CHAPTER 28

Substitution Test

The findings of this work are now to be checked with the help of a substitution test. To this end I replaced selected verbs of Schukro’s text ʾibn iṣ-ṣayyâd (pp. 209–216) and asked Fuad Hamidjou, my informant from Burhave, to explain the differences in meaning.

ʾibn iṣ-ṣayyâd

1. kān wāḥid riḍžāl m’attar ʿāyiš (a) ma’ martu b-kūx zġîr ‘ārib mn šaṭṭ il-baḥr. ba’d santayn mn žwӓztun ʿalla raza’un (b) šabī hilu mahḍūm w killu ʿāfyi, bass hal riḍžāl badal ma ykūn mabsūṭ w farhān mitl kill bāyy b-hēk munāsbi, kān ḥazīn w za’lān.

Once upon a time there was a poor man who lived with his wife in a small hut near the sea coast. After they had been married for two years, God bestowed on them a handsome and healthy son. The man, however, instead of being joyful as every father would have been on such an occasion, was sad and worried.

a. ʿāyiš (‘āš ‘to live’)

kān AP:ʿāyiš introduces an asyndetical relative clause and expresses a state that is simultaneous with the situation of the superordinate clause, by which ʿāyiš orientates itself. A replacement by kān ʿāyiš would consequently designate anteriority to the superordinate clause, i.e. at the time of the narration the man would not live any longer in his hut (type iii).

byiqtul: The situation of living has to be regarded as habitual, and habitual situations in subordinate clauses that are simultaneous with their reference point are normally expressed by byiqtul. Accordingly, my informant considers byīš and ʿāyiš synonymous, although the AP is rated as the more common variant with a stative verb (type iv).

yiqtul: yʿīš is rated as ungrammatical (type ii).

qatal: For qatal the same holds true as for kān AP; ʿāš would designate anteriority to the superordinate clause. We have already mentioned above that there

1 My informants, however, pronounce long a after ʿ as ā, not as ā, and consequently say ʿāyiš, not āyiš; cf. above, chapt. 9.1.
is hardly any difference between qatal and kān AP with stative verbs unless they are related to a reference point that is located within their boundaries. In this case, only kān AP is possible.

b. raza’ (to bestow)

**byiqtul:** With *raza’un* the actual narration starts, and, as seen above (chapt. 10.1.1), foreground situations in narrating passages may be expressed by qatal or byiqtul (type IV).

**AP:** The AP, on the other hand, is regarded as ungrammatical. The same holds true for all other verb forms.

2. w mitl il-‘ādi wi‘i (a) bakkīr ma’ ṭlū’ iḥd-daww w rāḥ ‘al-baḥr la-ḥatta yitsayyad, w badal ma yitsayyad ḥaṭṭ ‘iddtu ‘a-żanab w ḥallu ‘ā’id ‘a-ṣaxra yfakkir w yiški hammu lal-baḥr, w huwwe ḥēk ‘ala hal ḥāli simī (b) ḥada by’āyyīṭlu (c) b-’ismu.

As usual he got up early at first daylight and went to the sea to cast for fish, but instead of fishing, he put his equipment aside and sat on a rock in order to ponder and complain about his worry to the sea. And while he was doing so, he heard someone calling him by name.

a. wi‘i (to get up)

**byiqtul:** qatal can be replaced by byiqtul without any change in meaning (cf. above 1.b). In this case, the following *rāḥ* has also to be substituted by *byrūḥ*.

**AP:** The AP and all other forms are rated as ungrammatical (cf. above 1.b).

b. simi‘ (to hear)

**byiqtul** = qatal (cf. above 1.b)

**AP:** ungrammatical (cf. above 1.b)

c. by’āyyīṭlu (‘āyyaṭ ‘to call’)

*‘amyiqtul:* The verb form *by’āyyīṭlu* in this sentence has already been discussed above (see chapt. 20). As has been explained there, imperfectivity after verbs of perception is usually indicated by ‘amyiqtul although byiqtul is normally accepted, too.