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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS IN ARABIC

Konstrukce sériových sloves v arabštině

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I would like to express my gratitude towards my supervisor for having welcomed the idea of working on verb serialization in Arabic and also for his willingness to patiently wait for this thesis to be produced after reminding me at the beginning of the rather comprehensive nature of such enterprise.

I would also like to cordially thank all the people who have stimulated my interest in linguistics in general and the study of Arabic in particular, among them my Arabic teachers František Ondráš and Viktor Bielický.

Finally, I wish to mention my gratitude to my colleagues and friends Filip Kaas and Jan Židek for their indispensable help with tackling technical issues during my work on this thesis.

Prohlašuji, že jsem diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně, že jsem řádně citoval všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne,

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate multi-verb structures in Egyptian Arabic (EA) which show some characteristics attributed to the typological notion of serial verb constructions (SVC). After providing a preliminary definition of an EA-specific SVC notion, the author examines a substantial quantity of data from EA, gathered mostly on social networks, in order to describe the syntactic and semantic behaviour of constructions which are yielded by such definition. Finally, the results of this investigation are considered from the perspective of the definition of SVC as a comparative concept provided by Haspelmath (2016), so as to view the observed constructions in a typological context.

Abstrakt

Cílem této práce je prozkoumat víceslovesné struktury v egyptské arabštině (EA), které vykazují některé charakteristiky přisuzované typologickému pojmu konstrukci sériových sloves (SVC). Poté co autor předkládá předběžnou definici jazykově specifického pojmu SVC pro EA, zkoumá na poměrně velkém množství dat z EA, sesbíraných převážně na sociálních sítích, syntaktické a sémantické chování konstrukcí splňujících tuto definici. V závěru jsou výsledky tohoto zkoumání uváženy v kontextu komparativního konceptu SVC navrženého Haspelmathem (2016) a pozorované struktury jsou tak zasazeny do typologického kontextu.

Keywords

Serial verb constructions, Arabic, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, typology, descriptive linguistics, auxiliaries, verbal syntax

Klíčová slova

konstrukce se sériovými slovesy, arabština, egyptská hovorová arabština, typologie, deskriptivní lingvistika, pomocná slovesa, verbální syntax

Contents

Contents.....	4
Abbreviations and notation conventions.....	6
1. Introduction.....	8
1.1. The notion of serial verb constructions.....	8
1.2. The variety at stake – Egyptian/Cairene Arabic.....	10
2. Overview of existing literature and research.....	11
2.1. SVC in typological and descriptive linguistic research.....	11
2.2. SVC in Arabic linguistics.....	13
2.2.1. A possible classical/colloquial bias.....	13
2.2.2. Searching for SVCs in Arabic.....	13
2.2.3. Descriptions of Egyptian Arabic.....	14
3. Properties of SVC as a grammatical category.....	15
3.1. Cross-linguistic characteristics of SVCs.....	15
3.1.1. Possible defining features of SVCs.....	16
3.1.2. Semantics of SVC.....	17
3.1.3. Assymetrical and symmetrical SVCs.....	18
3.2. SVC as a preliminary category in Egyptian Arabic.....	19
3.2.1. The verbal morphosyntax of Egyptian Arabic.....	19
3.2.2. A working definition of SVC for EA.....	21
3.2.2.1. Defining a preliminary notion of SVC in EA.....	21
3.2.3. Preliminary characterisation of the SVCs.....	22
3.2.3.1. A comparison with the SVC notion of Hussein.....	23
3.2.3.2. Possible formal variants of SVCs in EA.....	24
3.2.3.3. Semantics of SVCs in EA.....	25
4. Data analysis.....	26
4.1. Sources of data.....	26
4.1.1. Consultant work.....	27
4.2. The base verbs.....	28
4.2.1. Phasal/aspectual verbs.....	30
4.2.1.1. ʔām.....	31
4.2.1.2. Gih.....	35
4.2.1.3. rāḥ.....	39
Discussion.....	42
4.2.1.4. ʔacad.....	43
4.2.1.5. fiḍil.....	48
4.2.1.6. wiʔif.....	50
4.2.1.7. ʔarrab.....	51

4.2.1.8. rigic.....	53
4.2.1.9. cād.....	56
4.2.1.10. kammil.....	57
4.2.2. Motion verbs.....	58
4.2.2.1. ṭilic.....	58
4.2.2.2. nizil.....	60
4.2.2.3. daḥal.....	61
4.2.2.4. ḥašš.....	62
4.2.3. Other base verbs.....	63
4.2.3.1. saḥa.....	63
4.2.3.2. sahar.....	66
4.2.3.3. kassil.....	68
4.2.3.4. bacat.....	68
5. Conclusion	70
5.1. How do the EA-specific SVCs relate to the typological notion?.....	70
5.2. Motivation for further research.....	72
Bibliography	74
List of attachments	76

Abbreviations and notation conventions

Examples are glossed according to the Leipzig glossing rules.

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
bi	the prefix <i>bi-</i>
ADJZ	adjectivizer
CAUS	causative
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determinant
DU	dual
F	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfect
IO	indirect object
ITER	iterative
M	masculine
NEG 1/2	negation
NMLZ	nominalisation
OBJ	direct object
PART	participile
PERF	perfect
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
RECP	reciprocal
REFL	reflexive
SG	singular
SUBJ	subject
V	verb
VOC	vocative

Transcription of Arabic

For transcribing Arabic data I use the DMG transcription¹, employing the following symbols:

ص	ʕ	emphatic voiceless dental fricative
ط	ṭ	emphatic voiceless dental stop
ض	ḍ	emphatic voiced dental fricative
ظ	ẓ	emphatic voiced interdental fricative
غ	g	voiced pharyngeal fricative
خ	ħ	voiceless velar fricative
ء	ʔ	voiceless glottal stop
ع	ʕ	Voiced pharyngeal fricative
ث	ṯ	voiceless interdental fricative
ذ	ḏ	voiced interdental fricative
ق	q	voiceless uvular stop
(ج)	ʒ	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
ش	ʃ	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
ح	ħ	voiceless pharyngeal fricative
	ā	long vowel [a]
	ī	long vowel [i]
	ū	long vowel [u]
	ē	long vowel [e]
	ō	long vowel [o]

Translations

All text translations were done by the author for this work.

Examples

Examples gathered in spoken communication are marked with [EOV] – *ex ore vivo*. Other examples were collected on the internet.

¹ The only exception is my usage of the IPA symbol [ʔ] instead of [ʕ] for the glottal stop and the usage of

1. Introduction

“...we’re always working hard to deliver cereals that give you more of what you want and need, less of what you don’t.”

(from *www.openforbreakfast.com*)

1.1. The notion of serial verb constructions

My interest in the phenomenon referred to as verb serialisation or serial verb constructions (SVCs) goes back to two different sources. On one hand, I became acquainted with it in the context of general linguistics, where it appeared as one of the typological notions used both descriptively in grammars of the languages of the world, and typologically in attempts at generalizations over them. On the other hand, I encountered this notion within the realm of Arabic linguistics. As far as I can remember, it was mentioned to me for the first time within the latter domain by the supervisor of this thesis in an account of possible substrate influences of African languages on some of the Arabic dialects. Such setting seems to characterise the affiliations of the notion: While it is at home in African linguistics, for Arabic linguistics it is rather a neighbour's child.

Initially, the notion unsurprisingly had a slightly exotic flavour to it, most probably due to its asserted absence in the sphere of European languages. Later on, my interest in it could develop in both of the contexts. Firstly, I had the opportunity to attend Martin Haspelmath's presentation of his remarkable paper on the SVC as a comparative concept (Haspelmath 2016), which was stimulating to me both in terms of the notion itself and of the considerate typological approach which it illustrates. Secondly, I started to gain more familiarity with colloquial varieties of Arabic dialect, especially that of Egypt, or, more precisely, Cairo. Gradually, I became aware of the existence of conspicuously asyndetic multi-verb structures in that variety which bring the notion of SVC to mind. Finally, I concluded that it would be worth to attend more cautiously to the constructions observed in Arabic and to examine how they indeed relate to the typological notion.

The aim of this thesis is to carry out a preliminary investigation of the verbal structures in Egyptian Arabic that primarily raised my interest in the issue, while making use of the general typological notion of SVC to guide the approach to their examination. It is, however, important to realise that the goal is not to decide whether there are SVCs in Egyptian Arabic or not, as this would presuppose the existence of a universal category called SVC.² Instead, the aim is to adequately account for the constructions observed in Egyptian Arabic, which are indeed language-specific, and eventually ask whether they happen to match the cross-linguistic comparative concept to some extent. Of course, the answer to such question would not have theoretical consequences as much for the description of Arabic as it will have them for the comparative concept itself, showing whether it applies to the structures of one more particular language. On the other hand, to those interested in Arabic in cross-linguistic perspective, it can provide a hint at the status of Egyptian Arabic with respect to one salient typological notion.

As the last source of motivation for the study of SVC-like phenomena in Arabic, I wish to briefly mention an issue of rather far-reaching theoretical implications, namely the hypothesis proposed by Versteegh (1984) concerning the genesis of Modern Arabic dialects. Versteegh (1984) argues that there is an essential difference in structure between Classical Arabic and the modern Arabic dialects caused by the fact that the latter came about via pidginisation, creolisation and decreolisation of the former. Furthermore, he believes that the existence of SVC-like constructions in many colloquial varieties of Arabic is a consequence of this historical development, as pidginized varieties are known for being prone to grammaticalising SVC-like constructions. Thus one can imagine that arriving at a better

² Why this is not at all necessary goes back to the very notion of comparative concepts, as advocated by Haspelmath (2010).

understanding of SVC-like structures in Arabic can eventually contribute to the assessment of this hypothesis. However, such prospects are indeed beyond the ambitions of this thesis.

To offer an introductory taster of what kind of structures this thesis is about to deal with, I let me present a rather remarkable example from my data, which illustrates what shape multi-verb structures can take in Egyptian Arabic. It contains three of them at a time: in the second line one can see the rather opulent sequence *itdāyi² rā²ḥ² ²āyim m-za^{cc}a²* 'got upset went rising shouting', in the fourth and fifth lines one can see a structure interrupted by the subject: *rāḥ* [SUBJ] *ṭālī^c* 'went [SUBJ] going out' and in the seventh line there is a rather common *rāḥ* [SUBJ] *m-za^{cc}a²* 'went shouting'. Another thing that I intend to illustrate with it is the fact that such multi-verb structures tend to appear in narratives, structuring the narrated events in a more dynamic way.

(1) The Aragoz Anecdote

الاراجوز بيقول نكت على الصعايده..الصعیدی اضایق راح قايم مزعق ايه ياعم الحاج هوما فيش غير الصعايده اللي في البلد اللي مبيفهموش ... راح الراجل اللي بيرقص الارجوز طالع من وراء الخشبه علشان يهدى الصعیدی بيقولوا انا اسفيا معنا ... راح الصعیدی مزعق فيه وانت مالك ياعم الحاج انا بكلم الارجوز

il-²aragōz bi-yi²ūl nukat ^cala -ṣ-ṣa^cayda...
'The Aragoz is telling jokes about the Sa^cidis...

<i>iṣ-ṣa^cīd²ī</i>	<i>itdāyi²</i>	<i>rā²ḥ</i>	<i>²āyim</i>	<i>m-za^{cc}a²</i>
DET-Sa ^c idi	get.upset.PERF	go.PERF	rise.PART	PART-shout

The Sa^cidi got upset and started shouting:

²ē yā ^cam il-ḥāg huwa māfīš gēr illi fi-l-balad illi mabiyifhamūš?
What is that, sir? Are there no other people in the country who don't understand (things)?

<i>rāḥ</i>	<i>ir-rāgil</i>	<i>illi</i>	<i>bi-yi-raqqaṣ</i>	<i>il-²aragōz</i>
go.PERF	DET-man	who	bi-SG.M-dance.CAUS.IMP	DET-Aragoz

The man who animates the Aragoz (puppet)

<i>ṭālī^c</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>wara</i>	<i>l-ḥašaba</i>
go.out.PART	from	behind	DET-wood

comes out from behind the stage

^calašān yihaddi ṣ-ṣa^cīd²ī biyi²ūllu ²anā ²āsif^camna ...
in order to calm the Sa^cidi down and tells him: I'm sorry, my dear...

<i>rāḥ</i>	<i>iṣ-ṣa^cīd²ī</i>	<i>m-za^{cc}a²</i>	<i>fī</i>
go.PERF	DET-Sa ^c idi	PART-shout	at.him

The Sa^cidi started yelling at him:

w-anta mālak yā ^cam ²anā bakallim il-²aragōz
Mind your business, man, I'm talking to Aragoz.'

The structure of the present thesis is the following: In the second chapter I will provide an overview of existing literature on the notion of SVC in general and of works dealing with Arabic in particular. In the third chapter I will firstly present the typological notion of SVC in more detail, concentrating on the comparative concept defined by Haspelmath (2016), and secondly propose a preliminary notion of SVC as a language-specific category for Egyptian Arabic. Chapter 4 is the most crucial part of the whole thesis as it contains the actual analysis of data and discussions to particular problems tied to the individual examples. In the concluding Chapter 5 the constructions which have been examined in the

data are eventually contrasted with Haspelmath's comparative concept and finally some suggestions for possible further research are presented.

1.2. The variety at stake – Egyptian/Cairene Arabic

Throughout this thesis, I will be referring to the language under study as Egyptian Arabic (EA), although this term is indeed imprecise as the variety at hand is in fact the Arabic dialect of Cairo. I believe that this will not lead to any confusion, since the label EA is often used to refer to the most prominent of Egyptian dialects. Furthermore, the nature of my search for data, as will be presented in 4.1, does not exclude the possibility that in some cases I came across non-Cairene data pieces, without being able to spot them. Thus in this sense the term EA might be more appropriate.³

As for the sociolinguistic situation of EA, it can be said that it coexists in a diglossic relationship with Standard Arabic. I will not provide any further extra linguistic characterisation of EA here, as it is probably the most well-studied colloquial variety of Arabic and plenty of detailed information on it can be easily found in literature (cf. Woidich 2006).

³ I do not expect there to be notable differences in SVC-like structures between as closely related dialects as the different varieties of Egypt. But of course, I cannot exclude them.

2. Overview of existing literature and research

Section 2.1 introduces the concept of serial verb constructions (SVC) in the context of general typological and descriptive linguistic literature. Section 2.2 addresses the literature on SVCs within Arabic linguistics.

2.1. SVC in typological and descriptive linguistic research

The notion of SVC has been used widely in descriptive linguistic work, mainly in grammar descriptions of languages of Africa and East Asia. Simultaneously, it has naturally become an issue for typologists and also other theoretical linguists. It has received so much attention in typological discourse that languages can sometimes be referred to as serialising or non-serializing (cf. Aikhenvald 2006).⁴

My aim here is not to present an exhaustive account of theoretical approaches that have been pursued in SVC-related literature. Instead, I will concentrate on typological works that attempt to provide a cross-linguistic perspective on SVCs and can serve as a motivation that can guide my treatise of SVCs in Arabic.⁵

The most comprehensive work is probably the volume edited by Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006) which offers a profound typological introduction by Alexandra Aikhenvald herself followed by a number of case studies on SVCs in different languages. It provides an exhaustive list of features, both of formal and functional, i.e. semantic nature, which are typically shared by SVCs across languages. However, the features are not meant as a basis for a rigorous definition of SVC cross-linguistically. They constitute a prototype which has been outlined based on the study of similar phenomena in different languages of the world. Consequently, SVC is understood here as a scalar category, with different language-specific constructions approaching to a different degree a prototypical case. The features are treated in detail in section 3.1.

No matter how thorough and manifold the characterisation of SVCs offered in Aikhenvald (2006), it seems that it provides more of a comprehensive set of tools for identifying and analysing SVC-like multi-verb constructions in different languages than a rigorous definition of the term which might be applied universally for typological purposes. Exactly to propose the latter is the ambition of Haspelmath (2016). He argues that the idea of SVCs is one of the cases in which a notion used primarily in grammar descriptions of particular languages has ended up being used in cross-linguistic typological work without being adequately adapted for such purposes by means of postulating a universal definition.

He considers such development a natural consequence of the progress in descriptive linguistic research (Haspelmath 2016:2) and of a 'confusion between comparative concepts and natural kinds' (Haspelmath 2016:1). The latter point cannot be overemphasised and summarises perhaps the most important theoretical and methodological concern to be taught from Haspelmath's article. The issue at stake indeed goes back to the notion of comparative concepts as advanced in Haspelmath (2010). By natural kinds Haspelmath means universal innate categories which exist in the grammars of all languages and are to be identified therein by linguists, as opposed to comparative concepts which are tools designed by linguists in order to allow for cross-linguistic generalizations. I believe that the following passage deserves to be quoted verbatim:

⁴ I am aware that using the terms serialising and non-serialising is in most cases probably more of a practical terminological strategy than a far-reaching claim about a typological categorisation. Nevertheless, it shows that the existence of SVCs has been viewed as a kind of typological parameter.

⁵ Thus, I will not deal with general theoretical issues concerning verb serialisation like its relation to cognition, as addressed for example by Givón (1991)

“Thus, what we need is not a definition of a cross-linguistic category of serial verb construction (such a cross-linguistic category does not exist), but a comparative concept of serial verb construction (Haspelmath 2010). Comparative concepts are not DISCOVERED in the way natural phenomena are discovered, but are DEFINED by comparative linguists in order to allow comparison of languages. Thus, instead of lamenting the lack of agreement, linguists should feel free to simply advance a definition and then work with it. If the resulting work turns out to be interesting and productive, then the definition has proved useful.”

(Haspelmath 2016:3)

To understand this approach is essential for working with the definition of SVC which Haspelmath proposes and which will be dealt with thoroughly in 3.1. It is not meant as a unique way of defining SVC cross-linguistically, but as one possibility, motivated by a survey of existing conceptions of SVC and expected to turn out useful for typological generalizations.

Haspelmath's definition avoids any semantic criterion in his definition, calling it impractical also due to the fact that in majority of cases it is difficult to objectively distinguish between what might classify semantically as a single event and a sequence of events. Exactly this crucial issue in the semantics of SVC is addressed by Foley (2010). He confirms that there is barely any universal criterion which would establish events of different complexity as discrete semantic categories. He describes the for example the difference between what has been termed by van Staden and Resing *component* and *narrative* serialisation SVC, i.e. “sequence of verbs in a SVC which realizes a number of sub-events expressing a single macro-event” and “the integration of more than one macro-event into a clause” (Foley 2010:132), respectively.

Another essential point that he makes which is essential for approaching SVC both in the study of particular languages and cross-linguistically, is that a construction labelled as SVC can only be properly understood if perceived as standing in opposition to other verbal constructions with similar functions. This paradigmatic approach to syntax, as he calls it, is important for adequately classifying a particular construction in a given language, since two constructions observed in two languages sharing formal properties might turn out to play a different role within the grammar of each of the languages (Foley 2010:139).

For the purposes of this thesis, both of the mentioned works are pivotal. Aikhenvald (2006) introduces all possible aspects of the behaviour of SVC-like constructions which should be considered while analysing the Arabic data. This background is complemented by Haspelmath (2016), who in turn suggests a more cautious approach to applying the term if one wishes to arrive at a cross-linguistically relevant notion, namely a comparative concept (Haspelmath 2010). Since the aim of this thesis is to adequately describe EA data, it is essential to have a rich enough range of features to typologically inform one's analysis. As for the universal comparative concept, it is of course not necessary for a language-specific description which is the main present goal here. However, it is logical to try to view the phenomenon observed in Arabic from a broader perspective, if only to see what sense it makes to apply the label of SVC to it.

As a complement to the rather functionally oriented accounts mentioned above, let me briefly mention the paper by Zwicky (1990), who also theoretically addresses the problem of defining SVC as a notion. Although it provides a slightly more formally based account, it presents an elucidating perspective on many of the notions which are at play in constructing SVCs as a possible category in particular languages and cross-linguistically. He emphasizes the borderline nature of the notion:

'What makes serial verbs interesting is the fact that they cut across established categories, exhibiting properties of both subordination and coordination, and/or of both syntactic and morphological constructions.'

Zwicky (1990:10)

2.2. SVC in Arabic linguistics

In this section I will mention works on Arabic⁶ which have dealt with SVC. I cannot claim to be giving a complete overview of such literature by no means, since relatively few authors writing on Arabic have explicitly used this notion. However, this does not mean that the constructions I am attempting to address in this thesis have been neglected altogether so far. To the contrary, such sequences of verb forms have been treated in different descriptions, usually together with more generally defined multi-verb predicates (cf. Woidich (2006), Eisele (1990)). I am aware that many relevant contributions to the topic have remained unknown to me due to this fact, since I did not carry out a survey which would cover all grammatical descriptions available for any variety of Arabic, concentrating instead on material dealing with the target variety of this thesis, which is Egyptian. Therefore, I will briefly present those works which do overtly use the term SVC in 2.2.2, before turning to descriptions of Egyptian Arabic in particular in section 2.2.3.

2.2.1. A possible classical/colloquial bias

One of the reasons why the very label SVC does not seem to have been coined very much in Arabic linguistic might also be the fact that traditionally a great deal of scholarship has been devoted to Classical Arabic, with colloquial varieties of Arabic being rather neglected (cf. Hussein 1990:340).⁷ At the same time, it is exactly the classical variety which arguably exhibits the least material to be analysed in terms of SVC (cf. Versteegh's (1984) pidginization hypothesis as mentioned in 1.1). On the other hand, it cannot be claimed that Classical Arabic is completely deprived of any SVC-like structures. An insightful corpus-based account of motion verbs in Modern Standard Arabic⁸ is provided by Abdulrahim (2013a; 2013b). She shows that indeed one of the main functions of basic motion verbs like *dahaba*, *maḍā*, and *rāḥa* (all meaning 'go', 'pass by') is to serve as grammaticalized aspect-marking auxiliaries followed by another semantically more loaded verb.

Nevertheless, the fact that Classical Arabic appears to be much less interesting for a SVC enterprise was one of the reasons why I did not search for traces of SVC-like constructions in works by traditional Arabic grammarians, although I assume that they might also provide valuable insights, as long as their attention was occasionally drawn to such structures, either in the classical language or in the dialects.

2.2.2. Searching for SVCs in Arabic

A rare attempt to use the notion of SVC for dealing with Arabic data is made by Hussein (1990), who concentrates on Palestinian Arabic, but also notes the very plausible expectation that very similar types of constructions are likely to be observed in other varieties of Arabic. He argues for the existence of a specific SVC construction in Palestinian Arabic and provides a set of characteristics that set it apart from other multi-verb structures. I will briefly present his definition in 3.2.3.1, comparing it with my own preliminary definition of the term for the purposes of this thesis. Apart from that, Hussein also offers a semantic classification of the SVCs.

Another very profound treatise of the notion of SVC in the realm of Arabic is offered by Drozdík (2008), who compares different types of multi-verb constructions present across most varieties of Arabic and tries to apply the typological notion of SVC to them. He arrives at the conclusion that only

⁶ Here *Arabic* is used as a vague umbrella term covering all varieties of Arabic.

⁷ This, of course, holds for traditional scholarship on Arabic, while modern linguistics has naturally got rid of such bias. Nonetheless, especially among non-linguists, Arabs or foreigners, the traditional privileged status of Classical Arabic might lead to actually concealing the phenomenon of SVC since often colloquial varieties of Arabic are underdescribed and, if they are taught, their grammar tends to be presented in terms of Classical Arabic grammar which can barely capture this notion properly.

⁸ As mentioned in 1.2, Modern Standard Arabic is a modern-day version of Classical Arabic.

very few constructions are likely to be labelled as SVCs, most of which are rather idiomatised juxtapositions of two verbs. For the remaining structures he prefers to use the term precursor constructions. One of the reasons which in his approach disqualify some of the structures from the SVC notion is their TA instability, which translates into the discrepancy between the forms in which the two verbs appear. In this respect, his account is similar to the notion proposed by Hussein (1990).

A rather unique attempt at approaching SVC-like constructions is made by Zbončák (2014). He does not use the term SVC, but calls the multi-verb predicates under scrutiny *temporal verbal constructions* and the first verb in the sequences, which I decided to call the *base verb* in this thesis, simply *auxiliary/temporal verb*. Although his work has a rather preliminary character, it is valuable for being based on corpus data from Egyptian blogs which he himself collected. He decided to devote his analysis to only two verbs which appear to be most prominent as *auxiliary/temporal* verbs in verbal sequences, namely *kāna* 'be' and *ba²a* 'become'.⁹ His analysis is based on a structural classification of the combinatorics of different forms which can combine into verb sequences. He examines the actual occurrence of each of the hypothetical variants in his data. As much as the weak point of Zbončák's approach is that he did not include the participle as one of the eligible forms for such constructions.¹⁰ his work is valuable for also attempting statistical evaluation of the results, which is a step that I will not be able to undertake in this thesis.

2.2.3. Descriptions of Egyptian Arabic

The most comprehensive description of EA grammar is undoubtedly that of Woidich (2006). In fact, it is probably the only available work that has the ambition of being both comprehensive in terms of covering the complete grammar and thorough in terms of providing a detailed linguistic analysis backed up with enough authentic material.¹¹ He treats the multi-verb constructions which I am about to examine in this thesis within the context of complex predicates in general, working with a very broad notion of auxiliary verbs. I will provide a more detailed account of his approach in section 3.2, while presenting my own preliminary concept of SVC for EA.

Another important work is the monograph by Eisele (1999) which provides a comprehensive account of the behaviour of verbs in EA. Similarly to Woidich (2006), he treats most of the verbs which are about to be examined in this thesis within a larger class of verbs that can appear in multi-verb structures, including modals and causatives. In his subcategorisation of the verbs within such broad class, he uses, apart from other parameters, also the ability of the following verb to carry deictic time reference, calling it then *temporally discrete*. This is an important issue because, as will be mentioned in 3.2.1, it can be disputable whether to attribute independent temporal or aspectual reference to some of the EA forms, namely the bare imperfect and the participle.

The monograph by Brustad (2000) is a unique work, since it offers a comprehensive inter-dialectal syntactic comparison, presenting data from Moroccan, Egyptian, Syrian and Kuwaiti dialects. She subsumes most of the verbs which are of interest to this thesis under the notion of temporal verbs and studies very carefully their combinatorial options, i.e. their ability to embed other verbs in different forms. While she claims that the temporal verbs across the four dialects usually embed the following verb only temporally but not modally (Brustad 2000:149), she adds that EA seems to be the most restrictive variety as for permitting different verb forms to be embedded by a temporal verb, claiming that in EA only the verb *kān* can embed an indicative (i.e. *bi*-imperfective) form. Interestingly, our data will suggest that some other verbs indeed do allow for that occasionally.

⁹ Whereas the verb *kān* is a default be-verb not only in EA, but also in Classical Arabic and other varieties, *ba²a* is especially interesting in EA as it has grammaticalised to actually appear as a be-verb synonymous to *kāna* in many contexts. Yet the question as to the very distribution of *ba²a* remains to be researched properly.

¹⁰ This might be partly justified if the participle is viewed as a non-finite form, thus not eligible for a SVC-like structure, but I believe that this is not really plausible in the realm of EA, as shown in 3.2.1.

¹¹ This makes it stand out against Abdel-Massih (2009), which attempts at comprehensiveness but provides only an outline of notions relevant to EA grammar.

3. Properties of SVC as a grammatical category

Section 3.1 will provide an overview of features attributed to SVC in typological literature and elaborate on elementary linguistic notions necessary for capturing their behaviour. In section 3.2 I will try to outline a characterisation of SVC-like constructions observed in Egyptian Arabic.

3.1. Cross-linguistic characteristics of SVCs

The following paragraph summarises the most salient features attributed to SVCs by Aikhenvald (2006):

'A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any other sort. Serial verb constructions describe what is conceptualized as a single event. They are monoclausal; their intonational properties are the same as those of a monoverbal clause, and they have just one tense, aspect, and polarity value. SVCs may also share core and other arguments. Each component of a SVC must be able to occur on its own. Within a SVC, the individual verbs may have same, or different, transitivity values.'

Aikhenvald (2006:1)

It should be noted that the sum of these characteristics is not meant as an ultimate necessary and/or satisfying condition for a construction to qualify as a SVC. The features rather constitute a prototype which has been outlined based on the study of similar phenomena in different languages of the world. As with many other notions in modern linguistic analysis, SVC is understood here as a scalar category, with different language-specific constructions approaching to a different degree a prototypical case. At the same time, these constructions typically resemble other types of verbal structures:

'Serial verb constructions are a grammatical technique covering a wide variety of meanings and functions. They do not constitute a single grammatical category. They show semantic and functional similarities to multiclausal and subordinating constructions in non-serializing languages'

Aikhenvald (2006:1)

It should be noted that the features listed above are both of formal and functional, i.e semantic nature. The main semantic criterion is single-event conceptualisation and semantics also plays a role in a sequence of verbs classifying as a single predicate.

The semantic traits are avoided by Haspelmath's definition which has already been presented in the introduction of this thesis and which I decided to use as a starting point for my theoretical considerations about the EA data:

(2) The definition of the comparative concept of SVC (Haspelmath 2016:6):

'A serial verb construction is a monoclausal construction consisting of multiple independent verbs with no element linking them and with no predicate argument relation between the verbs.'

Both the characterisation and definition above are formulated by means of elementary linguistic notions, such as monoclausality, subordination or single-event conceptualization, which seem familiar at first sight but indeed require a precise specification of what they are meant to denote in a given context. Only then becomes the complex notion which they constitute meaningful both for capturing a

language-specific phenomenon and for conducting a cross-linguistic comparison. This is nothing but a paraphrase of Haspelmath's reminder of the necessity of using well anchored primitive notions while constructing more complex derived ones. We will briefly attend to each of the constitutive notions in the following subsection.

3.1.1. Possible defining features of SVCs

As stated above, I decided to work primarily with Haspelmath's (2016) comparative concept of SVCs. In the following I render his presentation of the constitutive notions of definition (2), supplying for each of them a comment on structures which are similar to SVCs thus defined, but fail to qualify as such for not meeting some of the criteria.¹²

1) *Construction*

The verbal sequence is required to form a construction in the sense that it is a productive structure, the meaning of which can be determined based on the meaning of its constituents.

This criterion is meant to rule out non-compositional idiomatic collocations.

2) *Monoclausality*

The verbal sequence is required to be monoclausal. The problem is, however, that there is no general agreement as to the definition of monoclausality. Haspelmath proposes to equal it with single negatability, i.e. the ability of the construction to be marked for negation in one way only, thus not allowing each of the verbs to be negated separately. Importantly, he adds that the negation usually has scope over all the verbs.

This criterion rules out structures, in which several independent predicates are coordinated with no overt marking of the coordination. I will further refer to them as *asyndetic coordinations*. Zwicky (1990) notes that zero marking strategy for coordination is indeed not uncommon cross-linguistically and quotes Payne (1985: 25): “Such a strategy is probably available to all languages, though it might be stylistically marked, as in English. In many languages, however, it is a normal alternative existing side by side with other strategies at various levels.” I believe that asyndetically coordinated structures in the present sense are very prone to be treated as SVCs in different approaches because the zero marking strategy is nothing but the absence of a linking element and thus ensures compliance with the fourth of the present criteria, which I will claim below to be the most salient one.

3) *Independent verbs*

The sequence is required to consist of independent verbs. Haspelmath offers this comparative concept for ‘independent verb’:

“for comparative purposes, an independent verb is a form that can express a dynamic event without any special coding in predication function and that can occur in a non-elliptical utterance without another verb”

(Haspelmath 2016:12)

While the first part of the definition, which accounts for the concept of 'verb' alone, is of little concern to my analysis, there being no controversies as identifying the class of verbs in EA, the second part, accounting for 'independence' is certainly more problematic, as will be seen in the final analysis.

¹² It should be recalled here what I said in the introduction about my approach, which is also in line with Haspelmath's quote in 2.1, – that my aim is not to advocate any specific version of the notion of SVC, but rather to use the notion as a reference point for my observation of EA data. I simply picked Haspelmath's comparative concept because it offers a transparent account of the features involved in SVC-like constructions. Therefore, the fact that a structure is presented as failing to qualify as a SVC in this subsection, is not as important for its theoretical consequences (as these only hold with respect to this particular definition) as it is useful for developing a sense for a detailed observation of actual data and tools for discerning between different constructions, no matter how they are labelled.

This criterion rules out construction with all types of auxiliary verbs, which usually cannot occur on their own.

4) *No linking element*

The verbal sequence is required to be free of any linking element, which is a very general notion encompassing any element “that occurs in a multi-verb construction, does not occur outside of a multi-verb construction, and does not have some clear other meaning (such as tense, aspect, negation)” (Haspelmath 2016:13).

This criterion rules out constructions exhibiting overt marking of their very multi-verbality, thus avoiding for example any sort of converbial, infinitival or participial forms, as long as their usage is required by the very fact that they appear together with another verbal form.

Haspelmath (2016) notes that this is probably the most agreed upon criterion for defining SVCs, although he also points to works which have allowed for certain linking devices in their approach. I believe that this feature of SVCs is probably the most conspicuous one from the perspective of a linguist observing verbal structures in the language he studies. As I noted in the introduction, this was indeed the feature that initially caught my attention when I was exposed to EA. However, as will be seen in the final analysis, this crucial criterion will cause some difficulties in the interpretation of the actual EA data, since I will be hesitant as to whether some of the EA forms involved in the observed construction indeed qualify as linking elements or not (see 3.2.1 for the presentation of the forms).

5) *No predicate-argument relation between the verbs*

The verbs in the sequence are required not to be related in a predicate-argument manner, i. e. it must not be the case that one of them complements the other one as a part of its valency.

This criterion rules out causative constructions and other constructions involving complement-clauses, which Haspelmath (2016:15) illustrates with the two English examples:

a. *She helped me solve the problem.*

b. *He made her cry.*

As will be seen in my analysis the application of this criterion turns out to be slightly problematic in cases where one is not convinced how to conceive of the valency of a verb, i.e what complements to treat as arguments of the verb.

Just like the preceding criteria, this last criterion is not used in some other approaches. For example, Noonan (1985:65) states, that verb seriation is one of the strategies that are applied for complementation across languages.

3.1.2. Semantics of SVC

As outlined in the introduction, SVCs usually tend to express events which are complex in some way. Either they might be seen as consisting of several sub-events or they might involve more particular aspects that characterise the event, such as the mode in which it comes about or an instrument that an action is carried out with. Serialising languages naturally differ as to what types of complexity they can express by SVCs and as to what other grammatical means their SVCs compete with.

As mentioned above the semantics of SVCs are difficult to approach since the nature of events or series of events which can be captured by SVC-like constructions in a given language usually resist attempts at a universal semantic analysis. Both Foley (2010) and Haspelmath (2010) use the example of the semantic concept of 'kill' which can be coded as a single action by grammars of certain languages, but as a series of consecutive actions by others. Again, the idea of a scalar perspective on the semantics of SVCs naturally as it is also mirrored in the scale of grammatical means available in different languages. The types of events range from indisputably non-complex single actions which

are expressed by one verb in many languages, to sequences of vaguely associated events which are almost uniformly expressed by independent coordinated clauses.

Among semantic criteria which can help to distinguish different types of superficially similar constructions is also the degree of lexicalisation, since events that are encoded by an SVC are likely to constitute a common complex event, and thus the whole construction is prone to be lexicalised. The lexicalisation criterion has a cross-linguistic dimension to it in terms of another important observation, verbalised for example by Foley (2010:132), that SVCs tend to be translated by single lexical items into non-serialising languages, or, more precisely, that more prototypical cases of SVCs show this tendency¹³. Of course, a translation-based observation cannot serve as a universal criterion, but gives a hint at what the semantics of SVC tend to look like and what can motivate a more search for distinctions between similar constructions in a language. However, the assumption that verbs concatenated in SVCs are partly lexicalised conflicts with Haspelmath's criterion listed under 1) in the previous subsection, which requires the construction to be fully productive.

3.1.3. Assymetrical and symmetrical SVCs

As for the possible typological classification of SVCs into different subtypes, I will not deal with it beyond mentioning the distinction between *assymetrical* and *symmetrical* SVCs, made by Aikhenvald (2006:21), as it will be relevant for the EA data. This distinction only applies to pairs of verbs, but since sequences of more than two verbs are naturally much more rare, it is a widely applicable split.

Asymmetrical SVCs “consist of one verb from a relatively large, open, or otherwise unrestricted class, and another from a semantically or grammatically restricted (or closed) class.” (Aikhenvald 2006:21) They “denote a single event described by the verb from a non-restricted class. The verb from a closed class provides a modificational specification: it is often a motion or posture verb expressing direction, or imparting a tense–aspect meaning to the whole construction. [...] The transitivity value of an asymmetrical SVC is usually the same as that of the verb from an unrestricted class. This verb can then be considered the head of the construction, on both semantic and syntactic grounds” (ibid.).

In symmetrical SVCs both of the components come from unrestricted classes. “Unlike asymmetrical SVCs, the order of components tends to be iconic, reflecting the temporal sequence of subevents [...] Symmetrical serial constructions are not ‘headed’ in the way asymmetrical ones are: all their components have equal status in that none of them determines the semantic or syntactic properties of the construction as a whole.” (ibid.)

This distinction is highly relevant for the present thesis, as my approach is based on a selection of verbs which are prone to appear in multi-verb constructions. This heuristic selection of mine can be seen as a preliminary attempt to determine exactly the restricted class of verbs as postulated by Aikhenvald for asymmetrical SVCs, which implies that I have approached the multi-verb sequences in EA a priori as asymmetrical. On the other hand, the fact that I also included in my analysis a few verbs which do not fall into the class of motion or posture verbs (namely *ṣaḥa* 'wake up', *sahar* 'stay up late', *kassil* 'be lazy' and *baʿat* 'send') suggests that I was trying to expand this class as much as possible. If my inclusion of those special verbs turned out as justifiable, the SVCs in EA would indeed have to be seen as less asymmetrical, since the “restricted” class would no longer have a common semantic basis. However, this presupposes that there is a uniformly definable category of SVCs in EA at all, which this thesis is about to examine, if only preliminarily. Besides that, some of the data which I gathered also shows multi-verb sequences which consist of several apparently random verbs, which call for an

¹³ He exemplifies this observation by a correspondence which he observes in the behaviour of two types of SVCs in Yimas, which he found out to differ as to their derivational flexibility, namely the ability to be turned into nominal clauses. The SVCs permissible in non-finite nominalizations always correspond to single clauses in the most felicitous English translations, whereas those SVCs which are not permissible correspond to English complex sentences with conjoined verbs or verb phrases. Indeed, it is the structural difference that he observed which makes the distinction of the two types relevant for the grammar of Yimas.

analysis in terms of the symmetrical SVC, even though the will be eventually analysed rather as asyndetic coordination.

Interestingly, the idea of headedness within the asymmetrical constructions as suggested above by Aikhenvald, sets them apart from sequences consisting of an auxiliary verb and a lexical verb, which are usually considered as headed by the auxiliary (cf. Nichols (1986)). Being aware that the notion of headedness can arise theoretical controversies, I am not convinced that asymmetrical SVCs need to be conceived of as headed by the verb from the open class.

As for terminology, Aikhenvald uses the terms *minor* verb and *major* verb for the verbs from the closed class and the open class, respectively. As will be seen in the following section, I decided to use the terms base and target verb in this thesis instead.

3.2. SVC as a preliminary category in Egyptian Arabic

In this section I will firstly provide a brief account of relevant verbal forms in 3.2.1. Then I will proceed to a working definition of SVC for the purposes of approaching the data and discuss some problematic issues tied to it in 3.2.2. Finally, I will try to draw a more concrete outline of the constructions yielded by the proposed definition, based on my preliminary observations and the account of complex predicates by Woidich (2006).

3.2.1. The verbal morphosyntax of Egyptian Arabic

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the verbal forms available in EA so as to prepare the ground for an analysis of the occurring structural types of SVCs.

TAM categories are marked in EA introflectively by choosing one of the basic forms of the verb stem and by applying a particular type of affixation. For the sake of my analysis, I decided to consider the following repertoire of verb forms. In the following, I will very briefly present their formal properties and functions, referring mostly to the account in Woidich (2006). The labels I am using are more or less in line with conventions entrenched in Arabic linguistics¹⁴:

a) perfect/perfective¹⁵

Person/number/gender is marked by suffixation:

- i. *katab-u*
write.PERF-3.PL
'They wrote.'

The perfect is an indicative form with primarily past tense reference, although it is often also considered as marking perfective aspect.¹⁶

¹⁴ I am aware that these labels are inappropriate in many respects for a synchronic account of EA verb forms but I decided to stick to them in order not to confuse readers familiar with the conventional terms. More generally oriented linguists with no training in Arabic linguistics can easily learn here what is meant by the particular labels.

¹⁵ I will be using the terms *perfect* and *perfective* interchangeably to refer to this form, as the latter is more suitable for attributive usage, as in "a perfective form" instead of "a perfect form".

¹⁶ The problem of the actual TAM reference of the perfective is indeed an intriguing issue, dealt with extensively in Arabic linguistics in general. However, for the purposes of the present thesis, it is not crucial.

b) imperfect/imperfective¹⁷

Person/number/gender is marked by a combination of prefixes and suffixes:

- ii. *yi-ktib-u*
 3-write.IMPF-PL
 'let them write'

The imperfective is in fact a zero-marked form, and thus I will also sometimes call it *bare* imperfect/imperfective, to contrast it with its prefixed variant (i. e. the bi-imperfect as listed below, or the ha-imperfect which has future reference).

The bare imperfect has two major functions. On one hand, it can be used indicatively as a present habitual/continuous form. On the other hand, it serves as a kind of irrealis form with optative or speculative meaning (Woidich 2006:273), being the primary subordinated form, complementing modal verbs or subordinating particles (for that reason, it could also plausibly be termed *subjunctive*)

In the present/habitual function it competes with the bi-imperfective as well as the participle. Apart from being typical of universally valid statements, it is preferred over the bi-imperfective in the rendition of present meaning with a group of verbs encoding abstract emotional states like *'agab* 'appeal', *'irif* 'know' or *fihim* 'understand' (Woidich 2006:275).

c) bi-imperfect

When the prefix bi-is attached to the bare imperfect, it results in the bi-imperfective form, which has either merely present reference or conveys habitual/durative meaning, depending on the semantics of the verb (Woidich 2006:280).

- iii. *bi-yi-ktib-u*
 bi-3-write.IMPF-PL
 'they write'

d) participle¹⁸

Number/gender is marked by suffixes:

- iv. *hum katb-īn*
 they write.PART-PL
 'they have written'

In spite of being diachronically a participle, it can indeed be used predicatively. As for its semantics, it is probably the most intricate form, as its TAM reference is either present with some verbs (e.g. most motion verbs) or perfective/resultative with others (Woidich 2006:283), sometimes also depending on the context.

It should be noted here that the four forms listed above do not represent the complete palette of verb forms existing in EA, since I did not consider the *ha-imperfective*, which is a form with primarily future time reference. This was due to my a priori assumption that this form would not occur in other than the initial slot of possible multi-verb constructions, marking thus the whole construction for future tense. I assumed that otherwise it would not be distributionally interesting. However, I am aware that such omission is indeed arbitrary and should be emended in further research. Similarly, I

¹⁷ My usage *imperfect* and *imperfective* is analogical to that of *perfect* and *perfective*, as commented on in the preceding footnote.

¹⁸ I will also be using the adjective participial alongside the noun *participle*, analogically to the pairs *perfect/perfective* and *imperfect/imperfective*.

omitted the imperative, though from a different reason. I assumed that the occurrence of SVC-like phenomena in the imperative is cross-linguistically more common than in non-imperative contexts. Therefore, I preferred to study the latter straight away. However, I have naturally also come across examples of imperative structures which I would otherwise include in my account. For illustration purposes I will only show the following elementary example:

- (3) *ta^cāla* *kul*
 come.IMP eat.IMP
 'Come eat' [EOV]

3.2.2. A working definition of SVC for EA

3.2.2.1. Defining a preliminary notion of SVC in EA

For the purposes of dealing with data from EA in this thesis, I will use the term SVC in the following very broad sense:

- (4) Preliminary notion of SVC in EA

An SVC in EA is any asyndetic sequence of independent verbs which share the same subject

In the following, I will elaborate on the individual components of such definition and mention some problems tied to its application. In the next subsection I will try to preliminarily draw more concrete contours of the proposed construction, based on a priori observations and the account of complex predicates in Woidich (2006).

i) *Asyndeticity*

By asyndeticity, I mean primarily the absence of any conjunction (like *wi* 'and' or *fa* 'so') or subordinator (like *ʿašān* 'in order to'). However, if I want my notion of asyndeticity to equal that of Haspelmath's definition in (2), I have to deal with the more problematic question of whether the bare imperfect and participle are not to be viewed as conjoint forms at least partly dedicated to appearing in such multi-verb constructions, and thus marking them as such.

As was mentioned in the previous subsection, the bare imperfect can be viewed as a form designed for conjoint usage, often marking a subordinate clause. This is indeed the case as it is the bare imperfect that complements modals and other verbs which allow to be complemented by a clause. On the other hand, there are two arguments in favour of not treating the bare imperfect as an intrinsically conjoint form. Firstly, as was noted in the previous section on the verbal forms, there are contexts in which the bare imperfect functions as an independent indicative form. Secondly, its morphology suggests that it can be conceived of as an unmarked "default" form of the verb, being only inflected for person/number/gender agreement, while TAM marking needs to be supplied either by the habitual/progressive prefix *bi-*, the future prefix *ha-*, or by another verb which is itself TAM marked.¹⁹

As for the participle, a similar concern arises as that with the bare imperfect, since one might be tempted to an a priori exclusion of the participle from any discussion of SVCs simple for its assumed primary status as a nominal form. Then one could easily conceive of it as also assuming the role of a converb, thus appearing next to other verbal forms. However, to argue in favour of its verbal status, one can use the same point as that from the previous paragraph, namely that the participle is indeed used extensively in predicative function, as was declared in the previous section.²⁰

¹⁹ In that case, one might view the contexts in which bare imperfect is used indicatively, as mentioned in the previous subsection, as contexts which do not require any particular TAM marking.

²⁰ I believe that the term participle might not necessarily be preserved in a purely synchronic account of EA grammar and it might be considered as another finite form (though not marked for person). This issue is, however, beyond the scope of the present thesis.

iii) *independent verbs*

I adopt the notion of *independent verb* as proposed by Haspelmath (2016) and quoted in 3.1.1.

iv) *subject sharing*

My decision to only consider structures in which the chained verbs share the same subject was motivated by the intention to exclude some cases of subordination which is often unmarked in EA.

As for the issue of linearity, I do not necessarily require that the verbs follow in an uninterrupted chain, even though this appears to be the most common case.

To conclude this section, it should be noted that I am aware of the possible drawbacks of my decision to use the label SVC for the preliminary EA-specific notion, as it might lead to confusion with its usage in terms of a typological cross-linguistic concept like that of Haspelmath (2016) defined in (2), against which I plan to eventually set the structures observed in EA. However, in the rest of this thesis will always remind the reader when I will be using the label in the latter notion. Therefore, when it appears without further specification, it is to be understood merely in the rather vague working term from (3).

3.2.3. Preliminary characterisation of the SVCs

In this subsection, I will try to provide a more concrete outline of the general structure of the constructions that will be examined in the data, while relying on my preliminary observations and also the account of complex verb phrases as found in Woidich's (2006) grammar.

Woidich's (2006) subsumes nearly all of the constructions that I will examine in my data under the section on complex verb phrases (Woidich 2006:§5.7.3). He postulates at the beginning that the complex verb phrases have the following structure (*Aux* stands for an auxiliary element and *Vb* for a main verb):

$$VP = [[Aux] + Vb]$$

He thus treats the construction a priori as a case of subordination, in which the lexical verb is considered as subordinated by an auxiliary element serving as the head of the whole verb phrase.

He calls auxiliary element a preverbal and admits its instantiation both by non-verbal and verbal elements. The preverbials “stellen keine fest umrissene morphologische oder syntaktische Klasse dar und unterscheiden sich voneinander nicht nur hinsichtlich ihrer Form und ihrer Bedeutung, sondern auch in der Art wie sie sich mit dem Hauptverb verbinden.”

Thus this general scheme covers a wide range of different constructions. For my own approach, only the preverbials which are actual inflected verbs are relevant.

The structure above implies that the constructions at hand are asymmetrical in the sense of Aikhenvald (2009), as discussed in 3.1.3. However, the idea of headedness is understood here inversely, as in Aikhenvalds' (2009) approach it is the full lexical verb that is considered the head.

I will not commit to any of the competing accounts of headedness and will rather propose the following elementary scheme for the preliminary EA-specific SVCs, introducing the term *base verb* and *target verb*:

$$[base\ verb] + [target\ verb]$$

This respects the above definition in (3) in that it does not postulate an a priori syntactical hierarchy between the verbs, but at the same time it implies that the two slots differ in terms of their semantic contribution to the construction as a whole. I naturally conceive of the base verb as corresponding to the preverbal in Woidich's (2006) account and the minor verb in the asymmetrical SVCs as used by

Aikhenvald (2009), and thus contributing the more grammatical, abstract meaning. Conversely, the target verb is roughly equivalent to the main (lexical) verb and the major verb, respectively, in the two contexts. As for terminology, when referring to the simple fact that a particular target verb appears in an SVC after a base verb, I decided to stick to the term “embedding”, thus saying that “the target verb is embedded by the base verb”, in spite of the fact that this term is usually used to refer to a relation of subordination. Yet in my approach, I do not make any a priori claims about such relation, as stated above.

I believe that once such structure has been proposed, the next step to be taken is the examination of the class of the base verbs and the behaviour of SVCs with the individual base verbs. This is exactly what I will attempt to undertake in Chapter 4. In the rest of this section, I will first compare my working definition to that of Hussein (1990), and the briefly comment on the general internal structure of the SVCs as permitted by my definition and some aspects of their semantics in the two following subsections.

3.2.3.1. A comparison with the SVC notion of Hussein

I consider it important to view the present working definition of SVCs in EA with that of Hussein (1990), since it is to my knowledge the only existing characterisation of an SVC-like structure in Arabic linguistics. The fact that it is primarily designed for Palestinian Arabic does not make it any less relevant for work on EA, since very similar syntactic structures indeed appear across different dialects of Arabic, and thus using a notion from the description of one variety to shed light at a *preliminary* notion of an equivalent phenomenon in another one, can be very useful. Furthermore, I believe that a comparison of my SVC notion with that of Hussein (1990) suitably complements its characterisation from the preceding subsection, where it was set against Woidich (2006). The reason is that while Woidich's (2006) account the constructions under study in this thesis fall into a broadly defined general category, Hussein (1990) postulates a notion which aims at a much more restricted class of constructions, setting them against other paratactic and hypotactic structures. In fact, it will be seen that it is more restrictive than my notion.

Hussein (1990:340) lists the following characteristics of SVCs in Palestinian Arabic:

- 1.) Two or more verbs occur in the same clause that are *asyndetically* juxtaposed without any overt coordinate or subordinate markers in between.
- 2.) All verbs in the string share the same subject.
- 3.) All verbs in the string share the same tense and mood.
- 4.) Actions in some constructions are perceived as simultaneous and others are consecutive.
- 5.) Negation is always marked on the first verb in the string and applies to the whole string.
- 6.) The two verbs are not separated by any intonational or clause boundary markers of any kind.
- 7.) Each verb in the string can be a full verb on its own in an independent clause.
- 8.) The string seems to express what seems to be a single event.

It is not completely apparent whether the above features are to be understood as *definitory*, or whether they are a characterisation of a class which would be set apart already by a subset of them. Nevertheless, if all of these points hold, than the notion is subsumed under that of mine due to points 1., 2.) and 7.). At the same time, it is more restrictive than mine in requiring the string to be uninterrupted in 1.) and all the verbs to share TAM marking in 3.). It also comprises a negation

criterion in 5.), which is identical to that of Haspelmath's (2010) definition in (2), except for also requiring negation to be mark on the initial verb. While 4.) and 8.) seem to be rather vague semantic characterisations, criterion in 6.) implies both prosodic unity and monoclausality.²¹

I believe that many of these features will eventually turn to be relevant for the constructions which I am about to approach in my data, although the prosodic behaviour will have to remain unaddressed for the lack of spoken data. However, the crucial difference which can be seen in advance is the requirement of shared TAM marking. For example, the verbs marking durativity like *ʔaʕad* 'sit' and *fiḏil* 'remain' as well as other verbs are ultimately excluded from Hussein's (1990) notion, as they allow for a different form of the verb they embed. Exactly this issue will be addressed in the following subsection.

3.2.3.2. Possible formal variants of SVCs in EA

From the structural point of view it is important to consider the different combinations of forms that are eligible for the base verb and the target verb in the SVCs as defined above. Naturally, these have to be studied for each verb separately, but a lot of commonalities can be expected to be found.

For the purposes of this thesis I will only consider the four forms presented in 3.2.1, being aware of the incompleteness of such preliminary enterprise. Woidich (2006) naturally accounts for all of the possible forms. The following Table 1 is an adaptation of his scheme showing the existing variants for complex verb phrases with one of the verbs *ʔām* 'rise', *gih* 'come' and *rāḥ* 'go' as their auxiliary verbs (i.e. base verbs in my terms).

Table 1. Variants of complex VPs with *ʔām*, *gih* or *rāḥ* in the [Aux] slot (Woidich 2006:329)

V ¹	V ² – PERF	V ² - PART	V ² - IMPF	V ² - IMP
PERF	+	+	+	-
IMPF	-	+	+	-
PART	-	+	+	-
IMP	-	-	-	+

(V¹ represents the auxiliary verb and V² the main verb.)

For example, one can see from this Table y. that the perfect is eligible for the main verb (i. e. target verb) only in case that the base verb is perfective as well. This indeed applies as an almost universal rule. As for other generalizations, they are probably less uniformly attested across the various base verbs, but it seems that in general the participle and imperfect can fill the target slot almost independently of the form of the base verb. What remains to be studied properly are functional differences between the various attested variants. I will attempt to address them if possible in my analysis but often I will not have enough evidence to provide anything beyond a conjecture.

The last property that I will try to deal with in my account of the observed constructions is that of negatability, since it is a crucial part of Haspelmath's (2009) definition in (2). Unfortunately, Woidich (2006) does not mention the behaviour the individual complex predicates with respect to negation. However, my own data yielded relevant examples at least for some of the verbs, as will be seen in Chapter 4.

²¹ In his approach monoclausability is not equalled with single negatability as in Haspelmath's (2016) definition in (2). He does not provide an overt definition of it in his article, but apparently he conceives of it in multiple respects, attempting at differentiating the SVCs from coordination. While single negatability is one of them, he offers two other tests. One is based on the fact, that when the a resumptive pronoun is to be attached to the predicate, in an SVC it is only affixed to the second verb, while in coordination both verbs need to receive it. The second test examines the difference in meaning between the SVCs and an analogical syndetic construction, which indeed emerges with most of the verbs, since once they are syndetically coordinated their more abstract meaning, which they contribute to the SVC, is lost and they resume their lexical function.

3.2.3.3. Semantics of SVCs in EA

The range of semantic and pragmatic functions that the different base verbs can contribute to the SVCs is rather vast and it will be addressed in some detail with each of the verb in Chapter 4. Though most of the base verbs tend to be basic motion or posture verbs which tend to grammaticalise into phasal or aspectual marker, three verbs emerge as especially interesting in EA, namely ²*ām* 'rise', *gih* 'come' and *rāḥ* 'go', which have acquired a pragmatic function as they are used to structure narratives. Woidich (2006) calls this function periphrasis in the sense of periphrasing the usage of a single verb by means of two verbs without actually causing any difference in semantics, but arriving at a more dynamic way of narrating an event. The periphrasis “gibt dem Text Struktur, indem sie innerhalb desselben die Abfolge einzelner dynamischer Sachverhalte kennzeichnet und miteinander verbindet.”²²

Apart from the rather common functions encoded by most of the motion verbs or posture verbs, I have also included some verbs with more complicated semantics in 4.2.3, to slightly challenge the closeness of the base verb class.

²² Brustad (2006:193) calls these verbs *narrative contour verbs* and interestingly, she also counts the two verbs *rigi* 'return' and ²*a'ad* 'sit' among them. Eisele calls them narrative sequence verbs, which is a term I will borrow from him.

4. Data analysis

This section is the core part of this thesis, providing actual linguistic material for the considerations presented in the more theoretical sections. After accounting for the sources of data and some more or less technical issues tied to their collection and evaluation in section 4.1, I will proceed to the very kernel of the thesis which is the presentation of existing base verbs and their properties, illustrated with examples from the data.

4.1. Sources of data

As for almost any kind of linguistic research, the most valuable type of material is spontaneous spoken data. Unfortunately, this also tends to be the least easily accessible type, being often both difficult to obtain and to process and evaluate, while written language can be collected in abundance easily and dealt with likewise.

The necessity of spontaneous data is even more palpable in the case of studying phenomena which are peculiar to spoken language. This holds in general for almost any research on the grammar of colloquial varieties, such as any dialect of Arabic. As a matter of fact, while approaching the topic of the present thesis, I did not have any corpus of spoken EA at my disposal. This does not mean that no corpora of spoken Arabic exist. On the contrary, there are several corpora consisting exclusively of spoken data, especially those developed within the LDC (Canavan 1997). Initially, I naturally intended to use them for a more convenient search of the structures which are of interest to this thesis. However, it turned out that I would not be able to gain proper access to these corpora due to formal and institutional reasons. Therefore, I eventually had to give up the intention of using any spoken data prepared beforehand by someone else. On the other hand, I cannot complain about such conditions as this is the state of affairs pertaining to the study of most languages, except a few overdocumented ones. The question is how the absence of a vast corpus of spontaneous data from such variety can be made up for otherwise than by collecting one's own data. To my regret, I was not able to systematically gather spoken data on my own, apart from the few examples which I occasionally overheard and which indeed also initially stimulated my interest in the phenomenon. Fortunately, in the case of EA I was lucky to be dealing with a variety which is also massively used in the written form and thus I could set about gathering material from written sources. Indeed, the by far most robust platform on which EA is used in written form is the realm of the internet, especially that of the social networks which have been flourishing for some years now in Egypt. Therefore, this type of data offered itself as a rather easily accessible source of data.²³

One might ask whether such material can truly compensate for the absence authentic spoken data. In general, the answer is naturally negative, but for the sake of studying a phenomenon that is proven to have found its way also to the written mode, such data can be of high relevance, provided that one is aware of their limitations. I believe that this is also the case of the SVCs. While they are indeed constructions typical of spontaneous speech, they are frequently used in written narratives as well. Furthermore, the platform of social networks and the internet in general appears to be attracting spontaneous expression in the colloquial variety more intensively than other platforms of the written language, which often show preference for Standard Arabic. Another favourable circumstance is the apparent propensity of internet users to share spontaneous narratives, which I have claimed earlier to be a typical habitat for SVCs. Therefore, I am convinced that such data can indeed be successfully

²³ This holds with the exception of the corpus of created by Zbončák (2014) for the purpose of his thesis. The author kindly provided his data to me, but in the end I relied rather on my own heuristic search on the internet since I did not plan to evaluate the data quantitatively and thus did not need to have a compact corpus and preferred to search on the high seas instead, in order to obtain examples of the structures I was looking for.

used to examine the phenomenon at hand. Of course, the internet can be said to constitute a gigantic corpus of language material, though rather unsorted and certainly not annotated.

At the same time, I am aware that its occurrence in these data does not need to be completely identical to that in actual speech. However, for the sake of a rough query aiming at outlining the main grammatical characteristics of its behaviour, it is probably more than suitable. The only major dimension of the behaviour of the constructions under study that goes completely lost in such data is indeed the prosodic one – as much as it is highly relevant to the notion of SVC²⁴, I cannot but leave its examination for further research based on spoken data.

As for the strategy of my search on the internet, it was a typical example of a heuristic enterprise and could not have been more elementary – I simply used google search to search for occurrences of particular sequences of verb forms which I proposed based on my intuition and expectations. The most problematic technical aspect of such search was the fact that besides entering different forms of the given base verb I also had to actually specify the target verb lexically. This was necessary because searching for a verbal sequence without a lexical specification would only be possible in a corpus annotated for part of speech at least. Naturally, I was trying to always enter pragmatically plausible combinations so as to yield some results illustrating the desired variant at all. Indeed, it must be admitted that such a strategy can be compared to eliciting data from native speakers while suggesting one's own versions to them in an attempt to have their grammaticality confirmed, which can of course be highly problematic and unreliable, since the results can be skewed in terms of distribution and even correctness. However, in the case of consulting the internet instead of native speakers it is less dubious because the data one obtains were produced independently with no possible influence by the observer's intervention. The truly problematic issue is the impossibility to always properly assess the context of a given example and thus be able to evaluate its idiosyncrasy, and thus also its representativeness. It happened to me with some examples that my native Egyptian friends considered them unacceptable or at least awkward. With some structures one can possibly argue for the acceptability of a certain construction based on a high number of occurrences which the search engine hits. Yet with others, one can assume that a low number of hits is only given by the overly specified searched collocation. This was indeed the case with many of the rather more peculiar structures, especially involving negation.

The structure of my data is thus the following:

The vast majority of my material, which is presented in the examples within the entries on the individual base verbs, consists of data gathered on the internet by the aforementioned heuristic search. The largest proportion of the data happened to be found on Facebook, but other platforms occurred as well.

The body of data from the internet is rather symbolically complemented by several examples which I overheard in communication with Egyptian speakers. Naturally, these are the most valuable examples to me, though very scarce. They are marked with the letters EOv for *ex ore vivo*.

4.1.1. Consultant work

Although the interaction with native speakers of EA was essential for my work on this thesis, I must admit that cannot be termed proper consultant work, but rather a preliminary attempt to steer one's interpretation of the data. For the purposes of this preliminary research I did not design any paradigm which would help me obtain new spoken data or at least systematic evaluation of existing data. Instead, I merely carried out haphazard consultations of items from my data which I was not able to interpret myself. In some cases, I asked my consultants to evaluate the difference between similar

²⁴ As quoted in 3.1, Aikhenvald (2006) lists among the characteristics of SVCs the sharing of intonational properties of monoverbal clauses. On the other hand, my decision to work with Haspelmath's (2016) definition (2) is probably advantageous in the present conditions for he does not use prosody in it, listing it rather as one of the unnecessary criteria (Haspelmath 2016:16).

structures that I proposed to them. Each of the cases is commented on alongside the example it concerns.

4.2. The base verbs

The aim of this section is to present a detailed characterisation of verbs which are permissible as base verbs for a SVC in EA.

In line with the presentation of data collection as outlined in the previous section, I do admit that the way I arrived at the following list of available base verbs was rather heuristic, i.e. based on my intuition and examples which I happened to encounter.

As explained in 3.2, I assume that in principle the permissible base verbs do form a closed class, as opposed to the class of target verbs. However, I certainly do not claim that this set of base verbs which I present is complete, as it is very likely that some verbs simply did not appear in the data which I gathered or my intuition was not bright enough to suggest a suspicion that they might occur as base verbs and hence I did not target them in my search. At the same time, my search was certainly erring on both sides, being not only inexhaustive, but yielding also negative results – by which I mean the humble acknowledgement that some verbs which I had considered possible candidates for seriation turned out not to be productive as base verbs for SVCs in EA. They are briefly mentioned in the last subsection of this chapter.

Having arrived at the following set of EA base verbs, I do not claim what I would call the paradigmaticity of the set, i. e. that the verbs listed constitute a uniform category which exhibits the same syntactic behaviour. This is in line with the outline of the SVC as a preliminary category in EA in section 3.2. The peculiarities of the behaviour of each verb will be addressed in the following subsections. Indeed, some of the verbs will turn out to be more prototypical as base verbs for SVCs, whereas others will only hesitantly adhere to such notion. Some of the latter will call for being labelled more plausibly as a kind of modals or auxiliaries. And yet others will challenge other extremity of the grammaticalisation scale, raising doubts about their status beyond mere asyndetic coordination.

The entries for the individual base verbs are grouped into three major groups labelled according to the approximate semantic functions which the base verbs serve in the SVCs, i.e. the usually rather abstract meaning that they add to the construction as a whole.²⁵ I named the groups phasal/aspectual base verbs, motion base verbs and other base verbs. Furthermore, among the phasal/aspectual verbs I tentatively grouped together ²*ām* 'rise', *gih* 'come' and *rāḥ* 'go', naming them narrative sequence verbs, which is a term borrowed from Eisele (1999), and ²*a^cad* 'sit', *fiḏil* 'remain', *wi²if* 'stand', labelling them as verbs marking progressivity/intensity.²⁶

As for the verb *ba²a*, it is listed as the last item among the phasal/aspectual verbs not because it is somehow marginal, but exactly the opposite – it is so prominent in EA that it would deserve more attention than the extent of this thesis can provide. Therefore, I decided not to account for it at all.

It should be noted that for such a tentative subgrouping of the verbs I do not claim any theoretical significance as I proposed it primarily for the sake of convenience in listing the verbs I gathered. I will not attempt to arrive at any ultimate categorisation of the verbs as I am not convinced about its

²⁵ Since this meaning can in fact vary in different instances with respect to the degree of its abstractness, i.e. the semantic distance from the original meaning of the verb, in the list I consider the most abstract extremity of the scale. Hence, the verb ²*ām* 'rise' is listed here as a phasal/aspectual base verb, although in cases where it preserves its original semantics it could indeed be viewed as a motion verb. Indeed, many typical motion verbs, like *rāḥ* 'go', ²*ām* 'rise' and *gih* 'come' cannot but land under the label *phasal* and *aspectual* meanings, instead of Motion meanings.

²⁶ ²*a^cad* and *fiḏil* would fall within the group of aspectualizers in Eisele (1999), which indeed covers many other verbs which I decided not to study in this thesis for reasons mentioned in the previous chapter. Conversely, in my rendition the label *phasal/aspectual verbs* also involves the narrative sequence verbs, which Eisele lists separately.

potential value for understanding SVCs in EA and believe that its more important to understand first the behaviour of the individual verbs.

Within each subsection for the individual verbs, a more precise account of the semantics the verb supplies to the SVC is addressed first, followed by an outline of the syntactic possibilities which the verb allows. The latter are also shown in a simple chart for each verb, showing the permissible morphosyntactic combinations and the numbers of examples for the different variants. If a variant is unaccounted for in my data, it is either marked with a question mark in cases which I find less likely to actually appear, or it is marked by the letter E which mark that I expect that such variant exists and merely happened not to occur in my data. Finally, the SVCs behaviour with respect to negation is discussed, provided that my data offer instances with one of the verbs in a negated form.²⁷

For each verb, I provide a set of examples to illustrate the different constructions. Every example is labelled with an abbreviation indicating the morphosyntactic variant it contains, e.g. PERF-IMP^{NEG} introducing an example with a base verb in the perfect form and a target verb in the negated bare imperfect.

Table 2. provides an overview of the base verbs, giving their meaning in independent usage and their function in SVCs (x stands for the meaning expressed by the target verb).

²⁷ My search for examples involving negation was not always successful, due to its technical limitations and the expected lower frequency of negated SVCs. Indeed, many of the constructions apparently do not allow all hypothetical options of imposing negation one of the verbs. I will comment on such possible restrictions, even though my data cannot be considered as ultimate evidence for them.

Table 2: The base verbs in EA

	independent usage	base verb in SVC
PHASAL AND ASPECTUAL BASE VERBS		
<i>narrative sequence verbs</i>		
[?] <i>ām</i>	'rise', 'get up'	(suddenly do x) ²⁸
<i>gih</i>	'come'	(set about doing x)
<i>rāḥ</i>	'go'	(set about doing x)
<i>base verbs marking progressivity/intensity</i>		
[?] <i>a^cad</i>	'sit'	keep doing x
<i>fiḍil</i>	'remain'	keep doing x
<i>wi[?]if</i>	'stand, stop'	keep doing x ²⁹
<i>other phasal/aspectual base verbs</i>		
[?] <i>arrab</i>	'approach', 'get closer'	almost do x
<i>rigi^c</i>	'return'	do x again
^c <i>ād</i>	'return'	do x again, in negation also 'not do x anymore'
<i>kammil</i>	'continue'	continue/resume doing x
MOTION BASE VERBS		
<i>ṭili^c</i>	ascend, leave	leave doing x
<i>nizil</i>	descend, go out	go out to do x ³⁰
<i>daḥal</i>	enter	enter to do x
<i>ḥašš</i>	enter	enter to do x
OTHER BASE VERBS		
<i>ṣaḥa</i>	'wake up'	'wake up and experience x''
<i>sahar</i>	be awake at night	stay up late doing x
<i>kassil</i>	be lazy	be lazy to do x
<i>ba^cat</i>	send	a) have x done b) write to someone x-ing ³¹

4.2.1. Phasal/aspectual verbs

The following set of verbs contribute a more or less phasal or aspectual meaning to the SVC. It is remarkable that several of them have very similar semantics and in some cases appear to be practically synonymous. These are namely the verbs *rāḥ* 'go', [?]*ām* 'rise' and *gih* 'come', called narrative sequence

²⁸ The tentative renderings of the SVC function of the first three verbs is bracketed, because often their semantic load is almost absent.

²⁹ The function of *wi[?]if* remains rather opaque to me (see section 4.2.1.6), so its inclusion among the verbs denoting progressivity and intensity and its translation as 'keep doing x' is to be taken only as a very uncertain approximation.

³⁰ Rendering the function of *nizil* as 'go out to do x' is very vague and not really indicative of its function in individual instances, since its semantics in SVCs can be almost as manifold as in independent usage.

³¹ The case of *ba^cat* is rather special. In this thesis, I attempt will not pay attention to the known usage listed as a), but rather to the less conspicuous construction listed as b), which only allows for certain type of verbs to follow as target verbs, which I tentatively call *verba dicendi* in my account.

verbs in accord with Eisele (1999). Another subgroup is formed by the verbs ²*a'ad* 'sit', *fiḏil* 'remain', and *wi²if* 'stand', all of which contribute a progressive or also intensive dimension to the event expressed by the target verb, although the status of *wi²if* in this respect is rather dubious.

4.2.1.1. ²*ām*

The original meaning of ²*ām* in independent usage is 'rise', 'stand up'.

Whereas some of the examples might admit a reading in terms with the lexical meaning of ²*ām*, such as (6), other examples prove that it has been ultimately abandoned and the verb has become semantically rather void, as in (7). It is either typically inchoative, i.e. denoting the beginning of the action expressed by the target verb, as in (8), or it seems to convey a certain abruptness of the action, i.e. the idea that the action might not have been completely expected, as in (9). Moreover, it is apparent that in many cases, including most of the examples below, the omission of ²*ām* would not do much harm to the semantics of the utterance, which suggests that ²*ām* has exchanged its semantic load, lexical and grammatical, for assuming the role of an information structuring device, if not a verbal filler. It should be noted that in most of the examples which I encountered, the utterance was a part of a narrative and it was not at its beginning, which corroborates the latter claim, i.e. that ²*ām* helps the speakers structure their narratives. This is what I mean by the term narrative sequence verb as used in Table 1. Furthermore, an inchoative reading seems to be plausible only in cases with the target verb in the imperfective or participial form, while a perfective target verb usually refers to an event happening at once and thus instead of inchoativity a more abstract function must be assumed, such as the abruptness of action or narrative structuring.³²

As for syntax, my data document almost all of the possible combinations of the forms in which the base verb and the target verb may occur. They are summarised in Table 3, with numbers denoting the examples from this thesis which illustrate the given variant. The only missing variants are the hypothetical IMPF-PERF and PART-PERF combinations.

Table 3. The variants of SVCs with ²*ām* as their base

	target			
base		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF		(6), (7)	(10)	(7)
IMPF		-----	(8)	(11)
PART		-----	(9)	(12)

In other words, Table 3 shows that ²*ām* can appear in all the perfect, imperfect and participle forms. In return, all of the three forms can embed an imperfective or participial target verb. A perfective target verb can only be embedded by a perfective form of ²*ām*.³³

The fact that a perfect form can embed all three forms of the target verb can be stated in Eisele's (1999) terms by claiming that the target verb is to some degree temporally discrete, i.e. that the target verb can be tensed and thus convey further time reference. However, to apply this criterion in the case of ²*ām*, it has to be modified by exchanging temporal discreteness for aspectual discreteness and time reference for aspectual reference, since the variation in the form is due to the aspectual characteristics

³² I admit that I used the term “abruptness of the action” in this paragraph in a rather ad hoc manner, since such a reading of some of the examples can be merely a consequence of the more general function of ²*ām* exactly as a narrative sequence verb.

³³ The latter observation is not really surprising and turns out to be a universal rule for all of the base verbs.

of the event, whereas the time reference is given by the form of ²*ām*.³⁴ This is shown in example (10), where the imperfect form *yi-kallim* conveys the duration of the action.

Unsurprisingly, I have not come across any occurrences of ²*ām* followed by a target verb in the *bi*-imperfect form. If the unacceptability of such structure really holds, it can be accounted for rather easily in terms of the semantics of ²*ām* as discussed above, since conveying the abruptness of an action does not really match the usually habitual meaning of the *bi*- prefix. This explanation applies even more plausibly to the impossibility of having ²*ām* itself as a base in the *bi*-imperfect form.

One can thus conclude that the target verb following after ²*ām* is only partly aspectually discrete, allowing only for the variation in the perfect vs. imperfect/participle form, while refraining from taking the habitual *bi*-prefix. Furthermore, the aspectual variation is only relevant when the base ²*ām* is perfective because an imperfective or participial base does not allow for a perfective target verb.

Examples (7-12) with the participial target verb confirm the assumption that the distribution of the imperfective and the participle is very similar, if not identical. As for its semantics, I dare claim that in most cases the two forms are interchangeable in the target verb slot. While a possible subtle difference in TAM characteristics is indeed very likely, I have no means to account for it in this thesis.

However, a possible distributional difference between all the three possible variants of the target verb was suggested to me by a native speaker who pointed out to me that the choice of its form has consequences for interpreting the semantics of ²*ām* itself, namely that the use of the participle is indicative of the purely abstract reading of ²*ām*, while such reading is only optional with the imperfective or perfective target verb.³⁵ However, it should be noted that I have not gained evidence for this claim from other sources and that it is slightly weakened by the fact that another native speaker did not object to calling the PART – PART sequence in (9) ambiguous as to whether ²*ām* is used in its literal meaning or abstractly. This will be relevant for the following detailed account of that example.

This is also the reason why this consultant interpreted the usage of ²*ām* in (9) purely in terms of its abstract meaning, excluding the option that

Example (12), as already presented in the introduction in its wider context, shows a rather remarkable instance of a sequence of four verbs, *itḏāyi² rāḥ² āyim m-za^{cc}a²* 'got upset and started shouting'. It has both ²*ām* and the target verb as participles, preceded by the perfect forms of *itḏāyi²* and *rāḥ*. As for the first verb and its relation to the following string, it can be easily accounted for as an asyndetic coordination, since the semantics of *itḏāyi²* does not interact in any way with the overall meaning of the verbal sequence, as the verb simply states the cause for the ensuing action. However, the structure of the remaining verbal triad is more intricate. As for the semantics, it seems that unlike the initial *rāḥ*, which appears here with its purely phasal function, the participle of ²*ām* can pragmatically be easily conceivable as retaining its original meaning if one assumes that the upset Sa'idi man indeed rises from his seat while watching the Aragoz show. However, if the hypothesis from the previous paragraph holds as my consultant proposed it, the participial form of the final verb would only allow for an abstract reading. As a matter of fact, another native speaker whom I consulted about the meaning of ²*āyim* in this example without previously raising the issue of the morphology involved, confirmed that its function is vague as there is no evidence suggesting whether the man indeed stood up or not. Indeed, when I asked the consultant who suggested the hypothesis about this example, he concluded that it can only be interpreted in the abstract sense.

Example (12) also rises an important analytical question concerning the syntactic relations involved in this SVC, namely the hierarchy between the three verbs. The two non-initial forms, ²*āyim m-za^{cc}a²*, can be either analysed as being in an equal relation to the first verb, or as representing a minimal SVC on their own, embedded in the wider SVC. A possible third analysis would consider the two initial motion verbs, *rāḥ² āyim*, as forming a unit together, representing a compound base for the whole SVC.

³⁴ The fact the time reference is conveyed by ²*ām* is merely a consequence of the general rule that the base verbs must fit into the external context of the construction, thus also marking tense when the whole construction is not embedded itself.

³⁵ I am grateful to Mohamed Hassan for sharing his view on this matter.

The two analyses are represented schematically in (5a-c), by means of basic bracketing and the letters B and T in the upper index standing for base verb and target verb.

(5) PERF – PART – PART

- | | | | |
|----|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | $[rāḥ]^B$
go.PERF | $[^2āyim]^T$
rise.PART | $[m-za^{cc}a^2]^T$
PART-shout |
| b. | $[rāḥ]^B$
go.PERF | $[[^2āyim]^B$
rise.PART | $[m-za^{cc}a^2]^T]^T$
PART-shout |
| c. | $[[rāḥ]$
go.PERF | $[^2āyim]^B$
rise.PART | $[m-za^{cc}a^2]^T$
PART-shout |

In (5a) 2āyim would not represent a base for any SVC and would have to be seen as an independent usage of the verb, occurring in this case as the target verb for a SVC based with $rāḥ$, while its relation to the third verb would have to be described as coordination. In (5b) 2āyim would function both as the target verb for the overall base $rāḥ$ and as the embedded base for the target verb $m-za^{cc}a^2$. With such analysis one might assume that the meaning of 2āyim can be as far from 'rise' as in any of the other examples with 2ām in its grammatical function. Unfortunately, I do not feel competent to decide which of the two first analyses is more plausible and I do not exclude the option that in fact both are acceptable. Only if I take for granted the aforementioned hypothesis about the participial target verb, I can conclude that (5b) is more plausible.³⁶ As for the third option, shown in 5c, it is interesting for suggesting the possibility of conceiving of complex bases for SVCs. However, a proper evaluation of such analysis would require a more thorough understanding of the semantics of such constructions and also more information on the context of the individual instances observed.

(6) PERF – PERF

قومت فتحت لقيت عيل جارنا بيقولى

^2um-t get_up.PERF-1SG	$fataḥ-t$ open.PERF-1SG	$il-bāb$ the-door	$la^2ē-t$ find.PERF-1SG
-----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------	----------------------------

cēl kid	$gar-na$ neighbour-1PL.POSS	$bi-yi-qul-li...$ bi-3SG.M-say.IMPf-IO.1SG
---------------	--------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------

'I got up and opened the door to find the neighbour's son saying to me...'

(7) PERF–PERF and PERF–PART

قمت نمت جنب الولد فقامت مغطيانى ومميلة بايسة ع رجلى بوسة ام

^2um-t rise.PERF-1SG	$nim-t$ sleep.PERF-1SG	$ganb$ next.to	$il-walad$ DET-boy
---------------------------	---------------------------	-------------------	-----------------------

'I went to sleep next to the boy

fa and	^2ām-it rise.PERF-3SG.F	$m-gattiy-ā-ni$ PART-cover-F-1SG.OBJ
-------------	------------------------------	-----------------------------------------

and she covered me (with a blanket)

wi and	$mu-mayyil-a$ PART-lean.down-F	$bays-a$ kiss.PART-F	$^c a-rigl-i$ on-leg-1SG.POSS	$būsit$ kiss.of	2umm mother
-------------	-----------------------------------	-------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------	-------------------

and leaned down and kissed me a motherly kiss.'

³⁶ Such conclusion would indeed be welcome for the sake of gathering interesting cases of SVCs.

(8) IMPF – IMPF

مشهد ترامب وهو مش بيبتسم حتى في وش حد من اللي قاعدين و بعدين يقوم يزقق فيهم

mašhad Trump wi-huwa miš biyibtisim ḥata fi wišš ḥad min illi ²a^cdīn
'a scene in which Trump does not smile even at anyone from those seated

<i>wi</i>	<i>ba^cdēn</i>	<i>yi-²ūm</i>	<i>yi-za^{cc}a²</i>	<i>fī-hum</i>
and	then	3SG.M-rise.IMPF	3SG.M-shout.IMPF	in-3PL

and then starts shouting at them'

(9) PART – IMPF

فيديو غريب للسي و هو قايم يجري بعد احتفال افتتاح محطة الكهرباء!!!!!!

<i>fidiyū</i>	<i>ḡarīb</i>	<i>li</i>	<i>s-sīsi</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>huwa</i>	<i>²āyim</i>	<i>yi-gri</i>
video	weird	of	Sisi	and	he	rise.PART	3SG.M-run.IMPF

<i>ba^cd</i>	<i>iḥtīfāl</i>	<i>iftitāḥ</i>	<i>maḥaṭṭit</i>	<i>il-kahrabā²</i>
after	celebration	opening	station.of	DET-electricity

'a weird video of Sisi breaking into a run after the power plant opening celebration'

(10) PERF–IMPF

جوزيه قام يكلم جماهير الاهلى

<i>gōz-ī</i>	<i>²ām</i>	<i>yi-kallim</i>	<i>gamahīr</i>	<i>il-²ahlī</i>
husband-1SG.POSS	rise.PERF	3SG-talk.IMPF	crowds	Al-Ahli

'My husband started to talk to the Al-Ahli fans.'

(11) IMPF – PART

اكتشفت قد ايه انا ساذجه و فهمت ليه اول جوازنا لما كنت اكلمه حلو قدامهم و ادلعه زي ما احنا متعودين مع بعض يقوم مزقق في و ياخذني على جنب و يقول لي بشراسه شديده " باقول لك ايه انا امي بتغير علي

iktašaft ²addi ²ē ²anā sādīga wi fihimt lē ²awaal gawāzna
'I discovered how much naive I am and I understood why at the beginning of our marriage

lamma kunt ²akallimu ḥilu ²uddāmhum wi ²adalla^cu zeymā iḥna ma²a ba^cd
when I was talking nicely to him in front of them and calling him nice names like when we are together

<i>yi-²ūm</i>	<i>m-za^{cc}a²</i>	<i>fīya</i>
3SG-rise.IMPF	PART-shout	at.me

he would start shouting at me

wi yā²ḥudnī ^cala ganb wi yiq²ullī bišarāsa šadīda ba²ullik ²ē ²anā ²ummī bitḡīr ^calayya
and take me aside and tell me very harshly I'm telling you what? My mother is jealous of me.'

(12) (PERF) – PERF – PART – PART

الراجوزيقول نكتت على الصعايده..الصعيدى اضايق راح قايم مزعق ايه ياعم الحاج هوما فيش غير الصعايده
اللى فى البلد اللى مبيفهموش

Il-²aragōz bi-yi²ūl nukat ʿala -š-ša^cayda...
'The Aragoz is telling jokes about the Sa^cidis...

iš-ša^cīd^ṭī *itdāyi^ṭ* *rāḥ* *²āyim* *m-za^{cc}a^ṭ*
DET-Sa^cīdi get.upset.PERF go.PERF rise.PART PART-shout
The Sa^cīdi got upset and started shouting

²ē yā ʿam il-ḥāg huwa māfiš gēr illi fi-l-balad illi mabiyifhamūš?
What is that, sir? Are there no other people around in the country who don't understand (things)?'

4.2.1.2. Gih

Another verb with semantics prone cross-linguistically to grammaticalisation in multi-verb constructions is *gih*, the default 'come' verb in EA.

As with ²*ām*, the original meaning of *gih* can either be preserved to a certain extent, as in (13) and (14), whereas in other cases it has been lost altogether, as in (15).

As for its precise semantics, though being aware of the limitations of my intuition, I conjectured at the beginning that while *gih* is used very similarly to ²*ām* and *rāḥ*, it still preserves more of its original motion meaning. I did not expect the occurrence of sequences with *gih* which would be as seemingly contradictory as ²*ām* ²*a^cad* ('rose sat down'), which I knew to be indeed perfectly possible with ²*ām*. However, this conjecture proved to be rather unjustified, as can be seen in (17) which contains the sequence *gih yi-ṭla^c* 'came leaves'. Thus, I one can conclude that its usage can cover the whole scale from completely lexical uses to utterly abstract ones.

Similarly to ²*ām*, *gih* can apparently also imply the abruptness of the action expressed by the target verb. A reading in terms of such notion appears to be very plausible for (13). Furthermore, its similarity to ²*ām* and *rāḥ* as to the ability of structuring a narrative is such that I propose calling it a narrative sequence verb³⁷, as discussed in the previous subsection on ²*ām*. This is obvious in (16). However, these functions are not relevant when the target verb appears in the imperfective form in which case intentional semantics is conveyed instead as will be discussed below.

The possible distribution of forms in SVCs based with *gih*, as shown in Table 4 seems to be identical with that of ²*ām*.

Table 4. The variants of SVCs with *gih* as their base

	target				
base		PERF	IMPF	PART	bi-IMPF
PERF		(14)	(17)	(13)	(18)
IMPF		-----	(19), (67)	(20)	?
PART		-----	(15)	E	(16)

³⁷ Eisele (1999) does not list it as such alongside ²*ām* and *rāḥ*, unlike Woidich (2006) who groups all the three together.

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Whereas the form of *gih* itself is given by the syntactic context of the whole verb phrase, the variation in the form of the target verb has semantic consequences, namely for the TAM reading of the SVC. They are demonstrated in examples (14) and (15), which show two analogical utterances with the same lexical content, differing only in the form of the target verb. The crucial difference between them concerns the realis-irrealis distinction – while (14) implies that the mischievous boys indeed hit the boy who narrates the episode, in (15) one can be relieved to find out that the men were just about to beat the poor girl but did not carry it out since she suddenly shouted at them.³⁸ Thus the imperfective form implies an intentional reading.

Interestingly, the distinct function of the imperfective in the slot of the target verb also means that its usage is crucially different from the participle, whereas in many other contexts these forms have a very similar function (as was the case with the target slot of SVCs based with ²*ām*).

It should be noted however, that while the above account of the imperfective target verb is certainly relevant for the two PERF-IMPF instances in (15) and (17), one cannot conclude that such intentional semantics is the only possibility how SVCs with *gih* followed with an imperfective verb can be interpreted in all contexts. Interestingly, it seems that when the base verb itself is not in the perfective form, the intentional meaning is not at all necessarily present, as shown in (19), where both of the verbs are imperfective. In that example, an interpretation in terms of abruptness of the action or merely structuring the narrative is more plausible, rendering the example very similar to (20), where a participial target verb is used instead. Undoubtedly in the two latter examples no irrealis semantics is relevant.

Another interesting variant is shown in examples (16-18), as they show a bi-imperfect target verb, with participial and perfect bases, respectively.³⁹ Here, the presence of the bi-prefix with the target verb implies that it is even more independent in terms of its morphological behaviour, adding a fourth option for the target verb slot. When I consulted a native speaker, this example turned to be perfectly acceptable, while a proposed alternative without the bi- prefix was assessed as synonymous.

In conclusion, it appears that *gih* allows for quite independent behaviour of the target verb, which thus controls for essential differences in the semantics of the whole construction. At the same time, in most cases, *gih* appears to be able to cover approximately the functions observed with the other two narrative sequence verbs ²*ām* and *rāh*.

(13) PERF – PART

<i>Ga-t</i>	<i>m-ġarra²-a</i>	<i>l-balad</i>
come.PERF-SG.F	PART-flood-SG.F	DET-country
'(The flood) flooded the country' [EOV]		

³⁸ The semantics of these variants was revealed to me by Mohamed Hassan. Indeed, without his help my understanding of the difference would have escaped me.

³⁹ Example (16) is rather unique in my data and I appreciate it also because it contains two instances of a bi-imperfect target verb at a time - besides one following a *gih* also one following ²*a^cad*. Both base verbs are interestingly in the participle form.

(14) PERF – PERF

بعدين وانا ف ثانوي ولدین صغیرین راکبین توکتوک جم ضربوني من ورا وقعوا یضحکوا

ba^cdēn w-anā fi sānawī waladēn ṣuḡayyarīn rākibīn tuktuk

'After that, when I was in secondary school, two small boys driving a rickshaw

gum *ḍarab-ū-ni* *min* *wara*
come.PERF-PL beat.PERF-PL-1.OBJ from behind
hit me from behind

wi ²*a^cad-u* *yi-ḍhak-u*
and *sit*.PERF-PL 3-*laugh*.IMPF-PL
and kept laughing.'

(15) PART - IMPF

اول ما دخلنا الشقة جم یضربونی روحه مزعقة لهم

²*awwilma* *daḥal-na* *š-ša²²a*
as_soon_as enter.PERF-1PL DET-apartment

gum *yi-ḍrab-ū-ni* *ruḥt* *m-za^{cc}a²-ā-lhum*
come.PERF-PL 3-beat.IMPF-PL-1.OBJ go.PERF-1SG PART-shout-F.SG-3PL.IO

'As soon as we entered the apartment the set about beating me. Then I started to shout at them.'

(16) PART – bi-IMPF

النهارده، كنت قاعد بحمل فى برنامج الفوتوشوب، مساحته حوالى جيجا، و لما التحميل خلس اخيرا جاى بفتحه لقيته برنامج الفلاش مش الفوتوشوب،

in-naharda kunt ²a^cid baḥammil fi barnāmig il-fūtūšūb, masaḥtu ḥawālay gīga,

'Today I was downloading the Photoshop, its size being around a gigabyte,

wi *lamma* *ḥiliš* ²*aḥīran* *gayy* *b-a-ftaḥ-u*
and when finish.PERF finally come.PART bi-1SG-open.IMPF-3SG.OBJ
and when it was finally finished I opened it

la²ētu barnāmig il-flāš miš il-fūtūšūb
and found out that it was the Adobe Flash Player, not the Photoshop.'

(17) PERF – IMPF

حرامي دخل يسرق بيت لما جه يطلع شافه واد في ثانوي من اهل البيت
الواد قاله: تسرق كتبي وشنطتي معاك ولا افضحك واندهلهم

ḥarāmī *daḥal* *yisra²* *bēt*
burglar enter-PERF 3SG-rob.IMPF house

'A burgler entered a house to rob it.

lamma giḥ yi-ṭla^c
 when come.PERF 3SG-leave.IMPF
 When he was about to leave

šāf-u wād fī sānawī min [?]ahl il-bēt
 see.PERF-3SG.OBJ boy in secondary.school from people DET-house
 a boy from the family of the house saw him

il-wād [?]allu: tisra[?] kutubī wi šanṭitī ma^cāk walla [?]afadḍahak wi [?]andahluhum
 The boy told him: You will steal my books and my backpack, too, or I will blow the whistle on you and call them.'

(18) PERF – bi-IMPF

كنت صغيرة وبلعب مع ابن الجيران كان عندي اعتقد 6 سنين وهو 7 ف مامته جت بتزعق لماما وبتشتكي
 مني ان ضربت الواد دة راحت ماما قعدة بتعترزلها وقاعدة ترعقلي قمت بصتلها كدة

kunt ṣaḡīra wi b-a-l^cab ma^ca ibn il-gīrān kān ^candi [?]a^ctaqīd 6 sinīn wi huwa 7
 'I was a child and I was playing with the neighbours' son. I think I was 6, he was 7

fa mamit-u ga-t bi-t-za^{cc}a[?] li māmā
 so mum-3SG.POSS come.PERF-F bi-3SG.F-shout.IMPF to mum
 and now his mum came shouting at my mum

wi bi-ti-škī min-ni [?]inn ḍarab-t il-wād da
 and bi-3SG.F-shout.IMPF from-1SG that hit.PERF-1SG DET-boy DEM
 and complaining about me that I hit this boy

rāḥ-it māmā [?]a^cid-a bi-t-za^{cc}a[?]-liha
 go.PERF-F mum sit.PART-F bi-3SG.F-shout.IMPF-3SG.F.IO
 then mum started (shouting) intensely at her

wi [?]a^cid-a bi-t-za^{cc}a[?]-li
 and sit.part-f bi-3.F-shout.impf-1SG.IO
 and shouting (intensely) at me.'

(19) IMPF – IMPF

بس العجيب كله ييجي يسألني مين عامل لك مكياجك؟

bas il-^cagīb kullu yī-gi yi-s[?]al-ni
 but the-strange everybody 3.M-come.IMPF 3.M-ask.IMPF-1SG.OBJ

mīn [?]āmil-lik mikyāž
 who make.part-2SG.F.IO make_up

'But the strange thing is that everybody asks me: Who has done your make up?'

(20) IMPF – PART

اي صحفي جديد محدش يسمع عنه عايز الناس تعرفه بييجي شاتم عمرو دياب وطبعاً الدنيا بتقوم عليه
ومين ده اللي بيقول كده وزاي

²ayyi ṣaḥafī gḏīd maḥadiš yisma^c °annu °āyiz in-nās ti^crafu

any new journalist who nobody has heard about and who wants people to know him

yī-gi	šātim	°amr diyāb
3.M-come.IMPF	slander.PART	Amr Diyab
starts slandering Amr Diyab		

wi ṭab^can id-dinya bi^cūm °alē wi mīn da illi biyi²ul kida wi ²izzay

and of course people rise against him (and ask:) who says such things and why?

4.2.1.3. rāḥ

The verb *rāḥ* in its original meaning represents the default 'go'-verb in EA. Therefore, it is little surprising that it is prone to assume other more grammatical functions in combination with other verbs.

Similarly to ²ām it has indeed turned into a kind of a phasal verb, although its semantics is apparently not purely inchoative since it also appears to carry a meaning of intention with respect to the action expressed by the target verb. And again, just like with ²ām, in many cases its function can be accounted for in terms of the loss of its semantic load and assuming the role of a narration device, conveying a certain abruptness, or immediateness with which an action starts, as illustrated in most of the following examples, maybe with the exception of (24).

However, at the same time its inherent motion meaning can still be present, perhaps more than with ²ām, simply because the semantic concept of *going somewhere in order to do something* is highly prominent in our conceptualisation of events (certainly more than that of *rising to do something*). Therefore, it can often be uneasy to decide whether a particular occurrence of *rāḥ* followed by another verb should be interpreted purely in terms of abstract inchoative-like semantics or as an instance of the actual motion meaning. This might be the case of (22), even though even there it is apparent that the idea of actually walking towards someone is not essential for the overall meaning which can be more neatly paraphrased as 'starting conversation with someone' than as 'going and talking to someone'. Examples (21) and (23) show cases in which the original meaning is indisputably absent.

As shown in Table 4, the observed distribution of forms in *rāḥ* as their base is identical to that occurring with SVCs based with ²ām or *gih*. Similarly to ²ām, as a perfective base it can embed both perfective and imperfective or participial target verbs, as shown in (21-23).

Unfortunately, my data do offer enough material to confirm my expectation that a bi-imperfect target verb is strongly dispreferred. As for the bi-imperfect occurring with the base verb, it indeed does occur but I assume that in such case the original meaning of 'go' is more palpable than in the unprefix usage, in accord with the general tendency of *bi-* to occur more frequently with lexical verbs. Yet again, my data cannot provide evidence for such assumption.

Table 5. The variants of SVCs with *rāḥ* as their base

	target			
base		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF		13	12	14
IMPF		-----		X<
PART		-----	15	8

(21) PERF-PERF

not برردو في أولي ابتدائي بيكتب جملة فلانجلس وكل شويه ينسي كلمه not فبقوله not يا حبيبي
 راح ساب الكتاب وقعد يتنطط
 بقوله بتعمل أيه قالي ب not

Ibnī bardu fī²awwal ibtidā²ī biyiktib gumla fī-l-²ingliš wi kull šwayya yinsa kilmit 'not'
 'My son is the first year of the primary school, too. He writes a sentence in English and once in a while he forgets the word 'not'

rāḥ *sāb* *il-kitāb*
 go.PERF leave.PERF DET-book
 he suddenly put the book aside

²a^cad *yi-t-naṭṭit*
 sit.PERF 3SG.M-ITER-jump.IMPF
 and went on jumping around

ba²ūllu bi-ti^cmil²ē²allī b-a-'nut'
 I tell him: What are you doing? He told me: I'm jumping ('not'-ing)⁴⁰

(22) PERF-IMPF

مرة واحد اهلاوي راح يكلم بنت قالتله سوري مبكلمش ودا

marra wāḥid ²ahlāwī rāḥ *yi-kallim* *bint*
 once one al-Ahli_fan go.PERF 3SG-talk.IMPF girl
 'Once an Ahli fan (approached and) addressed a girl

²ālitlu sūrī²anā mabakallimš widād
 she told him: sorry, I don't talk to *widād*⁴¹

⁴⁰ Apart from state-of-the-art instances of SVCs, this example, just like the previous one, also shows the propensity for language creativity and all kinds of playing with words, typical of many Egyptian speakers. Here the mother of the child is amused by the misunderstanding which arose when her son interpreted her repetition of the English word *not*, which he tended to omit in his homework, as the EA imperative *nut* 'Jump!' (which would apparently sound the same in her rendition).

⁴¹ This example is in fact a joke meant to mock the Al-Ahli football team after its defeat to a team called *al-Widād*. It is based on exchanging the name of the victorious team for the word *wilād* 'boys' in *sūrī²anā mabakallimš wilād* 'Sorry, I don't talk to boys', which is a phrase that can be heard from some Egyptian girls when approached by men. I'm indebted to my friend Malak Ahmed for explaining this example to me.

(23) PERF-PART

انا مكنتش بحبه و كنت عايزه حاجه بناتى، روت خاطفه الريموت و غيرت القناه

w-ana makuntiš baḥibbu wi kunt ʿayza ḥaga banātī,

'I did not like it (the programme being watched) and wanted something for girls

ruḥ-t ḥaṭf-a r-rīmūt wi ḡayyar-t il-qana
 go.PERF-1SG grasp.PART-F.SGremote_control and change.PERF-1SG DET-channel
 I grasped the remote control and switched the channel.'

Example (23) deserves more attention as I happened to receive some feedback on its the structure from an Egyptian respondent⁴². I considered a modification of the example which would yield the three variants shown in Table 6, differing with respect to the form of the target verb:

Table 6. Three variants of a SVC with perfective base, differing in the form of the target verb

	<i>ḥaṭf-a</i> PART				
<i>ruḥ-t</i> PERF	<i>ʔaḥṭuf</i> IMPF	<i>ir-rīmūt</i> DET-remote_control	<i>wi</i> and	<i>ḡayyar-t</i> change.PERF-1SG	<i>il-qanā</i> DET-channel
	<i>ḥataft</i> PERF				
'I grasped the remote control and switched the channel.'					

This being indeed a case where only native intuition can shed more light on the semantics of the constructions under study, I asked my respondent what is the difference between the three. According to her intuition, the use of the imperfective form, i. e. *ruḥ-t ʔaḥṭuf ir-rīmūt*, would suggest less certainty about the completion of the action, whereas the perfective target verb would emphasize the successful seizure of the remote control. She claimed to be uncertain about the participle, as used in the original example, but admitted that there might be a slight emphasis of the same kind as well.⁴³

Moreover, when asked whether there is any relation between the semantics of *rāḥ*, i. e. the extent to which it has lost the original semantics of actually moving from one place to another, and the form of the target verb, she confirmed that the interaction between these two variables is none, as the interpretation of *rāḥ* depends purely on our extra-linguistic knowledge of the situation, namely on knowing whether it was indeed necessary to move in order to carry out the action or not.

This analysis, even though unsupported by enough quantitative evidence in this thesis, suggests the idea that in SVCs based with *rāḥ* the target verb is as at least as aspectually discrete as *ʔām*. The above data and their interpretations show that the target verb following after *rāḥ* does mark some TAM features of the event, namely the degree of certainty as to whether the action has actually been completed.

Another example of perfective *rāḥ* followed by a participle was the rather intricate example (12) (see the subsection on *ʔām* for a detailed analysis of it)

A slightly different perspective on the usage of *rāḥ* might be offered by example (24), which, besides having the base verb in the participle form, contains an indisputable intentional aspect in its semantics.

⁴² Again, I'm grateful to my friend Malak Ahmed for sharing her native sense for the semantics of the two structural variants of this example.

⁴³ It must be repeated here that I am aware of the low representativeness and haphazard nature of my elicitation work with native speakers. Here the problem is of course the limited reliability of introspection when the semantics of similar constructions is studied. I appreciate that my consultant for the above task was aware of this and modestly admitted that the actual use of the structures does not always have to comply with her intuitions about the rules behind them.

(24) PART-IMPF

حال الواحد لما يكون رايح يشرب سفن ويلاقها مائه

<i>ḥāl</i>	<i>il-wāḥid</i>	<i>lamma yi-kūn</i>	<i>rāyih</i>	<i>yi-šrab</i>
state	DET-one	when 3SG.M-be.IMPF	go.PERF	3SG-drink.IMPF
<i>ṣifin</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>yi-lāʔī-hā</i>	<i>mayya</i>	
7Up	and	3SG-find.IMPF	water	

'the state of someone who sets about drinking 7 Up and finds out it's water'

In this case, one can claim that the intentional element of its semantics is so prevalent that it allows for what may be called *irrealis* interpretation, since the planned action of drinking 7Up did not happen eventually. Indeed, as was shown in the above comparison in Table 5, the intentional semantics is mediated by the imperfect form of the target verb, as the bare imperfect usually allows for a possible *irrealis* interpretation.

Discussion

As was shown in the three preceding subsections, all the three verbs *rāḥ* 'go', *ʔām* 'rise' and *gih* 'come' can be said to add an inchoative-like meaning. However, they need to be viewed primarily as narrative devices, which is why they were subgrouped as narrative sequence verbs in Table 1.

All three of them verbs treated in the above section exhibit very similar behaviour, both semantically and syntactically. As for their own morphology, their form is naturally given by the external syntactic conditions of the verbal phrase, which is a rule that holds for all base verbs in general.⁴⁴

Most interestingly, as perfective bases they can embed both perfective and imperfective or participial target verbs, which suggest a certain degree of syntactic and semantic independence of the target verb, which I referred to as aspectual discreteness above. In other words, the relation between the two verbs cannot be easily analysed as subordination (as presented among Haspelmath's (2016) defining features of SVCs in 3.1). If there were a predicate-argument relation between them, one would expect that the form of the second verb would be independent of the TAM characteristics of the event, leaving the encoding of these on the base verb.

Interestingly, the bi-imperfective appears to be dispreferred with all of the three verbs, for the form of both the base and target verbs. The only case of a bi-imperfective which I documented is (16), where a bi-imperfective target verb follows a participle of *gih*.⁴⁵ In general, I assume that besides semantic concerns which simply do not always allow the usage of the progressive/habitual marker *bi-*, this is also due to the rules for the distribution of the bi-prefix as it shows a tendency to evade non-lexical verbs in general. Such assumption indeed presupposes (and also corroborates) the understanding of the multi-verb sequences under study as specific grammaticalised constructions and not random sequences of verbs.

As for negation, my data do not contain any negated examples. I do not claim that negation cannot occur with these three verbs, but it is apparent that their function in SVCs does not attract negative contexts as such, so the absence of documenting material for them is not surprising.

⁴⁴ I have the impressionistic suspicion that they are more frequent as perfective base verbs, but this might have nothing to do with the intrinsic properties of the verbs and go back to the fact that its usage is typical of narrative style which might offer more space for syntactic contexts that require perfective forms.

⁴⁵ This example would then be an exception to the rule proposed by Brustad (2000), according to which a bi-imperfect cannot be embedded in EA.

It appears that certain of the structural types of SVCs are synonymous or at least interchangeable in many contexts. This holds especially for using either the imperfect or the participle for the target verb, in which case there often seems to be almost no difference in meaning. However, in some cases the two forms do yield very different variants, as in the SVCs based with perfective *gih*, where the imperfective target verb yields intentional semantics, whereas participle refers to a concluded event. One might interpret this difference also in terms of the general function of the two forms when used independently - while the imperfective has an inherent irrealis function, the participle is used predicatively with perfective meaning, which is perfectly in accord with the distribution in the SVCs based by *gih*.

Unfortunately, the extent of my knowledge and research has not allowed me so far to arrive at a thorough understanding of possible minute semantic differences between some of the occurring structures and I am aware that it can be very unwise to claim actual synonymy in cases which an observer like me is not able to distinguish himself.

4.2.1.4. ²*a^cad*

Verbs meaning 'sit' are cross-linguistically prone to acquire grammatical functions, usually with habitual or progressive meanings. Indeed, the EA verb ²*a^cad* 'sit' is apparently one the most frequent verbs occurring as a base for SVCs.

Its semantics is rather transparent, conveying emphasis on the habituality (as in (25), (27), (29)), progressivity and durativity (as in (26)) of the event expressed by the target verb, often implying also certain persistence or intensity (as in (28), (30),(31)).⁴⁶ It should be noted that ²*a^cad* is used also on its own with a more abstract meaning than the purely physical 'sit', conveying the general notion of 'remain', 'stay', 'live (somewhere)'.⁴⁷ It is therefore plausible to assume that the functions it serves as a SVC base are probably instances of such more general meaning.

As can be seen in Table 5, unlike the narrative sequence verbs presented in the previous sections, ²*a^cad* only allows for an imperfective or participial target verb, while a perfective target verb never occurs. This means that the target verb is not at all aspectually discrete. This is unsurprising since it is exactly the base verb ²*a^cad* which carries a most salient aspectual load, and thus the target verb only contributes its lexical meaning, appearing logically in the imperfective or participial form.⁴⁸ Furthermore, my data also confirm that as ²*a^cad* can occur with the bi-prefix, as in (28), even though I admit that the meaning of ²*a^cad* in that example could also be interpreted literally.

Hence, the account of the morphosyntax of SVCs based with ²*a^cad* can be rephrased by saying that ²*a^cad* appears to exhibit full external and no internal syntactic flexibility. This suggests the high degree of grammaticalisation which might allow for calling it a modal auxiliary.

⁴⁶ Naturally, the reading in terms of intensity and persistence can be a secondary consequence of the habitual/progressive meaning.

⁴⁷ An example of this usage might be the following quote of the Egyptian president ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ as-Sisī, which will also be referred to later to provide context for example (23):

قعدت 10 سنين تلاجتي مفيهاش الا الميه

² <i>a^c</i>	<i>d-ti</i>	^c <i>ašara</i>	<i>sinīn</i>	<i>tallagt-i</i>	<i>ma-ḥī-hā-š</i>	<i>illa</i>	<i>l-mayya</i>
sit.PERF.-1SG		ten	years	fridge-1SG.POSS	NEG1-in-3SG.F-NEG2	but	det-water

'For ten years I haven't had but water in my fridge.' (lit. I have been sitting for ten year (and) my fridge there is nothing in it.

⁴⁸ Again, this thesis cannot attempt to arrive at an understanding of the difference between the usage of the bare imperfective and the participle.

Negation

A very important insight into the morphosyntax and semantics of ²*aʿad* is offered by the study of its behaviour with respect to negation. Even though negated examples are naturally rather scarce, I was fortunate to find four instances which show a very interesting fact about the marking of negation in such SVCs, namely that negation can be marked on both the base and the target verb.

In (30) and (30) it is the base verb that carries the circumfix of negation, whereas in (31) it is carried by the target verb. (30) and (31) can be considered as very elucidating examples since they share the same target verb and approximately the same context. The question is whether there is any semantic difference between them, i.e. whether the difference in the locus of negation has semantic consequences. A possible difference is suggested iconically by the structure itself, namely one with respect to the scope of negation.

The more obvious case is that of (31), in which the negation only involves the meaning denoted by the target verb, i. e. the activity of studying. It is only this negated whole, 'not studying' which is in turn subjected to marking the progressive by means of the preceding ²*aʿad*. This can be rendered schematically as [keep [not studying]]. On the other hand, in (30) it seems that the negation applies to the whole SVC, involving thus also the aspectual characteristics of it, given schematically as [not [keep studying]].

I believe that this analysis is semantically plausible for both of the cases, even though I have a slight suspicion that an alternative reading might also be possible for (30), according to which ²*aʿad* would function as a durative marker that would not apply to the activity of studying, but rather indicate the period of time passed from the last moment of actually studying, i.e. the third year of secondary school, until the time of the utterance. This reading is indeed logically equivalent to the above analysis of (31), i.e. [keep [not studying] since the third year of secondary school]. However, pragmatically such function is different, because it would simply mean 'one has not studied since the third year of secondary school', where no special durative or progressive meaning is involved besides the indication of a period of time passed.

I consulted a native speaker about this example and she preferred the first analysis. i. e. the one which preserves the durative/progressive meaning with the activity of studying⁴⁹. However, I admit that my elicitation of such preference was not necessarily overly reliable since the answer was based purely on the consultant's introspection.

Furthermore, I should note that another native speaker provided a very different account which strongly challenges my own analysis of (30) and (31) as presented above. He reminded me that in two verbs ²*aʿad* 'sit' and *zākir* 'study' are not a representative example of the behaviour of ²*aʿad* since they appear together very frequently as a kind of collocation, in which the concept of studying is tied to that of sitting. He suggested that in (30) there is no additional durative semantics beyond the meaning of the collocation, which is 'sit down to study'. While accepting that account, I still think that this collocation can be viewed as a lexicalised instance of a productively formed SVCs based with ²*aʿad*. However, such solution is contested by my consultant's claim that as for the inner aspectual semantics of the collocation, ²*aʿad* should be read perfectly, i.e. 'sit down'. In that case, the durative account would be barely plausible.⁵⁰ However, my above negation of the behaviour ²*aʿad* as an aspectualizer with respect to negation seems to be tenable, as it can be supported by (32) instead of (30).

Eventually, whichever detailed analysis of the negative examples is accepted, it is the behaviour with respect to negation corroborates the claim that ²*aʿad* is indeed highly grammaticalised as an aspectual

⁴⁹I respected this to this reading also in the translation in (35). where I decided to render the durative/progressive/intensive aspect by the adverb *properly*.

⁵⁰ However, in both cases the lexicalisation account might be tenable – even if the idiomatised collocation 'sit and study' would not be parasiting on the durative SVC based with ²*aʿad*, it might be an instance of the lexicalisation of an independently formed symmetrical SVC with both of the verbs used lexically. See 3.1.2 for more on lexicalisation in the context of SVC.

(26) PERF-IMPF

ونزلنا الصبح قعدنا نلف في المدينة

nizil-na iṣ-ṣubḥ ²a^cad-na ni-liff fi l-madīna
go_out-PERF-1PL DET-morning sit.PERF-1PL 1PL-walk_around.IMPF in DET-city
'and we went out in the morning and kept walking around in the city'

(27) IMPF-PART

مش المفروض برضه إن الإنسان يبقى وصى على نفسه ويراقبها بدل ما يقعدرامى ودانه فى بيت جيرانه
ويشوفهم بيتخانقوا ولا لاء

miš il-mafrūḍ barḍu ²inn il-²insān yib²a waṣī ^cala nafsu wi yirāqibhā
'Should not a human being be responsible for his soul and control it'

badalma yu²-^cud rāmi widān-u fi bēt gīrān-u
instead 3SG.M-sit.IMPF throw.PART ears-3SG.POSS in house neighbours-3SG.POSS
instead of permanently throwing his ears into his neighbours' house

wi yišufhum bi-yi-ṭhan²ū walla la²
and seeing whether they are having an argument or not?'

(28) bi-IMPF-IMPF

بعض طلاب بيقعدو يكتبو وراء دكتور ومش بيفهمو الشرح وفي طلاب مبتلحش تكتب وراء دكتور

ba^cd iṭ-tullāb bi-yu-^{2c}ud-u yi-ktib-u wara duktūr
some DET-students bi-3.M-sit.IMPF-PL 3.M-write.IMPF-PL behind professor

wi miš bi-yi-fham-u š-šarḥ wi
and NEG bi-3.M-understand.IMPF-PL DET-explanation and

fī tullāb ma-bi-ti-lḥa²-š tiktib wara d-duktūr
there_isstudents NEG1-bi-3SG.F-catch.IMPF-NEG2 3.F-write.IMPF behind professor

'Some students just keep writing after the professor (copying what he writes) and don't understand the contents of the lecture and there are students who don't keep up with the professor's writing'

(29) PERF-PERF-IMPF

وإسماعيل كان شايف إن نظام الوراثة بتاع أكبر عيل من عيال محمد علي هو اللي يمسه الحكم بيعمل
مشاكل قام قعد يروح الأستاذة ويفرغش مع عبغيز

wi ²ismā^cīl kān šāyif ²inn nizām il-wirāṭa bitā^c ²akbar ^cēl min ^ciyāl muḥammad ^calī
wi huwa yimsik il-ḥukm bi-yi^cmil mašākil

'Ismail thought that the hereditary system in which the power passes to the eldest son of Mohammad Ali, causes problem'

²*ām* ²*a°ad* *yi-rūḥ* *il-²āstāna*
 rise.PERF sit.PERF 3SG.M-go.IMPF Istanbul
 so he started going regularly to Constantinople

wi *yi-farfiš* *ma°a* °*ab°azīz*
 and 3M-please.IMPF with °Ab°azīz
 and be friendly to °Ab°azīz (the Sultan))'

(30) PERF^{NEG}-IMPF

الواحد مقعدش يذاكر بجد من ثلاثة إعدادي

il-wāḥid *ma-²a°ad-ši* *yi-zākir*
 DET-one NEG1-sit.PERF-3SG.M-NEG2 3.M-study.IMPF

bigad min *tālit-a* ²*i°dād°i*
 really from third.F secondary_school

'one has not experienced studying properly since the third year of secondary school'

(31) PERF-IMPF^{NEG}

الزمالك عامل زي الطالب اللي قعد طول السنة ميذاكرش، وفي الاخر نجح وبممتاز

iz-zamālik °*āmil* *zay* *iṭ-ṭālib* *illi*
 DET-Zamalek do.PART like DET-student who

²*a°ad* *tūl* *is-sana* *ma-yi-zākir-š*
 sit.PERF-3SG.M all DET-year NEG1-3.M-study.IMPF-NEG2

wi *fi* *l-²āḥir* *nagaḥ* *b-imtiyāz*
 and in DET-last succeed with-excellence

'Zamalek is doing like the student who has evaded studying all year long and then succeeded with excellence.'

(32) IMPF^{NEG}-IMPF

اللي عايز يروح مكان معين ميقعدش يعيط لما يتكعيل في طوبه في الارض ويقعد يصرب فيها ويعاقبها وينسي يروح مشوره

illi °*āyiz* *yi-rūḥ* *makān mu°ayyan*
 who want.PART 3-go.IMPF place certain

ma-yu-²cud-ši *yi-°ayyat*
 NEG1-3-sit.IMPF-NEG2 3-cry.IMPF

lamma *yi-tka°bil* *fi* *tūba* *fi* *l-²arḍ*
 when 3-stumble in brick in DET-earth

wi *yu-²cud* *yi-ḍrib* *fī-ha* *wi* *yi-°āqib-ha*
 and 3-sit.IMPF 3-beat.IMPF in-3SG.F and 3-punish-3SG.F.OBJ

<i>wi</i>	<i>yi-nsa</i>	<i>yirūh</i>	<i>mišwār-u.</i>
And	3-forget.IMPF	3-go.IMPF	errand-3SG.POSS

'Who wants to go to a certain place may not go on crying when he stumbles over a brick and keep beating it and punishing it and forget where he was going!'

4.2.1.5. *fiḍil*

The case of *fiḍil*, the default verb in EA meaning 'remain', is similar in most respects to that of ${}^2a^c ad$. It share most its aspectual semantics, encoding durativity, progressivity or habituality, and possibly also what I called persistence and intensity with ${}^2a^c ad$. Since a detailed comparison between these two base verbs is far beyond the ambitions of the present thesis, I will confine myself here to saying that all the observation and theoretical considerations which I presented in the subsection on ${}^2a^c ad$, also hold for *fiḍil*, and to commenting briefly on the following examples.

Example (33) is remarkable because it contains a chain containing of three verbs. An initial 2am , in its typical use as a narrative sequence verb, is followed by a standard instance of a SVC based with *fiḍil*, which in its turn suggests a reading involving the notion of persistence.

Another sequence of three verbs is shown in (34), this time interesting especially for the fact that it contains both *fiḍil* and ${}^2a^c ad$, which I have just claimed to be practically synonymous as base verbs for SVCs. Unfortunately, without knowing more about the context of this example and the intentions of the speaker, it is rather impossible to decide whether the participle of ${}^2a^c ad$, following after the initial perfective base *fiḍil*, is used as an aspectualizer, i. e. a base verb embedding the final target verb *yitkallim* 'speaks', or an independent lexical verb. Of course, for the sake of collecting interesting examples of SVCs, the former reading is more appealing, but the second reading cannot be excluded, since the speaker could have simply meant that the doctor remained in the room (either literally seated or not) and talked to her, which is also reflected in my rather ambiguous translation of the example. In that case, one would only consider the first two verbs as a SVC, while the final verb would be accounted for as a participial form complementing the preceding SVC in a converb-like manner⁵². However, if the more intriguing account in terms of a double aspectual base for the final verb is defended and the sequence is thus conceived of as being headed with one SVC base, *fiḍil*, embedding another practically synonymous base ${}^2a^c ad$ with its target verb, it is a unique instance of multiply marked (and thus emphasized) aspectual properties of the event.⁵³

As was the case with ${}^2a^c ad$, I obtained examples illustrating some interesting properties of *fiḍil* concerning negation. In this respect, (35) and are analogical to (30) and (31), and the same theoretical concerns apply to them.

⁵² The participle in Arabic can be used

⁵³ I should note here that when I asked one of my consultants, he confirmed the doubly aspectual account of the utterance first, but then admitted that he was primed by my previous questions and examples concerning SVCs, and eventually advocated the lexical reading, i.e. 'the doctor stayed in the room seated and talked to me'.

Table 8. The variants of SVCs with *fiḍil* as their base

	target				
base		PERF	IMPF	IMPF ^{NEG}	PART
PERF			(33)	(35)	(34)
PERF ^{NEG}			(36)		
IMPF		-----			
PART		-----			

(33) PERF-PERF-IMPF

واحد من أهل الخير شاف واحد عامل التويته دى قام فضل يدور ع العامل ده واداله فلوس واشتراله كمان طقم ذهب

wāḥid min ahl il-ḥēr šāf wāḥid °āmil it-twīta di
 one from people DET-good saw one do.PART DET-tweet DEM

ʔām fiḍil yi-dawwar °a-l-°āmil da
 rise.PERF remain.PERF 3.M-look.for.IMPF on-DET-do.PART DEM

w-iddā-lu fulūs w-ištarālu kamān tuʔm dahab
 and-give.PERF-3SG.IO and-buy.PERF-3SG.IO also necklace gold

'A good person saw someone post this tweet and then kept looking for him and gave him money and also bought him a golden necklace.'

(34) PERF-PART-IMPF

كنت بولد ابني الثالث قيصري فبنجوني بنج نصفي، فدكتور البنج فضل قاعد يتكلم معاه

kunt b-awlid ibnī t-tālit ʔayṣarī fa-bannaḡūnī bang niṣṣfi

'I was giving birth to my third son via Caesarean section and they gave me local anaesthesia,

fa-duktūr il-bang fiḍil ʔā'id yi-t-kallim maāya.
 and-doctor DET-anaesthesia remain.PERF sit.PERF 3.M-RECP-talk with_me
 and the anaesthesiologist stayed there and kept talking to me.'

(35) PERF-IMPF^{NEG}

وبعدما فضل ميكلمش اخته شهر او اكثر وزعلان منها

wi ba°dahā fiḍil ma-yi-kallim-š
 and after_that remain.PERF-3SG.M NEG1-bi-3SG.F-catch.IMPF-NEG2

ʔuḥt-u šahr ʔaw ʔaktar wi za°lān min-hā
 sister-3SG.POSS month or more and angry from-3SG.F

'And after that he wouldn't talk to his sister for a month or longer and was angry with her.'

(36) PERF^{NEG} - IMPF

و مين فينا مفضلش يكلم صاحبه ع سيخ الشاورما السوري اللي ممكن ناكله ف يومين دة

wi mīn fī-na ma-fiḍil-š yi-kallim ṣāhib-u
and who in-1PL NEG1-remain.PERF-NEG2 3-talk.IMPF friend-3SG.POSS
'and who from us has not talked to his friend enthusiastically'

ʿa sīḥ iṣ-šawirma s-sūrī illi mumkin nakl-u fī yōmēn da ?
about the Syrian shawarma spit which we can be eating for two days?'

4.2.1.6. *wiʿif*

Another verb with an elementary meaning that can be expected to be prone to grammaticalisation into a SVC base is *wiʿif* 'stand'. In this thesis I can only afford to consider it marginally as I have not collected enough data which would provide a satisfactory insight into its behaviour. I will therefore only briefly comment on the following three examples, pointing out some aspects of its usage which I consider difficult to account for and leave a proper analysis for further research.

In many cases *wiʿif* is used with more or less conservative semantics, denoting actual standing of the person carrying out the action expressed by the target verb.

However, I have the impression from some of my data that in certain cases its physical meaning has been abandoned to a great extent and it has acquired a more abstract function. In example (37), although the kids can indeed be conceived of as standing while talking to an older person, it is obviously not the physical setting of the situation that is being referred to. Instead, an aspectual dimension appears to be at play, bringing the verb *wiʿif* functionally closer to other aspectualisers. Similarly, in (38) its function is purely aspectual. A rather abstract meaning can be observed also in EX which shows that it can also be followed by a negative verb, similarly to ²*aʿad* and *fiḍil*.

The question which I will not resolve here is whether its function here resembles more that of the narrative sequence verbs *rāḥ*, ²*ām* and *gih*, or that of the habitual/progressive/durative ²*aʿad* and *fiḍil*. My intuition tells me that the latter is the case, which is also why list *wiʿif* just after *fiḍil*, but I also have the impression that it serves as a narrative device here as well.

(37) IMPF-IMPF

العيال بعاد جدا عن ربهم واخلاقهم زفت تربية شوارع مش بيوت يقفو يكلمو الكبير وكأنه اقل منهم ويستهنؤ
باللى حواليههم

il-ʿiyāl buʿād giddan ʿan rabbuhum wi ʿahlāʿhum zift tarbiyit ṣawāriʿ miš buyūt
'The kids are very far away from their Lord and their morality is messed up'

wiʿif-u yi-kallim-u l-kabīr
3SG-stand.IMPF-PL 3SG-talk.IMPF-PL DET-old
they talk to an older person

wakaʿann-u ʿa ʿall minhum wi yistahziʿu b-illi ḥawālēhum
as though he was younger than them and ridicule what is around them.'

(38) PERF-IMPF

زميل إخوانجي بعد رابعة وقف يزعم إاي بنقول عالخوان إرهابين وهما أغلبهم دكاترة ومهندسين؟ قولتله
أيمن الظواهري طبيب وبن لادن مهندس

zimíl ²*iḥwan-gī* *ba^cd* *rābi^ca* *wi²if* *yi-za^{cc}a²*
colleague brethren-ADJZ after *rābi^ca* stand.PERF-3SG.M 3SG.M-shout.IMPF

izzay *bi-ni-²ūl* ^c*al* ²*iḥwān* ²*irhāb-ī-yīn*
how bi-1PL-say.IMPF on brethren terror-ADJZ-PL

wi *humma* ²*aḡlab-hum* *dakatra wi* *muhandis-īn?*
and they most_of-3PL doctors and engineer-PL

'After the events of *rābi^ca* a colleague supporting the Muslim Brotherhood was shouting: Why do we say that the Muslim Brotherhood are terrorists while most of them are doctors and engineers?'⁵⁴

4.2.1.7. ²arrab

A different phasal meaning than that appearing with the verbs presented above, is conveyed by the verb ²arrab, the independent meaning of which is 'approach', 'get closer' as well as the transitive 'to bring nearer'. If combined with another verb and thus forming what I call a SVC within the approach of this thesis, it yields the meaning 'almost finish the action expressed by the target verb'.

My data suggest that the target verb almost always appears in the imperfect form. It can apparently also be a participle as shown in (41), but I admit that this example is the only one I found and thus I believe that the prominence of the imperfect is massive in this construction.⁵⁵ As for the base verb itself, it can appear in all three forms, even though the participle, shown in (40) seems to be rather rare.⁵⁶ I assume that the bi-imperfect would also be permissible, but my modest search has not been able to discover an example of it⁵⁷. The morphosyntactic options observed are shown in Table 9.

⁵⁴ This comment refers to the demonstrations in support of the former Egyptian President Mursī and the Muslim Brotherhood in the *Rābi^ca al-^cAdawīya* square in Cairo in summer 2013. The comment continues with the following conclusion:

²*ultilu* ²*ayman az-zawāhirī ṭabīb wi* ²*usāma bin lādin muhandis*

'I told him that ²Ayman az-Zawāhirī is a doctor and ²Usāma bin Lādin an engineer.'

⁵⁵ My heuristic search for ²arrab followed by a perfect target verb did not yield any convincing results.

⁵⁶ As already mentioned in a different context, the difficulty of finding an example of a participle in my data and the ensuing assumption of its lower frequency does not imply that the construction intrinsically disfavours this form. Besides the factor of the severe limitations of my search, it can also be simply due to the fact that contexts in which a participle would be required with this construction are simply rare. Nevertheless, one can assume that the construction would be perfectly acceptable within them, just as is the case of example (38).

⁵⁷ I assume that the absence of examples containing the bi-imperfect confirms the partly non-lexical and modal/auxiliary character of ²arrab, since the use of the habitual/progressive *bi-* is much less common with such verbs than with lexical ones. (Woidich: ...)

Table 9. The variants of SVCs with ²arrab as their base

	target			
base		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF		-----	(39)	(40)
PERF ^{NEG}			(42)	
IMPF		-----	E	E
PART		-----	(41)	?

On one hand, the restriction on the permissible form of the target verb and the refrainment form taking the *bi*-prefix, suggest that in this construction ²arrab has indeed turned into a partly non-lexical verb, approaching the category of modals or auxiliaries. On the other hand, it is apparent that it has indeed retained a lot of its original semantics and that it can be used with basically the same meaning both independently and as a base hosting a target verb, as shown in (39a-b), respectively.

(39) PERF-IMPF

قربنا نخلص

- a. ²arrab-na ni-ḥlaṣ
 get-closer.PERF-1PL 1PL-finish.IMPF
 ‘We are about to finish.’ (at a parliament session)

قربنا يا جماعة معلش

- b. ²arrab-na ya gamā^a... ma^aalēš.
 get-closer.PERF-1PL VOC group please
 ‘We are about to finish, guys... would you wait please’ (the same context)

The two equivalent examples are rather peculiar because the first one is in fact a transformation of the second one, showing to what extent the independent and the bound usages are akin. Both of them are taken from an online newspaper article reporting on a parliament session. It says that the chair uttered b. to ask the distracted delegates for more patience. In its turn, version a. was artificially created by the author of the article to be used in the headline as a pseudo-quote of the chair. Whereas the original utterance with ²arrab used on its own is perfectly understandable when quoted in the article which provides the context of the situation first, it would be too laconic for the headline, which is supposed to make some sense even out of context. Therefore the author decided to add the verb *niḥlaṣ* ‘finish’ creating an SVC based with ²arrab as I have just described it.⁵⁸ Such a transformation can be seen as straightforward evidence for compliance with one of the important criteria that for example Haspelmath lists in his definition of a SVC, namely that it consists of multiple independent verbs (see 3.1).

However, the latter argument can be challenged with an alternative analysis in which (39b) would be understood as an elliptical usage of the construction, which is only rendered in its intact form in the

⁵⁸ Of course this analysis is relevant only provided that my interpretation of the genesis of the two examples is correct. I should also assume that the author of the article indeed quoted the chair precisely in his article, but even if he did not, the fact that he wrote it down means that it is a legitimate structure in EA.

headline. In that case, ²*arrab* would not pass for an independent verb. Then one would deal with the question whether it is reasonable to consider two separate lexical entries for ²*arrab*, one as a lexical verb and one as a kind of auxiliary (see Conclusion for more discussion on that point).

Negation

Although contexts that would require a negated usage of the SVC based with ²*arrab* are rather rare, I found at least one such instance, shown in (42), in which the base is negated and the overall meaning of the construction becomes unsurprisingly 'still not get closer to doing/finishing something'. I also attempted to find an example, in which the target verb would be negated instead, but my search was in vain in that case, maybe simply because the corresponding context would be overly special and improbable.⁵⁹

(40) PERF-PART

قربنا مخلصين امتحاناااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااااa

²*arrab-na* *m-ḥalliṣ-īn* *imtiḥān-āt*
 approach.PERF-1PL PART-finish.IMPF-PL exam-PL
 'We are about to finish exams.'

(41) PART-IMPF

خلاص الوقت مقرب يخلص ما فضلش غير يمين

ḥalaṣ il-waʔt *m-²arrab* *yi-ḥlaṣ*
 So DET-time PART.approach 3PL.M-finish.IMPF
 'So the time has almost run out.'

ma-fidīl-š *ḡēr* *yōm-ēn*
 NEG1-remain.PERF-NEG2 but day-DU
 'There are only two days left.'

(42) PERF^{NEG}-IMPF

يعنى الناس ابتدت امتحانات وخلصت ونتيجتها طلعت وانا لسه مقربتش اخلص امتحانات حتى

ya^cni n-nās ibtadit imtiḥānāt wi ḥallaṣit wi natīḡithā ṭilīʔit
 'So people started with exams and finished and their results were released'

w-anā lissa ma-²arrab-t-iš *²a-ḥallaṣ* *imtiḥān-āt ḥatta*
 and-I still NEG1-approach.PERF-1SG-NEG2 1SG-finish.IMPF exam-PL even
 'and I still have not even come close to finishing exams'

4.2.1.8. *rigi^c*

Another very salient phasal function is carried by *rigi^c*, the default verb meaning 'return', 'go back'. It is not surprising cross-linguistically that it grammaticalises into an auxiliary encoding the concept 'do something again', 'resume doing something'. This is also the meaning of the SVCs based with *rigi^c* in EA.

As for its precise semantics, it is necessary to differentiate between two constructions which have the same formal structure, but each of which demonstrates a different degree of grammaticalisation,

⁵⁹ The semantics which one would expect in such a case would be approximately 'to get closer to the moment when does not do x anymore'.

reflected in the abstractness of its meaning. One is the genuine phasal construction encoding repetition or resumption, as demonstrated in (44-47). In that construction the meaning of *rigi^c* is completely devoid of the physical act of returning and the verb functions as a fully grammaticalised auxiliary. However, instances (43) and (48) show that indeed, it can still be used in its original meaning while immediately followed by another verb. This construction is best accounted for as mere asyndetic coordination. It emphasizes the immediateness of the event encoded by the final verb, ensuing after the act of returning, or can also be interpreted intentionally, as in (48), provided that the final verb is imperfective.

Table 10. The variants of SVCs with *rigi^c* as their base

	target				
base		PERF	IMPF	IMPF ^{NEG}	PART
PERF		?	<u>(43)</u> , (44)	(46)	?
PERF ^{NEG}			(45)		
IMPF		-----	(50a)		
IMPF ^{NEG}			(47)		
PART		-----	<u>(48)</u>		

In Table 10, which shows the documentation of SVC variants with *rigi^c* in my data, the two examples involving the asyndetic coordination as mentioned above are underlined to be set apart from the standard phasal construction, on which I concentrate here. As can be seen from the Table 10, I was only able to document examples in which the target verb was in the bare imperfect. I do not exclude the option that a participle might occur with the same function as well, but the tendency for preferring the bare imperfect is obvious and suggests that *rigi^c* indeed behaves as an auxiliary in this construction, requiring a specific form of the complement.⁶⁰

Negation

For understanding the degree to which *rigi^c* has been grammaticalised as an auxiliary, it is elucidating to examine how it behaves with respect to negation. I was lucky to find the two examples (45) and (46) which illustrate its usage with the same target verbs and even in the same context. They only differ as to which of the two conjoined verbs bears the marking of negation. In (45) the negating circumfix is carried by *rigi^c*, and as expected, this yields the negation of the phasal characteristics of the construction, resulting in the meaning of 'not resuming eating'. This situation is shown also in (47), which has *rigi^c* in the imperfective. This contrasts with (46), where it is the target verb that is marked for negation. Its semantics is also perfectly iconic, with the phasal meaning preserved untouched and only the meaning of the target verb negated, i.e. 'resuming not eating'.

In conclusion, the fact that the target verbs can be negated separately implies that this construction fails to comply with the criterion of single negatability. Indeed, this corroborates the conception of *rigi^c* as a phasal auxiliary.

⁶⁰ However, the distributional behaviour of *rigi^c* with this phasal meaning appears to be an interesting issue to study in a wider context, since my heuristic search for the variant in which both *rigi^c* and the following verb would be perfective, yielded examples from other varieties of Arabic, most probably one of the Levantine dialects.

(43) bi-IMPF-IMPF

لما بيبقى عندي شغل في آخر الاسبوع وهي بترجع بحري بترجع ألاقى العشا خلصان

lamma bi-yib²a ʿandī šuǧl fī ʔāhir il-²usbū^c wi hiya bitirga^c badri
'when I have work on the weekend and she returns early

b-a-rga^c ʔa-lā²ī l-ǧāša ḥalšān
bi-1SG-return.IMPF 1SG-find.IMPF DET-dinner ready
I come back and find the dinner ready.'

(44) PERF-IMPF

رجعنا نتعلم ونضحك ونلعب مع بعض

rigi^c-na ni-t-^callim
return.PERF-1PL 1PL-REFL-teach.IMPF

wi niḏḥak wi nil^cab ma^ca ba^cḏ
and 1PL-laugh.IMPF and 1PL-play.IMPF with RECP

'We learned and laughed and played together again.'

(45) PERF^{NEG}-IMPF

وايدله داوء سخونه وراحت الحمد لله بس برضو مرجعش ياكل وينوعله ف الاكل وبرضو مش راضي

w-addīlu dawa suḥūna rāḥit alḥamdu li-l-lāh
'and I give him the pill, the temperature is gone thanks God

bas bardu ma-rigi^c-š yā-kul
but even_so NEG1-return.PERF-3SG.M-NEG2 3.M-eat.IMPF
but still he did not start eating again

wi banawwa^clu fi l-²akl wi bardu miš rāḏī
and I'm trying to vary his food but he does not want (to eat) anyway.'

(46) PERF-IMPF^{NEG}

وبديلو كل يوم سرنجة عسل او سرنجتين وفعلا حسيت انه بدء ياكل شوية بس بعد كدة رجع مياكلش تانى

wi-baddīlu kull yōm siringit ʿasal ʔaw siringitēn wi fi^clan ḥassēt ʔinnu bada² yākul
šwayya
'and I give him a syringe of honey or two and I really felt that he started to eat a little bit

bas ba^cd keda rigi^c ma-yākul-ši tāni
but after thus return.PERF-3SG.M NEG1-eat.IMPF-NEG2 again
but then he stopped eating again.'

(47) IMPF^{NEG}-IMPF

الي يعمل انقولو ميرجعش يعمل فولو عشان البلوك بتاعي هيسلم عليه

illi yi-²mil ²anfūlū
 who 3.M-make.IMPF “unfollow”
 'Who makes “unfollow”

ma-yi-rga^c-š yi-^cmil fūlū
 NEG1-3.M-return.IMPF-NEG2 3.M-make.IMPF “follow”
 may not make “follow” again

‘ašān il-bluk bitā ‘ī ha-yisallim ‘alē
 because my “block” will great him.'

(48) PART-IMPF

البرادعي من جعل العالم يتعاطف معه، وأكد راجع يعمل مصيبة

Al-barādī‘ī man ga‘ala l-‘ālam yataāṭaf ma‘ahu
 'al-Barādī‘ī is the one who made the world sympathise with him

wi ²akīd rāgī^c yi-^cmil muṣṭiba
 and certainly return.PART 3M-make catastrophe
 and for sure he is coming back to make a catastrophe⁶¹

4.2.1.9. ‘ād

The verb ‘ād 'return' is in its primary semantics practically synonymous to *rigi^c*, and also appears to be grammaticalised into an equivalent SVC. Woidich (2006:327) suggests that it can only appear in the perfect as a base verb and also points out that its negated form can also have the present meaning 'not be x anymore' with stative verbs⁶². Thus its distribution is certainly different from that of *rigi^c*, but I decided not to elaborate on it in this thesis, leaving a proper account for further research. However, I include at least the following example (49) which suggests that it might be less grammaticalised than *rigi^c* as it also allows for a target verb in the bi-imperfective, granting thus more TAM independence to it, while I only documented cases of bare imperfect target verbs for *rigi^c*.

(49) PERF^{NEG}- bi-IMPF

هو احنا بجد معدناش بنعرف نبقي ابطل الا من بعيد لبعيد ولا ايه؟

huwa ²iḥna ma-^cud-nā-š bi-ni-^craf ni-b²a
 he we NEG1-return.PERF-1PL-NEG2 bi-1PL-know.IMPF 1PL-become.IMPF

²abṭāl ²illā min bī‘īd li bī‘īd walla ²ē
 heroes except from afar to afar or what

'So we don't know anymore how to be heroes except when we are far away enough from the danger, or what?'

⁶¹ This example apparently shows code mixing, as the first clause is uttered in Standard Arabic, while the second one, which contains the SVC, is uttered in EA.

⁶² Such construction is present in Standard Arabic.

4.2.1.10. *kammil*

I decided to include the verb *kammil* 'continue' in my analysis because, unlike its approximate English equivalent *continue*, it seems not to be used primarily as an auxiliary followed by a complementing verb, but as an independent verb, while the activity which is continued is either implied by the context, or it can be expressed by a nominal complement, i.e. a direct object. For this reason, I consider its usage in a verbal sequence a SVC.

Both the independent and bound use is demonstrated in (50a-b). While (50b) shows the verb used separately, the event to which the continuation applies being obvious from the context of having troubles with a frozen computer, (50a) relates to the same situation stating overtly that the computer resumed *working*.

The rather lacunary Table 11 shows that for a SVC based with *kammil* I was able to document only the variant with a bare imperfective target verb. Although I do not provide an example of the base verb in the imperfective form, there is no reason not to believe that such a variant is perfectly possible. However, I have doubts that the other options, which are marked with question marks in Table 11, are attestable.

Table 11. The variants of SVCs with *kammil* as their base

	target			
		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF			(50a)	?
IMPF		-----	E	?
PART		-----	?	?

In conclusion, it seems that the bound use of *kammil* can be seen as a good candidate for a genuine SVC, not only in terms of my vague usage of the term for the purposes of this thesis, but also with respect to the cross-linguistic criteria. This will be examined properly in the Conclusion.

(50) IMPF-IMPF vs. INDEPENDENT USAGE

وبعديها بشويه يرجع يكمل يشتغل تاني

- a. wi ba^cdēn bi-šwayya
 and after.that by.a.while
- yi-rga^c yi-kammil yi-štaḡal tānī
 3SG.M-return.IMPF 3SG.M-continue.IMPF 3SG.M-work.IMPF again

'and after a while it starts to work again' (of a frozen computer)

وبعدين الموش يتحرك والجهاز يكمل عادي

- b. wi ba^cdēn il-maws yi-ṭharrak
 and after.that DET-mouse 3.M-move.IMPF
- wi l-gihāz yi-kammil tānī
 and DET-device 3SG.M-continue.IMPF again

'and after that the mouse moves and the device continues running again'

4.2.2. Motion verbs

This section will present an attempt at accounting for the serial-like behaviour of a group of motion verbs which I deemed interesting from that perspective.

It might be argued that many of the cases which I will examine are easily accounted for in terms of the observation that motion verbs in general can be followed by a bare imperfect (and often participle) of another verb and form thus a construction conveying simultaneity or consecutiveness of the two events as shown in example (50). I am unable to decide whether this construction is to be analysed as coordination or subordination, since the form of the bare imperfect (and the participle likewise) could be seen as a subordinating form. However, if it is conceived of as a coordinate structure, it might also be a candidate for the SVC status.

Another occurring structure that is prone to be a SVC candidate is the sequence of two perfective forms. I have only documented it with the verb *daḥal*, but I assume it can occur with the other verbs as well. However, this appears to be an example of mere asyndetic coordination and would not pass for a SVC in Haspelmath's (2016) conception, as it would barely fulfil the requirement of monoclausality, i.e. single negatability.

4.2.2.1. *ṭili^c*

One of the basic motion verbs in EA is *ṭili^c* encoding primarily an upward motion, and secondarily also the meaning of 'go out', 'leave'.⁶³ The latter usage is at the basis of a SVC construction, where a following target verb conveys the manner of the motion.

Table 12. The variants of SVCs with *ṭili^c* as their base

	target			
base		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF			(51), (52)	(54)
IMPF		-----	(53)	E
PART		-----	?	?

As for the distribution of forms in such SVC as shown in Table 12, it seems that the bare imperfective is indeed preferred for the target verb slot, while a participle is also possible. My data do not document instances of the base verb in other than the perfective form, but I believe that, as is the case with most of the verbs covered in this thesis, *ṭili^c* can be used in any form as a base, depending on the external syntactic context.

One could argue that this construction is nothing but an instance of two asyndetically coordinated predicates, as the bare imperfect and participle can be used after many verbs to indicate simultaneity (or consecutiveness) and often also intention or purpose, as was mentioned in the introduction to this subsection. Such a case is illustrated in (53)⁶⁴. However, such account is not plausible for cases in which the following verb conveys merely the manner of motion, as in the rest of the following

⁶³ In this thesis, I decided not to consider another rather abstract meaning of *ṭili^c*, which is derived from the original motion meaning and can be translated as 'turn out to be x'.

⁶⁴ It should be noted here that for that case one might hesitate whether to call it coordination or subordination, as one can of course conceive of the imperfect or participial predicate as an embedded complement.

examples. Therefore, I propose that such usage constitutes a specific construction which has the form of a SVC and carries the specific motional semantics.⁶⁵

An interesting question that offers itself is what influences the choice of either the imperfect or participle for the target verb encoding the manner of motion, as illustrated in (48) and (51) respectively. Furthermore, these two variants of the construction compete with a third option in which the manner of motion is encoded adverbially, as illustrated in (52).⁶⁶ I cannot provide an answer to this, as it would require detailed empirical research, but when I consulted a native speaker, he confirmed that the imperfective motion verb is used here synonymously with the adverbial. As for the participial solution, he admitted not being familiar with it, which suggests that it is highly uncommon.

(51) PERF-IMPF

منتحل شخصية قاضي طلع يجري اول ما جات الشرطة

<i>muntaḥil</i>	<i>šaḥṣīyat</i>	<i>qāḏī</i>	<i>ṭilī^c</i>	<i>yi-gri</i>
impostor	personality.of	judge	leave.PERF	3SG.M-run.IMPF
² <i>awwilma</i>	<i>ga-t</i>	<i>iš-šurṭa.</i>		
as soon as	come.PERF-F	DET-police.		

'The man impersonating a judge ran away as soon as the police came.'

(52) PERF-IMPF

جبت سيرة القط طلع ينط

<i>gib-t</i>	<i>sirt</i>	<i>il-²uṭṭ</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>ṭilī^c</i>	<i>yi-nuṭṭ</i>
bring.PERF-1SG	story.of		DET-cat	and	go_out.PERF 3SG.M-jump.IMPF
'I mentioned the cat and it jumped out.' ('Speak of the devil and he doth appear.')					

(53) IMPF-IMPF

لما تشوف الناس مكسورة ومنهم رضيع والده جايه بالاسعاف وامرأة كبيرة بالسن والامن يطلع ينده لك وانت مش عاوز تنزل تتابع الحالات

lamma tišūf in-nās maksūra wi minhum raḏī^c wālidu gāyibu bil ²is^cāf wi mra²a kabīra bi-s-sinn

'when you see the people sick, among them a baby whom his father has brought by ambulance and an elderly lady

<i>w-il-²amn</i>	<i>yi-ṭla^c</i>	<i>yi-ndah-lak</i>
and-DET-security	3SG.M-go_up.IMPF	3SG.M-call.IMPF-2SG.M.IO
'and the security	go up to call you	

⁶⁵ Of course, diachronically this construction certainly has its origin in the more general construction encoding simultaneity or consecutiveness, but in a synchronic account, I prefer conceiving of it as of a specific construction, as it is limited to mark the manner of motion only. A possible formal test for distinguishing it from the general coordinative construction might be the possibility of replacing the bare imperfect of the motion verb with a corresponding adverbial, as discussed later in this section and shown in (52).

⁶⁶ The word *gari* is originally a verbal noun meaning 'run', but in EA it acquires also the adverbial usage shown in this example. By coincidence, this adverbial usage is demonstrated twice in example (51), following after the verbs *mišī* 'go' and ²*ām* 'get up', which also suggest that it need not refer to running in an overly literal manner, but rather implies fast motion in general..

w-anta miš ʿāwiz ti-nzil ti-tābi² il-ḥāl-āt
 and-you NEG want.PART 2SG.M-go_down.IMPF 2SG.M-attend.IMPF DET-case-PL
 and you are not willing to go down and attend the emergencies.'

(54) PERF - PART

فلسة ماما بتسألها لاقت البنت طلعت جارية وفتحت باب الشقة ومشيت جرى وماما طبعاً قامت جرى
 تشوفنى

fa lissa māmā bi-ti-sʿal-ha
 and while mum was just asking her

la²-it il-bint ṭil^c-it gary-a
 find.PERF-3SG.F DET-girl leave.PERF-3SG.F run.PART-F
 she only saw that the girl ran away

wi fatahit bāb iš-ša²²a
 and open.PERF-3SG.F door DET-apartment
 and opened the door of the apartment

wi mišy-it gari
 and walk.PERF-3SG.F run.NMLZ
 and ran away

wi māmā ṭab^can ʿām-it gari ti-šuf-ni
 and mum of_course rise.PERF-3SG.F run.NMLZ 3SG.F-see.IMPF-1SG-OBJ
 and of course mum rushed to see me'

(55) PERF- NOM/ADV

وطلعنا جري علي الرصيف عشان نشوف العربية بتاعتها موجودة ولا لا

wi ṭil^c-na gari ʿala r-raṣīf
 and leave.PERF-1PL run.NMLZ on DET-sidewalk
 'and we rushed out to the sidewalk

ʿašān nišuf il-ʿ arbīya bita^citha mawgūda walla la²
 to see whether the car of hers is there or not.'

4.2.2.2. nizil

One of the most polysemous verbs in Arabic is *nizil*, primary encoding any kind of downward motion, thus being the semantic opposite of *ṭil^c*. Among its many derived functions the probably most frequent meaning is 'go out (from one's place)⁶⁷, and 'get off (from a means of transportation)'. Its behaviour appears to be analogical to that of *ṭil^c*. I will only mention it briefly here as it would deserve a separate study and also because I think that my present insight would not enable me to discover anything beyond the similarities with *ṭil^c* in all respects mentioned in the previous subsection. I will instead only comment on two examples to illustrate the semantic flexibility of this verb.

Example (53) from the previous section shows elegantly the analogical behaviour of *nizil* and *ṭil^c*. They are both used there in the construction which I evaluated above as mere asyndetic coordination (or possibly subordination) with simultaneous or consecutive meaning.

⁶⁷ This meaning coincidentally occurs in (24).

An instance of more specific semantics which *nizil* can acquire is shown in (56) where it refers to returning to work after maternity leave.

(56) PERF-IMPF

أنا نزلت أشغل وهسيب مارية المهلبية بعد 7 شهور من اللزقان في بعض

²*anā* *nizil-t* ²*a-štaḡal*
 I descend.PERF 1SG-work.IMPF
 'I returned to work'

wi hasīb māriyā l-mihallabīya ba^cd 7 šuhūr min al-laza²ān fī ba^cd
 and thus I will leave the lovely Maria after 7 months of sticking together.'

4.2.2.3. *daḡal*

The verb *daḡal* 'enter' unsurprisingly allows for the standard *motion verb + imperfect (participle)* construction as outlined in the introduction to this subsection and also for the *asyndetically coordinated motion verb + perfect*. Therefore, I will only concentrate on one specific usage which I observed to be conspicuously frequent as I was searching for data. In that usage the verb refers to entering a website or one's account on a social networks.⁶⁸ What makes this usage interesting for the purposes of this thesis is the fact that the nominal complement of the verb, which is semantically the given social network, is systematically elided and thus the verb appears immediately before another verb, which encodes the activity which one is about to carry out on the virtual communication platform. This is illustrated in (57-59), which include instances of *daḡal* followed by verbs meaning 'add a comment' or 'write to someone' or simply 'write'.

As for its distribution, shown in Table 13, it does not imply anything beyond what has been said in the overall introduction to the section on motion verbs.

Negation

In (59) the base verb carries negation marking negated and semantically the whole phrase is negated. If we assume that the target verb can not receive the negative marking, which seems rather plausible, this can serve as a proof of single negatability.

Table 13. The variants of SVCs with *daḡal* as their base

	target			
base		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF		(58)	(57)	?
IMPF		-----	E	?
IMPF ^{NEG}		-----	(59)	?
PART		-----	?	?

(57) PERF-IMPF

⁶⁸ Indeed, the high frequency of such usage might go back to the fact that I was searching for the data on the internet.

(60) IMPF-IMPF

بس محدش يخش يشتمني ويقول لي لسانك وسخ !

bas maḥadiš yi-ḥušš yi-štim-ni
but no_one 3M-enter.IMPF 3M-swear.IMPF-1SG.OBJ
'but may no one start calling me names

wi yiʔulli lisān-ak wiḥiš
and 3M-say.IMPF-1SG.IO tongue-2SG.M.POSS evil
and tell me: your tongue is evil.'

(in the context of communication on a social network)

4.2.3. Other base verbs

The base verbs presented in this section are indeed in no terms a separate semantic class, but merely items which I was not able to fit into one of the groups addressed earlier in this thesis. Usually, their semantics is more complex than that of the phasal/aspectual verbs and motion verbs and maybe that is also why they caught my attention when I heard them in a multi-verb sequence. This section does not attempt to provide a comprehensive account of their behaviour, but rather present a few examples and suggest some ideas about whether they are interesting at all from the SVC perspective.

Indeed, the selection of verbs for this subsection was the most arbitrary one since there was no semantic concern guiding it and the only common feature is the ability to occasionally immediately precede another verb. Therefore, it is also likely that this group could be enlarged with quite many other items which simply did not unveil their possible relevance for studying SVC to my intuition.

4.2.3.1. *saḥa*

The verb *saḥa* 'wake up' can be followed immediately by another verb to yield a sequence which quite unsurprisingly implies the immediate occurrence of the given event after one wakes up.

As for its semantics in such constructions, it cannot be said to appear in a function that would be very different from its literal meaning indeed always concerns actual waking up. However, the data which I gathered suggest that the is often used to refer to a sudden (i.e overnight) change and often to its surprising character, as in (61-64), which is of course semantically a rather expectable usage. Another aspect of the meaning that occurs in these constructions is the implied immediateness of the action ensuing after waking up, as can be seen in (65-66).

The formal characteristics of such sequences, as presented in Table y., suggest that the target verb appears in the same form as the base verb, although (68) shows that a participle can follow also a perfective base.⁶⁹ It should be noted that the perfective form in (65-66) is formally required by the conditional particle *law*.

Negation

The examples which I gathered show some interesting behaviour with respect to negation. Apparently, both of the verbs can be negated separately. In (62) it is the base verb that is formally negated, and the result is semantic negation of the whole SVC, i. e. [not[wake up and find]]. In (63-65) and (68) negation is marked on the target verb and it is also solely the event encoded by it that is negated semantically, i. e. [wake up and not[find]].

⁶⁹ This is unsurprising in (68) as it seems to be a typical converb-like usage of the participle.

A slightly intricate example is that in (66), in which negation is marked on the base verb, but semantically only 'finding the breakfast ready' is negated, while there is no doubt that actual waking up indeed occurs. However, in that example a crucial role is probably played by the time adverbial *kull yōm* 'every day', because the actual scope of the negation must cover it as well if the desired meaning is to be conveyed. This is only possible when the whole verb phrase is negated and therefore negation is marked on the base. The result can be rendered schematically as follows:

[not[wake up and find the breakfast ready every day]]

If only the target verb were negated, this would also necessarily exclude the time adverbial from the negation scope and would yield the following:

[[[wake up and not[find the breakfast ready]] every day]]

This, of course, does not suit the expression of the desired meaning since the condition which is presented by the utterance would be infringed by a single morning without breakfast ready.

This contrasts with (65) which has a very similar structure, but a different temporal specification of the condition, namely *fī yōm* 'on one day', which does not need to be covered by the negation scope and thus its structure can correspond to the structure above which did not fit (66):

[[[wake up and not[find Nescafé]] one day]]

In conclusion, the negation possibilities shown above imply that such structure does not fulfil the criterion of monoclausality.

Table 14. The variants of SVCs with *saḥa* as their base

	target						
base		PERF	PERF ^{NEG}	IMPF	IMPF ^{NEG}	PART	PART ^{NEG}
PERF		E	(65)	?	?	E	(68)
PERF ^{NEG}		(66)	?	?	?	?	?
IMPF		-----	-----	(61)	(63), (64)	E	?
IMPF ^{NEG}		-----	-----	(62)	?	E	?
PART		-----	?	?	?	?	?

(61) IMPF-IMPF

الواحد بينام طبقة وسطى يصحى يلاقي نفسه محدود الدخل عادي

il-wāḥid *bi-yi-nām* *ṭabaqa* *wuṣṭā*
 DET-one bi-3SG.M-sleep.IMPF class middle

yi-ṣḥa *yi-lāʿī* *naḥsu* *maḥdūd* *id-daḥl* *ʿādī*
 3SG.M-wake.up.IMPF 3SG.M-find.IMPF himself limited DET-income normally

'One goes to bed as a member of the middle class and wakes up finding himself a low-income person.'

(62) IMPF^{NEG}-IMPF

الواحد ميصحاش يلاقي ف حسابة قد مليون جنية كدة

il-wāḥid ma-yiṣḥāš yi-lāʔī
DET-one NEG1-3SG.M-wake.up.IMPF-NEG2 3SG.M-find.IMPF

fī ḥisāb-u ʔaddi milyūn gini kida
in account-3SG.POSS as_much million pound thus

'One does not wake up to find a million pounds like this.'

(63) IMPF-IMPF^{NEG}

الواحد ممكن يصحى ميلاقيش الشراب ميلاقيش الجزمة لكن يصحى ميلاقيش 32 مليار لا جديدة دي

il-wāḥid mumkin yi-ṣḥa
DET-one possible 3SG.M-wake_up.IMPF

ma-yi-lāʔīš iṣ-ṣurāb mayi-lāʔīš il-gazma
NEG1-3SG.M-find.IMPF-NEG2 DET-socks NEG1-3SG.M-find.IMPF-NEG2 DET-shoe

lākin yiṣḥa mayi-lāʔīš 32 miliyār
but 3SG.M-wake_up.IMPF NEG1-3SG.M-find.IMPF-NEG2 32 billion

lā gidīd-a di
no new-F DEM

'One can wake up and not find one's socks or shoes but to wake up not finding 32 billion... no, that's a new one.'

(64) IMPF-IMPF^{NEG}

البلد دي اللي ينام فيها نص ساعة يصحى ميعرفش فيها أي حاجة

il-balad di illi yi-nām fī-hā nuṣṣi sāʕa
DET-country DEM.F who 3SG.M-sleep.IMPF in-3SG.F half hour

yiṣḥa ma-yiʔraf-š fīhā ʔayyi ḥāga
3SG.M-wake.up.IMPF NEG1-3SG.M-know.IMPF-NEG2 in-3SG.F any thing

'In this country, if one sleeps for half an hour he wakes up and does not recognize anything in it.'

(65) PERF-PERF^{NEG}

لو متعود تشرب نسكافيه كل يوم الصبح، و في يوم صحيت مالتقوش، يومك هيبوط

law miʿawwid ti-šrab niskafih kull yōm iṣ-ṣubḥ
if used_to 2SG.M-drink.IMPF Nescafé every day DET-mornin

wi ft̄ yōm ṣaḥēt ma-laʿēt-ū-š
and in day wake_up.PERF.2SG NEG1-find.PERF.2SG-3SG.OBJ-NEG2

yōm-ak ha-yi-būz
day-2SG.POSS FUT-3SG.M-break.down-IMPF

'If you are used to drinking Nescafé every day in the morning and on one day you wake up not finding it, your day will be ruined.'

(66) PERF^{NEG}-PERF

ولو كل يوم مصحيتش لقيت الفطار متشوفى حاجة متعجيكيش

wi law kull yōm ma-ṣaḥēt-ši laʿēt il-fitār
and if every day NEG1-wake_up.PERF.1SG-NEG2 find.PERF.1SG DET-breakfast

ha-ti-šūf-ī ḥāga ma-ti-ʿgab-kī-š
FUT-2SG-see.IMPF-F thing NEG1-3SG.F-appeal.IMPF-2SG.F.OBJ-NEG2

'And if I don't wake up every morning and find the breakfast ready you will see something that you won't like.'

4.2.3.2. sahar

The verb 'sahar' means 'be awake at night', 'stay up late'. If another verb follows, it specifies the activity for the sake of which one was awake.

As for distribution of forms in such construction, Table 15 shows that my data document all the possible variants for the base verb, shown in (68-70) but no occurrence of a participial target verb. As for (67), which shows two perfectives, it is probably best accounted for as mere asyndetic coordination.

Unfortunately, I have not come across negated examples.

Table 15. The variants of SVCs with *sahar* as their base

	target			
base		PERF	IMPF	PART
PERF		(69)	(68)	?
IMPF		-----	(67)	?
PART		-----	(70)	?

(67) IMPF-IMPF

يعنى نسهر نذاكر توول الليل وييجى التوكتور يجيب من اللى احنا مذاكر نهووش !! كدا حور الام

ya^ˈnī ni-shar ni-zākir tūl-il-lēl
thus 1PL-be_away.IMP 1PL-study.IMP all night

wi-yī-gī d-ductūr yi-gīb
and-3.M-come.IMP DET-teacher 3.M-bring.IMP

min illi iḥ na ma-zākar-na-hū-š.
from which we NEG1-study.IMP-1PL-3SG.OBJ-NEG2

'So we are to stay awake all night studying and then the teacher gives us (tasks) from what we didn't study.'

(68) PERF-IMPF

إمبارح سهرت أذاكر محاضرة ال mandibular nerve في ال anatomy أقسم بالله صحيت الصبح مش
فاكر ولا حرف من اللي ذاكرته بمعني الكلمه

²umbāriḥ sihir-t ²a-zākir
yesterday be.awake.PERF-1SG 1SG-study.IMP
'Yesterday I staed up late studying

muḥādarit il- "mandibular nerve" fi l- "anatomy"
lecture.of DET-"mandibular nerve" in DET-"anatomy"
the lecture on the mandibular nerve in anatomy,

²u-qsim bi-l-lāh
1SG-swear.IMP by-DET-God
I swear by God

ṣaḥē-t iṣ-ṣubḥ miš fākir
wake_up.PERF-1SG DET-morning NEG remember.part
I woke up in the morning not remembering

walā ḥarf min illi zākir-t-u bi-ma^ˈna l-kilma
NEG letter from what study.PERF-1SG-3SG.OBJ by-meaning DET-word
a word from what I studied, literally.'

(69) PERF-PERF

انا دلوقتى فرحانة عشان بجد سهرت ذاكرت ومش نمت كتير وحسيت ان ابتديت اعمل اللي عليا

²ana dilwa²ti farḥān-a ˊašān bigad sihirt zākir-t
I now happy-F because really be.awake.PERF-1SG study.PERF-1SG
'I'm happy now because I really kept awake studying

wi miš nim-t kiṭr
and NEG sleep.PERF-1SG much
and didn't sleep much

wi ḥassēt ²inn ibtadēt ²a^cmil illi ^calayya
and felt that I started to do what I'm supposed to.'

(70) PART-IMPF

يعني نام ساعتين بس لأنه كان ساهر يذاكر

ya^cni nām sā^cat-ēn bas li²inn-u
so sleep.PERF hour-DU only because-3SG.M

kān sāhir yi-zākir
be.PERF be_awake.PART 3M-study.IMPF

'So he only slept for two hours because he had been awake studying.'

4.2.3.3. *kassil*

The verb *kassil* 'be lazy', derived from the adjective *kaslān* 'lazy'. If followed by another verb, it unsurprisingly means 'be lazy to do x'.

I will only provide here the following example (71), which shows *kassil* in the participle, followed by an imperfective target verb. While an exact account of the behaviour of *kassil* remains for further research as my own data do not offer enough evidence, I assume that the target verb can only take the bare imperfect form.

Although *kassil* can indeed occur independently, I believe that among the verbs in this section, it is the most likely one to be considered as a verb having the following verb as an argument in its valency. This would indeed be in conflict with Haspelmath's concept of SVC, since he lists the absence of a predicate-argument relation as one of his defining requirements.

(71) PART-IMPF

كل ما تكون مكسل تروح المسجد تصلي، افنكر إن فيه ناس راحت اسكندريه من القاهرة والأقاليم قبل الماتش
ب 24 ساعة علشان يشجعوا فريقهم.

Kullima ti-kūn mu-kassil ti-rūḥ il-masgid ti-ṣalli
each.time 2SG-be.IMPF PART-be.lazy.IMPF 2SG-go.IMPF DET-mosque 2SG-pray.IMPF
'Each time you are lazy to go to the mosque to pray

iftikir ²inn fī nās rāḥit iskandarīya min al-qāhira wi l-²aqālīm ²abli l-matš bi-24 sā^ca
3alašān yišagga^cu farī²hum
consider that there are people who went to Alexandria from Cairo and the provinces
24 hours before the match to support their team.'

4.2.3.4. *ba^cat*

Another example of a base verb with more sophisticated semantics is *ba^cat* 'send'. It functions in at least two distinct types of multi-verb constructions. One is that mentioned for example in Drozdík (2006:13), which can be translated in causative terms as 'send for something to be x-ed' or even 'have something x-ed'. I will not pay attention to this construction here, trying instead to point to a less conspicuous case, in which the verb *ba^cat* refers to sending a message, followed by a verb encoding

the fact that something is being told in the message. Therefore, the following verb must be from a class of verbs which can be labelled in a broad sense as *verba dicendi*. This usage is shown in (72-73).

In (72) the overall SVC combines two aspects of the action, each described by one of the verb, namely that people send messages to the author of the blog and that that they write about the blog in their messages. In an English translation these two aspects would probably merge into something like 'write to someone about something'. In (73) a more specific target verb is used, namely *šatam* 'call somebody names'.

While in (74) *ba^cat* is followed contains by the most prototypical verbum dicendi ²*āl* 'say', it is interesting for showing that the construction can be negated. Marking the negation on the base *ba^cat* is naturally results in negating entire phrase. At the same time, I believe that examples of a negated target verb will be very difficult to find or unacceptable. This would suggest that this construction most probably complies with the criterion of single negatability.

(72) bi-IMPF - IMPF

فيه ناس كثير لحد دلوقتى بتبعلي تكلمني عن المدونة هنا

fī nās kitūr lihaddi dilwa²ti
there.is people many until now

bi-ti-b^cat ti-kallim-nī ^can il-mudawwana hinā
bi-3SG.F-send.IMPF 3SG.F-talk.IMPF-1SG.OBJ about DET-blog here

'Until today there are people writing to me about this blog here.'

(73) IMPF-IMPF

محدث بيعت يشتمني ويزيط وهو خول في الاساس ومختفي ورا ستاره الانون ، عشان خايف
يعرفني هو مين !

Maḥadiš yi-b^cat-li yi-štim-ni wi yi-zayyat
no one 3M.send.IMPF-1SG.IO 3M.swear-1SG.OBJ and 3M-complain.IMPF

'No one may write to me calling me names and complaining

wi huwa ḥawil fī l-²asās wi muḥtafi wara sitār il-²anūn ^cašān ḥāyif yi^carrrafni huwa mīn

while he is himself a crook and is hidden behind the veil of the anonymous, as he is scared to disguise himself to me.'

(74) IMPF - IMPF^{NEG}

فلو سمحتو الى بيعت رساله ميبعتش يقول منزلتوهاش ليه

fa law samaḥ-tu illi yi-b^cat risāla
so if allow.PERF-2PL who 3M-send.IMPF letter
Please, if someone sends a letter

ma-yi-b^cat-ši yi-²ūl
NEG1-3M-send-NEG2 3M-say.IMPF
may he not write (saying:)

ma-nazzil-tū-hā-š lē
NEG1-publish.IMPF-2PL-3F.SG-NEG2 why
Why didn't you publish it?'

5. Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I will first try to consider the observations from the data analysis in Chapter 4 in a wider typological perspective, as outlined in 3.1 and represented by Haspelmath's (2016) definition of the comparative concept of SVC, while also summarising some of the key issues and problems related to the interpretation of the EA data. Afterwards, I will point to some problems which were raised in the previous chapters and remain to be addressed in further research.

5.1. How do the EA-specific SVCs relate to the typological notion?

In accordance with my expectations, the EA-specific working notion as proposed in (3) in 3.2.2.1 yielded a quite rich class of verbs which can appear as base verbs in such SVCs. Unsurprisingly, it comprises many verbs of motion or posture, which are known to have acquired a more abstract function when combined with another verb. As such, these verbs have been usually treated as a kind of auxiliaries in literature. At the same time, since my working SVC notion was defined very loosely and did not rely on any semantic criteria, this class also encompasses a number of other verbs with more complex semantics, four of which I have included in my analysis, while others might still be waiting to be spotted and accounted for.

As I stated in the introduction to this thesis, I decided to use Haspelmath's (2016) comparative concept of SVC as a reference point in my considerations aimed at relating the constructions observed in EA to the typological notion of SVC. Therefore, the question to be asked here is whether some of the constructions proposed preliminarily as EA-specific SVCs in 3.2 and examined in the data analysis in Chapter 4 fall within Haspelmath's rather restrictive comparative concept. In the following Table 17, each of the base verbs is evaluated as to whether the SVCs which it constitutes comply with the five definitory criteria of the concept as listed in (2) in 3.1. A question mark is used to mark cases in which I am unable to decide about the particular feature. In cases for which there is little evidence or are otherwise controversial, the minus or plus sign which is expected to represent the more plausible account is bracketed.

Table 17. The EA-specific SVCs set against Haspelmath's (2016) comparative concept

		Construction	Monoclausality	Independent verbs	No linking element	No predicate-argument relation
PHASAL AND ASPECTUAL BASE VERBS						
<i>narrative sequence verbs</i>						
[?] <i>ām</i>	'rise', 'get up'	+	?	+	+	+
<i>gih</i>	'come'	+	?	+	+	+
<i>rāḥ</i>	'go'	+	?	+	+	+
<i>base verbs marking progressivity/intensity</i>						
[?] <i>a^cad</i>	'sit'	+	-	+	+	+
<i>fiḍil</i>	'remain'	+	-	+	+	+
<i>wi[?]if</i>	'stand, stop'	+	-	+	+	+
<i>other phasal/aspectual base verbs</i>						
[?] <i>arrab</i>	'approach', 'get closer'	+	?	+	+	?
<i>rigi^c</i>	'return'	+	-	+	+	+

<i>cād</i>	'return'	+	?	+	+	?
<i>kammil</i>	'continue'	+	?	+	+	?
MOTION BASE VERBS						
<i>ṭilī^c</i>	ascend, leave	+	?	+	+	+
<i>nizil</i>	descend, go out	+	?	+	+	+
<i>daḥal</i>	enter	+	+	+	+	+
<i>ḥašš</i>	enter	+	(+)	+	+	+
OTHER BASE VERBS						
<i>ṣaḥa</i>	'wake up'	+	-	+	+	+
<i>sahar</i>	be awake at night	+	?	+	+	+
<i>kassil</i>	be lazy	+	(-)	+	+	-
<i>ba^cat</i>	send	+	+	+	+	+

The inability to decide appears often in the case of monoclausality and is mostly due to the absence of negated examples in my data. This suggests that single negatability might not be the most useful criterion for monoclausality, as some structures simply tend to avoid negative contexts. Indeed, multi-verb constructions containing one of the narrative sequence verbs, are prone to be treated as monoclausal, but the apparent scarce or zero occurrence of their negative use makes them inert to that criterion in Haspelmath's concept.

Another problematic issue of theoretical and analytical nature is that of asyndeticity, i. e. the absence of a linking element between the verbs. As can be seen in Table y., I decided to treat all of the construction as asyndetic, which means that I do not consider of the bare imperfect and the participle as a priori conjunct forms. This is because they are known to function in predicative use on their own and also due to the fact that in some of the observed constructions, the target verb is indeed partly temporally, or rather aspectually discrete in the sense that its form carries TAM reference and thus is not determined by the base verb. In the case of the bare imperfect form, one can also argue that it should not be considered a linking element as it is in fact a zero marked form.

Eventually, we can see a rather surprising result – the only constructions that seem to fall within this particular comparative concept are the constructions *daḥal* 'enter'+ *verbum dicendi* and *ba^cat* 'send' + *verbum dicendi*. The same construction based with *ḥašš* instead of *daḥal* can be expected to behave almost identically but I was not able to document a negative use of it. These constructions appear to be used in a quite specific context, namely that of referring to the event frame of non-face-to-face communication. In the case of the *daḥal* construction, this seems to be specifically the realm of internet social networks. Structurally, these constructions are remarkable for being less asymmetrical than others because they only allow for a certain type of target verbs, namely *verba dicendi* in a rather broad sense. This can also be said about the two remaining motion verbs from the list, *ṭilī^c* and *nizil* when they are combined with another verb which specifies the manner of motion. I believe that such a structure can be seen as a specific construction, as it can be differentiated from the structure in which any target verb is allowed to follow after these motion verbs by the fact that the manner-of-motion specifying target verb can be exchanged for a corresponding adverbial (of a nominal origin) with no difference in meaning (as in *ṭilī^c yigri* "left runs" vs. *ṭilī^c gari* 'left quickly'). I believe that this construction is also prone to pass for an SVC in Haspelmath's terms, since I expect it to only allow for negation marking on the first verb.

It might be worth noting here that the constructions with the initial motion verbs, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, (including the even more specific one with *daḥal* can be seen as parasiting on (e. i. being specific instantiations of) the more general construction, against which I differentiated the one with *ṭilī^c*, i.e. a construction, in which a motion verb is followed by the bare imperfect of an arbitrary verb. This construction, however, would not necessarily have to be given the same credit in terms of verb serialization, as the target verb would not necessarily be as tightly connected to the base verb (for

example, in a general setting it is easier to conceive of the possibility to negate the target verb only, which is rather improbable in the manner-of-motion construction or also in the construction with *daḥal*). This would then be a nice example of the shift from a loosely conjoined paratactic construction to a more intimately conjoined one, which might be more eligible for an SVC-like status.

As for constructions with the other verbs which I studied, namely those marking phasal or aspectual distinctions, they mostly failed to meet the monoclausality requirement, either for being proven to allow for the two verbs to be negated separately, or simply for the lack of negated examples. One might then prefer to account for them as aspectual or phasal auxiliaries of some sort. In such case, one would probably synchronically consider each of the verbs when used in a multi-verb construction as a separate lexeme, unrelated beyond its form to the independently used verb. Yet such account would be arbitrary to a great extent, for I believe that, as is the case with many grammaticalisation phenomena, the different occurrences rather occupy a scale between plausibly lexical usage of the verbs to completely grammaticalised phasal auxiliaries, or merely information structure markers.

5.2. Motivation for further research

As I noted in the introduction, the present thesis can only be considered a preliminary attempt at an account of certain types of multi-verb constructions present in EA. The approach taken here can indeed most fittingly be called *heuristic*, both in terms of the initial selection of verbs to be studied and in terms of the actual search for authentic data illustrating different available variants of the relevant structures.

Furthermore, there were several technical limitations that can cast doubt on the representativity of the data collected, namely the practical absence of spoken data and unavailability of a tagged corpus. Due to them I had to rely on a haphazard online search based purely on my intuition, thus as heuristic as can be. Therefore, it would be highly desirable to base further investigations on a more solid source of material.

Firstly, it would be advisable to draw extensively upon spoken data. Although I adopted the assumption that written data faithfully mirror what is happening in actual speech in terms of verb serialization, the distribution of the structures might be different. Furthermore, it would allow for the study of prosodic phenomena which had to be utterly neglected in this thesis.

Secondly, it would be highly appreciable to work with a representative corpus which would allow for a more sophisticated search and ultimately a quantitative approach, as this thesis offered only a qualitative one. Crucially, this would enable the researchers to also arrive at negative results, i.e. the unacceptability of certain hypothetical structures. In my work on this thesis, the inability to find a certain piece of data could barely be interpreted as a proof for the non-existence of the structure at hand.

Another shortcoming of the present thesis which should be amended in further research on the topic, is its lack of exhaustivity in addressing the different aspects both of the grammar and of the data which can be relevant for the behaviour of multi-verb structures. This involves, for example, the omission of some of the verb forms from the analysis, or the fact that the wider context of the individual occurrences was not taken into consideration beyond noting that the use of some of the constructions, namely the narrative sequence verbs, is typical of narrative style.

Finally, further research should be more thorough in semasiological terms, aiming at a more precise understanding of the actual function of the occurring structures. This could be done primarily by means of more systematic consultant work. When interpreting data during my work on thesis, I often had to humbly acknowledge the fact that the lack of native intuition is fatal for an attempt at describing precisely the subtle semantics of the phenomena under study. Fortunately, my kind Egyptian consultants managed to save me from falling into some of the most embarrassing misinterpretational traps.

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