مجلة العلوم الإنسـانية

دورية علمية محكمة تصدر عن جامعة حائل

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نبذة عن المجلة

تعريف بالمجلة

مجلة العلوم الإنسانية، مجلة دورية علمية محكمة، تصدر عن وكالة الجامعة للدراسات العليا والبحث العلمي بجامعة حائل كل ثلاثة أشهر بصفة دورية، حث تصدر أربة أعداد في كل سنة، وبحسب اكتمال البحوث المجازة للنشر.

وقد نجحت مجلة العلوم الإنسانية في تحقيق معايير اعتماد معامل التأثير والاستشهادات المرجعية للمجلات العلمية العربية معامل " آرسيف 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

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

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

تهتم مجلة العلوم الإنسانية بجامعة حائل بنشر إسهامات الباحثين في مختلف القضايا الإنسانية الاجتماعية والأدبية، إضافة إلى نشر الدراسات والمقالات التي تتوفر فيها الأصول والمعايير العلمية المتعارف عليها دوليًّا، 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

تصـدر المجلة ورقيّـاً حسـب القواعد والأنظمة المعمول بها في المجلات العلمية المحكمة، كما تُنشـر البحوث المقبولة بعد تحكيمها إلكترونيّاً لتعم المعرفة العلمية بشكل أوسع في جميع المؤسسات العلمية داخل المملكة العربية السعودية وخارجها.

ضوابط النشر في مجلة العلوم الإنسانية وإجراءاته

أولاً: شروط النشر

أولاً: شروط النشر

1. أن يتّسم بالأصالة والجِدّة والابتكار والإضافة المعرفية في التخصص.
2. لم يسبق للباحث نشر بحثه.
3. ألا يكون مستلّاً من رسالة علمية (ماجستير / دكتوراة) أو بحوث سبق نشرها للباحث.
4. أن يلتزم الباحث بالأمانة العلمية.
5. 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.
8. السلامة اللغوية ووضوح الصور والرسومات والجداول إن وجدت، وللمجلة حقها في مراجعة التحرير والتدقيق النحوي.

ثانيًا: قواعد النشر

1. أن يشتمل البحث على: صفحة عنوان البحث، ومستخلص باللغتين العربية والإنجليزية، ومقدمة، وصلب البحث، وخاتمة تتضمن النتائج والتوصيات، وثبت المصادر والمراجع باللغتين العربيّة والإنجليزيّة، والملاحق اللازمة (إن وجدت).
2. فـي حال (نشر البحث) يُزوّد الباحث بنسخة إلكترونية من عدد المجلة الذي تم نشر بحثه فيه، ومستلّاً لبحثه .
3. فـي حال اعتماد نشر البحث تؤول حقوق نشره كافة للمجلة، ولها أن تعيد نشره ورقيّاً أو إلكترونيّاً، ويحقّ لها إدراجه في قواعد البيانات المحليّة والعالميّة – بمقابل أو بدون مقابل – وذلك دون حاجة لإذن الباحث.
4. لا يحقّ للباحث إعادة نشر بحثه المقبول للنشر في المجلة إلا بعد إذن كتابي من رئيس هيئة تحرير المجلة.
5. الآراء الواردة فـي البحوث المنشورة تعبر عن وجهة نظر الباحثين، ولا تعبر عن رأي مجلة العلوم الإنسانية.
6. النشر في المجلة يتطلب رسوما 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: توثيق البحث

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

رابعا: 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 تنتهي 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.

   هـ. الالتزام بالضوابط الفنية ومعايير كتابة البحث في مجلة العلوم الإنسانية بجامعة حائل كما هو في دليل المؤلفين لكتابة البحوث المقدمة للنشر في مجلة العلوم الإنسانية بجامعة حائل وفق نظام 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 إلكترونياً بصيغة (word) نسختين و (PDF) نسختين تكون إحداهما بالصيغتين خالية مما يدل على شخصية الباحث.

5. 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 للمجلة (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 الأولي ملغي.

9. بعد دفع الرسوم المطلوبة من قبل الباحث خلال المدة المقررة للدفع ورفع سند الإيصال من خلال منصة التقديم، يرسل البحث لمحكّمين اثنين؛ على الأقل.

10. فـي حال اكتمال تقارير المحكّمين عن البحث؛ يتم إرسال خطاب للباحث يتضمَّن إحدى الحالات التّالية:

    أ. قبول البحث للنشر مباشرة.

    ب. قبول البحث للنّشر؛ بعد التّعديل.

    ج. تعديل البحث، ثمَّ 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 عدولا منه عن النشر، ما لم يقدم عذرا تقبله هيئة تحرير المجلة.

12. في حالة رفض أحد المحكمين للبحث، وقبول المحكم الآخر له وكانت درجته أقل من 70%؛ فإنّه يحق للمجلة الاعتذار عن قبول البحث ونشره دون الحاجة إلى تحويله إلى محكم مرجح، وتكون الرسوم غير مستردة.

13. يقدم الباحث الرئيس (حسب نموذج الرد على المحكمين) تقرير عن تعديل البحث وفقاً للملاحظات الواردة في تقارير المحكمين الإجمالية أو التفصيلية في متن البحث

14. 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. وكذلك لها الحق في رفض البحث دون إبداء الأسباب.

15. في حالة رفض البحث من قبل المحكمين فإن الرسوم غير مستردة.

16. 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.

17. لا تردّ البحوث المقدمة إلى أصحابها سواء نشرت أم لم تنشر، ويُخطر المؤلف في حالة عدم الموافقة على النشر

18. يحق للمجلة أن ترسل للباحث المقبول بحثه نسخة معتمدة للطباعة للمراجعة والتدقيق، وعليه إنجاز هذه العملية خلال 36 ساعة.

19. لهيئة تحرير المجلة الحق في تحديد أولويات نشر البحوث، وترتيبها فنّياً.

Case Syncretism in Arabic Genitive Constructions:
A Distributed Morphology-based Account

دراسة اندماج حالات الجر باللغة العربية في ضوء نظرية الصّرف الموزّع

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Abstract

The present paper proposes that the occurrence of identical genitive case marking in Standard Arabic (SA) in two contexts, namely the Construct State (CS) and Prepositional Phrase (PP) constructions, cannot be uniformly explained within syntax as they are assigned by different licensers: D in the former but P in the latter. Instead, this syntax-morphology mismatch should be addressed as a non-accidental syncretism in Case functions between the Possessive Genitive (i.e., possession, partitive, attribution) and the Prepositional Genitive (e.g., location, source, goal, and instrumental). Based on the Distributed Morphology (DM) framework, I argue that the syncretism of Possessive (genitive) case with PP-related (genitive) cases is grounded on two theoretical assumptions: (a) their adjacency in the Case hierarchy, and (b) the applicability of Subset Principle of Vocabulary Insertion (VIs) within the post-syntactic morphology component. Specifically, (possessive) genitive Case, in contrast to other cases, is adjacent to PP-related cases and shares with them a positive value of Oblique [OBL: +]. The proposed account provides a thorough understanding of how the genitive case is distributed and behaves in SA. It successfully models syncretism in case functions and systematically addresses the interface issues between syntax and morphology observed in this context.

Keywords: Syncretism; Case licensing; decomposition; construct state; prepositional phrase

الملخص

يقترح هذا البحث أنه لا يمكن إيجاد تفسير نحوي موحد لظهور الوسم الاعرابي المتطابق بحالة الجر في اللغة لعربية الفصحى لظهورها في موضعين مختلفين (الإضافة، والجار والمجرور) حيث أن لكل منهما مُسنداً إعرابياً مختلفاً: الرأس الوظيفي (المحدِّد) في الموضع الأول بينما الرأس اللغوي (حرف الجر) في الموضع الثاني. بدلاً عن ذلك، هذا التباين بين النحو والصرف ينبغي النظر إليه على أنه اندماج غير عرضي في وظائف حالة الجر، أي أنه اندماج بين وظائف الحالة الملكية (الملكية، الجزئية، الصفة) ووظائف الحالة الجرية (المكان، المصدر، الهدف، والأداة). وحجة الباحث في اندماج الحالة الملكية مع حالة الجار والمجرور مبنيةٌ على افتراضين مستندين على إطار نظرية الصّرف الموزّع، وهما: موقع الحالتين المجاور في نظام تسلسل الحالة، وقابلية تطبيق مبدأ المجموعة الفرعية في عملية إدراج المفردات في مكون ما بعد النحو الصرفي؛ بمعنى أدق: إن موقع حالة الجر الدالة على الملكية، بخلاف حالات الإعراب الأخرى في اللغة، مجاورة لحالة الجر وتشترك معها في قيمة إيجابية (غير الفاعل). يوفر هذا التفسير المقترح فهماً شاملاً لتوزيع حالة الجر وأنماطها في اللغة العربية الفصحى، ويمثل بنجاح نمذجة اندماج وظائف الحالة، ويعالج بشكل منتظم المسائل التفاعلية بين النحو والصرف الموضحةَ في السياق.

الكلمات المفتاحية: اندماج، ترخيص الحالة، تحلل، المضاف والمضاف اليه، عبارة جرية

Introduction

The case system of Standard Arabic (SA) consists of three cases: nominative, accusative and genitive, morphologically marked by adding suffixes to the end of a noun: -u(n) for nominative, -a(n) for accusative, and -i(n) for genitive as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Case markers in SA

Case	Markers
	kitaab 'book'
Nom	*kitaab-**u(n)***
Acc	*kitaab-**a(n)***
Gen	*kitaab-**i(n)***

Table 1 demonstrates that Standard Arabic consistently displays a distinction among three cases: nominative, accusative, and genitive. The notation of /n/ in parentheses, commonly referred to as nunation, is found in indefinite nouns, as well as in sound plurals and duals in their absolute state. Regardless of rare occurrences as default cases, nominative mainly marks the subject, accusative marks the object, and genitive marks the possessor. The Arabic case system has been extensively discussed by many scholars. Wright (1875) and several medieval Arab grammarians, particularly Sibawayh in his 8th century book Al-Kitaab and Ibn-Ya'ish in his 13th-century interpretation of Zamakhshari's 12th century work Al-Mufassal, have made notable contributions to the understanding of the Arabic case system. However, there is no historical evidence in Arabic that suggests the existence of fewer or more than three cases, namely the nominative, accusative, and genitive cases. This applies to other Semitic languages which typically possess three identical case markers: nominative -u, genitive -i, and accusative -a. Hasselbagh (2013) notes that the three endings in some older languages, like Akkadian, may be expanded by the final consonants -m (mimation) to mark language-specific functional scope, or by the final consonants -n (nunation) that serves an indefinite function as in Arabic. Blake (1994) notes that the Arabic case system differs from the Latin and Roman systems in that it is not stem-based. Instead, it intriguingly assigns case to a noun based on its position in an underlying or basic order. Furthermore, case in Arabic can be assigned by an abstract assigner, i.e., a verb in verbless sentences, this indicates that case in the language is structurally determined, rather than relying on changes in stem-based paradigms. Since there are no significant diachronic effects on the case syncretism of Arabic, a synchronic methodology will be followed to investigate the phenomenon from

various perspectives. Focusing on the genitive case pattern of SA, the main observation of the study is that the same genitive case marker –i(n) appears in two distinct syntactic and semantic contexts: Construct State (CS) and Prepositional Phrase (PP) constructions. In the Construct State construction, also known as 'annexation', or ʔal-iDāfa as translated by Wright (1875), a head noun and a DP complement form a composition. A head noun assigns genitive case to its DP complement, as illustrated in (1).

1) kitaab-u   atˤ-tˤaalib-**i**
   book-nom   the-student-**gen**
   'the student's book'

In the given example (1), the head noun kitaab 'book' is followed by the DP complement atˤ-tˤaalib-i 'the student', which is marked with genitive case morphologically realized as the suffix-i. The construction is typically used to express possession or attribution relation and can appear in several contexts such as nominal phrases, adjectival phrases, and adverbial phrases. On the other hand, in the Prepositional Phrase (PP) construction, referred to as Jar wa Majrur in Arabic traditional grammar, there is a dependency relation between a preposition and a DP complement. The head preposition, regardless of its nature (directional or locative), assigns genitive case to the DP complement, as illustrated in (2).

2) ʔila /fi   al-madrasat-**i**
   to/at   the-school-**gen**
   'to/at school'

In the given example, the DP complement al-madrasat-i 'the-school-gen' associated with directional prepositions such as ʔila 'to' or locative prepositions like fi 'at' must be marked with the genitive case suffix –i(n). The problem that arises here is how the genitive case, which typically marks thematic relationships like possession or attribution, can also mark spatial relationships like directionality, location, and so on. Technically speaking, the identical genitive case marker needs to be licensed by two different assigning heads: N/D in Construct States (CSs), but P in Prepositional Phrases (PPs). While the former assigns a structural case, the latter assigns an inherent one. However, the presence of the identical genitive case marking with unrelated semantic or thematic functions poses a challenge in terms of providing a unified explanation within syntax. There appears to be a mismatch between syntax and morphology, where morphology fails to differentiate between the two instances of genitive case. The key questions that arise here are why the

complement of P lacks a distinct case marker to indicate its spatial relationships apart from the genitive case expressing possession or attribution within the Construct State, and why it is possible for the complement of P to take genitive case at all. That the two genitive constructions (construct states and prepositional phrases) are referred to as al-majrur by the traditional grammarians of Arabic further justifies the need to analyze these constructions together in this study.

Theoretical background

In this section, I will discuss the notion of case, as well as its treatment in generative grammar. Furthermore, Distributed Morphology will be introduced as an approach that seeks to resolve mismatches between morphology and syntax, particularly syncretism.

Notion of Case

Case is a relation between a DP (or argument) and its surrounding syntactic context, which may or may not have a semantic association. A distinction between two types of case is made in literature: morphological case and abstract case. Morphological case refers to the inflectional marking or changes that occur on nouns, pronouns, or other parts of speech to indicate their grammatical relationship within a sentence. It is typically realized through affixes or changes in word form. On the other hand, abstract case refers to the underlying grammatical function or role that a noun phrase plays in a sentence, regardless of whether it is overtly marked in morphology or not. Standard Case theory categorizes Case into two types: structural and inherent Cases based on the behavior and manner of licensing (Chomsky 1981, 1986). Structural case is solely determined by the syntactic configuration in which a DP appears, with no connection to the thematic role assignment required. It typically identifies core grammatical relations (subject and object) based on the syntactic configuration and interacts with agreement. Inherent case, by contrast, is determined by semantic and lexical factors. Inherent case accounts for various types of morphological case markings, including regular ones like the dative on indirect objects or the ergative on subjects, as well as irregular or quirky case marking. Inherent cases, like lexical or quirky cases, can be licensed by heads assigning thematic roles to the corresponding arguments. Therefore, nominative and accusative are structural cases, as they are not thematically dependent, whereas oblique assigned by a preposition, dative and genitive are inherent cases as they are thematically dependent, i.e., the assigners θ-mark their assignees.

Case licensing in generative grammar

In generative grammar, specifically in Chomsky's (1995) Minimalist Program, case-marking has been dissociated from theta-marking. In early Minimalism, case assignment is viewed as a feature-driven process where abstract case features on nominal elements are checked. Case assignment is not seen as a direct relationship between a governor and a dependent. Instead, it is achieved through feature checking via the Agree operation. Case features are associated with functional heads such as v, T, or C, rather than lexical heads. These functional heads enter into an Agree relation with nominal elements, typically DPs, to check features including case, The Agree operation involves matching and valuing the features on the head and the DP. The identity of case assigned to a DP is determined by properties of the functional head involved. For instance, nominative (subject) case is commonly assigned by a finite head T, while accusative (object) case is often assigned by a functional head linked to a transitive verb, technically v.

In recent Minimalist approaches, specifically Chomsky's Agree-based approach (2000, 2001), the role of case has been somewhat demoted. It no longer functions as an independent participant in checking relations. Case is an interpretable feature on the phase heads but uninterpretable on DPs. Case obtains its value as a byproduct of the valuation of φ-features (i.e., number, gender, and person) associated with its host through the operation Agree when both the Probe and the Goal are active. This activation condition requires that both the Probe and the Goal carry uninterpretable features which have to be valued in the course of derivation. Chomsky (2001) argues that 'structural case is not a feature of the probes (T, v), but it is assigned a value under agreement […] Case itself is not matched, but deletes under matching of φ-features'. This approach marked the elimination of independent case features from the functional heads that license case, thus reducing case assignment to being a reflex of agreement. Syntactic operations such as movement, agreement, and case assignment are viewed as instances of the Agree operation. It involves a relation between two syntactic elements, typically a Probe (functional head) and a Goal (complement or specifier). If the features match, the Goal's features are valued and can trigger further operations.

Distributed Morphology Framework

Distributed Morphology (DM) is a theoretical framework in morphology proposed by Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994), Harley and Noyer (1999),

Embick and Noyer (2007), and Bobaljik (2012). As its name suggests, it posits that morphology is distributed across syntax and Phonological Form (PF). DM is based on two widely acknowledged hypotheses in the literature: Syntax-all-the-way-down, and Late Insertion/ Realization as stipulated in (3) and (4) respectively.

3) Syntax-all-the-way-down

The primary mode of meaningful composition in grammar, both above and below the word-level, is the syntax. Syntax operates on sub-word units, and thus (some) word-formation is syntactic.

4) Late Insertion /Realization/Exponence

The pieces manipulated by the syntax (functional morphemes) are abstract, lacking phonological content. The pairing of phonological features with the terminals of the syntax (vocabulary insertion or exponence) happens post-syntactically, in the mapping from syntax to phonological form (PF).

Syntax-all-the-way-down highlights that syntax drives composition in the grammar, whereas Late Insertion affirms the observation that the features in grammars belong to different modules. For example, [+fem] is part of the syntax, while [+high] belongs to the phonology. Vocabulary insertion is sometimes referred to as late insertion because it occurs after all syntactic computations as well as morphology-specific adjustments have been made to the structure generated and delivered by syntax. DM puts forth a framework based on a strictly modular feed-forward architecture, as illustrated in Figure (1).

Figure 1
Distributed Morphology-based architecture
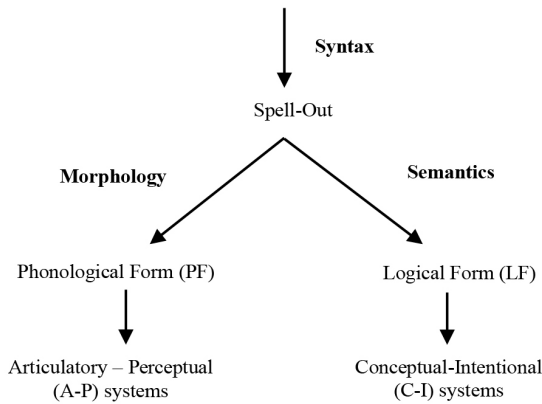
In DM, information is shipped in a universal manner across the different components of the grammar. Syntax feeds Phonological Form (PF) where morphological operations occur along the PF branch. The syntax manipulates feature bundles, which lack morphophonology, and the feature bundles are realized at PF via Vocabulary Insertion. Vocabulary Insertion involves trades of morphosyntactic features for phonological content. This process takes place at the terminal node, commonly referred to as the terminal-of-exponence, which specifically deals with the realization of morphemes through phonological content. Vocabulary Items compete for insertion into a syntactic feature bundle, and this competition is (partially) governed by the Subset Principle outlined in (5).

5) The Subset Principle

'The phonological exponent of a Vocabulary item is inserted into a morpheme in the terminal string if the item matches all or a subset of the grammatical features specified in the terminal morpheme. Insertion does not take place if the Vocabulary item contains features not present in the morpheme. Where several Vocabulary items meet the conditions for insertion, the item matching the greatest number of features specified in the terminal morpheme must be chosen.' (Halle 1997:428)

The principle consists of two parts known as the Subset Clause and the Elsewhere Clause. The Subset Clause establishes the conditions for the applicability of a Vocabulary Item (6a), while the Elsewhere Clause (6b) specifies the outcome when multiple Vocabulary Items are applicable in a given context.

6) a) Rules Apply

A rule applies wherever its structural description is met.

b) Elsewhere Condition

Where more than one mutually exclusive rule

may apply, (only) the most highly specified rule applies.

This principle generally emphasizes that the vocabulary entry chosen for insertion should be the one that realizes the maximal subset of morphosyntactic features at the node. However, for certain types of syntactic terminals, there exists an elsewhere vocabulary entry which possesses minimal inherent features, i.e., it is underspecified, allowing it to be compatible with a range of apparently heterogeneous feature bundles.

The Distributed Morphology framework incorporates two central post-syntactic morphological operations: underspecification and impoverishment. Underspecification of Vocabulary Items implies that phonological expressions do not require complete specification for their syntactic positions. This means that the phonological components of a word do not need to provide all the morphosyntactic features associated with that word. Instead, Vocabulary Items often serve as default signals, inserted when a more specific form is unavailable. On the other hand, impoverishment is an operation that systematically deletes morphosyntactic features after the syntactic component but before vocabulary insertion. It was originally proposed by Bonet (1991) and has been further developed by subsequent works such as Noyer (1992, 1998), Halle and Marantz (1993, 1994), Halle (1997), Harris (1997), Bobaljik (2002), Frampton (2002), Harley (2008), Embick and Noyer (2007), and Arregi and Nevins (2012). Impoverishment is rooted in the core assumption of Distributed Morphology (DM) that syntax operates on abstract features that lack phonological information. The phonological information is introduced at the PF (Phonological Form) branch of the grammar through the vocabulary insertion process. Therefore, impoverishment modifies the syntactic feature bundles during the PF stage, but before vocabulary insertion, thereby influencing morphological exponence.

Syncretism

Syncretism in linguistics refers to the merging or overlapping of different grammatical forms or categories. It involves the collapse of linguistic features or distinctions into a single expression or realization, which can manifest in morphology, syntax, and semantics. Spencer (1991: 45) describes syncretism as the situation where 'a single inflected form may correspond to more than one morphosyntactic description.' Trask (1997: 215) defines it as the 'identity in form between two grammatically different inflections.' According to Baerman et al. (2005), morphological syncretism occurs when a single surface form serves two or more morphosyntactic functions. It arises from a 'mismatch' where the syntax of a language makes a specific distinction, but the morphology does not. Case syncretism is a well-established phenomenon found in various languages, particularly Indo-European languages with abundant case syncretism.

The notion of syncretism can be viewed from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Diachronically, syncretism is understood as a change in which a single linguistic form comes to cover different functions that were previously covered by two or more separate forms. Synchronically, it is considered a failure to establish a morphological distinction that is syntactically relevant under particular conditions. This failure leads to a mismatch between syntax and morphology. Extensive diachronic research has been conducted on case syncretism in classical languages like Classical Greek (Luraghi 2003) and Latin (Coleman 1989). In addition, the literature has put forth several synchronic proposals linking morphological homonymy to the flexive/agglutinative nature of the language (Carstairs 1987, Carstairs & Stemberger 1988, Plank 1999). Over the past four decades, there have been numerous insightful contributions that have examined case syncretism from both language-specific and cross-linguistic perspectives. Notable works in this regard include Carstairs (1987), Zwicky (1985), Luraghi (2003), Coleman (1991), Stump (2001), Baerman et al. (2005), as well as earlier works by Jakobson (1936) and Bierwisch (1967). Moreover, two main categories of syncretism have been identified: non-accidental syncretism and accidental syncretism. Based on the works such as Carstairs (1987), Plank (1999), Coleman (1989) and Sigurðsson & Wood (2021), the distinction between non-accidental and accidental syncretism can be characterized as follows. Non-accidental syncretism refers to when Case A and Case B are systematically syncretic across the language. This means that there is a systematic merging or overlapping of linguistic forms or categories, which is governed by grammatical rules. Accidental syncretism, in contrast, refers to when Case A and Case B happen to share the same form for certain words or word classes. This type of syncretism does not demonstrate consistency across the grammar. Instead, it is essentially an accidental phenomenon that is linked to the vocabulary or even the phonology of the language.

Nature and licensing of Arabic genitive case

The section examines the entire distribution of genitive case in Standard Arabic, specifically in the Construct State and Prepositional Phrase constructions. It demonstrates that the occurrence of geni-

tive case in the two contexts cannot be explained through a uniform syntactic account, as there are distinct case licensers present.

Construct State (CS) construction

The Arabic CS construction, as elaborated with empirical evidence in Abdulhameed (1980), Hassan (1980), Mohammad (1988), Fassi-Fehri (1993), and Benmamoun (2003), exhibits the following characteristics:

▪ The Construct State is composed of two elements: a head noun and a DP complement, where the former assigns genitive case to the latter, as demonstrated in (7).

8) a) haqibat–u   al-bint-**i**
        bag-nom   the-girl-**gen**   *Possessed-Possessor*
        'the girl's bag'

    b) ʒari   atˤ-tˤafl-**i**
        running   the-child-**gen**   *Action-Agent*
        'the running of the child'

    c) dˤarb   atˤ-tˤafl-**i**
        beating   the-child-**gen**   *Action-Theme*
        'the beating of the child'

In the examples provided in (8), the thematic relationship between the head noun and its DP complement goes beyond the typical possessed-possessor relationship commonly used in other languages, including English. It includes the action-agent relationship, where the complement represents the entity performing the action, and the action-theme relationship, where the complement represents the entity affected by the action.

▪ The head noun in the construction cannot be marked for (in)definiteness, i.e. it takes neither the definite article al- nor indefinite marker -n.

9) a) kitaab-u   atˤ-tˤaalib-i
        book-nom   the-student-**gen**
        'the student's book'

7) ħaqibat-ual-bint-i

    bag-nom the-girl-gen

    'the girl's bag'

In (7), the head noun ħaqibat 'bag' is followed by the DP complement al-bint 'the-girl' 'which is marked with genitive case morphologically realized as the suffix-i.

▪ The thematic relationship between the head noun and its complement is not restricted to possessed-possessor, as shown in (8a), but can also involve other relations such as action-agent or action-theme, as illustrated in (8b) and (8c) respectively.

    b) *al-kitaab-u   atˤ-tˤaalib-**i**
        the-book-nom   the-student-**gen**
        'the student's book'

    c) * kitaab-un   tˤaalib-**in**
   book-nom-Indef   student-**gen-Indef**
        'a student's book'

The ungrammaticality of (9b) and (9c) arises from the traditional assumption that the head noun, as shown in (9a), inherits its definiteness value from its genitive DP complement. If the DP complement is definite, the head noun is also definite, and the same principle applies to indefiniteness. This inheritance process is supported by the agreement observed between adjectives modifying the head of the Construct State and the genitive complement, as demonstrated by the examples in (10).

10) a) kitaab-**u**   atˤ-tˤaalib-i   al-ʒadiid-**u**
        book.**nom**   the-student.SGM-**gen** the-new. SGM-**nom**
        'the student's new book'

    b) kitaab-**u**   tˤaalib-**in**   ʒadiid-**un/in**
        book.**nom**   the-student.SGM-**gen-Indef** the-new.SGM-**nom-Indef/gen-Indef**
        a book of a new student/ a new book of a student'

In (10), the adjective al-ʒadiid 'the new' modifies the head noun kitaab 'book' with which it agrees in gender and number features, as they both share the masculine singular form. However, when the definite article is not added to the adjective that modifies the head noun, it can result in ambiguous interpretations, as shown in (10b). The adjective ʒadiid 'new' can modify and should match in case feature with the possessed noun kitaab 'book' or the possessor tˤaalib 'student' to arrive at a desired interpretation.

Theoretically, proposals based on Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis have been made in the literature of Semitic languages regarding the Definiteness Spreading phenomenon. Mohammad (1988, 1999), Ritter (1991), Fassi-Fehri (1993), Siloni (1991), Borer (1996), Ouhalla (2003), Benmamoun (2003), Kremers (2003), and Shormani (2016) explore how a head noun in the Construct State inherits definiteness value from the embedded genitive phrase. The CS construction ħaqibat-u al-bint-i 'the girl's bag' in (10a) is structurally represented as in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Proposed structure of Construct State construction
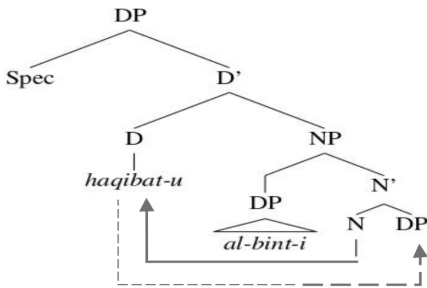
In the given structure, the head noun N is initially generated in a lower position and then it raises to the head D, resulting in the entire possessive construction becoming a definite DP. The head D, characterized by a strong feature of (in)definiteness, is believed to attract the head noun to adjoin it. These proposals suggest that there is a consensus on the workability of the of N-to-D raisin in the Construct State. However, the motivation behind the N-to-D raising may vary in different ways like definiteness spreading, case licensing and so forth.

Prepositional Phrases (PP) constructions

A prepositional phrase typically consists of a preposition followed by its complement, which can be a noun, pronoun, gerund, or clause. The complement provides additional information about location, direction, instrument, time, manner, purpose, or other relationships. In SA, the DP complement of a preposition is always marked with genitive case, regardless of the semantic nature of the preposition, be it goal, as in (11a), source, as in (11b), location as in (11c), instrumental as in (11d), or recipient as in (11e).

11)	a)	ðahaba	l-walad-u	ʔila	al-madrasat-**i**	*Goal*
		went.3SGM	the-boy-nom	**to**	the-school-**gen**	
			'The boy went to school.'			
	b)	ʒaʔaa	l-walad-u	**min**	al-hadiqat-**i**	*Source*
		came.3SGM	the-boy-nom	**from**	the-park-**gen**	
			'The boy came from the park.'			
	c)	wadˤatu	l-kitaab-a	ʕala	atˤ-tˤaawilat-**i**	*Location*
		put.1ˢᵗSGM	the-book-acc	**on**	the-table-**gen**	
			'I put the book on the table.'			
	d)	qatˤaʕtu	l-kaykat-a	**bi**-as-sikiin-**i**		*Instrumental*
		cut.ISM	the-cake-acc	**with**-the-knife-**gen**		
			'I cut the cake with the knife.'			
	e)	ʔaʕtˤat	l-kitaab-a	**li**-l-raʒul-**i**		*Recipient*
		gave.3SGF	the-book-acc	**to**-the-man-**gen**		
			'She gave the book to the man.'			

The examples provided above demonstrate that all DP complements of prepositions, such as al-madrasat-i 'the-school-gen' (11a), al-ħadiqat-i 'the-park-gen' (11b), atˤ-tˤaawilat-i 'the-table-gen' (11c),

as-sikiin-i 'the-knife-gen' (11d), and l-raʒul-i 'the-man-gen' (11e) are marked with the genitive case suffix –i. Although these complements share genitive case morphology, they are assigned different thematic roles based on the nature of the preposition, such as goal (11a), source (11b), location (11c), instrumental (11d), and recipient (11e). The assignment of genitive case to prepositional complements does not involve relations like possession or attribution, as seen in Construct State constructions. Consequently, the occurrence of genitive case within PP constructions appears to be rather unpredictable.

Previous studies in the literature on Arabic prepositional phrases have focused on examining the semantic functions of prepositions, rather than investigating the nature and licensing of genitive case. Badawi, Carter & Gully (2004), Ryding (2014), and Al-humari (2015) argue, based on lexical-semantic properties, for the classification of Arabic prepo-

sitions into two primary classes: true prepositions and semi-prepositions. Other works have explored the internal structure of Arabic prepositional phrases. Based on proposals made in the literature by van Riemsdijk (1990), Kracht (2002), Svenonius (2008, 2010), Koopman (2010), den Dikken (2010), and Terzi (2010), Saeed (2014) argues that the internal syntax of prepositional phrases, which is applicable across languages, can also be extended to Arabic PPs. Therefore, the internal structure of locative PPs (12a) and directional PPs (12b) can be semantically represented as shown in Figure (3a) and Figure (3b), respectively.

12)   a)   **fi**   al-madrasat-**i**
             in   the-school-**gen**
                  'in school'

        b)   **ila/min**   al-madrasat-**i**
             to/from   the-school-**gen**
   *'to/from school'*

Figure 3
The semantic structure of PPs

The proposed structures in Figure 3 indicate that a head P (Path or Place) always takes a genitive case-marked DP. This instance of genitive case reflects thematic roles, such as location (as seen in (12a)) or goal/source (as seen in (12b)), rather than relations

like possession or attribution. Syntactically speaking, a head P, regardless of being lexical or functional, assigns a (genitive) case to its complement. The examples in (11) will be structurally represented as shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4
The syntactic structure of PPs
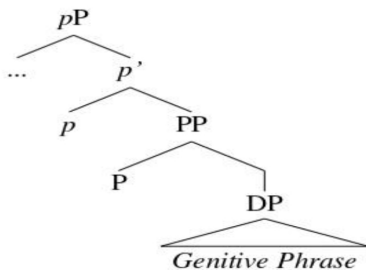
In the proposed structure (Figure 4), the DP complement gets genitive case from a functional head p, as proposed in Assiri's (2021) Agree-based account for Arabic prepositional phrases. The Probe head p and the Goal DP establish an agree relation, whereby the phi-features of the Probe p are valued, resulting in the concurrent valuation of the case on DP, spe-

cifically as a byproduct of valuation of phi-features.

To conclude this section, the two genitive constructions exhibit clear syntactic distinctions for a simple reason: the genitive case is licensed by two distinct syntactic licensers. In the construct state construction, the head D licenses the genitive case on its DP complement, whereas in the Prepositional Phrase

construction, the head P licenses the genitive case on its DP complement. Moreover, D licenses semantic functions like possession/attribution whereas p licenses semantic functions like location, goal, source, instrumental etc.

Arabic genitive case syncretism: A DM-based account

To recap, the main observation of this paper is the existence of a morphology-syntax mismatch in Arabic genitive constructions. The morphology does not reflect the syntactic distinction of the genitive case: genitive case in the Construct State is licensed by D, whereas genitive case in Prepositional Phrases is licensed by p. To put it simply, a single morphological exponent -i(n) is used for two distinct morphosyntactic functions: a possessive function in the Construct State as well as a function related to prepositional phrase constructions. I will refer to these case functions as the Possessive genitive (13a) and the Prepositional genitive (13b), respectively.

13)   a)   kitaab-u   atˤ-tˤaalib-**i/*-u/*-a**

            book-nom   the-student-**gen/*nom/*acc**

                    'the student's book'

    b)   Ɂila /fi/min   al-madrasat-**i/*-u/*-a**

            to/in/min   the-school-**gen/nom/acc**

                    'to/in/from school'

In the examples provided above, the complement of a head preposition, as in (13a), and the complement of a noun head, as in (13b), must be marked with the genitive case. Using a non-genitive case, such as nominative or accusative, would render these constructions ungrammatical.

I argue that the syntax-morphology mismatch observed in these Arabic constructions can be resolved by considering it as a case of syncretism. This can be effectively modeled within the framework of Distributed Morphology, which incorporates adjacency-based principles of Case hierarchy, as advanced in Baker (2001), Arkadiev (2009), and Baerman et al. (2002). The syncretism between possessive genitive and prepositional genitive is not accidental; rather, it is a systematic case syncretism that occurs within the post-syntactic morphology component. However, it is important to note that this case syncretism occurs between case functions, rather than involving two distinct morphological cases, given the absence of diachronic evidence. In line with decomposition-based proposals (e.g., Jakob-son 1936, Bierwisch 1967, Wiese 2004, Alexiadou & Müller 2008), which argue that traditional case categories like nominative, accusative and genitive should not be viewed as atomic but rather as bundles of features, I decompose the morphosyntactic case features in Arabic into smaller binary sub-features: [Subj(ect):±], [Gov(erned):±], and [Obl(ique):±]. These sub-feature bundles are syntactically motivated. Firstly, the [+Subject] cases such as nominative and genitive are commonly associated with arguments that are merged last with a predicate (including NP-internally with the genitive). Secondly, the [+Gov] case accusative is the typical case for objects of a verb. Lastly, the feature [+Obl] serves to unify possessive genitive and prepositional genitive (such as locative, Goal, Source, etc). Simultaneously, it distinguishes between nominative and accusative on one hand and possessive and prepositional genitives on the other hand, as the former encode the argument of a verb. Therefore, the decomposition of the proposed sub-features in Arabic case system can be illustrated as in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Proposed sub-features in Arabic case system

Case	Subject	Governed	Oblique
Nom	+	-	-
Acc	-	+	-
Gen	+	-	+

Focusing on the feature bundles of the genitive case, the table reveals that the nominative and genitive cases share the positive value of [Subject:+] feature but differ in terms of the [Oblique:±]] feature. Similarly, the genitive and accusative cases do not share any feature, rather they vary in all features [Subject: ±], [Governed: ±], and [Oblique: ±]. It is worth noting that the genitive case stands out from the nominative and accusative cases by having the positive value of the distinctive feature [Oblique:+]. Furthermore, the

genitive case in SA can be further categorized, based on its case functions, as illustrated in Table 3 below.

Table 3
Proposed genitive case functions in SA

	Genitive Case Functions	Subject	Governed	Oblique
Possessive Genitive	Possessive	+	-	+
	Attribution	+	-	+
	Partitive	+	-	+
Prepositional Genitive	Source	-	-	+
	Goal	-	-	+
	Locative	-	-	+

Once again, the binary case features of all possessive genitives [Subject:+], [Governed:-], and [Oblique:+] are identical. Similarly, the case feature bundles of prepositional genitives [Subject: -], [Governed:-], and [Oblique:+] are also identical. However, it is crucial to note that all functions of both genitives (possessive genitive and prepositional genitive) share the same value of the two features [Oblique:+] and Governed:-].

This similarity in features may allow for the possibility of possessive genitive case overlapping or syncretizing with prepositional genitive case I propose that genitive case syncretism can be explained through two processes (underspecification and impoverishment) which are pivotal post-syntactic morphological operations employed in Distributed Morphology (DM). First, genitive case syncretism occurs because the distinct case functions are underspecified for the feature [SUBJ: ±]. This allows for the realization of an identical feature in both possessive and prepositional contexts, resulting in overlapping. For syncretic case functions to occur, they must share at least one common feature. Based on this assumption, possessive genitive and prepositional genitive share two specified features, namely [Oblique:+] and [Governed: -]. As a result, these features will be inserted in both contexts. The following Vocabulary Items are proposed to account for genitive case syncretism in SA.

14) VIs for genitive case syncretism

Poss-Gen: /-i(n)/ ↔ [Subj: + Gov: - Obl:+]

Prep-Gen: /-i(n)/ ↔ [Subj: ± Gov: - Obl:+]

The two contexts of the genitive case (possessive genitive and prepositional genitive) share all the sub-features, except for [Subject:±] which remains unspecified in the latter. In other words, the Vocabulary Items (VIs) involved in this process only pertain to a subset of the features [Gov:- Obl:+] found in the syntactic nodes where they are applied. The vocabulary items, which can be on a par with Matthew's (1972) exponence rules, incorporate two overarching principles of interaction in their application of the Subset Principle: Rule Apply and Elsewhere Condition, as previously mentioned in the paper. In the application of the possessive genitive context, the rule of exponence for the case marker -i(n) applies when all the features [Subj: + Gov: - Obl: +] are specified. However, in the prepositional genitive context, the Elsewhere Condition applies when the most highly specified rule [Gov: - Obl: +] deviates or serves as an exception from [Subj: +] cases, specifically the possessive genitive. This implies that the phonological expressions do not need to be fully specified for the syntactic positions in order to prevent the derivation from crashing after Spell-Out, which could occur due to unspecified values of case features. This idea also aligns with Chomsky's (1995) Full Interpretation (FI) principle, which states that 'every element must receive an interpretation, and there should be no superfluous (uninterpretable) symbols at the interfaces.'

Second, genitive case syncretism can be derived by impoverishment rules which target specific components of morphemes prior to Spell out. These rules operate on syntactic feature bundles at PF and remove a specific feature from the bundle prior to vocabulary insertion, consequently impacting morphological exponence. However, both syntax and semantic interpretation operate on feature representations that are complete and unimpoverished. The impoverishment rule (15) is, therefore, proposed to explain morphological syncretism of genitive case in SA.

15) Proposed impoverishment rule: [± Subject] → φ / [+Oblique, -Governed]

This impoverishment rule targets the underspecified feature [Subject], which is responsible for distinguishing possessive genitive from prepositional genitive, and deletes it (i.e., assigns it a zero value, φ). This deletion process results in the identical phonological realization of both cases, causing two distinct instances of the genitive case to bear the same morphological exponent -i(n). The proposed explanation implies that the genitive case in question has two distinct syntactic and semantic case functions: possessive genitive and prepositional genitive. However, these functions are not differentiated by specific features or markers. It is the impoverishment rule that is applied to delete the feature [± Subject] responsible for distinguishing between the two functions. As a consequence, both functions are expressed with the same morphological exponent, -i(n). Consequently, the distinction between possessive genitive and prepositional genitive is lost, resulting in their identical phonological forms.

Genitive case syncretism in favor of Adjacency-based Case Hierarchy Principles

I argue further that the syncretism between the possessive genitive case and the prepositional genitive case in Standard Arabic (SA) can also be explained as a consequence of the adjacency principles or constraints within the hierarchy of case sequences. Arkadiev (2009) proposes Case Hierarchy Constraint on Syncretism (CHC) as stated in (16).

16) Only those patterns of case syncretism are typologically frequent, systematic and diachronically stable 'natural', in which the cases syncretized are adjacent on the Case Hierarchy.

This constraint is basically deduced from Baker's (2001) Case Hierarchy that case systems in different languages tend to be built in a specific sequence where only adjacent cases exhibit non-accidental syncretism as depicted in (17).

17) NOM > ACC / ERG > GEN > DAT > LOC > ABL / INS > COM > others

This case hierarchy suggests that if a language includes a specific case in the hierarchy, it usually includes cases from each position to the left of that case. Furthermore, Baerman et al. (2002) further characterize three types of non-accidental syncretism: core-core case syncretism, core-peripheral case syncretism, and peripheral-peripheral case syncretism, which are attested across languages, especially in the syncretism of core cases. Based on the proposed Case Hierarchy (constraints), Arabic case system distinguishes between two types of cases: core cases (nominative and accusative) and a peripheral case (genitive), as shown in (18).

18) NOM > ACC > GEN

I assume that there are various abstract case functions such as possessive, locative, source, goal, etc., which are marked with the same case marking, namely the genitive case marker -i(n). In other languages, these functions may be morphologically realized with distinct markers, as shown in (19).

19) GEN > LOC > ABL / INS > COM > others

The possessive genitive case is adjacent to all prepositional-related abstract cases, such as LOC, ABL, INS, etc. Therefore, in Standard Arabic (SA), the observed syncretism between the possessive genitive and prepositional genitive cases can be characterized as a non-accidental syncretism of the peripheral-peripheral case type, where the possessive genitive and prepositional genitive are adjacent. This syncretism occurs in the direction of the prepositional genitive. Unlike the nominative or accusative cases, the genitive case shares a common feature, specifically [Oblique: +], with prepositional-related abstract cases, such as locative, ablative, illative, allative, instrumental, and so on. This supports the idea of Adjacency-related constraints on the case hierarchy.

Concluding remarks

The paper has investigated the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the genitive case in Standard Arabic (SA), with a primary focus on its occurrence in Construct State (CS) and Prepositional Phrase (PP) constructions. It offers a principled explanation for the interface issue that arises from the lack of one-to-one relationship between syntax and morphology. This mismatch results in a case syncretism in Arabic genitive constructions, where morphological exponence fails to reflect the syntactic distinction, i.e., two distinct genitive case licensers: D and P. Following the essence of Distributed Morphology approach, the paper presents an account in which Adjacency Principle in the case hierarchy and the Subset Principle of Vocabulary Insertion are viewed as the driving factors behind this syncretism in the post-syntactic morphological component. Since the nominative or accusative cases do not have the same case function value [±OBL] as the prepositional cases, the only available option during the Vocabulary Insertion stage is the genitive case marker -i(n). Moreover, the proposed account extends its applicability beyond the syncretism of morphological cases observed in languages to encompass case functions and abstract cases. It enhances our understanding of how the genitive case semantically functions in this specific context.

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