

Note that future is expressed by the imperfective combined with the particle *sawfa* (or *sa*, a cognate prefix) (5), but in the future, negation must be expressed by *lan* + imperfective rather than *laa* + future marker + imperfective. This may be captured by specifying *laa* as incompatible with TENSE = FUT. Note that like the *l*- particles, *sawfa* may not be separated from the verb.

- (5) *sawfa y-uḥibb-u* *Zayd-un al-qirāt-a*
 will 3SGM-like-SG.IMPERF.IND Zayd-NOM the-reading-ACC
 Zayd will like reading

The behaviour of *laysa* (and its variant forms) is as follows. It also selects an imperfective form of an accompanying verb, but is marked for agreement with the SUBJ and not for TENSE. It can be separated from the verb and can occur in so-called nominal sentences, (7) (*jumal ismiyya*) like the PAST tense copula *kāna*, and unlike *laa*, *lam*, *lan*. We argue that *laysa* is in fact a negative verb in I, occurring only in the PRES tense. Like other finite verbs in Arabic it shows full agreement with a preceding SUBJ and partial agreement (in GEND but not NUM) with a following SUBJ. The SG on the finite verb in (6b) is a default and does not express agreement with the SUBJ. The examples also show multiple exponence of some agreement features: as Niño (1997) demonstrates for Finnish, such facts are simply accommodated in LFG without recourse to the proliferation of functional heads by the straightforward requirements of feature unification.

- (6) a. *al-awlad-u lays-uu ya-ktub-uun*
 the-boys-NOM NEG-3MPL 3M-write-IMPERF.IND.PL
 The boys do not write
- b. *laysa al-awlad-u ya-ktub-uun*
 NEG-3SG the-boys-NOM 3M-write-IMPERF.IND.PL
 The boys do not write
- (7) a. *hādā lays-a rajul-an sharīf-an*
 this NEG-3.SG man-ACC.INDEF noble-ACC.INDEF
 This is not a noble man.
- b. *sum^cat-u-ka lays-at jayyidat-an.*
 reputation.F-NOM-2.MSG NEG-3.FSG good.F-ACC.INDEF
 Your reputation is not good.

- (8) *laysuu* I (↑ TENSE) = PRES (↑ ASP) =_c IMPERF
 (↑ MOOD) = INDIC (↑ POL) = NEG
 (↑ SUBJ PERS) = 3 (↑ SUBJ GEND) = M
 (↑ SUBJ NUM) = PL

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