

Contents

Preface IX

List of Tables and Diagrams X

Abbreviations, Terminology, and Symbols XI

PART 1

Introduction

1 Preliminaries 3

- 1.1 Objective, Scope, and Method 3
- 1.2 Previous Research on Negation in Comparative Semitic Linguistics 9
- 1.3 Languages and Text Material 22

2 On the Grammar of Negation 36

- 2.1 Functional Perspectives on Negation 36
- 2.2 Standard Negation and Finiteness 38
- 2.3 Standard Negation and Asymmetries 40
- 2.4 Non-Standard Negation 43
- 2.5 Renewal of Negation 47

PART 2

Presentation and Analysis of the Material

3 Old Assyrian and East Semitic 63

- 3.1 Introduction 63
- 3.2 Standard Negation 67
- 3.3 Emphatic Negation with *ulā* 76
- 3.4 Negated Interrogative and Subordinate Clauses 81
- 3.5 Prohibitive *ē iprus* 86
- 3.6 Prohibitions with *lā* 93
- 3.7 Excursus: Literary Old Babylonian 99
- 3.8 Excursus: Eblaite 111

4 Ugaritic	113
4.1	Introduction 113
4.2	Negative <i>*lā</i> and Asseverative <i>*la-</i> 113
4.3	Past <i>lā yqtl</i> 116
4.4	Negated <i>qvtyla</i> 120
4.5	Non-past <i>lā yqtl</i> 124
4.6	Emphatic Negation and Noun-phrase Negation 128
4.7	Negated Subordinate Clauses 131
4.8	The Prohibitor <i>?al-</i> 134
4.9	Pleonastic Negation 139
5 Standard Biblical Hebrew	143
5.1	Introduction 143
5.2	Orthography of <i>lō</i> 143
5.3	Negated Asyndetic Clauses 145
5.4	Syndetic <i>wə-lō qvtyla</i> 149
5.5	Syndetic <i>wə-lō yvqtvlu</i> 154
5.6	Syndetic <i>wə-X lō qvtyla/yvqtvlu</i> 159
5.7	Negative Conditional Linkings and Pleonastic Negation 162
5.8	Negative Questions and Constituent Negation 164
5.9	The Prohibitor <i>?al-</i> 167
6 Phoenician	173
6.1	Introduction 173
6.2	Negative <i>bl</i> 173
6.3	The Prohibitor <i>?l</i> 180
6.4	Negative <i>?y</i> and <i>?y-bl</i> 181
7 Aramaic, Deir Alla, and Sam'alian	191
7.1	Introduction 191
7.2	Orthography of <i>lā</i> 191
7.3	<i>lā yvqtv</i> 192
7.4	Negated <i>qvtyla</i> 195
7.5	Negation of <i>qātil</i> 199
7.6	Negated <i>yvqtvlu</i> 201
7.7	Negative Possible Consequence Clauses 206
7.8	The Prohibitor <i>?al-</i> 208
7.9	Western Neo-Aramaic 216

8	Quran Arabic	224
8.1	Introduction	224
8.2	Orthography of <i>lā</i>	224
8.3	<i>lā yvqtvlū</i> in Declarative Main Clauses	225
8.4	Negative <i>lam</i>	232
8.5	Negative <i>mā</i>	238
8.6	Negated Interrogative and Subordinate Clauses	249
8.7	Negated Conditional Linkings	253
8.8	Prohibitive <i>lā yvqtvl</i> and <i>lā yvqtvlanna</i>	256
8.9	Negated <i>yvqtvla</i>	261
8.10	Negative <i>?in</i>	265
9	Minaic, Sabaic, and Ancient South Arabian	267
9.1	Introduction	267
9.2	Minaic	267
9.3	Early and Middle Sabaic	275
9.4	Late Sabaic and Negative <i>d?</i>	288
9.5	Negative <i>lm</i> in Amiritic	292
10	Jibbali and Modern South Arabian	294
10.1	Introduction	294
10.2	Allomorphs of the Preverbal Negator	294
10.3	Negation in Jibbali	302
11	Tigre and Tigrinya	318
11.1	Introduction	318
11.2	The Preverbal Negator in Northern Ethiosemitic	318
11.3	Negation in Tigre	324
11.4	Negation in Tigrinya	331
12	Amharic and Harari	339
12.1	Introduction	339
12.2	The Preverbal Negator in Amharic and Harari	339
12.3	Negation with Clitic <i>*-ma</i> in Amharic and Harari	341
12.4	Negative Asymmetries	349
12.5	Non-standard Negation in Amharic and Harari	353
12.6	Excursus: The Negated Imperfective in Wolane and Silte	359

13	Gafat, Kistane, and Peripheral Western Gurage	362
13.1	Introduction	362
13.2	The Preverbal Negator in Gafat and Kistane	363
13.3	Negation in Gafat	368
13.4	Negative Asymmetries in Kistane	372
13.5	Excursus: Negation in Peripheral Western Gurage	376
 PART 3		
<i>Concluding Discussion</i>		
14	Innovative Expressions of Negation	387
14.1	Collocation and Univerbation with Focus Particles	388
14.2	Reanalysis of Scale Reversal Contexts	394
14.3	Collocation with Markers for Old Information	398
14.4	Collocation with Pro-sentential Negators	398
14.5	Borrowing	399
15	Other Negators and Negative Asymmetries	402
15.1	Akkadian	402
15.2	Northwest Semitic	404
15.3	Arabic	406
15.4	Ancient South Arabian	407
15.5	Modern South Arabian	408
15.6	Ethiosemitic	409
16	Reconstruction	412
16.1	Distribution of * <i>lā</i> and * <i>?al-</i>	412
16.2	Negated <i>yvqtvl</i> in Northwest Semitic and Akkadian	414
16.3	Development of * <i>?al-</i> to a Standard Negator	417
 References 425		
Subject Index 476		