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**The Arabic Relative Clause Structures within  
Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT) in  
Classical Arabic  
A Descriptive Study**

A dissertation submitted in fulfillment of the requirements leading to  
the award of the MA degree in English language and Linguistics

by  
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## **Dedication**

This work is dedicated to my parents and my wife who have given me all the support needed throughout my life and never asked for anything in return and stood by me side by side. Then to my friends with much respect, love and gratitude.

## **Acknowledgement**

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my college and my supervisor ***Dr. Mohammed Salem Rakas***. For his continuity, instructive suggestions and his patience throughout the long time during writing this research.

I would like to thank my teachers in Graduate Studies in Faculty of Arts, University of Benghazi and others who have helped me .

## Abstract

The first chapter of this work will introduce a brief exposition of the relative clause phenomenon as it is viewed by the majority of linguists and provide a background to the relative clause in Classical Arabic (CA). The statement of the problem is presented along with the research questions and the aims of the study .

The second chapter presents previous studies and literature review about the relative clause structure and the X-bar theory.

The third chapter is devoted to the structure of the conjunctive (modifying sentence, known in the Arabic tradition as "as-silah" "the connection"(i.e. the relative clause without the relativizer as central elements for such structures, and it examines the internal structure of two different types of the conjunctive sentence, namely , the prototypical sentence that comprises nominal and verbal sentences. The concept of "Ad-dmiir al-aid" (the resumptive pronoun) by Arab grammarians is examined in terms of function and distribution (nominative, accusative and genitive case). The relation between conjunctive particles and conjunctive sentences is not considered.

The fourth chapter introduces the syntactic structure and properties of relative clause in Arabic with relative clauses and adjectival ones as modifiers in distribution, modification and coordination. It also shows a brief account about resumptive pronouns as variables and gaps.

The last chapter is the conclusions obtained through the study and recommendations for further studies

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## List of Abbreviations

1	1st first
2	2nd second
3	3rd third
a. part	active participle
acc	accusative
AP	Adjectival Phrase
CA	Classical Arabic
c. pro	conjunctive pronoun
c.sent	conjunctive sentence
def	definite
dl	dual
f	feminine
fut	future
gen	genitive
IN	Indefinite Nominative
IA	Indefinite Accusative
IG	Indefinite Genitive
M	masculine
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
N	noun
Nom	nominative
NP	Noun Phrase
Poss	possessive
p.part	passive participle
pl	plural
PP	Prepositional Phrase

rel	relative pronoun
rp	returning pronoun
sg	singular
v	verb
VP	Verb Phrase

## The Transliteration

The following is the symbols that are used to transliterate the Arabic in this study

ي	y	ش	sh	أ	a
ال	al	ص	ss	ب	b
ة	-t	ط	t	ت	t
ُ	-u	ع	a	ث	th
ِ	-a	غ	gh	ج	j
ر	-i	ف	f	ح	h
ء		ق	q	خ	x
		ك	k	د	d
		ل	l	ذ	ð
		ن	n	ر	r
		ه	h	ز	z
		و	w	س	s

# Chapter One

## Background to the Study

### 1.1 Introduction

Arabic is one of the world major languages. It is usually divided into three main forms: Classical Arabic (hence CA), Modern Standard Arabic (hence MSA) and Colloquial Arabic varieties.

Classical Arabic (CA), the language of poetry, literature, and the Qur'an, was described by Arab grammarians during the 8th and 9th centuries, and has survived to the present. In the 19th and 20th centuries, it went through a process of revival and developed into MSA, the official language of all Arab countries, the language of media and academic circles. As the language of the Qur'an, CA is widely believed by Muslims to constitute the actual words of God and even to be outside the limits of space and time, i.e. to have existed before time began with the creation of the world (Ferguson (1959:330)).

Classical Arabic is the language of the pre-Islamic period (al-jaheliyyah) and the language found in the Quran and the post Islamic period(Quraish variety). It is considered to be the most prestigious form of Arabic for most of modern writers because they try to follow the syntactic and the grammatical norms put down by classical Arab grammarians. (Rakas,2000).

MSA is the classicalized form of Arabic. In the present Arab world, it is the language of literature, media, education, formal speech, etc. MSA is used as the only means of communication if there is no mutual intelligibility between people of different dialects( Al-Momani, 2010).

MSA differs from CA only in vocabulary and stylistic features; the morphology and the basic syntactic norms have remained unchanged. MSA is the language of Islamic worship, contemporary literature, journalism, television and scientific writing. It is learned through formal education and is not acquired as a native language by any Arabs. Its use is reserved for formal occasions calling for spoken prose.

Hence, even though no segment of the community regularly uses MSA as a medium of ordinary conversation which is prestigious and sacred.

Colloquial Arabic is a collective term for the spoken varieties of Arabic used throughout the Arab world. It differs radically from the literary language and includes a number of regional varieties that constitute the everyday spoken language. These varieties are different enough to be mutually unintelligible (ibid).

The study of grammar among Classical Arab grammarians and their contemporary advocates has a long-standing tradition which goes back to the early eighth century AD. Arab classical and modern scholars view Arabic grammar as a set of laws and norms governing the language in form and substance. This view was motivated in the first place by Arab grammarians perseverance to make the Quranic texts of the Holy Quran as accessible and comprehensive as possible.

A proper description of any linguistic phenomenon in CA should resort to data based on the traditional literature and to the language of the Holy Quran. This is the fact that the final form of CA was shaped to meet designated Quranic requirements such as the art of text analysis.

This work presents a prescriptive exposition of the relative clause phenomenon as it is viewed in the Arabic traditions. The relative clause in Arabic tradition is subsumed under the broad title (Jomlat-al-musu:l ) the connective sentence(Rakas,2000).

This study explores the structure and properties of the relative clause in CA introduced by the relative complementizers(Allaḍi-set). This study also tackles the topic within the most recent linguistic framework, Government and Binding (GB) theory and other related literature. The researcher intends to examine the way in which relativization is accounted for in terms of some syntactic processes such as movement and resumption.

This would provide fresh account and different perspectives of some aspects that have been analyzed otherwise. For example, the antecedent head noun is considered semantically and ignored grammatically in Arabic traditions, this led to consider the relativizer as a head noun and classifying the relativizer as a head connected rather than connectors.

The framework assumed in this analysis the GB model and its extended model, i.e. the Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT).

## **1.2 Research Questions**

This work investigates the relative (connective) construction in CA. Two types of relative structure are recognized in classical tradition; vis-a-vis specific relative set and common relative set, the focus in this work is the specific relative set (Allaḍi-set), but also common relative will also be considered whenever needed for structural proposes.

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Is the antecedent head noun modified by the relative clause in CA? i.e. Does the embedded relative clause modify the antecedent head noun or the relative marker as it is claimed by classical Arab grammarians?
2. Are restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses distinguished in CA?
3. Is the antecedent head noun case governed by the main verb or by the embedded verb?
4. Why the head antecedent can be optionally deleted with the specific set, but must be deleted with man-set structures?

## **1.3 Significance of the study**

The study contributes and enhances the relative structure in CA compared with other different structures assumed in English. It attempts to describe the relative clause structure as a typological structure because of its universal significance. It verifies structure of relative clause in Arabic against the universal principles stipulated in this respect.

## **1.4 Aims of the study**

The objective of this study is to provide a descriptive analysis of the relative clause structure in CA in terms of the internal structure and function with a specific reference to the specified conjunctive pronouns (Allaḍi set). In addition to this analysis, the study will present a surface analysis of the other components of relative clause structure (head noun, marker and relative clause) which are known as common conjunctive pronouns (man-set) and the conjunctive sentence(al-silah).

## **1.5 Methodology**

Some data of this study is to be extracted from the Holy Quran and authentic material, the researcher will analyze the relative clause structure and its constituents, i.e. the head noun, the relative marker, the conjunctive sentence within X-bar theory which is a syntactic sub theory, which plays a central role in Government and Binding Theory (GBT) and Principles and Parameters (PPT) syntax. Thus the notion X is adopted in the theory to stand for any of the word level categories such as N, V and P as a head of projection. The aim of this theory is to conflate the parametric phrasal and sentential structures in natural languages into an unified representation. The point of focus here will be on the syntactic relation between the relativizer pronoun and the head of the relative construction as well as the different syntactic analyses concerning the availability of movement in relative structures.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Literature Review**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Before going into any details concerning relative clauses in CA, this section provides a brief study of the structure and derivation of relative clauses in the literature of modern linguistics as this is done in the light of GB/PPT modal.

A relative clause is a clause that modifies a noun (Keenan1985). The analysis of relative clauses has always been a topic of controversial debate in the literature of modern linguistics (For example, see Chomsky (1965), Kuroda (1968), Vergnaud (1974), Heim (1987), Kayne (1994), Borsley (1997), Grosu and Landman (1998)). The main question of controversy among these linguists and others concerns the transformational relationship between the head of the relative clause and the trace that occupies the internal argument position within the relative clause( Al-Momani,2010:23).

According to transformational grammar, a relative clause is a surface structure realization of an embedded sentence following a definite or an indefinite head noun phrase called the antecedent and a relative clause containing an NP coreferential with this antecedent. The relative clause formation rule involves the deletion of the second identical NP, .i.e. the NP of the embedded clause and its replacement by the appropriate relative pronoun or markers (Hamidalla & Tushyen,1998:56).

A relative clause modifies a noun; It describes or gives information about a noun.A clause is a structure that has a subject and a verb. There are two types of clauses: Independent and Dependent clause. An independent clause is a main clause and can stand alone as a sentence. A dependent clause cannot stand alone as a sentence; it must be subordinated to an independent clause (Azar,2003:78).

A relative clause characteristically contains either a gap or a pronoun understood to be coreferential with the noun or NP they modify. These clauses that begin with one of the relative pronouns and used to qualify a preceding noun or pronoun (called its antecedent)

these pronouns such as *who*, *whom*, *whose*, *which* and *that*. Relative pronouns connect an adjective clause to the word the clause describes(ibid).

In terms of syntactic structure, a relative clause is a clause that is embedded within a noun phrase in argument or complement positions. The important parts of a relative clause are the following:

- a. The head is the noun phrase that is modified by the clause.
- b. The restricting clause specifies the reference of the antecedent head noun.
- c. The non-restrictive (appositive) relative clause adds extra information to modify the head noun.
- d. The Relative-element is the element within the clause that is coreferential with the head noun.

The relativizer in Arabic is the particle that sets off the restricting clause as a relative clause, but in English, the relativizer that is a complementizer and it can be termed a relative pronoun or marker( Borsley, 1999:89).

Relative clauses can be either prenominal (the clause occurs before the head), post-nominal (the clause occurs after the head), internally headed (the head occurs within the relative clause), or they may be headless. Since relative clauses are noun modifiers, one might expect that they would occur in the same position as other noun modifiers, e.g., adjectives, numerals, etc. Though it is true that the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun often is the same as the position of other modifiers, there is a distinct tendency for relative clauses to occur after their heads (post-nominal), even in languages for which other modifiers are pre-nominal. This tendency is probably due to a universal pragmatic principle that shifts information late in the clause. This is the same principle that motivates post-posing of complement clauses in English. Post-nominal relative clauses, as it is in English and Arabic, are the most common type( Payne, 2006:30).

Relative clauses can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. A restrictive relative clause serves to restrict the reference of the antecedent and contains information that is essential to the meaning of the sentence, if the information is omitted, the sentence cannot be

understood as intended. The relative clause identifies the person or thing talked about in other main clause(Swick,2005:241).

A non-restrictive relative clause is not used to narrow the reference of the antecedent, but to add further information, and the relative clause adds explanatory information. Relative clauses modify nouns, but do not define the person or thing talked about in other main clauses. However, in casual speech there is often substitution between *that* and relative pronouns *who* and *which*. Commas are used to separate a non-restrictive clause from the other clause in the sentence.

In older descriptions, relative clauses are called adjective clauses, reflecting the fact that adjectives also modify nouns. Of course, in English they do not occur in the same position as adjectives, since adjectives typically precede the noun in a noun phrase while relative clauses follow it (Miller,2002:45).

Relative clause structure (ʒpmlat al –musu:l) is subsumed under the term conjunctive construction for which Arab grammarians means subordination, of which the relative clause structure is an instance (Rakas,2000:35).

Relative constructions are known to show a typological variations across languages and the parameters to be considered are (i) pre vs. post-nominal, (ii)externally headed relatives, (iii) use of relative pronoun(pro) or relative complementizer, (iv) restrictive vs. appositive (Brachini,2007:142).

According to Arab grammarians, the connective relation is not between a relative head and a relative clause in a relative construction but, rather, is between the relative element itself and its conjunctive sentences of which it forms a part. Therefore, the head noun concept is not recognized in Arab traditions and, instead, the conjunctive element is treated as a head of its own conjunctive construction, while the modifying conjunctive sentence is the relative clause without the relative element (Rakas, 2000:51).

## **2.2. Government and Binding Theory (GBT)**

### **Theoretical framework**

#### **2.2.1 Introduction**

Before proceeding to the core of this study, it is important to give a brief overview of the theoretical framework assumed and the basic concepts related to the analysis. This model is a recent version of the Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG) theory proposed in the fifties in Chomsky's (1957) syntactic structure, developed later into Chomsky's (1965) "Aspects of the Theory of Syntax", to be known as the Standard Theory (ST) and Extended Standard Theory (EST) by the seventies, during which the theory underwent basic reformation to take a new shape in the early eighties, i.e. known as the Government and Binding Theory (GBT). But, as Chomsky points out, government and binding are only two of many other sub-theories assumed in the approach and a more articulate version of the theory was elaborated in the early nineties came to be known as Principles and Parameters Theory (PPT). (Culicover, 1997:27)

In GB and PPT model, principles are assumed to hold for all natural languages and parameters reflect variations among languages, for example, most languages express subordinate constructions and obey the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) formulated by Chomsky (1982) to posit that all clauses must have subject positions, but languages may differ in aspects such as wh-parameters, null-subject, head-directionality, word order, agreement, case realization and strategy of relativization. Government and binding as well as the other aspects of the assumed framework will be put forward with reference to related Arabic data whenever it is possible to attest their presupposed adequacy.

### 2.2.2 X-bar Theory

X-bar theory (hence X<sup>̄</sup>) Theory , which was developed in the seventies (Jackendoff,1977) plays a central role in GB and PPT syntax.X-bar theory is a central module of the Principles and Parameters approach to syntactic theory. All other modules in one way or another draw on the basic structures it makes available together with the lexicon and the projection principle in defining their own concepts. (Webelhuth, 1995)

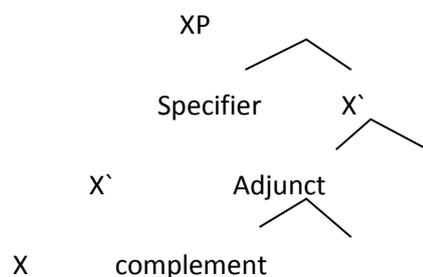
The notion X is adopted in the theory to stand for any of the word level categories such as N,V and P as a head of its projection. The aim of X-bar theory is to conflate the parametric variations of phrasal and sentential (clause) structure in natural languages into a unified representation.(See Diagram 1 , below)

### 2.3 The notion of 'Head' and ' Projection'

Under X<sup>̄</sup> theory, the phrase is said to be a projection of the HEAD, a quite old notion, which is also central to most contemporary syntactic theories. This means VP is a projection of V, NP is a projection of N and CP is a projection of C and so on. (Radford,1988)

According to X<sup>̄</sup> theory, there are at least two levels of projection; the phrasal level (XP) and the word level (X), which are intermediated by a semi-phrasal level (X<sup>̄</sup>). X<sup>̄</sup> level is the first projection and XP level is the second and maximal projection of the HEAD, X<sup>̄</sup> theory proposes that all phrases and/or clausal categories have the following structure, called " The Generalized X<sup>̄</sup>-Schema

**Diag. (1)**



(Cowper, 1992:38)

Diagram (1) above shows that  $X'$  and XP are phrasal projections of the lexical head X. In principle, any category can be a complement to any head but in fact complementation is restricted by the subcategorization frames of heads, just as it was restricted in the early versions of the theory by phrase structure rules in the base components. complements must be sisters of X and daughters of  $X'$ . A verb complement is a sister of V and a daughter of  $V'$ . Adjuncts must be sisters of  $X'$  and daughters of  $X'$ .

The above  $X'$ - Schema also accounts for the grammatical relations and functions holding among categories within a configuration. The syntactic position of 'object', for example, can be defined as any sister XP of X dominated by  $X'$  and that of 'subject' as any XP external to  $X'$  and dominated by XP.

Chomsky in his adjunction theory, stipulates that adjunction to XP maximal projection is possible only if the latter is a non-argument. Adjunction to VP, therefore, is possible but not to NP or CP when they are arguments.

#### **2.4. The Projection Principle:-**

The definitions of the projection Principle explicitly express the dependency relation between syntax and the projected lexical items to the effect that lexical properties determine and license the syntactic projection

1. Representations at each level are projected from the lexicon, in that they observe the subcategorization properties of lexical items.

2. Lexical properties are represented at all levels of syntactic structure [ d-structure, s-structure and LF]

To clear out the projection of lexical properties into syntax, let us consider the Arabic verbal predicate (*qaabal-a*) (he met-3msg) and its English counterpart 'met' which in both languages must subcategorize for two arguments, namely, an agent and a patient. The verbal predicate (*a`at-a*)(gave-3msg), in contrast subcategorizes for three arguments ,i.e. agent, patient and

recipient. The verb (*yathiqu*)(trust-3msg) must subcategorize for an NP complement in English, but must select a PP complement in Arabic.

Such subcategorizations frames (in ST/EST) and arguments structures (in GB/PPT terms) are idiosyncratic properties of these verbs. Two factors must be taken into consideration with regard to projection

(a)The categorial status of the projected arguments is determined by their selecting heads. For example, the verb 'meet' must select an NP complement while the verb (believe)selects a CP complement (I believe that Jack is honest) or PP complement ( I believe in miracles). Thus , a head may select different maximal projections as its argument and complement.

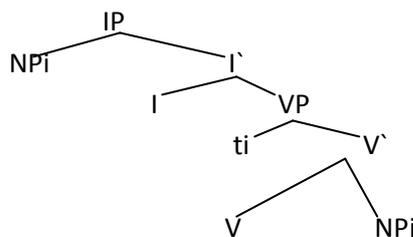
(b)The parametric variation as to whether arguments are projected as external or internal to their maximal projections in their configurations. The internal argument(object) of a predicate is projected inside its X` projection; external argument(subject)is projected inside the predicate`s XP projection but outside its X` projection.

For example, the subject argument position in Arabic, and presumably in English as well, is internal to VP and external to V`. Uniformity across English and Arabic, holds to the effect that both languages project agents as external arguments and patients as internal arguments.

### 2.5 The V-Internal Subject Hypothesis

The hypothesis states that the subject originates in specifier position of VP, hence [ Spec, VP] and then moves to [Spec, IP] is known as ' The VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis'. The d-structure posited for English and Arabic in (2) below has the following structure.

**Diag. (2)**



(Rakas,2000:96)

Koopman and Sportiche (1991) propose that the subject is base generated in [Spec, VP] within the maximal projection VP. It is possible for [V] to move to [I] (head to head movement) and the subject to move to [Spec, VP] (spec to spec movement). In Arabic the subject moves to [Spec IP] and [V] moves [I] the rich agreement SVO word order is obtained. If only [V] moves to [I] and the subject remains in its position, i.e. in [Spec, VP], the poor agreement VSO word order is obtained.

A basic function of lexical heads is to assign theta-roles and case to their complements in virtue of government (sisterhood). Obviously, any lexical head cannot govern outside its maximal projection. The lexical head V, for example, cannot govern the subject, which is located outside its VP maximal projection in [Spec, IP]. For the subject to be governed and hence theta-marked by the head V, it must be within the head V maximal projection VP, that is [Spec, VP]. But [Spec, VP] position, though it does constituent command (hence c-command) the head V, the converse does not hold, that is the head V does not c-command [Spec, VP], it follows that V cannot assign theta role to its subject argument in [Spec, VP] either. The only candidate that both c-commands and is c-commanded by the subject, and hence government in terms of sisterhood holds, is the intermediate head V'. The analysis that it is V' and not the ultimate head V that assigns external theta role to the subject in its Spec VP is enhanced by the fact that the verb complement may determine the external theta role assigned to the subject, i.e. Agent, Theme, Experiencer, etc. Thus, the head V assigns both theta role and case to its internal argument under government (sisterhood) and the subject is assigned thematic role by the governing sister V' and not through the head V.

## 2.6 Theta Theory and Theta Criterion

The subcategorization determines the syntactic frame of arguments, i.e. [ NP V (NP)] while thematic roles provide semantic interpretation of arguments, i.e. Agent, Patient, etc. For example, the verb 'meet' subcategorizes for an NP subject and an NP object argument and it assigns to them two theta-roles, namely, Agent and Patient/Theme. Such information is known as head argument structure. Thus, head argument structure determines that syntactic frame of the subcategorized arguments and what thematic roles are assigned to them by their heads. The function of theta theory, therefore, is to show how a syntactic frame determines the theta role assigned by a head to its argument(s) in the sentence. Arguments are typically NPs but may also not be NPs, e.g. clauses PP and AP. Moreover, NPs may not be arguments, for example, when they are not assigned theta role. (Radford,1988)

The theta criterion is formulated to ensure that no single argument is assigned two or more theta roles ( no sentence may have two or more different roles, say, Agent and Patient, assigned to one and the same argument) and no single theta role is assigned to two or more arguments (no sentence may have two or more, say Agent NPs) then a one-to-one relation between arguments and theta roles is established in the theory.

*"Every argument is associated with one and only one position to which a theta-role is assigned, and every theta-role selected by a lexical head is associated with one and only one argument". (Atkinson 1992:87)*

## 2.7 Constituent-command and Government

Constituent-command and government are basic structural concepts, which are widely embraced in GB/PPT.

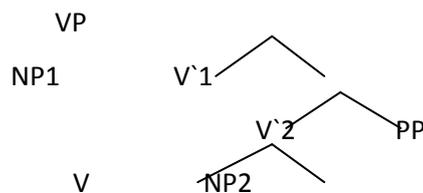
### 2.7.1 C-command.

There are three definitions of c-command:-

1. A node  $a$  c-commands a node  $\beta$  iff (i)  $a$  does not dominate  $\beta$  and (ii) the first branching node dominating  $a$  also dominates  $\beta$ .
2. A node  $a$  c-commands a node  $\beta$  iff (i)  $a$  does not dominate  $\beta$  and (ii) for every maximal projection  $Y$ , if  $Y$  dominates  $a$  then  $Y$  also dominates  $\beta$ .
3.  $a$  c-commands  $\beta$  iff every maximal projection dominating  $a$  dominates  $\beta$ .

For the sake of clarity, definition (1) will be distinguished from definitions (2) and (3) by referring to the former (1) as c-command and the latter (2/3) as maximal-command(hence m-command). The difference between the definitions (1) and (2/3) above can be illustrated by the ensuing simple configuration (note that the numeral subscripts are a purely notational means of distinguishing categories of the same type).

#### Diag.(3)



(Carnie,2002:89)

By definition (1), V node c-commands NP2 but not the PP node since the first branching node V'2 dominates V and NP2 nodes but not the PP node. By definition (2), V node m-commands NP1 and NP2 as well as PP since the maximal projection VP dominates these nodes.

## 2.7.2 Government

$a$  governs  $\beta$  iff

- (i)  $a$  c-commands  $\beta$ , and
- (ii)  $a$  is an  $X^0$ , i.e.  $a \in \{N, V, P, A\}$ , and
- (iii) Every maximal projection dominating  $\beta$  dominates  $a$  (Sells, 1985:40)

By (i)  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$ , by (ii)  $\alpha$  is a head and by (iii) no maximal projection intervenes between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , which is expressed in the literature as 'maximal projections are barriers to government'.

Government is basically restricted to sisterhood relation. The governing domain of  $V$  in Diagram (3) above is  $V^2$  and every node dominated by  $V^2$  projection. Since (i) above stipulates that c-command is a prerequisite for government command and not vice versa. The government affects that the maximal projection (Governing category) of the governor, and hence the governor itself, must be in a theta A-position as it is expressed by item (iii) of the definition below.

**In the structure [ X.....  $\alpha$ ..... Y.....  $\alpha$ ..... ] Y governs  $\alpha$  if and only if:**

- (i) Y c-commands  $\alpha$
- (ii) Every maximal projection X that  $\alpha$  contains Y as well.
- (iii) A more recent version of the definition of government is that by (Culicover, 1999)

### **Government**

$\alpha$  governs  $\beta$  if and only if:

- (i)  $\alpha$  is a head.
  - (ii)  $\alpha$  m-commands  $\beta$ .
  - (iii) There is no barrier Y between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$
- (Carnie, 2002:121)

## 2.8 Case Theory

Case exhibition is one of the parametric variations among languages, that is the same case can be tangible in one language and abstract in another language. Genitive case, for instance, is always suffixed to NP as  $-i$  in CA and has no realization in English and MSA. One and the same case may be expressed by different morphological realizations in different languages. Nominative  $-u$ , accusative  $-a$  and genitive  $-i$  are realized by suffixation in CA but realized by morphological change in English as in 'who', 'whom' and 'whose'. English in contrast to rich case system languages such as CA, expresses poor case lexicalization since it is restricted only to personal pronouns (e.g. I/me, he/him, she/her. etc). MSA, in which the rich

case realization of CA (unless emphasized) has been simplified, shows an impoverished case system somehow similar to that of English where only personal pronouns retain case distinction. This correlates with the fact that word order is restricted in MSA and free in CA (Bakir,1980). It is universally postulated that each NP must be assigned abstract case, whether the assigned case is lexicalized or not is a matter of a language-specific feature.

## **2.9.Binding**

Binding sub-theory is posited in the overall frame of PPT to account for binding relation between overt anaphoric expressions and their antecedents. In relative clauses, the binding relation holding between the antecedent head noun and the resumptive pronoun within the relative clause.

Binding and governing category are defined as follow:

$a$  binds  $\beta$  iff

- (i)  $a$  c-commands  $\beta$  and
- (ii)  $a$  and  $\beta$  are co-indexed.

Radford (1997) gives the following structural constraint on binding:

C-command Condition on Binding:

**"A bound constituent must be c-commanded by an appropriate antecedent".  
(Radford, 1997:78)**

Binding Theory classifies the referential dependency between a bound element and its antecedent into three subtypes:

- (a) necessarily referential (anaphoric)
- (b) possibly referential (pronominal)
- (c) not-referential (Referring-expressions)

#### **4.9.1. Binding Principles:**

##### **Principle A**

- (i) An anaphor must have an antecedent nearby.**
- (ii) An anaphor must be bound within the minimal finite clause containing it.**
- (iii) An anaphor must be bound in its governing category (Uriagereka , 1990:30)**

##### **Principle B**

- (i) A pronominal must not have an antecedent nearby**
- (ii) A pronominal must be free within the minimal finite clause containing it.**
- (iii) A pronominal must be free in its governing category. Uriagereka , 1990:31)**

##### **Principle C**

**“An R-expression must be A-free.” (Lasnik & Uriagereka , 1988:42)**

**“An R-expression must be A-free (within the domain of its operator)”. (Weibelhuth, 1995:79)**

Principle (Ai) stipulates that an anaphor must have a nearby antecedent and (Aii) stipulates that both anaphor and its antecedent must be clause-mates. Item (Aiii) defines the minimal clause, in which the anaphor and its governing antecedent must be located, as governing category. Items of Principle B stipulate the opposite, a pronominal, in contrast, to anaphor must not have a clause-mate antecedent and hence it must be free within its clause. Principle C, however, posits that R-expressions, which, recall, are names and noun phrases can never be bound. Since anaphor in virtue of principle A above must be bound within the same GC by a governing antecedent, on which it is dependent for its interpretation, it follows that an anaphor must show agreement with its antecedent in terms of the nominal features of gender, number and person; that is an anaphor and its binding antecedent must be co-indexed. Have an antecedent and being co-indexed with this antecedent, an anaphor is deemed bound by such an antecedent.

## Chapter Three

### Conjunctive Construction.

#### 3.1 Introduction

Arab Classical grammarians consider relative clause construction as a definite structure, and according to their modern advocates, conjunctive structure are those constructions in which either noun or verb in matrix sentence is conjoined to a following modifying subordinate clause as the following examples show:

1. rayi-tu l-fatat-a llati najaha-t saw-1sg def-girl -f-acc  
that(3fsg) passed-3fsg  
I saw the girl that passed the exam." "

(Rakas,2000:7)

2. man fatah-a l-baba sadiqi.  
Who opened-3msg def-door-acc friend-gen:poss  
"The one who opened the door is my friend."

(Rakas,2000:7)

The conjunctive construction, thus, is one that involves subordination . It consists of head noun 'the girl' or conjunctive or the head verb "opened' shown above. conjunctive pronoun called (allaḍi. that, man, who) conjunctive pronouns and conjunctive particles. and 'najaha-t' is connected to the relativizer ' alfatat'. The second example, conjunctive sentence is (who opened the door, fata-ha l-bab).

The relative marker ( allaḍi,)in the previous examples is called (l-`ism l-mwasuul l`xaas) ' the connected specific noun' and the connected particle (man) in the second case is called (l-`ism l-mwasuul l-a`am) . I will refer to them as conjunctive pronouns Arab grammarians discard the head-noun concept and they treat what they call conjunctive noun as a head noun. The term (l-mwasuul) 'connected' is in passive form is named the connected and function as a 'connector' . the important question in the Arab traditions is why the relativizer is called the connected rather than the connector especially when its function is to connect the head ,grammatical or semantic term is signed to the antecedent head noun by Arab classical grammarians with its modifying conjunctive sentence. The relative function of the conjunctive pronoun form them (1) the relativizer is not a mediator or conjoiner between the

head noun and the conjunctive sentence, and (2) it is not explicitly established in Arabic traditions, but rather it is the head noun of the structure, for this reason, the conjunctive pronoun for Arab grammarians is a nominal category that is connected to and modified by the immediately following conjunctive sentence. This is probably why the conjunctive pronoun which, recall, they classified as a noun is called the connected rather than the connector and this also justifies why Arab grammarians have neither semantic nor syntactic term for the head noun concept. Arab grammarians disregard of the head noun concept is also motivated by the rich agreement expressed by the specified conjunctive relativizer (allaḍi) set and its conjunctive sentences to the extent that even when the head noun is omitted its content is partly recoverable by virtue of the agreement necessarily holding between the conjunctive pronoun and the conjunctive sentence. More specifically, bonding between the relativizer and the verb embedded within the relative clause.

### 3.2 Conjunctives:

Arab classical grammarians have recognized two types of conjunctives: conjunctive particles and conjunctive relativizer. They also classified conjunctive relativizer into two types; the first type is called (Xaaasah )"specified" and the second type is called (aamah) "common". Both relativizers types are classified by Arab classical grammarians as nouns. We shall call the first relativizer and the later as relative pronouns. The former is called specified because they display gender and number but not person, agreement ,with the clause finite verb . Case inflection is expressed on the dual structure. The later does not display agreement other than animacy. Each pronoun is having one and the same form with its reference being contextually determined (see examples below).

Another distinction between specified and common conjunctive pronouns is that specified may be used adjectivally (with a head noun) as in (4) or substantively (without head noun) as in (5). Common conjunctive pronouns are always used substantively as in (3) an never adjectivally as in (7).

3. jaa`-a            man        xaraj-a/t/aa/taa/uu/na        mina        l-bayt-i  
 came-3msg        who        went out-3msg/3fsg/dlm/dlf/plm/plf        from        deg- home-gen  
 "The one(s) who went out of home came".

(Al Rajihi,2008:27)

4. safar-a ar-rajul-u llaḍi mat-a abuuḥ-u  
 travelled-3msg def- man-nom that (msg) died-3msg father-nom: poss  
 "The man that his father died travelled."

(Al Rajihi,2008:28)

5. safar-a llaḍi mat-a abuuḥ-u  
 travel-3msg that (msg) died-3msg father-nom: poss  
 " he that his father died, travelled."

(Al Rajihi,2008:29)

6. jaa`-a llaḍi xaraj-a mina l-bayt-i  
 came-3msg that-3msg went out-3msg from deg- home-gen  
 "The one(m) who went out of home came".

(Al Rajihi,2008:29)

The reference of the common conjunctive" man/who" (in 3) is specified by virtue of the subject agreement inflection marked on the verb. The examples (3 and 6 ) share the same interpretation if the reference of the common conjunctive pronoun in the former example is specified as 3msg, which is identical to the agreement features borne by the specified conjunctive pronoun in the latter example.

Thus, the conjunctive pronoun, either specified or common, is restricted to the external world in virtue of its immediately following modifying conjunctive sentence, i.e.( the silah, table 1) below expresses the relation between conjunctive pronouns and their antecedent in terms of agreement and co-occurrence.

Table( 1)

Specified		Common
Agreement with antecedent in terms of gender and number		No agreement with antecedent
Substantive	Adjectival	Substantive
No explicit antecedent	Explicit antecedent	No explicit antecedent

(Rakas,2000:18)

### 3.3 Specified Conjunctive pronouns

Specified conjunctive pronouns are specified in regard to certain grammatical categories, namely, gender, number and case with the last category being marked only on dual. There are nine specified conjunctive pronouns singled out by classical and modern Arab grammarians, what follows is a detailed description of specified pronouns.

a. (allaḍi) This pronoun specifies as singular masculine noun, either animate or inanimate.

7. L- walad-u           llaḍi           haddath-an-i           a`jab-a-ni  
def-Boy-nom   that(3msg)   spoke-3msg-1sg   impress-3msg-1sgm/f  
"the boy that spoke to me impressed me"

8. L- his-an-u           llaḍi           ishtaray-tu-hu           mat-a   def-horse-nom  
that(msg)   bought-1sg-3msg           died-3msg  
"the horse that I bought died".

(Rakas,2000:18)

b. (allati) indicates that the antecedent is a singular feminine noun, either animate or inanimate.

9. qawla   allati           tujaadilu-ka           fi   zawj-i-ha  
saying   that(fsg)   disputing(fsg)-2msg   in   husband-gen-3fsg:poss  
"The saying of the one (f) who was disputing with you concerning her husband."

(Al Mujadilah:1)

c. (allaḍani) designates a dual nominative and masculine, animate or inanimate head noun.

10. `ajab-ani           l-kitaabaani           llaḍani           ishtaray-tu-humaa  
impressed-3msg-1sg   def-book-(mdl:nom)   that(mdl:poss)   bought-1sg-dl  
"the two books that I bought them impressed me"

(Rakas,2000:20)

d. (allaḍayni) designates accusative\genitive dual masculine, animate or inanimate.

11. rabba-na           `ari-na           llaḍyani           `adhll-aa-na           min  
God-pl1:poss   show-us   that(mdl:poss)   beguiled-mdl-1pl   from  
`aj-jinn-i   wa   l-`ins-i  
def-jinn-gen   and   def-mankind-gen  
"Our Lord! Show us those two that beguiled us of the Jin and man"(Fusselat:29)

e. (allatani) designates nominative dual feminine animate or inanimate.

12. jaa`-at            l-fatataani            allataani            faaza-taa  
Came-3fsg    def-girl(fdl:nom)    that(fdl:nom)    won-fdl  
"the two girls that won, came."  
(Rakas,2000:22)

f. (allatayni) indicates accusative/genitive dual feminine, animate or inanimate.

13. rayi-tu            l-fatatyani            llatayani            najah-at-a  
saw-1fsg    def-girl(fdl:acc)    that(fdl:acc)    passed-fdl  
'I saw the two girls that passed"  
(Rakas,2000:21)

By virtue of its case inflection, CA shows full agreement between the antecedent and the conjunctive pronouns in the dual number, where the case agreement is morphologically marked( *aani* for nom. *ayni* for acc and gen) as( italicized) in the following examples:-

14. mata            r-rajul-a-ni            llaḍaani            haajam-hu-maa            `asad-un  
died-3msg    def-man(mdl:nom)    that(mdl:nom)    attacked-mdl    lion-IN  
"the two men that a lion attacked them died."(nom, masculine)  
(Al Nabi,2004:63)

15. sa`a-lt-u            r-raju-layni            llaḍayni            qaabal-aa            axx-i.  
ask-1sg    def-man(mdl:acc)    that(mdl:acc)    met-3msg    brother-acc:poss  
"I asked the two men that met my brother."(acc, masculine)  
(Al Nabi,2004:63)

16. jaa`a-t            l-tal-ibt-aan-i            llattaani            tarad-ta-humaa.  
came-3msg    def-student(fdl:nom)    that(fdl:nom)    dismissed-2msg-dl  
"the two female students that you dismissed them came."(nom, feminine)  
(Al Nabi,2004:64)

17. akram-tu            t-taalibatayni            llatyani            najh-at-aa  
honoured-1sg    def-student(fdl:acc)    that(fdl:acc)    passed-fdl  
"I honoured the two female students that passed."(acc, feminine)  
(Hassan,2013:79)

18. hazina            `ala r-rajulayni            llaḍayni            qatal-a-huma            `asad-un  
grieved-3msg    on def-man(mdl:gen)    that(mdl:gen)    killed-3msg-dl    lion-IN  
"He grieved for the two men that the lion killed them.(gen, masculine)  
(Hassan,2013:79)

Notice that (nom\acc) case is governed by the main verb of the matrix sentence and not by the embedded verb as shown in examples (15) and (17)

The head nouns in these examples are subject arguments of the main verbs, and the object arguments of the embedded verbs.. The same relation between the grammatical function of head noun in a relative construction and case marking holds for examples (14) and (16) in which the head nouns are subject arguments of the main verbs and object arguments of the embedded verbs, and the conjunctive pronouns display nominative case.

- g.** (ʿalʿullaa(i)) indicates both masculine and feminine (in)animate plural and (allaai) indicates feminine (in)animate plural (see Hassan, 1964) These forms are exclusively restricted to CA and unknown to MSA :

19. akram-tu            ʿalʿullaa(ʿi)            haajar-uu/na            fi            talab-i  
 honoured-1sg        that(m/fpl)            migrated-3mpl-3fpl    in        seeking-gen  
 l-ʿilm-i  
 def- knowledge-gen  
 "I honored those that migrated to seek knowledge".

(Rakas,2000:23)

- h.** (ʿallaḍiina) expresses a nominative accusative or genitive, human masculine plural reference

20. wa    laa    ta-hsbanna        llaḍiina        qutil-u        fi        sabil-i        llah-i  
 and    not    think-2msg        that(mpl)        slained-3mpl    in        way-gen        God –gen  
 ʿamwaat-an.....(Al Imran:169)

dead-IA.....

"Think not of those that are slained in the way of God as dead....."(accusative)

21. inna    llaḍina        ishtar-uu        l-kufr-a        bi        l-iimaani  
 that    that(mpl)        purchased-3mpl    def-disbelief-acc    with    def-faith-gen  
 "that those that purchased disbelief at the price of faith".(nominative )

(Al Imran:177)

22. wa yaj'alu r-rijsa ala llaḏina laa ya'qiluuna  
 and set(3msg) def-uncleanness on that(mpl) not sense(3mpl)  
 "and he sets uncleanness on those that do not sense." (genitive)  
 (Yunus,100)

It should be pointed out that both CA and MSA restrict the three-fold nominative-accusative-genitive conjunctive "*allaḏina*" to human masculine plural nouns. The plural of human masculine nouns can be either "*jam' saalim*" sound plural or "*jam' taksiir*" broken plural. Sound plurals suffix plural markers to the singular or base form. In other words, sound plurals always retain their singular base form (italicized in 23 below), to which plural markers (underlined>) are suffixed. Broken plurals do not form their plural by suffixation but by changing the shape of the stem. Broken plurals behave differently from sound plurals in terms of agreement. However, if the human masculine noun is a broken plural (see 24 below), in contrast to sound plural (see 23 above), the modifying conjunctive pronoun and/or the verbal complement may assume either the masculine plural "*allaḏiina*" or (classically motivated) feminine singular "*allati*". As shown by (24) below. Non-human masculine or feminine plural nouns, either sound or broken, select only the feminine singular pronoun, i.e. "*allati*".

23. Human masculine sound plural.

- (i) *Almu' alim-u/a/i* allaḏi .....  
 Teacher(m) that(nom/acc/gen)  
 The male teacher that.....
- (ii) *Almu alim'-uuna* allaḏiina.....  
 Teachers(mpl) that  
 The male teachers that.....
- (iii) *Almu alim-iina* allaḏiina.....  
 Teachers(mpl) that  
 The male teachers that.....

(Rakas,2000:23)

24. Human masculine broken plural

- (i) ar-rajul/u/a/i            allaḍi.....  
 Man(nom/acc/gen)        that(msg)  
 The man that
- (ii) ar-rijaal/u/a/i            allaḍina.....  
 Men(nom/acc/gen)        that(mpl)  
 The men that
- (iii) \*arrijaalu/a/i    allati.....  
 Men                    that  
 The men that

(Rakas,2000:23)

i. (allaati/ allawaati) are variants for feminine human plural nouns.

25. ray'i-na    llaati/lawaati    fuz-na    fi    ḷ'-mu-sa-baq-a  
 saw-1pl        that(3fsg)            won-3fpl    in        def- competition-gen  
 "we saw those that won the competition."

Table (2)

	- PL	+PL		+ DL	
		+Human	- Human	+ NOM	-NOM
+F	allati	Allaai/alulaai		allataani	allatayani
		Alullai/allaati			
		Alawaati/allati	allati		
-F	allaḍi	allaḍina allulaai	allati	allaḍaani	allaḍayani

(Rakas,2000:26)

### 3.4 Common conjunctive pronouns :

Each common conjunctive pronoun has only one and the same form, whose reference is determined by a referring pronoun or some other indicative evidence contained in the qualifying conjunctive sentence. There are six common conjunctive pronouns in classical Arabic traditions, of which only two are widely adapted in MSA.

These two conjunctive pronouns are *man* (whoever) and *maa* (whatever). The first refers to [+ human] nouns and the second to all other objects, either animate or inanimate. Common conjunctive pronouns differ from specified conjunctive pronouns in never being used adjectivally but always substantively . A common conjunctive pronoun is semantically ambiguous between the specified reading, i.e. *man* " the one who", *maa* "the thing which" and the non-specified reading, i.e. *man* "whoever" and *maa* "whatever. So a sentence like (26) can have the two interpretations shown:

26. sa-a`ara man saa'ad-ta-hu  
will see-1sg who helped-2sg-3msg  
"I will see the one who (m) you helped."  
(Omar,1996:52)

To clear the ambiguity of whether common conjunctive pronouns are specified or non specified in their reference, the non-specified use is often indicated by a pre-nominal quantifier such as "*kulu*, every, all, each , *badhu*, some, *modhmu*, most" The quantifier inflected for case, immediately precedes and is in construct relation with the pronoun.

27. Sa-aara kulla man sa-ata  
See all who help  
I will see all those you helped.  
(Omar,1996:52)

A non-specified use of common conjunctive pronouns is called "*nakira mawsuufa*" "modified indefiniteness"(28i) or "*nakira tammah*" " absolute indefiniteness" (28ii) by classical Arab grammarians. In this case the conjunctive *man* indicates "someone, who " and *maa* indicates "something, which". Modified and absolute indefiniteness cannot be replaced by specified conjunctive pronouns but can be replaced by indefinite noun phrases such as "*insaana*" a mankind for *man* and "*shayan*" a thing for *maa* as shown by (28) and (29) below:

28. (i) rubba man/insaanin mujabu bika yussaaduka  
May who/man impress you help  
Someone whom impressed you may help you.

(ii) rubba man/insaanin qabalna  
May who/man meet  
Someone may met us.  
(Omar,1996:53)

29. Rubba maa/shayan yugharidu  
May what/thing sing  
Something which seems singing.  
(Omar,1996:53)

When used as absolute indefiniteness, *man* and *maa* are regarded by some grammarians as being some sort of particles, which have nothing at all to do with conjunctive constructions.

The six common conjunctive pronouns postulated within the classical framework are:

- (i) "*man*" "the one who/whoever, anyone who."
- (ii) "*maa*" "the thing which/whatever, anything which."
- (iii) "*thuu*" "that"
- (iv) "*thaa*" "that"
- (v) "*ayy*" "who/which "
- (vi) "*al*" "the"

The following is a detailed exposition of each conjunctive pronoun:

- a. *Man*: designates a human noun, as illustrated by the following example.

30. Saatu man sakata  
Help who fall  
I helped the one who fell.  
(Rakas,2000:28)

**b.** *Maa*: is restricted to non-human, animate or inanimate objects.

31. Afadani maa qaratuhu.

Benefit what read

The thing which I read benefited me.

(Rakas,2000:30)

**c.** *Thuu*: classical Arab grammarians regard this conjunctive pronoun as indeclinable, while others give declined nominative, accusative and genitive forms, namely *thuu,tha* and *thii*, respectively.

32. Wa biri thuu hafart-u wa thuu tawaytu.

And well that dug and that case.

And this is my well which I dug and which I cased.

**d.** (Rakas,2000:31)

**e.** *Thaa*: this common conjunctive pronoun is non-specified for gender and number. Arab traditional grammarians have often claimed that although this pronoun is essentially a demonstrative article it may also be used a conjunctive pronoun, provided that three conditions as follows:

(i) The conjunctive pronoun must be immediately preceded by either of the interrogatives (*man.who*) or (*maa, what*) the former indicates human and latter indicates non-human reference.

33. Fa man thaa yuazii alhazina

Than who that console grieved

Then, who is the one that console the grieved?

(Rakas,2000:32)

34. Maa thaa ba-athtuhu

What that send

What is the thing that you sent?

(Rakas,2000:32)

(ii) The preceding interrogative must have an independent status in the sense that it must not be incorporated with the adjacent conjunctive as otherwise the result will be a compound interrogative word such as:-

35. Manthaa al qadem?

Who coming

Who is the coming one?

36. maathaa s-suhunu attairatu?

What plates flying

What are the flying objects?

(Rakas,2000:32)

(iii) The conjunctive must be kept distinct from the identical form of the demonstrative article thaa, which is always followed by a modifying definite noun regardless of gender and number.

37. Man thaa alrrawi?

Who this narrator

Who is this narrator?

38. Maa thaa alinser?

What this element

What is this element?

(Rakas,2000:33)

**f.** *Ayy:* is a common conjunctive for human/non-human, singular or plural noun. It may have different, contextually determined, references in the sense that it may have a relative reference, e.g. any of us/you/them who, "whoever", or it may have an interrogative reference, e.g. who/which of us/you/them. Three case inflections can be suffixed, namely –u for nominative, -a for accusative and -i or genitive case. Thus, this conjunctive pronoun differs from other common conjunctive pronouns in being inflected in regard to case and gender but has neither dual nor plural form. Under certain conditions it is deemed to be indeclinable and is always marked by a default nominative marker /u/. Absence of one or two of the following three conditions renders the conjunctive inflectional. These conditions are:

- (i) When this conjunctive pronoun is suffixed by a bound pronoun which reflects the gender and number of the head noun, the conjunctive and the bound pronoun form a construct phrase, in which it is always assigned the default nominative case marker /u/:

1. "ayy-u-na"  
Which (which of us)
2. "ayy-u-naa"  
Which (which of the two of us)
3. "ayy-u-kum"  
Which (which of you)
4. "ayy-u-kunna"  
Which (which of you)
5. "ayy-u-kumaa"  
Which (which of the two of you)
6. "ayy-u-hum"  
Which (which of them)
7. "ayy-u-hunna"  
Which (which of them)
8. "ayy-u-humaa"  
Which(which of the two of them)

(Rakas,2000:35)

Thus, the conjunctive "ayy" and the suffixed bound pronoun are said to be in "idafa construct" relation. When the pronoun is not suffixed, the conjunctive pronoun shows the case inflection indicated above (ayy-u/a/i)

(ii) When the conjunctive pronoun has a qualifying nominal sentence as a silah (conjunctive sentence)

(iii) When the subject of the qualifying nominal sentence, which is often a free pronoun (he, she, they, etc), is omitted. The following Quranic text shows the three required conditions.

39. Thumma la-nanzi`anna min kull-i shii`at-in ayy-u-hum *ashaddu ala*  
Then will pluck out from every sect who most stubborn on  
*arrahmaani itiiyan*(Maryam: 69 )  
beneficent rebellion

"Then we definitely shall pluck out from every sect whoever of them is most stubborn in rebellion to the beneficent"

To meet requirement (i) the conjunctive "*ayy*" who is in an annexed relation to the suffixed pronoun *hum*. With regard to requirement (ii), the conjunctive pronoun is modified by nominal conjunctive sentence (italicized above) whose subject is the empty pronoun equivalent to *huwa* "he" .i.e.

"*ayy-u-hum ashaddu*" = "*ayy-u-hum huwa ashaddu*"

Who most stubborn = who he most stubborn.

Who of them is most stubborn = who of them he is most stubborn

By virtue of requirement (iii), the subject pronoun of the (italicized) *silah* is omitted and the conjunctive pronoun is marked by default nominative marker *-u/* for all cases (see 40-42 below)

40. *Sa-yanjahu ayy-u-hum mujtahidu-n*

Pass whoever hard worker

Whoever of them is a hard worker will pass.[NOM]

(Rakas,2000:37)

41. *Sa- ahtarimu ayy-u-hum mujtahid-un*

Respect whoever hard worker

I will respect whoever of them is a hard worker.[ACC]

(Rakas,2000:37)

42. *Sa abathu ila ayy-u-hum mujtahidin*

Send to whoever hard worker

I will send to whoever of them is a hard worker.[GEN]

(Rakas,2000:37)

The constructions, (40) to (42) meet the preconditioned requirements, which render the conjunctive pronoun indeclinable. They express different cases but the conjunctive , namely, *ayy-u* is always marked for the default nominative case.

- g.** "al": The article "al" "the" is called "*addatu attariif*" the definition instrument. Though, putatively designated for definiteness, it is regarded by some Arab grammarians in certain contexts as a common conjunctive pronoun. There is serious disagreement among Arab classical grammarians in regard to the grammatical function of this article. At one extreme, some grammarians regard it as a true conjunctive pronoun. Others consider it to be a conjunctive particle and at the other extreme another group view this article as an absolute definite article with no relevance, whatsoever, to conjunctivity. Advocates of the first attitude have stipulated that for this article to function as a conjunctive pronoun it

must be prefixed to an overt adjective which stands as its modifying conjunctive sentence. They define overt adjective as being an absolute adjectival form, which is neither nominal nor superlative. A nominal adjectival form is predominantly recognized as a noun for example the forms *al-araj* "the lame" and *al-awar* "the one-eyed" are realized as nouns rather than adjectives. Superlative forms are *al alaa* " the most mighty" *al-afdal* " the best". Overt is a broad term that comprises three verbal derivatives, namely, "ism al-faal, the active participle" " ism al-mafuul, the passive participle" and "assifa al-mushaabaah, the individual predicate".(Hassan 1968:53)

### 3.5 The conjunctive sentence (the *Silah*)

Even though all specified conjunctive pronouns are contextually specified in terms of gender and number, but are still unspecified in relation to their reference in the external world, which is supposedly known to the speaker and the hearer. Their specified reference is determined by the information given in the immediately following conjunctive sentence. Since the conjunctive pronoun and its modified head noun share the same grammatical features, the conjunctive sentence (*qutil-a abuu-hu*) " his father was killed" in (40) also limits the reference of the grammatically definite head noun (*al- walad-u*) " the boy" to the set of boys whose fathers were killed.

40. maata                    l-walad-u                    llaḍi*qutil-a*                    *abuu-hu*  
 died 3 msg        def-boy-nom        that(msg)        killed -3msg        father-3msg: poss  
 " the boy that his father was killed, died."

(Rakas,2000:56)

The specified pronoun *Allaḍi* in (40) above is specified in terms of gender and number but not in person, as masculine singular and its reference to the external world is determined by the italicized modifying conjunctive sentence.

Arab traditional grammarians laid down set of principles for conjunctive sentence. These principles are outlined in the following six statement and they are discussed in some details:-

### Principle I

A conjunctive sentence qualifying a conjunctive pronoun must be either a prototypical sentence or a semi-sentence which known among Arab grammarians as (*jumla and shibh-jumla*)

#### 3.5.1 Prototypical Sentence

A prototypical sentence, which is the source of the semi-sentence, can be a verbal or nominal sentence, and it can stand as a complete sentence if used on its own.

##### 1. Verbal sentence

A verbal sentence is always introduced by a verb inflected for aspect, tense, mood and gender but not for number. Unless the subject is not overtly expressed. A syntactic principle stipulated by Arab classical grammarians is that. If the pronominal subject follows the verb (VSO), it is deemed a (*fa`ail*) " the doer" and if the subject precedes the verb (SVO) it is deemed a (*mubtada*) "a necessarily pronominal element that initiates the sentence"(hence initiator) which, regardless of its function, always assumes the nominative case.

This principle forced Arab classical grammarians to consider the agreement marker suffixed to the verb in pro-drop sentence to be (*fa`ail*) " the doer ". thus, the nominal phrase is called (*mubtada*) "initiator" in the SVO order and (*fa`ail*) in VSO. The verb is called (*xabar*) " predicate/comment) in the first order (SVO) and (*fi`l*)" verb" in the second order (VSO).

Compare the (VSO) example (41) below, where the subject is overtly expressed with that of (42), where the subject is lexically suppressed. Example (43) is a typical (SVO) order, where the subject " the initiator" must assume the nominative case and the verb must show full agreement with its subject.

41. yashtar-i/Ishtar-a	arajul-u	s-saiyr-a
buy-3msg/bought (3msg)	def-man-nom	def-car- acc
" the man buys/ bought the car."		



always corresponds to VSO order. The normal sentence can be either an VSO sentence or VSO that starts with some, usually prepositional or (*darf*) time/place adverbial, noun phrase. In example (45) below, the sentence has VSO order, but, according to Arabic traditional terminology is classified as a nominal sentence for being introduced by a noun phrase.

45. ash-shu`araa`-u            yattabi`uhumu            l-ghaawuuna  
 def-poets-nom            follow (3msg)3mpl            def-inconsiderates (nom)  
 " the poets follow them the inconsiderates"

(Ash-shuara: )

### 3.5.2 The semi-sentence

A semi-sentence is a constituent of a prototypical sentence. It can be a prepositional phrase (*darf*-phrase) or an overt adjective.

#### Principle II

A conjunctive sentence must display a bound pronoun called (*ad-dmiir l-aaid*) " the returning pronoun " by Arab grammarians {and are commonly called respective/resumptive pronoun in the western linguistic tradition }

The returning pronoun must be identical with the conjunctive pronoun in terms of gender and number and is expressed in three possible inflections, namely, nominative, accusative and genitive. (Abda,1988)

(a) In the nominative case, the returning pronoun is a tacit, i.e. empty subject pronoun position termed (*damiir mustatir*) "tacit pronoun" by Arab grammarians, which is recoverable from the agreement features borne by the bound pronoun affixed to the verb. The recoverability process of the tacit free subject pronoun is left to (*taqdiir*)"estimation" in the sense that the implicit returning pronoun is estimated in virtue of the affixed agreement morpheme .i.e. *-a* in (46) below, for example, can be interpreted only as third masculine singular.

46. al-walad-u            llaði            huwa            ja`a  
 def-boy-nom            that (msg)            he            came-3msg  
 "the boy that he came"

(b) In the accusative and genitive cases, the overt anaphoric necessarily bound pronoun (*italicized in examples 8 and 9 below*) is suffixed to the embedded verb in the accusative case (47), and affixed either to the preposition or the noun in the genitive case as shown by (48) below. The resumptive pronoun refers back to and agrees with the accusative or genitive antecedent head noun, which might be explicit or covert.

47. allaḍiina          aaty-nu-*hum*          l-kitaab-a  
 that (mpl)          brought-1pl-3mpl      def-book-acc  
 "those that we brought them the scripture"  
 (Al Baqarah:121)

48. aaman-a                  r-rasul-u                  bi      maa      unzil-a      ilay-*hi*      min  
 believed-3msg      def-prophet-nom      with      what      revealed      to-3msg      from  
 rabb-i-*hi*  
 God-gen-3msg:poss  
 "the prophet believed in what had been revealed to him by his God". (gen)  
 (Al Baqarah:285)

### Principle III

The conjunctive pronoun and the conjunctive sentence must be adjacent. In violation of this principle some marked conjunctive constructions show that the supposedly adjacent conjunctive pronoun and its conjunctive sentence may be separated by oathic, vocative, intrusive words or parenthetical clause, respectively exemplified (*italicized*) below.

49. quḍim-a                  llaḍi                  wa-*llahi*                  qahar-a                  l-a`daa`-a  
 came-3msg      that-3msg      and God      vanquished-3msg      def-enemies-acc  
 "the one that, by God, vanquished the enemies came"

50. anta                  llaḍi                  *yaa-amr*                  tar`aa                  s-sadaqa-t-a  
 You      that-msg      O-Amr      cherish-2msg      def-friendship-f-acc  
 "O Amr, indeed, it is you that cherishes the friendship"  
 (*Yaa* is a second person vocative pronoun)

51. *waalid-i*            *llaði*                    *ataal-a*                    *llah-u*    *umr-a-hu*  
 father-1sg:poss    that –msg            prolonged-3msg            God    life-acc-3msg  
*yar`aa-ni*  
 care-3msg-1sg

"my father that, May God prolong his life. Looks after me"

(Rakas,2000:30)

### Principle IV

Neither the whole conjunctive sentence (53i) nor any of its constituents (53ii-iii) can precedes the conjunctive pronoun. This principle seems to be well established, as it cannot be violated under any circumstances.

52. *ar-rajul-u*            *llaði*            *da`aw-tu-hu*            *ila*            *l-hafl-I*            *jaa`a*  
 def-man-nom    that-msg    invited-1sg-3msg    to    def-party-gen    came-3msg  
*mubakiran*  
 early  
 "the man that I invited to the party came early."

53. (i) \* *llaði*            *ar-rajul-u*            *da`aw-tu-hu*            *ila*            *l-hafl-I*  
           that-msg    def-man-nom    invited-1sg-3msg    to    def-party-gen  
           *jaa`a*                            *mubakiran*  
           came-3msg                    early

"the man I invited him to the party that came early"

(ii) \* *ar-rajul-u*            *da`aw-tu-hu*                    *llaði*            *ila*            *l-hafl-I*  
           def-man-nom            invited-1sg-3msg            that-msg    to    def-party-gen  
           *jaa`a*                            *mubakiran*  
           came-3msg                    early

"the man I invited    him    that    to the party came early"

(iii) \* ar-rajul-u      ila      l-hafl-I      llaḍi      da`aw-tu-hu  
 def-man-nom      to      def-party-gen      that-msg      invited-1sg-3msg  
 jaa`a      mubakiran  
 came-3msg      early

"the man to the party that I invited him came early"

(Rakas,2000:31)

### Principle V

A conjunctive sentence must be an informative verifiable statement, that is, logically a conjunctive sentence must be a preposition. Non verifiable constructions such as requestive statements are deemed inappropriate as conjunctive sentence.

Requesting and demanding statements are those, which express, for example, imperative, interditive, vocative, invocative, interrogative and optative mood. Expressive statements may express exclamation eulogy, dispraise and oath.

54. \* ar-rajul-u      llaḍi      hal      ta`arif-u      ism-a-hu?  
 def-man-nom      that-msg      Q      know-2msg      name-acc-3msg:poss  
 ja`a      mubakiran  
 came-3msg      early

" the man that do you know his name? cane early"

Arabic grammarians point out that the conjunctive pronoun, either specified or common, can be modified by a conditional conjunctive sentence.

55. ar-jul-u      llaḍi      in      zur-ta-hu  
 def-man-nom      that msg      if      visited-2msg-3msg  
 akram-ak/yukrimu-ka  
 entertained-2msg-3msg /entertains-(2msg)-2msg

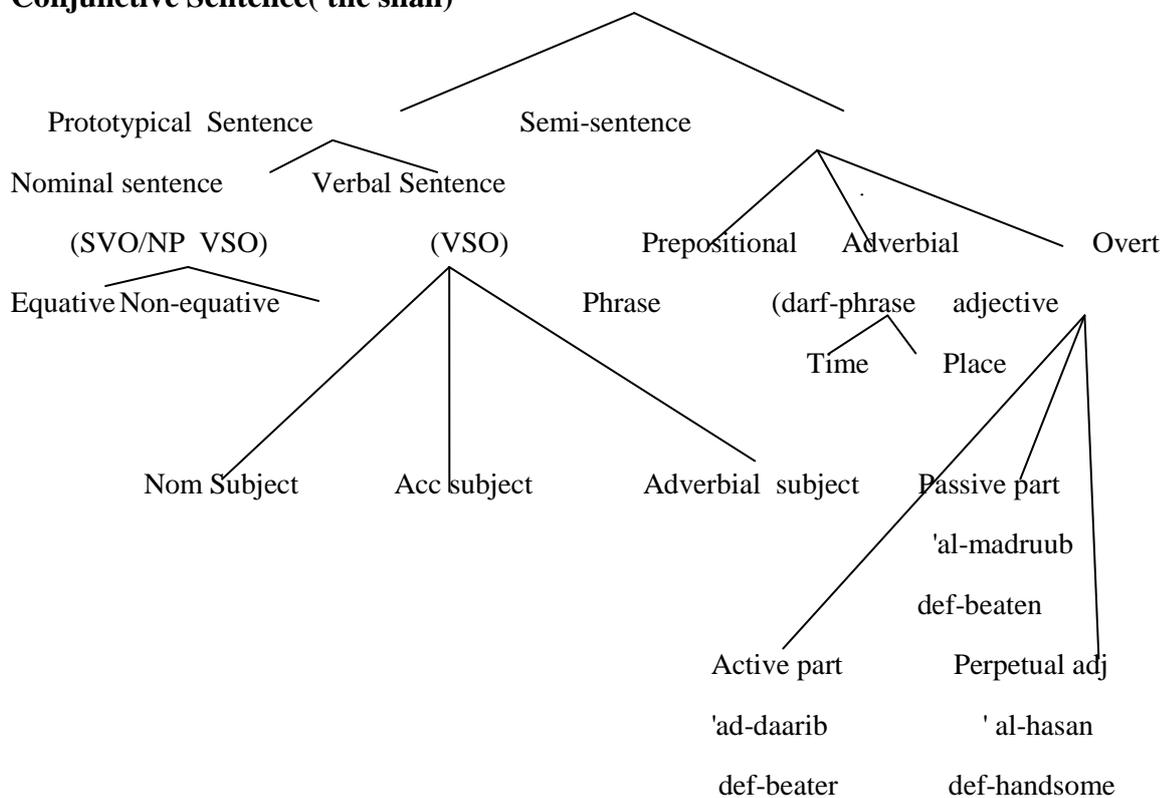
"the man that if you visited him, entertained/entertains you"

## Principle VI

The semantic content of the conjunctive must be known beforehand to both the speaker and the hearer. This is more of pragmatic rather than a syntactic principle. The following diagram summarize the different types of conjunctive sentence according to traditional description.

### Diag (4) Conjunctive sentence

#### Conjunctive Sentence( the silah)



(Rakas,2000:48)

### 3.6 The Returning Pronoun

It has been stressed that a modifying conjunctive sentence necessarily displays a returning pronoun. Some grammarians claims that returning pronoun omission is eloquently preferred. According to Arab grammarians, the returning pronoun may exhibit the following case-bound distribution.

**a. Distribution I [ Nominative Case]**

Arabic shows two types of nominative (subject) returning pronoun, namely, free subject pronouns (i.e. I, you, she, he) and verb-bound subject inflection markings. The former type are often, not always dropped. The latter type is always contained in the embedded verb as its (doer) and necessarily reflecting gender and number agreement with the conjunctive pronoun. The returning pronoun is the subject agreement marker itself. Occurrence of bound pronoun without free pronoun (56) is normal, cooccurrence of both pronouns (57) express a marked emphasis construction and occurrence of free pronoun without bound pronoun (58) is impossible as shown by the following respective paradigms.

56. ar-rajul-u            llaḍi            jaa`-a            mubakarín  
def-man-nom    that-(msg)    came-3msg    early  
" the man that came early"

57. ar-rajul-u            llaḍi            ??huwa            jaa`-a            mubakarín  
def-man-nom    that- (msg)    he            came-3msg    early  
" the man that he came early"

58. \* ar-rajul-u            llaḍi            huwa            jaa`-a            mubakarín  
def-man-nom    that- (msg)    he            came-3msg    early  
" the man that he came early"  
(Rakas,2000:56)

**" the apparent number inflection in the nominal non-equative sentence is, in fact, a realization of a pronoun in the nominative case, that Arabic verbs are thus not inflected of number." Anshen and Schrieder (1968:95)**

**" the subject agreement marker suffixed to the verb, for Arab grammarians, is a pronominal (doer) and for it is a case number". (Anshen and Schrieder, 1968:98)**

**a. Distribution II (Accusative Case)**

In this case the returning pronoun is expressed as a bound pronoun, which is always appended to the embedded verb as its object complement, Quranic texts exhibit a possibility of returning pronoun omission when it is suffixed to both perfect and imperfect verbs as shown by (59 and 60)

59. (i) *ḍar-ni* wa man xalaq-tu-*hu* wahiid-an

leave-1sg and who created-1sg-(3msg) alone-IA

"lit: Leave me and the one I created lonely."

"leave me (to deal ) with him who(m) I created lonely."

(ii) *ḍar-ni* wa man xalaq-tu wahiid-an

leave-1sg and who created-1sg alone-IA

"leave me and the one who I created lonely."

(AlMudaththir:11)

60. (i) Wa la-kum fi-haa maa tashtahi-*hi* anfus-u-kum

and to-impl 2 in-3fsg what desire (f)-3msg souls-nom-2mpl:poss

"there (in heavens) you will have all that your souls desire it'

(ii) Wa la-kum fi-haa maa tashtahi- anfus-u-kum

and to-impl 2 in-3fsg what desire (f)-3msg souls-nom-2mpl:poss

"there (in heavens) you will have all that your souls desire "

(Fusselat:31)

In the unmarked case, the omitted pronoun is supposed to be suffixed to the verb as demonstrated by the italicized pronouns *-hu* in (59 i) and *-hi* in (60i) above. The accusative bound pronoun (italicized in 61i) is mutually exclusive with the exclusively CA free accusative pronoun (italicized in 61ii) as shown by the ungrammaticality of (61iii) below. The free accusative pronoun can be decomposed into the invariable case assignor "*iyyaa*" and the enclitic pronoun *-ha* "fsg". The free accusative pronoun complex occurs only in V (not P or N) complement position.

61.(i) hiyya allati nahtarimu-*ha*

she that (fsg) respect-1pl-3fsg

"she that we respect her" (bound accusative pronoun)

(ii) hiyya allati nahtarimu *iyyaa-ha*

she that (fsg) respect-(1pl) 3fsg- acc

"she that we respect her" (free accusative pronoun"

(iii)\* hiyya allati nahtarimu-*ha* iyyaa-*ha*  
 she that (fsg) respect-1pl-3fsg 3fsg- acc  
 " she that we respect her her'

(Rakas,2000:35)

### b. Distribution III ( Genitive Case)

The returning pronoun can also be expressed by a bound pronoun suffixed to nouns in the possessive genitive case (the construct phrase) and to prepositions to indicative other genitive and dative cases. Dative case is always expressed by the governing (case assignor) "l` to"

62. at-taalib-u llaḍi ba`ath-tu r-risaala-ta ilay-hi/la-hu  
 def-student-nom that (msg) sent-1sg def-letter-acc to-3msg  
 " the student that I sent the letter to him"

(63), is an example of the anaphoric possessive case where the pronoun (italicized) is always suffixed to the possessed noun. the phonetic form of the pronoun as "him/hum". i.e. by vowel harmony, is determined by the phonetic of the preceding morphological case marker.

63. Fi llaḍiina fi qulub-i-*him* marad-un wa  
 To that (mpl) in hearts-gen-3mpl:poss disease- IN  
 and

l-qaasiya-t-i qulub-u-*hum*

def-hardened-f-gen hearts-nom-3mp:poss  
 " for those that their hearts are diseased and (those that) their hearts are hardened"

(Al Hajj,53)

The returning pronoun omission is a characteristic of CA and used in MSA only to comply with the classical model. The examples and discussions below illustrate contexts in which genitive returning pronoun is deemed omissible.

(i) If the returning pronoun is governed by active or passive particle forms based on the (*fa`ail and maf`uul*) paradigms respectively, the genitive suffix may be omitted. This kind of government is a sub-type of the (*idaafa*) construct relation. The omitted pronoun in example (64) below is supposedly annexed to the active particle .i.e. *qaadi-hi* (decreeing it)

64. fa-qdii            maa            anta            qaad-in

then-decree    what/which    you    decreeing (a-part) IG  
"then decree what you are decreeing"

(Taha:72)

The perfect /imperfect aspect marker is suffixed to the active or passive particle as –u in the nominative case and –a in the accusative case as exemplified by (65) and (66)(Hassan,1964)

65. jaa`-a            llaḍi            `anaa            akaarim-u-(hu)

came-3msg        that (msg)        I            host-nom(a-part)-3msg  
"the one that I am hosting (him), came"

66. hazing-tu            li-maa            anaa            masluub-a-(hu)

grieved-1sg        to-what            I            robbed-acc.(p-part)-3msg  
" I grieved for what I am robbed (it)"

(ii) When the suffixed returning pronoun is governed by a preposition, it may be omitted along with its preposition .According to Arabic traditions, this omission is subject to two conditions:

a. Either the conjunctive pronoun or its modified antecedent, but never both, must be governed by the same preposition by which the returning pronoun is governed. The governing preposition is prefixed to the head noun in adjectival conjunctive constructions and to the conjunctive pronoun in substantive conjunctive constructions (Joseph,1980)

b. Both matrix sentence verb and embedded conjunctive sentence verb must be of the same verb. These conditions are reflected by the poetic verse (66) below, in which the bracketed returning pronoun and prefixed preposition are optionally omissible. Note that be substantive "llaḍi" (that (msg)) and the returning pronoun –*hu* (3msg) are prefixed by the same dative case assignor "*li* to" (condition a). the verb of the main sentence "*nusalli*" (pray) is the same verb as that of the embedded verb "*sallat*" (prayed) (condition b)

67. nusalli li llaḏi salla-t (la-hu) quraysh-un  
 pray (1pl) to that(msg) prayed-f to-3msg quraysh-IN  
 " we pray to the one that Quraysh has prayed"

68. ya`kulu mim-maa ta`kuluna min-hu wa yashrabu  
 eat(3msg) from-what eat-(2mpl) from-3msg and drink(3msg)  
 mim-maa tashrabuna  
 from-what drink-(2mpl)  
 "Lit: He eats from what you eat from it and (he) drinks from what you drink"  
 " he eats of what you eat and drinks of what you drink"  
 (Al Mu`minun:33)

### 3.7 Conjunctive pronoun and conjunctive sentence dependency

The essential function of conjunctive sentence, either prototypical or semi-sentence, is to restrict the domain of the preceding common or specified conjunctive pronoun in relation to the external world. The anaphoric reference of conjunctive sentences to their modified conjunctive pronouns is indicated below by the following formulae where:

"C. pro." stands for conjunctive pronoun.

"C. sent." Stands for conjunctive sentence.

"+" stands for conjunction (coordination)

The most common structure is that which is introduced by one conjunctive pronoun followed by one or more coordinate and semantically related conjunctive sentences referring to the one and the same specified or common conjunctive pronoun .The poetic verse (69) recited by Hassan *Ibnu-thabit* displays one common conjunctive pronoun modified by three coordinate and semantically related conjunctive sentences.

a. C. pro. sent.

70. fa-man yahju rasuul-a llah-i min-kum  
 Then-who defame(msg) prophet-acc God-gen from-2mpl  
 wa yamdahu-hu wa yansuru-hu sawaa`u  
 and praise(3msg)-3msg and aid (3msg)-3msg alike  
 "those of you who either defame, praise or aid the prophet of God are all alike"

Structure (a) is the normal structure to express indefinite coordinate conjunctive sentences modifying one and the same substantive or adjectival conjunction pronoun.

b. C. pro. C.sent.+ C. pro. C.sent.+ C. pro. C.sent.

71. jaa`-a            llaḍi            hazam-a            l-`daa`-a            wa  
 came-3msg    that (msg)    defeated-3msg    def-enemies-acc    and  
 (llaḍi)            harrar-a            l-`asra-a            wa            (llaḍi)  
 ( that-msg)    freed-3msg    def-prisoners-acc    and            (that-msg)  
 qatal-a            qaa`id-a-hum  
 killed-3msg            leader-acc-3mpl:poss

- a. " the one that defeated the enemies, freed the prisoners and killed their leader came".  
 b. " The one that defeated the enemies, the one that freed the prisoners and the one killed their leader came".

In (71) above. Specified conjunctive pronoun in two or more independent conjunctive structures may indicate either: (i) that the conjunctive sentences modify one and the same conjunctive pronoun, hence only one antecedent , (See interpretation 71a above) or (ii) each conjunctive sentence modifies its own independent conjunctive pronoun, hence different antecedent, (See interpretation 71b above). So repetition of specified or common conjunctive pronouns is optional and usually avoided in interpretation (a) and obligatory in interpretation (b) above, where coordinate appropriate conjunctive pronouns must be expressed and independently modified.

c. C. pro+ C.pro. C.sent(s)

72. jaa`-a            llaḍi            wa            llati            hazam-aa            l-a`daa`-a  
 came -3msg    that(msg)    and    that(fsg)    defeated(mdl)    def-enemies-acc  
 " the one (m) that and the one (f) that defeated the enemies came"

73. jaa`-a            llaḍi            wa            llaḍiina/llaati            hazam-uu  
 came -3msg    that(msg)    and    that(mpl)-that (fpl)    defeated(3mpl)  
 l-a`daa`-a  
 def-enemies-acc  
 " the one (m) that and the ones(m/f) that defeated the enemies came"

Other less common but still unmarked construction, is that where two conjoined specified (never common) conjunctive pronouns are modified by one or more coordinate conjunctive sentence, provided that the conjunctive sentence(s) show(s) agreement with coordinated pronouns in terms of number, e.g. dual in (72) and plural in(73). Only masculine gender can be assumed. This construction is with a maximum of two conjoined and necessarily non-identical specified conjunctive pronouns.

d. \* C.pro I +C.pro j C. sent i/j C. sent i/j

74. \* llaḍi/man wa llati/man jaa`-a wa jaa`-t  
 that(msg) who and that (fsg) who came-3msg and came-3fsg

Constructions (75) to (77) below are inadmissible :

75. \*jaa`-a llaḍi wa llati  
 came-3msg that (msg) and that (fsg)

76. \* jaa`-a llati wa llaḍi  
 came-3msg that (fsg) and that (msg)

77. \* jaa`-a man wa man  
 came-3msg who and who

Recall that common conjunctive pronouns are non-specified for gender and number, and that the masculine gender is the unmarked feature, hence (78) is possible and (79) is not:

78. jaa`-a man hazam-aa l-a`daa`-a wa  
 came -3msg who) defeated-3msg def-enemies-acc and  
 harrar-at l-`asra-a  
 freed-3fsg def-prisoners-acc  
 " the one (m) who defeated the enemies and she who freed the prisoners came"

79. \* jaa`-a man hazama-t l-a`daa`-a wa  
 came -3msg who) defeated-3fsg def-enemies-acc and  
 harrar-a l-`asra-a  
 freed-3msg def-prisoners-acc  
 "the one (f) who defeated the enemies and he who freed the prisoners came"

As far as conjunctive constructions in general are concerned, two or more identical conjunctive pronouns or conjunctive sentences are strictly inadmissible.

### 3.8 Conjunctive Construction Patterns

To conclude, the following is a schematic summary of conjunctive constructions as they stand in Arabic traditions. Patterns are illustrated by corresponding examples, which could be taken as empirical evidence for the existence of these patterns in Arabic.

1. C. pro. V... (N-rp) (Subject)  
 "al-walad-u llaḍi jaa`-a (abuu-hu)"  
 def-boy-nom that(msg) came-3msg (father-3msg:poss)  
 "the boy that came (his father)"
  
2. C. pro. V-rp... (Direct Object)  
 "al-walad-u llaḍi dara-tu-hu  
 def-boy-nom that(msg) hit-1sg-3msg  
 "the boy that I hit him"
  
3. C. pro. N-rp... ( Gen: possessive)  
 "al-walad-u llaḍi abuu-hu.....  
 def-boy-nom that(msg) father-3msg:poss  
 "the boy that his father....."
  
4. C. pro. P-rp/p. (Oblique)  
 "as-sunduūq-u llaḍi bi-hi/`ala ghitaā`i- l-kitaab-u  
 def-box-nom that (msg) in-3msg/on lid-gen-3msg:poss def-book-nom  
 "the box that in it/on its lid is the book"
  
5. C. pro. V p.-rp./darf-rp (Oblique)  
 "as-sunduūq-u llaḍi wada`-tu fi-hi/tahta-hu l-kitaab-a  
 def-box-nom that (msg) put-1sg in-3msg/under-3msg def-book-acc  
 "the box that I put in it/under it the book"
  
6. \* C. pro. Ap./a. part./p. part.  
 \*"ar-rajul-u llaḍi (aḍ)- ḍakiy-(u(n)/(`al)-qaatil(u(n)/(`al)-maqtuul-(a(n)  
 def-man-nom that (msg) (def)clever(IN)/(def)kill(a.part)(IN)/(def)kill (p.part)(IA)  
 "the man that (the/a)clever/(the/a)killer/(the/a)killed one"
  
7. `al Ap./a. part./p. part.  
 "ar-rajul-u ḍ- ḍakiy-u/l-qaatilu/l-maqtuul-a  
 def-man-nom def-clever-nom/def-kill a. part-nom /def-kill p. part-acc  
 " the man (who is) the clever/the killer/the killed one.

## Chapter Four

# The Syntactic Structure and Properties of Relative Clauses in Arabic

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the relative clauses and adjectival phrases as modifiers in terms of distribution, modification and coordination . then I describe the categorical status of relative clause in Arabic and the syntactic status of conjoined relative clauses.

### 4.2 Relative clauses and adjectival phrases as modifiers

In this section, I will show in X<sup>0</sup> terms the traditional parallelism between the relative clause and the adjectival phrase. The question to be addressed below is whether the relative clause in Arabic is an N<sup>0</sup> modifying adjunct, as is generally assumed for relativization in English. The function of a relative clause, like that of an adjective, is modification of an antecedent noun. In many languages, such as English, it is possible to paraphrase a noun phrase containing an attributive adjective with one that has a relative clause as shown in (1a and 1b)

- (1) A. I bought a very nice flat.  
B. I bought a flat which/that is very nice.

Both adjectival phrases and relative clause modifying a head noun is one reason to conclude that both are N<sup>0</sup> adjuncts. However, a close look at the Arabic data shows that this conclusion is not quite correct.

#### 4.2.1 Distribution

A counter argument to the N<sup>0</sup> adjunct status of the relative clause in Arabic is based on the fact that unlike adjectives (see example 2) recursion (i.e. stacking) of restrictive (see example 3i) or appositive (see example 3ii below) relative clause is not possible. That is, each head noun is modified by one and only one relative clause and each relative clause modifies one and only one head noun.

- (2) ar-rajul-u                      t-twiil-u                      l-ghabiy-u                      l-munaafiq-u  
def-man-nom                      def-tall-nom                      def-stupid-nom                      def-hypocritical-nom  
' the tall stupid hypocritical man'.

(Rakas,2000:142)

- (3) \* (i.) ar-rajul-u                      llaḍi                      fatah-a                      l-bab-a                      llaḍi  
 def-man-nom                      that (msg)                      opened-3msg                      def-door-acc                      that (msg)  
 daxal-a                      llaḍi                      jalas-a  
 entered-3msg                      that (msg)                      sat-3msg  
 'the man that opened the door that entered that sat down'  
 (Rakas.2000:142)
- (ii) najh-a                      sadiiq-I                      l-amr-u                      llaḍi                      aḥhal-ani  
 Passed-3msg                      friend-1sg:poss                      def-matter-nom                      that(msg)                      surprised-  
 3msg-1sg  
 llaḍi                      afrah-a-ni  
 that (msg)                      pleased-3msg-1sg.  
 'my friend passed the exam, the matter that surprised me that pleased me'  
 (Rakas.2000:142)

This one to one relation between a relative clause and its head implies that relative clause projection rules in Arabic are not recursive, which in turn implies that a relative clause is not an N` adjunct but rather, either an N complement or NP adjoined. (Wilder et al 1995:59)

#### 4.2.2 Modification

Syntactic evidence against the complement status of the relative clause in Arabic is provided by the fact that when one or more AP as well as a relative clause modify a head noun, the former must precede the latter

The ungrammaticality of definite (4b) and the indefinite (5b) relative examples below show that relative clause must be higher than AP in their configuration example (4a) below is an NP modified by an AP and a relative clause. Example (4b) in contrast, shows an AP following the relative clause. Examples, (5a and 5b) show the same constraints applying in the case of indefinite AP`s.

- (4) (a) ar-rajul-u    l-kaabiir-u                      llaḍi                      daxal-a                      l-beit-a  
 def-man-nom    def-old-nom                      that (msg)                      entered-3msg                      def-house-acc  
 'the old man that entered the house'
- \* (b) ar-rajul-u                      llaḍi                      daxal-a                      l-beit-a                      l-kaabiir-u  
 def-man-nom    that (msg)                      entered-3msg                      def-house-acc                      def-old-nom  
 'the old man that entered the house'

(5) (a) r-rajul-un kabiir-un daxal-a l-beit-a  
 def-man-IN def-old-IN entered-3msg def-hous-acc  
 'an old man (who) entered the house'

(b)\* r-rajul-un daxal-a l-beit-a kabiir-uni  
 man-IN entered-3msg def-hous-acc old-IN

(Rakas.2000:143)

#### 4.2.3. Coordination

Another piece of evidence against N` adjunct analysis of relative clauses in Arabic comes from co-ordination. The examples (6 and 7 below) show what could be interpreted as co-ordination of an NP and relative clause ( and vice versa), on the basis of these data one could assume that the AP and the relative clause have the same syntactic status, and therefore can be co-ordinated. These examples also show that when a head noun is modified by apparent co-ordination of an AP and a relative clause, the co-ordinated relative clause must refer to some head noun other than the one modified by the AP (see example (6a) below). By the same taken, when a head noun is modified by co-ordinated AP must refer to some head other than the one modified by the relative clause (see example (7 a))

(6) (a) arsalt-u l-walad-a l-ghabiiy-a wa llaḍi atha`a-a  
 Sent-1sg def-boy-acc def-stupid-acc and that (msg) lost-3msg  
 l-miftah-a  
 def-key-acc  
 'I sent the stupid boyi and the one that lost the key'

(b)\* arsalt-u (walad-an) ghabiiy-an wa llaḍi atha`a-a  
 Sent-1sg boy-IA def-stupid-IA and that (msg) lost-3msg  
 l-miftah-a  
 def-key-acc  
 'Lit: I sent a stupid (boy) and the one who lost the key'

(c) arsalt-u l-ghabiiy-a wa llaḍi atha`a-a l-mifhta  
 Sent-1sg def-stupid-acc and that (msg) lost-3msg def-key-acc  
 'Lit: I sent a stupid one and that lost the key'

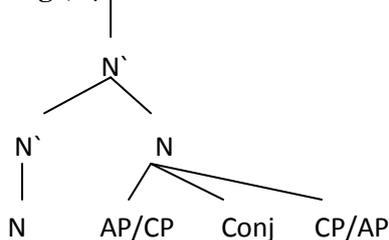
(7) . (a) arsalt-u (l-walad-a) llaḍi atha`a-a l-miftah-a wa ghabiiy-a  
 sent-1sg def-boy-acc that –msg lost-3msg def-key-acc and def-stupid-acc  
 'I sent the boy that lost the key and the stupid one'

(b) \* *arsalt-u atha`a-a l-miftah-a wa walad-an ghabiiy-an*  
 Sent-1sg lost-3msg def-key-acc and def-boy-IA def-stupid-IG  
 ' Lit: I sent lost the key and a stupid boy'

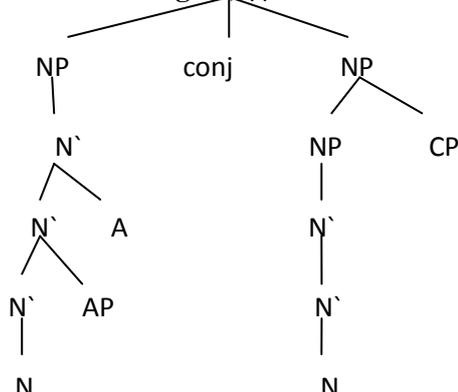
(c) *arsalt-u ghabiiy-an wa llaḍi a`atha`a l-miftah-a*  
 Sent-1sg stupid-IA and that-3msg lost-3msg def-key-acc  
 ' I sent a stupid one and the one that lost the key'

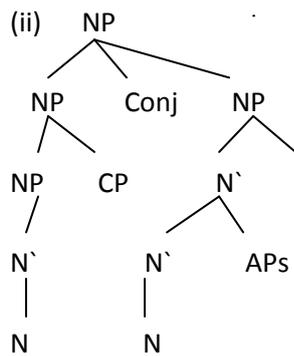
The paradigm in (5) and (6) show that co-ordinated AP and relative clause (6a) or vice versa (7a) must modify distinct head nouns. Therefore, the modified heads(6a/c) and (7a/c) display different indexation, examples (a) show that definite relative clauses allow head deletion but must retain the relative complementizer. Examples (b), are grammatical because the indefinite relative clause *aḍa`a-a l-miftah-a* 'lost the key' occurs in NP without an explicit head. Note that an indefinite relative clause must always modify an indefinite head with lexical content. Examples (c) show that definite and indefinite adjectival phrases allow head deletion. These data also suggest that in such cases it is not AP and relative clause that are co-ordinated (see structure 6 below) but two NPs with two referentially disjoint heads, one modified by the AP, the other by the relative clause (see structure 8 below) structure (6i) corresponds to example (6a) and structure (6ii) corresponds to example(7a).

**Diag. (5) \* NP**



**Diag. (6) (i) NP**

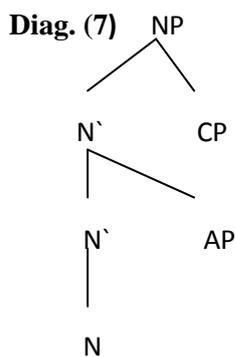




(Rakas,2000:145)

I will assume that AP and relative CP categories in Arabic are modifiers at different syntactic levels. An alternative is to have a rule such as (1) below generating the structure in Diagram (7) below.

(1) NP → N' CP

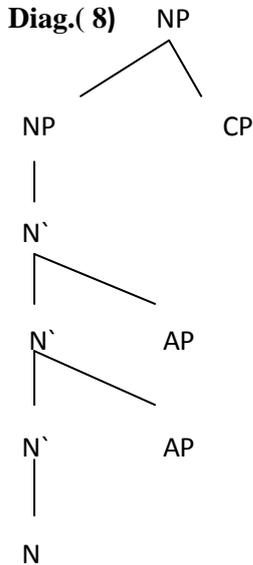


(Rakas,2000:145)

The advantage of this analysis is that non-recursiveness of relative clause can be explained, since this rule is not a recursive rule (N' does not appear at both sides of the arrow). This solution works well in a syntactic model based on phrase-structure rules, however it is problematic in a model based on X' theory. In the latter case the [CP] position would be interpreted as a SPEC position and it is not all clear what could justify the assumption that relative clauses are specifiers, while AP's are modifiers. I will assume the structure in Diagram (8) below, which is compatible also with X' syntax. The relative CP is Chomsky-adjoined to the maximum node, NP. Since theoretically, such as adjunction could also be recursive, non-recursiveness of relative clause must be explained by some other constraint, possibly one that has to do with length or weight and distance from the head in surface structure. The adjective recursive projection (stacking) can be expressed by the following phrase structure rule (2)

(2)  $N' \longrightarrow N' AP$

According to rule (2), which generates structure like that in Diag.(8) below adjectives can be stacked indefinitely as sisters to  $N'$



(Rakas,2000:146)

The analysis of that the relative clause is not recursive and that it must be higher in the configuration than the AP excludes both the  $N'$  adjunct and the N complement status of relative clauses. As can be seen from Diagram (8) above. I will assume that the syntactic status of relative clause is that of an NP adjoined modifier. The adjunction hypothesis stated below as proposed by Wilder et al (1995) will be adapted.

a. Adjunction Hypothesis

Relative clauses are adjoined to NP.

b. Base-generated Head Hypothesis,

The head noun of relative clause is base generated outside that clause.

(Wilder et al, 1995)

### 4.3 The Categorical Status of Relative Clause in Arabic

It is generally assumed that the relative clause is a complementizer Phrase (CP) within an NP. In line with declarative and subjunctive subordinate clauses, relative clauses are also CP constituents with specific features particular to their relative marker. In Arabic, a relative marker in definite *allaḍi* –set relatives (hence R-d relatives), for example always institute a clause modifying a definite nominal head and is inflected for all features other than animacy and person in agreement with its modified head. Definite R-d relative clauses never allow empty C in the first co-ordinated clause, though the second, third etc conjoined clause may have empty C in which case the conjoined modifying clauses must have a unique reference, i.e. conjoined IP constituents. If, C is expressed by the co-ordinated relative clauses may modify either one head noun, i.e. conjoined CP constituents for different independent head noun, i.e. conjoined NP constituents. R-d relative clauses in contrast, must always have empty C's. This is simply because in Arabic there is no overt indefinite relative clause marker. Co-ordinated R-d relative clauses must have a unique reference, i.e. conjoined IP constituents. Man-set Relatives (R-m relatives) always have empty head and empty C, like the R-d complementizer, the relative pronouns, i.e. *man* 'who' or *maa* 'which' is obligatory in the first conjunct and optional in the second, third, etc conjunct. If the relative pronoun in clauses have a unique reference, i.e. conjoined IPs. If the relative pronoun in the second conjunct is expressed, the conjoined clauses may modify either one head noun, i.e. conjoined CPs or different head nouns, i.e. conjoined NPs. Definite R-d and R-m relatives can be co-ordinated with themselves and with each other and hence belong to the same syntactic (CP) category. The relative clause, therefore, forms a class of the following subordinate clause set in the language.

1. Declarative clauses encoded by matrix complementizer ' *inna* ' 'that' or the subordinate complementizer ' *anna* ' 'that'
2. Subjunctive subordinate clauses encoded by the subjunctive complementizer ' *an* ' 'to'
3. Relative subordinate clauses encoded by any of *allaḍi* –set in definite R-d constructions and by an empty C in definite constructions.
4. Root clauses in Arabic can also be analyzed as CPs in which the complementizer must be overtly expressed.

(I) The overt Yes/No question *hal/^a/alam* to introduce interrogative clauses. English has no such complementizer and uses instead subject-auxiliary inversion (i.e. to C base-generated)

(a) Hal/^a/\*alam      zurt-a                      l-mathaf-a  
 Q                      visited-2msg      def-museum-acc  
 'Did you visit the museum?'

(b) Alam                      tazur      limathaf-a?  
 Neg Q      visit(2msg)      def-museum-acc  
 'Haven not you visited the museum?'

(II) Exclamative clauses are also introduced by overt complementizers such as the intensifier *kam* 'how'

(a) Kam      haaḍihi      l-fataat-u                      jamiilat-un  
 How      this(fsg)      def-girl-nom                      beautiful-nom  
 'How! This girl is beautiful'

(b) Maa                      ajmal-u                      haaḍihi      l-fataat-u  
 What      most beautiful                      this(fsg)      def-girl-nom  
 'What! a beauty this girl is'

(Rakas,2000:148)

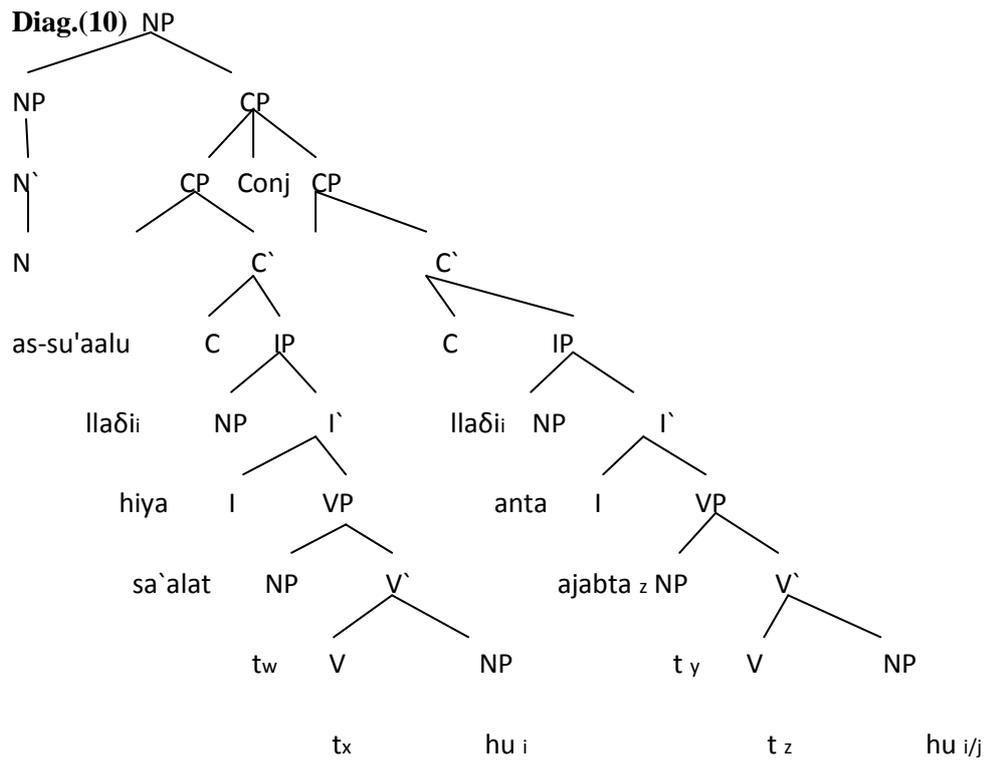
#### 4.4 The Syntactic Status of Conjoined Relative Clauses

The issue alluded to in section (5.3) above and to addressed below is whether co-ordinate relative constructions are IP constituents as in Diagram 9), which corresponds to example (8i), CP constituents as in diagram (10), which corresponds to example (8ii) or NP constituents as in Diagram (11) below, which corresponds to example (8iii). The head noun in the R-d constructions below is the explicit noun 'assu`aalu' 'the question' and the head noun in the R-m constructions, recall, is obligatory implicit.

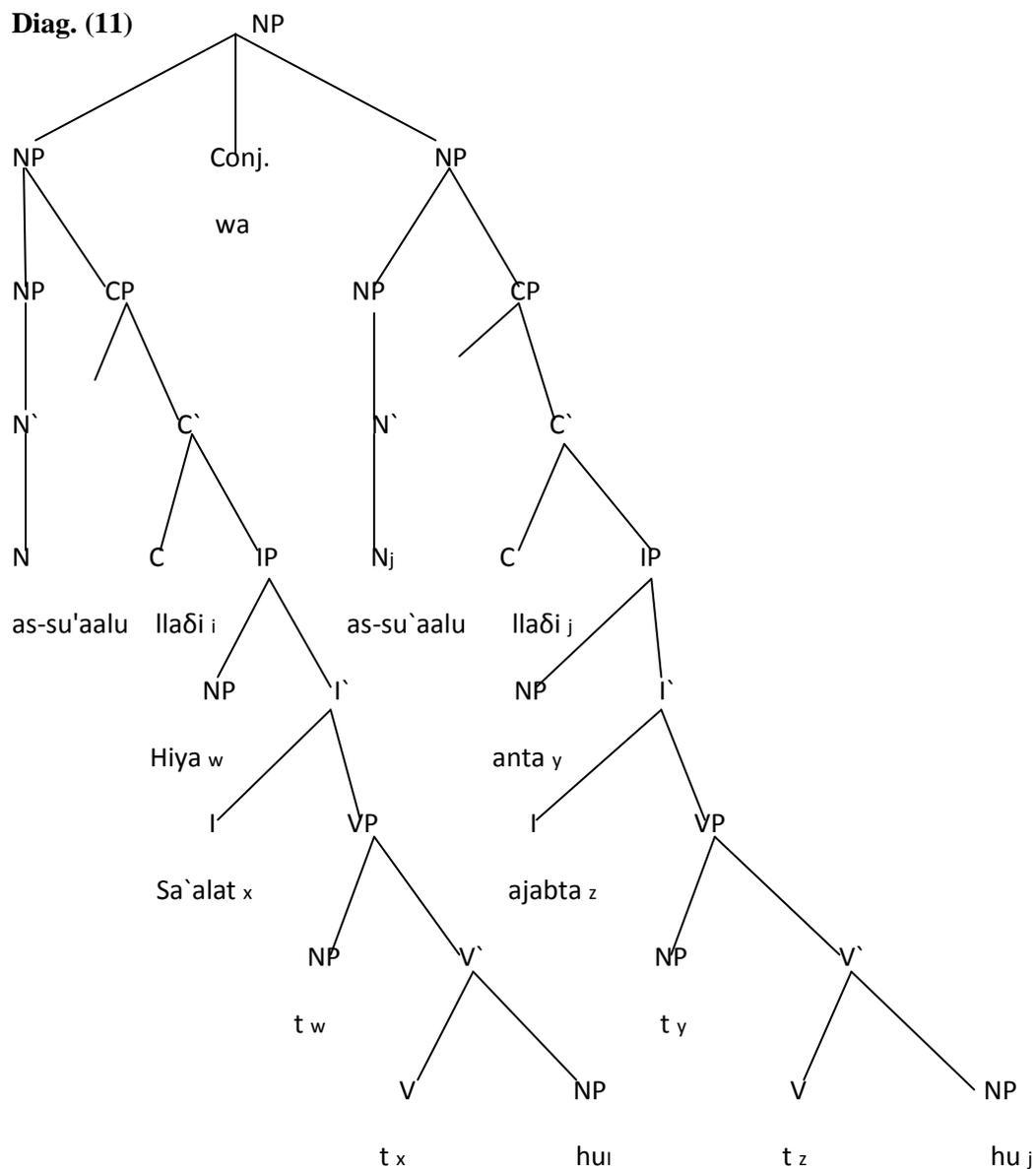
(8) (i) as-su`aal-u                      llaḍi/maa                      (hiya)      sa`aala-t-hu      wa      anta  
 Def-question-nom      that (msg)/what      she      asked-3fsg-msg      and      you(msg)  
 ajab-ta-hu  
 answered-2msg-3msg (Conjoined IP`s)  
 'the question that/what she asked (it) and you answered (it)'

(ii) as-su`aal-u i                      llaḍi/maa i                      hiya      sa`aala-t-hu i      wa      llaḍi/maa i/j  
 Def-question-nom      that (msg)/what      she      asked-3fsg-msg      and      that (msg)/what  
 anta                      ajab-ta-hu  
 you(msg)                      answered-2msg-3msg (Conjoined CP`s)  
 'the question that/what she asked (it) and that/what you answered (it)'





(Rakas,2000:151)



(Rakas,2000:151)

Constructions (8ii), represented by configuration (10) above can be interpreted as either:

- (a) Having a unique head noun modified by two conjoined CP constituents or
- (b) Two conjoined CP constituents modifying different head nouns where the second conjunct exhibits a head noun. Construction(8iii), which corresponds to structure (11) has explicit distinct head nouns. Since the first constituent in example (8ii), i.e. structure (11) is clearly a relative clause CP, then the second (co-ordinated) clause cannot be any different,

since only identical constituents can be co-ordinated. The data in example (9) below, in contrast, to (8i) above, shows that subject *hiya* 'she' in the first clause is optional while that the subject *anta* 'you' in the second clause is obligatory, hence pro-drop is not possible.

(9) \* as-su`aal-u           llaði           (hiya)           sa`aala-t-hui           wa  
 Def-question-nom   that (msg)       she           asked-3fsg-3msg       and  
 ajab-ta-hu  
 answered-2msg-3msg  
 'the question that she asked it and you answered it'

The occurrence of the relative complementizer, i.e. *allaði* that (msg) in the second part, however, does not save the construction, as shown in (10): neither CA nor MSA allow pro-drop in the second conjoined relative CP constituent.

(10) as-su`aal-u           llaði           (hiya)           sa`aala-t-hui           wa  
 Def-question-nom   that (msg)       she           asked-3fsg-3msg       and  
 llaði                    ajab-ta-hu  
 that (msg)            answered-2msg-3msg  
 'the question that she asked it and that you answered it'

Conjoined relative NP constituents with referentially disjoint heads allow pro-drop in the second co-ordinated constituent as show in (11) below, where the distinct relative complementizers must be retained.

(11) as-su`aal-u           llaði           (hiya)           sa`aala-t-hui:wa  
 Def-question-nom   that (msg)       she           asked-3fsg-3msg       and  
 as-su`aal-u           llaði           (anta)           ajab-ta-hu  
 Def-question-nom   that (msg) you(msg)   answered-2msg-3msg  
 'the question that she asked it and the question that you answered it'

to conclude, in the case of two conjoined IP/CP constituents, the relative complementizer/pronoun in the second constituent is optional (under-index) and the subject pronoun must surface as (8i-ii) above and (12) below.

(12) as-su`aal-u           llaði           (hiya)           sa`aala-t-hui           wa  
 Def-question-nom   that (msg)       she           asked-3fsg-3msg       and  
 llaði           (anta)           ajab-ta-hu  
 that (msg)   you(msg)       answered-2msg-3msg  
 'the question that she asked it and that you answered it'

in the case of two conjoined NP constituents, the subject pronoun in the second constituent is optional and the relative complementizer/pronoun must surface as in (11) above.

#### 4.5 Reflexives in Relative Clauses in Arabic

Recall that c-command is a structural constraint posited in the theory to license binding relation between a (pro)nominal antecedent and its anaphor, the antecedent must c-command the anaphor. In structural terms, the antecedent and the anaphor do not dominate each other and the first branching node (in terms of c-command) or maximal node (in terms of m-command) dominating the antecedent also dominates the anaphor.

Consider the following example, in which the antecedent of the local reflexives is a complex NP (a construct State)

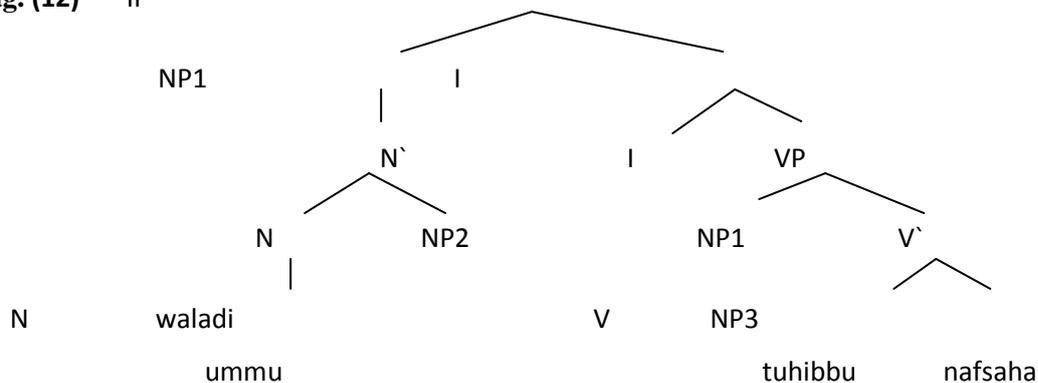
(13) umm-u            l-walad-i            tuhibbu            nafs-a-ha

mother-nom    def-boy-gen    love (3fsg)    self-acc-3fsg:poss  
 'The boy's mother/the mother of the boy loves herself'

(14)\*umm-u            l-walad-i            yuhibbu            nafs-a-hu

mother-nom    def-boy-gen    love (3msg)    self-acc-3msg:poss  
 'The mother of the boy loves himself'

**Diag. (12)** IP



(Rakas, 2000:113)

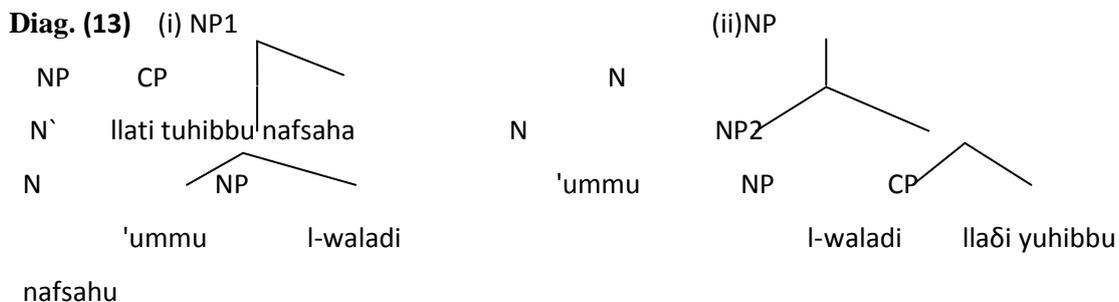
The structural relation between the maximal projection NP1 (a Construct State NP) and the reflexive NP3 is a m-command relation : the first branching node dominating NP1 is IP, which also dominates NP3. Example (14) above is ruled out because the maximal projection NP2 does not c-command the reflexive NP3. Relative constructions, in which both maximal projections NP1 (the entire construct state) and NP2 (the possessor NP) can be relativized seem at first

glance to raise a problem for the c-command condition. Such Constructions are exemplified in the following:

(15) *umm-u l-walad-i llati tuhibbu nafs-a-ha*  
 mother-nom def-boy-gen that (3fsg) love (3fsg) self-acc-3fsg:poss  
 'The boy`s mother that loves herself'

(16) *umm-u l-walad-i llaḏi yuhibbu nafs-a-hu*  
 mother-nom def-boy-gen that (3msg) love (3msg) self-acc-3msg:poss  
 'The mother of the boy that loves himself'

Examples (15) and (16) above have the following respective diagram (13i) and (13ii) configurational structure



(Rakas, 2000:114)

In (13i) the reflexive NP *nafsaha* 'herself' (the argument of the verb *tuhibbu* 'loves' within the relative clause) is c-commanded by the construct NP node *'ummu l-waladi* 'the boy`s mother' and the maximal projection CP cannot be a barrier. In (13ii) the reflexive NP *nafsahu* 'himself' is c-commanded by the second term NP *l-waladi* 'the boy'. The governing category for the reflexive in (13i) is higher NP1 and in (13ii) in the lower NP2, hence both (15) and (16) constructions above are grammatical.

## Chapter Five

### Conclusions

A conjunctive constructions in Arabic are treated as one of those constructions which involve subordination with the connected element being a conjunctive noun , i.e. allaḍi/man set. Chapter two of this study shows them as they stand in Arabic traditions in terms of a conjunctive relation holding between what Arabs grammarians call conjunctive noun and its modifying conjunctive sentence. But in this study the focus is on the allaḍi-set in the conjunctive structure with some explanations for man-set relatives. Arab grammarians claim that the connective relation is not between a relative head and a relative clause in a relative construction, but rather is between the relative element itself and its conjunctive sentence. Therefore the head noun concept is not recognized in Arabic traditions and instead the conjunctive element is treated as a head of its own conjunctive construction, however, the conjunctive sentence is the relative clause without the relative element. Arab grammarians also viewed the conjunctive element as an adjective specifying the head noun and for this reason they neglected the status of the head noun constituent to which neither grammatical nor semantic term is assigned. According to my description in this study the categorical status of the conjunctive sentence can be a CP constituent , but in Arabic traditions can be verbal/nominal IP,PP or AP constituent.

In Arab traditions a conjunctive construction consists of a conjunctive element and a modifying conjunctive sentence, but in this study a relative construction comprises a relative head noun and a modifying relative clause including the relative element. A relative clause is syntactically a CP modifying an NP in my analysis while the conjunctive sentence is deemed syntactically functionless in Arabic tradition.

In Arabic theory, two types of conjunctive nouns and two types of conjunctive constructions are recognized ,namely,allaḍi-set (R-d) and man set(R-m) the first type, which this study based on, consists of various conjunctive elements specified in terms of agreement with their conjunctive head nouns according to Arab tradition. The second type has two invariable conjunctive element specified for animacy. Thus, two strategy of relativization are assumed in Arabic: (i) A head-bound strategy, in which indefiniteness of the head noun is crucial to the distinction between conjunctive and adjectival constructions in Arabic traditions, and between definite and indefinite relative construction in this

description, and (ii) a pronoun-bound strategy, in which the head noun (position) has no existence in Arabic traditions, while it is assumed to be obligatory empty position in my description.

The analysis of semantic and syntactic properties of the specified (Allaḍi type) and common (man type) conjunctive pronouns within a GB/PPT framework reveals that type are relative complementizers and the latter type are relative pronouns.

According to the assumption that a modified head noun must be represented by a (pro)nominal (resumptive pronoun) in the relative clause is also stipulated in Arabic theory by a principle that rules out any conjunctive construction that does contains *damiir `aa`id* 'the returning pronoun'. The returning pronoun within the conjunctive sentence refers back to the conjunctive noun and not to the head noun. Traditional Arab grammarians stipulation that a conjunctive construction must contain a referring pronoun re. The one-to-one relation between a conjunctive noun and its conjunctive sentence stipulated in Arabic traditions exclude recursion in relative clauses.

This study leads to the conclusion that the antecedent head noun governed by embedded verb not the main verb and restrictive and non-restrictive clauses are not distinguished in CA. The antecedent head noun case governed by the embedded verb and finally the specific set can be optionally delete the head antecedent but obligatory deleted with the man-set structures

the last chapter has investigated the syntactic properties of relative clauses in Arabic in which relative clauses and adjectival phrases in terms of distribution, modification and coordination.

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## ملخص الدراسة

### الموصول في اللغة العربية الفصحى

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تقديم تحليل وصفي لتركيبية الموصول في العربية في إطار نظرية الأسس والتفاوت الحديثة من خلال استنباط العلاقات النحوية في هذه التركيبية النحوية كما أنها تبيّن بشكل خاص الأسماء الموصولة الخاصة ووظيفة الضمير العائد بداخل صلة الموصول والمطابقة بين الفعل والفاعل. وتهدف هذه الدراسة أيضاً إلى استنباط أن صلة الموصول لها دلالة تعود على الاسم الموصول في تركيبية الموصول ومن ثم وصف المكونات التركيبية للموصول وصفاً دقيقاً مثل الاسم الموصول والضمير العائد و صلة الموصول.

الدراسة تحتوي على خمسة فصول. الفصل الأول هو خلفية للدراسة والأهداف والمنهجية المتبعة في وصف و تحليل الدراسة كما أنها تحتوي على تساؤلات الباحث في الدراسة.

أما الفصل الثاني يحتوي على المراجعات الأدبية والدراسات السابقة التي اهتمت بموضوع الدراسة مع عرض للنظرية التحليلية بشي من التفصيل و تطبيقها كمنهجية وصف و تحليل للتركيبات اللغوية لتركيبية الموصول في اللغة العربية.

الفصل الثالث تناول وصف و تعريف لتركيبية الموصول في اللغة العربية و دلالاته اللغوية و عرض التركيبات النحوية للموصول و فهمها كالاسم الموصول و صلة الموصول و جملة الموصول وأنواعها.

أما الفصل الرابع فقد استخدم فيه الباحث نظرية الأسس والتفاوت الحديثة و تطبيقها على تركيبية الموصول مستدلاً بذلك قواعد اللغة والنحو العام و مدي فرضية تطبيقها على اللغة العربية.

الفصل الخامس هو الخاتمة لموضوع الدراسة التي استنتج فيها الباحث تطبيق النظرية على الاسم الموصول و تركيبته اللغوية والنحوية.