

ARTICLES

AGREEMENT IN THE ARABIC RELATIVE CLAUSES

Ladislav DROZDÍK

Institute of Oriental Studies, Slovak Academy of Sciences,
Klemensova 19, 813 64 Bratislava, Slovakia
e-mail: kaorladi@savba.sk

Agreement patterns are analysed in the relative clauses we classify as disjunctive, i.e. clauses with coreferential terms Ant(ecedent) and Rel(ative pronoun) co-occurring as independent entities. The Ant-Rel agreement in the syntactic context examined, by transferring the government-imposed status of Ant from the main to the subordinate (relative) clause, fails to display the syntactic position of the Rel-represented Ant from the perspective of the relative clause. From this point of view, the conflict between Ant-Rel agreement and Rel-centred government will be studied on the case representation, real or virtual, with the linking operator *allađi*.

Key words: coreferentiality, definiteness-state dependency, And-Rel agreement, Rel-centred government

1. The relative clauses (RCs), presented in the following inquiry, rely on a linking nominal, relative pronoun (Rel), coreferential with another nominal, head noun or antecedent (Ant), which is part of another clause. The status of these coreferential terms widely differs: while the Ant is always present, the presence or absence of the Rel, in the type of RCs examined, depends on the definiteness state of Ant. The definiteness-state dependency of the Rel may be illustrated by the following examples (RCs in these introductory paragraphs are put into square brackets):

11. Rel-represented Ant in subject position:

(1)Ant: definite - Rel: overtly expressed:

ar - rağul - u [llaḍī māta] “the man who died”;¹

def man nom who died

Ant Rel

(2) Ant: indefinite - Rel: unrepresented:

rağul- u- n [māta] “a man who died” (as against *māta rağul-un* “a man died”);²

nom indef

(def(inite article); indef(inite article); nom(inative))

RCs linked through the Rel to the Ant, occurring beyond their clause limit, which separates both coreferential terms from each other (hence the term *disjunctive* RCs),³ contrast with RCs whose Ant and Rel are fused together in a single linguistic entity (Ant/Rel) within the same clause (hence the term *conjunctive* RCs).⁴ Zero-representation of the Rel in the 11(2) RC type will not alter the disjunctive classification of the latter since the deletion of Rel is here merely substituted for the absence of its indefinite variant. The attributive function of disjunctive RCs further contrasts with a variety of functions possibly performed by conjunctive RCs may stand for any position represented by NP in a simple sentence (see §2), e.g.:

[allaḍī māta] kāna zamīl-ī “that who died was my friend”

Ant/Rel died was friend my

For obvious reasons, conjunctive RCs can provide no relevant data for the study of Ant-Rel agreement phenomena that are, in disjunctive RCs, evidently superior to those imposed by the RC government. In conjunctive RCs, by the absence of Ant as autonomous entity, Ant/Rel is directly assigned the case value

¹ The definite article *al-* of *allaḍī*, unlike with other nominals, is written unhyphenated, since there is no indefinite counterpart of the latter; in syntactic contexts calling for the missing indefinite form, the Rel is deleted; the paradigm of *allaḍī*: sing. masc.: *allaḍī* sing. fem.: *allatī*; dual masc.: *allaḍāni* (nominative), *allaḍayni* (oblique: gen/acc); dual fem.: *allatāni* (nominative), *allatayni* (oblique: gen/acc); plur. masc.: *allaḍīna*; plur. fem.: *allātī*, *allawātī*, *allā'ī*. The definiteness-state dependency needs some closer consideration. Most of its special issues, however, are of no direct relevance to the subject of this inquiry. Some of them:

– the deletion of *allaḍī* coreferential with a generically defined Ant, as in: *hum/u/ l-fawārisu yaḥmūna n-nisā'a* “they are chevaliers who protect women” (i.e. ‘they personify all qualities and ideals of chivalry in respect to women’); or inversely:

– the use of the Rel after some types of indefinite Ant’s: *min niṣfi yawmin* (indef. gen.) *allaḍī miqdāruhu ‘alfu sanatin* “of half of the day whose length (equals) 1000 years” (Reck. 427: Ṭabarī), and the like

² The indefinite article *-n* is mostly treated as a joint case-and-indefiniteness marker: *-un* for nominative, *-in* for genitive, and *-an* for accusative (*tanwīn*).

³ *Adjektivische Relativsätze* (Reckendorf 1921), *Relativsätze welche die Qualifikation eines Nomen bilden* (Socin 1899, Brockelmann 1969), *Attributsätze* (Syntax 2001, 2003, Fischer 2002).

⁴ *Substantivische Relativsätze* (Reckendorf 1921); *Relativsätze welche keinem Nomen beigegeben sind* (Socin 1899, Brockelmann 1969); *Relativsätze* (Syntax 2001, 2003, Fischer 2002); relative pronoun *allaḍī*, as a fused Ant/Rel operator, is with some authors called *substantivisches Relativpronomen* (Syntax 2003).

by the main-clause governor with no respect, once again, to that of the RC. Despite marked structural and functional differences between the two types of RCs, specific problems associated with the Arabic relativization are substantially the same in both cases.

111. Grammatical categories shared by Ant and Rel: definiteness (D): definite (def), indefinite (indef); gender (G): masculine (masc), feminine (fem); number (N): singular (sing), dual, plural (plur); case (C): triptotic nominals: nominative (nom), genitive (gen), accusative (acc); nominative and oblique (obl): affix-marked masculine and feminine plurals, masculine and feminine duals; indefinite diptotic nominal: nominative and oblique. For a full-scale statement of the distribution and inventory of category markers, inter-categorical relationships and restrictive interdependencies, see reference grammars of Standard Arabic.

Not all these categories behave uniformly in the process of agreement. Let us consider the following sentences:

- (1) *ar-rağul-u [llađī māta]* "the man who died";

Ant Rel

Shared categories: D, G, N:

Ant: definite, masculine, singular;

Rel: definite, masculine, singular;

Unshared category: C (verb-related categories, like person, verbal voice, etc., of no direct relevance to the matter, will be disregarded);

Ant: nominative;

Rel: zero;

- (2) *'inna r-rağul-a [llađī māta]* "the man who died";

Shared categories: as above;

Unshared: C:

Ant: accusative;⁵

Rel: zero;

- (3) *ar-rağul-āni [llađ-āni māta]* "the two men who died";

d-m-n (=)

(d(ual)-m(asculine)-n(ominative)); (=) the same as the preceding; dual inflections of *allađī* will no longer be presented in segmented forms (see *allađī* paradigm in 11, n. 1))

Shared: D, G, N, C:

Ant: definite, masculine, dual, nominative;

Rel: the same as with Ant.

112. The category transfer in the interval of Ant-Rel coreferentiality may proceed harmoniously or else may be stigmatized by a variety of conflicting constraints. It proceeds harmoniously only with categories that do not interact with category functions (marked by case values) imposed by way of the RC government. This conflicting nature of the Ant-Rel agreement, viewed from the perspec-

⁵ Ant in the position of subject emphasized by an accusative-governing sentence introducer *'inna* "behold, verily (mostly left untranslated)" transfers its case value by way of agreement to the Rel irrespective of the role it plays in the RC.



tive of the RC government, will be briefly, though with some idiosyncrasy, referred to as Rel-representation failure (RRF).

Interaction between the agreement-transferred form, from the perspective of the main clause, real or virtual, in accordance with inflectibility of the Rel-representing nominal (f1), and government-controlled function, from the side of the RC, in the Arabic type of relativization invariably virtual (f2), may result in two possible relationships:

f1 = f2 (correspondence)

f1 ≠ f2 (in correspondence)

From this point of view, the set of shared categories in the syntactic context examined falls into two distinct groups:

(3) non-conflicting (nc) categories, marked by the correspondence between f1 and f2 (henceforward represented by category symbols as given in 111) : categories D, G, and N.

(4) conflicting categories, characterized by the potential lack of such correspondence; they will be noted by the category symbol combined with the type of f1-f2 relationship that may incidentally take the form of (4.1) correspondence or (4.2) in correspondence between the case form displayed by Ant-Rel agreement and that called for RC government; with *C/ase/*, the only conflicting category in the syntactic domain examined, the notation of the f1-f2 in/correspondence will take the form outlined in the following paragraph. Agreement restrictors unrelated to the RRF-constraint, such as non-human reference of the head noun in the plural, invariably imposing a feminine singular to the agreeing element, or pre-subject position of the verb, reducing the range of agreement of an invariably singular verb to gender, are here disregarded.

113. The RRF-constraint, imposing the government-controlled condition of the main clause (MC) to the Ant-Rel agreement, is responsible for the specific nature of the f1-f2 relationship that is a mirror picture of the RC-governed Rel in most, perhaps all, inflected IE languages, at the very least. The correspondence or in correspondence of f1-f2 values, depending on the incidental compatibility or incompatibility of the MC and RC governors, are largely unpredictable. Incidental f1-f2 correspondences, independent of the RC governor, cannot alter the conflicting nature of the f1-f2 relationship.

With Rel, represented by *alladī*, where the dual is the only subcategory of number to inflect for case (x), the f1-f2 relationship takes the following form:

f1: x — real, formally represented, agreement-transferred values, assigned to Rel by the MC-government, as far as case inflections are available, or:

f1: v-x — virtual, when case inflections are missing;

f2: v-x — virtual, unrepresented case-values, theoretically assigned to Rel by the RC-government in accordance with those assigned to a NP at its deep-structure positions; the v-x notation will be maintained irrespective of incidental correspondences or in correspondences of virtual case values; only one exception to this rule will be admitted:

f2: x notation that will be used with incidental f1-f2 correspondences of real case values represented by dual case inflections.

The difference between non-conflicting and conflicting categories will be illustrated once again on the model examples (1) and (2) each of them presented in two equally divided parts, one for the domain of Ant-Rel agreement, and another one for the syntactic context of RC government:

(1) *[ar-rağul-u llađī] māta*: categories subject to agreement: D, G, N, C (the latter with the dual only):

non-conflicting (nc) categories: D, G, and N; no f1-f2 conflict occurs in the domain of the MC-controlled agreement (agreement restrictors operating independently of the RC governors (see 112 (4) will be ignored);

conflicting (c) category: C; conflicting interaction between the MC-controlled agreement and RC-government (f1: v-nom/MC-assigned virtual agreement);

ar-rağul-u llađī māta: categories subject to government: C (for the restriction of the government-controlled categories to case, see 111 (1) above); the case assignment to Rel by way of the RC government is made impossible in Arabic, as already seen, by its being already assigned by the channel of agreement in tune with the MC governor. Apart from the subject position of the Rel, which is implicit and unmarked, all other functions have to be marked by analytic indicators: referent pronouns (exceptions to this general rule, as not directly relevant to the matter, will not be discussed in this paper);

nc-categories: as above;

c-category: C (f2: v-nom/RC-assigned virtual-agreement);

f1: v-nom, f2: v-nom (correspondence);

The f1-f2 correspondence may wrongly be interpreted as the result of a non-conflicting relationship despite the quite incidental and unpredictable coincidence of two identical syntactic functions that may be dissolved by each modification of the underlying construction. Let us revisit the 111(2) RC:

(2) *'inna r-rağul-a llađī māta*

nc-categories: as above;

c-category: C (f1: v-acc/MC-assigned agreement);

*'inna r-rağul-a llađī māta*⁶

nc-categories: as above;

c-category: C (f2: v-nom/RC-controlled agreement).

f1: v-acc, f2: v-nom (in correspondence).

114. Disjunctive RCs Classified (Rel-represented Ant in subject position):

Since the definiteness state of the Ant and Rel is an implicit feature in *llađī* RCs (see §1 above), it will not be specified in annotations. For more simplicity and transparency, morphemic segmentation and related grammatical notes will be reduced to inflections pertaining to the Ant and Rel in the following way:

⁶ The dividing line between the main clause and the RC, ambiguously marked by the two differently framed parts of the complex sentence, further reflects the fairly ambiguous status of the Rel as part of the main clause (Reckendorf 1920: 426; *Syntax* i: 29; ii: 146) or else, as an indivisible part of the RC, the latter in tune with the common linguistic intuition and widely accepted linguistic insights in this respect (see 3 in what follows).

Ant: gender, number and case; category markers with respective category values will be presented in segmented form, as morphemes, only with affix-marked categories in contrast to pattern-marked (introflective) categories □ in the examples quoted, pattern-marked plurals or /broken plurals⁷ will simply be noted as such, followed by gender and case values; unsegmentable cases, disguised by the phonemic evolution ('weak stems'), will be marked by their respective case-values only;

Rel (*alladī*, etc., written unhyphenated): gender, number and case; case-values, however, indicated in the f1-f2 relationship only; Ant-Rel agreement incorrespondences, unrelated to the RRF-constraint, such as Ant's non-personal plural agreeing with Rel's feminine singular, will be noted with no further comments.

Rel and the f1-f2 relationship, as classificatorily criterial, will be quoted at the heading of each paragraph.

1141. Classified by virtual case values (Rel: singular, plural):

Rel: *alladī*: masc-sing — f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *allāh-u*: masc-sing-nom: 'God':

allāhu lladī ḥalaqa s-samāwāti wal-'arḍa "It is God who created the heavens and the earth" (Q, 32: 4);

The same as above (with Ant: *aš-šā'ir-u*: masc-sing-nom: 'the poet'):

kaḍaba š-šā'iru lladī qāla qablī . . . "Falsely spoke the poet who said before my time . . ." (*Tarjumān*, 25; E 87);

Rel: *alladīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-acc, f2: v-nom;

Ant: *'ibād-a-hu*: broken plural, masc, -a /acc/, -hu /'his': "his servants":

ḡalika lladī yubašširu llāhu 'ibādahu lladīna 'āmanū wa-'amilū š-šāliḥātī "This is the good news that God gives to his creatures who believe and do good" (Q, 42: 23);

Rel: *allātī*: fem-plur — f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *'umma(h)-āt-u-kum*: -āt /fem-plur/, -u /nom/, -kum /'your' / 'your foster mothers':

ḥurimat 'alaykum . . . *'ummahātukum(u) llātī 'arḍa'nakum* "unlawful (for marriage) are your foster mothers . . . (i.e. women considered as mothers by having nursed you at their breasts)" (Q, 4: 23);

Rel: *allātī*: fem-plur — f1: v-gen, f2: v-nom;

Ant: (*bālu*) *n-niswat-i*, broken plural, fem, -i /gen/: "women's (mind, getting along)":

(*irḡi'* *'ilā rabbika fa-salhu*:) *mā bālu n-niswati llātī qaṭṭa'na 'aydiyahunna?* "(Go back to your Lord and ask him:) How fare the women who had cut their hands?" (Q, 12: 50);

Rel: *alladīna* . . . *wa-lladīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *'asrā* (*l-ḥarb-i*): *'asrā*: broken plural, masc, /nom/, ⁷ (-i /gen/): "prisoners of war":

⁷ A broken-plural pattern that does not inflect for case: /nom/ is a virtual value derived from the subject position of the Ant in the main clause.

yadhulu fi hādā t-tabāduli 'asrā l-ḥarb-i llaḍīna yulāḥaqūna qaḍā'īyan wa-llaḍīna ḥūkimū li-'asbābin ḡinā'īyatin 'aw ḡayriḥā (Leg, i: 72) "Prisoners of war against whom a penal prosecution may be pending, as well as those sentenced for crime or other offence, shall be included in this exchange" (Leg, ii: 32);

Rel: *allatī*: fem-sing⁸ — f1: v-acc - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *'inna/ 'aḥkāma wa-qawānīn-a*: non-personal plurals, 'inna-accusatives (see note 3): "rules and regulations":

'inna 'aḥkāma wa-qawānīna l-quwā l-'askariyati lil-fariqayni llatī taḥzuru 'alā l-madaniyīna ḡtiyāza ḥuṭūṭi l-qitālī . . . tazallu mawḍū'atan mawḍī'a t-tanfīz (Leg, i: 71) "Rules and regulations of the armed forces of the parties, which prohibit civilians from crossing the fighting lines . . . , shall remain in effect" (Leg, ii: 31);

Rel: *allatī*: fem-sing — f1: v-gen - f2: v-nom;

Ant: (*qiyādata*) *l-quww-āt-i*: -āt/fem-plur/, -i/obl: gen/: "(command) of the forces";

yatawallā l-qā'idu l-'āmmu qiyādata l-quwwāti llatī tūḍa'u taḥta 'imratihī (Leg, i: 35) "The Commander-in-Chief shall command the forces placed under his command" (Leg, ii: 16);

Rel: *allaḍīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-gen - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *'alā-/ . . . l-'ulamā'-i l-'āḥar-īna*: /masc-plur-gen/: 'against/ . . . other scholars';

fa-kāna ḍālika yuḡīzuhu wa-yuḥniquhu 'alā ḥuṣūmihi l-ulamā'i l-'āḥarīna llaḍīna kānū yattabi'ūna š-šāfi'īya 'aw mālikan "and that annoyed him and irritated him against his opponents, other scholars who followed (the doctrine of) aš-Šāfi'ī or Mālik" (*al-'Ayyām*, 80);

11411. A complex sentence with several RCs does not presuppose their structural identity and different RC-types may freely co-occur. In the following example a disjunctive (Ant - Rel) RC combines with a conjunctive (Ant/Rel) type:

Rel: *allaḍī*: masc-sing — f1: v-acc - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *rabb-a-kum*: masc-sing - *l-al* acc, *l-kum* / 'your': 'your Lord';

Ant/Rel: *allaḍīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-acc - f2: v-nom:

(*yā 'ayyuhā n-nāsu*) /u/'*budū rabbakum/u/ llaḍī ḥalaqakum wa-llaḍīna min qablikum* "(So, O you people), adore your Lord who created you as He did those before you" (Q, 2:21);

1142. Classified by real case values (Rel: dual):

It would be perhaps possible to proceed another way by claiming that a zero-marker is compatible with anything. Nevertheless, assigning the zero-marker the highest ranking value of a Joker card would hardly yield a true mapping of the agreement-government conflict. A whole series of evidently conflicting relationships would appear harmonious and the first checking of virtual and formally unrepresented values against real case inflections, restricted to the dual, would offer a different picture. A unified approach to the functional characteristics of *all* members of the *allaḍī* paradigm, irrespective of the nature of their case representation, has to provide more evidence for assessing value of some older and recent

⁸ Agreement constraints unconnected with RRF (see 112 and 112(4)) will be ignored.

controversial hypotheses about the nature and structural limits of RCs in respect to their main clauses. As I will attempt to show later (§ 3), some of these hypotheses, evidently motivated by what has been earlier labelled Rel-representation failure (see 112 above), seem to oppose several widely accepted standards and linguistic insights.

Some examples:

Rel: *allatayni* : fem-dual-obl: acc — f1: acc (real, transferred by agreement from the perspective of MC-government),

f2: v-nom (virtual, imposed by RC government):

Ant: *ar-rak^c-at-ayni* : /fem-dual-obl: acc/: “two rak^cas”:

*šallā r-rak^catayni llatayni qabla l-mağribi*⁹ “he performed (lit. prayed) two rak^cas that precede the evening prayer (lit. that /are due/ before the sunset prayer)” (Reck., 429: Ibn Sa^cd);

Similarly:

Rel: *allaḏāni*: masc-dual-nom — f1: nom - f2: nom;

Ant: *ar-rağul-āni*: /masc-dual-nom/ ‘the two men’:

‘ayna r-rağulāni llaḏāni ḏaḥalā ‘ilayka l-laylata “Where are the men who came to you tonight? (Gen., 19: 5);

Rel: *allaḏayni*: masc-dual-obl: acc — f1: obl: acc - f2: v-nom;

Ant: *mandūb-ayni mufawwaḏ-ayni* : /masc-dual-obl: acc/: ‘two Plenipotentiaries’:

‘ayyanā li-hāḏā l-ğaraḏi mandūbayni mufawwaḏayni . . . ra’īsa l-wuzarā’i . . . wazīra l-

ḥāriğiyati; alladyni . . . ittafaqā ‘alā mā yalī (Leg, i: 55-56) “For that purpose (they) have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries . . . the Prime Minister . . . (and) the Minister of Foreign Affairs who . . . have agreed as follows” (Leg, ii: 25-26);

Rel: *allaḏayni* : masc-dual-obl: acc — f1: obl: acc - f2: v - nom;

Ant: *aş-şuḥufiy-ayni*: /masc-dual-obl: acc/: “two journalists”:

qābala ş-şuḥufiyayni llaḏayni waşalā ‘ilā l-qāhirati “he met two journalists who came to Cairo” (Oliv., 183)

Rel: *allatayni* : fem-dual-obl: acc — f1: obl: acc - f2: v- nom;

Ant: *al-qışsa-tayni*: /fem, dual, obl: acc/ ‘two stories’:

hal qara’ta l-qışsatayni llatayni nuşiratā fi mağallati l-kātibi “did you read the two stories that were published in the magazine Al-Kātib?” (ibid.);

12. Rel-represented Ant in non-subject positions:

The syntactic position of Ant in the main clause, transferred by agreement to Rel irrespective of the RC governor, may be formally marked (a) by the absence or (b) presence of the referent pronoun (rp).¹⁰ The former case characterizes all

⁹ With elision of the predicate-marking personal pronoun *humā* “they two (dual)”: *šallā r-rak^catayni llatayni humā qabla l-mağribi*.

¹⁰ Socin 1899 and newer editions: *rückbezügliches Pronome*, Brockelmann 1913: *zurückweisendes Pronomen*; Blau 1965: *pronoun referring back to the antecedent of a RC*; Holes 1995: *resumptive pronoun*; Wise 1974: 88: *pronoun operative in the pronominal replacement*

RCs so far examined, in non-subject positions, the rp specifies the function by the type of phrase whose modifier (governed constituent) it substitutes: NP > N+rp (noun phrase: attribute), VP > V+rp (verbal phrase: direct object, indirect object in co-occurrence with direct object or various clausal substitutes of the latter, etc.); PP > P+rp (prepositional phrase: indirect object, various types of adjunct-type modifiers), and the like.

For f2, the transformationally arranged chains of sentence-structure symbols, which have to represent particular instances of the 'non-subject' position of the Rel-represented Ant, are reduced to those directly related to the Rel's case value.

The referent pronoun is sometimes omitted and the loss of its distinctive function has to be compensated by the context:

The rp is present:

Rel: *allatī*: fem-sing (see n. 8) — f1: v-acc - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + rp (*ḥafarū-hā*: 'they have dug it');

Ant: 'ābār-a (*l-mā'-i*): broken plural, fem, non-personal, /acc/ 'the wells (of water)';

wa-nabaša ('iṣḥāqu) 'ābāra l-mā'i llatī ḥafarūhā fī 'ayyāmi 'ibrāhīma 'abīhi "Isaac dug again the wells of water that had been dug in the days of his father Abraham" (*Genesis* 26: 18);

The rp is missing:

Rel: *allatī*: fem-sing — f1: v-gen - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + 0 (*ḥafarū*: 'they have dug');

Ant: ('an/i/) *l-bi'r-i*: /fem-sing-nom/: '(about) the well';

wa-'aḥbarūhu 'an/i/ l-bi'ri llatī ḥafarū "and /they/ told him about the well that they had dug" (*ibid.* 26: 32);

or:

Rel: *allaḍāni*: masc-dual-obl: nom — f1: nom - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + 0 (*dafanat* 'they/ have buried /them/');

Ant: *al-ḡazal-āni*: /masc-dual-obl: nom/: 'two gazelles';

humā l-ḡazalāni llaḍāni dafanat ḡrhumun fihā "they are two gazelles which the Ḡrhumites have buried over there" (Reck. 429: Ibn Hišām);

121. Classified by virtual case values (Rel: singular, plural):

direct object:

Rel: *allatī*: fem-sing — f1: v-nom - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + rp (*'ayyana-hā*: 'he/ has appointed her');

Ant: *al-mar'atu*: /fem-sing-nom/: 'the woman';

hiya l-mar'atu llatī 'ayyanahā r-rabbu li-bni sayyidī "let her be/ the woman whom the Lord has appointed for my master's son", properly: /she is . . . /; (*Gen.* 24: 44);

(direct object + *ḥāl*):

of the head noun in other than subject position in the RC; Fleisch 1968: *pronom de rapel*; etc.). Referent pronoun (rp), as used in the present study, partly coincides with the considerably wider and innovatively applied concept of the *Kopulativpronom*, recently introduced by the authors of *Syntax 2003* (§ 7.1.5.1, see also p. 146).

Rel: *allaḏī*: masc-sing — f1: v-nom - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + rp (‘*aqamtu-hu* . . . /*‘amūdan*/ ‘I have set it up . . . /for a pillar/’)

Ant: *hāḏā l-ḥaḡaru-u*: /masc-sing-nom/ ‘this stone’:

wa-hāḏā l-ḥaḡaru llaḏī ‘aqamtuhu ‘amūdan (yakūnu bayta llāhi) “and this stone, which I have set up for a pillar, (shall be God’s house)” (*Gen.* 28: 22);

annexion-type attribute:

Rel: *allaḏī*: masc-sing — f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom → f1 + VP > V + NP > N + rp (*dukkānu-hu*: ‘his shop’);

Ant: *al-ḥayyāf-u*: /masc-sing-nom/ ‘the taylor’:

(*minhum hāḏā l-ḥāḡḡu*) . . . *al-ḥayyāfu llaḏī kāna dukkānuhu yakādu yuqābilu l-kuttāba* . . . “(Among them was this Mecca-pilgrim) . . . the taylor whose shop stood almost exactly opposite the Koran school . . .” (*al-‘Ayyām*, 83);

direct object:

Rel: *allatī*: fem-sing — f1: v-gen - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + rp (dir-obj: *taḏa‘u-hā*: ‘/they/ shall place it’);

Ant: (*tawzī‘u*) *l-quww-āt-i*: -āt/fem-plur/, -i/gen/: (distribution) of the (armed) forces’;

tawzī‘u l-quwwātī llatī taḏa‘uhā d-dawlatāni l-muta‘āqidatāni taḥta ‘imratihī (*Leg.* i: 35); “The distribution of the armed forces which the two Contracting States shall place under his command” (*Leg.* ii: 16);

indirect object:

Rel: *allatī*: fem-plur — f1: v-gen - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + rp (indir-obj: *lā-tu’tūna-hunna*: ‘you deny them’) (+ *mā*- RC (dir-obj));

Ant: (*fī*) *yatāmā* (see note 5) /gen/, *an-nisā’-i* /gen/: ‘(about) orphaned women’; (*allāhu yuḏīkum fihinna /fī n-nisā’-i/ wa-mā yuṭlā ‘alaykum fī l-kitābi*) *fī yatāmā n-nisā’-i-llatī lā-tu’tūnahunna (mā kutiba la-hunna)* (Q, 4: 127) “(God has given you instructions about them /women/. You also read them in the Book) concerning orphaned women to whom you deny (their ordained rights)”.

adjunct:

Rel: *allaḏī*: masc-sing — f1: v-gen - f2: v-gen → f1 + VP > V + PP > P + rp (*waqafa / fī-hi*: ‘/he had stood/ in it’);

Ant: (*‘ilā*) *l-makān-i*: /masc-sing-gen/: ‘(to) the place’:

wa-bakkara ‘ibrāhīmu fī l-ḡadi ‘ilā l-makāni llaḏī waqafa fīhi ‘amāma r-rabbi “Abraham went early in the morning to the place where he had stood before the Lord” (*Gen.*, 19: 27);

Rel: *allaḏīna*: masc-plur¹¹ — f1: v-acc - f2: v-gen → f1 + VP . . . P + rp (*ḥadamtu-kal bi-him*: ‘/I have served you/ for them’);

Ant: *nisā’-ī* /fem-plur+possessive -ī ‘my’, unmarked acc/, *wa-‘awlād-ī* /except for gender: masc-plur, the same/: ‘my wives and my children’:

‘a‘īnī nisā’ī wa-‘awlādī llaḏīna ḥadamtuka bihim “Give me my wives and my children for whom I have served you” (*Gen.*, 30: 26);

¹¹ Rel-representing nominals with no gender distinction may refer to mixed-gender head nouns.

122. Classified by true case inflections (Rel: dual):

direct object:

Rel: *allaḏāni*: masc-dual-nom — f1: nom - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + rp

(*ḏakara-humā* 'he/ mentioned them /dual/);

Ant: *sayf-ā (l-ḥārīt-i)*: -ā /masc-dual-nom/, (-i /gen/) 'two swords /of al-Ḥārīt/':

sayfā l-ḥārītī llaḏāni ḏakarahunmā 'alqamatu "two swords of al-Ḥārīt mentioned by 'Alqama (lit. that 'A. has mentioned)" (Reck., 427: Yāqūt);

Rel: *allaḏayni*: masc-dual-acc — f1: acc - f2: acc → f1 + VP > V + rp (kāna

... *yabnūna-humā* 'they/ were building them /dual/);

Ant: *al-madīn-at-a/fem-sing-acc/ wal-burğ-a/masc-sing-acc/* 'the city and the tower':

fā-nazala r-rabbu li-yanžura l-madīnata wal-burğā llaḏayni kāna banū 'ādama yabnūnahumā "The Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which mortals (lit. Adam's sons) had built" (Gen., 11: 5);

indirect object:

Rel: *allatāni*: fem-dual-nom — f1: nom - f2: v-gen → f1 + VP > V + PP > P + rp (*qāla / la-humā* 'he said) to them /dual/);

Ant: *al-mar'-atāni*: /fem-dual-nom/ 'two women':

al-mar'atāni llatāni qāla llāhu lahumā ... "two women to whom God said ..."
(Reck., 427: Ibn Sa'd);

attributive modifier:

Rel: *allaḏāni*: masc-dual-nom — f1: nom - f2: v-gen → f1 + VP > V + NP > NP > N + rp (*'ankarta kawna-humā* 'you denied/ their existence, lit. existence of both of them)';

Ant: *al-'amr-āni*: /masc-dual-nom/ 'two things':

al-'amrāni llaḏāni 'ankarta kawnahumā "two things whose existence you denied" (Reck., 427: Ṭabarī);

2. Structurally contrasting conjunctive RCs (illustrative comparison).

The reduction of Ant-Rel interval of coreferentiality to zero (Ant/Rel) inevitably leads to substantial changes in the functional orientation of the resulting RC. The function of this RC can no longer be derived from its modificative relation to an autonomous Ant but, instead, it is directly imposed by the MC government. The functional stereotype of Ant-Rel RCs, results from an invariable Ant-related head-modifier relationship, which cannot be, in this syntactic environment, other than *attributive*, irrespective of the configuration of the f1 - f2 relationship. The stereotype of attributiveness of the latter RC-type contrasts with the functional diversity of conjunctive, Ant/Rel RCs, no longer related to an autonomous Ant:

Ant-Rel RCs: (attributive):

'a'rifu r-rağula llaḏī ḡā'a "I know the man who has come":

i.e. f1: v-acc - f2: v-nom — Rel in subject position;

ḡā'a r-rağulu llaḏī 'a'rifuhu "The man (whom) I know has come":

i.e. f1: v-nom - f2: acc (→ f1 + VP > V + rp: *'a'rifu-hu* 'I know him') ? Rel in object position;

Ant/Rel RCs: (multi-functional):

'a'rifu llaḏī ḡā'a (object clause) "I know that who has come";

i.e. f1: v-acc - f2: v-nom — Ant/Rel in subject position;

ğā'a llaḏī 'ya'nifunī (subject clause) "That who has come knows me" — Ant/Rel in object position, etc.

From this point of view we cannot classify RCs, like *ra'aytu llatī hiya l-mas'ūlatu 'an-i l-'aḫḫālī* "I saw the one who /that who/ (fem) is responsible for the children" in terms of disjunctive (viz. attributive) RCs as *Syntax* (2003: 146, n. 3) did under the heading of *Attributsatz* (see also note 14).

21. Ant/Rel in subject position:

211. Ant/Rel classified by virtual case values (singular and plural):

Ant-Rel: *allaḏī*: masc-sing — f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom:

'anā llaḏī 'aškū l-kalāla (*Tarjumān*, 29); " . . . and 'tis I who complain of fatigue" (E, 103);

Ant/Rel: *wa-llaḏīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom → f1 + PP > P + rp (*la-hum* /they/ will get', 'they will be afflicted by') + NP . . . :

wa-llaḏīna yu'dūna rasūla llāhi lahum 'aḏābun 'alīmun (Q, 9: 61) "For those who offend the Apostle of God there is painful punishment";

Ant/Rel: *allaḏīna* . . . *wa-llaḏīna* : masc-plur — f1: v-acc, f2: v-nom:

yarfa'u llāhu llaḏīna 'āmanū minkum wa-llaḏīna 'ūtū l-'ilma daraḡātin (Q, 58: 11) "God will raise those of you who believe, and those who have knowledge, in position" (see also 323);

Ant/Rel: *allaḏīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-acc /indir-obj/ - f2: v-nom ('anna-clause substitutes for dir-obj):

wa-baššir/i/ llaḏīna 'āmanū wa-'amilū ṣ-ṣāliḡātī 'anna la-hum ḡannātin taḡrī min taḡtiḡā l-'anhāru (Q, 2:25) "Announce to those who believe and have done good deeds, glad tidings of gardens under which rivers flow";

Ant/Rel: *l'innā llaḏīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-acc- f2: v-nom:

'inna llaḏīna ya'kulūna 'amwāla l-yatāmā ḡulman 'innamā ya'kulūna fī buṡūnihim nāran (Q, 4: 10) "Those who devour the possessions of the orphans unjustly devour only fire /lit. in their bellies";

Ant/Rel: *allaḏīna*: masc-plur — f1: v-acc /indir-obj/ - f2: v-nom (the dir-obj status of the topicalized element /in nominative: *an-nār-u* 'Hell', moved to the sentence-initial position, is marked by the rp at the deep-structure trace of the latter: VP > V + rp /*wa'ada-hāl* /he/ has promised it';

an-nāru wa'adahā llāhu llaḏīna kafarū (Q 22: 72) "Hell, which God has promised the infidels (lit. 'those who are infidel')";

2111. Some types of RCs cannot be classified in terms of case-based f1-f2 relationships referred to a unique Ant/Rel, since the case-function of f2 is being assigned by another clause with an autonomous subject-predicate relationship, independent of Ant/Rel. The following imperative sentence, marks the object position of Ant/Rel:

Ant/Rel: *wa-llātī*: fem-plur — f1: v-nom - f2 > replaced by an imperative sentence: (*fa-stašhadū 'alay-hinna*: 'bring . . . to give evidence');

wa-llātī ya'tīna l-fāḡiṣata min nisā'ikum fa-stašhadū 'alayhinna 'arba'atan minkum "If any of your women is guilty of fornication, bring four of your men to give evidence" /lit.: /if/ those of your women who commit fornication . . . / (Q, 4: 15);

or:

Ant/Rel: *wa-llaḍāni*: masc-dual (see n. 11) — f1: nom - f2 > imperative sentence: (*fa-'aḍū-humā*: 'punish both of them');

wa-llaḍāni ya'tiyāniḥā (al-fāḥiṣata) minkum fa-'aḍūhumā "If two men among you are guilty of it (fornication) then punish both of them" (Q, 4: 16);

212. Ant/Rel classified by real case inflections (dual):

Ant/Rel: *allaḍayni*: masc-dual-acc — f1: acc - f2: v-nom:

rabbanā 'arinā llaḍayni 'aḍallānā min(a) l-ḡinni wal-'insī (Q 41: 29) "O Lord, show us those among the jinns and men who have led us astray";

2121. Syntactic constraint earlier labelled as RRF (see 112) is invalidated in a number of special cases, such as topicalized Ant's in a subject position whose Rel's introduce RCs operating as predicates:

Rel: *allaḍāni*: masc-dual-nom — f1: nom - f2: nom;

Ant: /'inna/ 'amm-ay-ya: -ay/ masc-dual-obl:acc/, -ya/ possessive: 'my'/: 'my two paternal uncles';

'inna 'ammayya llaḍāni qatalā l-mulūka "my two paternal uncles are those who have killed the kings" (GvG ii, 565: Aḥṭal);

22. Ant/Rel in other than subject position:

221. Classified in v-x-values (singular and plural):

direct object (rp deleted):

Ant/Rel: 'allaḍī: masc-sing — f1: v-acc - f2: v-acc → f1 + VP > V + 0 ('ahwā-0: 'I love /it/':

hayfā'u lā-tahwā llaḍī 'ahwā (Tarjumān, 25) "A slender one, she loves not that which I love" (E, 92);

Ant/Rel: *allaḍī*: masc-sing (non-personal) — f1 - f2: as above: (*turīdu-0*: 'she desires /it/'; in English context: 'she desired');

wa-fī 'arafātīn 'araftu llaḍī turīdu (Tarjumān, 45) "And at 'Arafāt I perceived what she desired" (E, 145);

direct object (rp expressed):

Ant-Rel: /bi-/ llaḍī: masc-sing (used as a generic term, possibly referring to any number) — f1: v-gen - f2: v-nom → f1 + VP > V + rp ('ahwā-hu 'I love them/':

'a-'indaka bi-llaḍī 'ahwā-hu 'ilmun (Tarjumān, 34) "Hast thou any knowledge of those whom I love?" (E, 119);

indirect object:

Ant/Rel: /širāṭ-al/ llaḍīna: masc-plur: 'the path of/ those'? f1: v-gen - f2: v - gen ? f1 +

VP > V + PP > P + rp /'an'amta 'alay-him 'You blessed them'/:

(ihḍinā) . . . širāṭa llaḍīna 'an'amta 'alayhim "(Guide us /O Lord/ to) . . . The path of those You have blessed" (Q, 1: 6);

3. Highly specific agreement strategy in the Arabic *allaḍī* clauses we call disjunctive markedly differs from that used in relativization by many inflected languages of the world. To present this strategy comprehensibly enough there is no need to draw a fine line of distinction between Modern Standard and true Classical Arabic of the Koran and canonized literature of the Middle Ages since, in its basic structures, it is substantially the same.

In the light of frequently discussed assumptions, alternatively argued for or against, or simply ignored, any Arabic sentence with a RC of the type we call disjunctive may be segmented in one of the following ways. The earlier used technique of framing will be resorted to once again:

- (1) $\overline{[araftu\ r-raḡul-a]}\ lladī\ mātā$
I knew the man (acc) who died

- (2) $\overline{[araftu\ r-raḡul-a\ lladī]}\ mātā$

The two frames mark main clauses as opposed to their respective RCs or, in other words, delimit structural boundaries of each of these four clausal segments. Each way of segmenting results from primary theories about what a (complex) sentence is and what it may consist of. The same theories underlie any mode of segmenting special sentences including the two structural presentations of the RC quoted.

31. The former way of determining structural limits between MC and RC, that is the 3(1) sentence with a RC whose Rel is incorporated therein, will readily be accepted by any linguistically aware speaker of most, perhaps all inflected IE languages as something intuitively natural and compatible with his linguistic insight.

The Rel as a member of the RC apparently dominates both the theory and descriptive practice in most/all languages with formally marked Ant-Rel coreferentiality, such as IE (in contrast to e.g. Altaic) languages.¹² Neither is this structural feature put into question in recent works, at least some of them, dealing with Arabic, notwithstanding the fact that the origin of the Arabic relative clause has to be sought for in the primitive coordination syntax (Beeston 1970: 49) or perhaps 'apposition syntax'. For the English 'a man whom I met yesterday told me', Arabic offers as its equivalent *la man - I met him yesterday - told me*, and this RC structure is still in force with indefinite Ant's (ibid.), as might be seen also in some of the examples introducing the present study: *raḡulun mātā . . .* 'a man who died . . .', structurally rewritten: 'a man - he died' (see 'definiteness-state dependency' in relation to 11(2) RC).

The 3(1) interpretation of the MC-RC relationship is sometimes perceived as contrasting with the theory of early Arab grammarians: "Adjectival clauses¹³ are considered by Arab grammarians to be complete sentences in themselves, and the relative adjective is in fact merely a 'link' (*ṣila*) between it and an antecedent noun in the main clause. That this is so is indicated by the fact that if the antecedent of

¹² B. T. Downing: "... a relative clause incorporates, as one of its terms, a nominal which is coreferential with a nominal outside of the clause. Neither nominal need be expressed overtly, although presumably one or the other must". "Some universals of Relative Clause Structure", in: J. H. Greenberg (ed.) 1978: *Universals of Human Language*. Vol. 4. *Syntax*, pp. 375-418.

¹³ 'Adjectival clauses', perhaps the most commonly used term for RCs with formally expressed Ant-Rel coreferentiality correspond to what we call *disjunctive RCs* (see also notes 3 and 4 above).

the adjectival clause is the object of its verb, a so-called 'resumptive' pronoun refers back to the antecedent, agreeing with it in number and gender: *'alqiṣṣatu llatī qara'ahā* 'the story which he read', *qiṣṣa qara'ahā* 'a story he read' (Holes 1995: 229).

32. Another part of both earlier and recent studies in the Arabic relative-clause syntax advances quite a different theory, which overtly opposes the conceptual and methodological basics traditionally applied to the syntactic analysis of IE languages, as well as the widely accepted linguistic insights and intuitive knowledge about language. It must be recognized, however, that reasons for relegating the Rel to the structural domain of the MC as one of its constituents are worth consideration, let alone the still influential tradition established by the early Arab grammarians. Before embarking on critical remarks, let us consider some authentic arguments in favour of the 3(2) segmenting of (definite disjunctive) RCs: "Attributsätze haben in indogermanischen Sprachen ihr Äquivalent im Relativsatz. In vielen Darstellungen der arab. Grammatik wird diese Bezeichnung auf den Attributsatz des Arabischen übertragen. Die Struktur des arab. Attributsatzes ist von der des Relativsatzes indogermanischer Sprachen jedoch grundsätzlich verschieden, und zwar auch im determinierten Attributsatz mit sog. Relativpronomen. Anders als im Relativsatz indogermanischer Sprachen ist das Relativpronomen *'al-ladī* kein Bestandteil des Attributsatzes. Das Relativpronomen ist im Arabischen ein Attribut des Kernnomens und fungiert als Allomorph des Determinators, der am Nomen als Artikel *'al-*, am Satz als *'al-ladī* erscheint. Daher ist die Bezeichnung 'Relativsatz' für die Syntax des Arabischen ungenau und wenig geeignet, obwohl sie sich in den meisten Darstellungen eingebürgert hat. Wir unterscheiden zwischen 'Attributsätzen', die als Attribut eingebettet sind, und 'Relativsätzen', bei welchen das Relativpronomen selbst das Kernnomen darstellt, dem ein Attributsatz appliziert wird" (*Syntax 2001*: 29, n. 1).¹⁴

Basic arguments of the paragraph quoted have been somewhat earlier stated in substantially identical words: "Das Relativpron. gehört eigentlich zum Hauptsatz;

¹⁴ Substantially the same interpretation of the RC structure is advanced in *Syntax 2003*: 146: "Anders als beim Relativsatz in den indogerman. Sprachen ist das Relativpronomen im Arab. kein Satzglied des ihm zugeordneten Attributsatzes, sondern ein syntaktisches Glied des übergeordneten Satzes. Der Bezug des Attributsatzes auf das Relativpronomen wird durch ein kopulatives Personalpronomen . . . hergestellt. Das Kopulativpronomen vertritt im Attributsatz das Relativpronomen und steht jeweils an der Stelle, an der das Relativpronomen stehen müßte, wenn es Glied des Attributsatzes wäre. Je nach der syntaktischen Position fungieren die verschiedenen Allomorphe des Personalpronomens als Kopulativpronomen . . . *ra'aytu l-ladī hiya l-mas'ūlatu 'an-i l-'atfāli* 'I saw the one who (fem) is responsible for the children' . . . *hādā mā wağadtu-hu hunāka* 'that is what I found there' . . . ". For (mostly) semantic reasons, however, we cannot identify relative operators, like *allatī* or *mā*, with Ant's, coreferential with *hiya* or *-hu* in *wağadtu-hu*, nor classify the above sentences in terms of what *Syntax* presents as *Attributsatz* (see note 3). From the set of *Kopulativpronomen* allomorphs only those with non-subject application coincide with our referent pronoun (rp). The pronominal operator in the nominal sentence quoted above (*hiya* 'she') is no more than a copulative pronoun ('/she/ is') substituting for the missing copula, seemingly free from any aspect of relativization.

im Nebensatz weist ein nominativisches, genitivisches oder akkus. Personalpron. darauf zurück" (Reckendorf 1921: 426). The Rel's independence of the RC-government and its MC-membership are presented as interconnected features by Baranov (1963: 502).

No mention of the Rel's MC-membership may be found in the influential works of Brockelmann (1913), Fleisch (1968), and others.

321. The rel, as ambiguous sentence member oscillating between MC and RC in linguistic descriptions, points to the conflict between two government strategies:

(1) The MC-related strategy, transferred by agreement from Ant to Rel, typical of Arabic:

(i) in virtual (v-x) notation (Rel in singular or plural):

f1: v-acc - f2: v-nom:

qābaltu l-mumattila llaḏī yaskunu ḥālīyan fī l-qāhira

"I met the actor who is recently dwelling in Cairo";

(ii) in real (x) notation of f1 (Rel in dual):

f1: acc - f2: v-nom:

qābaltu l-mumattilayni llaḏayni yaskunāni ḥālīyan fī l-qāhira

"I met the two actors who are recently dwelling in Cairo";

(2) The RC-related strategy, peculiar to many other languages across the world, at the very least, to most, perhaps all, inflected IE languages, such as Latin, German or most Slavic, with some residual traces even in the highly analytic English. Let us take one of the above quoted English sentences to reshape it on the Arabic model. Hypothetic priority granted to the MC government would lead, in English, to an ungrammatical RC structure (with MC-governed Rel underlined):

* *I met the actor whom is recently dwelling in Cairo.*

When applying to English the criterial f1-f2 relationship with the same interpretational conventions as previously applied to Arabic, notably with f1 for MC-controlled, and f2, for RC-controlled case values, we obtain: f1: v-acc - f2: nom.¹⁵

In English, which is not an ideal representative of the RC-based relativization strategy, the MC-RC conflict is substantially the same as that observable in the Arabic MC-based model, even if reshaped in a reversed order. The reversal is due to the reversed priorities granted to the MC and RC governors.

322. Incorporation of *allaḏī* into the MC-structure creates a number of theoretical problems touching on the very nature and operative capability of (disjunctive) RCs. The counterproductive concentration of both coreferential terms, Ant and Rel, in one single clause, namely the MC, is seemingly the most serious out of the set. A similar assumption necessarily comes to oppose the primary and fundamental linking function of coreferentiality that underlies and supports the very modifying function of the RC.

¹⁵ For the notation of virtual (v-x) and real (x) case values of the Rel-represented Ant in the classificatorily criterial f1-f2 relationship see §113.

The priority of the MC-government, formally expressed by the Arabic Ant-Rel agreement, does not seem to be a really compelling argument in favour of such a radical and disturbing assumption, not to speak about an even more disturbing addition of a lexically void linking operator to the MC that might be able to function as a self-contained syntactic unit, as an independent sentence complete in itself.

The Arabic Ant-Rel agreement, controlled by the MC-government, displays its MC-dependence through case-values assigned to the Rel. That exactly the latter feature (cf., RRF, §112) is the chief argument for theory of the MC-membership of Rel may also be confirmed by dialectological studies dealing with analytic, that is caseless (in the present context) colloquial varieties of Arabic. Here, no such assumption has ever been advanced and a rather opposite view in favour of the RC-membership of the Rel is mostly stated in explicit terms. At least one example from a syntactic description of Egyptian colloquial Arabic: "Clearly, one of the conditions for any type of relativisation is the identity and coreference of the head noun and a noun in the embedded (or conjoined) S. The noun in the relative clause is pronominalised, unless it is the subject of the clause, in which case it is deleted" (Wise 1975: 88).

323. When leaving aside intuitive feeling about how language works in complementing, exacting and refining crude facts by the vast stock of verbal, phrasal or clausal modifiers, and when passing over well-established linguistic facts and related meta-assumptions about modifying and, in particular, modifying through relativization, we may still find a subsidiary domain to look for answers to still unanswered questions. Textual and stylistic analysis seem to be such a promising field for examining the relative integrity and autonomy of sentences and sentence-constituting clauses. The crucial problem of the Rel's membership to one or another clause of a RC-containing complex sentence or, more explicitly, the question of its disconnection from the structure of a MC (in opposition to the Arab linguistic tradition), may be examined on stylistically modelled anaphoric chains of *allaḍī*-RCs. Except the first RC, immediately following its MC, all other RCs may form an indefinitely long series of appositions, related 'from distance' to the unique MC at the beginning of the chain. Since all RCs but the first are separated from their respective MCs (and so are Rel's from their respective Ant's) by progressively increasing inter-clausal distances, the assumption of the Rel's status as constituent of the MC structure seems to lose thereby a part of its cogency.

In symbols adopted, an anaphoric chain of *allaḍī*-clauses would yield the following picture: $MC_1 + (Rel + RC)_1 + (Rel + RC)_2 + \dots + (Rel + RC)_n$.

Some examples (for the sake of transparency, each RC but the first, of the continuous text quoted, will be written in separate lines):

minhum hāḍā l-ḥāḡḡu... al-ḥayyāṭu (1) *llaḍī kāna dukkānuhu yaqādu yuqābilu l-kuttāba,*

(2) *wa-llaḍī kāna n-nāsu muḡmi'ina 'alā waṣfihi bi-l-buḥli wa-š-šuhḥi,*

(3) *wa-llaḍī kāna muttaṣilan bi-šayḥin min kibāri 'ahli ṭ-ṭuruqi,*

(4) *wa-llaḍī kāna yazdarī l-'ulamā'a ḡamī'an li-'annahum ya'ḥuḍūna 'ilmahum min(a) l-kutubi lā 'an(i) š-šuyūḥi,*

(5) *wa-llaḍī kāna yarā 'anna l-ʿilma ṣ-ṣaḥīḥa 'innamā huwa l-ʿilmu l-ladunīyu llaḍī yahbiṭu ʿalā qalbika min ʿinda llāhi . . .* (al-'Ayyām, 83-4).

"Among them (religious scholars) was this Mecca pilgrim . . . the taylor (1) whose shop stood almost opposite the Koran school, (2) who was unanimously described by (his fellow-) men in terms of avarice and greed, (3) who maintained relation with one of the most renowned Sufi sheiks, (4) who despised all scholars because they drew their knowledge from books and not from sheiks, (5) who believed that the true scholarly knowledge is only the God-inspired knowledge descending from God to your heart . . .".

The f1-f2 relationship of Rel's widely differs. With the understanding that f1, in the text quoted, invariably equals v-nominative, f2 will be assigned the following values (for the sake of transparency, only the directly relevant morphemes will be segmented to match the symbols they are related to):

(1) v-genitive (viz. *dukkānu l-ḥayyāt-i*) ? f1 (*al-ḥayyāt-u*) + VP (*kāna dukkānuhu*) > V (*kāna*) + NP (*dukkānu-hu*) > N (*dukkān-*) + rp (*-hu*);

(2) v-genitive (viz. *waṣfu l-ḥayyāt-i*) ? f1 + (V (*kāna*)+ NP (*an-nāsu*) . . . NP (*ʿalā waṣfiKḥi*) > N (*waṣhi-*) + rp (*-hi*) . . . ;

(3) v-nominative (Rel-represented Ant in subject position);

(4) v-nominative as above;

(5) v-nominative as above.

The same may be found with any member of the *allaḍī*-paradigm with any configuration of the f1 - f2 relationship, as in the case of *allaḍīna* in the following anaphoric chain (with the Rel exhibiting, this time, a uniform (f1: v-nom - f2: v-nom) relationship): *tumma minhum(u) l-fuqafā'u llaḍīna yaqra'ūna l-qur'āna wa-yuqri'ūnahu li-n-nāsi*, *wa-llaḍīna kānū yumayyizūna 'anfusahum min(a) l-ʿulamā'i wa-yatasammawna "ḥamalata kitābi llāhi"*, *wa-llaḍīna kānū yattaṣilūna bi-dahmā'i n-nāsi wa-n-nisā'i ḥāṣṣatan*, *kānat ḡamharatuhum min(a) l-makfūfīn* (al-'Ayyām, 85). "Then there were among them also the educated who could read the Koran and teach others to recitate it, who kept themselves apart from (the officially recognized) scholars and named themselves "Porters of the God's Book", and who were in contact with the illiterate people, especially women, and most of them were blind."

Asymmetric representation of Ant-Rel clauses is of common occurrence even in scholarly texts, as in (*allaḍī . . . wa-llaḍī*: f1: v-gen - f2: v-nom): (*nastaṭīʿu 'an nuʿawwila kulla t-taʿwīli ʿalā l-ḡumhūri l-muṭaqqafī l-ḥāṣṣi*), *ḡālīka l-ḡumhūri llaḍī tastawʿibu ṭawāʾifuḥu wa-fiʾātuhū ḡurūba l-ʿulūmi wal-funūni wal-ʿādābi wa-llaḍī taʿallama l-fuṣṣḥā wa-ʾuṣriḥa ḡawqahā* "(we can fully rely on that exclusive public of the educated), that public whose particular groups and classes (are able to) grasp various sorts of scholarly disciplines, arts and literature, and who have been instructed in the standard language and who are imbued by its exquisite flavour" (*Muṣkilāt*, 33).

REFERENCES

- Beeston, A.F.L. 1970. *The Arabic Language Today*. London, Hutchinson University Library.
- Bible: *al-Kitāb al-muqaddas 'ay kutub al-'ahd al-qadīm wal-'ahd al-ġadīd*. Oxford University Press 1871. For English Bible, see below.
- Brockelmann, C. 1908, 1913. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. Bd. i: Laut- und Formenlehre; Bd. ii: Syntax. Berlin, Verlag von Reuther & Reichard.
- Brockelmann, C. 1969. *Arabische Grammatik*. 17. Aufl. besorgt von M. Fleischhammer. Leipzig, VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie.
- Downing, B. T. 1978. „Some Universals of Relative Clause Structure“, in: J. H. Greenberg (ed.) 1978, pp. 375-418.
- El-Ayoubi, Hashem - Fischer, Wolfdietrich - Langer, Michael: *Syntax der arabischen Schriftsprache der Gegenwart* (Syntax of Modern Written Arabic), Part I, vol. 1. In collaboration with D. Blohm and Z. Youssef produced and edited by W. Fischer. Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag 2001; Part I, vol. 2. In collaboration with D. Blohm and Z. Youssef produced and edited by W. Fischer and M. Langer. Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag 2003; Part I, vol. 2.
- Fischer, W. 2002. *Grammatik des Klassischen Arabisch*. 3., verbesserte Auflage. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag.
- Fleisch, H. 1956-1968. *L'arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique* (1956; 1968: Nouvelle édition, revue et augmentée). Beyrouth, Dar El-Machreq Éditeurs.
- Gamal-Eldin, Saad M. 1967. *A Syntactic Study of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic*. The Hague-Paris, Mouton.
- Grande, B. M. 1963. *Kurs arabskoy grammatiki v sravnitel'no-istoricheskoy osveshchenii*. Moscow, Izdatel'stvo vostochnoy literatury.
- Greenberg, J. H. (ed.). *Universals of Human Language*. Vol. 4. *Syntax*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Holes, C. 1995. *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*. London and New York, Longman.
- Ḥusayn, Tāhā. 1936 (4th ed.). *al-'Ayyām*. Cairo, Maṭba'at laġnat at-ta'līf wat-tarġama wannaṣr. Koran, see below *Al-Qur'ān* 1984.
- Mansoor, H. 1965. *Legal and Documentary Arabic Reader*. Vol. i, Vol. ii. Leiden, E.J. Brill.
- Nicholson, R.N. 1911. *The Tarjumān al-Ashwāq. A Collection of Mystical Odes by Muḥyi'd-dīn Ibn al-'Arabī*. London, Royal Asiatic Society.
- Oliverius, J. 1998. *Kapitoly ze syntaxe moderní spisovné arabštiny. Fuṣūl min an-naḥw al-'arabī*. Prague, Karolinum.
- Reckendorf, H. 1921. *Arabische Syntax*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- Taymūr, Maḥmūd. 1956. *Muškilāt al-luġa al-'arabīya* (Problems of the Arabic Language). Cairo. al-Maṭba'a an-numūdaġīya.
- Yushmanov, I.V. *Grammatika literaturnogo arabskogo yazyka* (Grammar of Standard Arabic). Moscow, Nauka.
- Wise, H. 1975. *A Transformational Grammar of Spoken Egyptian Arabic*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.

For Koranic quotations (Q) and their English translation, see *Al-Qur'ān. A Contemporary Translation by Ahmed Ali*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey 1984; the translation of Biblical samples is that of *The Holy Bible*, New Revised Standard Version. Grand Rapids, Michigan, Zondervan Publishing House 1989.

ABBREVIATIONS:

al-'Ayyām > Ḥusayn, Ṭahā. 1936.
GvG 2 > Brockelmann C. Bd. 2. 1913.
Gen > *Genesis* > *Bible*.
Leg i > Mansoor, M. Vol. i.
Leg ii > Mansoor, M. Vol. ii.
Muṣkilāt > Taymūr, Maḥmūd.
Q > *Koran*.
 Reck. > Reckendorf, H. 1921.
Syntax 2001 > El-Ayoubi et al., Part I, vol. 1.
Syntax 2003 > El-Ayoubi et al., Part I, vol. 2.
Tarjūmān > Nicholson, R.A., 1911(poetry); E > English version of the verses quoted.

acc(usative);
 Ant(ecedent);
 C > case;
 c-categories > conflicting categories;
 D > definiteness (def/indef);
 def(inite);
 dir(ect) obj(ect);
 f1 - f2 > §112 f.;
 fem(inine);
 G > gender;
 gen(itive);
 indef(inite);
 indi(ect) obj(ect);
 masc(uline);
 MC > main clause;
 N > number (sing(ular), dual, plur(al));
 nc > non-conflicting categories;
 nom(inative);
 NP > noun phrase;
 P > preposition;
 PP > prepositional phrase;
 RC > relative clause;
 Rel(ative pronoun);
 rp > referent pronoun;
 RRF > Rel-representation failure (§112);
 SC > subordinate clause;
 V > verb;
 VP > verb phrase;
 (v-x) > virtual case-values; (x) real case-values marked by true case-inflections;
 * introduces paragraphs with examples drawn from recent MSA sources.