Relativisation and Related Matters in Classical, Modern Standard, and Palestinian Colloquial Arabic

by

Mohammad Amin Mahmoud Bakir Awad

B.Sc., State University of New York, 1965
M.Sc., State University of New York, 1966

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Linguistics at Brown University
June, 1973
This thesis by Mohammad Awad

is accepted in its present form by the Department of

Linguistics as satisfying the

thesis requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Date: 26 March 1973

Recommended to the Graduate Council

Date: 26 March 1973

Approved by the Graduate Council

Date: 26 March 1973
structures.

In chapter IV, I formulate the relative clause transformation in Arabic as a copying rule, thus accounting for the relative pronoun *الذي* (and its variants) as a pronominal realization of the coreferential NP of the embedded *S*, and for the returning pronoun as a pronominal realization of the coreferential embedded NP itself, with the relative clause transformation obligatorily ordered before the pronominalization transformation. Having done this, I proceed to show that the Arabic relativization transformation is a copying rule indeed, since it obeys all the constraints that Ross (1967) established for all copying rules.

I also show that in those cases where the movement transformation has a chopping version, the constraints Ross (1967) established for chopping rules are also applicable in Arabic. That a restrictive relative clause is derived from an embedded *S* with an NP coreferential with an NP in the matrix *S*, and that a non-restrictive relative clause is derived from a conjoined *S* with an NP coreferential with an NP in the matrix *S* is shown to be the case in Arabic. I also show that Arabic non-restrictive relative clauses with sentential antecedents are derived from conjoined sentences part of which is an identification process accounting for *المَعْمَل* 'the thing' *الذي*, which appears as the antecedent of all such non-restrictive relative clauses. I also argue that the *یدعَف* مُشْتَرِكُ مِثْلَ اِلْعَالِمِ 'real annexation' *الذي* construction is derived from an underlying relative clause structure because of the striking parallelism (structural parallelism) between the two: there are *یدعَف* مُشْتَرِكُ مِثْلَ اِلْعَالِمِ constructions whose first terms (the antecedents of the underlying relative clauses) are definite, indefinite, or unique, and whose second terms are correspondingly reductions of restrictive, or non-restrictive relative clauses. Moreover, the same Ross constraints that govern the second term *المَعْمَل* *الذي* 'that to which something is annexed' in the *یدعَف* مُشْتَرِكُ مِثْلَ اِلْعَالِمِ construction are precisely those it obeys in the
Abstract
Relativization and Related Matters in Classical, Modern Standard, and Palestinian Colloquial Arabic

by
Mohammad Amin Mahmoud Bakir Awad, Ph. D.
Brown University
June, 1973

The purpose of this thesis is to characterize the relativization process in Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and Palestinian Colloquial Arabic. To achieve this, and bearing in mind that there are no real native speakers of Classical or Modern Standard Arabic, it is felt necessary to work with a written corpus representative of these two types, which are assumed to have identical syntactic structures as far as can be adduced from written records of both.

The grammatical model I use to characterize Arabic relativization is the transformational model of Chomsky's *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, 1965. For practical purposes, I assume that an Arab with local college education is the closest one can get next to an authentic native speaker of MSA, and I also assume that my predictions as to what are possible utterances in MSA can be extended to CA. As for PCA, my predictions are based on the reaction of authentic native speakers of whom I am one. I am also the source of MSA sentences that are not derived from the corpus, representative examples of which are given in chapter II.

In chapter III, four previous studies with some bearing on Arabic relativization are briefly characterized and shown to be inadequate because neither do they account for the source of allaššii (the relative pronoun in Arabic) َالسْعَوْيِ, and the semantically complex forms man َسان, maa ِلَا, if َأَفْلَى, and kawwun َكَأَفَّنْ, nor do they deal with the relatedness between the idāsafah ma'naviyah 'real annexation' َإِذَا َالْجَالِسُ, construction, and syntactically parallel relative clause
With regard to the analysis of relative clauses, I demonstrate that the NP-S analysis is preferred to the Art-S analysis because the latter approach yields ungrammatical sentences. The claim that such sentences can be repaired is shown to be false because the repaired strings are quite distinct from what is intended in the deep structure. The NP-S analysis, however, requires that lexical insertion be allowed to take place at an intermediate stage in the transformational cycle. Since I show that this is necessary to account for the derivation of the semantically complex forms mentioned above (p.1), I suggest that the standard theory allow for it.

Finally, I give an instance of rule simplification evidenced in the loss of the rule that optionally deletes the returning pronoun of the relative clause under some specific conditions. I also note that this rule loss is the direct result of the loss of the inflectional system in PCA.