



# مجلة العلوم الإنسانية

حورية علمية محكمة تصدر عن جامعة حائل



السنة السابعة، العدد 21 المجلد الثاني، مارس 2024









## مجلة العلوم الإنسانية

للتواصل: مركز النشر العلمي والترجمة جامعة حائل، صندوق بريد: 2440 الرمز البريدي: 81481





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#### نبذه عن المجلة

#### تعريف بالمجلة

مجلة العلوم الإنسانية، مجلة دورية علمية محكمة، تصدر عن وكالة الجامع ــــــة للدراسات العليا والبحث العلمي بجامعة حال كل ثلاثة أشهر بصفة دورية، حث تصدر أربة أعداد في كل سنة، وبحسب اكتمال البحوث المجازة للنشر. وقد نجحت مجلــة العلــوم الإنســانية في تحقيق معايير اعتماد معامل التأثير والاستشهادات المرجعية للمجلات العلمية العربية معامل "ارسيف Arcif" المتوافقة مع المعايير العالمية، والتي يبلغ عددها (32) معياراً، وقد أطلق ذلك خلال التقرير السنوي الثامن للمجلات للعام 2023.

#### رؤية المجلة

التميز في النشر العلمي في العلوم الإنسانية وفقاً لمعايير مهنية عالمية.

#### رسالة المجلة

نشر البحوث العلمية في التخصصات الإنسانية؛ لخدمة البحث العلمي والمجتمع المحلي والدولي.

#### أهداف المجلة

مدف المجلة إلى إيجاد منافذ رصينة؛ لنشر المعرفة العلمية المتخصصة في المجال الإنساني، وتمكن الباحثين -من مختلف بلدان العالم- من نشر أبحاثهم ودراساتهم وإنتاجهم الفكري لمعالجة واقع المشكلات الحياتية، وتأسيس الأطرر النظرية والتطبيقية للمعارف الإنسانية في المجالات المتنوعة، وفق ضوابط وشروط ومواصفات علمية دقيقة، تحقيقا للجودة والريادة في نر البحث العلى.

#### قواعد النشر

#### لغة النشر

- 1- تقبل المجلة البحوث المكتوبة باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية.
- 2- يُكتب عنوان البحث وملخصه باللغة العربية للبحوث المكتوبة باللغة الإنجليزية.
- 3- يُكتب عنوان البحث وملخصه ومراجعه باللغة الإنجليزية للبحوث المكتوبة باللغة العربية، على أن تكون ترجمة الملخص إلى اللغة الإنجليزية صحيحة ومتخصصة.



#### مجالات النشر في المجلة

قمتم مجلة العلوم الإنسانية بجامعة حائل بنشر إسهامات الباحثين في مختلف القضايا الإنسانية الاجتماعية والأدبية، إضافة إلى نشر الدراسات والمقالات الي تتوفر فيها الأصول والمعايير العلمية المتعارف عليها دوليا، وتقبل الأبحاث المكتوبة باللغة العربية والإنجليزية في مجال اختصاصها، حيث تعنى المجلة بالتخصصات الآتية:

- علم النفس وعلم الاجتماع والخدمة الاجتماعية والفلسفة الفكرية العلمية الدقيقة.
  - المناهج وطرق التدريس والعلوم التربوية المختلفة.
    - الدراسات الإسلامية والشريعة والقانون.
- الآداب: التاريخ والجغرافيا والفنون واللغة العربية، واللغة الإنجليزية، والسياحة والآثار.
  - الإدارة والإعلام والاتصال وعلوم الرياضة والحركة.

#### أوعية نشر المجلة

تصدر المجلة ورقياً حسب القواعد والأنظمة المعمول بها في المجلات العلمية المحكمة، كما تُنشر البحوث المقبولـــة بعــــد تحكيمها إلكترونياً لتعـــم المعرفــة العلمية بشكل أوسع في جميع المؤسسات العلميــة داخل المملكة العربية السعودية وخارجها.

### ضوابط وإجراءات النشر في مجلة العلوم الإنسانية

### أولاً: شروط النشر

- أن يتسم بالأصالة والجدّة والابتكار والإضافة المعرفية في التخصص.
  - 2. لم يسبق للباحث نشر بحثه.
- 3. ألا يكون مستلًا من رسالة علمية (ماجستير / دكتوراة) أو بحوث سبق نشرها للباحث.
  - 4. أن يلتزم الباحث بالأمانة العلمية.
  - أن تراعى فيه منهجية البحث العلمي وقواعده.
  - 6. عدم مخالفة البحث للضوابط والأحكام والآداب العامة في المملكة العربية السعودية.
    - 7. مراعاة الأمانة العلمية وضوابط التوثيق في النقل والاقتباس.
- السلامة اللغوية ووضوح الصور والرسومات والجداول إن وجدت، وللمجلة حقها في مراجعة التحرير والتدقيق النحوى.



### ثانيًا: قواعد النشر

- 1. أن يشتمل البحث على: صفحة عنوان البحث، ومستخلص باللغتين العربيّة والإنجليزيّة، ومقدّمة، وصلب البحث، وخاتمة تتضمّن النّتائج والتّوصيات، وثبت المصادر والمراجع باللغتين العربيّة والإنجليزيّة، والملاحق اللازمة (إن وجدت).
- 2. فـــى حال (نشر البحث) يُزوّد الباحث بنسخة إلكترونية من عدد المجلة الذي تم نشر بحثه فيه، ومستلاًّ لبحثه .
- ق. فــــي حال اعتماد نشر البحث تؤول حقوق نشره كافة للمجلة، ولها أن تعيد نشره ورقيًا أو إلكترونيًا، ويحق لها إدراجه في قواعد البيانات المحلّية والعالمية بمقابل أو بدون مقابل و ذلك دون حاجة لإذن الباحث.
  - 4. لا يحقُّ للباحث إعادة نشر بحثه المقبول للنَّشر في المجلَّة إلاَّ بعد إذن كتابي من رئيس هيئة تحرير المجلة.
  - 5. الآراء الواردة فـــى البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن وجهة نظر الباحثين، ولا تعبر عن رأي مجلة العلوم الإنسانية.
- 6. النشر في المجلة بتطلب رسوم مالية قدرها ( 1000 ريال) يتم إيداعها في حساب المجلة، وذلك بعد إشعار الباحث بالقبول الأولي وهي غير مستردة سواء أجيز البحث للنشر أم تم رفضه من قبل المحكمين.

### ثالثًا: الضوابط والمعايير الفنية لكتابة وتنظيم البحث

- 1. ألا تتحاوز نسبة الاقتباس في البحوث (25%).
- 2. الصفحة الاولى من البحث، تحتوي على عنوان البحث، اسم الباحث أو الباحثين، المؤسسة التي ينتسب إليها جهة العمل، عنوان المراسلة والبريد الالكتروني، وتكون باللغتين العربية والانجليزية على صفحة مستقلة في بداية البحث. الاعلان عن أي دعم مالي للبحث إن وحد. كما يقوم بكتابة رقم الهوية المفتوحة للباحث ORCID بعد الاسم مباشرة. علماً بأن مجلة العلوم الإنسانية تنصح جميع الباحثين باستخراج رقم هوية خاص بمم، كما تتطلب وجود هذا الرقم في حال إجازة البحث للنشر.
  - 3. ألا يرد اسم الباحث (الباحثين) في أي موضع من البحث إلا في صفحة العنوان فقط..
- 4. ألا تزيد عدد صفحات البحث عن ثلاثين صفحة أو (12.000) كلمة للبحث كامل أيهما أقل بما في ذلك الملخصين العربي والإنجليزي، وقائمة المراجع.
- 5. أن يتضمن البحث مستخلصين: أحدهما باللغة العربية لا يتجاوز عدد كلماته (200) كلمة، والآخر بالإنجليزية لا يتجاوز عدد كلماته (250) كلمة، ويتضمن العناصر التالية: (موضوع البحث، وأهدافه، ومنهجه، وأهم النتائج) مع العناية بتحريرها بشكل دقيق.
- .6. يُتبع كل مستخلص (عربي/إنجليزي) بالكلمات الدالة (المفتاحية) (Key Words) المعبرة بدقة عن موضوع البحث، والقضايا الرئيسة التي تناولها، بحيث لا يتجاوز عددها (5) كلمات.



- 7. تكون أبعاد جميع هوامش الصفحة: من الجهات الأربعة (3) سم، والمسافة بين الأسطر مفردة.
- 8. يكون نوع الخط في المتن باللغة العربية (Traditional Arabic) وبحجم (12)، وباللغة الإنجليزية (Times علي المتن باللغة الإنجليزية (Bold). وبحجم (10)، وتكون العناوين الرئيسية في اللغتين بالبنط الغليظ. (Bold)
- 9. يكون نوع الخط في الجدول باللغة العربية (Traditional Arabic) وبحجم (10)، وباللغة الإنجليزية (Bold)، وتكون العناوين الرئيسية في اللغتين بالبنط الغليظ. (Bold).
- 10. يلتزم الباحث برومنة المراجع العربية ( الأبحاث العلمية والرسائل الجامعية) ويقصد بما ترجمة المراجع العربية (الأبحاث والرسائل العلمية فقط) إلى اللغة الإنجليزية، وتضمينها في قائمة المراجع الإنجليزية (مع الإبقاء عليها باللغة العربية في قائمة المراجع العربية)، حيث يتم رومنة (Romanization / Transliteration) اسم، أو أسماء المؤلفين، متبوعة بسنة النشر بين قوسين (يقصد بالرومنة النقل الصوتي للحروف غير اللاتينية إلى حروف لاتينية، تمكّن قراء اللغة الإنجليزية من قراء تماء أي: تحويل منطوق الحروف العربية إلى حروف تنطق بالإنجليزية)، ثم يتبع بالعنوان، ثم تضاف كلمة (in Arabic) بين قوسين بعد عنوان الرسالة أو البحث. بعد ذلك يتبع باسم الدورية التي نشرت بما المقالة باللغة الإنجليزية إذا كان مكتوباً بما، وإذا لم يكن مكتوباً بما فيتم ترجمته إلى اللغة الإنجليزية.

#### مثال إيضاحي:

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- 12. تستخدم الأرقام العربية أينما ذكرت بصورتما الرقمية. (Arabic.... 1,2,3) سواء في متن البحث، أو الجداول و الأشكال في المتن ترقيماً متسلسلاً مستقلاً لكل منهما ، ويكون لكل منها عنوانه أعلاه ، ومصدره إن وجد أسفله.
- 13. يكون الترقيم لصفحات البحث في المنتصف أسفل الصفحة، ابتداءً من صفحة ملخص البحث (العربي، الإنجليزي)، وحتى آخر صفحة من صفحات مراجع البحث.



14. تدرج الجداول والأشكال- إن وحدت- في مواقعها في سياق النص، وترقم بحسب تسلسلها، وتكون غير ملونة أو مظللة، وتكتب عناوينها كاملة. ويجب أن تكون الجداول والأشكال والأرقام وعناوينها متوافقة مع نظام APA

### رابعًا: توثيق البحث

أسلوب التوثيق المعتمد في المجلة هو نظام جمعية علم النفس الأمريكية (APA7)

### خامسًا: خطوات وإجراءات التقديم

- 1. يقدم الباحث الرئيس طلبًا للنشر (من خلال منصة الباحثين بعد التسجيل فيها) يتعهد فيه بأن بحثه يتفق مع شروط المجلة، وذلك على النحو الآتي:
- أ. البحث الذي تقدمت به لم يسبق نشرة (ورقيا أو إلكترونيا)، وأنه غير مقدم للنشر، ولن يقدم للنشر في وجهة أخرى حتى تنتهى إجراءات تحكيمه، ونشرة في المجلة، أو الاعتذار للباحث لعدم قبول البحث.
- ب. البحث الذي تقدمت به ليس مستلا من بحوث أو كتب سبق نشرها أو قدمت للنشر، وليس مستلاً من الرسائل العلمية للماجستير أو الدكتوراة.
  - ج. الالتزام بالأمانة العلمية وأخلاقيات البحث العلمي.
    - د. مراعاة منهج البحث العلمي وقواعده.
- ه... الالتزام بالضوابط الفنية ومعايير كتابة البحث في مجلة حائل للعلوم الإنسانية كما هو في دليل الكتابة العلمية المختصر بنظام APA7
  - 2. إرفاق سيرة ذاتية مختصرة في صفحة واحدة حسب النموذج المعتمد للمجلة (نموذج السيرة الذاتية).
    - 3. إرفاق نموذج المراجعة والتدقيق الأولي بعد تعبئته من قبل الباحث.
- 4. يرسل الباحث أربع نسخ من بحثه إلى المجلة إلكترونيًا بصيغة (word) نسختين و (PDF) نسختين تكون إحداهما بالصيغتين خالية مما يدل على شخصية الباحث.
- يتم التقديم إلكترونياً من خلال منصة تقديم الطلب الموجودة على موقع المجلة (منصة الباحثين) بعد التسجيل فيها
   مع إرفاق كافة المرفقات الواردة في خطوات وإجراءات التقديم أعلاه.
- 6. تقوم هيئة تحرير المجلة بالفحص الأولي للبحث، وتقرير أهليته للتحكيم، أو الاعتذار عن قبوله أولياً أو بناء على تقارير المحكمين دون إبداء الأسباب وإخطار الباحث بذلك



- 7. تملك المجلة حق رفض البحث الأولي ما دام غير مكتمل أو غير ملتزم بالضوابط الفنية ومعايير كتابة البحث في مجلة حائل للعلوم الإنسانية.
- 8. في حال تقرر أهلية البحث للتحكيم يخطر الباحث بذلك، وعليه دفع الرسوم المالية المقررة للمحلة (1000) ريال غير مستردة من خلال الإيداع على حساب المجلة ورفع الإيصال من خلال منصة التقديم المتاحة على موقع المجلة، وذلك خلال مدة خمس أيام عمل منذ إخطار الباحث بقبول بحثه أوليًا وفي حالة عدم السداد خلال المدة المذكورة يعتبر القبول الأولى ملغى.
- 9. بعد دفع الرسوم المطلوبة من قبل الباحث خلال المدة المقررة للدفع ورفع سند الإيصال من خلال منصة التقديم، يرسل البحث لمحكِّمين اثنين؛ على الأقل.
  - 10. في حال اكتمال تقارير المحكّمين عن البحث؛ يتم إرسال خطاب للباحث يتضمّن إحدى الحالات التّالية: أ. قبول البحث للنشر مباشرة.
    - ب. قبول البحث للنّشر؛ بعد التّعديل.
    - ج. تعديل البحث، ثمّ إعادة تحكيمه.
    - د. الاعتذار عن قبول البحث ونشره.
- 11. إذا تطلب الأمر من الباحث القيام ببعض التعديلات على بحثه، فإنه يجب أن يتم ذلك في غضون (أسبوعين من تاريخ الخطاب) من الطلب. فإذا تأخر الباحث عن إجراء التعديلات خلال المدة المحددة، يعتبر ذلك عدو لا منه عن النشر، ما لم يقدم عذرا تقبله هيئة تحرير المجلة.
- 12. يقدم الباحث الرئيس (حسب نموذج الرد على المحكمين) تقرير عن تعديل البحث وفقاً للملاحظات الواردة في تقارير المحكمين الإجمالية أو التفصيلية في متن البحث
- 13. للمجلة الحق في الحذف أو التعديل في الصياغة اللغوية للدراسة بما يتفق مع قواعد النشر، كما يحق للمحررين إجراء بعض التعديلات من أجل التصحيح اللغوي والفني. وإلغاء التكرار، وإيضاح ما يلزم.
  - 14. في حالة رفض البحث من قبل المحكمين فإن الرسوم غير مستردة.
- 15. إذا رفض البحث، ورغب المؤلف في الحصول على ملاحظات المحكمين، فإنه يمكن تزويده بهم، مع الحفاظ على سرية المحكمين. ولا يحق للباحث التقدم من جديد بالبحث نفسه إلى المجلة ولو أجريت عليه جميع التعديلات المطلوبة.
  - 16.لا ترَّد البحوث المقدمة إلى أصحابها سواء نشرت أم لم تنشر، ويخطر المؤلف في حالة عدم الموافقة على النشر
- 17. ترسل المجلة للباحث المقبول بحثه نسخة معتمدة للطباعة للمراجعة والتدقيق، وعليه إنجاز هذه العملية خلال 36 ساعة.
  - 18. لهيئة تحرير المجلة الحق في تحديد أولويات نشر البحوث، وترتيبها فنيًّا.



## المشرف العام

سعادة وكيل الجامعة للدراسات العليا والبحث العلمي أ. د. عبد العزيز بن سالم الغامدي

## هيئة التحرير

رئيس هيئة التحرير

أ. د. بشير بن علي اللويش
 أستاذ الخدمة الاجتماعية

#### أعضاء هيئة التحرير

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 أستاذ اللغويات (الإنجليزية) المشارك

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## On the Structure of Agreeing Possessive Particles Stahib and Raasi in Najdi Arabic: Extending the Predication Approach

المطابقة الصرفية بين خصائص صاحب وراعى مع الفاعل في تراكيب الملكية باللهجة النجدية: تطبيق منهج الإسناد

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#### Abstract

This paper investigates the structure and derivation of one type of analytic possessive noun phrases formed by the possessive particles s<sup>c</sup>aħib and raasi in Najdi Arabic (e.g., ?ar-radʒaal s<sup>c</sup>aħib/raasi ?as-sijjarah 'the-man.SG.M POSS.SG.M the car' and '?al-bint s<sup>c</sup>aħib-t/raasi-t ?as-sijjarah 'the-girl. SG.F POSS-SG.F the car'), which have not been studied before from a descriptive perspective or within generative syntactic theory. In light of works by Den Dikken (2006, 2007), and Ouhalla (2011), it is argued that such possessive particles are best analysed as having a predication relation between the possessor and the possessum. The paper provides a suggested proposal for the agreement patterns found in s<sup>c</sup>aħib/raasi analytic possessive noun phrases, along the lines of Chomsky's (2000, 2001) Agree theory. It is concluded that the agreement between the possessive markers and the possessor DP is somewhat similar to subject-verb agreement in the clausal domain in Standard Arabic and many other languages, whereby the verb inflects for the φ-features of the subject DP.

**Keywords:**Najdi Arabic, Arabic syntax, generative syntactic theory, agreement theory, possessive noun phrases, predication approach.

#### المستخلص

يهتم هذا البحث بدراسة نوعاً واحداً من ظواهر المطابقة الصرفية في تراكيب الملكية باللهجة النجدية وذلك من خلال استخدام مفردي الملكية «صاحب» و «راعي» (مثل: الرجال صاحب/راعي السيارة، البنت صاحبة/راعية السيارة) والتي لم يسبق دراستها من قبل سواءً بشكل وصفي أو بواسطة النظرية النحوية التوليدية. تُعنى هذه الدراسة بشكل خاص بدراسة التوافق والتطابق في السمات الصرفية لصاحب/راعي مع الفاعل في الجنس (أي التذكير والتأنيث) والعدد (أي الإفراد والجمع)، في ضوء الأبحاث لكلاً من دين ديكن (2006، 2007)، وأوهالا (2011). يقوم هذا البحث بإعطاء مقترح تحليلي وتقديم تمثيل بنائي لتراكيب الملكية المذكورة أعلاه، وفقاً لنظرية تشومسكي (2000، 2000) للتوافق والتطابق في الخصائص والسمات النحو صرفية. أشارت الدراسة إلى أن المطابقة بين صات وخصائص الفعل والفاعل صاحب/راعي والفاعل في تراكيب الملكية باللهجة النجدية تشبه إلى حد كبير الإسناد أو المطابقة بين سمات وخصائص الفعل والفاعل في الجنس والعدد باللغة العربية وغيرها من اللغات بحيث إذا كان الفاعل أسماً مفرداً يتم استخدام فعلاً مفرداً وإذا كان مذكراً/مؤنثاً يتم استخدام فعلاً مذكراً/مؤنثاً.

الكلمات المفتاحية: االلهجة النجدية، النحو العربي، النظرية النحوية التوليدية، نظرية التطابق، تراكيب الملكية الأسمية.



#### 1. Introduction:

In this paper, I argue in favour of the predication approach outlined in Ouhalla (2011), as originally proposed by Den Dikken (2006, 2007), showing that the analysis of possessive noun phrases formed by the possessive marker dyal in Moroccan Arabic (MA) can account for syntactic derivation of corresponding nominal constructions formed by possessive ssahib/raasi in Najdi Arabic (NA). Extending the predication approach to NA possessives, it will become clear that s<sup>c</sup>aħib/raaSi inflects for agreement according to the φ-features, i.e., number and gender, of the possessor as a consequence of an Agree operation established between them (see Chomsky, 2000, 2001; Pesetsky & Torrego, 2007).

Motivated by the state of affairs that such analytic free state constructions and their defining properties have received little attention by linguists within the recent research in generative syntax, this paper aims to bring into focus the structure and derivation of this type of analytic possessive constructions. These constructions are made with specific particles, particularly s<sup>ç</sup>aħib and raasi. The resemblance between these particles and possessive hagg noun phrases is that their use can result in a possessive reading. Unlike the case with analytic free state constructions formed by possessive hagg (see Bardeas, 2009; Alrasheedi, 2019), the possessive particles s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raa\i are preceded by the possessor and followed by the possessum, as shown in (1a-b):

(1) a. ?ar-radʒaal ssaħib ?as-sajjarah DEF-man **POSS** DEF-car 'The man's car' / 'the car of the man' b. ?al-bint raa\i-t ?al-galam DEF-girl POSS-SG.F DEF-pen 'The girl's pen' / 'the pen of the girl'

The linear order of analytic possessive noun phrases formed by the possessive particles s<sup>c</sup>aħib and raasi in NA can be represented as follows:

- (2) possessor -- s<sup>s</sup>aħib / raaSi -- possessum If the word order between the possessor and the possessum is switched, the construction would be ungrammatical, as in (3).
- (3) \*?al-bait ssahib ?ar-radzaal DEF-house POSS DEF-man

Intended: 'The man's house'/ 'the house of the

man'

The discussion below is organized as follows. Section 2 provides descriptive facts of possessive constructions formed by s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raaSi. It will become clear that the possessive particles ssahib and raasi are used to denote possession, where the possessum belongs to the possessor. It will be pointed out that the difference between the two particles is concerned with register variation. Section 3 includes an overview of the predication approach, summarising its main assumptions. Section 4 investigates the syntactic derivation of NA possessive constructions formed by s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raasi. I also show how this approach can account for number and gender agreement facts between the possessive particle and the possessor in this Arabic vernacular. Section 5 draws the conclusions of the paper.

#### Stahib and Raasi-Possessive Noun Phrases: **Basic Semantics and Syntax**

The analytic possessive noun phrase formed by the possessive particles s<sup>ς</sup>aħib or raaςi, as illustrated in (4), shows that the possessum belongs to the possessor. This is based on the nature of the semantic relation between the possessor – which can be labelled as the subject of the analytic possessive noun phrase - and the possessum - which can also be called the predicate of the possessive construction.

?as-sajjarah (4) ?ar-radʒaal ssaħib/ raasi DEF-man **POSS** DEF-car 'The man's car'

In (4), the speaker asserts that the car, the possessum is a 'property' of the man, the possessor. The possessive particles s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raaSi are used to spell out this conceptual relation of possession.

Depending on the surveyed data, it is quite clear that the possessive constructions formed with the possessive ssahib are much more common than those formed with raasi. The question that arises here is the difference between the two particles. The difference between s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raaSi appears to be a case of register variation. According to Finegan and Biber (1994: 316), register variation is defined as 'the full range of language varieties associated with differences in communicative situation'. With this in mind, it can be stated that the speakers of NA use ssahib in formal settings, while raasi is used in informal settings. One might think that this can be a case of a



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regional variation. However, such an observation does not seem to be right since NA speakers use s<sup>6</sup>ahib and raa<sup>6</sup>i interchangeably. The difference lies in the setting being formal or informal rather than restricted to some region or social class. No semantic/pragmatic differences are discerned between these two particles. In the discussion below, I will stick to the discussion of the particle s<sup>6</sup>ahib with strict understanding that all observations made about s<sup>6</sup>ahib are true of raa<sup>6</sup>i as well.

As referred to above, s<sup>s</sup>ahib intervenes between the possessor and the possessum of the analytic possessive noun phrase, provided that the former precedes the latter. Given the fact that the possessum belongs to the possessor when the particle s<sup>s</sup>ahib is used, the meaning of s<sup>s</sup>ahib can be expressed by the English word 'belonging to'. For instance, in (5), the conveyed meaning is that ?al-bait 'the house' belongs to ?ar-radʒaal 'the man'. In English, notices that such a relation can sometimes be translated using the preposition with (cf. 6a).

(5) ?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>ahib ?al-bait

DEF-man POSS.SG.M DEF-house

'The man's house' / 'the house of the man'

The possessor is definite, either by the prefixation of the definite article ?al (a full noun phrase) or by being a proper name, as in (6a-b):

(6) **a.**?al-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib ?al-badlah ?al-ħam-ra

DEF-man POSS Def-suit DEF-red.F 'The man's red suit' / 'the man with the red suit'

**b.** Abdallah s<sup>c</sup>aħib ʔas-sijjarah ʔal-ħamra

Abdallah POSS DEF-car DEF-red.F 'Abdallah's red car'

If the possessor is indefinite, the resulting construction is ungrammatical.

(7)\*bint s<sup>s</sup>aħib-t ?al-badlah ?al-ħamra girl POSS-SG.F DEF-suit DEF-red.F Intended meaning: 'a girl with the red suit'

In (7), the possessor bint 'a girl' is indefinite, hence the ungrammaticality of the example above. Additionally, the possessum should be definite; otherwise, the resulting construction is degraded, as shown by the example in (8):

(8) ???al-bint s<sup>c</sup>aħib-t badlah ħamra

DEF-girl POSS-SG.F suitred.F Intended meaning: 'the girl with a red suit'

Typically, the nouns linked by the possessive particle s<sup>c</sup>aħib are both definite. However, there is one special case in which it is possible for the two DPs linked by s<sup>c</sup>aħib to be indefinite. In such examples s<sup>c</sup>aħib+DP is used to attribute a characteristic to the noun that precedes it, as shown in the following example:

(9) radʒaal s<sup>c</sup>aħib karam man POSS generosity

Literally: 'a man with generosity'

Meaning: 'a man of generosity' / 'A generous man'

The construction in (9) is similar to that in (10) in terms of its semantic import:

(10) radʒaal kariim
man generous
'A generous man'

The difference between (9) and (10) is that the speaker in (9) has a positive attitude to the man in question, whereas in (10) the speaker just states the man without expressing his/her attitude. I will use the term 'modification reading' for this particular use in (9). Under the modification reading, what seems as a possessum of the analytic free state construction is used to ascribe some positive or even negative characteristic to the possessor of the possessive construction. Consider the following dialogue in (11), where the construction in (9) appears:

(11) Speaker 1: wif raai-ak bi-Mohammed?

What opinion-your with-Mohammed

'What is your opinion of Mohammed?'

Speaker 2: radʒaal s<sup>c</sup>aħib karam/mazaadʒ

Man POSS generosity/mood

Literally: a man with generosity/mood

Meaning: 'a man of generosity' / 'a man with temper'

The above discussion has to do with the semantic relations which can be invoked within s<sup>c</sup>ahib-possessive noun phrases. Let us now investigate the syntax of analytic free state constructions formed by the possessive particle s<sup>c</sup>ahib in NA. The most obvious observation is that no elements can intervene between s<sup>c</sup>ahib and the





following possessum DP of the possessive noun phrase. Additionally, like the cases within other types of analytic possessive constructions (cf. Bardeas, 2009; Ouhalla, 2011; Alrasheedi, 2019), any adjective must immediately follow the noun it modifies (see 12a-c).

(12)**a.** ?ar-radʒaal ?al-kabiir s<sup>c</sup>ahib ?as-sijjarah ?as-sarii cah

DEF-man DEF-old.M POSS DEF-car DEF-fast.F

'The old man with the fast car'

**b.** \*?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib ?as-sijjarah ?al-kabiir ?as-sariisah

DEF-man POSS DEF-car DEF-old.M DEF-fast.F

Intended meaning: 'The old man with the fast car'

c. \*?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib ?as-sijjarah ?as-sariisah ?al-kabiir

DEF-man POSS DEF-car DEF-fast.F DEF-old.M

Intended meaning: 'The old man with the fast car'

Furthermore, unlike other analytic possessive constructions whereby the possessum can be elided and the possessor cannot be deleted, the possessor of analytic possessive noun phrases formed by the possessive particle s<sup>6</sup>ahib can be elided under certain pragmatic conditions (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Algryani, 2012). Put differently, it is fully acceptable to elide the possessor in such constructions if it is said in a context whereby the listener can retrieve the relevant information to identify the elliptical possessor of the possessive noun phrase, as in (13). On the other hand, the possessum of s<sup>6</sup>ahib-possessives cannot be elided, hence ungrammaticality of the construction in (14):

(13) ?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib ?as-sijjarah DEF-man POSS DEF-car

Approximately: 'the man's car' / '(the one) with the car'

(14) \*?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib

Def-man POSS

Approximately: 'The man with'

Another important characteristic of s<sup>c</sup>aħib possessive constructions is that the possessive marker must obligatorily agree in phi-features with the possessor DP. Consider the following NA data:

(15) **a.** ?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib ?as-sajjarah DEF-man.SG.M POSS.SG.M DEF-car 'The man's car' / 'the car of the man'

**b.** ?al-bint s<sup>c</sup>ahib-t ?as-sajjarah DEF-girl.SG.F POSS-SG.F DEF-car 'The girl's car'/ 'the car of the girl'

c. ?ar-rdʒaal ?as'haab ?as-sajjarah DEF-men.PL.M POSS.PL.M DEF-car 'The men's car'/ 'the car of the men'

d. ?al-banaat s<sup>c</sup>ahb-aat ?as-sajjarah
DEF-girls.PL.F POSS-PL.F DEF-car
'The girls' car'/ 'the car of the girls''

In (15a), s'ahib must show up as singular masculine, which is the default form of the possessive particle, given the fact that the possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man' is [SG.M]. In (15b), s'ahib gets morphologically inflected to s'ahib-t [SG.F], which is the same number and gender of those of the preceding noun phrase ?al-bint (the girl). By the same logic, the possessive particle appears in (15c) in the ablaut form ?as'haab [PL.M] since the possessor is ?ar-rdʒaal (the men), and in (15d) as s'ahb-aat, given that the possessor ?al-banaat is [PL.F], respectively.

We can summarise the above discussion by saying that the DP following a possessive particle cannot be elided, whereas the DP preceding it can be elided under suitable pragmatic contexts. Additionally, s'aħib must agree with the DP preceding it rather than the one following it.

Having described the main aspects related to semantics and syntax of s<sup>c</sup>aħib possessive constructions, let us now shift the discussion to the predication approach in the next section.

#### **Overview of the Predication Approach**

Subsequent studies of predication relations and copular constructions have culminated in significant insights with respect to the syntax of (possessive) noun phrases (cf. Den Dikken & Singhapreecha, 2004; Den Dikken, 2006, 2007; Ouhalla, 2011; Choueiri, 2014; Zhang, 2020; Ku-

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jath & van der Wal, 2023; and references cited therein). For example, Ouhalla (2011), following (Den Dikken, 2006, 2007), develops an analysis of predication for possessive noun phrases in Moroccan Arabic (MA), arguing that a predication structure underlies canonical constructs, whereby the DP preceding the possessive marker is the subject of predication and the DP following it is the predicate. Ouhalla (2011) goes on to argue that the two members of the free state construction has a predication relationship. This is shown by (17) for the possessive noun phrase in (16) below, adapted from Ouhalla (2011: 112): (the gloss is slightly changed)

(16) al-kura dyal-t al-wld
DEF-footbal.F.SG POSS-F.SG DEF-boy

'The boy's football' / 'The football of the boy'
(17) a.[DP D [FP F [AGR] [PP [DP POSSES
SUM] [P' P [DP POSSESSOR] ...

b. [DP D [FP [DP POSSESSUM] [F' [P] + F [AGR] (= OF [AGR]) [PP ... [P' ... [DP POSSESSOR] ...

The main tenets of the predication approach can be summarized as follows. The predication relation between the possessum (subject) and the possessor (predicate) is mediated rather than direct. The mediating category is a Relator Phrase (RP) and headed by a Relator (R), which selects the possessum subject as its specifier and the possessor predicate as its complement. The predication projection RP is embedded under DP. There is an intermediate functional projection, FP, headed by F[Agr], which mediates the relation between the outer D and RP. The F[Agr] corresponds to T[Agr] in clauses and resembles Num in the DP domain (cf. Ritter, 1991; Ouhalla, 2011; Choueiri, 2014).

According to Ouhalla (2011), the structure in (17) also gives rise to the syntactic derivation of construct state possessives, provided that no movement takes place in such constructions; hence, both analytic free state and construct state are derived from the same underlying structure. For reasons of space, I focus here on analytic possessive constructions formed by possessive s<sup>c</sup>ahib only. This means that the syntactic derivation of the Construct State within the predication approach remains outside the scope of this paper (see, however, Alrasheedi, 2019; Benmamoun, 2000; Borer, 1996, 1999; Brustad, 2000; Fassi Fehri, 1993, 1999, 2012; Hoyt, 2008; Ritter, 1991; Shlonsky, 1997, 2004; Siloni, 1997, 2001;

Sichel, 2002, among many others for the syntax of construct state). Ouhalla (2011) points out further that dyal-possessum agreement facts can be accounted for under an Agree relation, which takes place exclusively under the closest c-command (see Chomsky, 2008).

Following this, Ouhalla points out that the agreement established between the possessive preposition dyal and the preceding DP is in fact an instance of subject-verb agreement in the clausal domain in Modern Standard Arabic and other Arabic dialects in which the verb inflects for the φ-features of the subject DP. This is arguably true of the agreement found in NA analytic possessive noun phrases where the possessive preposition s<sup>c</sup>aħib agrees in φ-features with the DP to its left, a matter which bears a strong resemblance to the agreement between the subject and the verb in SVO word order across all Arabic varieties (cf. Alotaibi, 2019; Algryani, 2012; Aoun et al., 1994; Benmamoun, 2000; Fassi Fehri, 1993; Himmelreich, 2023, among others).

One final point regarding the predication approach is in order. It should be noted that Ouhalla labels the possessum in analytic possessive constructions in MA as the subject of the predication relation, whereas the possessor as the predicate depending on the word order between the possessum and the possessor and the accompanying theta role. However, as we saw above, the linear order in ssahib possessive constructions is reversed to the opposite order. In view of this, and as far as s<sup>s</sup>aħib-possessor agreement is concerned, it is assumed that the possessor in analytic possessive constructions in NA is the subject and the possessum is the predicate. This assumption bears no crucial difference to the analysis of analytic possessive noun phrases to be developed here given the fact that in both languages, the DP which precedes the possessive marker is the subject, whereas the DP which follows it is the predicate.

Having briefly introduced how the predication approach works, let us now discuss the syntactic derivation of s<sup>6</sup>aħib analytic free state possessive constructions. All other relevant theoretical assumptions pertaining to the syntactic derivation of s<sup>6</sup>aħib possessives are introduced as the discussion proceeds.

## Syntactic analysis of s<sup>c</sup>aħib and raasi-analytic free state constructions

In this section, I provide a minimalist syntactic account of the derivation of s<sup>c</sup>ahib and raaci



free state possessive constructions. First, I assume that the possessive particles s<sup>c</sup>aħib and raaci are syntactic heads. I also assume that there is some computation-related relation formed by the two particles of the possessive construction, i.e., real possession and modification reading (pseudo-possession). Following the lexicalist views on feature content within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995), it is assumed that when s<sup>c</sup>ahib and raaci express possession, they are endowed with [POSS] feature which is the source for possessive interpretive reading of the given possessive construction. On the other hand, when s<sup>c</sup>aħib and raasi express pseudo-possession, it is assumed that they are endowed with (relational) [REL] feature, along the lines of Hornstein et al. (1994) and Barker (2019). The [REL] feature is the source for the relational interpretive reading (i.e., modification reading) between the elements of the analytic noun phrase. Hornstein et al. (1994) and Barker (2019) argue that DP-internal relations are collectively labelled as relation [REL], which is an abstract relation underlying many relations such as possession or part-whole relation, exactly what we find in constructions formed by s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raaSi. I reinterpret this relation as a feature whose existence in the featural grid of the given DP furnishes the interpretation that one element in the analytic noun phrase is related to another element within the whole noun phrase. Additionally, the possessive particles ssahib and raasi enter the derivation endowed with a set of uninterpretable features [EPP] and [φ] whose role in the syntactic derivation of the analytic free state construction is important as will be discussed in detail in what follows.

As mentioned above, the analytic noun phrases that express possession and modification readings are formed by the particles s<sup>s</sup>ahib or raasi, where in the former, the possessum belongs to the possessor, while in the latter the possessum is related to the possessor. As will be explained below, I argue that the parts of the possessive noun phrase are in a specifier and complement positions whose relation is mediated by a possessive preposition. On the other hand, both particles s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raaSi are heads which undergo head movement from the Relator (R) to the head of a projection labelled as Linker Phrase (FP) inside the whole DP. Relevant here is the assumption that these particles enter the derivation of the free state construction, endowed with a set of features which are different in terms of their interpretability.

Let us first introduce the notion of interpret-

ability and some minimalist views necessary for our analysis below. Chomsky (1993, 1995) makes a distinction between (un)interpretable features. He argues that interpretable features have authentic semantic value, hence they contribute to the propositional content of the constructions whereby they appear. Interpretable features need not be valued or checked, since they are legitimate objects at the LF (the conceptual-intentional interface). On the other hand, uninterpretable features do not contribute to the propositional content of the relevant constructions where they show up. They are purely morpho-syntactic features, devoid of any semantic value. As such, they need be valued and deleted before the derivation converges at PF and LF interfaces, i.e., Spell-out point (Bošković, 2007). That is because they are illegitimate objects at this interface level. Uninterpretable features are taken as the source for internal merge (Move) which is only made recourse to when the relevant derivation is doomed to crash (Nunes, 1995; Adger, 2003; Epstein, 2015). According to Chomsky (1995), feature interpretability and its role in syntactic derivation is captured by the principle of Full Interpretation (FI):

(18)

The principle FI is assumed as a matter of course in phonology; if a symbol in a representation has no sensorimotor interpretation, the representation does not qualify as a PF representation. This is what we called the "interface condition". The same condition applied to LF also entails that every element of the representation have a (language independent) interpretation (Chomsky, 1995: 27).

Following this line of reasoning, I assume that the possessive particles s<sup>s</sup>aħib and raasi are endowed with some interpretable feature, viz. [POSS], which provides the respective construction with a possessive interpretation. In order to account for the cases where there is no 'real' possession held between the elements forming the analytic noun phrase (cf. (9) above), I claim that the head of the functional Phrase housing s<sup>c</sup>aħib/ raasi is endowed with [REL] feature, along the lines of Hornstein et al. (1994). The [REL] feature is the source for the 'relational' interpretation between the elements of the DP (cf. Barker, 2019; Hornstein et al., 1994). I assume further that these particles are endowed with a set of uninterpretable features, namely [EPP] and [uφ]. These features play no role in the interpretive

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content of the relevant construction; hence, they must, according to the principle of FI, be valued and deleted prior to Spell-out point where the derivation is sent simultaneously to the PF and LF components. The principle of FI requires that all the uninterpretable features which are not accessible at the interface levels (PF and LF) to be deleted; otherwise, the derivation of the given construction crashes. Because the uninterpretable features [EPP] and  $[u\phi]$  are not accessible at the LF and PF (i.e., they do not express any semantic content) they must, consequently, be valued and deleted before the derivation reaches the LF and PF interfaces. Put another way, valuation of such features must be undertaken in the derivation while the given construction is being built/ processed, i.e., narrow syntax (Bošković, 2007; Epstein & Seely, 2008; & Citko, 2011).

As stated above, an important assumption to the analysis of analytic free state constructions is that the relationship between the possessor of and the possessum of is mediated rather than direct. What this means is that the possessor and the possessum are not in a sisterhood relation. This assumption is consistent with Den Dikken (2006, 2007) and Ouhalla's (2011) analysis of alienable constructions. Another important observation pertaining to analytic free state possessives is that they do not occur with inalienable possession, as illustrated by the ill-formed constructions in (19):

(19) a. \*?ar-radʒaal s'aħib ?al-ridʒil

Def-man POSS Def-leg

Intended: 'The man's leg'

b. \*?ar-radʒaal raaSi ?al-ridʒil

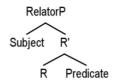
Def-man POSS Def-leg

Intended: 'The man's leg'

According to Den Dikken (2006, 2007) and Ouhalla (2011), the relationship between the possessor and the possessum of possessive constructions is necessarily mediated by a relational category that corresponds to the possessive preposition in analytic free state constructions. As discussed above in section 3, depending on the linear order between the possessor and the possessum in s<sup>c</sup>ahib analytic possessive noun phrases, it can be assumed that the possessor is the subject and the possessum is the predicate of the predication relation which are mediated by a category, called Relator Phrase (RP), whereby (R) functions as the head, of which the possessor is in the Spec, RP and the possessum is the comple-

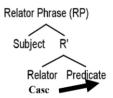
ment of the RP, as schematically shown in (20):

(20)



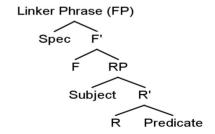
In this regard, Ouhalla (2011: 113) argues that Relator is essentially a relational category which is spelled out as the possessive preposition under certain derivational conditions where possessive constructions are made through a possessive preposition, which serves as a relator intervening between the possessor and the possessum. Drawing on Ouhalla's (2011) assumptions for MA, it can be assumed that the possessive preposition s<sup>s</sup>aħib is spelled out in NA at the stage of the Relator phrase (RP). Crucially, the possessive preposition ssaħib assigns Genitive Case to the possessum (the predicate), as is the case with other prepositions in Arabic (see Fassi Fehri, 1993; Ouhalla, 2011). Consider the following tree for an illustration:

(21)



If we follow this assumption, the requirement for the relator, i.e., the possessive preposition s<sup>c</sup>aħib to discharge its Case is thus satisfied. The predication approach necessitates that there is a dedicated functional phrase situated above the Relator Phrase (RP), called the Linker Phrase and labelled as (FP), (cf. Den Dikken, 2006; Ouhalla, 2011). This is schematically illustrated in the following representation:

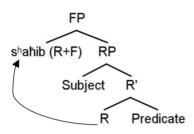
(22)





The Functional Phrase (FP) is significant because it is the place where the possessive marker s<sup>c</sup>ahib head moves to and occupies the (F) position of the FP. Following Den Dikken (2006, 2007), Ouhalla (2011) argues that the Relator head (R) moves to the head of the Linker Phrase (F), forming the complex head [R+F]. In view of this, I assume that s<sup>c</sup>ahib undergoes head movement from the Relator Phrase (RP) to the head of Functional Phrase (FP). Consider the following interim structure:

(23)



In order to account for the right form of s<sup>6</sup>aħib and the word order between the possessor/subject and the possessum/predicate here, I assume that the latter elements do not enter the derivation merging with one another, as shown in (23). The predicate (the possessum DP) enters the derivation as a complement of the Relator Phrase (RP), whereas the subject (possessor DP) is merged in the Specifier position (Spec) of RP. The Relator Phrase (RP) merges afterwards with the F, which is the head of the Functional Phrase, forming (FP). Upon the merge of the latter, the Relator head undergoes head-to-head movement to the functional head F, in effect enabling stahib to move to it. Following this line of analysis, the possessive particle s<sup>s</sup>aħib has a sub-categorization requirement in that it needs a complement as a Relator Phrase (RP) whose Spec is occupied by the subject (possessor), whereas the complement by the predicate (possessum) (cf. the structure in (23) above).

The need for the presence of the Functional Phrase (FP) above the Relator Phrase (RP) is theoretically motivated with reference to the morphological form of ssahib. This is so because it enables ssahib to be in a location where it can enter an Agree relation with the possessor DP, which is assumed to be unable to enter such an Agree relation with ssahib given its Case feature is already valued. To explain, according to the current assumptions of the Minimalist Program, the Agree operation is established between a probe and a goal in a configuration where the former c-com-

mands the latter. Agree relation between a probe and a goal is established, based on feature identity (Epstein & Seely, 2006). Chomsky (2000: 122) defines Agree relation as follows:

(24) The probe  $\alpha$  agrees with the goal  $\beta$  providing that:

- a.  $\alpha$  has uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features.
- b.  $\beta$  has matching interpretable  $\varphi$ -features.
- c.  $\beta$  is active by virtue of having an unvalued Case feature.
- d.  $\alpha$  c-commands  $\beta$ .
- e. There is no potential goal  $\gamma$  intervening between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ .

If we assume that s<sup>s</sup>aħib has a set of the uninterpretable Number and Gender features (henceforth, uφ-features), which it takes from the head of the Functional Phrase. ssaħib is hence qualified as an active probe for having uφ-features so as ssahib can inflect for number and gender of the possessor. According to the principle of FI, uφ-features must be marked for deletion during the derivation, since they are not tolerated by the interface systems of Spell-Out or LF interpretation (Adger & Ramchand, 2003). Accordingly, s<sup>c</sup>aħib must have its uφ-features valued and deleted before convergence at LF. Following the conditions of the Agree operation in (24), s<sup>c</sup>aħib starts looking for an active goal located within its domain which has matching interpretable Number and Gender features. Hence, the potential goal must have matching interpretable features. The goal must be located in a position lower than s<sup>s</sup>aħib, given that the probe must c-command the goal. If the goal is base-generated in a position higher than the probe, no Agree is possible between them. That is, the hierarchal relation between the probe and the goal must be met in that the former c-commands the latter. Let us apply this reasoning to the following example:

(25) ?ar-radʒaal s<sup>s</sup>aħib ?al-bait

DEF-man POSS DEF-house

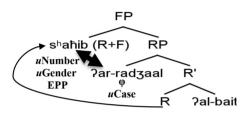
'The man's house'

With the schematic structure (23) in mind, the possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man' being located within the c-commanding domain of s<sup>c</sup>ahib might be a potential goal. According to the minimalist assumptions on sentence derivations (Chomsky, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2001), nouns enter the derivation endowed with a set of interpretable [most relevant here are Gender and Number features]. The possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man' has as such a

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subset of Number and Gender features and uCase which must be valued and deleted. The possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man' is an active goal that is located within the active probe ssaħib. Conditions on a probe-goal configuration between ssaħib and the possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man' are met. An agree relation between ssaĥib and the possessor ?ar-radʒaal is thus established. Consider the following schematic representation:

(26)



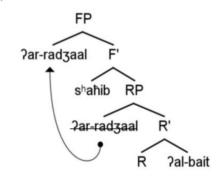
Consequently, the probe-goal relation is licitly held between ssahib and the possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man'. uNumber and uGender features of ssahib are valued by the interpretable features of the possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man', yielding the morphological form of ssahib as [SG.M]. Some evidence that uNumber and uGender features of ssahib are valued by the interpretable features of the possessor comes from the fact if the possessor is [SG.F], the morphological form of ssahib gets changed to [SG.F], and so on. Consider the following examples in (27) below: (repeated here for ease of exposition)

(27) a. ?ar-radʒaal s<sup>c</sup>aħib ?as-sajjarah
DEF-man.SG.M POSS.SG.M DEF-car
'The man's car' / 'the car of the man'
b. ?al-bint s<sup>c</sup>aħib-t ?as-sajjarah
DEF-girl.SG.F POSS-SG.F DEF-car
'The girl's car' / 'the car of the girl'
c. ?ar-rdʒaal ?as<sup>c</sup>ħaab ?as-sajjarah
DEF-men.PL.M POSS.PL.M DEF-car
'The men's car' / 'the car of the men'
d. ?al-banaat s<sup>c</sup>aħb-aat ?as-sajjarah
DEF-girls.PL.F POSS-PL.F DEF-car
'The girls' car' / 'the car of the girls'

The examples in (27) suggest strongly that uNumber and uGender of s<sup>c</sup>aħib are valued by the interpretable features of the possessor DP. S<sup>c</sup>aħib does not come with invariant form but is subject to morphological change, based on those of the possessor.

For this moment, the derivation does not account for the surface order between the elements forming analytic possessive noun phrases in that the possessor DP must precede ssahib. I assume that the surface position of the possessor in relation to s<sup>c</sup>ahib is not a result of base-generation on the part of the former but rather a result of the possessor's movement to the Spec, FP headed by s<sup>s</sup>aħib. This movement is due to the [EPP] feature on s<sup>s</sup>aħib. Chomsky (2000, 2001) points out that EPP is independent of any agreement relation that holds between the functional head and the phrase it attracts to its specifier position. The probe-goal relation established between ssahib and the possessor ?ar-radʒaal 'the man' is not sufficient to satisfy the EPP feature on ssahib which demands that the specifier position of the Functional Phrase to be occupied in overt syntax, as shown by the schematic derivation below:

(28)



If the possessor does not move to Spec of  $s^cahib$ , the derivation crashes at LF since the [EPP] feature is illegitimate object at LF which causes the derivation to crash if not deleted throughout the derivation. Valuing the u $\phi$ -features of  $s^cahib$  is not enough for the derivation to converge at LF; the [EPP] feature must be satisfied as well. The movement of the possessor to the specifier of  $s^cahib$  yields the right surface order in that the possessor precedes  $s^cahib$  which, in turn, precedes the possessum.

#### **Conclusions**

In this paper, we have seen that the possessive particle s<sup>c</sup>aħib/raaSi in NA is an agreeing head that inflect for φ-features according to the DP to its left. Following Den Dikken (2006, 2007) and Ouhalla (2011), I have shown that the derivation of this analytic possessive noun phrase follows



from the assumption that it entertains a predication relation in which the possessor DP is the subject and the possessum DP is the predicate. Specifically, it is proposed that the possessor is merged in the specifier position of a Relator Phase (RP), whereas the possessum is in the complement of the RP. It is shown that the RP is c-commanded by another functional phrase, namely the Linker Phrase (FP) whose head is endowed with uninterpretable  $\varphi$ -features and an EPP feature. In order to account for possessor-s<sup>c</sup>ahib/raaSi agreement, it is argued that the head of FP undergoes a probegoal relation with the possessor DP, resulting in an agreement whose PF form is ssahib/raasi (or their inflected forms). Finally, the possessor DP undergoes movement to Spec, FP satisfying the EPP feature on this functional head. The surface order in NA free state possessive construction is thus yielded.

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