Right-dislocation Construction of the Copular Verb *Ka:n* in Jordanian Arabic

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the syntactic phenomenon of the verbal right dislocation of the copula ka:n (be-PAST) in Jordanian Arabic. Based on Kayne's Axiom, 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. Jordanian vernacular seems to enable XPs as well as copular verbs to be right dislocated; however, following Ott and Vries's analysis in Dutch and German (2012), this dislocation appears to be elliptical where the copula is moved out of the elided clause and has a semantic asymmetrical unitary with the host. This assumption is supported by various tests including agreement, TP-CP distinction in raising contexts, 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 BA English students at AAU, 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 on its descriptive grammar.

Keywords: raising, dislocation; ellipsis; movement; copular; Arabic; English; agreement; Jordanian; vernacular

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1970s, syntactic theory has paid great attention to the left clausal periphery including A-bar 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 XP precedes the head as stated in the Linear Axiom Correspondence (LCA). Following LCA, right adjunction is banned completely since anti-symmetrical hierarchal relations can reduce movement to a mandatory direction. The goal is to suffice the principle of economy outlined by Chomsky in limiting grammar to a sufficient set of principles. On the other hand, there has been much debate on the underlying nature of right dislocation 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 right dislocation. This paper proposes following Ott and Vries's elliptical deletion analysis (2012) in which the dislocated XP neither goes 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 paper particularly, Jordanian Arabic (JA), a Levantine Arab dialect in the Middle East, seems to have the copular verb *ka: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 (2012). 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.

(1)   Tasman heeft ze   gezien, die   Maoris

            Tasman has   them seen   those Maorisi

             'Tasman saw them, those Maoris.'   (Dutch; Zwart 2011, 78)

        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 (b).

(2)   (a)   [CP1 . . . ze . . .] [CP2 die Maoris [. . . ti . . .]] → PF-deletion

         (b)   [CP1 . . . ze. . .] [CP2 die Maoris [. . . ti . . .]]

        This paper suggests the right-dislocated copula *ka:n* in JA can be represented similarly to the right-dislocation of XPs in German & Dutch.

(3)   maryam mabsu:ṭa ka:nat   mba:riḥ

             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 argued about the nature of this absence as evidential of topic-predicate analysis (Al-Balushi, 2012, Marogy, 2009, Soltan, 2006) or subject-verb (Fehri,

2013, Mohammad, 1990) in which the present copula *yaku:n* is present in the deep structure. Regardless, the idea is that Mariam *mabsu:ṭa* stands by itself as a complete clause in Arabic as in (4).

(4)   maryam mabsu:ṭa

          Mariam happy

        "Mariam is happy"

However, if T is PAST, the past copula must be present in the surface structure as *ka:n* and it is usually canonically placed before the XP as VSO or after the XP as SVO, as in the following examples:

 (5)   (a)   ka:nat   maryam mabsu:ṭa

              be-3SF-PAST   Mariam happy

       (b)   maryam   ka:nat   mabsu:ṭa

              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 mabsu:ṭa* 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 representation:

(6)   (a)   [CP1 . . . pro$_i$ . . .] [CP2 (pro$_i$)ka:n-at [maryam t$_i$ mabsu:ṭa]] → before Spell-out

      (b)   [CP1 . . . pro$_i$ …] [CP2 (pro$_i$)ka:nat [. . . t$_i$ . . .]] → at PF - deletion

      (c)   [CP1 . . . pro$_i$. . .] [CP2 (pro$_i$)ka:nat [. . . t$_i$ . . .]]

Following the bi-sentential interpretation, *ka: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 representation in (6), this paper 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 (2012). The paper investigates similarities and differences in Jordanian Arabic and other languages and presents syntactic tests that support the proposed analysis in detail. It aims to explore the phenomenon of right dislocation in JA, particularly the movement of the copula *ka:n* to the right-periphery of the sentence and examines whether JA has a parameter that enables right dislocation similarly observed in German, Dutch, and among other languages. By examining the data qualitatively, the study examines the distinctive behavior of right dislocation through various tests that support the hypothesis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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

Q1: Does the elliptical interpretation adopted by Ott and Vries (2012) in German and Dutch apply to the right dislocation of the Arabic copular in a similar fashion?

Q2: Does right dislocation show syntactic features that distinguish it from other similar representations such as base-generation, topicalization, or 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 (Right-Dislocation, RD) or to the left sphere (Left-Dislocation, LD). This phenomenon sparked controversy among scholars over a long time (Sequeros-Valle et al., 2020; Miller-Naudé; 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. However, such a claim is counteracted since it is not evident what such a framework prevents given the multitude of

supportive movements and the vanishment of the purported asymmetry. Therefore, characterizing the similarities and differences between right-dislocation processes and left-dislocation processes remains a challenge.

The left dislocation constructions and their variation attracted the researchers' attention. Miller-Naudé and Naudé elucidated a sharp drop in clitic left dislocation in four biblical books, especially the dislocation of the object component, which depends on the overt expression of the matching case between the dislocated consistent and the resumptive element. This was attributed to the loss of overt case and the shift to the abstract case, which in turn caused alterations in the subcategorization frame of transitive verbs in the corpus. Due to the replacement of the paratactic structures with other embedded structures like the sequential forms, this type of embedding in the clitic left dislocation structure does not occur. Comparable results are shown when a noun phrase is dislocated as a covert object using the hanging subject left dislocation technique, in which a noun phrase is dislocated without case agreement with its resumptive constituent. Furthermore, neither the dislocated constituent nor its resumption in clitic left dislocation nor the resumptive element in dangling subject left dislocation are marked with the preposition labelled in the corpus. Syntactic variations may be seen in both clitic left dislocation and dangling subject left dislocation.

The left dislocation which is considered a typical syntactic structure in Arabic is examined in several dialects; Jizan Arabic (JA), Lebanese Arabic (LA) and Modern Standard Arabic (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 JA can either come before or after the complementizer of an embedded clause, but in LA, it can only come after it. JA appears more tolerant than LA in other aspects as well. Bare indefinite NPs, *kam* (few), *ma ḥada* (no one), and *ma* (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, the resumptive subject pronouns in certain contexts such as coordinated subjects and long-distance constructions, might be clearly articulated. The fact that JA does not seem to have the same differential in constraints between preverbal subjects and CLLD NPs as LA provides support to SLD. Similar to LA, bare negative NPs like *ma hada* (no one) can also appear as preverbal subjects in JA even

though this is not conceivable in LA. The disparities in dialects between LA and JA cast doubt on some of the assumptions made about Arabic CLLD in the Literature. It would be feasible to ascertain whether evaluations of CLLD based on LA apply to Arabic dialects generally if more dialects are investigated.

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 of Clitic Left Dislocation (I and II), The other types which are Clitic Right Dislocation (I and II) are present in both left and right periphery. 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 Clitic Left Dislocation I and Clitic Right Dislocation I form the syntactic structure of the dislocation constructs.

Right dislocation 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 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. Children's dislocated subjects should at least undergo Spec-TP, resulting in the attachment of case markers without errors. Takita (2014) claims that the Japanese right dislocation is derived from what is known as the bare-topic construction when the dislocated element is not accompanied by Case-markers or prepositions, but it involves clausal ellipsis when they are. Takita demonstrates that bare-topic construction closely resembles hanging topic constructions observed in Romance and other languages, where the topic element is base-generated at the sentence-initial position without any case-marker, preposition or topic-maker *wa-*. This asserts that hanging-topic constructs and bare-topic constructions are equivalent.

The right dislocation constructions have also been studied (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, Furuya demonstrates that the same surface strings are possibly ambiguous because right dislocation is a heterogeneous phenomenon. In addition, even though when the surface strings are the same, the recovery of the ellipsis site may be derived in many ways through the application of diverse linguistic techniques,

Although examination of the discourse features and the interpretational implications of the pronominal right dislocation 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 contrastivness 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 right dislocations. Unlike single right dislocation, repeated right dislocation does not follow any syntactic norms or have any LF consequences.

The right-dislocation constructions are analyzed in terms of clausal coordination, coupled with ellipsis by Ott and De Vries (2012). Ott and De Vries followed the analysis that views the dislocated phrase as the surface remnant of a second clause that is underlyingly parallel to the host clause and reduced by ellipsis at PF Right-dislocated XPs. This indicates that hypothetically PF Right-dislocated XPs are assimilated to sentential fragments such as fragment answers and sluiced wh-phrases. The right-dislocation structures in German consist of two clauses, with the displaced XP being an ellipsis left over from the second clause (Otta and De Vries, 2016). This analysis considers the extra-sentential state of the right-dislocated component in addition to its syntactic connectedness. These seemingly contradictory circumstances are resolved by deletion-based accounts. Such analysis shows that right-dislocation is understandable in terms of independently driven computations. According to Villa-Garca (2023), the elliptical linking sentence that is close to the other hosting sentence is what causes the hanging subject left dislocations in the syntactically distinct hanging subject phrase. This analysis represents a radical departure from integrated /mono-sentential approaches, which analyze hanging subjects as intra-sentential albeit peripheral, constituents of the left sphere of the clause. These approaches analyze hanging subjects as structurally disconnected from the host sentence.

Considering the significance of the dislocation construction phenomenon the above-mentioned arguments and the fact that such dislocated constitutions in Arabic receive little attention compared to other languages, this study contributes to knowledge by providing insights into the analysis of the right-dislocation movement in JA and examines whether Arab dialects such as JA can dislocate an item to its right periphery similarly found in other languages. The study sheds light on the syntactic nature of a Levantine vernacular in the Arab world that requires more investigation, particularly in terms of movement. This includes contributing to support the perception of Arabic as richly generative of left-dislocation such as topicalization, A-bar movement, and A-movement, base-generation, as well as the more controversial movement "right-dislocation", which necessitates

a syntactic distinction from another similar movement by various syntactic tests. This scope provides insights into the universal nature of Arabic syntax.

METHODOLOGY
DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

In a bid to collect the required data for the current study, a grammaticality judgment task is designed, containing a combined list of (50) sentences of different structures of both copula and nominal right dislocation respectively. Following that (20) Bachelor's degree students at Amman Arab University are requested to judge the grammaticality of the sentences presented to them. During a Q & judgment test with the participants, the researchers attempted to control any extra-linguistic factors that might affect the genuine judgment of the participant. This includes the exclusion of any judgments which might show a tendency of linguistic fallacy due to 'diglossiac' perception of some structure in terms of grammaticality and thus conflating their vernacular judgment with their standard judgment of the H variety; Standard Arabic (SA). This judgment distinction is further controlled by strengthening the pragmatic context of certain structures to ensure the participant can be able to 'linguistically imagine' the occurrence of a structure in some realistic context in their vernacular. By analyzing the collected data and the participants' judgments qualitatively, examples that show strong evidence for ellipsis analysis of right dislocation are implemented within their relevant syntactic contexts such as agreement, raising, and modality while some examples are excluded for the scope of this study.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Q1: Does the elliptical interpretation adopted by Ott and Vries (2012) in German and Dutch apply to the right dislocation of the Arabic copular in a similar fashion?

To answer this question, right dislocation should be examined if applicable in JA and whether JA enables nominal dislocation similarly to other languages such as German & Dutch, and whether the analysis of ellipsis can be extended to apply to the verbal right-dislocation in JA.

TYPES OF RIGHT DISLOCATION

Ott and Vries in their paper (2012) discuss three types of similar structures that show the movement of XP to the right periphery in

(7)

    (a)   Tasman heft ze   gezien, die Maori's

               Tasman has them seen   those Maoris   *Backgrounding*

               'Tasman saw them, those Maoris'

    (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   *Predicative Afterthought*

               "He came in, pale white'

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 follows:

(8)

    (a)   ʔahmad ʃaf-hum,   ʔil-awla:d

               aḥmad see-them   the-boys   *Backgrounding*

               "Ahmad saw them, the boys"

    (b)   ʔil-mudarris ʔallaf iʃi   mrattab,   riwa:ya   kla:si:kiya

               the-teacher   wrote something interesting,   novel   classic   *Specificational*

               'The teacher wrote something interesting, a classic novel'   *Afterthought*

    (c)   fa:t   dʒuwwa, taʕba:n   *Predicative*

               he-entered inside,   tired   *Afterthought*

               "He came in, tired'

JA seems to show similar behavior in terms of right dislocation 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 while the speech act requires separation from the host clause that is possible to occur in AT.

(9)

    (a)   **ʃikl-u**   ʔahmad ʃa:f   ʃaxs maʃhu:r, *yimkin* wael kfu:ri

           seem-3SM ahmad see-PAST-3SM person famous, perhaps wael kfouri

           "Ahmad seems to have seen a famous person, perhaps Wael Kfouri"

    (b)   **ʃikli**   ʃiftu,   *jimkin* wael kfu:ri

           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 jimkin 'perhaps' with the dislocation of the copula:

    (c)   ʔahmad mfakkir   ysa:fir   ka:n

           ahmad   thinking-3SM travel-INF be-3SM-PAST

           "Ahmad was thinking of travelling"

    (d)   ʔahmad mfakkir   ysa:fir,   *jimkin* ka:n

           ahmad thinking-3SM travel-INF, perhaps be-3SM-PAST

It might be possible to execute backgrounding in English with XPs:

(10)   I saw him, Jordan today

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 *ka:n* in predicative sentences in the present tense as the form *yaku:n* must be implicit and cannot be visible in the surface structure (Samaha et al, 2022, Alotaibi, 2018, Alazzawie, 2016):

(11)

    (a)   maryam mudarrisi

          Mariam teacher-3SF

    (b)   *Mariam taku:n mudarrisi

          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 *ka:nat maryam mudarrisi*, 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 follows:

(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.

This aspect of 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 *ʃikl* (seem) as in (a), *kaʔinn-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)   maryam mudarrisi kaʔin-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 right dislocation, 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 semi-copula is moved to the left periphery of the deleted clause and bound semantically and syntactically with host:

(14)   [maryam mudarrisi ʃikil-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 *ka: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 indicating a progressive aspect.

(15)

    (a)   maryam ka:n-at   mabsuṭa

             Mariam be-3SF-PAST happy-3SF

"Mariam was happy"

(b)   maryam ka:nat   btidrus

           Mariam be-3SF-PAST   study-INF-PROG

           "Mariam was playing"

Similarly, if the tense is Present in Progressive aspect, the copula is suppressed:

(16)   maryam btidrus

           Mariam study-Present-PROG

           "Mariam is studying"

The suppression of the 'auxiliary' *ka: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. The following example shows how *ka:nat* is right dislocated and there is also an item in JA that emphasizes the progressive aspect *ga:ʕid* meaning 'sitting (Kalach & Al-Hamad, 2023, Camilleri & Sadler, 2020), shown dislocated in (b).

(17)

     (a)   maryam ka:nat   btidurs
     (b)   Mariam btidrus,   ka:nat
               Mariam study-3SF-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST
               "Mariam was studying"

     (c)   maryam qaʔdi btidrus
               Mariam sitting study-INF-PROG
     (d)   maryam btidrus,   qaʔdi
               Mariam study-INF-PROG   sitting

               "Mariam is studying"

One interesting example is that inserting a right dislocated *ka:n* renders the sentence ungrammatical if having already another copula *ka: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.

(18)

    (a)   maryam ka:nat   btidrus

            Mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG

          "Mariam was playing"

    (b)   maryam btidrus   ka:nat

            Mariam play-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST

          "Mariam was playing"

    (c)   *maryam ka:nat   btidrus   ka:nat

            Mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG be-3SF-PAST

    (d)   ka:anat   ʃikil-ha   maryam ka:nat   btidrus

            be-3SF-PAST seem-3SF Mariam be-3SF-PAST play-INF-PROG

         "Mariam seemed to have been studying"

    (e)   ka:nat   ʃikil-ha   maryam btidrus   ka:nat

            be-3SF-PAST seem-3SF   Mariam play-INF-PROG   be-3SF-PAST

         "Mariam seemed to have been studying"

    (f)   *ka:nat   ʃikil-ha   maryam ka:nat   btidrus   ka:nat

            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 right dislocation 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 right dislocation of a whole set of categories that function as T-carrier, aspect-carrier, or perceptual semi-copulas, further supporting that right dislocation is a uniform phenomenon in the vernacular. In principle, it seems that right

dislocation is plausibly applicable to be elliptical in the underlying structure whether resulting in dislocating an XP or a V category that is temporal, aspectual, or perceptual.

Q2: Does JA enable the right-dislocation movement of the copula and show syntactic features that distinguish it from other similar representations such as base-generation, topicalization, or rightward movement?

To further support the claim that the right dislocation in JA is elliptical while excluding any other suggestive analyses that might seem fitting in the surface structure, Q1 is addressed by examining the sensitivity of this movement to islands, raising, binding, control structures, and hyperraising.

SENSITIVITY & ISLANDS IN RIGHT DISLOCATION

The right dislocation of the copula might show sensitivity when there is some type of embedding, which indicates that the copula is not able to be interpreted in semantic asymmetry with the host clause.

ECM Raising

Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) predicates require the verb of the embedded clause to be in infinitival status (Davies, 2004, persuaded David, 2004); while JA, among Arab dialects, adopts an infinitival-like status in which the verb adopts a default present form or what is called by other researchers as 'the imperfective' (Hallman, 2015, Aljenaje, 2010, Benmamoun, 1999).

(19)

(a)   Mariam expects to leave

(b)   maryam mtwaqʔa   trawwiḥ ka:nat
         Mariam expect-3SF-PART leave-INF be-3SF

By conceptualizing (b) as elliptical, the following underlying structure is as below:

[maryam mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ [maryam ka:nat mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ]]

✓ Then, through verb-raising, the copula is moved to the left of the DP:

[maryam mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ [ka:nat$_i$ maryam mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ]]

✓ Then, the copula is moved to the specifier position of the second clause:

[maryam mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ [ka:nat_if [t_f maryam t_i mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ]]]

✓ Then, the second clause is elided, leaving the copula right-dislocated by itself

[maryam mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ [ka:nat maryam mtwaqʔa trawwiḥ]]

Looking at (b), the verb complement contains the verb *trawwiḥ* having the default present agreement (or so-called 'the imperfective) in a similar fashion to the infinitive form of the verb leave in English. The right dislocation of *ka:nat* can only be interpreted with the main clause of the host clause with the participle NP *mtwaqʔa* 'expecting', which indicates that right dislocation is elliptical under the condition it adheres to the deep representation of raising. This evidence is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of having the copula within the scope of the infinitival-like verb:

(20)   *maryam ka:nat trawwiḥ

Furthermore, the right dislocated must conform in terms of agreement to its pro antecedent in the host clause rather than the closest pro. This can be supported as well by the ungrammaticality of the following example in which the manipulation of the number or gender agreement of the copula controls the grammaticality of the structure, such as in (b) where the copula holding masculine feature that contradicts its elliptical interpretation with the main predicate *mtwaqʔa* which holds a feminine feature. Similarly, in (d), the contradiction occurs between the copula and the main predicate in terms of number, which further supports that the copula is interpreted in relation to the main clause in a raising structure rather than interpreted locally with its closest DP *il-daktor*.

(21)

(a)   maryam mtwaqʔa   il-daktor yrawwiḥ   ka:nat
           Mariam expecting-3SF the-doctor leave-INF be-**3SF**-PAST
           "Mariam was expecting the doctor to have left"

(b)   *Mariam mtwaqʔa   il-daktor yrawwiḥ ka:n
           Mariam expecting-3SF the-doctor leave-INF be-**3SM**-PAST

(c)   t-tullab   mtwaqʔi:n   il-dactor yrawwiḥ ka:n-u

Def-students expecting-3MPL the-doctor leave-INF **be-3MPL**

"Students were expecting the doctor to have left"

(d)　　　　*t-tullab　　　mtwaqʔi:n　　il-daktor　yrawwiḥ　　ka:n

Def-students expecting-3MPL the-doctor leave-INF　　**be-3SM**

While the copula can be merged to the left of the main predicate *mtwaqʔa* or to its right and the interpretation remains either way as "was expecting":

(22)

(a)　　　maryam ka:nat　mtwaqʔa　trawwiḥ

(b)　　　maryam mtwaqʔa　**ka:nat** trawwiḥ

Furthermore, if the ECM predicates select a CP complement, right dislocation remains possible. This dislocation occurs despite the fact the copula *ka:nat* cannot be interpreted in the domain of the tensed verb as the Arabic copula is a T-carrier inserted adjacent to either a progressive participle NP or adjectival predicate rather than an already tensed predicate. This is only possible if the right dislocation of the copula is perceived as elliptical in which the interpretation is Mariam was expecting to have passed as [ka:n [maryam mtwaqʔa in-ha nijhat]].

(23)

(a)　　　*maryam mtwaqʔa　　in-ha　nijhat　　　　ka:nat

Mariam expecting-3SF C-3SF pass-3SF-PAST be-3SF-PAST

"Mariam was expecting to have passed"

(b)　　　*maryam mfakra　　in-ha　nijhat　　　　ka:nat

Mariam thinking-3SF C-3SF pass-3SF-PAST be-3SF-PAST

"Mariam was thinking to have passed".

The fact that copula right dislocation is not affected by CP/TP distinction entails that having the copula in the right periphery cannot result out of right A-movement, which supports Kayne's linear asymmetrical axiom that movements are linearly directed to the left periphery.

CONTROL RAISING

Control phenomenon has been considered a controversial issue in the syntax of whether conceptualizing its complement as CP or as TP (Polinsky, 2013, Anderson, 2001, Roussou, 2001). Following that control is a type of raising, right dislocation works perfectly with this assumption.

(24)

    (a)   maryam **ka:n-at**   bed-ha   tsa:fir

               Mariam be-3SF-PAST want-3SF travel-INF

    (b)   maryam bed-ha tsa:fir **ka:nat**

               Mariam want-3SF travel-3SF be-3SF-PAST

               "Mariam wanted to travel"

The above in (22) shows how the copula can dislocated in the right-periphery and be interpreted as part of the main clause. If there is an intervening DP, the right-dislocated can be interpreted with the control predicate rather than with the embedded DP. This is evident if the agreement of the copula does not match the control predicate, the sentence crashes as in (b):

(25)

    (a)   maryam bed-ha   ʕumar ysa:fir   **ka:nat**

               Mariam want-3SF Oma r leave-INF be-3SF-PAST

               "Mariam wanted Omar to leave"

    (b)   *maryam bed-ha   ʕumar ysa:fir   **ka:n**

               Mariam want-3SF Omar leave-INF   be-3SM

Hyperraising

Hyperraising is identified as an A-movement of the subject DP out of CP, as the DP overrides the island of C and moves to the left periphery. This is unlike raising as in English in which the DP is assumed to move out of TP complement. However, several studies have shown (Zyman, 2023, Lee & Yip, 2022, Farghal, 2020, Nunes, 2008) that hyperraising is an equivalent of English raising; however, due to various factors about the nature of hyperraising languages treat CP and TP distinction differently. JA has several perceptual predicates that seem like behaving as raising such as *ʃikil-u* 'seem-3SM', *mbayin*'look-3SM', *kaʔin-u* 'as if-3SM', and among others that enable the

movement of DP out of CPs and shows a syntactic behavior of raising, as in the following examples:

(26)

      (a)   maryam ʃikil-ha   (in-ha) sa:farat

              Mariam appearance-3SF C-3SF travel-PAST

              "Mariam seemed to have travelled"

      (b)   maryam mbayni   (in-ha) rasbat

              Mariam look-3SM   C-3SF fail-PAST

              "Mariam looks like she has failed"

      (c)   maryam kaʔin-ha   sa:farat

              Mariam as-if-3SF travel-PAST

              "Mariam appears like she has travelled"

These examples are instances of hyperraising in Arabic (Farghal, 2020, ElSadek, 2016). Since the right dislocation of *ka:n* shows the ability to be interpreted elliptically in the case of ECM raising and Control, the prediction is expected to meet the case of Arabic hyperraising. This prediction is borne out. Again, despite that hyperraising c-selects for a CP complement, right dislocation is sustained, which further supports that right dislocation is elliptical rather than movement-based.

(27)

      (a)   maryam ʃikil-ha   (inn-ha)   raḥ tsa:fir   **ka:nat,**

              Mariam appearance-3SF(C-3SF)   will travel-INF be-3SF-PAST

      (b)   bas ka:nat   titxawwaθ

              but be-3SF-PAST joke-PROG

              "Mariam seemed like she travelled, but she was joking"

      (c)   maryam mabajni (in-ha) rasbat,   ka:nat

              Mariam look-3SF C-3SF fail-PAST be-3SF-PAST

              bass tilʔat   zaʔlani iʃi θani

but turned-3SM   mad-3SF from something else

"Mariam looked like she failed, but she was mad from something else"

Both (a) and (b) enable the right dislocation of the copula in which it is specifically relative to the raising predicate via ellipsis as with *ʃikil-ha* in (a) and _mbayni_ in (b). The interpretation in (a) would be something like this: "Mariam had the appearance (physically or psychologically) that she is about to travel, she was joking", and similarly in (b) in which "Mariam had the look of failing, she turned out having mad look due to something else". The availability of this interpretation indicates that right dislocation is elliptical-based.

By assessing the syntactic sensitivity of right dislocation in JA, there seems to be no grammaticality effect by CP-TP distinction, confirming that the structure is intrinsically elliptical. The fact that the predication that right dislocation occurs out of raising host clause, control host clause as well as hyperrriaisng host clause ascertains that there is an elided clause in which the right-dislocated item is moved to its left-periphery, resulting in being unitary with its host clause. Furthermore, having an intervening XP distorting the structure also supports that the pro must be in cataphoric relation to the pro of the dislocated copula and holds an elliptical binding relation. This complements the assumption of Q2 that copular right-dislocation has a unitary relation to the host clause in terms of temporality, pronominally, and agreement features. Therefore, both Q1 and Q2 are fulfilled in proposing that right dislocation in JA is elliptical.

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 *ka:n*, and some other semi-copular verbs in which the copula seems to right dislocate in different contexts including raising contexts and within CP complements. The findings show that right dislocation cannot be movement-based as it does not show any syntactic sensitivity to CP/TP distinction 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 Arabic. This study offers insights into an unexplored area of Arabic syntax, particularly in JA which appears to be richly endowed with different types of dislocation including nominal dislocation of 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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