Pacifying the Passive

A contrastive study of the use of the passive in Naguib Mahfouz’s *al-Tulāṭiyya* and its Swedish translation.

Emma Lindhagen
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Abstract

This study aimed to answer the following questions:

When passive is used in MSA as seen in Naguib Mahfouz’s *Cairo Trilogy*

1. What is the distribution of passive verbs and passive participles, and what forms occur?
2. Are there explicit agents present in the passive sentences sampled?
3. With regard to passive verbs, are there any patterns in what or what kind of verbs passivize?
4. With regard to passive participles, to what extent are they true passives and to what extent are they just passive in form? By true passives, I here mean words that are semantically passive, with a subject that is also a patient.

When the passives in Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* are translated in the Swedish translation

1. What translation alternatives are discernible from the material?
2. Can any patterns be found in when which of said alternatives are used?

The study was conducted in two parts. In the first part, 60 pages of prose fiction (from Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy*) were selected and closely read for any morphologically passive constructions. These structures were analyzed syntactically and semantically, and some conclusions were drawn about their use. In the second part, the same pages were closely read in the Swedish translations, and words corresponding to the Arabic passives were found and analyzed. These translation alternatives were then grouped into categories and some attempt was made to discern any patterns in the usage of the translation alternatives.

The results of the study showed that the passive Arabic verbs were used in a way that conforms with previous studies on the subject, and that a majority of the passive participles were passive in form.
With regard to the Swedish translation, a wide range of translation alternatives were found. For the verbs, the determining factors behind not choosing a direct translation seems to be keeping a balance between maintaining the semantic content and keeping the word choice idiomatic. The passive participles could not be examined in detail on account of the quantity, but a direct translation into a word with the same meaning and similar syntactic function seemed to be the most common solution.

Keywords
Arabic, Swedish, Linguistics, Passives, Voice, Comparative Linguistics, Translation Studies, Literature, Literary Fiction, Naguib Mahfouz
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5.1 Summary

5.2 Conclusion

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Notes on Transcription

The textual examples in this thesis are transcribed according to the guidelines in "3. Formalia: Att Transkribera" produced by the section for North African and Middle Eastern Studies at Stockholm university. The following transcription paradigm is used:

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1. Introduction

Sometimes academics conduct research, and sometimes research is conducted (optionally: by academics). Although these two statements technically convey the same information, have the same “truth value”, they don't necessarily “feel” the same. Changing the voice of a sentence from the active to the passive, which is what I have done above, changes the vantage point from which we regard the information. It may make us focus on a certain aspect of the information, or ignore another, or it may tilt the message conveyed toward or away from a particular stylistic or emotional tone. The passive is realized in a range of different ways in different languages, and used with different frequencies and for different purposes. A construction that would naturally be passive in one language may sound better as active in another, or even be entirely ungrammatical as a passive. Some languages have more than one way to render the passive voice, and the different forms may overlap, or diverge, in their fields of use.

When it comes to translation, the passive and other voice phenomena present a particularly interesting set of challenges. On account of the aforementioned variation in use and frequency between languages, translating passives becomes a delicate tightrope-walking act which requires the translator to find a balance between transferring the content of the sentence from source to target language, maintaining, if possible, the information structure, the so called theme-rheme sequence, of the source language, sticking to the grammatical and syntactical rules of the target language and, if possible, not letting the subtler nuances that the passive conveys in the source language be entirely lost in translation.

The present study attempts to tackle the topic of the passive in two ways: by investigating how the passive is used in Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) prose fiction, and by examining how these passives are translated into Swedish.

1.1 Research Issue and Questions

This thesis concerns the use of passives in Modern Standard Arabic in general, and the translation of passive constructions from Arabic into Swedish in particular.

The passive is an interesting linguistic phenomenon, its usage varying between languages on several different levels. The frequency of the passive and what types of texts they are normally found in may vary. Syntactically, what operations it performs on the sentence to promote or demote a particular constituent varies. Semantically, what contexts it may be used in without being ungrammatical or jarring varies. On the level of information structure, where the passive may be used to “repair” an unconventional sequence of information, the extent to which the passive is useful for such an operation varies. Even the lexeme level, of which specific words can idiomatically be used in the
passive varies. Its use can also vary a lot depending on the genre or type of text as well as a particular writer's personal style.

Furthermore, a construction which is clearly passive in one language may be better translated as a non-passive in another language (and vice versa), making it an interesting focus for translation studies. Why are some passives rendered as passive in the target language while some aren’t?

Due to the two-pronged approach of this study, I will focus on two separate but related research questions:

When passive is used in MSA as seen in Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy*

1. What is the distribution of passive verbs and passive participles, and what forms occur?
2. Are there explicit agents present in the passive sentences sampled?
3. With regard to passive verbs, are there any patterns in what or what kind of verbs passivize?
4. With regard to passive participles, to what extent are they true passives and to what extent are they just passive in form? By true passives, I here mean words that are semantically passive, with a subject that is also a patient.

When the passives in Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* are translated in the Swedish translation

1. What translation alternatives are discernible from the material?
2. Can any patterns be found in when which of said alternatives are used?

### 1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this study is to explore the usage of formally passive constructions in Naguib Mahfouz's *The Cairo Trilogy* and its translation into Swedish. All linguistic studies have the potential of leading to a greater knowledge of the language or languages studied, or of languages in general.

This is true also for the present study. By some standards Arabic might be considered to be a language that is fairly well-studied. However, the relationship between Arabic and Swedish is greatly understudied, not to say practically unstudied. Additionally, barely any Arabic literature is translated into Swedish and in fact the Cairo Trilogy itself, written by a Nobel laureate and arguably the most iconic work in modern Arabic fiction, is no longer in print in its Swedish translation. It was only through luck and antiquarian book shops that I was able to get a hold of it at all.

Considering this dearth of knowledge, and especially when you keep in mind the huge Arabic-speaking diaspora that exists in Sweden today, I believe this study is certainly warranted. Nothing of a similar nature has, to my knowledge, been done before so although this will only shed light on a small sliver of this vast research area, it might serve as a good start to further explore the relationship between these two languages.
Since the use of passives in Arabic is something that has previously been fairly well-documented, but the relationship between Swedish and Arabic is nearly undocumented (in translation or otherwise), this study will in its first part be concerned with verifying, or contradicting, previously existing theories but the second part will be more exploratory in nature.

1.3 Previous Research

Globally, there are a lot of studies on the passive voice. These focus on different languages and approach the topic from different perspectives (semantics, syntax, information structure etc). In the JSTOR research database alone, a search for “passive” in the linguistic discipline yields upwards of 9,000 hits of various sorts. Naturally, I have only been able to survey a selected portion of the research field for the sake of this study. The literature that is directly relevant will be discussed in greater detail in the Theory section.

In the introduction to Passivization and Typology – Form and function, a collection of papers on precisely that topic, W. Abraham discusses whether the passive can really be seen as a unified phenomenon. There is a great deal of variation between languages, with some having morphologically simple passives, some having periphrastic constructions, some having both types and some not having a straightforward passive at all (Abraham, 2006: p. 5). Apart from this, languages differ in how many arguments a predicate requires in order for passivization to be permissible, whether or not there are aspectual constraints on passivization, whether there are requirements on the thematic role of the subject (Abraham, 2006: p. 6) and potentially other things too.

This vagueness of definition does not seem to be limited to the passive specifically, but rather apply to voice phenomena in general. M. Shibatani, in the introduction to the thematic collection Passive and Voice, writes that while voice and particularly the passive has been important to the development of modern linguistics, but a focus on particular languages when investigating it has led to “an imperfect understanding of voice” and a lack of a clear concept of what it really is (Shibatani, 1988: p. 2).

Shibatani defines voice as “a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent — subject — from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause” (ibid, 3). In accusative systems such as the languages my study is concerned with, the active, unmarked voice is the one where the subject has the role of agent while the passive, marked voice is the one where the subject is the patient. In M. H. Klaiman’s "Affectedness and control: a typology of voice systems", same volume, a slightly different perspective on the topic is taken. Focusing chiefly on “the subject’s relation to sententially expressed situations”, Klaiman states that in many languages subjects can have one of two conceptual statuses: controller and affected entity (corresponding at least partially to the agent and patient thematic roles). Based on this, the author attempts to provide descriptions for some basic (non-derived) voice systems and set up a rudimentary system of typology for them. They can be
divided into three types: ones where the controller and source of an action converge upon the subject, ones where they generally converge upon the subject but not always and once where they may or may not converge upon the subject (Klaiman, 1988: p. 63).

With how tricky to define the passive is, it is not surprising that there are in many languages constructions that have a passive nature but aren’t “true”, canonical passives. These non-canonical passives are constructions “that have passive-like interpretation but do not seem to share all the properties with their canonical counterpart” (Alexiadou & Schäfer, 2013: p. 1-2) and these have also been studied by various researchers, including in the volume Non-canonical Passives from which the above quote is taken.

In ”Variations in non-canonical passives”, C.-T. James Huang describes a type of non-canonical passives as having a ”chameleon-like character”, which has lead to controversy and confusion often surrounds them (Huang, 2013: p. 95). Huang proposes that passives of this nature (such as for example the English get-passive) ”may behave sometimes as raising verbs and at other times as control verbs, and in some cases a given sentence may be ambiguous” (ibid, 100). In the same volume W. Abraham & E. Leiss discussed impersonal constructions as another form of non-canonical passives.

Apart from general literature like the one above, there is of course also a lot of literature dealing with passives in a particular language or languages. “Simple preterite and composite perfect tense – The role of the adjectival passive” by M. Rathert focuses on verbal and adjectival passives and their relationship to the preterite and the composite perfect in German and attempts to combine pragmatic and semantic factors in its analysis (Rathert, 2006: p. 518). By some example sentences, the author shows that verbal passives have a tendency to co-occur with the preterite. The claim is that the preterite in passive sentences functions as a substitute for the perfect because the latter is incompatible with the passive (ibid, 521).

S. Granger asks a pertinent question in the title of her “Why the Passive?”, which attempts to explore when and why the passive is preferred to the active in English and French. This article investigates a corpus of some 1,500 passives (1,000 English and 500 French), all of them be + past participle or être + past participle respectively, and it will be discussed further in the Theory section below. Granger found that the use of the passive was highly connected to the notion of information structure and the theme-rheme sequence.

While passives have been relatively widely studied, the topic suffers from a problem common to linguistics in general: the tendency for the bulk of the research in a field to be focused on Indo-European languages. In spite of this, one could claim that Arabic passives have been relatively well-studied over the years. A good portion of studies done on the concept are likely to be done in Arabic by Arabic universities, and as such they are not easily accessible to me, nor are they something I am able to process within the scope of a work of this size. There is also a fair bit of English-language
research done on the topic. The bulk of those I have read deal with Arabic-English contrastive studies as we shall see below. Those few that deal with Arabic exclusively have been few and rather scattered in terms of topic.

L. Laks discusses how passives are formed in MSA and Palestinian Arabic (PA) in “The formation of Arabic passive verbs: lexical or syntactic?”. The claim the author makes is that “passivization in MSA is syntactic, while PA passivization is lexical” (Laks, 2010: p. 1). The article provides a good overview of both valence-changing operations and the how the passive functions in MSA, both of which will be looked at in the Theory section of this paper.

In “Tense, aspect and the passive voice in L1 and L2 academic texts”, E. Hinkel investigating the use of passives and other things, in academic texts written by students who are L2-speakers of English, among them some Arabic-speaking students, and compare these to ones written by L1-speakers. The study concluded that the Arabic-speaking students use the passive in English at about ”at about one quarter to one half of the NS median frequency rate” (Hinkel, 2004: p. 22). One could attribute this to transfer caused by the low rate at which passives are used in Arabic, however since all the other L2-students had similarly low rates it seems more likely that it is, as Hinkel suggests a result of L2-speakers ”[avoiding] using syntactically and semantically complex verb structures” (ibid). On the more technical end of things, there is ”Issues in the Morphological Analysis of the Arabic Passive Verb” by K. Shaalan and E. Othman which investigates the automated analysis of Arabic passive verbs using the Buckwalter Arabic morphological analyser. The results showed that 59% of the passive verbs weren’t recognized by the analyser (Shaalan & Othman, 2007), mainly due to long vowels changing during conjugation and the lack of short vowels making active forms ambiguous with passive forms.

The articles I came across about the Swedish passive held, in general, a higher quality and relevance. E. Engdahl’s ”Semantic and syntactic patterns in Swedish passives” discusses how the two forms of passive in Swedish, the morphological s-passive and the periphrastic passive with the copula bli and a passive participle, are used in written Swedish. It explores some common statements made by grammars about these forms of the passive and their usage, and shows that some of these do not appear to be reflected in the actual usage. These results will be expounded upon in the Theory section. It also discusses some ways in which the Swedish passive is used differently from its counterparts in Norwegian and Danish.

Expanding on this topic, but taking the analysis of the motivations behind the choice of passive in Swedish a little deeper is ”A corpus-based analysis of the Swedish passive alternation” by De Cuypere, Baten and Rawoens. In their own words, they ”examine the simultaneous effects of semantic and syntactic factors by means of a multivariate statistical analysis” (De Cuypere, Baten & Rawoens, 2014: p. 199), using literary texts from the Swedish corpus Språkbanken. Through this investigation, two primary and three secondary predictor variables for the choice of passive form are discovered.
This study will also be discussed further in the Theory section.
When it comes to the relationship between the passive in Arabic and that in Swedish, I don't believe it would be an exaggeration to say no such studies exist. In fact, very few studies contrasting Arabic and Swedish exist at all and the few I have been able to find concern bilingualism, language acquisition and similar topics, some from a linguistic and some from a social scientific point of view. These articles are too far removed from my study to be useful here. I have managed to find only one article which discusses translation between Arabic and Swedish. “Att översätta en dikt av den syriske poeten Muhammad al-Maghut (1934-2006)” by Bo Holmberg discusses translation of a particular poem from Arabic to Swedish, and although it may sound on the surface as though this is a topic closely connected to mine, the article focuses on translation from a methodological, even artistic, point of view and puts little focus to technical, linguistic details. It does mention having, in one line, changed a verb from the active to the passive, but there is no syntactical or grammatical reason given for this and the translators simply found it to be more efficient in communicating the imagery of the poem (Holmberg, p. 11/131). The dearth of research is perhaps not so strange considering how few literary works in Arabic are translated into Swedish. According to some sources fewer than 50 works have been translated (Faiq, p. 49) in total.

Although that specific language pair has not been widely researched in the past, there are several studies on both Arabic and Swedish passives as they compare to English passives. L. Mukattash's “Some remarks on Arabic-English contrastive studies” aims to provide a survey of the development of Arabic-English contrastive studies and some common problems associated with these. It contains a brief historical overview of the field, and then moves on to some perceived problems in it. Some of the factors covered are very practical, that many papers in the field remain unpublished, that some published ones are inaccessible to a larger audience or lack abstracts, and that there’s poor communication between academic institutions. This has lead to studies in the field often being fragmented, but also to very similar studies being conducted by different researchers independent of each other (Mukattash, 2001: p. 119). On the theoretical level, he highlights the following as being problematic:

- A tendency towards theoretically weak studies, which neither employ or test linguistic theories (ibid, 120-121).
- A tendency to mix standard and dialectal Arabic in the same study in an uncritical manner (ibid, 121).
- A tendency to impose English grammatical categories on Arabic language phenomena (ibid, 121).
- A tendency to include odd or ungrammatical forms in the research material (ibid, 122).

P. Hallman’s “Passives in Arabic and English” provides another overview of passives in Arabic, specifically Classical Arabic (CA) and Lebanese Arabic, and compares to English. Although it makes
a very interesting, and creative, contribution to the discussion on passives in general, arguing that in
both languages passivization is “morphologically spread out over two morphemes” (Hallman, 2000, p.
156), it has a heavy focus on dialectal Arabic which makes it less relevant to this thesis than I had
initially hoped. Another article whose focus is a little too far removed while still being interesting is
S. M. Suleiman’s “The Interaction between the Passive Transformation and other Transformations in
Arabic and English”. As the title suggests it focuses on passive and other transformations in the two
languages, and specifically on whether the rules in these transformations apply cyclically. The
author’s premise is that there are some constructions, passives among them, within MSA that require
In addition to the above studies, I came across several studies with a focus on how English passives
are translated into Arabic and whether they cause any particular problems for translators. Some of
these will be discussed in greater detail in my Theory section.
A book which I initially had a lot of hope for was K. Nofal's The use of the passive voice in the
language of journalism which was described on the book's “blurb” as being a “contrastive study of the
passive voice in the language of journalism in both English and Arabic” (Nofal, 2012: backside).
While there are several problems with this volume, it nevertheless is close enough to my own study to
be discussed in more detail in the theory section below.
R. Khafaji's “Arabic translation alternatives for the passive in English” discusses the passive as a
translation problem between English and Arabic, based on that Arabic is known for infrequent use of
the passive and English is known for frequent use of it. It discusses linguistic alternatives for the
translation of passives, and also the factors behind which translation alternative is used. A.Z. Naseeb's
Translating passive verbs in English-Arabic text and their frequency in Arabic-Arabic comparable
text, a master's thesis from the Middle East University in Amman, Jordan, which details a study
relatively similar to my own. The thesis's research questions are concerned with what options for
translating passive verbs from English to Arabic exist and which of these are frequent, what the
factors behind choosing one alternative over the other are, what difference there is in frequency of
passives in original Arabic texts and translated Arabic texts, and what is characteristic about the
frequency of the passive verbs in said translated texts. The study, or at least the half of it that dealt
with English-Arabic translations, provided a good guide for me in setting up my own study and
methodology. Both of these articles will be discussed in greater detail below.
B. I. M. al-Raba’a’s “The Grammatical Influence of English on Arabic in the Passive Voice in
Translation” also deals with the relationship between Arabic and English passives, but from the
perspective of language change. The article postulates that the use of agentive by-phrases in Arabic is
the result of structural borrowing from English. The article is based on a study which involves two
groups of Arabic speakers translating a number of sentences from English to Arabic, one group being
English-Arabic bilinguals (who notably were all born and raised in the US) and the other being Arabic
L1-speakers with some limited knowledge of English as a foreign language. Interestingly, the results of the study showed that the bilinguals were more likely to translate agentive English passives by Arabic actives. al-Raba’a attributes this to ”superior linguistic ability” due to being bilingual (ibid, 211). Additionally, the bilinguals translated all sentences into verbal sentences but the monolinguals mixed verbal and nominal sentences (ibid, 212). Oddly, the author seems to assess this as a less ideal result, which is interesting since in the other translation studies mentioned above none of the authors seemed to consider the use of nominals for a translation alternative as a problem. Thirdly, the monolinguals used a range of prepositional phrases for their agentives while the bilinguals just ones one. These three things lead the author to conclude that monolinguals with some foreign language skill, just like bilinguals and other groups, can trigger language change (ibid, 212).

A. Khalik’s “Arabic translations of English passive sentences: problems acceptability judgment” also investigates the same topic. It does this via a two-part study consisting of a translation test carried out by Arabic-speaking English as a First Language-speakers and also an acceptability judgement of the translations carried out by Arabic language instructors and literature teachers, who were presumably native speakers. The article contained a fair amount of unclarity regarding some parts of the study, for example what instructions exactly the translators were given, what variety of Arabic they had studied etc. I also found it troublesome that it did not problematize the rather subjective nature of these acceptability judgements or even really discuss the relationship between different varieties of Arabic.

To summarize it's results briefly both groups of translators translated a bit less than half of the sentences as active sentences and a bit less than half as agentive passives (Khalik, 1993: p. 171). As for the experts, most of the sentences produced were judged to be in the Modern Standard Arabic variety (ibid, 173) rather than Classical Arabic which seems to be precisely on account of these agentive passives. Other than that, it yielded little of interest for my purposes.

Like Arabic, Swedish has frequently been compared and contrasted to English in version studies. A.-L. Fredrikkssson has written a trio of such papers. “Defining the passive in English and Swedish: two competing models”, “A contrastive study of English and Swedish passives in a textual perspective” and “Translating passives in English and Swedish: a text linguistic perspective” all tackle the notion of passives in English and Swedish, albeit from slightly different perspectives. The first of the three how the passive is presented in two prominent grammars, *Svenska Akademiens Grammatik* and *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* and what similarities and differences exist in the two languages’ perspectives. The two other studies concern translation specifically, one focusing on to what extent passives are rendered as passives and the other focusing on whether textual and grammatical structure is altered or maintained. Due to the relevance to my study, and what they might reveal about the Swedish passives, these articles will all be discussed in more detail in the Theory section.

As we have seen, the studies I've found have chiefly concerned translation to Arabic and not from
Arabic, and it remains to be seen whether Arabic's disinclination towards passives presents any problems when it is the source language and not the target language.

1.4 Limitations

There are some limitations to this study. The most concrete one, which really boils down to a constraint on the time and range it is possible to fit into a thesis at bachelor's level, is the small sample of constructions studied. Although necessary for the timely completion of the study, its limited nature could possibly lead to there not being enough material to draw any proper conclusions. Additionally, the arbitrary selection of the sample (which will be discussed under Materials below) may skew the results in some unpredictable way.

Another issue is my own grasp of Swedish grammar. Although I am a native speaker, I have not studied Swedish formally (aside from in elementary and secondary school) prior to this study, and there was only so much time that could be spent brushing up on it. As such, I have had to keep the analysis of the Swedish side of things simple.

Lastly, as always with manual data collection there is the chance of human error leading to some points of data being missed or misinterpreted.

1.5 Delimitations

Like most studies done with quite the limited material, any generalized conclusions based on this one will be precarious at best. There are several different levels one which one could try to generalize with a study like this: the level of passives in Arabic in general, the level of passives in modern Arabic fiction, the level of passives in texts by Naguib Mahfouz etc, and for the second focus of the thesis the level of Arabic-Swedish translations in general. However, since we are dealing with just one writer, just 60 pages of text from a single work of fiction, and only the translation of said 60 pages by two translators (Kerstin Eksell for Bayn al-Qasrayn and Ingvar Rydberg for Qasr al-Šawq and al-Sukkariyya), I feel making such generalizations would be getting a bit ahead of oneself. At best, I think we could view these results as confirmations or contradictions of previously generated data (in the case of the Arabic-only portion of the study) and as a hint to a general tendency that is yet to be determined (in terms of the Arabic-Swedish contrastive portion).

In spite of this, I believe this study is a good way to tackle the subject for two reasons. First of all, there is a distinct lack of functional Arabic language corpora (not to mention Arabic-Swedish bilingual corpora) which might enable a larger scale study. Therefore, a small scale study like this might be as good as one can manage at this time. Secondly, since Arabic-Swedish contrastive studies
are a largely unexplored field, a small-scale study making inroads into it is at least a start.

1.6 Disposition

We have seen above some of the more basic information about this paper, such as the research topic, limitations and delimitations, relevant terminology etc. Now follows the study itself. We will begin with a theoretical/linguistic background on the notion of passive, in general and in the languages in question, and some related concepts. Then there will be a presentation of the material, and the method employed for extracting information from it. Following that is a discussion of the findings, which will be divided up into a discussion of the Arabic passives and a discussion of the Swedish translation alternatives. These will in turn be divided into separate sections for passive verbs and passive participles and further subsections. Finally, we will summarize the results and see what, if any conclusions, can be drawn from them.

2. Theory

In this section, we will explore what the passive is and how it functions in general as well as within the relevant languages. How the passive relates to translation will also be discussed.

2.1 What is the Passive?

Since the passive is the central concept in this thesis, it stands to reason that it needs to be thoroughly defined and examined. Like many linguistic concepts, the passive seems simultaneously easy and hard to define. Most language users are likely to recognize it as a distinct type of sentence in their own language and perhaps be able to explain it in layman's terms (“you know, it's when the sentence is about the thing having something done to it, and not the thing doing the thing” or “you know, like 'the book was written'”). Defining it outside of concrete examples and non-specific statements is much tougher, especially if we want a definition that works cross-linguistically. In fact even, or perhaps especially, among academics the definition can vary quite a lot depending on the angle of the study in question and the language(s) being studied. There are also two aspects to defining the passive: the formal and the functional. That is: what is it? And how is it used? We will first look at the formal aspects before moving onto the functional.

Let us begin by zooming out a little and saying that the passive is a type of grammatical voice. What then is voice? Like the passive, voice is a concept with many and at times vague definitions. For the purposes of this study, we will use a definition presented by M. Shibatani in the collection Passive

16
and Voice of voice as being “a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic
constituent — subject — from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause”
(Shibatani, 1988: p. 3). In accusative systems such as the languages this study is concerned with, the
active, unmarked voice is the one where the subject has the role of agent while the passive, marked
voice is the one where the subject is the patient. In non-accusative systems voice functions differently,
however that falls outside of the present study.
Of course, there is not just one definition of the passive. A definition focusing on topicalization might
instead call it "the clause-type whereby the agent of the corresponding active is radically de-
topicalized and its patient role becomes, by default, the only topical argument” (Givón, 2006: p. 338).
A focus on transitivity and argument structure might yield the following definition: "the form of a
verb or sentence which is used in constructions whose primary function is to indicate that the subject
of a transitive verb is patient or some other argument rather than the expected agent.” (Frajzyngier,
1982: p. 268). In a longer and more minute definition, Alexiadou and Schäfer posit properties by
which the passive is characterized: argument suppression (of, presumably the agent), case absorption
(of the accusative case of the object) and argument enhancement (of the object which takes a subject
position and a nominative case) (Alexiadou & Schäfer, 2013: p. 1-2). In this last definition, there
must also be an implicit agent that is syntactically real (ibid, 3). In the context of comparing passives
to other types of voice in other voice systems, B. Comrie states that in passives "all or most subject
properties [are usually] assigned to the P[atient]” (Comrie, 1988: p. 15) and that the agent in such
phrases is minimally integrated into the syntax of the phrase, that is, "few if any syntactic rules refer
to [it]” (ibid, 16). Central to many definitions and discussions on the passive is the notion of demotion
and promotion. In terms of Relational Grammar, demotion is the opposite of advancement and
involves moving down in a grammatical hierarchy, like the agent in a passive, which is demoted from
subject to an oblique, which may or may not be expressed (Solstad & Lyngfelt, 2006: p. 8). In terms
of semantics and surface expressions, demotion may instead be seen as “reduction from presence to
absence”, which may or may not apply to passives agents which are often removed in the surface
structure but not semantically (ibid, 8). With regards to the reasons behind removing the agent from
the structure of the sentence, they are many and vary between languages but may include things like:
the agent being unknown, the agent already having been mentioned and not needing to be mentioned
again, a shift in focus from the agent to the patient, the writer or speaker wishing to keep the agent
anonymous, among many others.
As mentioned, agent demotion and/or patient promotion plays a part in passive constructions. At
times, it can be hard to determine which of these two are at play. Is the agent in the sentence missing
because it is being intentionally demoted and obscured, or is it simply being de-emphasized in order
to promote the patient? This become a hard question to answer, especially in a language like Arabic
were explicit agents are usually avoided in passives and “linguistic convention” becomes another
potential explanation. It is also a tricky question because it goes into the writer's motives: did they pick this construction to emphasize the patient or to de-emphasize the agent, or perhaps both? Did they even consider this aspect of it when choosing the passive construction, or were they making the choice on another basis?

As for when the passive is used, as with the formal aspects of the concept, this may vary from language to language. As mentioned, the passive is the marked voice in accusative voice systems, which means it is used less often than the active voice. In the case of most languages, it seems it is used significantly less often.

In a study encompassing a large number of English and French passive verbs, S. Granger-Legrand tests her material against a range of reasons, posited by French linguist J. Dubois, for why a speaker might prefer passive over the active in a particular context. While many of these reasons did not yield enough results to be considered significant, Granger-Legrand found the following things:

- Personal pronouns occur with subjects at a high frequency but barely occur with agents (for both languages) (Granger, 1976: p. 30).
- When the agent is not the subject and there’s both an animate and an inanimate syntagm, the animate syntagm will come before the other in the majority of cases (for both languages) (ibid, 31).
- "Complex inner structures" (for example ones with relative clauses) are much more common in the agent than the subject (for both languages) (ibid, 33).
- 1-word syntagms are very common in subjects but not in agents, and the reverse is true for long syntagms (for both languages) (ibid, 34).

However, none of these correlations were significant enough to be considered the main factor in choosing the passive over the active. Instead, the most significant factor found was related to the so call theme-rheme sequence of a passive sentence. Theme (also called topic) and rheme (also called focus) are two key concepts when it comes to information structure, that is, in terms of how information is packaged and presented within a sentence. Theme refers to the given information in a particular utterance and rheme to the new information in said utterance. To give a simple example, In the sentence "the author wrote the book", author is the theme and book the rheme. In general, the theme is presented first, since it is already known, and the rheme second. On occasion, the passive may be used to maintain the information structure in a text. Take a look at these active sentences: "I like the 'Harry Potter' series. J.K. Rowling wrote the books." In the second sentence the theme, the books, which were already mentioned in the previous sentence, are in secondary position and the rheme, which is new information, is initial. Using a passive construction allows the speaker to preserve more conventional information structure in cases such as this, namely: "I like the 'Harry Potter' series. The books were written by J.K. Rowling.". In the aforementioned study Granger found that in those passive sentences where there is clearly one given and one new element the given one
was almost always the subject and the new one the agent (ibid, 42). To an extent, this finding also explain some of the factors discussed above. For example, personal pronouns co-occur with subjects and not agents since they by default replace something known and is therefore part of the theme) (ibid, 38).

To summarize we can say that the passive is a voice which is formed by promoting the patient so that it corresponds with the subject of the sentence, and demoting the agent so that it is either moved to a by-phrase or syntactically omitted. This is achieved through different means in different languages, and at different frequencies. With this rather vague definition in mind, we will examine the passive in Arabic and Swedish respectively.

2.2 The Passive in Arabic

This study is concerned with two types of passives in Arabic: passive verbs and passive participles. These will be discussed separately, beginning with the verbs. As with any passive, there are two parts to the passive in Arabic: the form, and the function. We will begin by describing the former.

Generally speaking, the passive in MSA is formed by changing the vowel sequence of the verb. This construction, called the inflectional (or sometimes internal) passive, is the one referred to in most articles and grammars (for example Badawi et al). There is also, arguably, a derivational (sometimes called external) passive which is formed by the affixes \( n- \) and \( -t- \) (forms VII and VIII respectively). A variant of this construction is the standard passive and middle voice in dialectal Arabic, however in MSA these forms are generally considered to be something like a ”middle voice” rather than a true passive (Badawi et. al., 2004: p. 61). Additionally, some form VII and VIII verbs can also be internally passivized, furthering the case that they are not passive in their basic form.

Although short vowels are rarely written in regular Arabic text due to linguistic convention (with the exception of texts aimed at young children and the like), ambiguity is rare because the voice can be interpreted by syntactic or semantic clues (ibid: 383). Here we have an example of an active and a passive of the same verb in Arabic, with transcription, word-by-word translations and idiomatic translations below:

\[
\text{Kataba al-kātib al-kitāb} \\
\text{wrote the-writer the-book} \\
\text{the writer wrote the book}
\]
Without the short vowels, كتب and كتب are both written as كتاب, which gives the second sentence three possible readings. It may be read as passive, as above. Alternatively, it could be read as an active verb without an external subject (as “he wrote”), which should be easily confirmed by reading the preceding text to find a subject to whom the verb could be attributed. Lastly it could be read as “the book wrote”, which by virtue of its surrealist nature would also hopefully be discernible by the context. Occasionally, short vowels are added to avoid textual ambiguity and this may occasionally happen with passives as well as other types of words.

The passive in Arabic is generally considered to be a transformation from the active, which follows these four steps:

"First, the subject of the sentence is deleted. Second, the object becomes the subject of the sentence and receives nominative case. Third, the active verb changes into the passive by changing its vowels, the change being dependent upon the tense or type of the verb, as described below. Fourth, the verb agrees in person and gender with the new subject in the Verb-Subject order and in person, gender, and number in the Subject-Verb order."

(Agameya, 2011)

Passive verbal sentences in Arabic commonly do not include an agent, and when agent phrases do occur in MSA it is often attributed to influence by other languages. When it comes to the function of the passive verb in MSA, Agameya states that it is mainly used when “the agent responsible for performing the act is not known or when the speaker chooses not to mention it, or to place emphasis on the object, i.e. the patient.” (Agameya, 2011). According to Badawi et. al. the passive “exists primarily to express an act whose agent is unknown or suppressed”. A more thorough investigation is done by K. Nofal in The use of the passive voice in the language of journalism, which lists the following functions of the passive in Arabic:

- Expressing an unknown agent (Nofal, 2012: 152)
- Expressing the agent being God (ibid: 129)
- Avoiding the explicit mention of the agent (ibid: 153)
- Avoiding expressing an agent which is already known from the context (ibid: 153)
- Goal prominence (ibid: 153)
- Producing agentless constructions in order to increase the economy of expression (ibid: 154)
• Agent prominence (ibid: 154)
• Producing suspense by delaying the delivery of information (ibid: 155)

Based on a cursory literature search done for this study, the Arabic passive participle does not seem to have been as widely studied as the Arabic passive verbs. That is not to say that they are not covered by grammars and the like. Formally, the passive participle is formed by a particular pattern depending on the form of the verb it is derived from:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Passive Participle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>مَعْوَل (mafʿūl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>مَعْلال (mufaʿʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>مَعْلاَل (mufāʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>مَعْلاَ (mufʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>مَعْلاَ (mutafaʿʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>مَعْلاَ (mutafāʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>مَعْلاَ (munfaʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>مَعْلاَ (muftaʿal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>مَعْلاَ (mustafʿal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The passive participle can function in a range of ways, as we will also explore in the Results section below. According to Badawi, passive participles can have all the functions of adjectives and some functions of nouns (Badawi et. al., p. 245-246). Unlike the passive verbs, the passive participles may be passive only in form but not semantically. This too will be shown in the Result section below.

2.3 The Passive in Swedish

In Svenska Akademiens Grammatik (henceforth SAG), the standard grammar reference for Swedish, the passive is defined as “a quality of clauses” wherein “some of the actants of the verb systematically have a different clause element function than in the corresponding active phrase (the typical case)” (SAG, 1999: 360). In terms of form, Swedish contains two main types of passives: the morphological
passive and the periphrastic passive.

The morphological passive is formed by adding the suffix -s to the conjugated verb. This is the most common passive in Swedish. Generally, all forms of a verb except the imperative, and most transitive verbs as well as some intransitive verbs can be passivized in this way (ibid: 361). When it comes to intransitive verbs, those that passivize almost exclusively involve a human agent. They also generally lack the agentive av-phrase (comparative to the English by-phrase) (ibid: 363), which is optional for most Swedish passives and seem to be obligatory only with certain specific lexemes. In a study by E. Engdahl, 13% of the morphological passives and 11% of the periphrastic ones had an explicit agent and the two forms did not seem to differ in their use of it (Engdahl, 2006: p. 37). Here is a comparison of the active and the morphological passive:

Författaren skrev boken
The-writer wrote the-book
The writer wrote the book

Boken skrevs
The-book was-written
The book was written

The periphrastic passive is formed by an auxiliary verb combined with a perfect participle, which has a verbal meaning in these constructions. The auxiliary verb used is usually bli (to become) and sometimes vara (to be). Other auxiliaries are also occasionally used, but only in particular fixed expressions. In general bli-passives semantically overlap with the morphological passive while the more uncommon vara-passives have a more limited scope of use. Most verbs that can form a morphological passive can also form the stem of a periphrastic passive, with some exceptions (ibid: 382), and verbs that cannot form a morphological passive cannot form a periphrastic passive (ibid: 383). The participial phrase in these constructions are predicative in nature, however perfect participles based on transitive verbs may also be used with an adjectival function, which is to some extent or other removed from the meaning of the verbal stem, as predicates or as plain adjectives. Perfect participles based on intransitive stems are instead active in nature (ibid: 582). An example of the periphrastic passive, based on the same active as above:

Boken blev skriven
The-book became written
The book was written

Functionally, the s-passive and bli-passive are often in free variation of one another, however in some constructions one kind is preferred over the other. According to SAG, the s-passive is preferred:

- With verbs of speech of thought reflecting perception (ibid: 397),
- With passive clauses including an expletive det (it) as a subject (ibid: 397),
• With verbs denoting “iterative or generic actions” (ibid: 398),
• With certain modal auxiliaries (ibid: 398),
• With certain verbs that denote a static relationship (ibid: 398),
• With verbs referring to non delimited processes (ibid: 398),
• With verbs that without the s-suffix are more or less lexicalized (ibid: 398),
• With verbs that in the active take an object denoting content (ibid: 399),
• and with declarative main clauses containing indirect imperatives (ibid: 399).

On the other hand, the bli-passive is preferred:

• With verbs with limited aktionsart (ibid: 399),
• With constructions where the focus is on the beginning of a state (ibid: 399),
• With subjects that exercise some amount of control over the action (ibid: 400),
• With verbs which has a deponent with an s-suffix which may lead to ambivalence if the s-passive is used (ibid: 400),
• With phrases that have animate subjects (ibid: 400),
• and with passive phrases that are subordinate to a verb with an s-suffix (ibid: 401)

However, a study by E. Engdahl shows that these divisions do not seem to hold true in all cases. She claims that most modern grammars, including SAG, make two claims that do not seem to be true, the first being that "the s-form is used when referring to types of events, without localising them in time and that the bli-form is used when talking about particular events, in the past, present or future” (Engdahl, 2006: p. 24) and the second being that "the s-form is supposed to be used when the focus is the event itself, whereas the bli-form is used when the inception or completion of the event is foregrounded” (ibid, 26). Additionally, in an article called "A corpus-based analysis of the Swedish passive alternation”, De Cuypere, Baten and Rawoens explored semantic and syntactic factors behind the choice of passive in Swedish and discovered two primary and three secondary predictor variables for it.

Their results revealed that the modal verb had the strongest impact on the choice of the passive, followed closely by subject animacy. 72% of the passives with inanimate subjects used the s-form and 71% of the ones with animate subjects used the bli-form (ibid, 214). Meanwhile, 86% of sentences with modal verbs but only 39% of sentences without them co-occurred with s-passives (ibid, 214). The three secondary factors were Aktionsart, subject number and av- phrases. As we have seen with Engdahl above, the study revealed that Aktionsart did not influence the choice of the passive as explained in grammars, but rather that 53% of sentences with completed Aktionsart were s-form sentences, and only 47% of sentences with an ongoing Aktionsart (ibid, 214). A fairly even divide, as was the case with subject number with a 50/50 divide on singular subjects and a 53/47 divide on plural ones (ibid, 214). The av-phrase was not quite so evenly distributed, even if its results were not
as clear as the primary variables listed first. The *av*-phrase occurred with the *s*-form in 73% with the cases, and the sentences without *av*-phrases were with the *bli*-passive in 53% of the cases. The impact of subject person on the choice of the passive was also investigated, but the results were determined not to be statistically significant (ibid, 214).

There is a large difference in frequency between the two types of passives in Swedish, with 91% of the passives being of the morphological variety and the rest being *bli* or *vara*-passives according to Engdahl's study mentioned above (Engdahl, p. 28). Engdahl also determines that "almost 90% of the subjects of *bli*-passives are animate, compared with a third of the subjects in *s*-passives" (ibid, 31). Engdahl doesn't attribute this to animacy in itself, but rather to the degree of influence the subject over the thing that is happening (Engdahl, 2006: p. 32). Another interesting thing to note is that while *bli*-passives can generally be replaced by *s*-passives, the inverse usually results in ungrammatical constructions (Engdahl, 2006: p. 34). One study by A.-L. Fredriksson showed that passives in Swedish were considerably less frequent than in English, which might be an indication that Swedish has "at its disposal other devices fulfilling similar functions competing with the passive" (Fredriksson, 2001a: 84).

It is difficult to compare two languages as different as Arabic and Swedish, at least if one wants to be brief, but we may summarize the differences and similarities with regard to the passive:

- Both languages have a morphological passive which in the case of MSA is the only form of passive and in the case of Swedish is by far the most common.
- Swedish has a less common periphrastic passive, which Arabic does not.
- In both languages, the passive is considered to be transformationally derived from the corresponding active.
- In both languages, passives are usually agentless. Some scholars claim that agents are entirely missing in Arabic passives, but this is not fully supported by empirical evidence.
- In both languages, there is a wide range of reasons for why the passive is used.

### 2.4 The Passive and Translation

Because of the great variation in terms of both the form, syntax and use of passives between different languages, it is a particularly interesting topic to study with a view to translation. Trying to stay as close to the original text as possible while also being mindful of when and how it is acceptable to use a passive in the target language is a challenging balancing act, particularly when you consider that even if the truth value of a passive and the corresponding active is the same, the tone and perspective can be very different.

Sometimes, however, the passive is not a translation problem but a translation solution. A good example of this is information structure and the theme-rheme sequence that we mentioned above in
Section 2.1. With languages that have considerably different syntax, a more direct translation may reverse the theme-rheme sequence of an utterance, which in some cases can easily lead to comprehension becoming more difficult. In such cases, changing from the active to the passive (or vice versa) when translating may remedy this as we saw in the study by Granger above. Similar studies have been done on other language pairs, such as a study on Norwegian and German where adjustments voice changes made for maintaining information structure were shown to lead to unexpected frequencies of passives (Pitz, 2006: p. 225).

2.4.1 The Passive and Translation – Arabic

The field of contrastive studies focusing on English and Arabic is a relatively well-studied one, and some of these have also focused on the passive and how to translate it. Two studies that were particularly similar to what this thesis is trying to accomplish was R. Khafaji’s “Arabic translation alternatives for the passive in English” and A.Z. Naseeb’s *Translating passive verbs in English-Arabic text and their frequency in Arabic-Arabic comparable text*, which both examine how English passives are translated into Arabic (and some related topics in the case of the latter). Both studies come up with the same list of translation alternatives, namely the following:

- English passive verb to Arabic passive verb
- English passive verb to Arabic active verb
- English passive verb to Arabic nominal construction with an infinitive
- English passive verb to Arabic nominal construction with passive participle.

The frequencies of these alternatives was also fairly similar in both articles, with a relatively even divide between the verbal and nominal alternatives and a near-even divide between active and passive constructions in the verbal translations.

When it comes to why a particular alternative was chosen over another, there seems to be few concrete factors established. Whether a particular English lexeme's semantic equivalent in Arabic is conventionally passivized is clearly a factor, though it is unclear to what extent. The translation choice may be “subject to some conditioning factors” and not entirely a free choice (Naseeb, 2011: p. xii), but I have seen no in-depth attempt at examining these factors.

Regardless of what translation alternative is chosen, however, there seems to be a tendency on the part of the translator to try to maintain the semantic relationships within the sentence by making the subject of the sentence the goal or patient rather than the agent, thus mimicking the passive construction to some extent.

One interesting thing to note is that there seems to be a tendency to frame the translation of English passives into Arabic as a “translation problem”. This is based on Arabic being known for infrequent
use of passive while English is known for frequent use of it. I consider this framing to be unnecessary and unproductive. After all, none of the studies using this terminology go on to show any difficulty on the part of the translators when it comes to rendering the semantic content of the source text as a grammatical, comprehensive and semantically equivalent text in the target language. Being able to exactly replicate the syntax and semantics of a text when translating is the exception rather than the rule, especially with languages as different as Arabic and English. Passive is hardly the only language feature that regularly prompts a translator to chose between several translation alternatives, and unless there is some indication of a genuine difficulty communicating the semantic content, there is arguable no need to consider this a problem. It is simply a feature of translation as an exercise.

Unfortunately, I have not found any that discuss the translation of Arabic verbs into English (or any other language) as this thesis will.

2.4.2 The Passive and Translation – Swedish

Like with Arabic, Swedish has also been examined in conjunction with the translation to and from other languages, including English.

In two separate but related articles, “A contrastive study of English and Swedish passives in a textual perspective” and “Translating passives in English and Swedish: a text linguistic perspective”, A.-L. Fredriksson investigates the translation of passives between Swedish and English. The former of the two looks at fiction texts and the latter at non-fiction, and it is interesting to note that one of them highlight's English's high frequency of passive (which is also corroborated by frequency studies of the texts in the same study) as a potential translation problem, just as in the English-Arabic studies above, even though these languages are much more closely related. Both articles investigate to what extent passives in original texts correspond to passives in translated texts, what translation alternatives exist and whether the communicative functions are retained with these.

In both studies, the majority of English passives are rendered as passives in Swedish, with English passives being rendered as non-passive constructions in 39% of the cases for “A contrastive study” (Fredriksson, 2001a: 84) and in 37% of the cases for “Translating passives” (Fredriksson, 2001a: 83-84)

“A contrastive study” (Fredriksson, 2001b: 198). Both studies also indicate a wide range of translation alternatives for Swedish, including:

- basic active constructions
- impersonal constructions (including constructions with the generic pronoun man, 'one')
- nominalizations
- omissions
In addition, it was found that the information structure of the passives were unchanged in most of the cases, both when passives were translated as passives and when they were not. In those cases where the syntax of the sentence was changed, it was often done to preserve the theme-rheme sequence. Based on the above, we can summarize what we know of the translation from English into Swedish as follows:

- Many different translation options are present.
- The theme-rheme sequence was usually left unchanged.
- In some cases, voice change might be the result of wanting to preserve the theme-rheme sequence.

We shall see whether these things are true also for the Arabic-Swedish translations in this study.

3. Methodology and Materials

3.1 Materials

The primary materials for this study consists of 60 pages from *al-tulatiyya al-qāhiriyya* (*The Cairo Trilogy*) by Naguib Mahfouz and the corresponding pages from its Swedish translation by Kerstin Eksell (for *Bayn al-Qasrayn*) and Ingvar Rydberg (for *Qasr al-Šawq* and *al-Sukkariyya*). The 60 pages are made up of the first and last 10 pages from each volume.

This material selection naturally brings up some questions: why Naguib Mahfouz? Why *the Cairo Trilogy*? And why these particular pages? The answer, in a general sense, is: why not?

This study is primarily interested in Modern Standard Arabic in a general sense, not in any particular author or work of literature. As such, the precise text chosen is of lesser importance, so long as it is representative of that language variety. Additionally, Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* is widely considered one of the great works of modern Arabic literature and, with translation studies concerning Arabic and Swedish being a largely unexplored field, it seems appropriate to start with one of “the greats”.

As for the page selection, the choice of using the 10 first and 10 last pages from each volume was an arbitrary one. There are simply too many factors that could potentially affect the frequency and type of passives present on a particular page to make the choice of pages anything but a random selection. The characters featured, the position within the larger narrative, the type of writing (description or dialogue), the themes involved, and several other factors might cause a particular section of text to function differently in terms of voice. I have no way to account for all these factors, and since I lack the relevant resources (for instance, corpora of a sufficiently high quality and scope) to carry out a
study on the trilogy as a whole I simply made the first choice that came to my mind. Whichever pages I had chosen, I would have no way of guaranteeing that my sample was representative either of the literary work as a whole or of Arabic in general with such a small number of pages. It was simply the simplest approach to material selection.

As for the Swedish translation, my reason for choosing to work with it instead of the English translation is simply the dearth of comparative research of Swedish and Arabic. Relative to what exists in that field today, there is a plethora of research focusing on English and Arabic.

As secondary materials, to help me assess my primary materials, I used several dictionaries and reference grammars. My primary dictionary was Hans Wehr's *Arabic-English Dictionary*, and in those cases where additional dictionaries were needed I used the online edition of Oxford's Arabic-English dictionary and occasionally the website Almaany.com which has both Arabic-English and Arabic-Arabic sections. My primary grammar references were *Modern Written Arabic* by E. Badawi et al and the textbook *Modern Arabic – An elementary-intermediate course* by E. Schulz et al for Arabic, and *Svenska Akademien Grammatik* by U. Teleman for Swedish.

### 3.2 Methodology

The process of collecting and analyzing the data consisted of several steps:

1. Two or three low-to-medium depth read-throughs of the Arabic source material. During these read-throughs any morphological passives (verbs and passive participles alike) found were marked and temporary statistics were compiled to give myself a general idea of the frequency and type of passive found in the material.

2. A line-by-line close reading of the Arabic source material during which I attempted to determine which words were formally/morphologically passive. This determination had several sub-steps:
   a. Reading the word with an approximation of the correct vocalization (taking into consideration the semantic and syntactic context of the word).
   b. Attempting to verify said pronunciation by using the Wehr dictionary mentioned above.
   c. If the initial reading was correct and the word was in fact passive, it was then added to a database and a range of data was noted about it. In those cases where verification through the Wehr dictionary was not possible one of several steps were taken. The most simple solution was a syntactical analysis of the sentence to determine any objects or subjects which may give a clue to the function of the examined word in the sentence. If the vocalization was uncertain, for example if both an active and passive participle was present in the dictionary and the meanings were either too similar or it was difficult to determine by the context which one was more correct, additional dictionaries were
consulted. Finally, in those cases were the dictionaries were unhelpful or contradicted one another, my thesis supervisor was consulted. After these steps, if the word was determined to be passive, it was added to the database. In most cases of ambiguity, only one of these additional methods were necessary. Each entry registered in the database was assigned a reference number, starting at 1 and progressing chronologically, which will be used when quoting examples in the Result section.

3. The data collected was analyzed and some basic classifications were made. Verbs and passive participles were analyzed separately. Verbs were primarily analyzed with regard to form, presence or absence of agent and patient demotion. Passive participles were primarily analyzed with regard to form, function within the sentence and degree of semantic passivity.

The process for the Swedish words was very similar:

1. A close reading of the relevant pages was done, to locate the words which corresponded to the Arabic passives.
2. Once found, the words were added to the database alongside their Arabic originals, and syntactically analyzed to determine some basic things such as what word class they were, whether they were passive and, if so, what type. In some cases the construction was sufficiently different that an corresponding word could not be found. These were marked with an X, and only the sentential context and the page and line number were collected. Some examples of these will be given below.
3. The collected data was analyzed alongside the Arabic half, in order to see if any patterns were discernible with regard to what was translated into what.

Grammars and other resources were consulted through-out this process to ensure a reliable analysis. On the whole, I feel it was a simple system but as efficient as is possible for a manual study like this.

4. Results

In this section, the findings discovered in the material will be reviewed. We will separately examine the Arabic passive verbs and the Arabic passive participles, followed by the Swedish translations of the Arabic passive verbs and the Swedish translations of the Arabic passive participles, in that order.

4.1 Arabic Results

In total, I found 252 formally, that is morphologically marked, passive constructions (verbs and passive participles) in the 60 pages studied. The participles made up the vast majority of these, with only 11% (29 constructions) being verbs. I will discuss these two categories separately in the following section, beginning with the verbs. Please note that while the Arabic and Swedish text
examples are rendered as in the original text, the English translations are my own. The reason for this
is that I want these to be as literal as possible, which may not be the case for the more artistically
inclined official translations.

4.1.1 Arabic Verbal Passives

While going through my collected data, there were several factors I looked at to see if any patterns in
how the passive was used could be found. I will present below several factors, some of which I
believe did not affect the choice of the passive, some which I believe did and some which I believe
cannot be properly examined without additional studies.

Form. With regard to the verbal forms, the distribution of the verbs in my data look as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form (pattern)</th>
<th># of entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (فعل)</td>
<td>22 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (فعل)</td>
<td>1 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (فعل)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (فعل)</td>
<td>4 (13.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (فعل)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI (فعل)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII (فعل)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII (فعل)</td>
<td>1 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX (فعل)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X (فعل)</td>
<td>1 (3.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This distribution is relatively similar to the one we have seen in some of the studies mentioned in the
theory section. However, none of those studies or any other I have read indicate whether this
distribution reflects the general frequency of verb forms in Arabic or whether it is characteristic of the
passive. As such, it is unclear what, if any, correlation there is between form and voice.
Lexical entries. One potential factor that may affect the use of the passive are the lexical entries themselves. That is: the specific words. It may be that some words are more frequently passivized than others, and it seems that this is also the case with some of the 29 verbs found in our data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of entries</th>
<th>Verb(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12 (41.5%)</td>
<td>قيل, to be said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 (14%)</td>
<td>أغلى، to be closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (20.5%)</td>
<td>سمع, to be heard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>فتح، to be opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>قتل، to be killed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (24%)</td>
<td>أخطط، to be snatched away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>تأي، to be recited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خلق، to be created</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>خدع، to be betrayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>وجهة، to be directed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>دعى، to be called</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>استشهد، to be martyred</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, with only 12 unique lexical items and just over half of them only having one entry each while a single lexical item makes up just over 40% of the total verbal entries, it seems unlikely
that the passive of قال here “imitates” the majority active text as it likely has done in terms of some of the factors above. Even a quick glance at the text will conclude that 40% of the verbs in the active are not, in fact, the verb قال (to say) and yet in the passive, it seems to be quite over-represented. Some examples of its use will follow:

As was often said of her

It was said to us that it was a great event

As we can see, قال might here be more smoothly translated as “we/she/I heard” or “we/she/I was told” rather than the more literal translation of “it was said”. The word takes on an impersonal connotation and is used when the speaker in question is left unmentioned, which we will discuss further below.

The second most common lexical item is فتح (to be closed), which is consistently used with a door as its patient-subject. The same goes for فتح (to be opened), as we can see in this example:

and then the door of the house opens and then closes

These two words are used in identical or near-identical contexts on all occasions, and both instances of فتح are coupled with an instance of أغلق.

Both these terms, as well as سمع (to be heard), are terms that while just as usable in the active may lend themselves to the passive because they denote actions where the agent or causer may simply not be important.
As for those lexical items that only occurred once, theorizing about why these occur as passives while other verbs did not provide meaningful data considering the limited size of the sample.

**Grammatical person and number.** All 29 passive verbs were in the 3rd person singular. While this homogeneity could be statistically significant, a cursory glance at the textual context surrounding these reveal that most of the verbs, active or passive, were 3rd person singular. This makes it more likely that this is simply a matter of passive verbs grammatically consistent with the overall style of the text.

**Grammatical tense.** 20 of 29 verbs were in the perfect and 9 in the imperfect creating a 68% to 32% division. This is rather a large difference, which could potentially be an indication of some correlation. We have also seen above in the theory section that in some cases there may be a connection between aktionsart and voice, however I have seen no indication that this is the case for Arabic. Additionally the text overall seems to chiefly be written in the past, which in Arabic is usually rendered by the perfect (outside of some particular compound tenses). This seems to be a result of being grammatically consistent with the overall text, however this cannot be confirmed without performing a larger-scale study in which the grammatical tense of the study as a whole is examined.

**Agents and patients.** All of the passive verbs lacked an explicit agent. However, that does not mean that a semantic agent did not exist for any of these sentences. As we have established in the theory section, the passive functions largely by a system of demoting the agent and promoting the patient. This can be done in different ways, and for different reasons. I have uncovered several different reasons or combinations of reasons among my material, and we shall go through them one by one. Often, the passive resulted in an emphasis being placed on the patient by making it the subject and focus of the sentence. We can see this extra clearly in this example, where the verb is also repeated for extra emphasis:

[96 and 97]

ابْْا
إ
قتل
... فَِِ
قتل
[97]

Our son was killed… Fahmi was killed.

It seems logical that such a dramatic event as a violent death would lend itself to the patient being emphasized. By the context, we can judge the absent agent to be the unnamed, and presumably unknown, soldier who shot the character Fahmi in a demonstration. For all intents and purposes, this agent is unknown and, in this moment of grief, arguably irrelevant or overshadowed by the violent nature of the death.

Of course, in many cases the agent is not unknown but can be inferred from the context:

33
And the fatiha was recited
We know here from the preceding lines who the characters reciting it are, so there is no need to mention them again. There are also cases, particularly in conjunction with the verb قيل, where the agent is not only unmentioned but seems largely irrelevant:

A long time ago it was said to me that if I had finished the stages of education I would have been the most eloquent of lawyers.
Here, it is not important who said it, but rather what was said and who it was said too. قيل is frequently used in this way. However, it is also some used with an implicit agent that can be read as referring to “they” in the sense of “people generally”. We can see such a case below:

As was often said of her
The agent here could be the character’s family, her neighbors or any other group. Since it is not specified it makes sense to read it as a sort of “impersonal”. Unlike the previous example, it’s not that who said this specific thing isn’t important, it is rather that this was something people generally said, perhaps repeatedly.
There is also a single instance in which the implicit agent can probably only be read as God, when a character marvels over the existence of the world in a general sense:

Did you see it created yesterday?
The “it” referred to here is the world, and as such it is hard to imagine a different agent than God, but it is of course possible that there is another interpretation.

When it comes to the verbs أغلق (ugliga, “to be closed”) and فتح (futiha, “to be opened”), there seems to be two reasons for agent demotion. Either the agent is not (yet) known, or the verb doesn’t describe a specific action but rather a general state that can be caused by any number of agents:
Then the sound of the door of the house (while it was) closing came into the room.

Here, the door is heard to be closing, and the agent is revealed shortly after, by the context and not by an actual agentive phrase. The entries with the verb أجلق (uğliqa, “to close”) function in this manner, save for one:

كان مجرد وجوده في البيت [... ] كفيلا بيت السلام في نفسها، ففتحت الأبواب ام أجلقت [12]

It was only his presence in the house [...] that guaranteed peace spreading in her soul, when the doors were opened or closed.

Here we are not discussing a particular instance of the doors opening or closing, but rather the general concept of them being opened or closed and as such the agent can be anyone or no-one.

Finally, I will briefly mentioned one construction that is interesting in terms of agent and patient status:

أريد عالما لا تخدع فيه القلوب ولا تخدع [146]

I want a world in which hearts do not betray and are not betrayed

This sentence is interesting because it contains two verbs which share a subject while being in different voices. Syntactically, either verb can be considered to be the passive one on account of the lack of short vowels, but for stylistic reasons I have interpreted the first one as active and the second as passive. As such, for the first verb, the noun قلوب (qulūb, “hearts”) functions as agent-subject and for the second verb the same noun functions as patient-subject. In this unique case, it doesn’t seem quite right to talk about agent demotion or patient promotion, but rather a sort of convergence of agent and patient upon the same lexeme for poetic effect.

4.1.1.1 Summary Arabic Verbal Passives

To summarize, the following were the findings regarding the Arabic passive verbs found in the material:

- There were a total of 29 passive verbs.
- The distribution in terms of form was as follows: Form I (76%), Form IV (13.5%) and Form II, VIII and X (3.5% each).
• None of the verbs had agents.
• Some verbs seemed more than averagely likely to passivize, particularly the verb ﯽل (qīl, “to be said”) which appeared 12 times in the material. The reasons for this is unclear.
• There were a range of apparent reasons for why the passive was employed. These included:
  ◦ When the agent was unknown
  ◦ When the agent was a sort of impersonal, interpretable as “people in a general sense”
  ◦ When the agent was known from the context
  ◦ When the agent was God
• When the emphasis was shifted to the patient for narratological reasons.

All in all, none of these findings were particularly surprising. The lack of agentive phrases is commonly considered characteristic of Arabic, although with such a small set of verbs as this these results can hardly be said to confirm this. The reasons for using the passive are also recognized from the study by Nofal mentioned in the Theory section, and others. As for the distribution between forms, there seems to be no reliable data on how common the various forms are in Modern Standard Arabic in general and as such it is not possible to conclude whether this distribution is somehow characteristic of the passive.

4.1.2 Arabic Passives Participles

As mentioned above, the majority of formally/morphologically passives found, 223 in total, were passive participles. Upon examining these, I further divided these into 3 categories depending on whether they retained the characteristic traits of the passive (based on the definition of passiveness established in the Theory section) and whether they were lexicalized. Lexicalization here is defined as simply as possible: a lexicalized word is one that is found in one or several of the dictionaries mentioned in the Materials section, as its own subentry to a root entry. The 3 categories were as follows:

• Lexicalized (non-passive) Participles. Entries that are lexicalized and missing most or all of the characteristic traits of the passive.
• Lexicalized Passive Participles. Entries that are lexicalized and retain most or all of the characteristic traits of the passive.
• (Non-lexicalized) Passive Participles. Entries that are not lexicalized and that retain most or all of the characteristic traits of the passive.

There is also a fourth, hypothetical, category of entries that are not lexicalized and do not retain the
passive characteristics, but no such entries were found.
Of the 223 entries, 136 entries were lexicalized (non-passive) participles, 77 were lexicalized participles that still exhibit passive properties and only 10 were true passive (non-lexicalized) participles. We will examine below how each of these categories are used. Note that these classifications are a matter of interpretation and certain entries might have been classified differently by another researcher.

4.1.2.1 Lexicalized (non-passive) Participles
61% of the passive participles, 136 out of 223, collected in this study are passive in form only. That is, they take the pattern and vocalization of a passive participle but have not retained the other characteristics of the passive discussed in the Theory section above. The words in this group were also lexicalized, that is they had their own (sub)entry in the dictionary or dictionaries, separate from the root meaning of the verb:

\[
\text{سيخرج الوليد إلى الدنيا و أبوه في المعتقلٍ} [234]
\]

The baby will enter the world while his father is in the arrest.

\(\text{مُعتَقلٍ} (\text{mu'\text{t}aqal})\) is a passive participle of the form VIII verb اعتقل (\(i'\text{taqala}\)), which means to detain, to arrest, to intern. However, the noun does not have the direct passive meaning of this verb, which would be detained, arrested and, by extension, prisoner.

Though it may take that meaning in some contexts, the meaning here is less direct, meaning instead prison camp. With this reading, the characteristics we would expect from a passive are absent.

Form. In terms of verbal forms, the distribution looks thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form (pattern)</th>
<th># of entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (maf'ül)</td>
<td>32 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II (mufâ`al)</td>
<td>18 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III (mufâ al)</td>
<td>55 (40.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV (muf al)</td>
<td>7 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V (mutafa`al)</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI (mutafa`al)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII (munfa`al)</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII (mufta`al)</td>
<td>14 (10.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X(mustaf`al)</td>
<td>6 (4.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, the distribution is much more spread out here than it is with the verbs, though considering how small the sample, particularly the verbal one, is it is hard to say if this has any
significance. It is interesting to see how common form III is in this sample of lexicalized participles. A part of the reason for this is coincidental: some of the text deals with a demonstration, represented by the word مُظَاهِرة (muẓāhara) which is a form III, which causes the word in some form (singular or plural, with or without the definite article) to occur 23 times in the text. If this lexeme had a more average frequency (most words occur only once up to a small handful of times in the text), then form I and form III would have a more similar frequency.

**Nouns and noun phrases.** The vast majority of the lexicalized passive participles were indeed used in non-complex constructions, with 96 of them functioning as noun phrases or parts of noun phrases, often after a preposition or as part of an *iḍāfa*-construction.

Do they think that he settled for distributing pamphlets?

Kamal invited him to accompanying him

**Adjectivals.** The second most common function of the lexicalized participles was the adjectival function with 29 entries:

With it's wide, square area

Here the participle is a basic descriptor, referring to the floor area of a room.

**Adverbial.** The remaining function for these participles, as an adverbial, only applies to 11 entries. In 5 of these sentences, the passive participle was a stand-alone adverbial:

He saw the group that was stationed directly in front of him move

In the other 6 cases, the passive participle was not the adverbial directly, but rather the head of a prepositional phrase which made up the adverbial:
In the middle of the night she woke up

### 4.1.2.2 Lexicalized Passive Participles

Some of the entries collected in this material were lexicalized, but they still maintain some or all of the characteristics of the passive that we have discussed above.

**Form.** In terms of verbal form, the lexicalized passive participles are distributed as such:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form (pattern)</th>
<th># of entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>29 (37.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>17 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>6 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>12 (15.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>2 (2.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>1 (1.5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>10 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we see, fewer forms are used here than with the non-passive lexicalized items, though this may easily be a consequence of the lower number of entries. It is interesting to see, however, that form III is practically unused here while it was the most used form for the lexicalized non-passive entries. Whether this has some deeper explanation or is just coincidental would likely require a more extensive investigation of passive participles.

**Syntactic Function.** The entries in this category are also almost exclusively adjectives used with an adjectival function, that is they are descriptors meant to clarify the appearance or state of a thing or person. A simple example can be seen here:

 ثم وقفت في قفصها المغلق

Then she stopped in her closed cage

The “cage” in this example is actually a balcony, which is closed by means of having walls on all three sides and only little peep-holes to see out into the street through. Another example:

بضمير معذب و قلب حائر ...

… with a tormented conscience and a confused heart

A small handful of entries, 7 in total, were parts of noun phrases rather than adjectival:
Did you wish you were among the injured who did not die?

Finally, two entries are adjectives like the majority but function as predicates:

وكانت النافذتان المطلتان على فناء البيت مفتوحتين

and the windows which faced the house's yard were open

These last two examples also feature some of the rare non-singular entries in this category; the vast majority of entries in this study are in the singular.

**Demotion and promotion.** As was mentioned in the Theory section, it is sometimes hard to distinguish a passive sentence whose main motivation is the demotion of the agent from one whose is the promotion of the patient. With the particular entries discussed in this section, a case can be made for patient promotion being the chief goal in most cases. This conclusion is based on the fact the majority of entries in this category are used adjectivally, as descriptors to a head which is also the patient that the passivity refers to:

هذا الرأس المرصع بالبياض

this white-studded head

This example is taken from a section describing how a character's appearance has changed with age, and one of the changes is that his previously black hair is now “white-studded”. While the agent of the action can be inferred from the context as being the passage of time, or old age, or some such entity, the focus here is the head, which is the patient the passive participle refers to and also the head to the participle as a descriptor. Another example:

وراح ياسين ينتقى ما يريد من لوازم المولود المنتظر

And Yasin began selecting what he wanted of the necessities of the expected newborn

“Expected” here is to be understood as “about to be born”. While it may be inferred from the context or common sense who is expecting him (his parents, the doctor, other family members), the participle is only concerned with it's head noun, which is also the patient.

One thing which hints to the strong links between these particular participles, which are lexicalized but still passive, and their verbal bases is the frequent use of a preposition in the same way it would be used with the verb:

ثم لوحت بقبضتها المغطاة بالعجين

Then she waves her dough-covered fists

The participle here, مغطاة (muḥatta, covered) is used with the particle bi-, just as the base verb، مغطى ب (gatta bi-, covered in). This sentence is also an example of the preposition bi- being used in an instrumental construction. These can at times be ambiguous with agentive constructions, at least at first glance. On closer inspection we see that while the dough is technically covering the fists, they are not the agent responsible for this occurrence. The logical agent would instead have to be the lady to whom the fists belong, or perhaps the act of baking itself. Another example below:
Here we again have a participle occurring with *bi-* because that is the default combination in the verbal form, and this *bi-* connects to an instrument. The difference between agentive and instrumental is perhaps a bit more clear here: the stars did not stud themselves over the heavens, but rather the horizon were studded with them by an entity that may depend on your philosophical, scientific or theological perspective.

**4.1.2.3 (non-lexicalized) Passive Participles**

The remaining 10 passives are those that were clearly passive (by the definition we have seen above) and not lexicalized. In most cases, this was evident by the lack of a corresponding entry in the dictionaries used and the meaning, as discerned from the context, being a straight passivization of the verbal meaning of the verb the participle was formed from. Some examples:

**And to her left the road seemed narrow, twisting and wrapped in darkness**

The entry here is منتقع (mutalaffa’), which is the passive participle of the root لفع (l-f-’) in form V. The participle itself is not available in the chosen dictionaries, and the meaning of منتقع (talaffa’a) is to be wrapped in something or to wrap oneself up in something. It is easy to discern from the surrounding context that the participle here is a passive of the verb and seems to have little or no meaning beyond that, particularly since it is even used with the same prepositional construction as the verb. The construction منتقع ب (talaffa’a bi-) then becomes منتقع ب (mutalaffa’ bi-), wrapped up in. In this case, the verbal meaning is already passive (or reflexive, depending on which nuance of the definition is used), however most of the entries have verbs with active meanings as their root, such as:

**... his sensitive heart drenched in obedience and loyalty**

Here the root verb is the form II verb شرب (šarraba), to drench or to saturate, making the participle a concrete passivization of that meaning, drenched. Likewise, in the below example, the participle is a passivization of the form III verb حاصر (ḥāṣara), to encircle or to besiege:

**The castle is now besieged by forces from the police**

The following entries also feature passive participles of active verbal forms:

**... and he began to stretch and yawn in a loud and drawn-out voice**
her head covered in a golden halo

كما أرى نفسي ملزم بالثورة [244]

as I see myself obligated to the revolution

The last of these occur 3 additional times in identical or near-identical constructions, repeated for artistic effect.

This accounts for 9 out of the 10 non-lexicalized participles. The last one is a bit unique:

في خطوات مخلخلة [248]

with shaking steps

For one thing, it is a quadrilateral root. Moreover, the passive participle مخلخل (muḵalḵal, seen in the feminine above) is listed in the dictionaries used as rarefied. The corresponding active meaning, to rarefy, is present in the verb خلخل (ḵalḵala) but so are the meanings to shake, to convulse, which make infinitely more sense in the context above.

As we can see, the non-lexicalized passive participles feature, for the most part, straightforward passivizations of active verbs, used mainly in an adjectival sense. They are spread out in terms of form, with 2 form I, 2 form II, 1 form III, 4 form IV (which, as mentioned, are artistic repetitions) and 1 form V. With such a small group as 10, drawing any kind of conclusions from the distribution of forms would've been premature anyway.

4.1.2.4 Summary Arabic Passive Participles

To summarize, we can say that the passive participles found in the material were of three different types with different characteristics:

- Passive participles that were lexicalized and did not retain passive characteristics were the most common. The majority of these functioned as noun phrases or parts of noun phrases, with a smaller subset functioning as adjectivals and even fewer as adverbials.
- Passive participles that were lexicalized and did retain passive characteristics was the second most common type. The vast majority of these were adjectival in function, with a few noun phrases and a single adverbial. For most of the entries in this category, patient promotion seemed to be the primary motivation for passivization.
- Passive participles that were not lexicalized but did retain passive characteristics were rather rare in the material, only encompassing 10 entries. A single of these entries was found in the dictionary, but with a meaning that was clearly different from in the context of the text. For the rest of the entries, they were plain passivizations of the root verb, with no subentries of their own.

Unlike with the Arabic Passive Verbs, a comparison to previous research is not really possible in this case, on account of these articles tending to focus on passive verbs only. No articles focusing on
passive participles were found when researching the background to this study.

4.2 Swedish Results

The Swedish results will be discussed in the same order as the Arabic results above, with the verbs covered first followed by the passive participles and their subdivisions.

4.2.1 Swedish Translations of Arabic Passive Verbs

In this section, the results of the investigation of the Swedish translations of the passive verbs in the source texts will be examined. How have these been rendered in the Swedish edition of the book? As we saw above, there were 29 passive Arabic verbs in the pages studied. In the corresponding Swedish pages the following constructions have been used to translate them: passive verbs, active verbs, nouns, adjectives. The distribution of the translation alternatives is as seen below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation alternative</th>
<th>Number of entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Passive verb</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Active verb</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Omission" refers to times when the sentence was rewritten to the degree where it was not possible to really find a word that corresponded to the Arabic passive in the Swedish translated sentence. Of course, in some cases there may be room for debate about where the line is drawn between considering a particular construction omitted and just heavily altered.

**Arabic Passive Verb to Swedish Passive Verb.** Beginning then from the least changed to the most changed constructions, we shall start by looking at those where Arabic passive verbs have been replaced by Swedish passive verbs. As we can see from the table above, only about a third of the verbs have been translated this way.
I want a world in which hearts do not betray and are not betrayed

I'd wish for a world, where hearts do not betray and are not betrayed

A fairly straightforward translation is given here, as in most cases where passive verbs are rendered as passive verbs. That is not to say they are literal or word-for-word translations. For example, 3 of these 9 entries involve the word قيل (to be said), which we’ve seen above, but are translated by two different Swedish verbs: sägas (“to be said”) and påstås (“to be claimed”):

[112 – AS] قيل لي أن

It was said to me that

[112 – ST] det har sagts mig

it has been told (to) me

The Swedish construction above, along with the two other passive verbal constructions translated from قيل, is formed with the expletive det (it) and works as a kind of impersonal.

**Arabic Passive Verbs to Swedish Active Verbs.** When we turn our attention to those passive Arabic verbs that were translated as active Swedish verbs, we find even more alternatives for قيل qīl; 4 of the 10 verbs translated as active verbs are translations of this word. Here we find two options for translations: att säga (to say, active of att sägas above) and att tala (to speak).

[18 – AS] وكان لها مرة

and it was said to her once

[18 – ST] någon hade verklig en gång sagt till henne

someone really had once said to her

As we can see above, a subject has here been inferred the context. Twice, this inferred subject is a vague, near-impersonal någon (someone), once it is the plural pronoun de (they) and once it is the noun ryktet (the rumor):

[20 – AS] فليكون ما قيل حقا

if what was said was true
In all four of these cases, the subject seems to be correctly inferred from the context. However, there is no easily discernible reason for why they were re-written in this way since, as we have seen in the passive-to-passive translations of قَيل qīl, the word can easily be rendered as a passive in Swedish, especially if the expletive det is used to compensate for any syntactic complications. As such, the choice may be a matter of taste on the part of the translator.

Two of the ten passive-to-active verbs featured the verb أَغْلِقْ (uğliqa, "to be closed"). Both of these, rather than to be translated to the corresponding Swedish verb in the passive were translated to a fixed verbal expression, slå igen (to slam shut), which happens to be commonly used in the active:

Then the sound of the door of the house (while it was) closing came into the room.

Of the remaining four entries in this category, three occur only once in the corpus, and the reasons for translating them as active instead of passive appear to be mixed.

For أُسْتَشِهَدَ (ustušhida, 'to be martyred'), the reason is simply that the corresponding passive does not exist in Swedish. Neither *martyrdödades (*was martyrkilled) nor *martyrades (roughly corresponding to English was martyred) are grammatical in Swedish. The only passive option really available is simple dödades (was killed) which would miss the added dimension of martyrdom, which seems a likely reason for why the active compound is used instead.

For the next verb دُعْيَ (du'iya, to be called), it is instead a matter of choosing to translate by a verb which is a better semantic fit but happens to not passivize well, over one which is easily passivized but less semantically appropriate.
A civil servant called Muhammed Hassan

The most literal translation of دُعيَ would actually be att kallas (to be called), but in Swedish this word has a connotation of the name being a nickname or something of that nature, and as such the verb att heta (“to be named/called”), which generally speaking does not passivize, is the more idiomatically correct in Swedish.

In the remaining two, the reasons for choosing an active verb over a passive are less clear and, from the material at hand, can only be speculated upon.

And al-fatiha was recited

and a voice will not be heard from her after now

As we can see, two different strategies for rendering the passive of the source text as active were used here. In the first example, the focus is kept on the patient of the sentence (the Quran verse) by employing the impersonal pronoun man (roughly equivalent to English one) which indicates a human but unknown or de-emphasized agent. It is difficult to say why this is done. The passive of the verb to recite in Swedish, att reciteras, is technically grammatical but it may be that the translator found the construction to be clunky. As we can see, they have also chosen to explain in different words what al-fatiha is rather than use the chapter's name. The second sentence, which is part of an internal monologue by one of the characters about his dying mother, uses a standard Swedish active structure and here the focus is shifted from the patient (the dying woman's voice and, by extension, the woman herself) to the agent (the “speaker” of the internal monologue and his family members, represented by the personal pronoun vi, 'we'). Here too the Swedish passive of the verb, att höras ('to be heard'), is perfectly grammatical and not using it may simply be a matter of taste on the part of the translator.
Arabic Passive Verb to Swedish Adjective. 4 of the Arabic passive verbs were translated by Swedish adjectives. This rendering makes a certain amount of sense in theory since a lot of adjectives are verbal in type, and this is indeed the case for the first two of these (which happen to be included in the same sentence:

[11-12 - AS]

فتحت الأبواب ام أغلقت

the doors opened or closed

[11-12 - ST] antingen dörrarna var öppna eller stängda

whether the doors were opened or closed

Stängda is readable both as an adjective meaning “closed” in a statal sense and as the passive participle meaning “having been closed” in a resultative sense. However, the word öppna can only be read as “open” in a statal sense (the passive participle being öppnade, 'opened') and therefore I have interpreted both words as being adjectival. In spite of this change in type of word, the meaning is rendered more or less without change in this case. In the Arabic original, the phrase is a descriptor to a main phrase and could just as well have been written with two passive participles. The verbs, and the adjectives, both describe the state in which the doors were in. The second pair of entries, also directly adjoining each other, may also do this:

[96-97 – AS]

ابْْا إِقت... فَِِ قتّل

our son was killed... Fahmi was killed

[96-97 - ST] vår son är död... Fahmi är död.

Our son is dead... Fahmi is dead.

In one perspective, it could be argued that the entries here, both the Arabic verbs and the Swedish adjectives, all refer to the state of being dead. At the same time, the adjective of being dead seems a lot more fixed and static, as though the emphasis is on the state of death itself, whereas in the Arabic version one might read the emphasis as being on the killing rather than the resultant state. This shift in emphasis is quite a considerable change, which creates a very different emotional cadence for the reader and, frankly may even be considered a poor translation.

Arabic Passive Verb to Swedish Noun. In a single case, the passive Arabic verb has been rendered by a Swedish noun:

[132 - AS]

ثم لعل َا... فهمي قتّل

and then maybe what was said after all this was a fancy or a lie

[132 - ST] när allt kom omkring bestod ryktet kanske inte av annat än en gissning eller en lögn
all things considered maybe the rumor didn't consist of anything other than a guess or a lie. Here, the passive verbal relative clause what was said is replaced by the noun ryktet (the rumor), which we have also seen above as the agent in an active translated sentence. While this option is not a miss-translation (the thing that has been said in the Arabic original is in fact a rumor), it is still a fairly considerable change.

**Arabic Passive Verbs Omitted in Translation.** Finally, in 5 of the sentences, the passive verb in question has been omitted entirely. I have used this designation for cases when I felt that no word that was structurally and semantically equivalent to the original verb could be found in the sentence. Of course, as we have seen above, sometimes non-literal translation alternatives are chosen and the line between these and omissions can sometimes be a little blurry. For example, it may be considered that entry 115 above and the following are relatively similar, in that they both select a different verb:

132 - AS  
الدعوة التي وجهته إليه أمس

the invitation which was addressed to him yesterday

132 - ST  
den inbjudan han mottagit dagen innan

the invitation that he had received the previous day

Like in entry 115, one verb has been replaced by another, which happens to be active. However, in 115 the literal translation option and the less literal one were still synonyms, albeit ones with semantic fields that didn't overlap completely. Here in 132, the two verbs وجهته and *wujjiha* ('to be addressed to s.o.') and *att mottaga* ('to receive') are not synonyms. In fact, they describe entirely different actions and the focus is shifted from the sender of the invitation to the receiver. As such, the Arabic original can be considered to have been omitted, and replaced by a semantically and structurally different construction. Still, the line is not clearly drawn.

Likewise in the example below the verb قيل is replaced by the verb *att höra* (to hear) so although the same occurrence is being discussed, and the semantics of the sentences are quite similar, a different action is being described.

201 – AS  
قيل لي إنه

It was said to me that

201 - ST  
Jag har hört att

I have heard that
The remaining 3 entries also all involve the verb قيل (to be said), however in these cases the
structures have been more thoroughly changed, to the point were there isn't even really a new verb
replacing the omitted one.

قيل لنا إنه كان حدثا عظيما

It was told to us that it was a great event

It is supposed to have been a great event

The Swedish verb used here, lär, is a tricky one to translate but constructions like ought to be, is
supposed to be, is claimed to be can be used to substitute it. It is generally used only for things which
one has heard of from another human, so it is not quite as off the mark as it might seem at first glance.
In that sense it still indicates that there is some, impersonal and agentless, claim about this event,
which has been learned from another person, but the structure and meaning are both sufficiently
different from the original that the verb can be said to have been omitted.

كما قيل كثيرا عنها

as was often said of her

as she so often used to do

Here the omission is even more obvious. In the original text, some human entities attribute a behavior
to a character but in the Swedish translation this "middleman" is omitted and the behavior is attributed
directly to the character. A quite substantial change, all things considered.
The last example may be argued to be the one with the most blatant omission:

و لما لم تواتها شجاعتها على مشافهة بما قيل

and when her courage did not oblige (her) in speaking to him about what had been
said

when she didn't dare to say anything directly to her husband

A difficult sentence to translate literally, and yet the change here does not really concern the trickier
parts of the syntax. The omission here is the entire bi-phrase, about what had been said, which does
not turn up at all in the Swedish translation, presumably because the translator considered it
redundant.
4.2.1.1 Summary of the Swedish Translations of Arabic Verbs

Five translation options were discovered for the Arabic passive verbs:

- Arabic passive verb to Swedish passive verb
- Arabic passive verb to Swedish active verb
- Arabic passive verb to Swedish adjective
- Arabic passive verb to Swedish noun
- Arabic passive verb omitted

The passives rendered as passives do not require much comment, as the syntax as well as the semantics of the sentences have been preserved here. It is surprising, however, that only 9 out of 29 passive verbs were translated in this manner, especially considering an additional 10 were translated into Swedish active verbs. There seems to be several reasons for rendering passive verbs as active:

- Choosing an impersonal or near-impersonal construction, which have in common with passive constructions that the agent is de-emphasized.
- Choosing an idiomatic expression which happens to commonly be in the active.
- Choosing a verb which is semantically closer to the Arabic original but does not passivize.

Two of the active verbs could not be explained by the above options, or by any other concretely discernible reason, adding the vague fourth option of “artistic license” on the part of the translator. Only 4 of the Arabic passive verbs were translated into Swedish adjectives, and these happened to be paired up two-by-two in the same sentence. Though they employed similar mechanics in rendering a passive verb as a adjective denoting state, the first pair was rendered into a semantically verb similar, albeit syntactically adjectival, construction whereas the second pair was quite semantically different from the original. Which such disparate results, little can be concluded from this.

A single passive verb was rendered as a noun in Swedish. A single entry is hardly enough to draw any conclusions, so we shall consider this an exception.

The omissions presented an interesting translation alternative. Although there were only 5, several causes for these seemed to be present:

- Shifting the focus of the sentence from one action to another
- Shifting the focus of an action to a specific character
- Choosing an idiomatic expression which is sufficiently different, syntactically and semantically, that the original can be considered to have been omitted
- Omitting an instance of direct speech for favor of attributing something directly to a character
• Omitting a bi-phrase which is deemed redundant

As we can see, the translation options for Arabic-Swedish are wide and varied. Whether the results above are characteristic of this language pair cannot be assessed without larger scale studies.

4.2.2 Swedish Translations of Arabic Passive Particples

As we have seen above, there were 223 passive participles in total. The distribution of what they were translated into is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Translation alternative</th>
<th>Number of entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omissions</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbal</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we can see, the most common alternative was nouns. Considering how many of the Arabic original entries, particularly the lexicalized ones, were in fact nouns or parts of noun phrases, this is not terribly surprising. The second most common alternative was the adjective, also unsurprising because of how common the adjectival function was among the Arabic passive participles. Significantly less common was translating the passive participle into a verb and, even less commonly, an adverb. 38 entries were omitted upon translation, which may not seem like a lot but makes up nearly a fifth of entries at 17% of the passive participle total.

As we have seen above in the section about the Arabic passive entries, the passive participles contained in the material belong to three rather distinct groups, namely:

• **Lexicalized (non-passive) Participles.** Entries that are lexicalized and missing most or all of the characteristic traits of the passive.

• **Lexicalized Passive Participles.** Entries that are lexicalized and retain most or all of the characteristic traits of the passive.

• **(Non-lexicalized) Passive Participles.** Entries that are not lexicalized and that retain most or all of the characteristic traits of the passive.

In order to look more closely at the Swedish translations, we will use these same divisions here.

4.2.2.1 Swedish Translations of Arabic Lexicalized (non-passive) participiles

The distribution of word functions among the translations of the lexicalized, semantically non-passive
participles looks as follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun or Noun Phrase</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, these numbers benefit from being contextualized by taking into account what their function was in the Arabic source text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Function</th>
<th>Swedish Function</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arabic Noun Phrases to Swedish Noun Phrases.** The by far largest group in this category is noun phrases rendered as noun phrases. Considering how frequent noun phrases are among the non-passive lexicalized entries in general, this is not terribly surprising. By their nature, these noun phrase-noun phrase pairings consist of very straight-forward translations, and the majority are just nouns rendered as nouns:

[215 - AS] نعود إلى موضوعنا القديم  
we return to our old subject

[215 - ST] jag kan inte släppa vårt gamla ämne  
I can't let go of our old subject

As we can see, other changes to the structure have been done here (to the verb used and the person it is conjugated in), but not to the part relative to this study. The same goes for the other noun phrases translated as noun phrases.
Arabic Noun Phrases to Swedish Verbal Constructions. 11 of the noun phrases were translated as verbal constructions and 8 of these were infinitives, and have a function which approaches that of a NP:

So Kamal invited him to accompanying him

Kamal suggested (to) him to accompany them

In this case, the verb chosen in the translation is in its active form and this is in fact true for all the noun phrases rendered as verbal constructions. Considering that the passive participles in this section are all lexicalized and are not semantically passive, the translations of them as active follows logically since that is the unmarked voice in Swedish.

Arabic Noun Phrases to Swedish Adverbial and Adjectival Constructions. 4 of the noun phrases have been rendered as adjectival. All of them were translations where the structure was not dramatically changed:

It was only his prescense

his prescense […] was the only thing

The syntax in this construction has been altered, by moving the position of a bi-phrase from after the passive participle to inbetween the noun and the auxiliary very vara (to be), but the function of the participle and its Swedish counterpart is still pretty similar.

A single entry was changed from a noun phrase to an adverbal function:

How could you – one day – be furious at Yasin for his recovery and his continuation of what is familiar in life?

How can you after this at one point lash out at Yasin because he too has gone back to his previous licentious life?

As we have seen in some cases above, some changes have occurred to other parts of the sentence but the relevant portion is relatively unchanged.
Arabic Adjectival into Swedish Adjectival and Verbal Constructions and Omissions. The second largest group in this category is Arabic adjectives, which predominantly have been translated into Swedish adjectives.

[13 – AS] نوع من الاعتراض المؤدب

a type of polite objection

[13 - ST] en slags väluppfördad invändning

a type of polite objection

This example displays more or less a one-to-one correspondence which is generally the case for the Arabic adjectives translated into Swedish adjectives. Simple adjectival structures appear to be easily transferable from one language to the other. 7 entries deviated from this norm, 6 by being omitted (which we will look at further down) and 1 by being translated to a verbal construction:

[59 – AS] لم يعقد إجتماع إلا وكان له فيه رأي مسموع

there was not a meeting held except (one where) he had in it an opinion which was heard

[59 - ST] Vid varje möte framförde han en åsikt man lyssnade till

At every meeting he presented an opinion that one listened to

As we can see, this is quite a considerable rewrite. There is no proper Swedish adjective for "having been listened to”, so changing the word to a different function is necessary. The translator could admittedly have used a passive verb instead of an active, impersonal verb as above, and there isn't really enough information to speculate into why they didn't.

Arabic Adverbials into Swedish Adverbial, Adjectival, Verbal and Noun Phrases. A smaller number of the Arabic entries were adverbial in nature, and these were translated into adverbial, adjectival, verbal and noun phrases:

[65 – AS] رأى الجماعة التي تمسك امامه مباشرة تتحرك

he saw the group that marched directly in front of him move

[65 - ST] han såg att gruppen framför honom omedelbart började röra sig

He saw that the group in front of him directly begun moving

This sentence is an odd one, because the translator appears to have assigned the adverbial to a different referent than in the original. Nevertheless, the adverbial itself is a very direct translation. A single adverb is rendered as an adjective:

[65 – AS] فاذهب عننا مكروما

54
So go from us **respectably**

[65 - ST] var så **vänlig** att ge dig av

Be so **kind** and leave

Here, an expression that sounds more idiomatic has been chosen over a more literal translation. Finally, two adverbial constructions are rendered as verbs. In both cases, the verbs chosen have the same meaning as the verb upon which the adverb is based, as below:

[65 – AS] أحمد محتجاً

Ahmed, **protesting**:

[65 - ST] […] **protesterade** Ahmed

Ahmed **protested**

This example also shows an interesting construction in the Arabic text, where a name with a descriptive participle is used as a tag preceding direct speech, much like what one would expect in a screenplay or script.

Those adverbials where the passive participle actually consisted of the head of a prepositional phrase with an adverbial function were in 4 out of 6 cases translated into that same kind of construction:

[1 – AS] عند منتصف الليل استيقظت

In the **middle** of the night she woke up

[1 - ST] Vid midnatt vaknade hon

At **midnight** she woke up

The remaining two were instead translated as standalone adverbials, as the ones mentioned above.

**Arabic Adjectival, Adverbial and Noun Phrases Omitted in Swedish translation.** Omissions were also present in all of the functional categories above (adjectival, adverbial and noun phrases). They were 14 in total, and there seems to be two major reasons why the omission is chosen. In some cases, a more simple construction has been chosen, which happens to omit the passive participle:

[202 – AS] ربما متاحعة لحب السيد

Maybe **following** her/from love for the Mr.

[202 - ST] kanske mest för att hennes man gjorde det

Maybe mostly because her husband did

Semantically these sentences are pretty similar, but the structure is quite different. The extent of the rewrite varies, but in general the semantics do not change. In another handful of the cases, it is not really the case of a rewrite rendering the participle unneeded, but rather a choice to avoid repetition:
This one was the first protest he joined

[202 - ST] det här var den första!

This was the first one!

Here, the noun, which is formally a passive participle, is omitted because the protest was mentioned in the previous sentence, which while being acceptable in Arabic seems redundant and repetitive in Swedish. This was the case for all the omissions due to repetition or reference.

4.2.2.2 Swedish Translations of Arabic Lexicalized Passive participles

For the lexicalized passive participles that still retained some or all of the features of the passive, the division of the Swedish translations looked as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun or Noun Phrase</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And when split up based on the function of the Arabic original, the same numbers looked like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Function</th>
<th>Swedish Function</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Verbal</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Arabic Adjectives translated to Swedish Adjectives.** For simplicity's sake, we will go through them in this order starting with Arabic adjectives rendered as Swedish adjectives:

[174 - AS] تلك الصالة التي بقيت على حالها القديم بحصراها الملونة

this hall which had remained in its old state with its colored mats

[174 - ST] denna sal, som hade bevarat sitt gamla utseende med sina brokiga mattor

this room, which had preserved its old appearance with its brightly-colored mats

In the example above, the Swedish adjective brokig (meaning motley, brightly-colored, varied,
dappled) is not semantically passive. This is true for 10 of these words, while the remaining 15 are in fact passive also in Swedish:

[6 – AS] ثم وقفت في قفصها المغلق
then she stood in her closed cage
[6 - ST] där blev hon stående i den slutna buren
there she ended up standing in the closed cage
As we can see, there are some differences between the structures, but they do not concern the passive participle.

Arabic Adjective translated as Swedish Noun Phrase. There are only two entries in this category, but they both represent interesting translation choices:

[247 – AS] فتبادلا نظرة طويلة دلت على تفاهم حزين و يأس مشترك
they (both) exchanged a long look which showed sad understanding and shared despair
[247 - ST] de båda utbytte en lång blick av ett sorgset samförstånd
they both exchanged a long look of a sad understanding
This is an unusual choice, all things considered, where the source has two constructions of a noun with a related adjective, but the Swedish translation has selected the noun from one and the adjective from the other. There seems to be no explanation for this besides the translator's preference.

[189 – AS] و تنظر إليها فتجدها مماثلا محسما لخيبة الأمل
and she looked at her, and found her an embodied symbol of disappointment
[189 - ST] när hon tittade på henne, tyckte hon sig där finna själva personifieringen av ett förfelat liv
and when she looked at her, she thought she found there the very personification of a misguided life
Here the compressing of the original is less obvious than in the example above, and a noun-descriptor combination is rendered simply as an (arguably slightly more specific) noun.

Arabic Adjectives translated as Swedish Verbs. 12 adjectives were rendered as verbs. Of these, 9 are semantically (and formally) passive, and all except two are translated with the morphological s-passive.

والدهنية الطفيلة المصابة بالسعال الديكي [104 – AS]
the father of Hania, the girl affected by whooping cough

[104 - ST] fadern till Hania, barnet som drabbats av kikhosta

the father of Hania, the girl who had been affected by whooping cough

5 of these, like the one above, are constructed with the relative pronoun som (that, which, who) followed by the passive verb. This gives them a descriptive function which is quite similar to the adjectival function of the source entries.

This descriptive nature is also true of one of the remaining 3 passive verbs:

[25 – AS] و شاربه الفاحم الغليط المفتول طرفاه

his jet-black, thick mustache, its edges tightly twisted

[25 - ST] de täta, svarta mustacherna, vars spetsar snotts med perfekt precision

the thick, black mutaches, whose edges had been twisted with perfect precision

Even if it choses a different way and verbiage of describing than the Arabic source, it is still mainly descriptive in nature. However, the other two have a more strictly verbal function:

[229 – AS] حالة ضغط مصحوبة بإصابة برد خفيفة

the situation is blood-pressure accompanied by an affliction of a light cold

[229 - ST] det svaga blodtrycket har följts av en lätt nerkylning

the weak blood-pressure has been followed by a light cold

The same is true for the two active verbs present; their function is more strictly verbal and the constructions fairly different from the Arabic originals:

[245 – AS] أنا مضر إلى الذهاب

I am compelled to departing

[245 - ST] nu måste jag gå

now I have to leave

Simple as it is, the structure is fairly different with an adjectival participle followed by a verbal noun turning into a verb followed by another verb.

Arabic Adjectives omitted in the Swedish translation. A total of 22 entries from the lexicalized passive participle category were entirely omitted from the Swedish translations, all adjectives. Upon examining them, there seems to be several different reasons why omission was chosen. The most common reason seemed to be the decision to consider a word, which here happened to be our passive entry, as redundant to the meaning of the sentence and thus removing it in the translation:
at the time of the appearance of the lorries loaded with soldiers

when the lorries with soldiers showed up

There is no semantic difference between *the lorries with soldiers* and *the lorries loaded with soldiers*, even if one might argue there is an aesthetic difference, and so the translator has elected not to include the word *muhammala* (loaded) in the translation. In some cases this means turning a more complex construction into a simple adjective:

while she looked at him with attention *accompanied* by worry

Here, *mashub bi-* (accompanied by) has been omitted for favor of a simple noun phrase with a noun and an adjective.

In other cases, rather than find the entry redundant, the sentence has been rewritten sufficiently that one cannot pin down a word equivalent to the original entry:

Karima charged me with buying for her some necessities for the *expected* newborn

Karima asked me to buy some things that her baby might need

Here the expression "the expected newborn" has been rewritten with the simpler expression "baby".

In one single case in this category, the entry was not just rewritten or omitted due to being semantically redundant, but the entire construction was left out of the translation, namely the following:

*coupled* with his popular description

In the text, this is a clarification that the character hears not only his name but also his titles spoken but the translator did not feel the need to include this clarification.
adjectival translation. The verb in this case is formed with the morphological passive:

[50 – AS] أكنت تمنى لو كنت من المصابين غير الهالكين

Do you wish that you had been among those injured that did not die?
[50 - ST] Önskar du att du hade drabbats av något icke dödande?

Do you wish you had been affected by something non-lethal?
The switch here seems to be done in the interest of a simpler construction. The second, and last in this category, sentence contains a noun phrase that is quite descriptive in nature on account of being a descriptive idafa.

[237 – AS] ولكنني عشت معذب الضمير

But I lived tortured of conscience
[237 - ST] men jag har levt med plågat samvete

but I have lived with a tortured conscience

### 4.2.2.3 Swedish Translations of Arabic (non-lexicalized) Passive Particiles

The distribution of the translations of the non-lexicalized passive participles looks as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Function</th>
<th>Swedish Function</th>
<th>Number of Entries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Omission</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival</td>
<td>Adverbal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As we also noted in section X above, all of the Arabic entries in this category were adjectives.

**Arabic Adjective to Swedish Adverb.** As mentioned above, one of the semantically passive non-lexicalized adjectives was translated into an adverb. As such, the construction was changed from modifying a verb to modifying a noun:

[129 – AS] وراح يتِِى ُ يتثاءب بصوت َرَِْ

and he begun to stretch and yawn with a loud, drawn-out voice
[129- ST] började sträcka på sig och gäspa ljudligt och utdraget

began to stretch himself and yawn noisily and in a drawn-out way
Arabic Adjective to Swedish Adjective. The adjective-adjective pairs were, unsurprisingly, quite straight-forward translations:

[8 – AS] فيبدأ الطريق إلى يسارها ضيقة ملطوفاً بظلمة

and the street to her left appeared narrow, winding, wrapped in darkness

[8 - ST] Gatan till vänster låg trång och vindlande, höljd i ett mörker

The street to the left lay narrow and winding, wrapped in a darkness

As we can see there are some differences between the two sentences, but they do not concern our passive participle. The same is true for the two other pairs of the same kind.

Arabic Adjectives to Swedish Noun Phrases. For the nouns, it was in fact four instances of the same adjective used in the same way and rendered by the same noun:

[252 – AS] وأرى نفسي ملؤماً باتباع مثلهم

I see myself bound to following their example

[252 - ST] jag anser det vara min plicht att stödja deras ideal

I consider it to be my duty to support their ideals

Arabic Adjectives omitted in Swedish translation. Lastly we have the omissions. Both of them seem to be a result of a desire by the translator to simplify a more complex construction:

[180 – AS] مجللته الرأس بهالة ذهبية

covered (when it comes to her) head by a golden halo

[180 - ST] och blont hår

and blond hair

Here we see a relatively complex structure in the Arabic, with a so called false idafa (an idafa with an adjective and a noun instead of two nouns) followed by a noun phrase attached with an instrumental bi-, for a poetic effect. In the Swedish translation, it is instead rendered as a simple noun phrase. The second example is similar:

[26 – AS] فإن ضميره كابد شعوراً بالذنب ناء به قلبه الحساس المشروب بالطاعة و الولاء

his conscience suffered a sense of guilt which weighed down his heart, imbued with obedience and loyalty

[26 - ST] hans samvete tyngdes följaktligen av skuld blandad med en önskan att lyda och föga sig
his conscience was therefore weighed down by guilt mixed with a desire to obey and submit.
Here the mention of the character's heart is bypassed and the feelings attributed directly to the character.

4.2.2.4 Summary of the Swedish Translations of Arabic Passive Participles

The Arabic passive participles were translated in a wide range of different ways in the Swedish translation. The majority of them were translated as adjectival or noun phrases, and as much as a fifth of them were omitted from the Swedish translations.

In order to analyze the translations more easily, they were divided up according to the same division as the Arabic passive participles themselves:

- The **Lexicalized (non-passive) Participles** were predominantly translated as noun phrases, which makes sense considering how common that function was also among the Arabic originals. A smaller subset of them were translated into adjectives and even fewer into words with other functions, and some were omitted entirely.

- The **Lexicalized Passive Participles** were primarily translated into an adjectival function, and were also predominantly adjectival in the original. A sizable portion were rendered as verbal in Swedish, and more words were omitted than from the category above in spite of these one being a lot smaller overall.

- The **(Non-lexicalized) Passive Participles** were all adjectival in the Arabic originals, and were translated into a range of different functions with adjectival and noun phrases being the dominating choices. However, due to how small this category was overall this result could easily be coincidental.

5. Conclusion

Now that the results of the study have been surveyed, it is time to summarize the study as a whole as well as the results.

5.1 Summary

This study was intended to investigate the used of passive verbs and passive participles in literary
texts in Modern Standard Arabic, as well as how these were translated into Swedish. The materials chosen to study this consisted of 60 pages from Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy* (*al-ṯulaṯiyya*), 10 pages from the beginning and 10 pages from the end of each volume, as well as the corresponding pages in the Swedish translations by Kerstin Eksell (the first book) and Ingvar Rydberg (the second and third book).

The Arabic source material was studied in detail, the passives (verbs and participles) were selected from the text, added to a database and then various information was collected about each entry. The entries were then categorized according to various criteria as we have seen in the Result section above, and some conclusions were attempted to be drawn from this information. Then, the equivalent words were found in the Swedish text and those were similarly analyzed. The results of the study will be summarized in the conclusion below.

### 5.2 Conclusion

To sum up the results of the study, let us return to the questions that were posed in the start of it, beginning with the ones pertaining to how the passive was used in the Arabic original of Naguib Mahfouz's *Cairo Trilogy*. We had four questions:

1. What is the distribution of passive verbs and passive participles, and what forms occur?
2. Are there explicit agents present in the passive sentences sampled?
3. With regard to passive verbs, are there any patterns in what or what kind of verbs passivize?
4. With regard to passive participles, to what extent are they true passives and to what extent are they just passive in form? By true passives, I here mean words that are semantically passive, with a subject that is also a patient.

For ease of summarizing, the questions will be answered separately for verbs and passive participles, beginning with verbs:

1. There were a total of 29 passive verbs. They were distributed in terms of form as follows: Form I (76%), Form IV (13.5%) and Form II, VIII and X (3.5% each).
2. None of the verbs had explicit agents.
3. No clear patterns for which verbs were used in the passive were found, however the verb قيل (*qil*, “to be said”) was over-represented in the material with 12 entries.
• When the agent was unknown
• When the agent was a sort of impersonal, interpretable as “people in a general sense”
• When the agent was known from the context
• When the agent was God
• When the emphasis was shifted to the patient for narratological reasons.

With regard to the passive participles, the answers are:

1. There were a total of 223 passive participles.
2. None of the passive participle had an explicit agent, although a small handful had instrumental constructions with the preposition bi ('with', 'by').

4. The passive participles could be roughly divided into three groups:
   • Passive participles that were lexicalized and did not retain passive characteristics were the most common. 136 passive participles were classified into this category. The majority of these functioned as noun phrases or parts of noun phrases, with a smaller subset functioning as adjectivals and even fewer as adverbials.
   • Passive participles that were lexicalized and did retain passive characteristics was the second most common type. 77 passive participles were classified into this category. The vast majority of these were adjectival in function, with a few noun phrases and a single adverbial. For most of the entries in this category, patient promotion seemed to be the primary motivation for passivization.
   • Passive participles that were not lexicalized but did retain passive characteristics. These were rather rare in the material, with only 10 entries in total. A single of these entries was found in the dictionary, but with a meaning that was clearly different from in the context of the text. For the rest of the entries, they were plain passivizations of the root verb, with no subentries of their own.

For the second part of the study, how the passives in Naguib Mahfouz's Cairo Trilogy are translated in the Swedish translation of the book, the questions are:

1. What translation alternatives are discernible from the material?
2. Can any patterns be found in when which of said alternatives are used?

For ease of answer, both questions will be answered at once. We will divide the answer in the same way and begin with the verbs:

Five translation options were discovered for the Arabic passive verbs:

• Arabic passive verb to Swedish passive verb, preserving both the syntax and the semantics of the original. 9 out of 29 verbs were translated in this way, surprisingly few.
• Arabic passive verb to Swedish active verb. Several reasons were present for this choice including choosing an idiomatic, active expression, choosing a more semantically proximate translation that was not passivizable and, it seems, artistic choice. 10 of the 29
passives were translated in this way.

- Arabic passive verb to Swedish adjective, specifically statal adjectives. 4 entries were translated in this way.
- Arabic passive verb to Swedish noun. A single entry made up this category, which makes it too narrow to speculate as to reason.
- Arabic passive verb omitted. 5 entries were included in this category and equally as many reasons behind the choice appear to have been found:
  - Shifting the focus of the sentence from one action to another
  - Shifting the focus of an action to a specific character
  - Choosing an idiomatic expression which is sufficiently different, syntactically and semantically, that the original can be considered to have been omitted
  - Omitting an instance of direct speech for favor of attributing something directly to a character
  - Omitting a bi-phrase which is deemed redundant

The passive participles were more difficult to analyze in detail due to their large number. However, some conclusions about how they are used may still be made. The Arabic passive participles were translated in a wide range of different ways in the Swedish translation. The majority of them were translated as adjectival or noun phrases, and as much as a fifth of them were omitted from the Swedish translations.

In order to analyze the translations more easily, they were divided up according to the same division as the Arabic passive participles themselves:

- The **Lexicalized (non-passive) Participles** were predominantly translated as noun phrases, which makes sense considering how common that function was also among the Arabic originals. A smaller subset of them were translated into adjectives and even fewer into words with other functions, and some were omitted entirely.
- The **Lexicalized Passive Participles** were primarily translated into an adjectival function, and were also predominantly adjectival in the original. A sizable portion were rendered as verbal in Swedish, and more words were omitted than from the category above in spite of these one being a lot smaller overall.
- The **(Non-lexicalized) Passive Participles** were all adjectival in the Arabic originals, and were translated into a range of different functions with adjectival and noun phrases being the dominating choices. However, due to how small this category was overall this result could easily be coincidental.

## 5.3 Future Studies
As was mentioned in the introduction, and probably several other places, this thesis contrasted and translation studies featuring Arabic and Swedish is an unexplored field. As such, arguably anything that isn't this exact thesis is a potential idea for a future research project. Of course, in order to yield the best, most generalizable results possible the ideal would be the production of an extensive bilingual corpus for the two languages in question, ideally featuring parallel texts.

6. References

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