

On *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawṣuulah*¹ in Modern Standard Arabic

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ABSTRACT

The present study attempts to give a detailed analysis of the so-called *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawṣuulah* in Modern Standard Arabic from the point of view of N. Chomsky's Transformational-Generative Theory. The research shows that forms like *al-'allaḏii*, *allatii*, *allaḏiina*, etc. are not the same kind of constituent in deep structures as they are in surface structures. They are, in fact, generated through the application of the article transformation and the noun segment deletion transformation. As articles, *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawṣuulah* are really a special form of the definite article *-al*.

KEY WORDS:

al-'Asmaa' al-Mawṣuulah ; *al-Mawṣuul al-ḡaaṣṣ* ; *al-Mawṣuul al-Muṣṭarak* ; *man* and *maa* ;
al- al-mawṣuulah

المستخلص

تقدم هذه الدراسة تحليلاً مفصلاً لما يسمّى بالأسماء الموصولة في اللغة العربية الفصحى ، متخذة من النظرية التحويلية التوليدية التي استحدثها اللغوي الأمريكي (نوم تشومسكي) في الخمسينيات أساساً لهذا التحليل. فهذه الدراسة تبين أنّ التركيب الظاهري للأسماء الموصولة ما هو إلاّ نتاج تطبيق بعض القوانين التحويلية ، اختيارية أو اجبارية ، على تركيبها الباطني - التركيب الذي يحدد معنى هذه الأشكال - لأنّ هذه القوانين هي التي تنظم العلاقة بين التركيبين. وتخلص الدراسة الى أنّ الأسماء الموصولة في واقع الحال ما هي إلاّ شكل خاص لأداة التعريف (ال-) .

1. Introduction

Despite the wealth of literature written on *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawṣuulah*² in discussions of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) syntax, it is felt that these forms have traditionally been treated at a somewhat superficial level. It might be profitable, therefore, to furnish the reader with a description of this class of forms from a modern point of view. To be more specific, the discussion will be based on the theory of Transformational Generative Grammar. Before embarking on this discussion, however, an outline of the treatment of these forms according to Arab grammarians will be provided below.

2. Outline

Ism al-Mawṣuul (literally *the name of what is joined*) in MSA is not a separate part of speech;³ it is a member of the Noun Class.⁴ Our traditional lore about MSA grammar recognizes two kinds of *Ism al-Mawṣuul*, namely, the *ḵaaṣṣ* (specific) and the *muṣṭarak* (common).

2.1 *al-Mawṣuul al-ḵaaṣṣ* (The Specific Relative Pronoun)

The specific kind distinguishes the entity envisaged in respect of gender (masculine or feminine), number (singular, dual or plural) and, in certain instances, (nominative, accusative or genitive). The pronoun is marked with the feature [+nominative] if it refers to the subject of the matrix, [+accusative] if it refers to its object and [+genitive] if the antecedent⁵ is genitive.⁶ The basic forms are *allaḍii* for the masculine and *allatii* for the feminine. Thus, we have:⁷

<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
allaḍii (sg./nom., acc. and gen.)	allatii (sg. and pl./three cases)
allaḍaani (dual/nom)	allataani (dual/nom.)
allaḍayni (dual/acc. and gen.)	allatayni (dual/acc. and gen.)
allaḍiina (pl./nom., acc. and gen.)	allaa'ii ⁸ (pl./three cases)

Examples:

- 1a) jaa'a l-waladu⁹ allaḍii¹⁰ najaha fi l-imtihaani
= *The boy who succeeded in the examination came.*
- 1b) qaabaltu l-walada allaḍii najaha fi l-imtihaani
= *I met the boy who succeeded in the examination.*
- 1c) marartu bi-l-waladi allaḍii najaha fi l-imtihaani
= *I passed by the boy who succeeded in the examination.*
- 2a) jaa'ati¹¹ l-bintu allatii najahat fi l-imtihaani
= *The girl who succeeded in the examination came.*
- 2b) qaabaltu l-binta allatii najahat fi l-imtihaani
= *I met the girl who succeeded in the examination.*
- 2c) marartu bi-l-binti allatii najahat fi l-imtihaani
= *I passed by the girl who succeeded in the examination.*
- 3a) al-kutubu allatii ista^cartuhaa mina l-maktabati mufiidatun
= *The books that I borrowed from the library are useful.*
- 3b) qara'tu l-kutuba allatii ista^cartuhaa mina l-maktabati
= *I read the books that I borrowed from the library.*
- 3c) marartu bi-l-gaabaati allatii iltahamatha n-niiraanu
= *I passed by the forests that were destroyed by fire.*

- 4a) jaa'a r-rajulaani allaḏaani ḏarabtuhumaa =*The (two) men whom I hit came.*
 4b) qaabal-tu r-rajulayni allaḏayni ḏarabtuhumaa =*I met the (two) men whom I hit.*
 4c) marar-tu bi-r-rajulayni allaḏayni ḏarabtuhumaa =*I passed by the (two) men whom I hit.*
 5a) jaa'ati I-bintaani allataani najahataa =*The two girls who succeeded came.*
 5b) qaabal-tu I-bintayni allatayni najahataa =*I met the two girls who succeeded.*
 5c) marar-tu bi-l-bintayni allatayni najahataa =*I passed by the two girls who succeeded.*
 6a) haa'ulaa'i humu r-rijaalu allaḏiina ḥaḏar-u l-mu'tamara
 =*These are the men who attended the conference.*
 6b) qaabqltu r-rijaala allaḏiina ḥaḏar-u l-mu'tamara
 =*I met the men who attended the conference.*
 6c) haaḏaa huwa manzilu r-rijaali allaḏiina ḥaḏar-u l-mu'tamara
 =*This is the house of the men who attended the conference.*
 7a) jaa'ati l-mu^callimaatu allaa'ii kurrimna li-'amaanatihinna
 =*The teachers (pl., fem.) who were rewarded for their honesty came.*
 7b) qaabaltu l-mu^callimaati allaa'ii kurrimna li-'amaanatihinna
 =*I met the teachers (pl., fem.) who were rewarded for their honesty.*
 7c) sallamtu ^cala l-mu^callimaati allaa'ii kurrimna li-'amaanatihinna
 =*I saluted the teachers (pl., fem.) who were rewarded for their honesty.*

Furthermore, the specific *Ism al-Maṣūul* in its singular form, *allaḏii*, does not distinguish between a personal [+human] and a non-personal [-human], apart from the fact that the items marked for plurality - *allaḏiina* and *allaa'ii* - refer only to persons. Hence *allaḏii* 'abṣar-tu-hu (*that I have seen him/it =that I have seen), for example, covers *the (male) person whom I have seen* and *the (masculine) thing which/that I have seen*. The feminine singular form *allatii* refers to items marked with the features [+plurality], [±masculine] and [-human], e.g. *al-kutubu allatii* (the books which/that), *al-qīṭaṭu allatii* (the cats which/that). The lexical entries for the relative pronouns under discussion may roughly be represented as follows:

(8a)

<i>allaḏii</i>
+pronoun
+masculine
+singular
±human

(8b)

<i>allatii</i>
+pronoun
+feminine
+singular
±human

(9)

<i>allatii</i>
+pronoun
+feminine
+plural
-human

(10a)

<i>allaḏaani</i>
+pronoun
+masculine
+dual
+nominative
±human

(10b)

<i>allaḏayni</i>
+pronoun
+masculine
+dual
+accusative
+genitive
±human

(10c)

<i>allataani</i>
+pronoun
+feminine
+dual
+nominative
±human

(10d)

<i>allatayni</i>
+pronoun
+feminine
+dual
+accusative
+genitive
±human

(11a) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{alla\ddot{d}iina} \\ + \textit{pronoun} \\ + \textit{masculine} \\ + \textit{plural} \\ + \textit{human} \end{array} \right]$

(11b) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{allaa'ii} \\ + \textit{pronoun} \\ + \textit{feminine} \\ + \textit{plural} \\ + \textit{nominative} \\ + \textit{accusative} \\ + \textit{genitive} \\ + \textit{human} \end{array} \right]$

2.2 *al-Mawṣuul al-Muṣṭarak (The Common Relative Pronoun)*

The term *al-mawṣuul al-muṣṭarak* is applied mainly to three words, namely, *man* (one who, whoever), *maa* (*that which, what(ever)*) and *al-* (used in the sense of *allaḏii*-group)¹².

2.2.1 *man* and *maa*

The conjunctive pronouns *man* and *maa* are distinguished by the features [+human] and [-human], respectively¹³. These two pronouns would thus look like the following in the lexicon:

(12a) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{man} \\ + \textit{pronoun} \\ \pm \textit{masculine} \\ \pm \textit{singular} \\ + \textit{human} \end{array} \right]$

(12b) $\left[\begin{array}{l} \textit{maa} \\ + \textit{pronoun} \\ \pm \textit{masculine} \\ \pm \textit{singular} \\ - \textit{human} \end{array} \right]$

Look at the the following examples:

13a) 'iqbal 'uḏra man¹⁴ i'cāḏara 'ilayka = *Accept the excuse of him who apologizes to you.*

13b) 'uḥibbu man ya'c dilu = *I love him who is just.*

14a) wa-nazala min 'ahlihaa man nazala
= *There came down from its inhabitants who came down.*

14b) 'igfir lanaa maa faraṭa minnaa = *Forgive us that which erred in us.*

14c) 'a'ṭaanii maa 'a'cānnii = *He gave me what he gave me.*

14d) haaḏaa maa na'cāmidu 'alayhi = *This is (the thing) which we rely on.*

In the examples above, *man* and *maa* are used in the sense of *allaḏii* (see 4.2.1 below). These two forms differ from *allaḏii*-group, however, in never being used adjectivally, but always substantively. Moreover, unlike the *allaḏii*-group, which distinguishes between [±masc] and [±sg], *man* and *maa* are fixed and indeclinable. The following examples illustrate this point:

15a) 'uḥibbu man yuḳliṣu l-ii = *I love him (sg. masc.) who is faithful to me.*

15b) 'uḥibbu man yuḳliṣaani l-ii = *I love them (dual, masc.) who are faithful to me.*

15c) 'uḥibbu man yuḳliṣuuna l-ii = *I love them (pl., masc.) who are faithful to me.*

15d) 'uḥibbu man tuḳliṣu l-ii = *I love her (sg., fem.) who is faithful to me.*

15e) 'uḥibbu man tuḳliṣaani l-ii = *I love them (dual, fem.) who are faithful to me.*

15f) 'uḥibbu man yuḳliṣna -lii = *I love them (pl., fem.) who are faithful to me.*

16a) i'c mal maa yufiidu waṭanaka = *Do (sg., masc.) what does good to your country.*

16b) i'c mal maa yufiidu waṭanakumaa = *Do (dual, masc. and fem.) what does good to your country.*

16c) 'i^cmaluu maa yufiidu waṭanakum =Do (pl., masc.) what does good to your country.

16d) 'i^cmalii maa yufiidu waṭanaki =Do (sg., fem.) what does good to your country.

16e) 'i^cmalna maa yufiidu waṭanakunna =Do (pl. fem.) what does good to your country.

2.2.2 al- *almawṣuulah* (Conjunctive al-)

The article *al-* is used as a conjunct noun in the sense of *allaḏii* and its variants when attached to a present or past participle and a simple epithet.¹⁵ Thus, (17a-c) are equivalent to (18 a-c), respectively:

17a) *al-qaatil* =the killer

17b) *al-maqtuul* =the one killed

17c) *al-ḥasanu l-wajhi* =he who is handsome in the face

18a) *allaḏii yaqtulu* =he who kills

18b) *allaḏii yuqtalu* =he who is killed

18c) *allaḏii ḥasuna wajhuhu* =he who is handsome in the face

Besides, it is sometimes, though very rarely, used as a relative pronoun when it is prefixed to:¹⁶

i. an adverbial noun:

19a) *man laayazaalu ṣaakiran* ^calaa al-ma^cah =he who is grateful for what he has

ii. a nominal proposition:

19b) *mina l-qawmi* al-rasuulu llaahi =of the people of whom is the Apostle of God

iii. a verbal proposition:

19c) *maa 'anta bi-l-ḥakami* al-turāḏaa ḥukuumatuhu
=You are not the judge whose judgement is approved.

In all these examples, *al-* is used as a relative pronoun in the sense of *allaḏii*. Thus,

al-ma^cah =*allaḏii ma^cah*

al-rasuulu llaahi =*allaḏiina rassuulu llaahi*

al-turāḏaa =*allaḏii turāḏaa*

3. Syntactic Function of the Relative Pronoun

The main function of the relative pronoun in MSA is that of connecting two clauses together. In transformational terms, this would naturally suggest derivations like, schematically:

20a) *at-talaamiiḏu darasuu bi-jiddin* =The students (pl., masc.) studied hard.

20b) *at-talaamiiḏu najāḥuu* =The students (pl., masc.) succeeded.

20c) *at-talaamiiḏu* allaḏiina darasuu bi-jiddin najāḥuu
=The students (pl, masc.) who studied hard succeeded.

21a) *aṭ-ṭaalibataani faazataa bi-l-jaa'izati* =The students (two, fem) won the prize.

21b) *aṭ-ṭaalibataani masruurataani* =The students (two, fem) are pleased.

21c) *aṭ-ṭaalibataani* allataani faazataa bi-l-jaa'izati masruurataani
=The students (two, fem) who won the prize are pleased.

22a) al-fataatu jaa'at =*The girl came*.

22b) al-fataatu kaanat ġaa'ibatan =*The girl was absent*.

22c) al-fataatu allatij jaa'at kaanat ġaa'ibatan =*The girl who came was absent*.

In each of the above examples, sentence (a) is embedded in the NP of sentence (b). Thus, the embedded sentence modifies the NP in sentence (b). Relativization, therefore, is a productive source of modifiers in MSA.

4. Assumptions

4.1 The 'Article' Character of the specific *Ism al-Mawṣuul*

To start, in a TGG, for each sentence - and hence, derivatively for each part of each sentence - there exist two distinct syntactic structures as part of its overall grammatical description: a deep structure that determines semantic interpretation and a surface structure relevant to phonetic interpretation.¹⁷

The two aspects of syntactic form are in general related to each other by a long and highly complex set of transformational rules that, furthermore, derive a sequence of intermediate forms. More elaborately, deep structure in such a grammar is viewed as a level of linguistic analysis where (i) basic grammatical relations between fundamental grammatical categories are defined; (ii) selectional restrictions and categories receive lexical representations; and (iii) appropriate grammatical transformational rules are provided. The role of the transformational component of grammar is that of relating deep structures to surface structures.

We mention all this only because it is fundamental to our basic claim here which is that the relative pronouns *allaḏii*, *allatii*, *allaḏiina*, etc. are not the same kind of constituent in deep structures as they are in surface structures. They are in fact surface realizations of what in deep structures are types of definite article.¹⁸ In recognition of this, we will show below how relative clauses are generated from deep structure. In order for relativizing transformation to apply, there should exist two underlying strings that have one NP - always definite, never indefinite - in common (see endnote 24). Thus in

23a) at-tilmiiḏu allaḏii ġaadara maḥbuubun
=*The student who went away is lovable*.

the underlined construction originated as

23b) at-tilmiiḏu ġaadara
=*The student went away*.

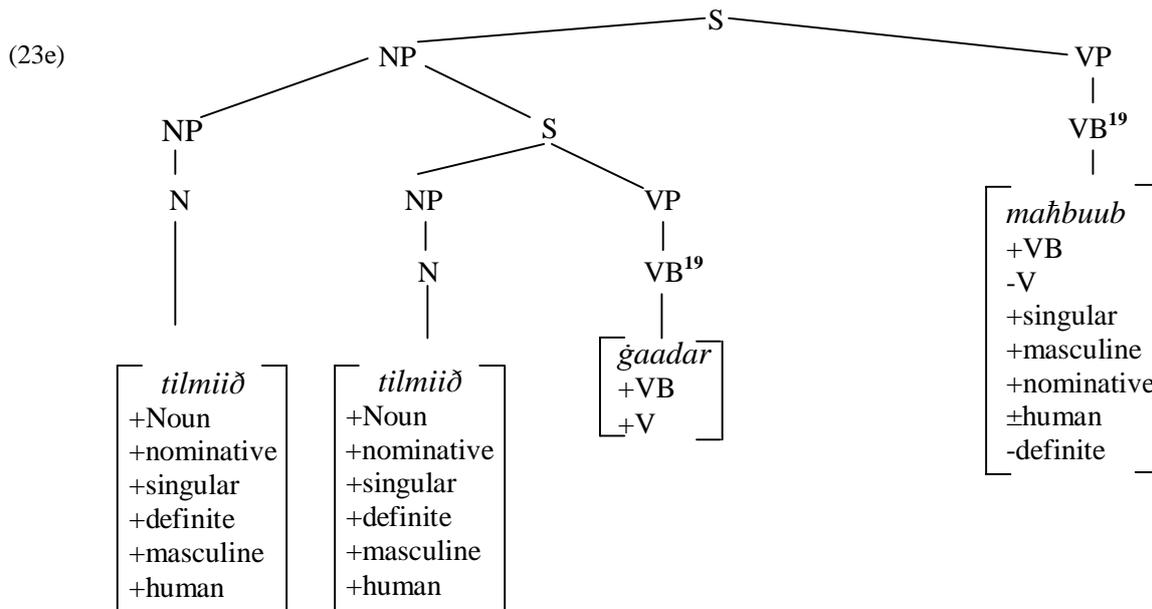
and it is embedded in the sentence

23c) at-tilmiiḏu maḥbuubun
=*The student is lovable*.

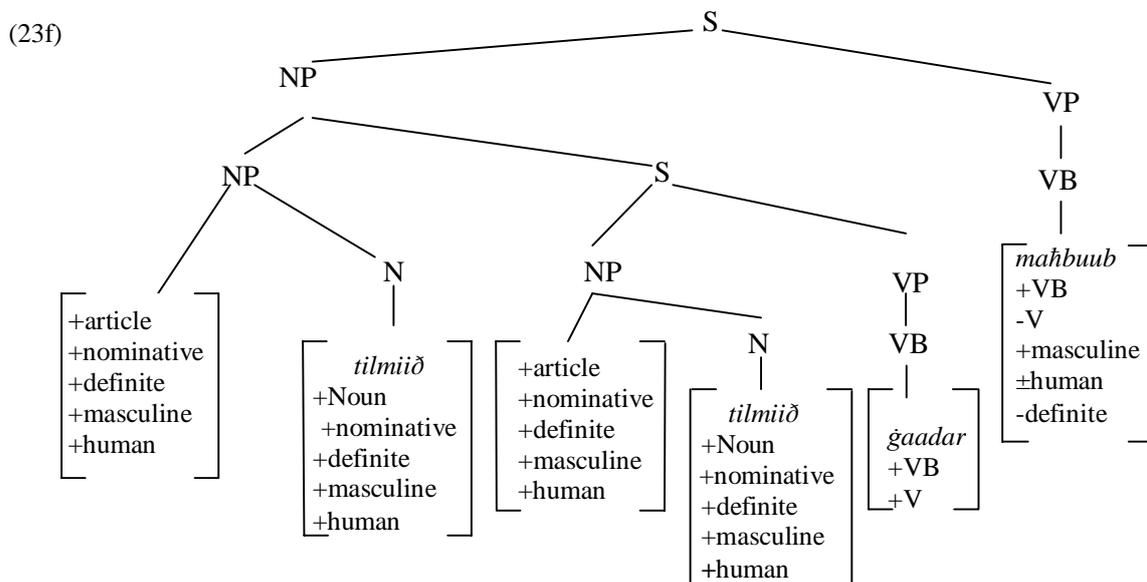
Our claim is that in MSA the specific relative pronoun of every sentence occurs in deep structures as the definite article. Then to generate (23a) from the strings (23b) and (23c) the repeated article in the repeated NP should contain the feature [+Relative]:

23d) *at-tilmiiḏu al[+relative] tilmiiḏu ġaadara maḥbuubun
=*the student the student went away lovable*

Now the deep structure of sentence (23a) above looks something like

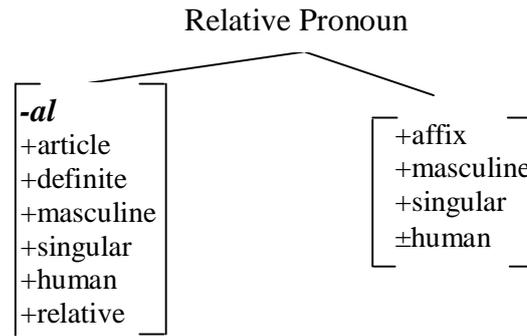


The article transformation must be applied. It adjoins to the noun a segment labeled [+Art] with all of the features contained in the noun except [+N]. This generates the following structure:



The relative clause transformation adds the feature [+Relative] to the second occurrence of the segment [+Art] in the repeated NP. The first article segment will be replaced by *al-* from the lexicon; the second, which contains the feature [+Relative], will be subject to the application of the relative pronoun suffix transformation. When this transformation is applied, it generates the structure below:

(23g)



The next step is a new transformation: affix transformation. This transformation introduces a segment which will eventually become the relative pronoun suffix *laðii*. Thus, the resulting string would be:

23h) *al-tilmiið allaðii tilmiið gaadar maḥbuub
 =The student who student went away lovable

which is ill-formed. This string awaits the application of an obligatory relativized noun deletion transformation. This has the effect of deleting the noun of the relativized NP, as in the structure below:

23i) X- Art -N - Art - Relative -N -Y → X- Art - N- Art + Relative -Y

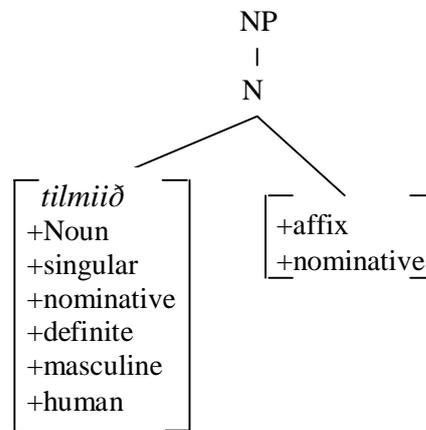
resulting in the string:

23j) al-tilmiið allaðii gaadar maḥbuub =the student who went away lovable

Similar to the relative pronoun affix transformation there are:

i. The noun suffix transformation: This will introduce a segment resulting eventually in the noun suffix *-u*, since *tilmiið* is marked [+nom]:

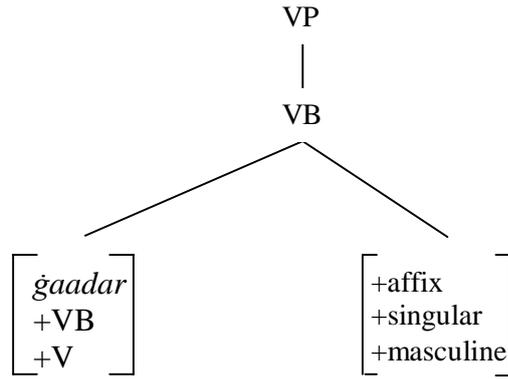
(23k)



result: *al-tilmiiðu*

ii. the verb suffix transformation: This will introduce the segment which eventually becomes *-a*:

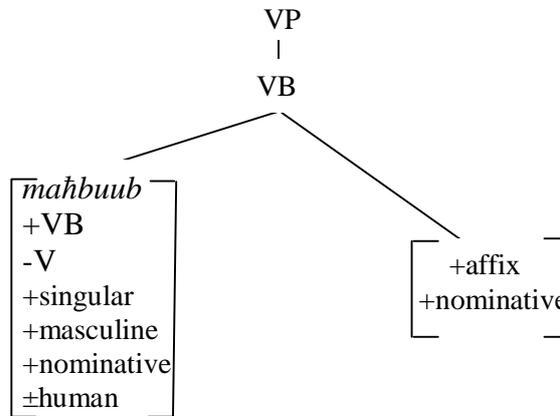
(23l)



result: *ḡaadara*

iii. The verbal suffix transformation: This will introduce the segment which eventually becomes **-u**, since *maḥbuub* is in the nominative case:

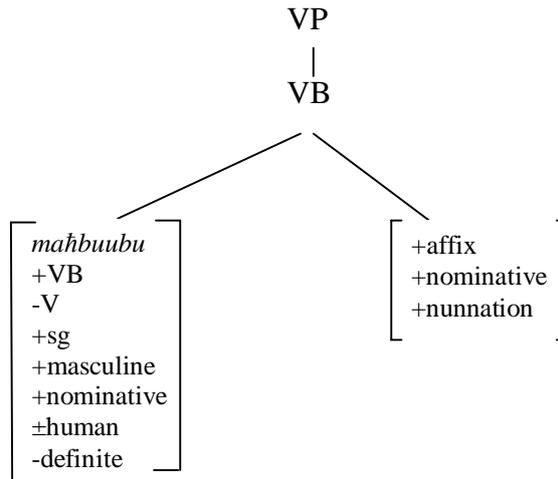
(23m)



result: *maḥbuubu*

iv. Since *maḥbuub* is marked with the feature [-Definite], the nunation²⁰ suffix transformation must apply to introduce the segment that eventually becomes **-n**:

(23n)



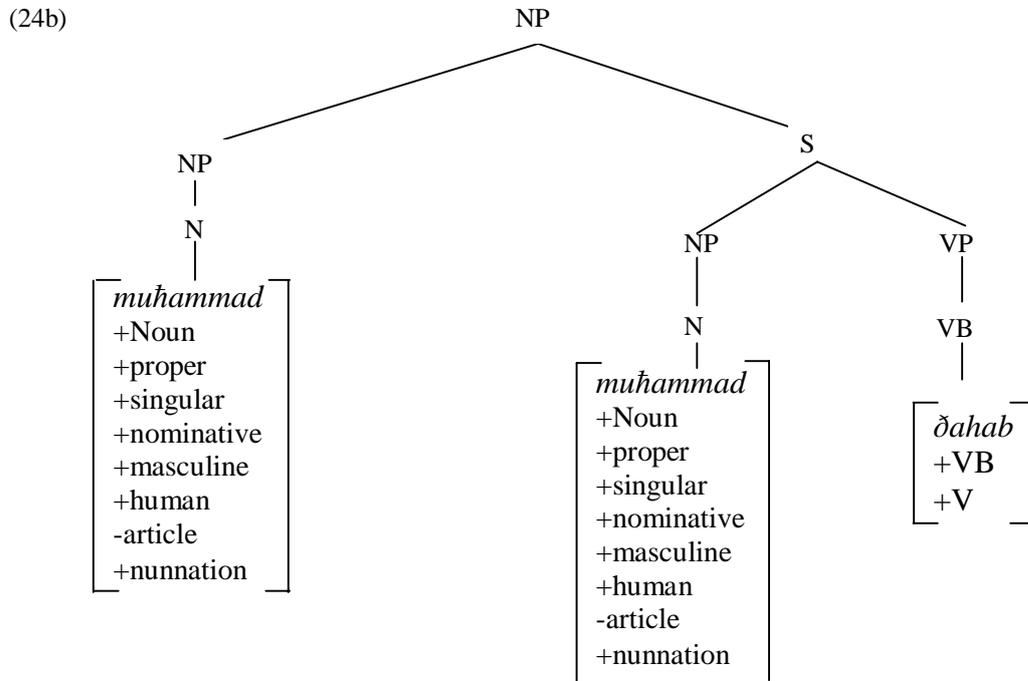
result: *maḥbuubun*

v. The morphophonemic rules will convert *al-tilmiidu* into *at-tilmiidu*. Thus, the final structure of the sentence is (23a) above.

It is noteworthy that the relativizing transformation discussed above will fail to account for the generation of structures such as (24a) below. This follows from the fact that the relativized NP in the structure is marked [+proper]. It follows then that it does not occur with the definite article:²¹

24a) *muḥammadun allaḏii ḏahaba =Mohammad, who went away,....*

The deep structure of (24a) above will be something like:



To account for the generation of (24a), we formulate an *ad hoc* rule²² that attaches the segment [+Art] to the repeated NP. Thus, the underlying representation of (24a) may roughly be the string:

24c) *muḥammad al-muḥammad ḏahab =*Muhammad the Muḥammad went away.*

The relative clause transformation will add the feature [+Relative] to the article:

24d) *muḥammad al[+relative] muḥammad ḏahab

The application of the relative pronoun suffix transformation will result in:

24e) *muḥammad allaḏii muḥammad ḏahab =*Muhammad who Muhammad went away*

The relativised noun deletion transformation will give the following string:

24f) *muḥammad allaḏii ḏahab*

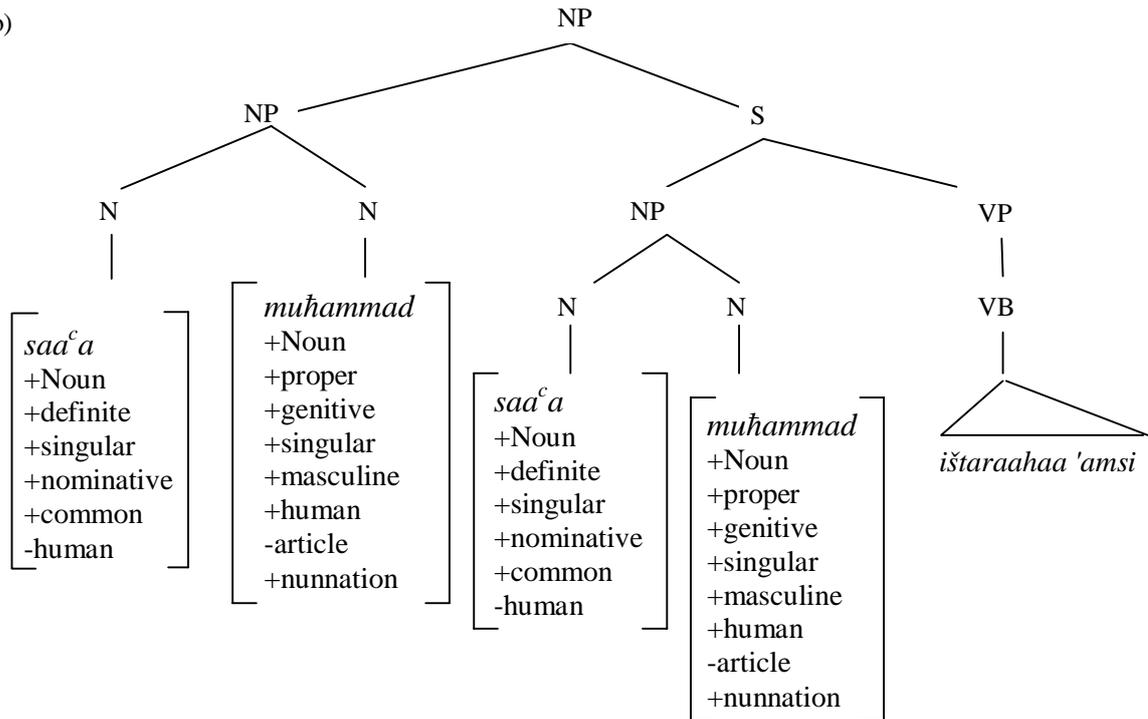
The final string (24a) will result after the application of the noun suffix and verb suffix transformations.

Furthermore, the transformation presented above will not account for the generation of structures like (25a) below, where the relativized noun is the first member in a construct phrase:²³

25a) *saa^catu muḥammadini llati ṣtaraahaa 'amsi*
 =*Muhammad's watch that he bought yesterday*

The deep structure of (25a) may roughly be represented as follows:

(25b)



(For the generation of (25a), see (25e) below.)

Now consider the following:

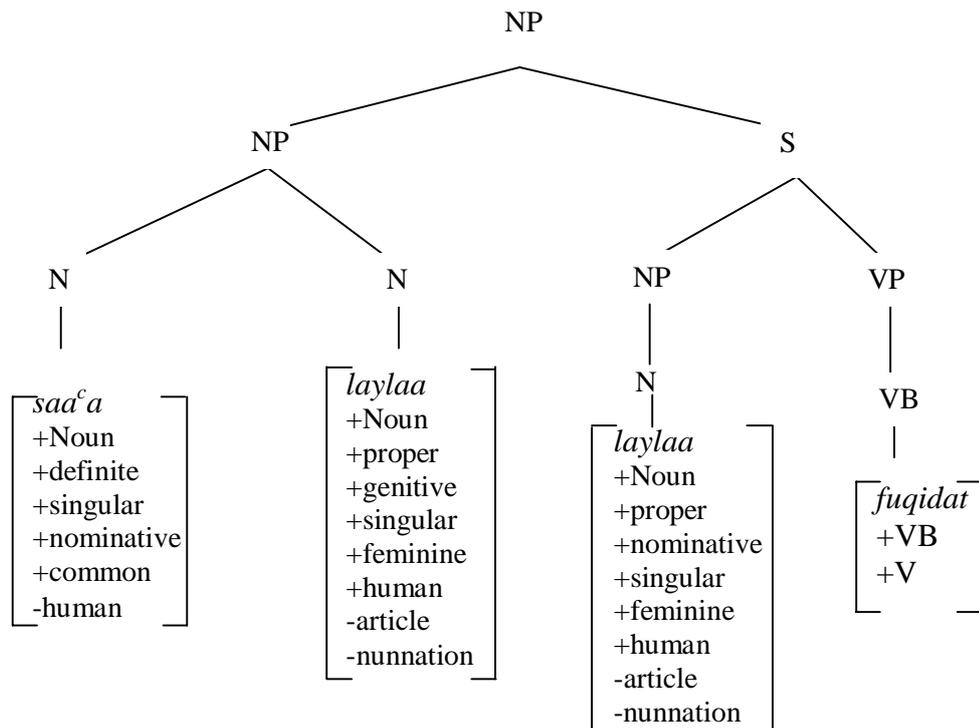
25c) *saa'atu laylaa allatii fuqidat* =

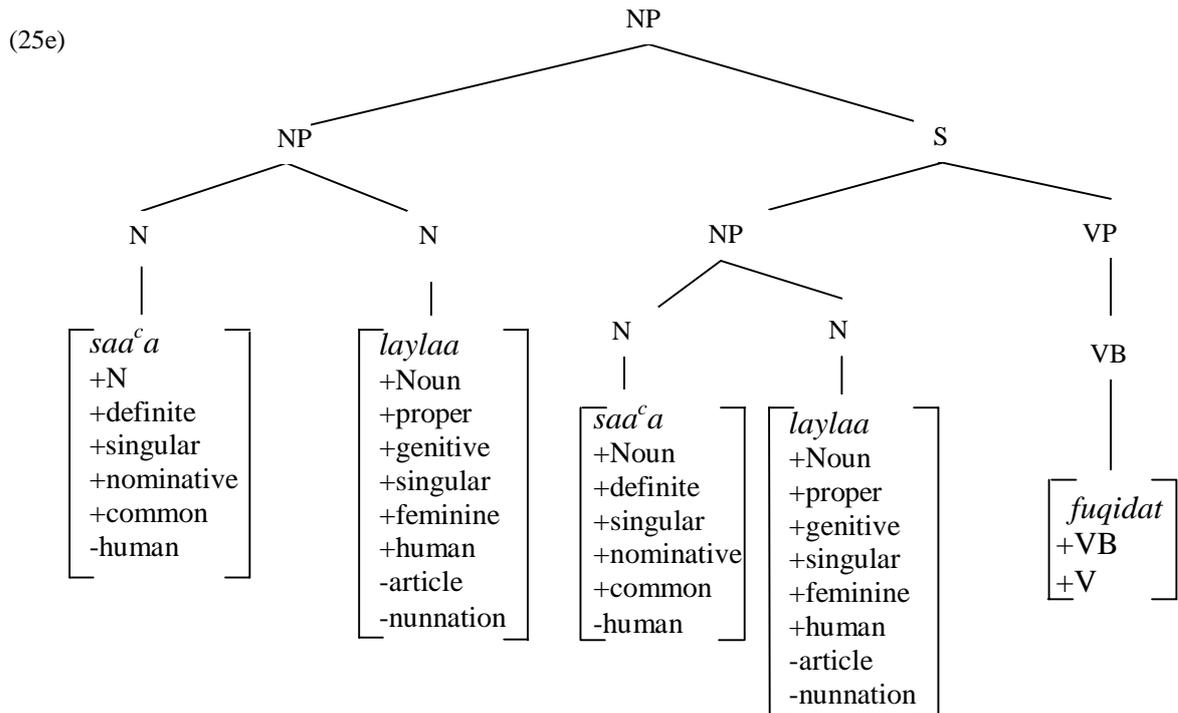
i) *Layla's watch which is lost*

ii) *a watch for Layla, who is lost*

This string of words has two different interpretations: was it *Layla* that was lost or was it *Layla's watch* that was lost? The ambiguity here arises from the fact that the clause *allatii fuqidat* has two nouns in front of it - *saa'atu* and *laylaa* - and there must be a signal to tell which noun it goes with. The underlying representations of (25c) are the following:

(25d)





(25d) and (25e) would resemble (25f) and (25g), respectively:

25f) *saa^catun lilaylaa al-binti llatii fuqidat*
 = *a watch for Layla, the girl who is lost*
 = *a watch for Layla, who is lost*

25g) *saa^catun lilaylaa fuqidat*
 a watch for Layla is lost = *Layla's watch is lost.*

Applying an *ad hoc* rule of the type we suggested above, we may safely say that the deep structure of (25d) will roughly be:

25h) **saa^ca laylaa al-laylaa fuqidat* = *watch Layla the Layla is lost*

Applying the transformation applied to (24a) above and in the same order (*25h) will give the final string (25c).

To account for the generation of (25e), the *ad hoc* rule will attach the segment [+Art] to the first noun of the repeated NP which has the features [+Def] and [+common]:

25i) **saa^ca laylaa al-saa^ca laylaa fuqidat* = *watch Layla the watch Layla is lost*

The application of the relative clause transformation will add the feature [+Relative] to the article:

25j) **saa^ca laylaa al[+relative] saa^ca laylaa fuqidat*

The application of the obligatory relativized noun deletion deletes the noun of the relativized NP, giving:

25k) *saa^ca laylaa allatii fuqidat* = *Layla's watch which is lost*

The application of the noun suffix and verb suffix transformation will result in the final string (25c).

4.2 *al-Mawṣuul al-Muštarak*

4.2.1 *man* and *maa*

So far we have shown that the traditional relative pronouns *allaḏii*, *allatii*, *allaḏiina*, etc. have essentially the same type of derivation and status as traditionally recognized definite articles. They are in fact special forms of the definite article. Now we turn to consider the forms *man* and *maa* when they appear in sentences like those under (13) through (16) above. It is assumed here that the conjunctive pronoun *man* occurs in deep structure as *al-šaḵṣ al[+relative] šaḵṣ* (*the person who*) or *šaḵṣ* (*a person who*) and that *maa* occurs in deep structure as *al-šay' al[+relative] šay'* (*the thing which*), or *šay'* (*a thing which*)²⁴. The two pronouns differ from *allaḏii*-set in that only one transformational rule is needed to delete *al-šaḵṣ al[+relative] šaḵṣ* or *al-šay' al[+relative] šay'* or *šay'* and substitute *man* or *maa* for them, respectively. Observe the following examples:

26a) 'uhibbu man ya^cdilu
=I love him who is just.

26b) 'igfir lanaa maa faraṭa minnaa
=Forgive us that which erred in us.

The underlying structures of (26a) and (27b) are roughly (27a) or (27a') and (27b) or (27b'), respectively:

27a) 'uhibbu al-šaḵṣa al[+relative] šaḵṣa ya^cdilu

27a') 'uhibbu šaḵṣan ya^cdilu

27b) 'igfir lanaa al-šay'a al[+relative] šay'a faraṭa minnaa

27b') 'igfir lanaa šay'an faraṭa minnaa

4.2.2 *al-almawṣuula*

The so-called *al-almawṣuulah* occurs in such sentences as (28a-d) below:

28a) al-ḥaraaratu al-šadiidatu
=*The heat which is severe*

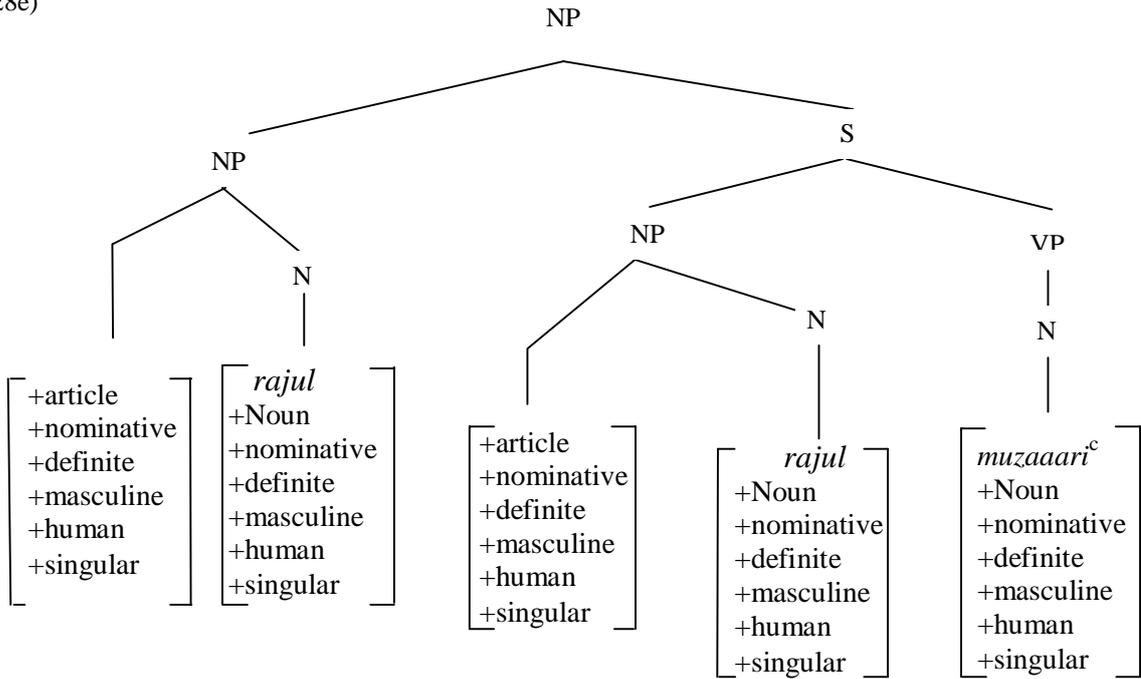
28b) ar-rajulu al-mu^callimu
=*The man who is a teacher*

28c) ar-rajulu al-muzaari^cu
=*The man who is a farmer*

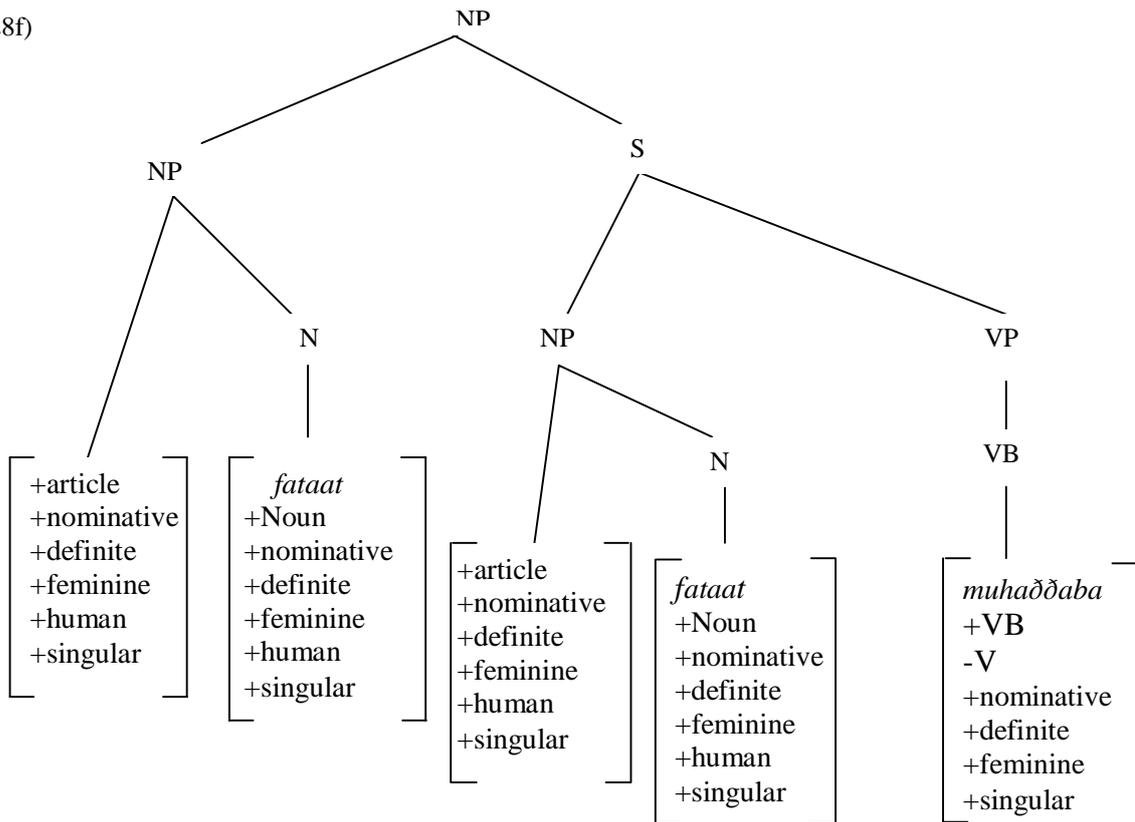
28d) al-fataatu al-muhaḏḏabatu
=*The girl who is polite*

Most Arab grammarians consider this type of *al-* as the definite article.²⁵ It is assumed here that this *al-* is a relative pronoun - a phonological representation in surface structure of the segment [+Article] in deep structure. The underlying representations of (28c) and (28d) above are, respectively, the following:

(28e)



(28f)



The relative clause transformation adds the feature [+Relative] to the second occurrence of the segment [+Art] in the repeated NP in each of the above deep structures. Thus (28c) will roughly be:

28g) *al-rajul al[+Relative] rajul muzaari^c

and (28d) will be:

28h) *alfataat *al*[+Relative] fataat muhađđab

The relative pronoun suffix transformation does not apply to such strings as (*28g) and (*28h) above because it will generate the final ungrammatical strings:

28i) **al-rajulu* *allađii* *muzaari^cun*

28j) **al-fataatu* *allatii* *muhađđabatun*

The application to *(28g) and *(28h) of the relativized noun deletion will give rise to the following strings:

28k) *al-rajul* *almuzaari^c*

28l) *al-fataat* *al-muhađđab*

The application of the noun suffix and adjective suffix transformations will result in the final strings (28c) and (28d) above:

al-rajul+u → *al-rajulu*

al-muzaari^c+u → *al-muzaari^cu*

al-muzaari^cu+∅ (where ∅ is the adjective suffix for adjectives that have the feature [+masc]) → *al-muzaari^cu*

al-rajulu → *ar-rajulu*

Since *al-* of *al-muzaari^cu* occurs in medial position, the *a-* gets deleted:

al-muzaari^cu → *l-muzaari^cu*,

al-fataat + u → *al-fataatu*

al-muhađđab + a(t) (where *a(t)* is the adjective suffix for adjectives which have the feature [+feminine]) → *al-muhađđaba(t)*

almuhađđabat + u → *al-muhađđabatu*

almuhađđabatu → *l-muhađđabatu*

It can be seen that the relative pronoun suffix transformation is subject to certain restrictions. One such restriction can be stated as follows: The relative pronoun suffix transformation does not apply to nominal and adjectival predicates. To be more precise, it is applicable only to predicates that are verb phrases. The following rule may account for this:

29) relative pronoun → art + suf. /-----^{VP} /N'

The rule indicates that the relative pronoun is to be rewritten as an article + suffix when followed by a verb phrase and when, at the same time, it occurs with the second occurrence of a noun N' in a repeated NP.

5. Conclusion

To conclude this obviously brief discussion, it may be said that an attempt has been made in this paper to transformationally describe a class of forms often called *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawşuulah* in MSA syntax. We have shown in particular that these forms are not the same kind of constituent in deep structures as they are in surface structures. In deep structures, *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawşuulah* are article segments. Surface structures containing forms like *allađii*, *allatii*, *allađiina*, etc. are generated through the application of the article transformation and the noun segment deletion transformation. As articles, *al-'Asmaa' al-Mawşuulah* are really a special form of the definite article.

Endnotes

¹. Referred to in English as the *nomen cojunctivum*; alternative terms: *relative pronouns*, *conjunctive pronouns*. See Wright, 1955, Vol. I: 105, Vol. II: 270.

². See endnote (9).

³. Arab grammarians prescribe three parts of speech, to use traditional terminology: the Noun, the Verb and the Particle.

⁴. The syntactic function *Ism al-Mawṣuul* in the clause it introduces, however, corresponds to that of the relative pronoun, the relative adverb and the interrogative pronoun in English.

⁵. In sentences like *jaa'a allaḏii najaha fi l-imiṭhaani* (*Came who succeeded in the examination = The person who succeeded in the examination came) and *jaa'a allaḏii zaarathu l-bintu* *(Came who visited him the girl=The person whom the girl visited came), the antecedent is realized as zero. It is assumed here that these sentences have the following underlying forms:

jaa'a al-waladu allaḏii najaha fii al-imiṭhaani

jaa'a al-waladu allaḏii zaarat-hu al-bintu

These are forms which we have not dealt with. See Wright, 1955, Vol. I: 273.

⁶. In this respect, MSA is different from English. In the following English sentences, for example, we use *whom*, instead of *who* despite the fact that it refers to the subject of the main clause:

i. The two men *whom* I met are teachers.

ii. The girl *whom* I kissed is my sister.

In MSA we have the opposite. The MSA counterparts of these two sentences would be (iii) and (iv), respectively:

iii. *ar-rajulaani allaḏaani qaabaltuhumaa mu^callimaani*

iv. *al-fataatu allatii qabaltuhaa (hiya) ṣaqiiqatii*

In (iii), *allaḏaani* refers to *ar-rajulaani*, which is the subject (*mubtada'*) of the main clause and it agrees with it in case as well as in gender and number. The suffix *-aani* is the dual masculine ending of the noun in the nominative case; *-ayni* is the dual masculine suffix of the noun in the accusative or genitive case.

⁷. We are dealing in this paper with those pronouns which appear in modern literary work only. See Ibn Aqeel, 1974, Vol. I, Part I: 137-76; cf. Hashimy, 1354 Hij 99-109; Wright, 1955, Vol. I: 270-74, Vol. II: 317-24.

⁸. The feminine plural relative has three different forms: *allaa'ii*, *allawaatii*, *allaatii*. For the present work, we use *allaa'ii* to represent (11b) above, since, we think, it is the form most commonly used nowadays.

⁹. The article *al-* has two forms in the surface structure: *al-* used initially and after a pause: *al-waladu jaa'a* (*The boy came*); *l-* occurring medially: *kitaabu l-waladi* (*The boy's book*). However, the *l-* gets completely assimilated to a following *sun* letter, to use traditional terminology. *Sun* letters include:

ت t	ث θ	د d	ذ ḏ	ر r	ز z	س s
ش š	ص ṣ	ض ḍ	ظ z	ط ṭ	ن n	ل l

For example: *al-ṭaalib* → *aṭ-ṭaalib* (*the student*), *al-ṣams* → *aš-ṣams* (*the sun*)

The rest of the consonants are what Arab grammarians would call *moon letters*. They include the following:

ء	ب b	ج j	ح ĥ	خ ḵ	ع ^c	غ ğ
ف f	ق q	ك k	م m	و w	ي y	ه h

For example: *al-^ciraaq* (Iraq); *al-walad* (the boy)

¹⁰ For clarity of analysis, the full forms *allaḏii*, *allatii*, *allaḏiina*, etc. will be employed wherever they occur in the sentence.

¹¹ The **i** in *jaaiat-i* is an *epenthetic* (*prothetic*) vowel which is inserted after the first consonant in a three-consonant cluster. This insertion is obligatory since a three-segment (medial) cluster does not exist in MSA.

¹² See Galaayinee, Part I, 1973: 132; Sayyid, Part I: 1975: 144; cf. Hashimy, 1354 Hij: 101.

¹³ Cf. Sayyid, 1975: 144-5.

¹⁴ Cf. *mani^c taḏara 'ilayka*. See endnote (11) above.

¹⁵ Cf. Akhfash (cited in Khudharee), 1940: Part I: 74; see Saqee, 1970: 72.

¹⁶ Arab grammarians argue that the use of *al-* as a relative pronoun in examples like those cited above is very rare and is noted only in poetry. See Ibn Aqeel 1974, Vol. I, Part I: 156 and 1972 Vol. II, Part II: 110-11. cf. p. 106. On classification of *al-*, see Suyootee, 1360, Part II: 43-6; Zejjajee, 1969: 30-50; Galaayinee, 1973, Part I: 150-7, Aed, 1974: 186-94.

¹⁷ See Chomsky, 1968: 38.

¹⁸ cf. Suyootee (n.d.) I:82.

¹⁹ In this analysis, forms like *ḡaadar* and *maḥbuub* are represented as verbals (VB) in the deep structure with the features [+V] and [-V], respectively (cf. Jacobs and Rosenbaum, 1968: 100, 108).

²⁰ Nunnation is the process of suffixing final *-n* to declinable (i.e. *mu^crab*) nouns that are established in, or possessed of, the nominal character to the fullest extent (i.e. *munṣarif*): *rajulun*, *rajulan*, *rajulin* (a man - nominative, accusative, genitive, respectively). Nouns that are declined with nunnation have three terminations to indicate the three cases, namely, *-u* nom, *-a* (acc.) and *i-* (gen.). Such nouns are referred to as triptotes (examples above). Unlike triptotes, diptotes, which are declined without nunnation, have only two terminations, namely, *-u* (nom.) and *-a* (acc. and gen.): *ṣaḥraa'u* and *ṣaḥraa'a* (a desert). Moreover, nunnation and *al-* are mutually exclusive in MSA. Thus, we have *al-kitaabu* (the book), *kitaabu-n* (a book), but not **al-kitaabu-n* (**the/a book*). On nunnation, see Ibn Aqeel, 1974, Vol. I, Part I: 17-21; Samarra'ee, 1961: 114-25; Ibn Hisham, 1966: Part I: 13-16.

²¹ Proper nouns in MSA are definite even though in general they occur without an explicit article. There are exceptions, of course, including:

al-ḥaariθ (Al-Haarith)	al-sa ^c iid (Al-Sa'eed)
al- ^c abbaas (Al-'Abbaas)	al-faḏl (Al-Fadhil)

These are transformed from their original application to that of proper nouns. See Ibn Aqeel, 1974, Vol. I, Part I: 183-6.

²² The *ad hoc* rule will add the segment [+Art] to proper nouns which contain the feature [-Art] and to common nouns which have the feature [+Def].

²³ Arab grammarians consider a noun definite if it is the first member in a construct phrase: *kitaabu laylaa* (*Layla's book*); *baytu l-mu^callimi* (*the teacher's house*).

²⁴. In MSA, relative sentences used as noun modifier are annexed only to an immediately preceding noun that is [+Definite], never [-Definite]. Consider the following:

ar-rajulu allaḏii jaa'a =the man who came

ar-rajulu allaḏii zaarathu I-bintu =the man whom the girl visited

al-maliku allaḏii ya^cdilu =the king who is just

Cf. *rajulun allaḏii jaa'a =a man who came

*rajulun allaḏii zaarathu I-bintu =a man whom the girl visited

*malikun allaḏii ya^cdilu =a king who is just

rajulun jaa'a =A man came.

rajulun zaarathu I-bintu =a man whom the girl visited

malikun ya^cdilu =a king who is just

²⁵. See Ibn Hisham, 1968: 192-3.

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