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EVERYTHING YOU ALWAYS WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT ʾĀL, YIʾŪL 'TO SAY' IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC*

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1. *Introduction*

The idea of contributing to the Festschrift for our esteemed friend and colleague Kees Versteegh with an article on the verb *ʾāl, yiʾūl* (*gāl, yigūl*) 'to say' in Egyptian Arabic dialects and its various idiomatic uses, came to me when I was reading a draft of his lemma 'Serial Verbs', which he had written for the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics.*[1] In this lemma, he reconsiders my view of items like (01) as an originally paratactic but now grammaticalized construction in order to introduce a pseudo-complement,[2] and prefers to regard it as serialization, that is, as a serial verb construction, albeit not without hesitation.

(01) *huwwa raddí   ʿalēk   ʾallak ʾē?*
        huwwa radd   ʿalē-k   ʾāl-l-ak   ʾē
        he   answered to-you said-to-you what
        "What did he answer you?" LAB 118,–8

Unfortunately, I do not share this view and I shall reaffirm my position in section 4 below. Since this pseudo-complementation is not the only case for *ʾāl, yiʾūl* to appear in contexts and functions that involve grammaticalization, it seemed appropriate to give an overview of several other cases where *ʾāl, yiʾūl* clearly has lost its original lexical meaning by a process known as 'bleaching' and acquired new meanings and developed into a function word. After making some brief remarks on the syntactic behaviour of *ʾāl, yiʾūl* as a lexical verb in section 2, several steps and ramifications in the history of *ʾāl, yiʾūl* will be described in

section 3 based on data collected over the last 40 years mostly from written sources but also from some recordings of rural dialects. The starting point of these developments apparently is the use of ʾāl, yiʾūl by the speaker to introduce reported speech[3] on discourse level[4] within a pragmatic strategy, namely introducing a direct or an indirect quote, be it the speaker's own words or the speech of somebody else, in order to show rejection and non-acceptance of an utterance, to give reasons for acting in a certain way, to explain intent, to make a comparison between two things or for other reasons. The final section—section 5—deals with a lexical aspect and gives some examples of the use of ʾāl, yiʾūl with vocatives and in delocutive derivations.

2. *On propositional level: direct vs. indirect speech*

Here I will briefly describe a syntactical point, that is, the introduction of direct and indirect speech. Direct or quoted speech follows *ʾāl, yiʾūl* as an asyndetic sentence without a complementizer:

(02) *ana muš ʾaylālik hāti ṭaʾṭūʾa*
       "Did I not say to you, 'bring an ashtray?' " RUH 112,-1;
(03) *ʾalitlaha taʿāli uʾʿudi maʿāya*
       "She said to her, 'sit down with me!' " FWQ 107,-7
(04) *nās kitīr baʾu yʾūlu f-nafsuhum w ana māli*
       'Many asked themselves, "what business is this of mine?" ' BAHN 122,9

A sentence reporting indirectly what was said, however, may either be introduced by the complementizer inn (05, 06) or be connected asyndetically (07, 08):

(05) *iddakatra ʾālu inn aʿṣābak taʿbāna šwayya*
       "The doctors said that your nerves are a little bit off" HAM 95,7f
(06) *ʾāl innu ḥaynām ʿandina llēla diyyat wi bass*
       "He said that he would sleep with us only that night" LAB 16,8
(07) *bāba kkallim wi ʾāl ḥaybāt baṛṛa*
       "Daddy called and said that he would spend the night out of the house"
       LAY 113,3

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³ Following Güldemann *et al.* (2002, viii), I use the term 'reported speech' as a generic term for both direct and indirect speech.

⁴ In many languages, the verb 'say' constitutes a source of various pathways in grammaticalization that can lead to distinct types of function words, see Heine *et al.* (1993), and Heine *et al.* (2002, 261 ff).

(08) ʿĀdil kān ʾāl ḥayāxud ʾagāza nnahaṛda w ḥayšūfu šša''a f-ʾAlmāẓa
      'ʿĀdil has said, he would take the day off and they would have a look at
      the apartment in ʾAlmāẓa" WAZ 374,12

3. ʾāl, yiʾūl (gāl, yigūl) on discourse level

Reported speech introduced by ʾāl, yiʾūl (gāl, yigūl) serves in various ways
and on different levels for text constitution and as a discourse device.
In narration it is commonly used for telling a story (3.1) by means of
reporting it as a dialogue. In a similar way, reasons and intentions may
be presented to the hearer in the form of reported speech (3.2), that is,
in the form of the speaker's own words. Whereas the last two uses do
not exhibit any syntactic differences in comparison to the normal one
in a simple proposition (see 2), there are phrases formed with ʾāl, yiʾūl
that deviate in certain respects from the normal usage and suggest that
the items concerned are—or at least have started to be—grammaticalized.
So, ʾultí ʾē serves as a turn-giving device asking for a positive reaction
(3.3), ʾūl marks a short-cut (3.4), ʾāl serves as a marker of incredulity
(3.5), tiʾulš as a comparison marker (3.6), baʾullak ʾē as a turn-
taking device (3.7), biyʾūlu as a reference to hearsay and general
knowledge (3.8).

3.1 Narrative device: story-telling by means of reported speech

A very common way of telling a story is to present it as a sequence of direct
utterances, that is, as a constructed dialogue in which each utterance is
introduced by quotative ʾāl, yiʾūl (gāl, yigūl). The phrases are juxtaposed
asyndetically and are not connected by means of wi 'and'. Speakers make
extensive use of this means, as can be seen in any collection of texts of
Arabic dialects recorded in the field. For the audience, a story structured
step by step in this way is more insightful and easier to follow than a
purely descriptive narration, since the narrator gives the story a structure
that conveys liveliness and persuasion and involves the hearer.[5] A short
passage from a Bʿēri text may illustrate this:

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[5] Involvement of the hearer is considered one of the most important pragmatic stra-
tegies in Georgakopoulu et al. (2004, 136f).

(09) ***gālat*** *ismaḷḷa ʿalēk yá-wṛad, ismaḷḷa ʿalēk mālak.* ***gultilha-na***
ʿanaḥalam wu nāji ʿan nafsi ʿanijlib min ilbaṛbax ʿašān nissabbaḥ,
ruḥt wagaʿt min fōg ilmanāma. ***galatli*** *kaʿamt rijli ya wlēdi.* ***gultilha***
ana gultluk ijilbi waṛāy? wu baʿadēn ***galatli*** *ṛaḥa-txallīni nmūt*
kamān wu rijli maksūra, ***gultilha*** *līyiš ṣāliḥ.* ***galatli*** *jaddak ʿAbdaḷḷa*
lGumʿ māt huwwa w rijla maksūra. ***gultilha*** *min ē?* ***galatli*** *lamma*
kānaw ʿaytiḥḥu fi ṣṣaḷamāt, ***gultilha*** *kē ytiḥḥu fi ṣṣaḷamāt* ***galatli***
lē nta miš ʿārif ilḥikkēwa? ***gultilha*** *lā ma-šufthāš wala xabirš ḥāja.*
galatli *badri, ṭirīg issuwwāḥ diyya…*
"She said: 'May God keep you safe, my boy, may God protect you!
What's wrong with you?' **I said to her:** 'I was dreaming and [in my
dream] I jumped involuntarily from the footbridge to have a swim.
So I fell from the sleeping roof.' **She said to me:** 'You sprained my
ankle, my boy!' **I said to her:** 'Did I tell you to jump after me?'
And then **she said to me:** 'You are going to let me even die from
a broken leg.' I said to her: 'It was not my fault.' She said to me:
'Your grandfather ʿAbdaḷḷa lGumʿ died from a broken leg.' **I said to
her:** 'How come?' **She said to me:** 'When they were pulling on the
colossoi.'[6] I said to her: 'How come they pulled on the colossoi?' She
said: 'Why? Don't you know the story?' **I said to her:** 'I did not see
it, nor do I know anything.' **She said to me:** 'In former times, this
tourists' way…'" (Woidich 1980, 236,27–31)

This use of directly reported (quoted) speech introduced by *ʾāl, yiʾūl*
(*gāl, yigūl*) is characteristic of the narrative style and gives a dialogue
structure to the whole narrative or parts of it. The narrative becomes
like a theatre play delivered by the speaker, and indirect speech and
complicated subordinate structures are avoided. There is no sign of
grammaticalization, and *ʾāl, yiʾūl* (*gāl, yigūl*) is subject to inflection
following the logic of the story and remains in its position in front of
the quoted speech.

3.2   *Argumentation by quoted speech*

In a similar way, comments on a statement may be given by the speaker
to the hearer in the form of direct speech, mainly as the speaker's own
words, presenting the argumentation as an inner monologue. Such self-
quotations are introduced by *ʾult* 'I said' and follow a statement. Speakers
report to the hearer the reasons for decisions or conclusions they made,

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[6] *iṣṣaḷamāt *ṣnm* (literally 'the idols') is the Bʿēri word for the Colossoi of Memnon
on the West Bank of Luxor.

or the reasons they had for acting in a particular way.[7] This comment explains either why what is described in this statement occurred (10, 11) or what the intention behind it was or is (13, 14, 15). In other cases it tells the hearer what follows for the speaker from what is described in the statement (12). Again, presenting the argumentation as internal dialogue makes it more insightful to the hearer and easier to follow and involves him directly.[8] Using ʾult in this way is very common in standard Egyptian Arabic, in both its spoken and its written form. If an intention is involved, the verb is in the y-imperfect.

(10)   *ruḥti ṛafʿa ʾidayya ṭawwāli mdarya wišši, ʾulti la-ykūn ʿalēh ʿafrīt ismu ʾiḍrab*
"I immediately lifted my hands up to protect my face. I said, 'it may have got an evil spirit on it, I am afraid, whose name is iḍrab [hit!]'" LAB 214,4 (reason)

(11)   *ana grīt ʾulti yimkin miḥawwiš ḥāga kida walla kida min waṛa-mmi*
"I hurried up, I said, 'perhaps he has somehow saved something behind the back of my mother'" HAM 28,1 (reason)

(12)   *laʾetkum ṭayyibīn ʾulti ya bitt uʾʿudi*
"I found you to be good people, I said, 'stay here, girl!'" RUH 30,–5 (consequence)

(13)   *miš gayyili nōm ʾult atmašša*
"I could not sleep, so I said, 'let me go for a walk'" SIB 89,3 (intention)

(14)   *ilṃayya btizḥaf kamān ʿala šširka. ʾulti nsibha ʾabli ma tiġṛaʾ*
"The water is creeping towards the company, too. I said, 'let us leave before it is flooded'" FWQ 50,–1 (intention)

(15)   *lammēt šuwayyit xašab kasri ʿala ḥittitēn ʾawāliḥ wi ʾult awalliʿha addaffa bīha*
"I collected a little bit of broken wood and some corn cobs and said, 'let me set fire to it to warm me up'" MHR 7,6 (intention

(15) shows that a syndetic connection with *wi* 'and' is also possible. (16, 17) provide evidence that this discourse strategy is not confined to a quotation of the speaker himself using the 1st person but may be applied in the same way in narratives in the 3rd person as well. While we cannot see in (16) whether direct or indirect speech is involved, the use of a 1st pl. verbal form in (17) signals direct speech:

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[7]   For similar functions of self-quotation in German (i.e. reporting on decisions, reasoning, intention), see Golato 2002. Further development of items meaning 'saying'—i.e. original quotation markers to a grammatical markers expressing causality or finality—is widespread in the languages of the world, see e.g. Lord 1993, 177 for *se* 'say' in Twi and for the Turkish gerundium diye' saying', see Kissling 1960, 191; for Bengali *bole* 'having said' see Chisarik *et al.* 2003.

[8]   See Georgakopoulu *et al.* 2004, 136f.

(16) *baṣṣi ʿa kkanaba lwaṛṛaniyya ma-ltaʾāš ʾayyuha ḥāga, zaġar ʿa kkursiyyēn*
      ilʾuddamiyyīn iltaʾāhum ya mawlāya zayyí ma xalaʾtini, ʾāl tibʾa ššanṭa
      lli waṛa
      He looked at the rear seats, but did not find anything, he glanced at the
      front seats, but found them empty, he said, 'it must be the boot'" LAB
      59,4 (conclusion)
(17) *fa xad baʿḍītih wu ʾē, ʿaṛabiyya mi lmināžim gāl nišūfu Ḥilmi Yūsif yikūn*
      ižžann
      He set out and what? [he took] a car from the mines, he said, 'let us have
      a look at Ḥilmi Yūsif, perhaps he's gone mad'" (Baḥariyya: Mandīša)
      (intention)

3.3   *ʾultí ʾē ʾwhat did you say?ʾ as a discourse routine*

ʾultí ʾē,—literally "What did you say?"—immediately follows a statement
conveying a suggestion or presenting an astonishing fact to the hearer
(21). *ʾultí ʾē* is connected to this statement by the intonational contour.
At first glance, the perfect *ʾult* makes it look like a request to repeat
something that has been said, pretending that a comment has been
overheard. But this is not the case since *ʾultí ʾē* is closely connected to
the statement with no pause and there is no time for the hearer to show
any reaction to this statement. Rather, it functions as a turn-giving
discourse marker, which asks for a positive comment on the statement
that is presented hereby as surprisingly good news to the hearer. For
that reason, it should be translated as "How about that!" which should
be understood as "Aren't you surprised and am I not to be praised?"
Examples:

(18) *tikkaffil inta bi mašawīr ilʿiyāl wi ddurūs w ana astannāh, ʾultí ʾē?*
      "You are put in charge of the errands for the children and lessons, and I
      wait for him, (so) what do you say now?!" BTR 11,–3
(19) *wala yhimmak ya Ḥsēn xušši ʿala lbutīk xud illi yiʿgibak wi kullu bi ttaʾsīṭ*
      tidfaʿ tultumīt ginē dilwaʾti wi lbāʾi bi ttaʾsīṭ ilmᵤrayyaḥ ʿala ʿišrīn šahṛi
      xamas t-alāf ginē, ʾultí ʾē?
      "Don't mention it, Ḥisēn, go into the boutique, take what you like and
      pay for everything in instalments; you pay 300 pounds now and the rest
      in easy instalments, 5000 pounds over 20 months, so how about it?!"
      RAS 13,5
(20) *tirūḥ ilwaʾt illi yiʿgibak, fi nnūr, fi ḍḍalma. illi tšūfu, ʾultí ʾē?*
      You go whenever you like, with daylight, in the darkness, just as you see
      it (whenever it is convenient for you), isn't this a good suggestion?" SIK
      106,–10
(21) *ana tnāzilti ʿan ḥaʾʾi fi kkaḥka li ššēx ʿImēša, ʾultu ʾē baʾa?*
      "I gave up my rights to the cake in favor of Šēx ʿImēša, what do you say
      now?" MAX 93,4

Given this meaning, we would expect a continuous form of the verb such as *tiʾūl ʾē* or *bitʾūl ʾē*, rather than of the perfect *ʾultī ʾē*. But replacing the perfect here with an imperfect, *ʾultī ʾē* would mean losing its special effect, which originates in a violation of the discourse record principle:[9] the speaker acts as if his statement had already been commented on, thereby constructing a reality that contradicts the speaker/hearer record of the discussion so far and attracts the attention of the hearer and makes it more relevant to him. At the same time, the rhetorical intonation of *ʾultī ʾē* suggests that the hearer is assumed to consider this statement as positive and to react accordingly. Apparently, this discourse routine[10] did not yet lead to grammaticalization and to the forming of a particle, since *ʾultī ʾē* still follows the rules of concord, as can be seen in (21).

(22) shows that giving the turn may be done not only by the speaker but also by a third participant in the discourse:

(22) Š: *ana mumkin anām ʾuddām ilbāb ilxarígi lḥaddi ma lmuškila titḥall, bass tiwʿidūni nni ma-fīš ḥaddi yxuššī min innaḥya ttanya li lbēt*—Ḥ: *ʾultī ʾē ya ʿAšūr? ʿA: ittafaʾna.*
Š: "I can sleep in front of the outer door until the problem is solved. You only have to promise me that nobody will enter the house from the other side."—Ḥ: "What did you say [what do you mean], ʿAšūr?"—ʿA: "Agreed!" MUW 134,–4.

Again, the use of perfect by Ḥ in (22) makes no sense and *ʾultī ʾē* has to be seen as a turn-giving discourse marker.

3.4 *ʾūl* 'say!' as a discourse marker

ʾūl 'say!'—the masculine imperative of *ʾāl, yiʾūl*—may be used in two different ways. Within a text it introduces what a longer explanation or description boils down to and serves as a short-cut in order to finish a topic and to switch to another one. It corresponds to 'in short' or 'to cut a long story short' in English, as in:[11]

(23) *ṭiliʿti baṛāʾa wi lwād iṣṣabi huwwa lli tḥabas bidāli, aḷḷāh yirḍa ʿannu, ʾūl ḥamadti ṛabbina lli tliʿti b gildi*

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[9] See Schwenter *et al.* 2005 for a case of discourse record manipulation regarding English too.

[10] This is why I prefer to call it a routine, i.e. a discourse technique to reach a certain goal, and not a marker, which in my view would include some grammaticalization as is the case with *ʾāl* 'say!'; see 3.5.

[11] There are other markers with a similar function such as *ʾuṣr ikkalām, ilʾaṣd, nahaytu.*

"I was found not guilty and the apprentice was jailed instead of me, may God bless him, in short, I praised God that I had come away safely" DAR 71,10

(24) *wi māsik sikkīna ʿāyiz yišuʾʾi bīha baṭni. girīt minnu. ṭār waṛāya. ʾūl innās ḥašūh*
"With a knife in his hand, he wanted to rip my belly open. I ran away, he went after me. To cut a long story short, people held him back" DAR 93,8

There is no evidence for female *ʾūli* being used in this way, but apparently the plural *ʾūlu* serves the same purpose when several persons are addressed. So *ʾūl* in this case should be considered not as a marker but as a routine:

(25) *innās yadōb simʿit fīh marākib malḥ, risyit ʿala baladhum wi dōl gary ʿašān yištiru. ʾūlu ʾawwil markib itbāʿit fi saʿāt*
"The people had only just heard that a salt ship had moored in their town when they came running in order to buy. In short, the first shipful was sold within hours" MAL 36,8

(26) *ʾaʿadit šahṛi w šahṛi w šahṛ. ʾūlu ḥiblit*
"She stayed a month and a month and [another] month. In short, she got pregnant" MAL 39,33

Another use of *ʾūl* 'say!' derives from a discourse routine, that is, self-correction in the form of a request to the hearer to correct a piece of information—very often numerical information—adduced by the speaker. As the speaker seeks confirmation from the hearer, he suggests that he is not sure about his estimate and that this information is not 100% reliable. Within a sentence *ʾūl* may thus indicate an approximation, and correspond to 'perhaps; like', for example like the English: the whole affair lasted, say, 10 minutes, as can be seen from (27). *ʾūl* underwent grammaticalization and is frozen as a particle, since neither the feminine nor the plural form are possible here and it is moved into the sentence, standing for example in front of the direct object (29) or an adverbial expression (30). More often than not, it combines with *yīgi* 'about' as a reinforcement of this approximative meaning (28, 29, 30):

(27) *ilʿamaliyya ḥatāxudlaha talat t-iyyām ʾūl aṛbaʿa*
"The operation will take three days, perhaps four" YUN 72,9

(28) *kām ya Nabawiyya kām?—ʾūl yīgi ʿišrīn ginē ʾaw ʾaktaṛ*
"How many, Nabawiyya, how many?—Perhaps about twenty pounds or more" RUH 137,7

(29) *iggamustēn ḥayiḥlibulna kulli yōm ʾūl yīgi mīt kīlu laban*
"The two buffalos will give us about 100 litres of milk a day" HAM 90,–4

(30) *wi lamma ṣifyu ʾaʿadti ʿala faršiti ʾūl yīgi sāʿa itnēn*
      "And when it had finished, I sat down on my bed for an hour or two"
      RUH 7,7

3.5 *Discourse marker for rejection and non-acceptance ʾāl and ʾāl ʾē*

The entry *ʾāl* in Hinds *et al.* (1986, 722b) gives *ʾāl* as a 'modal of incredulity' with "just imagine! fancy that! can you credit it!" as translation equivalents. And *ʾāl—ʾāl* "nonsense! baloney! humph!," which introduces and closes a word or sentence as an 'exclamation of jeering disbelief.'[12] I shall try to give a more precise description of its use and at the same time sketch the historical development.

As the examples below show, an *ʾāl* introduces or follows the reported utterance made by somebody else and urges the hearer to interpret this utterance as rejected and not acceptable to the speaker. It functions thus as a discourse marker and is fully grammaticalized as it is no longer inflected (31, 33, 35). As becomes clear from the examples, it is indirect speech here, not direct speech.

(31) Munīra: *baʾūl li ḥaḍritik ana miš ḥaštaġal ʿandi ḥadd, ana miš xaddāma.—*
      Bahīga: *miš xaddāma! samʿīn! ʾāl ma-hīš xaddāma*
      "Munīra: I am telling you, I shall not work with anybody, I am not a maid.—
      Bahīga: Not a maid! Did you hear! Not a maid, incredible!" NAS 81,4
(32) *ilminayyil ibn iṭṭabbāxa bn Ummi ʾAnwaṛ, ʾāl gayy yuxṭub Gamalāt*
      "This damned son of the cook, Umm ʾAnwar's son, incredible! He is coming to ask for the hand of Gamalāt!" FWQ 90,12
(33) *laʾēt ilʾumm bitʾaʿʿadni wi btiddīni darsi fi lḥinniyya.—ilḥinniyya?—ʾāl ana miš faḍya l-binti wi ʿašān kida hiyya bitrūḥ bēt zimilha da ʿašān ummu hiyya-lli ḥanīna ʿalēha*
      "It happened that the mother let me sit down and gave me a lesson in affection.—Affection?—As if I would not be free for my daughter and this is why she goes to the home of her colleague because his mother always shows affection towards her" SIG 131,–3

In both (31) and (33), the context leaves no other possibility than that it was a female speaker who made the incriminated utterance, even though *ʾāl* remains masculine. *ʾāl* may follow the reported speech (34) and may even occur in both positions at the same time (35). The latter is particularly common with single words, as in (36):

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[12] For a brief discussion, see Woidich 1995, 265.

(34) *wi biyʾūlu ma-bništaġalši ʾāl*
      "And they say, can you believe it, [that] we do not work!" WAR 20,–5

(35) *daxalit tiṣalli ʾāl bitṣalli ʾāl ṭayyib xallīha tṣalli*
      "She went in to pray, what she calls 'pray', well, let her pray then!" NAS 130,12

(36) *dukham! samʿa biyʾūlu ʿala abbahathum ʾē? dukham! ʾāl dukham ʾāl!*
      "Those (people)! Did you hear what they said about her parents? Those! Imagine, those!" GIL 142,3

Grammaticalization is further corroborated by the fact that *ʾāl* acquires increased mobility and may be moved into the sentence itself (37, 38) and occur within subordinated sentences (39):

(37) *dōl fi Maṣri ʾāl biyiksabu bi lmīt ʾalfi gnē*
      "In Cairo they earn—can you believe!—a hundred thousand pounds!" SMB 93,–5

(38) *gālu žāw xawažāt fi lBawīṭi, illi lbalad ilmidīna di. yigūlu imuṛukā̄n. žāw gāl xadu ṣaxṣ mirsūm dīk, dahab. bassi da kalāṃ, wala xadu wala ʿamilu, hayugʿudu yibḥitu lxawažā̄t?*
      "They said that foreigners came to ilBawīṭi, which is the main town. They say Americans. They came, allegedly, they took [with them] a golden statuette in the shape of a cock. This is babble: they neither took anything nor did anything. Would foreigners go around digging up things?" (Baḥariyya: Mandīša)

(39) *ʾālit imbāriḥ innak ʾāl ma-bitruḥš ilmadrasa*
      "She said yesterday that you—incredibly enough!—do not go to school" TAY 38,–11

In all cases from (31) through (39), the rejection of real speech—that is, utterances that were really made—happens by reporting it, introduced by *ʾāl* and pronounced with the appropriate intonation. In first instance, it is this typical intonation of indignation and annoyance that makes it clear to the hearer what the speaker means: disapproval and rejection. Reporting it alone would not be sufficient for this purpose; intonation must be an integral part of the construction. The semantic content of this intonation materializes in grammaticalized *ʾāl*. This means that disapproval and rejection now belong to the semantic content of *ʾāl*, which in this way is recruited as a pragmatic marker for disapproval and rejection.[13] This makes it possible that the development goes further

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[13] Indeed, for at least some speakers/writers *ʾāl* seems to be no longer associated with the verb *qāl* in this meaning. In MRR and BAHN, for example, we find it written with ʾAlif Mādda as آل whereas *ʾāl* as a verb preserves the original orthography and is written with *qāf* قال throughout.

and ʾāl no longer needs to refer back to a real utterance or to an earlier part of the discourse (see 31, 35, 36), but rather to a general saying as in (40). ʾāl thus loses its function as a discourse marker and undergoes a development into something like a sentence adverb, but its semantic content remains unchanged. As both (40) and (41) show, the sentence introduced by ʾāl was not uttered earlier:

(40)   *yibʾa ṛṛāgil lābis yāʾa w žukitta w ʿalēha banṭu w lāfif ʿala rʾabtu kufiyya ṣūf wi byirtiʿiš mi-lbardi wi llabwa mṛātu walla bintu mašya gambu malṭi wala hiyya saʾla f-bardi walla f-talg. ʾāl irriggāla yitġaṭṭu wi nniswān yitʿarru*
"So the man wears a collar, a jacket, and over it a coat, and wraps his neck in a woollen scarf, and still he is shivering from cold, and his wife, the bitch, or his daughter, walks naked beside him not bothered by cold or snow. Unbelievably, the men cover themselves and the women strip themselves" DAR 163,3

(41)   *ilfustān ṭiliʿ dayyaʾ ʿalēha, ʾāl baʿtahūli albisu!*
"The dress was too tight for her, incredible, she sent it to me to wear!" FWQ 92,5 (the person who sent the dress does not show up personally)

A further extension we notice when ʾāl introduces a sentence starting with *yaʿni*, *ʿašān*, or *biyʾūlu*. Just as in the examples above, ʾāl no longer introduces a quote or reported speech, but expresses disapproval of a fact or, more properly, the inference of the earlier statement. More often than not, a sense of irony is involved. So, in (42) the first statement by A invites the inference that A, as a matter of course, does not wet himself, an inference that is rejected by B, ironically by using ʾāl together with *yaʿni*, which itself could convey a similar meaning.[14] ʾāl serves here as a reinforcement of this inference and adds the disapproving semantic element. In the same vein, in (43)—which is a quote from Bayram al-Tūnisī's 'isSayyid wi mṛātu f-Barīs'—the pretentious behavior of the *ʿumda* described in the first part of the sentence and its inference, is rejected and ridiculed by introducing this inference in the second part of the sentence with ʾāl.

(42)   A: *tiʿṛaf ya ʿammi Waḥīd ilʿigli da biyšuxxi ʿala nafsu*—B: *ʾāl yaʿni inta-lli ma-bitšuxxiš?*
A: "Do you know, Uncle Waḥīd, this calf wets itself!"—B: "Baloney, would you pretend not to pee?!" RUH 40,–4

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[14] For a possible role of Sudan Arabic *yaʿni* in the grammaticalization of Beja *miyaad* 'fait de dire' by language contact, see Vanhove 2004, 149.

(43) (after having listened to a short text in unintelligible newspaper talk)
yiʾūm ilʿumda yubrum šanabu wi yhizzi dmāġu ʾāl yaʿni fāhim
"The mayor twists his moustache and shakes his head, thus pretending that he had understood" SMB 84,–10.[15]

ʾāl may be deleted in this case, since *yaʿni* alone already conveys a similar meaning and connects the two utterances in much the same way, albeit without the sense of irony, cf. *ya sitt iḥna waklīn fūl yaʿni mbaršimīn* "Madam, we have eaten *fool*, that means, we are full" RAS 15,3 and *iṭṭulumba mumkin tištaġal ʿala ʿaṛabiyyitēn, yaʿni mumkin taman ʿaṛabiyyāt yimlu banzīn fi nafs ilwaʾt* "The pump can serve two cars, that means, eight cars can refuel at the same time" NUS 35,3.

In (44) below, it is not so clear if rejection of the inference and irony, which can clearly be understood from (42) and (43), are present and we may even note here a further step in the semantic development towards the sense of 'as if', just as in (45):

(44) *nazlīn yisallimu lʾasliḥa di l-nās fi maṣr, ḥaṭṭīn ilmanga foʾha ġaṭa ʾāl yaʿni humma tuggāṛ fakha*
They went to deliver these weapons to people in Cairo, they had put mangos on it as a cover, thus pretending that (~ as if) they were fruit merchants" BAHN 116,11

(45) *lʾustāz ʿIbēdu baʾa txallī masalan yidhin ḥawalēn buʾʾu min iggināb kirēm abyaḍ ʾāl yaʿni ṛaġawi*
"let, for example, Ustāz ʿIbēdu smear white cream on the side of his mouth, as if it were foam" ABM 206,-5

Similar semantic extensions may be stated for *ʾāl ʿašān* and *ʾāl biyʾūl*, in both cases *ʾāl* could be deleted:

(46) *wi lingilīz gum ʾāl ʿašān yiḥmu maṣr*
And the English came in order to—what they called—'protect' Egypt" MAL 79,28

(47) *ana ftakartu sakṛān wi biyxaṛṛaf ʾāl biyʾūl ʾē ʾinn ilʿadṛa ṭilʿitlu wi huwwa māši gamb sūr ikkinīsa*
"I considered him drunk and raving, when he—baloney—said that the Virgin appeared to him when he was walking besides the wall of the church" RUH 114,5

(48) *da ddinya hayga wi lḥukūma ʾalba ddinya hnāk ʾāl biyʾūlu laʾu ʾišaṛāt hināk biyiftaḥu*
"The world is upset and the government is turning everything round there, they say—baloney—that they found traffic signs there that open the road" RUH 108,4

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[15] See SMB 85,4 for a similar passage.

This grammaticalization of ʾāl apparently started when it was used as an exclamation with a strong tone of disapproval, introducing reported speech[16] uttered by somebody, but not approved by the speaker. The following step must have been the switch from report to the inference of the utterance, and finally from there to independent, generally known facts, not specifically uttered previously. The connection with a real utterance made by somebody was thus lost. This semantic development—namely semantic bleaching and reinterpretation—is accompanied by a morphological reduction of ʾāl, that is, the inflection is lost, and a syntactic flexibility appears: it may occur within sentences and in subordinate clauses, and may be repeated producing a kind of circumfix around a rejected phrase (35, 36).

The discourse marker ʾāl has ʾāl ʾē as an equivalent, which is nothing other than the common rhetorical question formed with ʾē, a type of discourse strategy that abounds in narrative contexts in Egyptian and other dialects of Arabic.[17] An utterance like (49) biyʾūl ʿalēki di bitḥibbini, ʾāl inti bitḥibbī "He says about you: 'she loves me.' 'Nonsense, you and loving him!'" FWQ 90,–6 can be transformed into a narrative question, as in (49) biyʾūl ʿalēki di bitḥibbini, ʾāl ʾē, inti bitḥibbī with the same disapproval, disbelief and incredulity as the exclamation. Again, there is lack of concord (50–53), that is, ʾāl no longer refers to any referent. Grammaticalization as a discourse marker is further evidenced by the possibility of incorporation of ʾāl ʾē into the sentence, and, conversely, by the fact that ʾāl ʾē may be dropped from sentences (51–53) below without disturbing the syntactical structure:

(50) xadit minni baʾiyyit ilʾiršēn illi faḍlīn kamālit iššahr, ʾāl ʾē ḥatixzin bilibēf wi mʿallabāt wi ṣabūn wi makaronāt
      "She took the rest of the few remaining piasters for the month, allegedly she would store corned beef, tins, soap and pastas" GIL 120,–4

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[16] All my examples show indirect speech, not direct quotes, as far as this can be seen from the reference of the pronouns. Direct quote as the original structure from which the further development started cannot be excluded and is even probable. The lack of examples could be seen as proof of early grammaticalization with loss of the starting point structure. This view is corroborated by the fact that no inflected examples of ʾāl in this sense could be found.

[17] Any sentence may be split up into a kind of cleft sentence with a first part ending with ʾē 'what?' and the rest of the sentence as answer to this question: ʾām wāḥid minhum ʾē, wāxid bālu mi lʿamaliyya, ʾām zanna' ʾē, ʿala ṣaḥibna ʾām ṣaḥibna ṭabʿan ʾē, baʿdi ma ʾallu ʾana ṛāyiḥ dort ilmayya, xaṛag ʿala baṛṛa "One of them then what? He realized what was going on, he hemmed in what? our friend, our friend of course what? After he had told him 'I go to the loo', he headed out the door" [Cairo: recorded text]. See Woidich 2006, 50.

(51) *kānu biyʾūlu nni ḥarb ilistinzāf di ʾāl ʾē ma-kanši laha lazma*
      "They used to say that this war of attrition—just baloney—was not
      necessary" BAHN 78,–3, = *kānu biyʾūlu nní ḥarb ilistinzāf di ma-kanší
      laha lazma*

(52) *ḥittit bintí mafʿūṣa diḥkit ʿalayya w šayyilitni šanṭa ʾāl ʾē ʿala ma txušš
      ittawalēt*
      "A worthless squirt of a girl fooled me and let me carry a bag—can you
      credit it?—while she went to the loo" SIG 102,–5

(53) *kānu lbuʿada ʿamlīn ʾāl ē tuggāṛ manga*
      "They—far be they from you—acted as—unbelievable!—mango traders"
      BAHN 82,–6, = *kānu lbuʿada ʿamlīn tuggāṛ manga*

3.6 *Comparative tiʾulš*

A rhetorical question formed by an introducing *tiʾūl* "You could say"
followed by the interrogative suffix *-š* as in *tiʾulš* or provided with a
full negational *ma-…-š* as in *ma-tʾulš*, and a subordinated sentence as
reported speech, follows a proposition which describes an unexpected
and surprising fact as in (54, 55).[18] Reported speech here communicates
a reason for this fact, but this reason is not the true one and in fact
contradicts reality. You could only compare it to the true reason. For
tiʾulš ~ ma-tʾulš, therefore, a pathway from "Couldn't you say…?!" =
"You could say…!" to "As if it were > like" can reasonably be assumed.[19]
On the discourse level, sentences with comparative *tiʾulš* convey the
astonishment and excitement of the speaker.

(54) *sabni wala saʾal ʿanni, tiʾulš illa kuntí bawakkilu ṭūb miš tasʾiyya w laḥmit
      ṛās?*
      "He left me and did not inform about me any longer, could you say that
      [= as if] I had fed him with bricks, not with broth and meat of the head?"
      DAR 90,15.

(55) *baʿdí šwayya asmaʿ dawša w kalām tiʾulš i\lʾōḍa malyāna nās*
      "After a while I heard noise and talking, as if the room was full of people"
      GIZ 56,8

(56) *labsa ʾamīṣ aḥmaṛ min ġēr ikmām wi riglēha ʿiryāna ma-tʾulši ladaʿitni
      ʿaṛaba* "She was wearing a red sleeveless shirt and her legs were naked,
      [I was shocked] as if a scorpion had stung me" MRR 80,8

(57) *nazlīn ʿalē iddīni iddīni ma-tʾulš innu huwwa nāẓir ilwaʾf*
      "They showered him with 'Give me, give me!', as if he were the supervisor
      of the endowment" NAZ 62,9

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[18] See Woidich 1989, 124 and 2006, 281.
[19] For similar pathways of grammaticalization of 'say' to 'like, as if' in other langua-
ges, see Heine *et al.* 2003, 268.

tiʾulš may be followed by *inn* introducing indirect speech (57). (56) differs in some way from (54, 55) since the comparison expressed by means of reported speech does not refer directly to the fact, but refers to its consequence, which is not expressed itself [hence put into brackets in (56)]: the unexpected seductive appearance of the lady causes a shock to the speaker, which may be compared to the sting of a scorpion. We notice here a shift of reference from a fact to the inferences thereof similar to what occurred with *ʾāl* (*cf.* 3.5), which suggests that *tiʾulš* got more independence in its use and that it is on its way to become a function word with the notion "as if."

The question is how far *tiʾulš* has developed in this way. It still may vary and be inflected according to the person spoken to, that is, we can find it as fem. *tiʾulīš* or pl. *tiʾulūš* followed by a complete sentence:

(58) *mahé dilwaʾti ʾaklitha wi lʾabri barḍak, ana miš fāhim anhi banna ʾaw fāʿil*
      illi xtaraʿ ikkaḥki bi ššaklí da? tiʾulīš ʾilla byiʿmilu xalṭit mūna
      But nowadays, it takes you to the grave when you eat it. I do not
      understand: which mason or bricklayer invented this sort of cake? You
      could say they mix mortar!" SMM 55,–5
(59) *wi lmōg ṭaliʿ nāzil tiʾulūš milāya ḥarīr zarʾa*
      "And the waves went up and down, you could say like a ladies' dark-blue
      silk cloak" DAR 141,6
(60) *min sāʿit ma simʿit ilxabaṛ iššūm wi hiyya nazla laṭmí w buka tʾulīš ibnaha*
      "Since she heard this awful news, she has been constantly slapping her
      face and crying, as if it were her (own) son" RUH 152,–7

On the other hand, there are examples in the singular when we would expect the plural, as in (61), a sentence that addresses a general public (cf. *ma-tʾaxzunīš* pl. "Do not blame me!" three lines further in the same opening speech):

(61) *w ahé layyām ʿammāla tigri, tiʾulš alla zaʿlāna minna!*
      "And the days fly past, as if—alas—they were angry with us" MAL 1,3

Whereas the facts with regard to inflection remain inconclusive, other features suggest that *tiʾulš* is on its way to be grammaticalized. In (54, 58) above, both parts apparently still have separate intonational contours as indicated by the authors by means of a question mark. But, on the other hand, we see in (62, 63) below that *tiʾulš* can be followed by one argument only, not a complete sentence, which suggests that *tiʾulš* has been incorporated into the sentence and that it is used just as the preposition *zayy* 'like'. Indeed, the whole sequence has to be read here with a single intonational contour.

(62) ʿammāl yilsaʿ fi llisān tiʾulší ʿaʿṛaba
       "It stings the tongue, as if it were a scorpion" TAY 169,8
(63) w inta ʾē mkaššaṛ wi manfūx ʿa lʾāxir tiʾulší raʾīs wizāṛa
       "And what are you, grave looking and utterly pompous, as if you were a
       prime minister" RAS 82,–9[20]

Moreover, *tiʾulš* can leave its original head position and be moved within
the sentence, as in:

(64) laʾēt makān Ġazāla zayyí ma huwwa, faršitu ťulší lissa mafrūša dilwaʾti
       "I found Ġazāla's place unchanged, his bed was as if it had been made just
       now" LAB 49,2
(65) wala ḥassí b-ʾayyuha ḥāga ġēr inn ilʿaṛabiyya waʾfa w humma ťulší nizil
       ʿalēhum sahm aḷḷāh guwwa lutumbīl
       "Nor did he feel anything but that the car had stopped and that they were
       as if God's arrow had fallen on them in the car (i.e. they had suddenly
       fallen still)" LAB 91,7

The original position in (64) would be *tiʾulší faršitu lissa mafrūša* ... and
in (65) *tiʾulš nizil ʿalēhum*.... This strongly suggests that *tiʾulš* in these
cases is grammaticalized and serves as a function word to express an
unreal comparison.

tiʾūl 'you could say' without a interrogative suffix *-š* is rarely found in
Egypt, for example in (66) *ṭaʿmaha lazīz tiʾūli hiyya malban* "It tastes
nice, you'd say it is Turkish delight" ARA 58,-1 and in texts from
Dakhla-Oasis (alMūšiyya): *atgaḥrādit tiʾūl di ḥagār* "It rolled down as if
it were a stone." These last two examples coincide with the widespread
use of *tiʾūl* in other Arabic dialects in the form of *tegel* and apparently
grammaticalized as a preposition "like" or something similar; see for the
Daṯīna *tigel, tegel* 'tu dirais' Landberg (1942) 2542; for the Rwala *tesmaʿ
ẓebīḥ nejūrahom teḳel dammām* "It is as if one could hear the angry voice
of their mortars, like to the sound of a great drum" Musil (1982, 84,3)
and *passim*; for Souchne *bitšūfu tikūḷinnu cabal* 'er sieht aus wie ein Berg'
Behnstedt (1994, 353), originally "When you see him, you'd say it is a
mountain;" for Syrian nomads see Cantineau (1937, 196); for Tunisia
see Marçais (1959, 3310f.); for Morocco Colin (1993, 1624).

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[20] An example from Bʿēri dialect in Upper Egypt: *ilfurusa ṛammāḥa tgūliš ikḥēle* "The
mare gallops like a young stallion."

3.7   Turn-taking device:[21] baʾullak ʾē

Another phrase commonly used as a discourse marker by a speaker
in order take the lead in the conversation and to start a new topic, is
baʾullak ʾē "I'll tell you something! Listen!" see (66, 67) or simply *baʾūl…*
"I say…" as in (68) without addressing the addressee directly. It attracts
the attention of the hearer by inviting the inference that he is telling him
something important. It is often used to prevent a longer discussion and
to give directions and instructions.

(66)   Š: *aywa ana ṣāḥib ilfaḍli ʿalēkum, ʾaṣdi nnu lolāya ʾana ma-kanši fī ḥaddi
        minkum gih hina, wi fi lʾāxir ḥabsinni baṛṛa miš ʿayzīn tidaxxalūni ʾana—
        ʾaywa baʾullak ʾē! ana miš fāḍi li lhartala btaʿtak di! lissa ʿāyiz aẓbuṭ ʾiḍaʾti
        w aḥuṭṭ kamirāti…*
        "Š: Yes, it is due to me, I mean, without me, none of you would have come
        here, and, in the end, you shut me out and do not let me come in here any
        longer!—Yes, listen! I am not free for this nonsense of yours now! I want
        to fix my lighting and set down my cameras…" MUW 40,–2.

(67)   N: *la ya ḅāḅa, la! Fatḥiyya lāzim tikammil taʿlimha. kifāya lli gaṛāli ʾana
        w Nagība ʾuxti min ʾaʿdit ilbēt wi lḥaṛmān min ittaʿlīm.—B: baʾullik ʾē ya
        Nagība, ya binti. kalām kitīr miš ʿāyiz asmaʿ w ana xalāṣ qaṛṛaṛt…*
        No, Daddy, no! Fatḥiyya must finish her education. Enough what
        happened to me and my sister Nagība from sitting at home and being
        excluded from education!"—B: "I'll tell you something, Nagība, my
        daughter! I do not want to hear much fuss and I have made my final
        decision…!" HUD 41,–8

(68)   S: *la, wala ḥāga hāti lʾahwa.—H: ma-hé f-īdi. itfaḍḍal ilʾahwa ya Bē!—M:
        miš ʿāyiz ya sitt, aḷḷāh ilġani ʿan ʾahwitik, kida ya sitti Sūzi, inti ʿayzāni
        arūḥ fīha—S: baʾūl ʾē ma-tsibīha hina, uṃṃāl fēn ilʾusṭa Sayyid?*
        "S: No, nothing, bring the coffee!"—"H: I have it in my hand. Here is the
        coffee, please!"—"M: I do not want, Mam, I can do without your coffee!
        Is it that, Mrs Suzy, you want me to die?"—"S: I'd say, leave it here, where
        is Master Sayyid?" ABM 193,2–7

At the same time the use of *baʾullak ʾē* creates kind of intimacy between
the speaker and the addressee, preventing the directions from coming
over too rude.

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[21]   As to the exclamation of strong assertion *bitʾūl fīha* "no question about it! you bet!
you said!" adduced in Hinds *et al.* 1986, 722b, I could not find any example in the litera-
ture except the ones given in this entry: *ʾidirti truddi ʿala lmudīr?—bitʾūl fīha w šatamtu
kamān* "Did you dare to answer the boss back?—You bet I did! and I cursed him too!"

3.8   *Reference to hearsay information and general knowledge*

biyʾūlu "they say" introduces what is known from hearsay or is general knowledge and from a non-specific source functioning as an evidential marker, see Heine *et al.* (2003, 265). As usual, the 3rd pl is used in this case, see Woidich (2006, 357):

(69)   *simiʿti ḥagāt kitīr biyʾūlu kulli ḥāga hatibʾa ʿala lbiṭāʾa*
       "I have heard a lot. They say everything will be on a personal identity card" RUH 112,–1
(70)   *inta lāzim ṭallaʾt illi biyʾūlu nnak miggawwizha*
       "You must have divorced the one which, they say, you had married" FWQ 120,–10
(71)   *biyʾūlu kamān kān sākin fīha waḥda w bintaha*
       "They say, too, that a woman and her daughter were living in it" RUH 18,–10

Often a proverb is quoted in this way:

(72)   *wi lē baʾa l'istiʿgāl da, da ḥatta biyʾūlu l'agala min iššiṭān*
       "And why this haste, they even say, haste is from the Devil" WAZ 377,15

4.   *ʾāl, yiʾūl introducing pseudo-complements*[22]

In his article on serial verbs in EALL, Kees Versteegh mentions a use of *ʾāl, yiʾūl* "to say" in Egyptian Arabic, which he considers as a complementizer derived from a serial verb construction [SVC], which in his view provides a syntactic slot for an object. Quoting an example taken from Woidich (2002, 183) he compares this use of *ʾāl, yiʾūl* to similar developments in Creole languages such as Krio Creole English and Ki-Nubi.

(73)   *huwwa raddi ʿalēk ʾallak ʾē?*
       "What did he answer you?" LAB 118,–8

Earlier, Catherine Miller brought the development of *gāl* as a complementizer in Juba Arabic to our attention, Miller (1998, 2000, 2001) where *gāl* is grammaticalized and used as a complementizer after verbs of saying and cognition.[23] Let me first cite some additional examples:

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[22]   See Woidich 2002, 181ff, Woidich 2006, 401. Phrases of the same type, but used to express the direction or a goal, are formed with *ṛāḥ*, as in *kuntu btuxrugu trūḥu fēn?* "where did you go out to?" FWQ 62,6, see Woidich, *loc.cit.*
[23]   Hopper *et al.* (2003, 194–196) discuss similar developments of "say" in Babylonian Old Egyptian, see as well Hopper *et al.* (2003, 13–15) for West African languages. For a

(74) *ilmaxāzin ṭabʿan ḥatruddi tʾūl iṣṣanfi ġēr mawgūd*
The stores of course will answer and say, 'this kind is not available'" RAQ 38,8

(75) *ana kutti baġanni baʾūl ē?*
"What, was I busy singing?" [film]

(76) *inta sākit ya Ḥasanēn, akkallim ana!—ḥatikkallimi tʾūli ē? waffari kkalām!* "You are silent, Ḥasanēn? Then I shall speak!—What are you going to say? Keep your words to yourself!" ABM 144,–6

(77) *ʿašān kida dayman anṣaḥ zabayni aʾulluhum iwʿa ya-bni ṭḥuṭṭi ḥāga f-gēbak* "This is why I always advise my customers and say, 'take care, my boy, not to put anything in your pocket'" YUN 27,3

(78) *rafaḍu ʾalūlu ʾiḥna malna*
"They refused and said, 'not our business!'" NUS 7,–6

(79) *xayyaṛūni ʿammāti ʾalūli taxdi bni ʿammik*
"My aunts made me choose, they said to me: 'you should take your cousin'" RUH 59,3;

The differences between the use of *ʾāl, yiʾūl* in our case and *gāle* in Juba or *se* in Krio Creole English are indeed significant: the first mentioned introduces quotations and noun phrases—mostly the question pronoun *ʾē* "what?"—and is fully inflected, whereas the other two serve as a complementizer for subordinated sentences of various kinds and are no longer inflected. Egyptian Arabic *ʾāl, yiʾūl* remains connected with locutive and speech-related verbs, and its use is not extended to other types of verbs as happens in many West African languages (Lord 1993, 176 ff) and in Juba-Arabic (Miller 2001), There is no trace of *ʾāl* in Egyptian Arabic functioning as complementizer "that," a fact earlier stated for Arabic dialects in general in Versteegh (1984, 101).

Can we analyse *ʾāl, yiʾūl* constructions as an SVC, then? For a verbal sequence to be recognized as an SVC it has to fulfil some conditions formulated in Newmeyer (2004, 2f) and Kroeger (2004, 226–256). Some of these are met by our *ʾāl, yiʾūl* constructions:[24]

– they are two verbs within the same clause, neither of which is an auxiliary;
– they belong to a single intonation contour[25] and refer to a single event;

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similar use of the Turkish gerund diye "saying" see Kissling (1960, 190). For Bedja, see Vanhove 2004.

[24] See in particular Kroeger (2004, 229).

[25] For a case with no single intonation contour but two contours, see *gaʿadit turguṣ wu tġanni, gālit ḥabībi ʾaṛāḥ balad illayy, inšaḷḷa mā ʿēni yiriddi ʿalayy* "She started to

- they share at least one semantic argument, which is the agent in their case;
- they contain only one grammatical subject.[26]

At first glance, this makes the ʾāl, yiʾūl constructions good candidates for SVC, were it not for some other diagnostic features that exclude them from the SVC. SVC do not contain any overt markers of subordination or coordination. This is not true for ʾāl, yiʾūl constructions where wi 'and' may separate the two verbs, suggesting that what we have here is a coordinate construction:

(80)	raddi Ġazāla w ʾallu mafhūm ya ʿammi
	"Ġazāla answered and said to him, 'understood, Uncle!'" LAB 138,–6 (cf. 74)
(81)	wi ġanna w ʾāl mawawīl
	And he was singing Mawwāls" MAL 45,8 (cf. 75)
(82)	ḥafḍal ana abarṭam w aʾūl ḥatta l'adwiya kamān biyṣaddarūha
	"I shall keep muttering: even the medicine they export as well' GIL 58,8 (cf. 84 below)
(83)	ʾultilu kulli da, raddi w ʾalli inta-zzayy aḥwālak? miš kuwayyis?
	"I told him all this, he answered and said to me: 'how are you? Not good?'" ULA 66,2 (cf. 75)

Tense, aspect, modality, negation, etc. are normally expressed only once in true SVC, and only occasionally are both verbs marked for these. ʾāl, yiʾūl constructions, however, usually mark both verbs in the same way, that is, both verbs appear in the same tense or aspect (see the examples above), with the exception of bi- and ḥa-prefixes: bi- may be and ḥa- is always omitted on yiʾūl; see (03) above. For bi-, see (84):[27]

(84)	ilbitti bitbarṭam tiʾūl ʾē?
	"What is the girl mumbling?" SIG 126,11

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dance and to sing: my darling went to the country ilLayy, he will never return to me, I hope" (Baḥariyya: MandÚša].

[26] This excludes, by the way, causative xalla clauses from the serial verb constructions: xallētu maḍa "I made him sign" contains two agents/subjects.

[27] Exceptional is katabu yʾūlu ʾē? "What do they write and say?" MRR 101,4 which does not follow the above rules. It contains a sequence of a perfect and an imperfect instead of perfect in both verbs, as in katabu ʾālu ʾē? "What did they write and say?" In both cases, the question word ʾē "what?" asks for the opinion of the writers. Since the act of writing happened in the past and the opinion expressed by this writing stays present till the moment of asking, an imperfect yiʾūlu seems justified for this moment. The semantic notion here overrules the syntactic one; see Woidich (2003, 131).

This is usual when two imperfects of this type are coordinated, see Woidich (2006, 282). Even different verbal modals with more or less the same semantic content are possible, as (85) shows, when the verbs are coordinated by *wi* 'and':

(85)   *ummāl ēh illi inta ʾāʿid tixaṛṛaf wi ʿammāl tiʾūlu da?*
          "What is it then what you are raving about all the time?" ABM 39,1

SVC verbs should not contain two overt NPs that refer to the same argument; see Kroeger (2004, 230). In *ʾāl, yiʾūl* constructions this is possible and both verbs may keep their original semantic and syntactical structure, cf. (73) and (77) above and:

(86)   *inta bitwašwiš ilbinti bitʾullaha ʾē?*
          "What are you whispering to the girl?" MRR 198,11
(87)   *ʿammāl tikallim nafsak tiʾūl ʾē?*
          "What are you talking to yourself ?" LIB 64,12

Finally, as Newmeyer (2004, 3) reports, in a coordinate structure moving an NP of one of the verbs from its original position should be impossible (coordinate structure constraint), but it is possible in an SVC. In the *ʾāl, yiʾūl* construction, noun extraction by forming a cleft sentence is not possible: **ē lli raddi ʿalēk ʾalhūlak?* or **ē lli akkallim aʾūlu?* Strangely enough, (85) with its coordinated verbs offers such a cleft sentence containing a moved NP, though it should be not possible in this case according to the coordinate structure constraint adduced by Newmeyer *loc. cit.*

In my view, these are enough reasons not to consider *ʾāl, yiʾūl* constructions as SVC. Rather, I think that they developed from paratactic entailments to intransitive verbs with a semantic component of 'saying' such as[28] *anna* 'to sing', *ʿāyir* 'to blame', *ʿayyaṭ* 'to cry', *barṭam* 'to grumble', *daʿa* 'to curse', *dallaʿ* 'to give a nick-name', *ikkallim* 'to talk', *kidib* 'to lie', *naṭaʾ* 'to pronounce', *naṣaḥ* 'to give advice', *radd* 'to answer', *rafaḍ* 'to refuse', *ṣarrax* 'to shout', *wašwiš* 'to whisper', *xaṛṛaf* 'to talk nonsense', which do not have a syntactic slot to express the content of the performative act and cannot quote directly. By adding—be it asyndetically or by means of *wi*—a sentence with the locutionary verb *ʾāl, yiʾūl* that disposes of that slot, the problem is solved. This coordinative structure describes one

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[28] The list of verbs with pseudo-complement as registered in my database. 13 of the 28 registered cases include the question *ʾāl ʾē.*

fact and shows cohesion as to intonation, but not the syntactic cohesion normally displayed in SVC. Following Seuren (1991, 196), I prefer to interpret these *ʾāl, yiʾūl* constructions as pseudo-complements, especially since *ʾāl, yiʾūl* is not the only type of these complements. Many verbs with the semantic content of 'moving into a direction' do not have a syntactic slot for the direction of the movement. Here a pseudo-complement with *ṛāḥ, yirūḥ* 'to got to' fills the gap by introducing this direction, as in *miši ṛāḥ fēn?* "Where did he go to?"; see Woidich (2003, 181*ff*) for more details. Similar behavior is exhibited by *xad, yāxud* 'to take' and *šāl, yišīl* 'to take away', which may be combined with *wadda, yiwaddi* 'to bring to' to form utterances such as *ḥanšīlu nwaddīh fēn* AWL 44,6 "Where did you bring it to?", *imbāriḥ bi llēl šalha waddāha lbēt* "Yesterday evening he took it home" WAZ 369,-3f.

5. *qāl in delocutive derivations*[29]

ʾāl, yiʾūl is combined with set phrases such as vocatives or idiomatic expressions, thus enlarging the lexicon of the language. This is common in Cairo Arabic. Here, it will suffice to give some examples:

(88) *ḥaṭṭi dēlu bēn wiṛāku w ʾāl ya fakīk*
     "It hung its tail between its legs and cleared off" FAG 119,5
(89) *ʾaʿadt aḍrab fī l-ġāyit lamma ʾāl ya bass*
     "I kept beating him till he could take no more" Hinds *et al.*
     (1986, 74b)
(90) *ḥittit dīn ʿalʾa txallīha tʾūl ḥaʾʾi b raʾabti*
     "An awful beating, which makes her give in" RUH 63,–2
(91) *kunti baʾūl ya ʾarḍ inšaʾʾi w iblaʿīni*
     I said, 'O Earth split open and swallow me!' = "I wanted to vanish into thin air" LAB 218,4

Of a different type is *ʾāl* with sound-related interjections or ideophones (or expressives, as they are sometimes called) to form 'descriptive compounds'. Only two examples have come to my attention, but there are bound to be more:

(92) *ʾāl wiʿʿ*   "He vomited" Hinds *et al.* (1986, 947b)
(93) *ʾāl gāy*   "He gave up, resigned"[30] ʿAzīz 129

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[29] Plank (2002, 465 and 478).
[30] For *gāy ~ gāy* "help!" see Hinds *et al.* 1986, 146a; for the Arabic etymology, see Behnstedt 1997, 36.

We quite often find this type of *gāl, yigūl* with sound-related interjections as a direct object in Upper Egyptian Arabic, for example in Bʿēri.[31] They mostly describe a sudden event connected with a sound, and occur commonly in narrative style, not necessarily as intransitive expressions as described in Plank (2002, 468).

(94)   *ṛāḥ gāyil kaṛaṛāw bīha*   "He rushed at her"
(95)   *itgūl dibb fi lʾarḍ*   "She toppled over"
(96)   *maṛṛa wiḥda gāl dáradib*   "All of a sudden, it went 'knack'"
(97)   *gāl daradíyy*   "He crashed down"
(98)   *gult ijlibb*   "I jumped up and ran away"
(99)   *gāl, igūl ṭīṭ*   "to break wind"
(100) *gālat ṭirrí minnīh*   "It buzzed away"
(101) *gālat šinn*   "It bubbled up (boiling water)"
(102) *žāt ḥittit ṣulṭēḥa kida w gāl hub, aṛāḥ gālib ilgulāl wu lbōša wu ʿadda min ġēr ḥiml*
        "A flat piece came, he made 'hub' and threw down the jars and the bowl and went off without a burden" (Baḥariyya: Mandīša)
(103) *wu baʿdēn ilgaṭir gāl ṭūṭ, gallih ma tistanna lamma žžallabiyya tinšif*
        "And then the train made 'ṭūṭ', he said to it, 'wait untill the gallabiyya has become dry'" (Baḥariyya: Mandīša)

6. *References*

6. 1   *Supply heading 2*

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[31] For the very elaborate use of these expressions in Ethio-Semitic, which goes much further than what we know from these Upper Egyptian Arabic dialects, see Cohen *et al.* (2002, 227 and 238 ff). Cf for the *Daṯīna* Landberg (1909, 1268) *gāl hubēs* "se mit à courir."

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