrogated.</td>
<td>mà yīstāntaq.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two verbal constructions with a perfect or an imperfect verb joined by /wa/ 'and' are negated by /mā ... wa-mā .../ or /mā ... wa-lā .../ or /lā ... wa-lā/ ... Examples:

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<tr>
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<td>mà yīstāntaq wa-mā yīṯhākās.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He can neither be interrogated nor talked to.</td>
<td>lā yīstāntaq wa-lā yīṯhākā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He can neither be interrogated nor talked to.</td>
<td>mà yīnfaʾak ma mā ʾahūk wa-lā sirāḡīḥ yīḏīʾ lak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I neither went nor came.</td>
<td>lā sīr wa-lā ʾ-git.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mà sīrt wa-mā ʾ-git.</td>
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2.1.1 Perfect and Imperfect

The perfect and imperfect forms of the verb are usually negated by /mā/, which always precedes the verb; the verb normally takes the suffix /-s/:

|- limmā hazzants?
- Why didn't you (m.s.) chew qat?

- mā agdar āgī sā‘at āmans.
- I can't come at five.

- mā sīnās as-sūg al-yawm.
- We didn't go to the market today.

- wāllāhī mā fihīmtī.
- Honestly, I didn't understand.

- mā yīkīs.
- He doesn't want.

- mā yīsūrīs.
- It won't work; it is not suitable or proper.

- iberīs mā yīharīb daymatīth.
- No one harms oneself.

- iğnāyin mā yīmīsīs lahum markab.
- Too many cooks spoil the broth.

Imperfect verb forms that denote a passive-potential sense are also negated by /mā ...

- 1ayyān mā yītīgawwārī.
- This cannot be changed.

- yītīgawwālī wāllā mā yītīgawwālī?
- Can it be made stronger or not?

- mā yītīgawwārī.
- It cannot be priced; it is priceless.

- mā yītīgawwālī.
- It cannot be read.

- mā yītīgawwārī.
- He cannot be interrogated.

Two verbal constructions with a perfect or an imperfect verb joined by /wā/ 'and' are negated by /mā ... wa-mā .../ or /mā ... wa-lā .../ or /lā ... wa-lā .../. Examples:

- mā yīstāntağwīs wa-mā yīthākāsah.
- He can neither be interrogated nor talked to.

- mā yīstāntağwīs wa-lā yīthākāsah.
- (lit., "What your brother has is of no avail to you; neither will his lantern give you light.") (Meaning: Depend on yourself.)

- mā yīstāntağwa-lā yīthākāsah.
- I neither went nor came.
lā yinfa‘ak mā mī‘ axūk
wa-lā sīratāh yuq‘i’ lāk.
lā ragad wā-lā ūlla ahad yurgūd.
mā taqaddās wā-mā tā‘aśṣās.
lā salla wā-lā ẓām.
lā mē‘ yirūb wā-lā gahbeh titūb.

Depend on yourself.
He neither slept nor let anybody (else) sleep.
He didn't have lunch; neither did he have dinner.
He neither prayed nor fasted.
A leopard cannot change his spots.

Note that if /lā ... wa-lā/ ... is used the particle /-s/ is not used and that /lā ... wa-lā/ may precede a noun.

In constructions with /illa/ 'except' /mā/ is used to negate the verb. Such constructions have the meaning of 'nothing or nobody ... except' or 'not ... anything or anybody except':
mā bigiy illa ladāthīh.
mā līqi‘ illa bagāriyī.
mā yfarrīg as-sahāb illa 1-matar
mā yiγī‘āl-hājar illa l-hājar.
mā ibsaruw illa ‘abdalla.
mā ibsaruw illa ‘abdalla.

/mā/ may be followed by a prepositional phrase:
mā yirūw illa fi l-layl.
mā tibsirīs illa fi bāb al-yāman.
mā yhīnna l-ūd illa giṣrih.

They do not go (at any time) except at night.
You will not see him except in Bab al-Yaman.
Nobody saw them except Abdalla.

In classicisms /lā/ negates indefinite nouns, in which case it has the function of literary Arabic /lā/ of absolute negation:
lā sakk
lā šukr(a) ‘ala wāṣīb.
lā budd min as-safar.
lā mafarr

/wala/ can be used by itself in a pre-nominal position to express the meaning of ‘and not, not even, not so much as’:
walad ‘āṣī wala mābiṣ.
ğārak al-garīb wala alğūk al-ḥa‘id.
ra’s kabsi wala girarat garad.

Something is better than nothing.
Out of sight out of mind.
One today is better than two tomorrow. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

2.1.2 Negating Pseudo-Verbs
Prepositional pseudo-verbs are negated by /mā/:
mā bilīh illa fih ‘asyb.
mā fi l-dunyalla rahmat al-jāh.
mā šay‘ sa‘a šay‘.
mā ahadh hāna illa yahyā.

(lit., “There isn’t anything good, but there is a defect in it.”)
There is nothing in this world except God's blessing.
Your fingers are not the same. Different strokes for different folks.
No one is here except Yahya.
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lā yinfa‘ak mā mī‘ axūk  
wa-lā sirāqīh ygil‘ lāk.  
lā ragad wa-lā ḥalla ahad yurgūd.  
mā taqaddās wā-mā ta‘āfsās.  
lā salla wa-lā sām.  
lā mē‘ yirūb wa-lā gahbeb titūb.  

Depend on yourself.

He neither slept nor let anybody (else) sleep.  
He didn’t have lunch; neither did he have dinner.  
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A leopard cannot change his spots.

Note that if /lā ... wa-lā/ ... is used the particle /-s/ is not used and that /lā ... wa-lā/ may precede a noun.

In constructions with /illa/ ‘except’ /mā/ is used to negate the verb. Such constructions have the meaning of ‘nothing or nobody ... except’ or ‘not ... anything or anybody except’:

mā bigiy illa ladāṭih.  
mā liglī illa bagāriy.  
mā yffarīg as-sahāb illa l-matar  
mā yiğīs al-hājar illa karrah.  
mā tikṣīr al-hājar illa l-hājar.  
mā ibsārhum illa cabdallā.  
mā ibsaruw illa ‘abdallā.  

Nothing remained except his personal effects.  
He didn’t find anything (i.e., any other kind of meat) except beef.  
There is nothing that disperses clouds except rain.  
(God’s) blessing comes only once.  
Nothing breaks a rock except its sister.  
Nobody saw them except Abdalla.  
They (m.) didn’t see anybody except Abdalla.

/mā/ may be followed by a prepositional phrase:

mā yṣirūw illa fī l-ḥayl.  
mā tibṣirīs illa fī bāb al-yamān.  
mā yhinna ‘alā l-ūd illa giṣrīh.  

They do not go (at any time) except at night.  
You will not see him except in Bab al-Yaman.  
Nobody can do one’s work as well as oneself.

/mā/ and /lā/ are used to negate other parts of speech and express the meaning of ‘there isn’t; there aren’t; you cannot find, etc.’ /mā/ is used with ‘illa’ ‘except’ or /gayr/ ‘other than’. Proverbs and sayings abound with such examples:

mā malīḥ illa fiḥ ‘ṣayb.  
mā fi l-dunyā illa rahmat allāh.  
mā ṣay‘a‘aṣa‘aṣay.  
mā ahad hāna illa yahya.  

(lit., “There isn’t anything good, but there is a defect in it.”)  
There is nothing in this world except God’s blessing.  
Your fingers are not the same. Different strokes for different folks.  
No one is here except Yahya.  

/mā/ fi l-mudun gayr san‘ā.  
wa-fi l-bawādi ruṣābah.  

San‘a is the best of cities and  
Rusābah is the best of farm lands.

Examples with /lā/:

lā mē‘ yirūb wala gahbeb titūb.  
(lit., “No water turns into yogurt, nor does a prostitute repent.” Meaning: You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear. A leopard cannot change his spots.)

lā zgayyir ymayyiz kabīr wala kabīr yirham zagīr.  
(lit., “There isn’t a young person who respects an older one, nor is there an old person who has compassion for a young one.”)

In classicisms /lā/ negates indefinite nouns, in which case it has the function of literary Arabic /lā/ of absolute negation:

lā ᵇakk  
lā ᵇuk(а) ‘ala wāgīb.  
lā budd min as-safar.  
lā mafarr  

no doubt  
(lit., “No thanks for one’s duty.”) You’re welcome.  
Travel is inevitable.  
no escape

/wala/ can be used by itself in a pre-nominal position to express the meaning of ‘and not, not even, not so much as’:

wala ‘aṣī wala mābiṣ.  
♭ra’ak al- garīb wala al- ḥuk al-ḥaθid.  
ra’s kabī wala giṣrāt garaḍ.  

Something is better than nothing.  
Out of sight out of mind.  
One today is better than two tomorrow. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

2.1.2 Negating Pseudo-Verbs

Prepositional pseudo-verbs are negated by /mā/:

mā biṣ gāt hāna.  
mā ‘indahum gihhāl.  
mā ‘indih daḥab?  
mā ‘alayh duṣūn.  

There isn’t any qat here.  
They don’t have any children.  
Don’t you (f.s.) have any gold?  
He doesn’t have any debts (lit., “Debts are not on him.”)

Two prepositional pseudo-verbal constructions are usually negated by /lā ... wala .../ or /mā ... wala ... / ‘neither ... nor’:


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lá lih awwal wala táli. (lit., "He does not have a beginning; nor does he have an end."
Meaning: Everything should have a sound beginning.)
lá li wala lak. neither mine nor yours
lá lih dayn wala 'alayah dayn. People do not owe him any money; neither does he owe any money.
má 'indih bayt wala zalat. He has neither a house nor money.

2.1.3 Negating Imperatives
A negative command (or request), which is used to tell s.o. not to do s.th. consists
of the negative particle /la/ followed by the imperfect of the verb.
lá trağim an-nas (lit., "Do not throw rocks at people if your house is made of glass.") (Meaning: Those who live in glass houses should not throw stones.)
lá tizzawq wa-ád gurgüs ummaka fi t-tághaha. (lit., "Do not get married and your mother's cap is still in the window.") (Meaning: Haste makes waste.)
lá tsirayn as-sug! (lit., "Don't go (m.p.) to the market!")
lá tgaddihum wa-la tcasslhum. (lit., "Do not give them lunch and do not give them dinner!")

2.2 Negating Other Parts of Speech
Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, and prepositional phrases are negated by /miš/:

huw miš garig. He is not mad.
miš hakâda? Isn't it so?
hin sârâyn, miš hâna. They (f.) left; they are not here.
hna miš mîrthâhîn hânâ. We are not comfortable there.
miš náhiy? Isn't it good?
miš dala-dale, fîsa' not slowly, quickly, at once
miš hakâda not in this manner
miš sâ'at ūntayn not at two o'clock
miš sâ' ma huw not like him
miš 'ala sibbih not because of him
miš min šan'a not from San'a

Either /lá ... wa-la/ or /má ... wa-la/ is used with the meaning of 'neither ... nor':
lá bayt wa-la zalat neither a house nor money
lá 'átiš wa-la ġâwi' neither thirsty nor hungry
má šy' sâ' šy' wa-dá s-sabâh (There is) nothing like anything else
sâ' al-âsîf. and the morning is not like the evening.
má kull sawdeh tamrah (lit., "Not every piece of charcoal is a date, and not every piece of fat is meat.") Meaning: Do not judge people by their appearance.
wala kull šâhmeh lahmeh.

The negative form of /ahad/ 'somebody, someone' is /mahad/ 'nobody, no one'. It is usually used as the subject of a sentence:

mahad ibsarih. Nobody saw it/him.
mahad yudhul hâna. Nobody enters here.
mahad mát min al-ġû'. No one died of hunger.

but:
má ibsart ahad. I did not see anybody.
*ibsart mahad. Didn't you hit anybody?
*labâqtis mahad?

When /má/ negates a noun or a phrase and is followed by /'illa/ or /gayr/ 'except' the meaning expressed in English is usually 'there isn't any + N (that can be found) except':
má fi l-mudun ġâri šan'a. There isn't any other city except San'a. (i.e., San'a is the best of cities.)
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wā-baytak min zugag! (lit., "Your house is made of glass.")
lā tisrāyān as-sūg! (lit., "Don’t go (f.p.) to the market!")
lā ṭhazzinu hana! (lit., "Do not chew (m.p.) qat here!")
lā zgul mā bīṣ. (lit., "Don’t say (f.s.): "There isn’t.""")
līḍa dāṣbak asal lā tilḥasīh kullih.

Two negative commands are joined by /wa/ ‘and’:
lā tusrūg wala ṭhāf. (lit., "Do not steal and do not be afraid!") (Meaning: If you do not steal, you should not be (or you do not have to be) afraid.)
lā tashdīhum wala ṭaṣẖīhum. Do not give them lunch and do not give them dinner!

2.2 Negating Other Parts of Speech
Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, particles, and prepositional phrases are negated by /miṣ/:

huw miṣ ḡārib. He is not a qat dealer.
miṣ ḡudweyh, al-yawm not tomorrow, today
miṣ as-sabb, al-ḥamis not (on) Saturday, (on) Thursday
miṣ hin, antayn not they (f.), you (f.p.)
ana miṣ ḡāwi? I am not hungry.
hin miṣ ḡāhināt. They (f.) are not smart.

NEGATION IN YEMENI ARABIC

huw miṣ ḡārib. He is not mad.
miṣ āḥad? Isn’t it so?
hi ṣarayn, miṣ ḡāna. They (f) left; they are not here.
hna miṣ mīrūḥīn ḡāna. We are not comfortable there.
miṣ nāḥi? Isn’t it good?
miṣ dāla-dāla, fīṣa‘ not slowly, quickly, at once
miṣ ḡākaḍa not in this manner
miṣ sā‘āt tīghayn not at two o’clock
miṣ sā‘a‘ma huw not like him
miṣ ‘alā sīḥbīh not because of him
miṣ min ṣan ‘a not from San’a

Either /lā ... wa-la/ or /ma ... wa-la/ is used with the meaning of ‘neither ... nor’:
lā bayt wa-la ṭalat neither a house nor money
lā ‘āṭiṣ wa-la ḡawīr neither thirsty nor hungry
mā šay‘ sā‘ šay‘ wa-la ṣ-sabāh (There is) nothing like anything else
sā‘ al-āṣīf. and the morning is not like the evening.
mā kull ṣawdah tamrah (lit., "Not every piece of charcoal is a date, and not every piece of fat is meat.")
wala kull ṣāḥmeh laḥmeh.

The negative form of /ahad/ ‘somebody, someone’ is /mahad/ ‘nobody, no one’. It is used as the subject of a sentence:

mahad ibsarih. Nobody saw it/him.
mahad yudhul ḡūna. Nobody enters here.
mahad māt min al-ḡū‘. No one died of hunger.
but:
ma ibsart ahad. I did not see anybody.
*ibsart mahad. Didn’t you hit anybody?
*labğtš mahad?

When /ma/ negates a noun or a phrase and is followed by /‘illa/ or /gayr/ ‘except’ the meaning expressed in English is usually ‘there isn’t any + N (that can be found) except’:
mā fi l-mudun ḡawr ṣan ‘a. There isn’t any other city except San’a. (i.e., San’a is the best of cities.)
There isn’t any friend except at the time of distress (i.e., A friend in need is a friend indeed.)

There isn’t anything in the snake except its head, (i.e., The head of a snake is its most important part.)

A negative response to a yes- or no-question is either /la/ or /'abadan/ (lit, “never”)

The phrase /miš hakada/ ‘isn’t it so’ is appended to a statement to form what is known in English as a tail question; it is usually known as a question tag; it is invariable. The phrase /miš hakada/ occurs more frequently:

When the negative particle /mä/ precedes /gad/ with a following personal pronoun, stem change takes place:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| mä gad + ana → mä gadanäs | I (certainly) am not ...
| mä gad + hna → mä gad-i-hnaäs | We (certainly) aren’t ...
| mä gad + ant → mä gadantš | You (m.s.) aren’t ...
| mä gad + antu → mä gadantuš | You (m.p.) aren’t ...
| mä gad + antiy → mä gadantš | You (f.s.) aren’t ...
| mä gad + antayn → mä gadantš | You (f.p.) aren’t ...
| mä gad + huw → mä guduš | He isn’t ...
| mä gad + hum → mä gadamuš | They (m.) aren’t ...
| mä gad + hiy → mä gadiš | She isn’t ...
| mä gad + hin → mä gadanš | They (f.) aren’t ...

Examples:

- mä gadanäs tā'īb I am not yet tired. I am certainly not tired.
- mä gadantš bālig. You (m.s.) aren’t an adult.
- mä gadantš hāreweh. You (f.s.) aren’t a bride.

If /mä gad/ precedes the pseudo-verb /bih/ ‘there is,’ the resultant negative form of the whole phrase is:

- mä gad bihs → mä gabbiš → mä gabbiš → [maē geppi’s].

There isn’t anything left. It’s all gone.

2.4 Assimilation of /-h/ of the third person masculine singular suffix /-ih/ on to a following negative particle /-s/:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>šallaytiš.</td>
<td>I (you) took it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mä šallaytiš → mä šallaytiš.</td>
<td>I (you) didn’t take it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibrariš.</td>
<td>He saw it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mä ibrariš → mä ibrariš.</td>
<td>He didn’t see it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šanmatiš.</td>
<td>She filtered it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mä šanmatiš → mä šanmatiš.</td>
<td>She didn’t filter it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galatiš.</td>
<td>She told him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*mä galatiš → mä galatiš.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
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If the verb ends with a long vowel, simultaneous shortening occurs when the verb is negated:

ligiš He found it.
NEGATION IN YEMENI ARABIC

When the negative particle /má/ precedes /gad/ with a following personal pronoun, stem change takes place:

má gad + ana —> má gadanáš I (certainly) am not...
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má gad + ant —> má gadantš You (m.s.) aren't ...
má gad + antu —> má gadantúš You (m.p.) aren't ...
má gad + anty —> má gadantíš You (f.s.) aren't ...
má gad + antayn —> má gadantáš You (f.p.) aren't ...
má gad + huw —> má gaduš He isn't ...
má gad + hum —> má gadumš They (m.) aren't ...
má gad + hiy —> má gadiš She isn't ...
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má gadanáš tâ'íb I am not yet tired. I am certainly not tired.
má gadantš bálig. You (m.s.) aren't an adult.
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má gad bihs —> má gadbiš —> má gabiš —> [mae geppi’s].
There isn't anything left. It's all gone.

2.4 Assimilation of /-h/ of the third person masculine singular suffix /-ih/ on to a following negative particle /-s/:

šallayíth. I (you) took it.
*má šallayíthš —> má šallaytíšš. I (you) didn't take it.
ibsáriš. He saw it.
*má ibsárišš —> má ibsárišš. He didn't see it.
šannatíth. She filtered it.
*má šannatíthš —> má šannatíšš. She didn't filter it.
galátíth. She told him.
*má galátíthš —> má galátíšš. She didn't tell him.

If the verb ends with a long vowel, simultaneous shortening occurs when the verb is negated:

ligiš He found it.
*mā ligihš → mā ligiğš. He didn't find it.

yilgah. He finds it.

*mā yilğahš → mā yilğağš. He doesn't find it.

ligyuh. They (m.) found it.

*mā ligyuhs → ma ligyuşš. They (m.) didn't find it.

REFERENCES


1 The Grammarian and the Boatman

In Ġalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī’s *Matnawi* there is a famous anecdote of ancient origin, well known in the Arab world even today: “The grammarian and the boatman”. A grammarian, having embarked in a boat, boasts of his superficial knowledge of worldly (and hence secondary) things and asks the boatman whether he knows grammar. After receiving a negative answer the grammarian (man of knowledge ‘ilm) condemns the boatman (man of practice ‘amal), saying that the other has lost half of his life. In the open sea, however, a violent storm breaks out and now the boatman, who does know how to swim, asks the grammarian whether he can swim, and after a negative answer he rightly notices that at that case the grammarian will lose his whole life.

In this story the grammarian stands for everything worldly and he is the representative of the officially recognized science. As for “swimming”, it is used here as a metaphor for mystical training and experience required for the voyage to union with God. “God upholds and exalts those who have died to self, while those who rely on their own attainments and efforts are submerged in the whirlpools of illusion.” As Rūmī emphasises, the great scholar, with all his pride of intellect, is unable to take a single step towards true knowledge.

Sūfī manuals usually begin with pointing to the difference between ‘alim and ‘ārif, i.e. between scholars who deal with religious prescriptions (fāsiq) and the knowers of the ‘true reality’ (haqiqa). The grammarian, on the one hand, is highly suitable to represent the scholar (‘alim). Firstly, because to scorn and ridicule him is less dangerous than to do the same with men of religion (rijāl ad-dīn). Secondly, because by the 11/12th centuries grammar had become one of the recognised subjects in the curriculum of the madrasas, it served as the typical example of the ‘superfluent casuistry’ and worldly-

* The paper presented at the conference contained the linguistic analysis of al-Qusayri’s *Nahw al-qulub*. It seemed, however, more appropriate that the publication of the manuscript should precede the presentation of the analysis which will be published later.
