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Résumé de l'article

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Arabic Imperfect Verbs in Translation: A Corpus Study of English Renderings

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article propose pour traduire en anglais des verbes arabes standard à l'inaccompli un modèle basé sur les références contextuelles. Il commence par une brève introduction sur le temps et l'aspect en anglais et en arabe. Ensuite, il présente le but et la technique d'étude. Il fournit une analyse des résultats d'étude en s'appuyant sur les diverses traductions des verbes arabes à l'inaccompli dans les traductions de deux romans de Naguib Mahfouz. L'étude compare les traductions aux textes originaux pour accentuer les différents réalisations en anglais de ces verbes arabes.

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes a model for translating Standard Arabic imperfect verbs into English based on their contextual references. It starts with a brief introduction to tense and aspect in English and Arabic. Then, it shows the study aim and technique. After that, it provides an analysis of the study results by discussing the various translations of Arabic imperfect verbs in the translations of two novels written by Naguib Mahfouz. The study compares the translations with the original texts to highlight the different English renderings of the Arabic imperfect verbs.

MOTS-CLÉS/KEYWORDS

corpus study, Arabic, imperfect verbs, contextual references

Introduction

One of the definitions of translation is that it is “the replacement of a representation of a text in one language by a representation of an equivalent text in a second language” (Hartmann & Stork 1972, in Bell 1991: 20). Therefore, translation must be a text-oriented process. While English has sixteen tense forms, Arabic has only two aspectual forms. Therefore, each Arabic form can be rendered by several English tenses, which causes a problem for the translator. However, a good Arabic-English translator who fully understands the Arabic context in which a verb form occurs will have no difficulty in choosing the suitable tense for that form.

This paper attempts to show the contextual clues that can assist a translator to select the proper English equivalents of Arabic imperfect verbs. It starts with a brief background about tense and aspect distinctions in English and Arabic. Then, it explains the study aim and technique. Section (3) presents an analysis of the results of the study by discussing the different translations of Arabic imperfect verbs in the English translations of two novels written by Naguib Mahfouz. For the phonemic symbols used to transcribe Arabic data, see Appendix (1) and for the abbreviations employed in the paper, see Appendix (2).

1. Tense/Aspect Distinctions in English and Arabic

In Standard Arabic, the basic distinctions in the verb are fundamentally aspectual, not tense-related. However, they are often treated as tense distinctions for the sake of those who speak such a language as English. The earliest grammar book of the Arabic language, the */kitaab/* of Sibawayh states that there are three forms of the Arabic verb: one signaling the past time, the other indicating the present or future, while the third expresses commands or orders. The early Arab grammarians call the first form */ʔal-maaDi/* which merely means 'the past' and call the second form */ʔal-muDaari9/* which means 'that which is similar (to the noun)'. Modern linguists now use the terms perfect(ive) and imperfect(ive) for the two forms, respectively. The two forms are distinguished morphologically as stated by Gadalla (2000: 76): "The perfect form is obtained by the attachment of suffixes only, whereas the imperfect form is obtained via the addition of confixes, i.e., combinations of prefixes and suffixes."

While some linguists, such as Eisele (1990), propose that the distinction between these two forms corresponds to a distinction between past and non-past, others assert that there is no one-to-one correspondence between aspect and tense. Therefore, Radwan (1975: 30) affirms that:

Aspect and tense should be treated as two independent categories. Both terms are used to name two different features of verbal patterns. The term 'Aspect' covers the semantic ranges of completion versus non-completion and continuation versus non-continuation, whereas 'Tense' covers time reference.

Nida (1964: 198-9) indicates that while tense marks the relative time of events, aspect defines the nature of the action. He also asserts that "when translating from one language to another, it is necessary not only to adjust to quite a different system, but also to reckon with the special restrictions which may exist within such a system." Needless to say that the tense/aspect systems differ from one language to another, particularly in languages which belong to different families such as English and Arabic. That is why Nida (1964: 199) affirms that "regardless of the formal or semantic differentiations made in the tense system, the important fact is that no two systems are in complete agreement."

Shamaa (1978: 32-3) also explains the reason behind the difficulty encountered in translating Arabic tenses into English:

temporal contrasts in Arabic are less systematic, i.e., they are not clearly marked by verb-forms. ... temporal reference in Arabic is expressed by means of verb forms in conjunction with time adverbials and other lexical items. It is, however, the context which ... finally places the action or event in its true temporal and aspectual perspective. But since context may not provide the same clear-cut and easy determinations afforded by some European [e.g. English] tense systems, it is therefore a source of occasional ambiguity.

To stress the role of aspectual reference in Arabic English translation problems, Shamaa (1978: 36-7) states that:

It is the aspectual rather than the temporal reference of an Arabic verb, that can lead to difficulties in translation. To render the original meaning as faithfully as possible, it is therefore essential to determine whether a given action is completed or in progress, instantaneous or enduring, momentary or habitual, etc.

A translator must give primary attention to the context, as “context is the overriding factor in all translation, and has primacy over any rule, theory or primary meaning” (Newmark 1995: 113). Therefore, the process of translating Arabic verb forms into English must be based on the context in order to convey the correct aspectual reference of each form. A good translator must fully understand the context of an Arabic tense form before attempting to render it into English. Understanding the context helps him to understand the meaning of each form, which is very important for translation. The importance of meaning in translation has been stressed by many scholars. For instance, Larson (1984: 6) affirms that: “To do effective translation one must discover the meaning of the source language and use receptor language forms which express this meaning in a natural way.”

2. Study Aim & Technique

This study aims at analyzing the translation of two literary Arabic texts, namely two novels written by Naguib Mahfouz to find out how Arabic imperfect verbs are rendered into English. The first novel is *Al-Simman wa l-Kharif*, translated by Roger Allen (1985) as *Autumn Quail*. The second is *Afraḥ Al-Qubbah*, translated by Olive E. Kenny (1984) as *Wedding Song*. These literary texts have been chosen because Mahfouz was the first Arab literary figure to win the Nobel Prize and his works are highly representative of Modern Standard Arabic.

The study compares the translations with the original texts to shed light on the various English translations of Arabic imperfect verbs. A corpus of 430 sentences was randomly selected from the two novels, 215 sentences from each novel. The sentences chosen from each novel are then sorted into six groups:

- 100 sentences represent the use of the bare imperfect form,
- 25 sentences represent the use of the construction ‘/sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect’,
- 25 sentences represent the use of a subjunctive particle before the imperfect,
- 25 sentences represent the use of the construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’,
- 25 sentences represent the use of ‘/kaana/ + imperfect’, and
- 15 sentences represent other imperfect constructions.

All the sentences are compared with their equivalents in the target texts and analyzed in terms of syntactic and semantic features. A frequency count of the different translations of the imperfect constructions was performed to explain the ways in which Arabic imperfect verbs can be rendered into English.

In this study, two methods are utilized for the comparison of the Arabic source texts with the English target texts. The first is the parallel texts technique mentioned in (Hartmann 1980: 37) and the other is the parallel reading technique adopted by Lindquist (1989: 23). The first method was employed at the beginning in the contrastive analysis of languages, and after that adapted to compare “translationally equivalent texts” (Hartmann 1980: 37). Lindquist (1989: 23) says about the second method: “the most natural way of analysing or evaluating a translation is to read the SL text in parallel with the TL text, noting anything that is remarkable, and then to list deficiencies (or felicities) of all kinds.”

3. Analysis of the Results

This section analyzes the findings of the study. The structures in which Arabic imperfect verbs occur are sorted into ten classes, the last two of which are not represented in the corpus. These classes are related to:

1. the bare imperfect form,
2. the construction '/sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect',
3. a subjunctive particle + imperfect,
4. the construction '/lam/ + imperfect',
5. the construction '/kaana/ + imperfect',
6. the construction '/qad/ + imperfect',
7. the construction '/maa zaala/ + imperfect',
8. the construction '/li-/ + imperfect',
9. a conditional particle + imperfect, and
10. the construction '/la-/ + imperfect'.

For each class, the various English translations are provided with a count of the examples representing them in the corpus and their percentages. Then, the contextual reference of each translation is studied and accounted for.

3.1. Translation of the Bare Imperfect Form

Table (1) indicates the frequency of occurrence of the different translations of the Arabic bare imperfect form in the corpus selected from '*Autumn Quail*' and '*Wedding Song*'. The term 'bare imperfect' here means the imperfect form of the verb when it is used alone, i.e., without any preceding words or phrases that might modify its aspectual function.

TABLE (1)

**English Translations of the Arabic Bare Imperfect
in *Autumn Quail* & *Wedding Song***

English Translation	Autumn Quail	Wedding Song	Total	Percentage
1. Present simple	19	48	67	33.5 %
2. Present progressive	11	21	32	16 %
3. Past simple	17	12	29	14.5 %
4. -ing participle	21	6	27	13.5 %
5. Past progressive	17	3	20	10 %
6. Future simple	5	4	9	4.5 %
7. Present conditional	3	2	5	2.5 %
8. Present perfect	1	3	4	2 %
9. be going to + base verb	2	1	3	1.5 %
10. Past perfect	3	--	3	1.5 %
11. Present progressive conditional	1	--	1	.5 %
Total	100	100	200	100 %

As shown in Table (1), one third of the translations of the Arabic bare imperfect form are in the English present simple. Examination of the corpus reveals that this

translation is used when the imperfect form expresses an action that happens regularly or habitually. This is the basic meaning of the Arabic bare imperfect form. Regular actions are exemplified by (1) from *Autumn Quail* and habitual actions are illustrated by (2) from *Wedding Song*:

- (1) a. ?inna-naa na-stanšiq-u
 certainly-1pl impf.1pl-inhale-indic
 l-fasaad-a ma9a l-hawaa? (*Simman* 20)
 the-corruption-Acc with-the-air
 b. We inhale corruption in the very air we breathe. (*Autumn* 24)
- (2) a. ?al-mar?at-u laa ta-kuff-u
 the-woman-Nom not impf.3fsg-stop-indic
 9an il-?ahlaam (*Afrah* 40)
 from the-dreams
 b. The woman never stops dreaming. (*Wedding* 21)

The Arabic bare imperfect form can also be used to refer to all-time truths or scientific facts. In this case, it can be called the “gnomic” or “generic” form, defined by Trask (1993: 119) as “denoting the aspectual form expressing a general or universal truth.” It is also expressed in English by the present simple tense. All time-truths are illustrated by (3) from *Wedding Song* and scientific facts are exemplified by (4) which is not in the corpus:

- (3) a. ?al-?afyuun-u ya-hdim-u
 the-opium-Nom impf.3msg-ruin-indic
 kull-a šay? (*Afrah* 50)
 every-Acc thing
 b. Opium ruins everything. (*Wedding* 27)
- (4) a. ta-tamaddad-u l-ma9aadin-u bi-t-tasxiin
 impf.3fsg-expand-indic the-metals-Nom on-the-heating
 b. Metals expand on heating.

The English present progressive has the second rate of occurrence in the translation of the Arabic imperfect in Table (1). The corpus shows that this translation is employed when the imperfect form denotes an activity that is occurring at or around the moment of speaking:

- (5) a. ?al-jayš-u ya-taḥadda l-malik (*Simman* 34)
 the-army-Nom impf.3msg-defy the-king
 b. The Army’s defying the King. (*Autumn* 36)

In Table (1) the third rank of occurrence in translating the Arabic bare imperfect form is occupied by the English past simple tense. The corpus shows that this tense is utilized when the imperfect form indicates an action that happened in the past, i.e., before the moment of speaking:

- (6) a. 9ayn-aa-hu ta-9kis-aani
 eye-Nom.du-3msg impf.3fsg-give off-indic.du
 naZrat-an ɣariibah (*Afrah* 52)
 look-Acc queer
 b. His eyes gave off a queer look. (*Wedding* 29)

The fourth rank of occurrence in the translation of the Arabic imperfect form, as indicated in Table (1), is occupied by the English -ing participle. This happens when the Arabic imperfect verb refers to an action that is/was continuous at the time of another action:

- (7) a. fa-hataf-a wa-huwa ya-?xuḏ-u
 so-yell.pf-3msg while-he impf.3msg-start-indic
 fi l-jary (*Simman* 6)
 at the-running
 b. The man yelled, moving on. (*Autumn* 12)

The fifth rank of occurrence in the translation of the Arabic bare imperfect form is filled with the English past progressive, as revealed by Table (1). This is resorted to when the imperfect form signifies continuous actions in the past. So, when the novelist, for example, uses the stream of consciousness to describe continuous past actions, the translator employs the past progressive to render Arabic imperfect verbs, as in:

- (8) a. ?al-juu9-u ya-Truq-u
 the-hunger-Nom impf.3msg-knock-indic
 baab-a l-bayt-i l-qadiim (*Afrah* 61)
 door-Acc the-house-Gen the-old
 b. Hunger was knocking at the old house's door. (*Wedding* 32)

Table (1) also reveals that the Arabic bare imperfect form can be translated into English by the future simple construction, which includes 'will' or 'shall' and the base form of the verb. This happens when the imperfect verb refers to a future action:

- (9) a. ʔumma nu-saafir-u ?ila ?uurubbaa
 then impf.1pl-travel-indic to Europe
 ba9da ḏaalika mubaaṣarat-an (*Simman* 32)
 after that directly-Acc
 b. And afterwards we'll travel directly to Europe. (*Autumn* 35)

The Arabic bare imperfect is also translated into English future simple when it occurs in the result clause of a conditional sentence, as in:

- (10) a. nu-?ayyid-u š-šayTaan-a ?iḏa
 impf.1pl-support-indic the-devil-Acc if
 ta-Tawwa9-a li-?inqaaḏ-i s-safiinah
 volunteer.pf-3msg for-saving-Gen the-ship (*Simman* 21)
 b. We'll support the devil himself if he volunteers to save the ship. (*Autumn* 25)

The English present conditional, i.e., 'would/could/should + base verb' is sometimes used to translate the Arabic bare imperfect form. The corpus shows that this translation is adopted when the imperfect form expresses a hypothetical meaning:

- (11) a. limaaḏa ya-qtul-u tahiyyah (*Afrah* 45)
 why impf.3msg-kill-indic Tahiya
 b. Why would he kill Tahiya? (*Wedding* 23)

According to Table (1), the Arabic imperfect form can sometimes be rendered into English by the present perfect tense. The corpus shows that this translation is employed when the imperfect form refers to actions that began in the past and still continue up to the present moment or still have their effects in the present:

TABLE (2)

**English Translations of the Arabic Construction
'/sa-/ + Imperfect' in *Autumn Quail* & *Wedding Song***

English Translation	<i>Autumn Quail</i>	<i>Wedding Song</i>	Total	Percentage
1- Future simple	13	16	29	58%
2- Present conditional	8	2	10	20%
3- be going to + base verb	2	5	7	14%
4- Future progressive	2	–	2	4%
5- Present progressive	–	1	1	2%
6- Present simple	–	1	1	2%
Total	25	25	50	100%

Table (2) indicates that the most frequent English translation of the Arabic construction ‘/sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect’ is the future simple construction which includes ‘will’ or ‘shall’ and the base form of the verb. This translation is adopted when the construction ‘/sa-/ + imperfect’ signifies prediction or determination that something will happen in the future:

- (16) a. *sa-ta-tasarrab-u* *l-ʔaxbaar-u*
 fut-impf.3fsg-leak out-indic the-new-Nom
 bi-Tariiqat-in ʔaw bi-ʔuxraa (Afraḥ 8)
 in-way-Gen or in-another
 b. One way or another, the news will leak out. (*Wedding 2*)

One fifth of the English translations of the Arabic construction ‘/sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect’ are in the present conditional, according to Table (2) above. This translation is utilized when that Arabic construction expresses a hypothetical action:

- (17) a. *haaḏa T-Tuufaan-u sa-ya-qtali9-u*
 this the-flood-Nom fut-impf.3msg-uproot-indic
 l-hukuumah (Simman 7)
 the-government
 b. This flood would uproot the government. (*Autumn 12*)

The third rank of occurrence in the translation of the Arabic construction ‘/sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect’ is occupied by the English construction ‘be going to + base verb’. The corpus reveals that this translation is adopted when that Arabic construction denotes future of present intention or future of present cause (cf. Quirk et al. 1972: 88):

- (18) a. *ʔal-maḥruus-u sa-ya-tazawwaj-u*
 the-mama’s boy-Nom fut-impf.3msg-marry-indic
 min tahiyya (*Afraḥ 20*)
 of Tahiya
 b. Mama’s boy is going to marry Tahiya. (*Wedding 9*)

According to Table (2), the English future progressive can be employed to translate the Arabic construction ‘/sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect’. This occurs when such a construction implies continuous future action:

- (19) a. sa-nu-ʔarrix-u bi-haaḏa
 fut-impf.1pl-date-indic with-this
 l-yawm-i Tawiil-an (*Simman* 10)
 the-day-Gen long time-Acc
- b. We'll be dating things from today for a long time to come. (*Autumn* 16)

The English present progressive tense can also be used in the translation of the Arabic construction 'sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect', as indicated by Table (2). This occurs when that construction refers to future arrangements or planned events:

- (20) a. sawfa na-tazawwaj-u fi l-ḥaal (*Afrah* 22)
 will impf.1pl-marry-indic on the-spot
- b. We're getting married right away. (*Wedding* 10)

The English present simple can also be employed in translating the Arabic construction 'sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect', according to Table (2). This happens when such a construction signifies a fixed time-table or programmed event:

- (21) a. sa-ya-bda-ʔ-u t-tadriib-u
 fut-impf.3msg-begin-indic the-rehearsal-Nom
 gad-an (*Afrah* 25)
 tomorrow-Acc
- b. Rehearsals begin tomorrow. (*Wedding* 12)

At the end of this section it can be noted that in very few cases, the verb /ya-kuun/ 'be.impf' is inserted between the particle /sa-/ or /sawfa/ and the imperfect form, to imply a continuous future action. In such cases, the English future progressive tense is utilized, as in the following example which is not in the corpus:

- (22) a. mataa sa-ta-kuun-u tu-Daakir
 when fut-impf.2msg-be-indic impf.2msg-study
- b. When will you be studying?

3.3. Translation of Subjunctive Particle + Imperfect

Table (3) shows the frequency of occurrence of the various translations of the Arabic construction 'subjunctive particle + imperfect' in the corpus selected from '*Autumn Quail*' and '*Wedding Song*'. Subjunctive particles are /ʔan/ 'to', /lan/ 'not', /li-, kay, likay/ 'in order that' and /hattaa/ 'until'. They are employed before the imperfect form to convey the subjunctive mood which the Arab grammarians call /ḥaalatu n-naSb/.

TABLE (3)

English Translations of the Arabic Construction ‘Subjunctive Particle + Imperfect’ in *Autumn Quail* & *Wedding Song*

English Translation	<i>Autumn Quail</i>	<i>Wedding Song</i>	Total	Percentage
1- Infinitive	17	15	32	64%
2- Neg. future simple	–	8	8	16%
3- Present conditional	4	–	4	8%
4- Present simple	2	–	2	4%
5- Neg. present progressive	–	2	2	4%
6- Past simple	1	–	1	2%
7- Past conditional	1	–	1	2%
Total	25	25	50	100%

As indicated by Table (3), nearly one third of the translations of the construction ‘subjunctive particle + imperfect’ are in English infinitive, i.e., ‘to + base verb’. The corpus shows that this translation is adopted for the construction ‘/?an/ ‘to + imperfect’, as in:

- (23) a. ?a-lam ya-kun-Ø il-?ajmal-u
 interrog-not impf.3msg-be-juss the-best-Nom
 ?an ?a-tazwwaj-a (*Simman* 17)
 to impf.1sg-marry-subj
- b. Wouldn’t it be better ... to get married? (*Autumn* 21)

The English infinitive is also used in the translation of the Arabic construction ‘/li-/ ‘in order to’ + imperfect.’ In Arabic grammar books, the subjunctive prefix /li-/ ‘in order to’ is called /laamu t-ta9liil/ ‘the /i-/ of justification’ because it is used “to indicate the purpose for which, or the reason why, a thing is done” (Wright 1967: 291):

- (24) a. sa-?a-bðul-u maa ?a-staTii9-u
 fut-impf.1sg-do-indic what impf.1sg-be able to-indic
 li-?u-waffir-a la-kumaa
 to-impf.1sg-give-subj for-2du
 hayaat-an kariimah (*Afrah* 83)
 life-Acc decent
- b. I’ll do all I can to give you a decent life. (*Wedding* 45)

The English negative future simple, i.e., ‘will not + base verb’ is adopted in the translation of the Arabic construction ‘/lan/ ‘not’ + imperfect.’ This signifies the negation of a future action, as in:

- (25) a. lan ya-ta9aaTaf-a
 not impf.3msg-sympathize-subj
 l-jumhuur-u ma9a-hu (*Afrah* 25)
 the-public-Nom with-3msg
- b. The public won’t like him. (*Wedding* 12)

Table (3) shows that a subjunctive particle followed by the imperfect can be translated into English by the present conditional. The corpus reveals that this is

- (30) a. fa-man kaan-a la-hu qariib-un
 and-anyone be.pf-3msg with-3msg relative-Nom
 ka-9ali bik sulaymaan wajaab-a
 like-Ali Bey Sulaiman should.pf-3msg
 9alay-hi ?an yu-waθθiq-a
 on-3msg to impf.3msg-strengthen-subj
 9alaaqat-a-hu bi-hi (*Simman 18*)
 relation-Acc-3msg with-3msg
b. Anyone with a relative like Ali Bey Sulaiman should have kept in as close contact as possible. (*Autumn 22*)

3.4. Translation of /lam/ + Imperfect

Table (4) illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the various translations of the Arabic construction “/lam/ ‘not’ + imperfect” in the corpus selected from ‘*Autumn Quail*’ and ‘*Wedding Song*’.

TABLE (4)

**English Translations of the Arabic Construction ‘/lam/ + Imperfect’
in *Autumn Quail* & *Wedding Song***

English Translation	<i>Autumn Quail</i>	<i>Wedding Song</i>	Total	Percentage
1- Neg. past simple	14	9	23	46%
2- Neg. present perfect	2	8	10	20%
3- Neg. present simple	2	7	9	18%
4- Neg. past perfect	4	–	4	8%
5- Neg. present conditional	2	–	2	4%
6- Neg. past perfect prog.	1	–	1	2%
7- Neg. present progressive	–	1	1	2%
Total	25	25	50	100%

As revealed by Table (4), nearly half of the translations of the Arabic construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’ are in the English negative past simple. This is due to the fact that this construction is utilized to negate the Arabic perfect form and usually signifies the negation of past actions.

- (31) a. lam ya-truk-Ø ?ab-ii šay?-an (*Afrah* 33)
 not impf.3msg-leave-juss father-1sg thing-Acc
 b. My father left me nothing. (*Wedding* 16)

According to Table (4), one fifth of the translations of the Arabic construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’ are in the English negative present perfect. This translation is employed when that Arabic construction negates the occurrence of a past action until the moment of speaking. That is why it is sometimes followed by such words and phrases like /ba9d/ ‘yet’ or /hatta l-?aan/ ‘so far’.

- (32) a. lam ?a-staTi9-Ø il-?ittiSaal-a
 not impf.1sg-be able to-juss the-contact-Acc
 bi-waziir-ii hatta l-?aan (*Simman* 11)
 with-minister-1sg till now
 b. I haven’t been able to contact my minister so far. (*Autumn* 17)

The third rank of occurrence in the English translations of the Arabic imperfect preceded by /lam/ is occupied by the negative present simple, as indicated in Table (4). The corpus shows that this translation is employed when the construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’ negates the occurrence of actions at or around the moment of speaking:

- (33) a. dulla-nii 9ala rukn-in waahid-in lam
 show-1sg to sector-Gen one-Gen not
 ya-nDah-Ø bi-l-fasaad (*Simman* 21)
 impf.3msg-ooze-juss with-the-corruption
 b. Just show me a single sector that doesn’t ooze with corruption. (*Autumn* 25)

Table (4) also shows that the Arabic construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’ can be rendered into English by the negative past perfect. This occurs when that Arabic construction negates the completion of past actions:

- (34) a. ?al-9ašarat-u l-?a9waam-u lam
 the-ten-Nom the-years-Nom not
 ta-Sna9-Ø min-nii šay?-an
 impf.3fsg-turn into-juss of-1sg thing-Acc
 radii?-an (*Simman 30*)
 awful-Acc
 b. Ten years hadn’t turned me into something awful. (*Autumn 33*)

In a few cases, the English negative present conditional ‘could + not + base verb’ can be utilized to translate the Arabic construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’. This is used as a variant of the negative past simple:

- (35) a. wa-laakinna-hu lam ya-jid-Ø ?ahad-an
 and-but-3msg not impf-find-juss one-Acc
 fii ?intiZaar-i-h (*Simman 5*)
 on waiting-Gen-3msg
 b. He could see no one waiting for him. (*Autumn 11*)

The least frequent translations of the Arabic construction ‘/lam/ + imperfect’ are the English negative past perfect progressive and negative present progressive. The former is used to negate the duration of completed past actions and the latter to negate the duration of present actions, as in the following examples, respectively:

- (36) a. wa-lam ya-ntaZir-Ø-hu ?ahad (*Simman 5*)
 and-not impf.3msg-wait-juss-3msg one
 b. No one had been waiting for him. (*Autumn 11*)
 (37) a. ?a-lam ta-hDur-Ø tahiyyah (*Afrah 19*)
 interrog-not impf.3fsg-come-juss Tahiya
 b. Isn’t Tahiya coming? (*Wedding 8*)

3.5. Translation of /kaana/ + Imperfect

Table (5) indicates the frequency of occurrence of the various translations of the Arabic construction ‘/kaana/ + imperfect’ in the corpus selected from ‘*Autumn Quail*’ and ‘*Wedding Song*’. According to this table, nearly one third of the English translations of the Arabic construction ‘/kaana/ + imperfect’ are in the past progressive. This is due to the fact that the basic function of this construction is to stress the continuity of past actions:

- (38) a. kaan-at riiri ta-jilis-u
 be.pf-3fsg Riri impf.3fsg-sit-indic
 tahta miZallah (*Simman 153*)
 under umbrella
 b. Riri was sitting under an umbrella. (*Autumn 139*)

The English present conditional can also be employed in the translation of the Arabic construction ‘/kaana/ + imperfect’, as indicated by Table (5). This expresses hypothetical meanings:

- (43) a. lam ya-kun yu-waafi-q-u
 not impf.3msg-be.juss impf.3msg-agree-indic
 9ala hayaat-i-naa (*Afrah* 45)
 to life-Gen-1pl
 b. Abbas just couldn't accept our way of life. (*Wedding* 23)

The least frequent translations of the Arabic construction ‘/kaana/ + imperfect’ are the past perfect progressive, the present simple and the past conditional. The past perfect progressive is used when that Arabic construction expresses the duration of completed past actions. The present simple is employed when the translator makes past events run at the present time. The past conditional is utilized when ‘/kaana/ + imperfect’ signifies a hypothetical past action. The three translations are represented respectively in the following examples:

- (44) a. kun-naa na-siir-u fii šaari9-i
 be.pf-1pl impf.1pl-walk-indic along street-Gen
 jalaal-in fi n-niSf-i T-Taani
 Galal-Gen in the-half-Gen the-second
 mina l-layl (*Afrah* 16)
 of the night
 b. We'd been walking after midnight along Shari' Galal. (*Wedding* 7)
- (45) a. kun-tu ?a-taraddad-u 9ala l-masrah-i
 be.pf-1sg impf.1sg-visit-indic to the-theater-Gen
 bayna l-hiin-i wa-l-hiin (*Afrah* 80)
 between the-time-Gen and-the-time
 b. I make frequent visits to the theater. (*Wedding* 42)
- (46) a. man kaan-a ya-taxayyal-u tilka
 who be.pf-3msg impf.3msg-imagine-indic that
 l-hayaat-a maSiir-an li-haliimah (*Afrah* 121)
 the-life-Acc lot-Acc of-Halima
 b. Who could have imagined that this kind of life would become the lot of ...
 Halima? (*Wedding* 65)

3.6. Translation of Other Imperfect Constructions

Five imperfect constructions remain to be discussed in this section, the last two of which are not represented in the corpus:

1. /qad/ + imperfect,
2. imperative /li-/ + imperfect,
3. /maa zaala/ + imperfect,
4. conditional particle + imperfect, and
5. emphatic /la-/ + imperfect.

The corpus shows that the examples representing the first construction, “/qad/ ‘may’ + imperfect,” are mostly transferred into English by ‘may/might/would + base verb’. This is due to the fact that such a construction usually suggests the possibility, probability or uncertainty of present or future actions:

- (47) a. qad na-jid-u 9amal-an fii šarikah (*Simman* 40)
 may impf.1pl-find-indic job-Acc in company
 b. We might find a job in a company. (*Autumn* 42)

The English construction 'may/might + have + past participle' can be utilized in the translation of Arabic '/qad/ + imperfect'. This is resorted to when the reference is to past possibility:

- (48) a. qad ta-kuun-u faatirat-a
 may impf.3fsg-be-indic phlegmatic-Acc
 T-Tab9 (*Simman* 49)
 the-nature
 b. She might have been a little phlegmatic by nature. (*Autumn* 50)

The corpus also indicates that the Arabic construction ‘/qad/ + imperfect’ can be transferred into English by ‘it is possible that’ or ‘maybe’ followed by present simple or present perfect, if it expresses present possibility:

- (49) a. qad ya-mrah-u
 may impf.3msg-be in high spirits-indic
 jawaasiis-u l-?injiliiz (*Simman 14*)
 spies-Nom the-English
 b. It is possible that English spies are in high spirits. (*Autumn 18*)
- (50) a. qad ya-kuun-u li-safar-i-him
 may impf.3msg-be-indic to-journey-Gen-3mpl
 9alaaqat-un bi-l-harakah (*Simman 35*)
 relation-Nom with-the-movement
 b. Maybe their journey abroad has got something to do with the movement.
 (*Autumn 37*)

The construction ‘/qad/ + imperfect’ can also be rendered into English by ‘it is possible that’ or ‘maybe’ followed by past simple, if that Arabic construction expresses past possibility:

- (51) a. qad ta-tasallal-u mina s-saraay
may impf.3fsg-filter through-indic from the-palace
 ta9liimat-un mu9ayyanah (*Simman* 14)
 signals-Nom certain
b. It is possible that prearranged signals filtered through from the Palace.
(*Autumn* 18)

The second Arabic construction, formed by the imperative prefix /li-/ ‘let’ and the imperfect, is mostly rendered into English by ‘let + base verb’. This is because such an Arabic construction basically expresses a command, a direct or an indirect request.

- (52) a. fa-l-ya-bqa fii makaan-i-h (*Afrah* 107)
so-let-impf.3msg-stay.juss in place-Gen-3msg
b. Let him stay where he is. (*Wedding* 57)

The construction ‘/li-/ + imperfect’ can also be translated by the English ‘hope + will + base verb’ when the reference is to hopes or wishes:

- (53) a. fa-l-ta-kun-Ø sa9aadat-u-naa
so-let-impf.3fsg-be-juss happiness-Nom-1pl
 haqiqiyyat-an ?ayDan (*Simman* 28)
 real-Acc too
b. I hope our happiness will be real too. (*Autumn* 31)

When the construction 'li-/ + imperfect' implies a hypothetical meaning, suggestion or supposition, it is transferred into English by the present conditional:

- (54) a. li-ya-kun-Ø il-bayt-u l-qadiim-u
 let-impf.3msg-be-juss the-house-Nom the-old-Nom
 huwa l-makaan (*Afrāh* 169)
 it the-place
 b. The setting would actually be the old house. (*Wedding* 93)

In very few cases, the construction ‘/li-/ + imperfect’ can express a prayer or a curse. Here it is rendered into English by ‘(May) + base verb’. The word ‘may’ is placed between brackets to show that it is optional in this position.

- (55) a. li-ya-hfaZ-Ø illaah-u zawjat-ii (*Afrāh* 164)
 let-impf.3msg-protect-juss God-Nom wife-1sg
 b. May God protect my wife! (*Wedding* 90)

Thirdly, the construction “/maa zaala/ ‘be still’ + imperfect” is usually transferred into English by ‘still + present simple/present progressive’. This is because its basic function is to indicate the present duration of an action that started in the past. The present simple is used for non-progressive English verbs:

- (56) a. maa zaala ya-hqid-u 9ala 9abbas (Afrāh 43)
 be still.3msg impf.3msg-resent-indic on Abbas
 b. He still resents Abbas. (Wedding 23)
- (57) a. maa zaala 9umar-u ya-9iiš-u
 be still-3msg Omar-Nom impf.3msg-live-indic
 fi-l-ʔiskandariyyah
 in-Alexandria
 b. Omar is still living in Alexandria.

Sometimes the Arabic construction 'maa zaala + imperfect' refers to the continuity of a past action. In this case, it is transferred into English by 'still + past simple'. This usually occurs, for instance, when the novelist uses the stream of consciousness to make a character remember what happened in the past:

- (58) a. wa-lam ya-zal-Ø Sawt-u
and-not impf.3msg-be still shout-Nom
 š-šabaab-i l-fidaa?iyy-i
 the-youth-Gen the-commando-Gen
ya-xriq-u ?uDun-a-h (*Simman 5*)
impf.3msg-split-indic ear-Acc-3msg
b. He still heard the ear-splitting shout of the young commando. (*Autumn 11*)

The imperfect form can refer to the future when it follows the particle /ʔin/ 'if' and other particles which introduce conditional or hypothetical clauses (Kharmā

1983: 56). Conditional particles are like /ʔin/ 'if', /man/ 'whoever', /mahmaa/ 'whatever', /kullamaa/ 'whenever', /ʔaynamaa/ 'wherever' and /kayfamaa/ 'however'. The imperfect in the condition clause is translated by the present simple form, whereas that in the result clause should be translated by the future simple:

- (59) a. ʔin ta-ħtarim-Ø in-naas-a
 if impf.2msg-respect-juss the-people-Acc
 ya-ħtarim-uu-k
 impf-respect-3mpl-2msg
 b. If you respect people, they will respect you.

Finally, the imperfect form can imply a future action when it is used after the emphatic prefix /laamu t-tawkiid/, literally 'the /la-/ of emphasis'. This is transferred into English by 'will certainly + base verb':

- (60) a. la-ʔu-krim-a-nna
 emph-impf.1sg-be generous to-subj-emph
 jiiraan-ii wa-ʔaSdiqaaʔ-ii
 neighbors-1sg and-friends-1sg
 b. I will certainly be generous to my neighbors and friends.

4. Conclusion

This study illustrates that understanding the contextual references of each Arabic imperfect construction is essential to translating it into English. Following are the constructions in which Arabic imperfect verbs can be placed, their English translation equivalents and the contextual reference of each translation:

First, the Arabic bare imperfect form can have the following English translations in order of frequency:

- 1- present simple for regular and habitual actions, all-time truths and scientific facts
- 2- present progressive for continuous present actions
- 3- past simple for past actions
- 4- -ing participle for actions continuous at the time of others
- 5- past progressive for continuous past actions
- 6- future simple for future actions and hypothetical result clauses
- 7- present conditional for hypothetical actions
- 8- present perfect for past actions related to the present
- 9- be going to + base verb for near future actions
- 10- past perfect for completed past actions
- 11- present progressive conditional for continuous future in the past

Second, the Arabic construction 'sa-, sawfa/ + imperfect' can have the following English translations in order of their frequency:

- 1- future simple for prediction or determination of future actions
- 2- present conditional for hypothetical actions
- 3- be going to + base verb for future actions with present intention
- 4- future progressive for continuous future actions
- 5- present progressive for future arrangements or planned events
- 6- present simple for time-table or programmed events

Third, the Arabic construction 'subjunctive particle + imperfect' can have the following English translations:

- 1- infinitive in the case of '/ʔan/ or /li-/ + imperfect'
- 2- negative future simple in the case of '/lan/ + imperfect'
- 3- present conditional in the case of /li-, kay, likay, hattaa/ followed by the imperfect
- 4- present simple in the case of '/hattaa/ + imperfect'.
- 5- past simple for past actions
- 6- past conditional for hypothetical result clauses with past reference.

Fourth, the Arabic construction '/lam/ + imperfect' can be rendered into English by the following translations in order of frequency:

- 1- negative past simple for the negation of past actions
- 2- negative present perfect for the negation of the occurrence of past actions to the present moment
- 3- negative present simple for the negation of present actions
- 4- negative past perfect for the negation of the completion of past actions
- 5- negative present conditional for the negation of past actions
- 6- negative past perfect progressive for the negation of the duration of completed past actions
- 7- negative present progressive for the negation of the duration of present actions

Fifth, the Arabic construction '/kaana/ + imperfect' can have the following English translations in order of frequency:

- 1- past progressive for continuous past actions
- 2- past simple for non-continuous past actions
- 3- used to + base verb for reiterative past actions
- 4- past perfect for completed past actions
- 5- present perfect for past actions that are related to the present
- 6- present conditional for hypothetical actions
- 7- past perfect progressive for the duration of completed past actions

Sixth, the construction '/qad/ + imperfect' can be transferred into English by the following constructions:

- 1- may/might/would + base verb for present or future possibility
- 2- may/might + have + past participle for past possibility
- 3- it is possible that / maybe + present simple/present perfect for present possibility
- 4- it is possible that / maybe + past simple for past possibility

Seventh, the Arabic construction '/li-/ + imperfect' can be rendered into English by one of the following forms:

- 1- let + base verb for commands and requests
- 2- hope + will + base verb for hopes and wishes
- 3- present conditional for hypothetical actions
- 4- (May) + base verb for prayers and curses

Eighth, the construction '/maa zaala/ + imperfect' can be translated into English by the following structures:

- 1- still + present simple/present progressive to show the present duration of a past action
- 2- still + past simple to show the continuity of past actions

Ninth, the construction ‘conditional particle + imperfect’ is transferred into English by the present simple. The imperfect verb in the result clause is transferred by the future simple.

Finally, the construction ‘/la-/ + imperfect’ is rendered into English by ‘will certainly + base verb’. This expresses emphatic future actions.

APPENDIX 1

A. Consonants of Standard Arabic

Place					Dento-Alveolar						
Manner	Voicing				Non -	Emphatic					
		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental			Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	Voiceless Voiced	b			t d	T D		k	q		ʔ
Fricative	Voiceless Voiced		f	ð	s z	S Z	š	x g		ħ ʕ	h
Affricate	Voiced						j				
Flap	Voiced				r						
Lateral	Voiced				l						
Nasal	Voiced	m			n						
Glide	Voiced	w					y				

B. Vowels of Standard Arabic

	Short			Long		
	Front		Back	Front		Back
High	i		u	ii		uu
Mid						
Low		a			aa	

APPENDIX 2

List of Symbols & Abbreviations

sg	singular	Nom	Nominative
du	dual	Acc	Accusative
pl	plural	Gen	Genitive
pf	perfective	indic	indicative
impf	imperfective	subj	subjunctive
comp	complementizer	juss	jussive
emph	emphatic	pass	passive
1	First Person	fut	future
2	Second Person	interrog	interrogative
3	Third Person	m	masculine
/ /	phonemic transcription	f	feminine
-	morpheme boundary	Ø	zero morpheme
Simman	Al-Simman wa l-Kharif (Mahfouz 1962)		
Autumn	Autumn Quail (Allen 1985)		
Afrah	Afrah Al-Qubbah (Mahfouz 1981)		
Wedding	Wedding Song (Kenny 1984)		

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