Right Dislocation as Ellipsis: The Copula kān in Jordanian Arabic

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the syntactic phenomenon of verbal right dislocation of the copula $k\bar{a}n$ (be-PAST) in Jordanian Arabic. Based on Kayne's Axiom, phrasal categories (XPs) across languages are moved to the left periphery while any movement toward the right periphery must be perceived 'anti-symmetrically' as preceding the head. However, Jordanian vernacular seems to enable XPs as well as copular verbs to be right dislocated. Following Ott and Vries's analysis in Dutch and German, this dislocation appears to be elliptical where the copula is moved out of the elided clause and has a semantically asymmetrical unitary relationship with the host. This assumption is supported by various tests including agreement, clausal distinction, and insertion of adverbs and models, which affirms that Right Dislocation is ellipsis-based rather than movement-based. This study delves into an unexplored area of Arabic syntax of dislocation including nominal dislocation as well as verbal dislocation of Arabic copular forms. By gathering syntactic judgments of Bachelor's English students at Amman Arab University, the study reveals through minimal contrast examinations in various syntactic contexts the evidentiality of ellipsis in Arabic right dislocation, contributing to the knowledge of the syntax of the Jordanian L variety and offering insights into descriptive grammar.

Keywords: Agreement; Arabic; dislocation; copular; ellipsis; movement; syntactic

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, syntactic theory has paid great attention to the left clausal periphery including Abar movements of wh-elements and objects as well as A-movements of raised subjects. Following Kayne's work on Antisymmetry of Syntax (1994), leftward movement is no longer a mere syntactic option, but rather a fixed direction of a universal word order in which XPs (i.e., which are X double-bar 'phrasal categories' in X-bar theory equivalent to phrasal categories such as NPs, VPs, etc.) precede the head as stated in the Linear Axiom Correspondence (LCA). Following LCA, right adjunction is banned completely since anti-symmetrical hierarchical relations can reduce movement to a mandatory direction. The goal is to suffice the principle of economy outlined by Chomsky (2014) in limiting grammar to a sufficient set of principles. On the other hand, there has been much debate on the underlying nature of RD due to its problematic condition in terms of its relation to the clause whether as rightward movement, base-generation, or elliptical analysis. One assumption is that the dislocated XP is right-moved from a larger XP dominating it and the correlate is a phonetically realized trace of the dislocated item (Vat, 1981; Grewendorf, 2008; Cecchetto 1999; López, 2003).

Some researchers have perceived pronominal correlates as pronounced traces of the dislocated item as in the Clitic Left-dislocation proposed by Cinque (1990) while Kayne proposes a base-generation analysis of RD (2013). This study proposes following Ott and Vries's elliptical deletion analysis (2016) in which the dislocated XP neither undergoes rightward movement nor base-generation. Instead, the XP is moved only out of a deleted clause that stands in parallelism with the host clause. At PF, the clause is reduced by ellipsis and the dislocated XP seems to show syntactic connectivity with the host clause. In this study particularly, Jordanian Arabic (JA), a Levantine Arab dialect in the Middle East, seems to have the copular verb $k\bar{a}n$ dislocated to the right showing syntactic agreement (i.e., number & gender) with some XP to its left, syntactic sensitivity (i.e., scope, binding locality, islands & reconstruction), and semantic connectivity which resembles the bi-sentential elliptical interpretation proposed by Ott and Vries (2016). According to their research, a right-dislocation (RD) involves a host clause that contains a correlate cataphorically linked linearly to a following right-dislocated XP, as observed in German and Dutch. Example (1) shows how the XP die Maori's is right-dislocated and co-referent with the pronominal correlate ze in the host complete clause.

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(1)
Tasman heeft ze gezien, die Maoris
Tasman has them seen those Maorisi
'Tasman saw them, those Maoris.' (Dutch; Zwart 2011, 78)
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The study proposes that the dislocated XP (dXP) has moved out to the specifier position of CP2 before Spell-out (Chomsky, 2000 & 2005) leaving a trace in the clause as in (a) while the remainder of the clause is elided at PF in example (2) (b). (2)

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(a) [CP1...ze...] [CP2 die Maoris [...ti...]] \rightarrow PF-deletion
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(b) [CP1 . . . ze. . .] [CP2 die Maoris [. . . ti . . .]]

This paper suggests the right-dislocated copula $k\bar{a}n$ in JA can be represented similarly to the right-dislocation of XPs in German & Dutch as demonstrated in example (3).

maryam mabsūṭa kānat mbāriḥ mariam happy be-3SF-PAST yesterday "Mariam happy, was yesterday".

Arabic, generally, is known to have arguably verbless sentences in which the copula is absent in the present form and linguists have contended that the nature of this absence is evidential of topic-predicate analysis (Al-Balushi, 2012, Marogy, 2009, Soltan, 2006) or subject-verb (Fehri, 2013, Mohammad, 1990) in which the present copula *yakūn* is present in the deep structure. Regardless, the idea is that Mariam *mabsūṭa* stands by itself as a complete clause in Arabic as in example (4).

(4)
maryam mabsūṭa
mariam happy
"Mariam is happy"

However, if T is PAST, the past copula must be present in the surface structure as $k\bar{a}n$ and it is usually canonically placed before the XP as verb-subject-object order (VSO) or after the XP as subject-verb-object order (SVO), as in examples 5 (a & b):

(5)
(a) kānat maryam mabsūṭa be-3SF-PAST mariam happy

(b) maryam kānat mabsūṭa mariam be-3SF-PAST happy "Mariam was happy"

Based on the syntactic make-up of Arabic copular/nominal structures, example (3) is considered an instance of right-dislocation since *Maryam mabsūṭa* is a complete clause in Arabic and the copula is placed non-canonically to the right. Also, since Arabic is a pro-drop language, instead of the cataphoric reference as in German, the co-reference between the correlate (pro or potentially covert) in the host clause and the dislocated copula is achieved through matching the syntactic features of its implicit pro, as manifested in the following representations 6 (a, b & c):

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    (6)
    (a) [CP1 ... pro<sub>i</sub> ...] [CP2 (pro<sub>i</sub>)kān-at [maryam t<sub>i</sub> mabsūṭa]] → before Spell-out
    (b) [CP1 ... pro<sub>i</sub> ...] [CP2 (pro<sub>i</sub>)kānat [... t<sub>i</sub> ...]] → at PF – deletion
    (c) [CP1 ... pro<sub>i</sub> ...] [CP2 (pro<sub>i</sub>)kānat [... t<sub>i</sub> ...]]
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Following the bi-sentential interpretation, $k\bar{a}n$ undergoes movement to the left periphery before Spell-out while the correlate (presumably, pro) cataphorically agrees with it. At PF, the copula escapes deletion as in (b), and then, the clause is elided as in (c).

Following the representation in (6), this study argues that the right-dislocation of the copula is considered a part of a unitary syntactic phenomenon, which resembles the bi-sentential interpretation of the right-dislocation of XP in German and Dutch as proposed by Ott and Vries (2016). The present study investigates similarities and differences in Jordanian Arabic (JA) and other languages and presents syntactic tests that support the proposed analysis in detail. Additionally, the study aims to explore the phenomenon of RD in JA, particularly the movement of the copula $k\bar{a}n$ to the right- periphery of the sentence and examines whether JA has a parameter that enables RD similarly observed in German, Dutch. By examining the data qualitatively, the study examines the distinctive behavior of RD through various tests that support the hypothesis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In light of the above-stated discussion, the current study poses the following research questions

- Q1: Does the elliptical interpretation adopted by Ott and Vries (2016) in German and Dutch apply similarly to the right dislocation of the Jordanian Arabic copula?
- Q2: Does right dislocation show syntactic features that distinguish it from other similar representations, such as base-generation, left dislocation, and rightward movement?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Languages are complex evolving systems that exhibit both diachronic and synchronic variations (Naudé 2012; Miller-Naudé and Naudé 2020). Such variations along with their fundamental origins need to be clarified to understand language systems. The dislocation construction is a syntactic phenomenon that exists in many languages and refers to the displacement of a constituent to the outside edge of its phrase either to the right sphere (RD) or to the left sphere (Left-Dislocation, LD). This phenomenon sparked controversy among scholars over a long time (Sequeros-Valle et al., 2020; Evans, 2023). It differs across languages and raises problems concerning the main assumptions of syntactic theory, which in turn may hinder the logical analysis of how the dislocates link to the internal structure of the host clause (Fernández-Sánchez, 2020).

The Chomskian conception of movement emphasized the superiority of leftward movement over rightward movement, which was merely considered stylistic rules that were outside the scope of syntax. Consequently, linguists' attention has then turned to the right-periphery phenomenon. Kayne (1994) asserts that there is no rightward movement and that all linearity effects in natural languages are epiphenomenal, reflected in right-branching structures.

Moreover, the left dislocation which is considered a typical syntactic structure in Arabic is examined in several dialects; Jizan Arabic, Lebanese Arabic (LA) and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) (Essa, 2022). Clitic-LD (CLLD) sentences have a lexical noun phrase (NP) on their left side and a corresponding weak pronoun inside. Several Arabic limitations on CLLD support the syntactic analysis of this construction. More than one NP can be CLLed in a single sentence and CLLD can occur in matrix and embedded clauses as well as wh-phrase or other fronted elements. In the matrix clause, a CLLD NP can come before and after a CLLD NP in LA but not in MSA. It has been asserted that LA has two unique CLLD constructions; one derived by movement and the other based on this and other data. On the other hand, a CLLD NP in Jizan Arabic can either come before or after the complementizer of an embedded clause, but in LA, it can only come after it.

Jizan Arabic appears more tolerant than LA in other aspects as well. Bare indefinite NPs, kam (few), mā hada (no one), and mā (nothing) are eligible for CLLD in LA. But all of the corresponding JA expressions can. Subject LD (SLD) has been proposed as a different sort of LD. Preverbal subjects in Arabic are analyzed using SLD rather than the Spec of TP. The LD analysis of preverbal subjects is refuted by several limits on which NPs can appear as preverbal subjects and which can be CLLd. However, resumptive subject pronouns in certain contexts such as coordinated subjects and long-distance constructions, might be clearly articulated. The fact that Jizan Arabic does not seem to have the same differential in constraints between preverbal subjects and CLLD NPs as LA provides support to SLD.

In discussing the phenomenon of dislocation in MSA, Alzayid (2021) considers the diverse dislocation-building possibilities, the syntactic structure of the dislocation constructs, and how the dislocation construct should be interpreted. It appears that left-peripheral MSA components are not uniform and are thus best understood as consisting of two distinct types: Clitic Left Dislocation (CLD) and Clitic Right Dislocation (CRD). The segmentation of clitic resumption in MSA is attributed to morphological case (mis)-matching. Contrastiveness (i.e., the dislocated pieces are taken from a contrast set in the discourse) could interpret the dislocation constructions in MSA. The dislocated element and its associated clitic, both in CLD and CRD, form the syntactic structure of the dislocation constructs.

RD constructions have been the focus of some research works. Dansako (2023) examines the syntactic location of the nominative subject in young Japanese. It seems that nominative subjects in the right-dislocated position support the connection between Tense Node (T) and the nominative subject. Besides, in contrast to sentences in canonical word order, right dislocated sentences from children do not exhibit case particle mistakes of subjects in Japanese. The movement of parts that have been dislocated from canonical order is a common method used to derive non-canonical order from the same architecture.

The RD constructions have also been studied by (Furuya, 2020). Despite the perspective that the repeat of the antecedent clause occurs in Japanese collocation is adopted by the majority of bi-clausal analyses of such constructions,

Although examination of the discourse features and the interpretational implications of the pronominal RD in Norwegian is recommended by Borthen and Karagjosova (2021). The right-dislocated pronoun may affect reference assignment, be used occasionally during discourse breaks, be linked to contrastiveness, and may result in interpretational effects like emphasis and mitigation. Ishii (2019) explains how the embedded indirect object (kyaku-ni 'guest-Dat') and the embedded object (sono yubiwa-o 'that ring-Acc') undergo repeated RDs. Unlike single RD, repeated RD does not follow any syntactic norms or have any LF consequences. Moreover, not only is RD discursively constructed, RD also stipulates the underlying assumption of how agreement and Case work in dislocation. This includes forms of agreement match (number and gender) as well as in the case of default 'dummy' agreement in Arabic (Abu-Elrob et al, 2025, Almahameed, & Farghal, 2024, Alenazy et al, 2024). They sometimes can host 'dummy' subjects. This 'dumminess' can be syntactically realized in the shape of the inanimate free pronoun as *it* in English or via verbal adaptation of default 'masculine' features as in the family of pro-drop languages including *shiklu* in JA (*his appearance*), *yabdū* in MSA (*he seems*), or *parecer* (*he seems*) in Spanish (Al-Jarrah et al, 2024).

METHODOLOGY

In a bid to collect the required data for the present study, the researchers designed a grammaticality judgement task in which 70 sentences were selected carrying various alternations of both nominal and copular dislocation in JA. Twenty sentences were excluded based on the criteria and the feedback of extralinguistic effect. To balance the extralinguistic efforts, pragmatic effect, sample exclusion, and judgment setting were considered. Concerning the pragmatic effect, the context selected for the sentences was a sample of the realistic vernacular in JA. Some examples were supported by scenarios and imaginary situations of daily conversations. Regarding the sample exclusion, when participants provided feedback of uncertainty about their judgment due to diglossia interference, this feedback was recorded, and accordingly, the researchers removed any examples that may trigger an association with MSA in evaluation. 10 sentences were excluded from the study. Also, ambiguous or uncertain response judgments were excluded from the task as 6 sentences were removed accordingly. As for the judgment setting, the study has provided a well-defined setting in which any external factors are balanced during the task, such as noise, distractions, or any form of influence.

The overall sample size consisted 50 sentences and 20 BA students from the Department of English and Translation at Amman Arab University. While the size of the sample was limited, the study aimed at linguistic depth and controlled full-detailed data. This was achieved as all the participants belonged to a similar linguistic background, as they were all born and raised in the suburbs of Amman, and their major was English. Furthermore, extralinguistic variability was controlled among smaller groups that may affect judgment. Despite the limitation of the pool of participants, the study focuses on minimizing linguistic variability to obtain subtle judgments from students. However, the study affirms that there is a necessity for expanding the data of speakers' judgments in future research and recognizing the nature of linguistic variability for this form of structure.

The participants were guided and trained affirming the accuracy and coherence of their evaluation within the syntactic judgement tasks. This process includes recognizing the nature and procedures of the grammaticality judgment task, pre-training samples on identifying the concept of acceptability and unacceptability in JA, and discussing the linguistic factors, namely the role of contextual appropriateness in evaluating sentence structures. Students' awareness was raised about the influence of some contextual factors in syntactic evaluation. Moreover, the researchers informed the participants to adopt their linguistic intuition in judging sentences without conflating with their perspective grammar-based perception MSA. This pre-training aims to control any diglossia-based effect in judgment. The participants were encouraged to distinguish between JA and MSA through exemplification and discussion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

SYNTACTIC APPLICABILITY OF RIGHT DISLOCATION (RD) OF ARABIC COPULA

RESULTS RELATED TO RESEARCH QUESTION ONE

Q1: Does the elliptical interpretation adopted by Ott and Vries (2016) in German and Dutch apply similarly to the right dislocation of the Arabic copula?

Ott and Vries in their paper (2016) discuss three types of similar structures that show the movement of XP to the right periphery in Germanic languages. The choice of Ott and Vries's work on RD in German and Dutch as a mirroring sample of Arabic dislocation is expanded on throughout the study. Although the literature about Arabic dialects has discussed dislocation including left dislocation, topicalization, and other displacements (Alzavid, 2022, Andrason, 2016), the analysis of RD in Arabic is unprecedented in Arabic linguistics, while Ott and Vries's proposal has been adopted as a compelling argument to mirror the universalism of the phenomenon. RD being specific-context, the comparison with Germanic languages is not typological-based, but rather a purposive linguistic mirroring of an under-researched syntactic representation that shows shared properties between Arabic and Germanic languages in this particular syntactic focus. In their paper, they emphasized that RD may occur in different categories in addition to XP, including Verb Phrases (VPs), Adjective Phrases (APs), Adverb Phrases (AdvPs), etc, cross-linguistically. The study has adopted their expansive vision of RD in which the copula constituting VP seems to be dislocated in Arabic, revealing similar forms of sensitivity found in Germanic languages. Therefore, the study provides a framework for examining syntactic parallels between the dislocation of XPs and the dislocation of APs. In their study, these types of RD are categorized as in example 7 (a, b & c):

(7)

- (a) Tasman heft ze gezien, die Maori's
 Tasman has them seen those Maoris
 'Tasman saw them, those Maoris'

 Backgrounding
- (b) Jan heft iets moois gebouwd: EEN GOUDEN IGLO
 Ja has something beautiful built a golden igloo Specificational Afterthought
 'Jan built something beautiful: a golden igloo'
- (c) Hij kwam binnen, DOODSBLEEK he came inside pale white "He came in, pale white'

Predicative Afterthought

Backgrounding is when there is a pronominal in the main clause co-referent with an XP dislocated to the right as the pronoun heft is co-referent with the XP Maori as in (a). This type of dislocation is what the study investigates in detail concerning the dislocation of the copula in Arabic. There are yet more two similar movements such as in (b) where a dislocated XP reveals the identity of a head XP in the main clause. While the dislocated in (c) adds predicative information to its antecedent in the main clause as the relation of *DOODSBLEEK* to its antecedent *Hij*.

These three structures can be formulated in Jordanian Arabic as example (8).

(8)

- (a) 'aḥmad ʃāf-hum, 'il-wlād aḥmad see-them the-boys "Ahmad saw them, the boys"
- (b) 'il-mudarris 'allaf isi mrattab, riwāya klāsīkiyya the-teacher wrote something interesting, novel classic Specificational 'The teacher wrote something interesting, a classic novel' Afterthought
- (c) fāt dʒuwwa, ta'bān Predicative he-entered inside, tired Afterthought

JA seems to show similar behavior in terms of RD as utilized in Dutch in the above examples. In the example of (a), various tests can be applied to distinguish the phenomenon of backgrounding from other types of movements.

However, backgrounding is particularly of a semantic unitary nature, unlike Afterthought. Frey & Truckenbrodt (2015) note that AT allows discourse particles or adverbs compared to backgrounding indicating that the backgrounded XP constitutes the host clause as a single unit supporting elliptical interpretation (Morin & Yektiningtyas, 2005) while the speech act requires separation from the host clause that is possible to occur in AT as shown in example (9).

(9)

- (a) **Jikl-u** 'aḥmad Jāf Jakhs maJhūr, *yimkin* wā'il kfūri seem-3SM ahmad see-PAST-3SM person famous, perhaps wael kfouri "Ahmad seems to have seen a famous person, perhaps Wael Kfouri"
- (b) **fikli** fiftu, **yimkin** wā'il kfūri seem-1SM see-PAST-him, perhaps wael kfouri "I seem to have seen him, perhaps Wael Kfouri"

This restriction supports the constituency of the right dislocated XP in backgrounding compared to AT. This also not only applies to XPs but also extends to copular verbs. For instance, the dislocation of the copula preceded by a discourse speech-act particle renders the sentence ungrammatical, indicating the unitary status of the copula with the host clause. Backgrounding in (d) rejects the insertion of a speech act *yimkin* 'perhaps' with the dislocation of the copula as in (10):

(10)

- (c) 'ahmad mfakkir ysāfir kān ahmad thinking-3SM travel-IND be-3SM-PAST "Ahmad was thinking of travelling"
- (d) 'ahmad mfakkir ysāfir, yimikin kān ahmad thinking-3SM travel-INF, perhaps be-3SM-PAST

It might be possible to execute backgrounding in English with XPs as I saw him, Jordan today.

THE COPULA AND RIGHT DISLOCATION

However, it is not tenable when it comes to the dislocation of the copula for various reasons as indicated below:

Copula's Absence

The copula $k\bar{a}n$ in predicative sentences in the present tense, as the form $yak\bar{u}n$ must be implicit and cannot be visible in the surface structure (Samaha et al, 2022, Alotaibi, 2018, Alazzawie, 2016), as evident in example (11).

(11)

- (a) maryam mudarrisa mariam teacher-3SF
- (b) maryam takūn mudarrisa mariam be-3SF-PRES teacher-3SF "Mariam is a teacher"

Since Arabic is a VSO language, it is possible to move to the verb before the subject as $k\bar{a}nat$ maryam mudarrisa, however, it remains puzzling how the copula can move to the right manifesting a surface order of SOV. This grammatical obligation of the copula's absence in the present tense enables the movement of the copula to the right periphery. Considering the linear order effect of the Arabic structure, it is possible to produce in advance a host predicative clause without the visibility of the copular verb, and then have the copula dislocated to the right indicating its temporal unitary with the host clause. This is why such structures are not tenable in English as in example (12).

(12)

- (a) *Mariam teacher, is
- (b) *Mariam teacher, was

The impossibility of the grammaticality of the clause 'Mariam teacher' hinders the possibility of dislocation as the linear parsing of the structure from the left cannot maintain the grammaticality of a tenseless clause compared to Arabic whether MSA or JA.

More specifically, this aspect of Jordanian Arabic has been of much debate in whether perceiving this 'tenseless clause' as having an implicit verb in the underlying structure or being perceived as a topic-comment structure. This dislocation can easily apply to any copular-like items such as *fikil* (seem) as in example (13): (a), *ka*'*inn-u* (appear like) as in (b), *mbayin* (look) as in (d), and among others.

(13)

- (a) maryam mudarrisi ʃikil-ha mariam teacher-3SF seems-3SF "Mariam seems to be a teacher"
- (b) mariam mudarrisi ka'in-ha mariam teacher as-if-3SF "Mariam appears like a teacher"

- (c) maryam mudarrisi ḥas-ha mariam teacher-3SF feel-1SM-3SF "I feel like Mariam is a teacher"
- (d) maryam mudarrisi mbayni mariam teacher-3SF looks-3SF "Mariam looks like a teacher"

All of the above examples support the linear hypothesis effect (Willer Gold et al, 2018, Abels & Neeleman, 2012, Tanaka, 2003) of the grammaticality of a 'tenseless clause' in Arabic on licensing RD, particularly with copular-like verbs compared to a language requiring surface visibility of the verb in all clauses. 11 (a) can be conceptualized as elliptical in which the semicopula is moved to the left periphery of the deleted clause and bound semantically and syntactically with host:

(14) [maryam mudarrisi [ikil-ha maryam mudarrisi]

Auxiliary Dislocation

Some items function as auxiliary indicating aspects and they can be dislocated similarly to the copular items. For instance, the copula $k\bar{a}n$ is syntactically ambiguous as in the case of the English be acting as a copular verb in predicative sentences as well as T-carrier (i.e., a functional word carrying tense) indicating a progressive aspect.

(15)

- (a) maryam kān-at mabsūṭa mariam be-3SF-PAST happy-3SF "Mariam was happy"
- (b) maryam kānat btidrus mariam be-3SF-PAST study-INF-PROG "Mariam was playing"

Similarly, if the tense is Present in Progressive aspect, the copula is suppressed as in example (16):

(16)
maryam btidrus
mariam study-Present-PROG
"Mariam is studying"

The suppression of the 'auxiliary' $k\bar{a}n$ enables the grammaticality of parsing of the progressive present, and then the past aux is dislocated to the right periphery and interpreted as a unitary with its antecedent. Example (17) shows how $k\bar{a}nat$ is right dislocated and there is also an item in JA that emphasizes the progressive aspect $g\bar{a}$ 'id meaning 'sitting (Kalach & Al-Hamad, 2023, Camilleri & Sadler, 2020), shown dislocated in (b).

(17)

- (a) maryam kānat btidurs mariam be-3SF-PAST study-3SF-INF
- (b) mariam btidrus, kānat mariam study-3SF-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST "Mariam was studying"
- (c) maryam gaʻda btidrus mariam sitting study-INF-PROG
- (d) maryam btidrus, gaʻda Mariam study-INF-PROG sitting "Mariam is studying"

One interesting example is that inserting a right dislocated $k\bar{a}n$ renders the sentence ungrammatical if having already another copula $k\bar{a}n$ is located in its canonical position in the host clause as in (b). This indicates that the right dislocated copula in CP2 is specifically relative to the host clause CP1 based on the semantic asymmetry (Fernández-Sánchez, 2017, Soshi, 2004) between the two. Mind the following examples that manifest the semantic asymmetry between CP1 and CP2. Even in (e) & (d), the copula denotes the tense of the perceptual verb as meaning seemed as well as the tense of the embedded verb as past progressive was studying resulting in having the interpretation: "Mariam seemed (in the past) that she was studying (in the past as well). Having copula doubled in this scenario is possible; however, once an additional copula is inserted in the right periphery, the sentence crashes as it is not uniform semantically with the host clause CP1 as in example (18).

(18)

- (a) maryam kānat btidrus mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG "Mariam was playing"
- (b) maryam btidrus kānat mariam play-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST "Mariam was playing"
- (c) *maryam kānat btidrus kānat mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST
- (d) kānat Jikil-ha maryam kānat btidrus be-3SF-PAST seem-3SF mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG "Mariam seemed to have been studying"
- (e) kānat Jikil-ha maryam btidrus kānat be-3SF-PAST seem-3SF mariam play-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST "Mariam seemed to have been studying"
- (f) *kānat ∫ikil-ha maryam kānat btidrus kānat be-3SF-PAST seem-3SF mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST

The examples given above seem to support the elliptical interpretation of RD in JA, given the fact that the right-dislocation of the copular item is intrinsically and temporally connected with the host clause. Moreover, JA enables the RD of a whole set of categories that function as T-carrier, aspect-carrier, or perceptual semi-copulas, further supporting that RD is a uniform phenomenon in the vernacular. In principle, it seems that RD is plausibly applicable to be elliptical in the underlying structure whether resulting in dislocating an XP or a Verbal (V) category that is temporal, aspectual, or perceptual.

THE RIGHT-DISLOCATION (RD) MOVEMENT OF THE COPULA AND OTHER SIMILAR REPRESENTATIONS

RD VS. BASE-GENERATION

RESULTS RELATED TO RESEARCH QUESTION TWO

Q2: Does right dislocation show syntactic features that distinguish it from other similar representations such as base-generation, left dislocation, and rightward movement?

Answering the Second Research Question, this study emphasizes that RD is a syntactic phenomenon that is distinct from similar representations that may hold some degree of plausibility in analyzing the positioning of the copula, prominently such as base-generation, rightward movement, and left dislocation. Looking at each representation, the study shows that none of them is tenable in capturing the copula's RD as the copula 'dVP' shows both external and internal properties that constitute syntactic elliptical make-up in which the host of the copula is elided and co-referent with the host clause.

Considering base-generation vs. RD, the dislocated copula seems to show internal properties that support the elided clause and the verb's rise to its left peripheral to be phonetically realized. These properties include case-assignment and agreement match that indicate that the copula cannot be base-generated in the right periphery.

Concerning the agreement in RD, the copula stands in full agreement with the host clause indicating that the elided host has an internal relation with its antecedent, affirming parallelism in agreement whenever the copula is manipulated, as it always abides by the agreement features of the antecedent XP and its predicate. In (19), the copula is altered in matching agreement with the features of the antecedent predicate in terms of tense, aspect, number, and gender.

(19)

- (a) Mariam expects to leave
- (b) maryam mitwaGʻa trawwiḥ ka:nat mariam expect-3SF-PART leave-INF be-3SF

The copula alternates according to the features of the *pro* of the predicate. However, this agreement may account for a degree of plausibility with the assumption that the copula is basegenerated in the right-periphery in which it follows the XP rather than precedes it resulting in full agreement. Yet, this analysis cannot be borne out, especially since PRO cannot control the *pro* of the dislocated copula when there is an intermediate DP. Instead, RD in this context always reconstructs into the antecedent CP, indicating that the copula cannot be base-generated;

otherwise, the copula would have obtained internal with the closest intermediate clause. This is revealed in the examples below in (20):

(20)

- (a) maryam mitkhayla 'aḥmad bidrus kānat mariam imagine-3SF-PART ahmad study-3SM-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Mariam thought that Ahmad is studying
- (b) *maryam mitxayla 'aḥmad bidrus kān mariam imagine-3SF-PART ahmad study-3SM-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Mariam thinks that Ahmad was studying"

This minimal contrast clearly shows that the intermediate DP *Ahmad* cannot be paralleled with the dislocated copula, which is surprising to base-generation analysis, as it is unclear why the copula is disallowed from acquiring masculine features to match with its closest clause, while instead, it agrees to carry feminine features with *Mariam*, the initial DP. This requirement is not strictly relevant to having intermediate DPs that have an intersecting agreement with the first antecedent. It has to do with the fact that PRO is contained in a TP clause that cannot control the features of the dislocated copula. Conversely, governed *pro* allows the closest CP to be a correlate in RD for the dislocated copula, and this is distinguished in the following minimal contrast in (21):

(21)

- (a) maryam mfakra 'aḥmad bidrus kān mariam think-3SF-PART ahmad study-3SM-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Marriam thinks that Ahmad was studying"
- (b) *maryam bed-ha 'aḥmad yidrus kān mariam want-3SF-PRES 'aḥmad study-3SM-INF be-3SF-PAST "*Mariam wants Ahmad was studying"

The TP-CP distinction carries the difference between PRO and *pro* in behaving as a correlate in RD construction. The fact that controlled PRO cannot act as a correlate to the dislocated DP shows that the dislocated copula is not simply base-generated, but rather carries internal relation with the host clause that is interpreted via syntactic parallelism that allows governed *pro* instead to be interpreted without obstruction as in (21, a).

This agreement alterations of the copula work under the umbrella of this parallelism with the host clause; however, case assignment is not visibly realized in Arab dialects, including JA as to trigger similar alterations with dislocated nouns. Nonetheless, it is possible to assume these 'internal' alterations with Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), which is a visibly Case-marking language (Al-Osaily, et al). If the dislocated XP is altered to some Case assignment identical to its correlate in the host clause, this indicates that the XP is external to the host clause as it shows there are two Case assignments for both the correlate and the dislocated XP. Based on RD analysis, the former is assigned in its host clause while the latter is assigned in its elided clause and moved to the left periphery. Examples of MSA are found on some occasions as follows in (22):

(22)

- (a) 'aḥmad ra'āhum 'il-mumathilīn ahmad see-3SM-3MPL-PAST the-actors "Ahmad saw them; the actors"
- (b) 'aḥmad zanna 'ann-hum mawdzu:dūn, 'al-mumathilūn ahmad think-3SM-PAST C-3MPL exist-3MPL-PART the-actors "Ahmad thought that they are here; the actors"

Example (34) shows how the dislocated XP 'il-mumathilīn is altered to Accusative Case (ACC) as identical to its correlate in the host clause, as well as (22, b) shows how the same XP is assigned Nominative Case (NOM) affirming its internal relation with its closest correlate in CP clauses. These internal properties of RD affirm that base-generation is ill-equipped to explain the dislocation of dislocated XPs in MSA or dislocated copular VPs in JA. This syntactic parallelism in case-assignment and agreement affirms that the dislocated XP/VP is moved to the highest Specifier position of the elided clause having internal parallelism with the host clause as represented in (23):

(23)

- (a) [CP1'aḥmad [ra'āhum [CP2[XP_{RD} ['il-mumathilīn ['aḥmad ra'āhum]]]]]]]
- (b) 'aḥmad ra'āhum 'il-mumathilīn-ACC / *'al-mumathilūn- NOM

Example (23, b) affirms that altering Case to Nom distorts the structure as the dislocated XP must be internally paralleled and therefore, fit in its left-periphery position within its elided clause.

This section indicates that the internal properties of RD affirm that there should be an elided clause in which the dislocated VP is internally paralleled to the host clause as long as RD maintains features and assignment as in the host. Base-generation cannot explain this doubling, case-assignment as well as the doubling of agreement features unless we assume there is an elided clause that assigns these features to the dislocated item, whether VP or XP. The following section addresses the syntactic distinctiveness of RD from movement-based representations.

THE (NON)-MOVEMENT STATUS OF RIGHT DISLOCATION (RD)

RD VS. RIGHTWARD MOVEMENT?

Addressing the distinction of RD from other seemingly similar syntactic representations as in the Second Research Question, the study further provides contrasts, and distinct forms of sensitivities, as well as each representation outlined has its own syntactic consequences. Following the assumption that the copula right moves to the right periphery, in which it is assumed to move from a 'big-XP' dominating it and the correlate is either a *pro* or trace in the base, as proposed by (Sauerland, 2004). However, this analysis is unclear whether it captures semantic interpretations or binding restrictions. Similarly, a serious problem arises when there is dubious movement of the dislocated VP, especially since it is proposed to be moved out of 'big-VP', which should be in the same category as the dislocated copular V. This doubling has been tested by Vries (Reference) in German in which the dislocated adjunct is subjected to fails to be extracted out of adjunct 'big-

XP' as the 'big' adjunct itself underwent movement resulting in having dubious 'doubling' movement for moth adjuncts, as follows in (24):

(24)

- (a) Da habe ich Maria geküsst, am Dienstag. then have I Maria kissed on Tuesday 'I kissed Maria then, on Tuesday.'
- (b) *[[habe ich [AdvP da ti] Maria geküsst] [am Dienstag]i]

As shown in example (36), the rightward analysis assumes *am Dienstag* from the 'big XP' which is an adjunct itself; *da* affirming that the dislocated XP is not moved rightward leaving a trace in the dominating XP, as it violates Condition on Extraction Domains (CED) proposed by Huang (1982). When an adjunct moves rightward, it necessarily moves out of an adjunct, causing opacity for any sub-extraction. Therefore, the underlying representation in (b) is untenable.

Rightward analysis falls short in enabling this type of doubling movement, as adjunct movement out of an adjunct XP. While German dislocates XPs, the case applies in Arabic as it dislocates copular VPs and seems to have contexts in which the copular can show some form of sensitivity for sub-extraction as well. This aspect is shown in the system of the syntactic behavior of certain verbs that can accompany the copular alternating aspect, tense, or mood of the sentence. For example, *lissa* is an adverbial (i.e., meaning still) that usually precedes the verb and follows the copula. While it also has the capacity to dislocate to the right periphery as in (25):

(25)

- (a) maryam kānat lissa za'lāna mariam be-3SF-PAST still sad "Mariam was still sad"
- (b) maryam zaʻlāna lissa mariam sad still "Mariam is still sad"

The interpretation of (a) and (b) in (37) is that the sadness of Mariam continued in the past time and they show the adverbial position alterations. The dislocation of the adverbial also indicates that it is more like a copular adverbial behaving syntactically similar to $k\bar{a}nat$ as the former indicates aspect and the latter tense and both dislocate similarly. Now, consider this minimal contrast in which *lissa* cannot take scope *over kanat* as in (38):

(26)

- (a) kānat maryam lissa za'lāna be-3SF-PAST mariam still sad "was Mariam still sad"
 - (b) *lissa maryam kānat za'lāna still mariam be-3SF-PAST sad "still Mariam was sad"

Example (a) in (26) shows that the copula has always precedence over the adverbial. In this case, it is untenable for it to move rightward in (26, b) as $k\bar{a}n$ precedes and controls *lissa*. The elliptical interpretation captures this contradiction by adopting non-movement analysis of *lissa* where it is placed in the left-periphery of its elided clause, as represented below:

(27) [maryam kānat za'lāna [lissa [mariam kānat za'lāni]]]

The adverbial is part of an elided clause moved to its left periphery and dislocated to the right of the host clause. *lissa*, meaning 'still' has different syntactic behavior from English still as it dislocates to the left in a copular fashion. As explained previously about semi-copulas, this item is more like a copular adverbial. Based on the assumption that this semi-copular adverbial cannot supersede the scope of the copula $k\bar{a}n$ the copula should not be able to move rightward because it results in having the adverbial preceding $k\bar{a}n$. On the contrary, the copula is dislocated rightward without movement as dislocated both externally (as part of the elided clause) and internally (features), as shown in (28):

(28)

- (a) maryam lissa zaʻlāna kānat mariam still sad be-3SF-PAST "Mariam still sad was"
- (b) maryam kānat za'lāna lissa mariam be-3SF-PAST sad still "Mariam was sad still"

The rightward movement has a low degree of plausibility as it fails to explain why this structure is grammatical, in which the semi-copular adverbial precedes the copula. The most plausible explanation is interpreting the copula as part of an elided clause that carries prosodic and pragmatic factors and has an internal relation with the host clause.

This section reveals how rightward analysis falls short in explaining how the adverbial auxiliary copula can move rightward despite Phase Island Condition (PIC) violation. Also, this movement analysis cannot explain the paradoxical outcome of the copula's RD, which is seemingly in the scope of an existing aspectual semi-copular in the host clause. This is resolved straightforwardly by dislocation analysis as it affirms that the copula did not undergo movement in the first place and its correlate preceding the aspectual adverbial. This results in overcoming the issue of scope-binding relation as dislocation enables the *dVP* to be external to the host clause and not to be scope-controlled by a semi-copula in the host. This external property refutes rightward movement in a contrastive fashion.

RIGHT DISLOCATION VS. LEFT DISLOCATION

ANTI-LOCALITY

Left dislocation assumes that the correlate is a pronounced trace to rightward moved XP as proposed originally by Cinque (1999) and developed by Grohmann (2003). However, the constraint Grohmann outlined is that left dislocation occurs when the pronominal correlate and the XP are in 'too local' relation triggering the 'Anti-locality Constraint' and movement as a last resort.

In the case of Arabic, there is no evidence to support that the *pro* of the host verb is in maximal locality to the dislocated copula as in (29):

(29)

- (a) 'il-binit *pro*i btitmarran *pro*i kānat the-girl train-PRES be-3SF-PAST "The girl was training"
- (b) pro_i btitmarran 'il-binit pro_i kānat train-PRES the-girl be-3SF-PAST "The girl was training"

WIDE SCOPE

Moreover, if it is left dislocated, why is it the case that the dislocated XP or VP always has wide scope over the clause (in our analysis, over the elided clause (CP2)? This is only captured by a biclausal RD as the copula can have this higher semantic interpretation as it is in connectivity with the host clause through ellipsis. Left dislocation cannot explain how in German dislocated adverbials have wide scope over the entire clause nor why it explains the displacement of $k\bar{a}n$ as it ends in a narrow scope position based on rightward movement. The following examples show how $k\bar{a}n$ smoothly dislocated in its elliptical situation with its prosodic tone even though seemingly they all seem to supersede the scope of $k\bar{a}n$. A bi-clausal analysis provides these displacements a straightforward solution, as shown in the following minimal contrasts where these adverbial copulas ga'd-a, ba'id-ha, and lissat-ha are governed by the copula as shown in (30):

(30)

- (a) maryam gʻāda tidrus kānat mariam sitting-PROG study-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Mariam was studying"
- (b) maryam ba'idha btidrus kānat mariam after-3SF-PROG study-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Mariam was still studying"
- (c) maryam lissat-ha btidrus kānat mariam still-3SF study-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Mariam was still studying"

This instance supports that the dislocated copula is in internal relation via semantic corresponding of the elided second clause (CP2) with the antecedent clause (CP1).

Finally, the left dislocation analysis also rejects the *AfterThought* (AT) outlined at the beginning of the discussion as the correlate is not a pronominal, but XPs. Consider the case in (31):

(31)

(a) Juft 'il-mumathil, 'ādil imam see-1S the-actor adel imam "I saw the actor; Adil Imam"

The XP 'ādil imam reveals the identity of the common noun 'il-mumathil and shares connectivity internally and externally similarly, but not identical to RD. Left dislocation falls short in dealing with this type of structure. This also applies when the correlate is an epithetic pronoun rather than pronominal as LD cannot explain this type of relation, as follows in (32):

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(32)

(a) ruḥit 'ana u humma, il-ʃabāb

(b) go-1S-PAST I and they the-boys
"I went with them; the boys"
```

Here *humma* stands in cataphoric relation to the XP 'il-fabāb arising a form of AT connectivity that calls for alternative analysis of LD. Similarly, this connectivity can appear in the categories of verbs as the host verb is a dummy verb such as do and *sawwīt* in JA and its identity is revealed in dislocated verb constituting a verbal AT as well as in (33):

```
(33)

(a) sawwīt 'il-ghurfa, nazzaft-ha
do-1S-PAST the-room clean-1S-PAST-3SF-ACC
"I did the room, cleaned it"
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We can further apply this with the RD of $k\bar{a}n$ revealing the identity of the tense of the clause, whether the statement is in the present tense or the past. While this usually occurs in A and B dialogue as follows in (34):

```
Speaker A: 'ahmad 'il-mudīr ahmad the-manager "Ahmad is the manager"

Speaker B: kān ['ahmad 'il mudīr] be-3SM-PAST "was"
```

The interpretation is that Speaker A thinks that Ahmad is still the manager and utters his statement in the present tense while Speaker B responds by uttering ' $k\bar{a}n$ ', revealing that the tense of their proposition is actually in the past, asserting that Ahmad is no longer a manager. All of these instances of RD via AT are missing in Cinque's and Grohman's framework of Left Dislocation.

Over all responding to the Second Research Question, the study also has elaborated on the distinction of RD compared to other forms of displacements and analyses including rightward movement, base-generation, and left dislocation. By revealing sensitivities relevant to sub-extraction, locality, and binding, the study has shown how RD is distinctive in its behavior carrying internal and external properties that are captured successfully only through elliptical analysis.

THE UNIVERSALITY OF RIGHT-DISLOCATION (RD)

In this study, RD of XPs of Germanic languages examined in Ott and Vries (2016) has been syntactically paralleled in the RD copula VPs. In their paper, they have emphasized that RD goes beyond XP, and extends to other categories as represented in German below, in which Determiner Phrase (DP), Verb Phrase (VP), Prepositional Phrase (PP), and Adjective Phrase (AP) are dislocated similarly in (35):

This multiplicity of dislocation across various categories indicates that RD is not specific to XP and expands into a parametric order that is available with various degrees across languages. The study has shown that left dislocation requires a form of 'close' locality, rightward movement requires accessibility of copula movement against adjunct constraints, and base-generation analysis predicts that copula position is not sensitive to embedding and reconstruction constraints. All of these implications have proven to be ill-equipped in the situation of the copula positioning in the right-periphery, as they crash with their specific constraints. This indicates that future research in the spirit of Ott & Vries's work (2016, 2012) should expand on the RD phenomenon as a licensed displacement existing in heavy-displacing languages that carry various representations including topicalization, focus, left dislocation, rightward movement, base-generation, and other phenomena. JA utilizes RD in various categories as well flexibly in a similar fashion to the copula, as in (36) in which T-carrier like *kānat* in (a), aspectual participle noun like *g'ādi* in (b), nominal perceptual predicate like *fikil* in (c), DPs like *il-walad* in (4), and adjectives like *ḥazīn* in (d).

(36)

- (a) maryam btistaghil [VP kānat] mariam work-3SF-PRES be-3SF-PAST "Mariam was working"
- (b) maryam btistaghil [AspP qā'di] mariam work-3SF-PRES sitting-PROG "Mariam is studying"

- (c) maryam btiʃtaghil [NP fikil-ha]
 maryam work-3SF-PRES
 mariam ʃāfat-u, [DP il-walad]
- (d) maryam see-1SF-3SM-PAST the-boy mariam ∫āfat-u hīk, [AP ḥazīn] maryam see-1SF-3SM-PAST this, sad

This extension of RD to other categories as shown in (36) indicates that this type of displacement is not limited in its nature and may fill a parametric dimension in which languages, typologically (Comrie, 1985) are divided into: RD languages and non-RD languages. Future research is encouraged to further examine this phenomenon and what differences may be found across the dislocation of different categories and expand into the universalism of RD across language families. While JA is a rich respiratory type of Arabic dialect, it stands among many dialectical differences in the region (Levantine, Gulf, and West Africa) and Arabic linguistics requires more exploration of RD in different vernaculars. Testing out these differences and obtaining impressionistic generalization, this study has an instant judgment question for one student for a specific dialect. The study selects 7 Amman Arab University (AAU) bachelor's students, where each is a native speaker of the following dialects, respectively: Syrian Arabic (SA), Lebanese Arabic (LA), Kuwaiti Arabic (KA), Saudi Arabic (SA), and Omani Arabic (OA). The sentence given is a simple RD structure with the copula *kānat* in each student's dialect. All of them seem to find RD grammatical and possible, and some of them even crafted a relevant context where this RD can be possible, as illustrated in Table (1).

Arab dialect Example maryam btidrus JΑ kānat maryam study-3SF-PRES be-3SF-PAST PA maryam btirdus ka:ant SA maryam 'am-tudrus kānat LA maryam 'am-tudrus kānat KA Maryam tidris *kānat* SD Marvam tidris *kānat* Maryam tidris kānat OA Translation: "Mariam was studying"

TABLE 1. RD in different vernaculars

Therefore, the study highlights that RD is syntactically ingrained within JA syntax and hints at its 'local universalism' across Arab dialects, motivating researchers to explore more in this area of syntax. However, this finding is only impressionistic as future research exploration is needed, especially since Arabic vernaculars are known for carrying syntactic dialectical differences as well.

By adopting Ott and Vries's work and expanding to categories other than XPs, the study contributes to supporting the analysis of RD by expanding the elliptical framework to other categories such as the copula $k\bar{a}n$. The study also addresses the universalism of RD and hints that it may have a typological significance across languages or within a language family. This complements the assumption of the Second Research Question that copular right-dislocation has a unitary relation to the host clause in terms of temporality, pronominally, and agreement features.

Therefore, both research question one and research question two are fulfilled in proposing that RD in Jordanian Arabic is elliptical.

In summary, this study has adopted Ott & Vries' analysis of what they called Right Dislocation (RD) in which the XP seems to be displaced in the right-periphery of the structure. Jordanian Arabic dialect seems to allow syntactic representation with similar internal and external properties. Following their concluding statement in their study that this type of dislocation can be extended to other categories other than XPs, the study has ventured in revealing the dislocation of verbs, focusing on the dislocation of copula and semi-copular verbs in different syntactic contexts. The findings have relied on two distinguishing properties in which Right Dislocation proves to be unique from other seemingly similar representations, whether base-generation or movement-based approaches, including Rightward movement and Left Dislocation. By emphasizing that Right Dislocation is distinct and reflecting that this new-explored phenomenon has syntactic grounds to be a viable representation, the study further supports its categorical extension to adjectives, adverbs, etc. as well as its universalism typologically to other Arab dialects, hinting that Right Dislocation could be considered a prominent syntactic typological feature cross-linguistically. This study expands on Arabic syntax by mirroring novel syntactic analysis of a new phenomenon underexplored in linguistic theory, while further enriching the understanding of Arabic L varieties syntactically, such as the syntax of Jordanian Arabic; a dialectal Arabic sample of the Middle East region.

CONCLUSION

This study outlines an analysis of Right Dislocation in Jordanian Arabic, which is considered a controversial phenomenon in syntax since movements are expectedly left-based. Following Ott and Vries's elliptical interpretation, the study finds that XPs can be right dislocated similarly to Dutch and German. More specifically, the study addresses the Right Dislocation of a verbal category; the copula $k\bar{a}n$, and some other semi-copular verbs in which the copula seems to right dislocate in different sensitive contexts. The findings show that Right Dislocation cannot be movement-based as it does not show any syntactic sensitivity to islands nor binding constraints while the copula has a falling tonal contour that is compatible with elliptical interpretation.

The study supports the ellipsis analysis of Right Dislocation, contributing to some unexplored aspects of this phenomenon in the syntax of some comparative reflections on Modern Standard Arabic. This study offers insights into an unexplored area of Arabic syntax, particularly in Jordanian Arabic which appears to be richly endowed with different types of dislocation including nominal dislocation of Phrasal Categories (XPs) similar to German, Dutch, and other languages, as well as the verbal Right Dislocation of the copula *ka:n* and other semi-copular verbs.

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ACRONYM

ACC: accusative

1SM: first singular masculine 2SF: second singular feminine 3SF: third singular feminine 2SM: second singular masculine 3SF: third singular feminine 3SM: third singular masculine

F: Feminine INF: infinitive M: Masculine

MPL: masculine plural NOM: nominative PART: participle PAST: past

PRES: present PROG: progressive

S: Singular

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