

Globalization and Localization in Nabīl Nowaira's Arabic Translation of Samia Serageldin's *The Cairo House*^(*)

Heba Fawzy El-Masry

Lecturer of Translation Studies, Faculty of Arts,
Tanta University (PhD)

Abstract

The concepts of globalization and localization are often viewed as opposites in translation. However, Nabīl Nowaira's (2005/2009) Arabic translation of Samia Serageldin's (2005) *The Cairo House* demonstrates that globalization and localization can be reconciled. Although Serageldin is an Egyptian author, her novel is global in nature because she writes in English which is the lingua franca and focuses on the influence of Anglophone and Francophone cultures on the social circle of the protagonist. When translating this novel into Arabic, Nowaira resorts to using globalization and localization in a manner which seems to be in line with the taste of the expected readers. Mapping the Egyptian literary field is done in light of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology in order to understand the literary field's dynamics. As the literary field in Egypt currently seems to be influenced by nostalgia to a cosmopolitan Egypt, the translator keeps the overall cosmopolitan feel of the text. However, he sometimes resorts to localizing parts of the text for the sake of making them comprehensible to the readers who might not be familiar with them. The balanced use of globalization and localization in translation can be understood in light of the *skopostheorie*. By analysing the reconciliation between globalization and localization in the translation, the study establishes a link between globalization and literary translation which is still a largely overlooked field and a new territory in literature on globalization and translation studies.

Keywords: *sociology of translation, globalization, localization, market of symbolic goods, skopostheorie.*

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مستخلص

غالبا ماتعتبر العولمة والمحلية اتجاهان متضادان في الترجمة. على الرغم من ذلك، توضح ترجمة نبيل نويرة (٢٠٠٩/٢٠٠٥) لرواية سامية سراج الدين (٢٠٠٥) بيت العائلة أنه يمكن التوفيق بين العولمة والمحلية، وبالرغم من أن سامية سراج الدين كاتبة مصرية إلا أن روايتها ذات طابع عولمي، حيث أنها مكتوبة باللغة الانجليزية وهي لغة مشتركة عالميا، كما أنها تركز على تأثير الثقافتين الانجلوفونية والفرانكفونية على الدائرة الاجتماعية للبطلة، وقد لجأ نويرة في ترجمته للنص إلى استخدام العولمة والمحلية بأسلوب يبدو أنه يناسب ذوق جمهور القراء المتوقع، وتقوم هذه الدراسة برسم خريطة للحقل الأدبي المصري بالاعتماد على دراسات بيير بورديو الاجتماعية لفهم ديناميات الحقل الأدبي. وفي ظل تأثر الحقل الأدبي حاليا بالشعور بالحنين إلى مصر الكوزموبوليتانية، احتفظ المترجم بالطابع الكوزموبوليتاني العام للنص، لكنه لجأ أحيانا لتقريب بعض أجزاء النص محليا حتى تكون أوضح في المعنى للقراء الذين قد يجدونها غير مألوفة، ويمكن فهم هذا الأسلوب المتوازن بين العولمة والمحلية في ضوء النظرية الغائية. من خلال تحليل التوفيق الذي يحققه المترجم بين العولمة والمحلية، تقوم الدراسة بالربط بين العولمة والترجمة الأدبية وهو مجال لا يزال مهملا الى حد كبير ومنطقة جديدة في المؤلفات الخاصة بالعولمة ودراسات الترجمة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: علم الاجتماع في الترجمة، العولمة، المحلية، سوق المنتجات الرمزية، النظرية الغائية.

Introduction

The terms globalization and localization are often used in the realms of economy and communication. Wiegerling (2004) defines globalization as “a global integration of markets.” (p. 2). Anastasiou and Schälär (2009) define it as “the strategy of bringing a product or service to the global market, involving sales and marketing” (Table 1). Globalization as a process affects communication as it removes cultural barriers and transforms the world into a global village (Yazici, 2007, p. 245). Localization is defined as “the adaption of products, services, and digital content to a cultural-linguistic market” (Anastasiou & Schälär, 2009, Table 1).

Translation is an important aspect of globalization in particular. Bielsa (2005) clarifies that translation is crucial for the worldwide circulation of meaning (139), and Held et al. (1999) describe translation as a crucial infrastructure for worldwide communication (as cited in Bielsa, 2005, p. 139). Although translation is crucial for making cultural communication possible and is thus central to globalization, its role has been minimized in current theories of globalization (Bielsa, 2005, p.131).

Such minimization of the role of translation in global circulation of meaning in studies about globalization is attributed to the fact that globalization theories tend to focus on the circulation sphere and to neglect the analysis of the infrastructure (Bielsa, 2005, p.135).

The minimization of the role of translation in globalization is evident in the fact that very little has been published about translation studies and globalization (Wiersema, 2004, para. 11). Wiersema (2004) observes that the few studies that have been published about globalization and translation studies mostly revolve around “telecommunications, subtitling”, and “business translation”; he also remarks that the focus in studies about globalization and translation in these fields is on English which is often associated with globalization and that very little attention is given to other languages (paras. 12-13). In this manner, “globalization in the context of translation is almost equal to globalization of English” because it creates “global needs for English-Language culture” (Chuang, 2010, para. 9). Cronin (2003) observes that the process of translation in this context is simply transferred to people who do not speak English as they need to translate themselves into English (p. 60).

Even fewer studies are published about literary translation in a global context as literary translation is often neglected in studies about globalization (Wiersema, 2004, para. 13). Wiersema (2004) states that only English and its translations are mentioned in discussions about literary translations (para.14). Therefore, the field of literary translation in a global context offers a new territory for researchers to explore.

As I explore the territory of literary translation in a global context, I use the definitions of globalization and localization offered by Chuang (2010) and Venuti (1998) as a basis for definitions of globalization and localization in literary translation. When discussing globalization in translation, Chuang (2010) defines it as the trend “to select and represent translation materials to construct a global culture and global identities, which are inevitably tied with mainstream languages and cultures” (para. 9), while Venuti (1998) defines localization in translation as the trend that aims at forming “cultural identities to create a representation of a foreign culture that simultaneously constructs a domestic subjectivity” (p.159). On the basis of these definitions, I define

globalization in literary translation as the trend to select elements and materials in the source text which have a global nature and which consequently highlight the global identity of the text. Such global identity is usually related to the dominant Anglophone culture or, to a lesser extent, to the Francophone culture. I also define localization in literary translation as the trend to select elements and materials in the source text which represent its local cultural identity and thereby highlight the local character of the text.

The definitions I offer which are based on Chuang's (2010) and Venuti's (1998) definitions of globalization and localization in the global context, and which define the two trends alternatively, suggest that globalization and localization are opposites. However, globalization and localization can coexist to serve certain aims, and there is an increasing tendency to view the relation between them as hierarchical rather than oppositional (Chuang, 2010, para. 9). Globalization covers localization. Localization may present the content in a form that people of minor languages understand, but globalization controls "the final presentation of the whole process" (Chuang, 2010, para. 9).

The reason why I choose to focus on globalization and localization in relation to literary translation instead of domestication, foreignization, and cannibalism can be attributed to the fact that globalization and localizations are bigger and more comprehensive. Venuti (1995) uses the word domestication to refer to a translation method which involves "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to a target-language cultural values, bringing the author back home" (p. 20). On the other hand, Venuti (1995) uses the term foreignization to describe the method of translation that involves "an ethnodeviant pressure on...[target-language cultural] values to register to the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad" (p.20). Cannibalism is a type of translation in which the source text is entirely absorbed and negated while the translation is regarded as an original text and the translator is regarded as an author (Guldin, 2009, p.112). The translator may use any of these strategies to create the global or local identity which is specified by the trends of globalization and localization in literary translation. In other words, domestication, foreignization, and cannibalism are subordinate to the bigger trends of globalization and localization which

control the overall presentation of the literary text. Globalization and localization may even influence the use of domestication, globalization, and cannibalism. Wiersema (2004) observes that globalisation brought about a change in the practice of foreignizing translation (para.3). Globalization has made many foreign words (often of hegemonic languages) globally familiar.

I explore the influence of the trends of globalization and localization on literary translation into Arabic by contextualising Nabīl Nowaira's Arabic translation (Serageldin, 2005/2009) of Samia Serageldin's (2005)⁽¹⁾ *The Cairo House*. The translator is not the only active agent when producing a translation. The market (or the field) is a locus of struggle where several agents operate; these usually include the translator, the audience, and the publishers.

In order to understand Nowaira's decisions which result in the reconciliation between globalization and domestication in his translation, the methodology of this study depends on the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, and on the *skopostheorie*. The study maps the field in which Nowaira, Dār al-Shorouk, and the readers of the Arabic translation operate in order to understand the dynamics of the Egyptian literary market at present; it does so by using Bourdieu's concept of the literary field as a market of symbolic goods and by employing the tools of field and capital in understanding the relations between the centres of power which disseminate capital in the field and other agents. The study then employs the *skopostheorie* to establish the link between the decisions and the aim of the translation.

Mapping the Field: The Literary Field as a Market of Symbolic Goods

Translation does not happen in a vacuum; it is affected by the dynamics of the field (the market) which produces and receives it. In this study, I employ Bourdieu's sociology which explains social reality and therefore explains how the field can influence the decisions of the translator and how the field's influence ultimately results in the coexistence of globalization and localization in the translation. In order to explore the dynamics of the literary market which receives Nowaira's translation (Serageldin, 2005/2009), I discuss the concept of the field as a market of symbolic goods and I draw on two key tools that Bourdieu uses

to explain social reality: field and capital.

Field is the core concept of analysis in Bourdieu's sociology. Bourdieu (1996b) defines field as "a network of objective relations... between positions" which are defined in relation to other positions (p. 231). The field that this study focuses on is the Egyptian literary market which is narrower than the social space of the Egyptian culture and is necessarily influenced by its social structures and the activity of the agents in the field (translators/authors, publishers, readers, critics). Publishers and institutions dispense massive capital and they control power relations in the field (Wolf, 2007, p. 5), but many publishers also have economic interests and they struggle to make their cultural products acceptable in order to sell, and translators seek cultural recognition and may also seek profit.

The concept of the literary field as a market can be explained in light of Bourdieu's concept of the market of symbolic goods. In this context, Bourdieu (1984) defines the field where symbolic goods are produced and circulated as the "the system of objective relations among different instances, functionally defined by their role in the division of labour of production, reproduction and diffusion of symbolic goods" (p.4). He suggests that the structure of this field is based on the opposition between "the field of restricted production" and that of "large scale cultural production" (p.4).

Bourdieu (1984) explains that the field of restricted production is that which targets peers or fellow producers of symbolic goods (p.4). This field is occupied by favoured customers and competitors who often specify the field's standards for the assessment of symbolic goods (p.5). The field of restricted production grants its members "cultural consecration" and develops its own criteria to define centres of cultural authority and create a hierarchy of relations (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 12). It is noteworthy that recognized members of the field of restricted production are not only individuals, but also organizations and institutions (Bourdieu, 1984, p 12).

The field of restricted production is not isolated from the field of large-scale cultural production. Bourdieu (1984) observes that consecrated members establish links with the public at large in order to conquer the market for profitability, and explains that the field of large-

scale production is submissive to the needs and demands of the clients (p.17). Bourdieu (1984) observes that cultural producers' liberty is only formal and that they are subjected to different forms of pressure which include abiding by the rules which govern the production and circulation of symbolic goods in the market and which are formed by the demand of the readers, and that sales data remind cultural producers of the demands of the consumers in the market (p.4). However, the submission to the laws of the market as described by Bourdieu (1984) does not necessarily mean that middle-brow art is not produced by exceedingly skilled professionals, nor does it mean that all symbolic products are not produced for art's sake –or literature's sake (p.20); it means that the appearance of the idea of the artistic or literary work as a commodity—which accelerated after the Industrial Revolution—has freed intellectuals from the idea that art (or literature) should be produced for art's sake (or literature's sake) only (Bourdieu, 1984, p.2).

Bourdieu (1996a) defines capital as “accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated,’ embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (p. 241). He refers to three main types of capital distributed in the field: economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital (1996a, p. 243). Of these three, two types are relevant to the Egyptian literary market as discussed in this study: the economic capital and the cultural capital. Economic capital is that which materializes in the form of money (Bourdieu, 1996a, p. 243). While the economic capital has to do with the monetary profits, cultural capital is a non-monetary form of profit which has three states: the embodied state which takes the form of bodily and mental attitudes, the objectified state which takes the form of physical cultural goods such as books, and the institutionalized state which takes the form of academic degrees (Bourdieu, 1996a, p. 43).

In the case of Nowaira's translation, Dār al-Shorouk (which is one of the most prominent publishers of literary works in Egypt and the Arab world⁽²⁾) is a centre of power that disseminates capital. However, it is not isolated from the field of large scale production, and it takes the demands of the consumers of its products and profits into consideration. It seems that Nabīl Nowaira seeks to gain two forms of capital in exchange of his

cultural product: the first is the monetary profit that he gets from the publisher, and the second is cultural capital in its objectified state which is the published book. Nowaira's name does not appear on the cover of the book, but his name appears on the title page where his effort is acknowledged (Serageldin, 2005/2009).

The Egyptian culture is the social space which includes the Egyptian literary market, and it influences the objective structures as well as the norms of the Egyptian literary market. These objective structures ultimately influence the tastes and decisions of all the agents who operate in the market, and also shape the norms that often limit the actions of these agents. Consequently, the decisions that both Nowaira and Dār al-Shorouk take regarding the translation and presentation of the book are governed by the Egyptian literary market which has been influenced by a wave of nostalgia that resulted from a wave of historical revisionism of social life in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century. Understanding the influence of this wave on the market can be done in light of exploring how it has created demand and influenced many publishers who abide by the rules of the market in order to conquer it.

Conquering the Egyptian Literary Market: Historical Revisionism, Nostalgia, and Profits

The decisions of the agents are necessarily influenced by trends in the market and in the bigger social space. Since the 1990s, Egypt witnessed a wave of historical revisionism regarding the portrayal of life in Egypt from the beginning of the twentieth century until the 1950s. This wave had been preceded by one that accompanied the 1952 Revolution. The two waves were triggered by socio-political changes that took place in the Egyptian society over the past 70 years. Historical revisionism refers to the concept of revising historical accounts of specific events in light of fresh information and from an objective scientific standpoint (Cattini, 2011, p. 30). However, the two waves of historical revisionism of life in Egypt during the specified period have generally been characterized by bias. Bradshaw (1989) attributes bias in historical revisionism to the unavoidability of subjective evaluation (as cited in Curtin, 1996, p. 197). Such subjectivity is unconsciously brought by the revisionists themselves (Curtin, 1996, p. 197).

The first wave of revisionism took place after dethroning King

Farouk in 1952. Egyptian newspapers launched an ad hominem attack on the dethroned king, portraying him as wanton and corrupt (Maṣṣūr, 2010, p.6). Films also contributed to this wave of revisionism as the cinema became a tool of the state (Mansour, 2012, p. 5).⁽³⁾

By the 1990s, a counter wave of historical revisionism appeared in the Egyptian society. After more than twenty years of Nasser's death, intellectuals and agents in the field of cultural production found more freedom to criticize predecessors of Mubarak, especially Nasser.⁽⁴⁾ The new wave of historical revisionism had a positive impact on the portrayal of gentry of the first half of the twentieth century.⁽⁵⁾ However, it has not always led to accurate conclusions about the past. Frustration at the political and social life triggered a wave of nostalgia which created a Utopia to which people could escape in their imagination.⁽⁶⁾

This nostalgic wave obtained more strength with the advent of social media sites, especially Facebook, in 2007. Many Facebook pages have been dedicated to posting about life in the Kingdom of Egypt in the first half of the twentieth century, focusing on the positives of King Farouk's monarchy without addressing its mistakes (El-Shalakany, 2016, para.1).

The wave of nostalgia has influenced the Egyptian literary market by expanding its limits to accommodate the nostalgic wave. Answering my questions about the sales of novels set in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century, AIDar AlMasriah AlLubnaniyya observed a rise in the number of published novels which describe events against the backdrop of social life in Egypt during the specified era and that these novels were very popular among current readers.⁽⁷⁾ AIDar AlMasriah AlLubnaniyya often posts about its best-selling books on its Facebook page as a form of advertisement. AIDar AlMasriah AlLubnaniyya (2020) list of top-ten bestselling books for August 2020 includes Ashmawy's (2018) *Sayyidat al-Zamālek* [The Lady of Zamālek] which describes how a maid and her brother ascend to wealth and power when they manage to take the villa of their Jewish master after his murder in the 1940s.

Publishers posts in official Facebook pages of prominent Egyptian publishers and book distributors, their websites, and their bestselling lists which are reported in newspapers reflect the popularity of novels which narrate a story against the backdrop of social life in Egypt during the first

half of the twentieth century. For example, Murād's (2014) *1919* — which narrates the story of a group of Egyptian revolutionaries against the backdrop of the 1919 Revolution—was at the top of Dār al-Shorouk's list of bestselling books in 2014 (“Rowayat 1919”, 2015). ‘Ashmāwy's (2016) *Tadhkara Waḥīda lil Qāhera* [A One-Way Ticket to Cairo]— which traces the life of a Nubian man who immigrates to Cairo against the background of a rapidly-changing society in the 1940s and 1950s— was at the top of AlDar AlMasriah Allubnaniyya list of bestselling books when published (“Tadhkara Waḥīda”, 2016).

It is worth mentioning that some of the publishers and distributors recommend books that fall within the category of the books that readers view on their websites to these readers.⁽⁸⁾ Thus, they attempt to capitalize on the popularity of previous works to sell books which fall within the same category. The fact that publishers and distributors in the Egyptian literary field regularly provide lists and information about their bestselling books and that they recommend books on their websites to sell more reveals the role that profits play in the decisions of active agents in the field. These culturally recognized agents are not isolated from the average readers whose demands contribute to forming the laws of the literary Egyptian market. The lists of the bestselling novels of some of the Egyptian publishers and distributors reflect the influence of historical revisionism and nostalgia for a cosmopolitan Egypt on the taste of the average readers. The manner in which many publishers and distributors advertise their books reveals that they take the taste of the readers into consideration in order to sell.

The submissiveness of the producers of literature to the taste of nostalgic readers is evident in the decisions they make when they produce the literary works; such decisions include the presentation of books and the choice of cover designs which conjure up an image of the past even if the design has nothing to do with the book. An example is Salama's (2018) *al-Za'farāna* whose cover design shows a girl in a Victorian dress reading a book, although the novel mainly revolves around the love life of an Egyptian archeologist who moves from modern day Cairo to Hurgada (Fig.1).

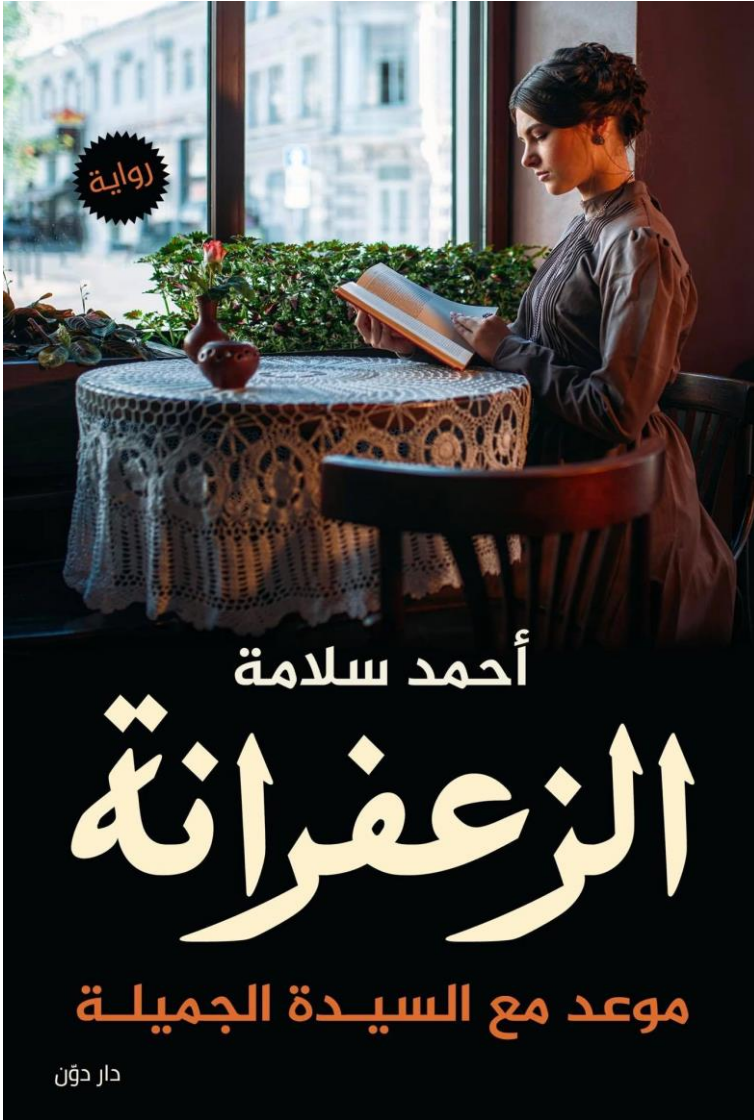


Fig 1. Cover of Salāma's (2018) novel, *al-Za'farāna*.

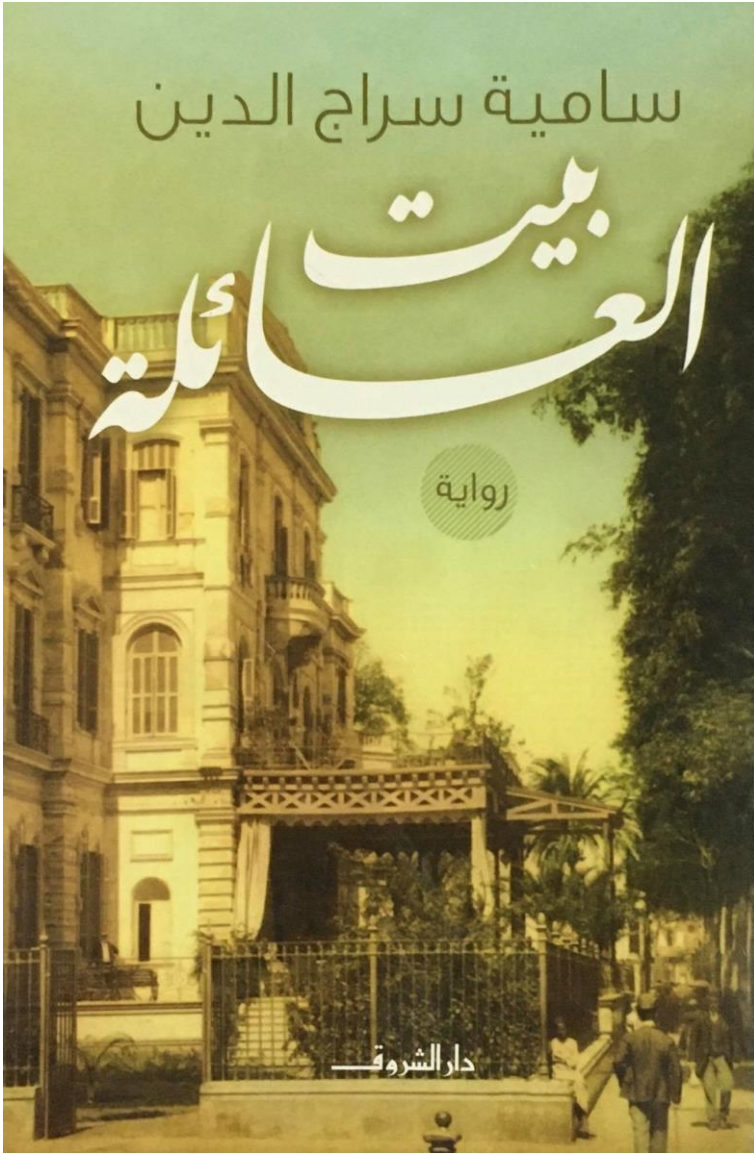


Fig. 2. Cover of Nowaira's (2005/2009) *Bayt al-'Āela*.

Similarly, appealing to the taste of the nostalgic readers is evident in the choice of the cover of the translation on which this study focuses. In Nowaira's translation (Serageldin, 2005/2009), the cover shows an image of a building with a European design that is characteristic of Egyptian buildings during the first half of the twentieth century; it also shows a man walking down the street wearing a fez or tarboush which is

a head dress that men used to wear during the first half of the twentieth century (Fig. 2). Thereby, the cover suggests to the Egyptian reader that it portrays life in this era.

Although the novel mainly revolves around the life of a modern woman who belongs to one of the prominent aristocratic families in Egypt before the 1952 Revolution, *Dār al-Shorouk* seems to focus on the glamour of the monarchial era more than the experience of the protagonist in the synopsis that appears on the back cover; this synopsis describes the novel in the two following paragraphs which I translate into English as faithfully to the wording of the original as possible:

An amazing and confusing novel which revolves around the struggle of a noble family to face the unrest that took place in Cairo following the end of the Second World War. Gigi was brought up in one of the luxurious palaces of Garden City district where her big family lived, where men were overwhelmed with work in politics, trade, and cotton production, and where women were busy with social visits, gossips, shopping, matchmaking, and other family-related issues. In this palace, the Egyptian genuine generosity blended with the cosmopolitan code of conduct. It was a fascinating world, and it seemed everlasting, but the era of the Pashas was about to end. When it did, many were forced to leave Egypt, and those who stayed faced a harsh reality.

Gigi is a modern woman who descends from conservative origins. She is torn between accepting traditional marriage, losing family, living in exile, the need to start a new life on the one hand, and staying true to her roots on the other hand (Serageldin, 2005/2009).

The synopsis is rife with words which conjure up the image of a nostalgic past: “the noble family”, the “luxurious palace in Garden City district”, and the “cosmopolitan code of conduct” in “the era of the Pashas” all create a “fascinating world” that appeals to the taste of many nostalgic readers in the current Egyptian literary market.

***Skopos* and the Reconciliation between Globalization and Localization in Nowaira's Translation**

Samia Serageldin's (2005) novel is global in nature in the sense that it describes the experience of a woman who belongs to the Egyptian gentry in English which is the lingua franca and a tool of the Anglophone cultural hegemony. It also highlights the influence of Anglophone and Francophone cultures on the lives of the members of Egyptian aristocracy before the 1952 Revolution (Serageldin, 2005). Although Serageldin (2005) sometimes highlights the inevitable otherness of the original setting by transliterating Arabic words which have direct equivalents in English, her choice seems to match the taste of the global market. Serageldin's (2005) novel is set in Egypt, in a land and a society that is often viewed as exotic, and highlighting the inevitable otherness of the original culture is in line with the hegemonic Anglophone representation of the Middle East. Serageldin (2005) adorns her novel with transliterations of Arabic words whose meanings are explained in a glossary at the end of the novel (pp. 311-312). Many of these words have direct translations in English, but they may appeal to the taste of an Anglophone reader that is interested in reading about an exotic other while reading about "love, loyalty and exile on the banks of the Nile"—which is the subtitle that Harper Perennial chooses to add on the cover of its edition of Serageldin's (2005) novel. Therefore, localization in the source text itself serves globalization which controls the overall presentation of the cultural product.

Serageldin's global text also appeals to the tastes of the readers interested in a cosmopolitan past in the Egyptian literary market. However, the average reader of the Arabic translation may not necessarily be familiar with many of the items which reflect the influence of the Anglophone and Francophone cultures on the experience of the protagonist of the novel. Therefore, the translator seems to need reconciliation between preserving the global aspect of the source text and producing a clear and comprehensible content for the Egyptian reader. Such reconciliation between globalization and localization can be understood in light of the *skopostheorie*.

According to Reiss and Vermeer (2013), each translation has a *skopos*, aim, or purpose (p.107). Vermeer (2012) suggests that the *skopos*

and mode of translation are specified by the commissioner of the translation who may be the translator or some party that asks the translator to do the translation (such as the publisher) (pp.191-192), but Pym (2014) suggests that the *skopos* can be defined by the end user of the translation (p.44). In spite of who defines the *skopos* of the translation, the translator should make translation decisions in line with the translation's specified *skopos* in order to achieve it according to this theory (Pym, 2014, 44).

I sent an email to Dār al-Shorouk and asked them to provide me with information regarding the commissioner of the translator, the reason why Nabīl Nowaira's name does not appear on the cover of the translation along with Samia Serageldin's name, the translator's involvement in choosing the cover, and how to contact the translator, but I received no response. Nowhere in Nowaira's translation does he mention who commissioned his work (Serageldin, 2005/2009). The fact that his name does not appear on the cover of the translation and that it appears on the title page only suggests that the publisher controls the process of producing and presenting this work.

By situating Nowaira's translation in the current Egyptian literary field, inferences can be made about one of the aims of this translation. The previous section reveals the influence of profitability on the relations between the members of the field of restricted production and the consumers of the cultural goods. The tendency of many Egyptian publishers and distributors to update the readership on bestselling books and to recommend similar ones to boost their sales suggests that making profits is an aim of the publishers and distributors. The fact that novels which take place in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century are often on the publishers' and distributors' lists of bestselling books reflects the taste of the readers whose demands form the rules in the market. Since publishing novels and their translations in the Egyptian literary market is often profit-driven, it seems that the translation process is guided by expectations about the demands and trends in the market. When viewing Murād's bestselling novel *Lukandet Beer al-Waṭawīt* [Beer al-Waṭawīt Hostel]—which also revolves around a memoir from the past—on the website of Dār al-Shorouk, the site lists Nowaira's Arabic translation (Serageldin, 2005/2009) as one of recommended

books. The recommendation of Nowaira's translation on the site of Dār al-Shorouk suggests that monetary profit is one of the aims of the publisher when producing and presenting this book.

According to Vermeer (2012), the translator is the expert in the translational situation and is the one responsible for achieving the specified *skopos* regardless of who defines the *skopos* of the translation or who commissions it; this is due to the fact that the translator knows about the field and which course of action should be taken to achieve the aim of the translation (p.192). Even if the translation is commissioned by Dār al-Shorouk, Nowaira has a say in specifying how to achieve the aim of the translation.

Reiss and Vermeer (2013) state that there are three phases of decision making in the translation process (p. 91). The first phase is that of specifying the *skopos* which is done in light of assessing the knowledge and needs of the target audience, the second is that of assessing the relevance of some aspects of the source text in accordance with the *skopos* of the translation, and the third is that of achieving the aim of the translation which happens when the translator manages to transfer the message of the source text in accordance with the expectations of the target readers and the function that the text should perform when presented to the field (Reiss & Vermeer, pp. 91-92).

In case of translating Serageldin's (2005) *The Cairo House*, choosing a text of a global nature that evokes images of a cosmopolitan past seems to appeal to the tastes of the nostalgic readers in the literary market. Having expectations about how much the average Egyptian reader may know about the life of the westernized Egyptian aristocracy should play a role in planning how to achieve one of the aims of the translation which seems to be presenting a nostalgic text without sacrificing clarity. The second phase involves assessing the importance of some of the items which play a role in portraying a cosmopolitan image of the Egyptian gentry and predicting the extent to which each item may have a certain effect on the reader or on overloading the message. The *skopos* is achieved when the translator takes the course of action which seems to be guided by the demands of the readers in the market. It has to be stressed that suggesting that making profit is one of the aims of the translation's producers does not mean that the translation

does not target a group of peers to gain cultural recognition. Intellectuals can produce works which target members in the fields of restricted production and large-scale production at the same time.

The course of action that Nowaira takes seems to be striking a balance between the global and local aspects of the text in order to preserve the cosmopolitan feel and help the reader understand the text at the same time. The relation between globalization and localization is hierarchical because localization is a tool of globalization. Translating *The Cairo House* is challenging because the translation's readers may belong to a subculture that is different from the one that the text describes. Therefore, localization is the tool to adapt the global cultural product to the requirements of the Egyptian literary market.

The translation seems to be tailored to address the needs of the target readers. The global text appeals to the taste of nostalgic readers in the field, but the content is tailored in accordance with the expectations about the average target reader's knowledge about the described subculture in order to attract the reader/consumer, sell the cultural product, and achieve the *skopos* of the translation.

Analysis: Tailoring the Content of a Global Text

Nowaira's (Serageldin, 2005/2009) Arabic translation of Serageldin's (2005) *The Cairo House* addresses the needs of the expected readers by keeping the aspects which highlight the Anglophone and Francophone influences on the Egyptian culture through the use of foreignising strategies of translation; but he seems to resort to using domesticating strategies of translation when the meaning of items in the source text may be unfamiliar to the average readers. By the average readers of an Arabic translation in the present Egyptian literary market, I mean middle-class Egyptians whose first language is Arabic and who receive their education at governmental public schools and universities. The analysis of the translator's decisions is done in light of the *skopostheorie* in order to establish a link between the decisions of the translator and the demands of the expected readers of the translation. Tailoring the content in accordance with the needs of the expected reader is evident when translating culture-specific elements of western cultures, French words or phrases which the protagonist often uses in the source text, loanwords and loan phrases, and religion.

Culture-Specific Elements of Western Cultures

The novel takes place in different countries. The description of the protagonist's journey thus includes reference to names of western cities and places (Serageldin, 2005). However, the translator seems to expect that the expected reader of his Arabic translation may not be familiar with the names of these places. Thereby, transliterating these words only in this case may keep the global flavour of the text but may obliterate the sense of place and may thus turn places into spaces with hazy boundaries and no definite character. An example of these words is the city of the American passengers who stand in line with Gigi, the protagonist and narrator, as they wait to get their passports checked at the passport booth. Gigi refers to them as "the couple from Minneapolis" (Serageldin, 2005, p. 5), and Nowaira translates the city as "مدينة مينيابوليس الأمريكية", using a couplet (a transliteration and short definition) that identifies its limits and location (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.10). Thus, he makes the boundaries of the place to which they belong clear to the target reader. Similarly, when Gigi refers to the Parc Manceau during her stay in France, she does not explain what it is to her global reader (Serageldin, 2005, p.170), but Nowaira translates it as "حديقة 'بارك مونسو' العامة" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 203), and the couplet he uses gives the French park a sense of place and clarifies what it is.

Culture-specific items in the source text also include mythological gods in other cultures. When describing her family's villa, Gigi refers to a "fountain with" a "statue of a reclining Poseidon" (Serageldin, 2005, p.14). Nowaira seems to expect that the reader of his translation does not know that Poseidon is the god of the sea in ancient Greek mythology. Therefore, he simply adds a general term to clarify Poseidon's identity in general, translating him as "الإله بوسايدون" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.28).

Another example includes reference to a rule that belongs to western etiquette which aristocratic Gigi follows, but may not be familiar to the Egyptian middle-class reader. When little Gigi's mother invites the girl's friends to her birthday party, "no R.S.V.P is requested" (Serageldin, 2005, p.27). Such rule is not part of etiquette in Egypt where people normally invite their guests to their parties and social events without asking the guests to let the hosts know whether they would actually attend the social event or not. In the Arabic translation, Nowaira

omits this rule (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 41), He seems to be trying to avoid overloading the message of the translation with information that might be unfamiliar to the middle-class Egyptian reader who belongs to a subculture that is different from that to which Gigi belongs.

The narrator uses the Fahrenheit scale when talking about the temperature in her house in the United States of America, saying that she “turned the temperature up to seventy five degrees” (Serageldin, 2005, p.182). As Egypt uses the Celsius scale, Nowaira translates this sentence as “أدارت منظم الحرارة إلى خمس وعشرين درجة مئوية” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 228), making the necessary change to clarify the meaning to the reader of the translation.

The narrator sometimes refers to works that may be common knowledge to a global reader without explaining what type of work they are and who wrote them. When her father asks her to read Arabic literature, Gigi “[puts] down *le Rouge et le Noir*” (Serageldin, 2005, p.39). Nowaira translates this sentence as “وضعت جيجي رواية ستاندال ‘الأحمر’ جنباً إلى جنباً ‘والأسود’”، using a couplet (a direct translation and a short definition) in which he clarifies the genre of the work and the name of its author (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.75). He thus resorts to a strategy that removes the confusion that a mere direct translation may result in.

However, when the context itself explains the meaning of the items, Nowaira keeps the global aspect of the text by transliterating the unfamiliar terms. Flowers, for example, are culture-specific. When Gigi describes the aristocratic wedding of her uncle, she refers to flower names brought for the wedding, many of which have unfamiliar names to the average Egyptian reader who would be more familiar with names of flowers more commonly grown in Egypt (Serageldin, 2005). For example, she refers to “a bower of white flowers: Chrysanthemums, calla lilies, gladioli” (Serageldin, 2005, p.83). Chrysanthemum and gladioli would not be expected to be recognized by an average Egyptian upon reading their names, but Nowaira translates the clause as follows: “تكللها ‘زهور بيضاء من الكريزانتوم والأقحوان والجلاديوليس’” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.103). He thus depends on the context which already describes these as white flowers and keeps the names of the unfamiliar flowers which complement the scene of the aristocratic wedding. Nowaira seems to tailor the content by using both foreignising strategies which help him to

keep the global character of the source text and domesticating strategies which explain the incomprehensible elements in a way which presents an overall global product to the local reader.

French Words

Gigi frequently uses French words and they usually appear in italics in the source text (Serageldin, 2005). Such use of French words is significant in the sense that it reflects her education and elite background since French was "widely used... among the elites" in Egypt before the 1952 Revolution (Thomas, 2018, para.6). However, the French language, which had been the second language of the country, declined in Egypt and lost its importance (Thomas, 2018, paras. 11, 13). Even among elites, French is not widely used, and the use of English has become a more fashionable trend.

In light of the decline of the use of the French language in Egypt, the majority of readers in the Egyptian literary market are not expected to know French. Nowaira seems to take the expected unfamiliarity of the consumers with French into consideration and resorts to translating French words Gigi frequently uses by using their direct equivalents in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). French words and phrases Gigi uses such as "*l'âge ingrat*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.7), "*déshabillés*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.10), "*roman à l'eau de rose*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.60), "*Toute femme est une île*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.71), "Sirgani, *Père et Fils, Bijoutiers*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.76), "boutonnière" (Serageldin, 2005, p. 84), "*éducation sentimentale*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.86), "*À la guerre comme à la guerre*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.135) "*L'état, c'est moi*" (Serageldin, 2005, p.146) are respectively translated into MSA as "السن الحرج" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 20), "ثوبا من ثيابها المنزلية" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.23), "الروايات الرومانسية الخفيفة" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.76), "السرجاني وولده" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 88), "كل امرأة هي جزيرة" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 95), "بالوردة في عروة سترته" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.104), "التربية العاطفية" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 107), "إن فالحرب هي الحرب" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 165), and "الدولة هي أنا" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 176). When Nowaira does not find a direct equivalent in Arabic, he explains the French phrase in an expanded translation; therefore, he translates "*bon mot*" (Serageldin, 2005, p. 136) as "يحب الكلمة الرقيقة الظريفة (ظرف رقيق)" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 166).

He sometimes shifts to the Egyptian dialect to bring the image closer to the Egyptian reader. For example, he translates “passe-partout” (Serageldin, 2005, p. 23) as “سفرجيا يخدم ’جوه’ و ’بره” (Seargeldin, 2005/2009, p. 37).

Sometimes, Nowaira does not translate the French word as in the case of “petit-point design” (Serageldin, 2005, p.102) which refers to the fine type of aubusson embroidery, and it seems that he does not expect the average reader to be familiar with it; therefore, he omits it (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 126). However, when the context explains an unfamiliar term, he keeps it. An example is when he translates “the Chateaubriand steak” (Seragedlin, 2005, p. 40) as “قطعة لحم الشاتوبريان” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 56). His translation of French is thus guided by the context and the expectations he seems to make about the knowledge of the expected readers of his product.

Loanwords and Loan Phrases

Due to the cultural contact between Egyptians and foreigners over the years, many foreign words have been naturalized and used by Egyptians from different social standards in their everyday life, especially in the context of fashion, food, furniture, and hospitality. Many of these words are originally French or English. Although they have been adopted by Egyptians, they have not been officially regarded as Arabic words and are not used in formal situations where MSA is used. Additionally, some loanwords and loan phrases seem to be more widely used in some social circles than in others, or seem to have been used more frequently in the past than they are at present.

In his translation which is done in MSA, Nowaira frequently transfers the English or French words in the source text into his MSA translation without using their MSA equivalents in case these words are widely used in Egypt as loanwords. However, there are instances where he translates words by using their MSA equivalents even if they have equivalent loanwords in the Egyptian dialect.

The narrator uses foreign words when referring to or conversing with her family members or French nanny, and so does her son when he talks to her, and Nowaira transfers these words unchanged into his MSA translation. Words like “Madame” (Seragedlin, 2005, p. 11), “Tante” (Seragedlin, 2005, p. 61), and “Mummy” (Seragedlin, 2005, p. 102)

appear in the translation unchanged as "مدام" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 24), "طنط" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.77), and "مامي" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.126) respectively instead of MSA equivalents such as سيدة, عمه, امي since the loanwords have been adopted into the Egyptian dialect and are comprehensible.

Nowaira adorns his MSA translation with loanwords in other contexts too instead of using MSA equivalents when the loanwords seem to be expected to be familiar to the average Egyptian reader of his translation. For example, Gina's father announces that he "wouldn't marry [his] daughter...into a family with... 'modern' notions" in the source text (Serageldin, 2005, p. 46), and Nowaira uses the loanword "مودرن" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 63) which is expected to be familiar to the average Egyptian reader of his translation. Additionally, words such as "the chalet" (Serageldin, 2005, p.71), "monopoly" (Serageldin, 2005, p. 78), and "Allô" (Serageldin, 2005, p. 290) are transferred unchanged into the translation; they respectively appear in the translation as "التشاليه" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 88), "المونوبولي" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.78), and "ألو" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.295). Nowaira translates words which label food such as "small cakes" (Serageldin, 2005, p. 100) or "gâteaux" (Serageldin, 2005, p.100), "marrons glacés" (Serageldin, 2005, p.158), and "biftek" (Serageldin, 2005, p.209) using the familiar loanwords and loan phrases of "جاتوه" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.123), "المارون جلاسيه" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.191), and "البوفتيك" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.330). Similarly, he translates words which label pieces of clothes such as "miniskirt" (Serageldin, 2005, p.62) and "the boots" (Serageldin, 2005, p.158) using the well-known "ميني جيب" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.62) and "البوت" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.190) respectively. He also uses the loanword "شينيون" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.25) to translate "chignon" in the source text (Serageldin, 2005, p.11). He uses the loanword "أوبيسون" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 20) to translate the well-known type of embroidered fabric, "Aubusson" (Serageldin, 2005, p.7). Nowaira also translates "Sèveres bonbonniere" (Serageldin, 2005, p.75) as "علبة بونبون من السيفر" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.94), using the two loanwords of "سيفر" and "بونبون". Although "بونبونيرة" is another available loanword which can work as direct translation into the Egyptian dialect, the term "بونبون" still demonstrates the influence of

the Francophone culture on the Egyptian dialect and the Egyptian culture at large.

However, Nowaira does not always use available loanwords in the Egyptian dialect which are used in some social circles. When referring to pieces of furniture, Gigi always uses French words which are used as loanwords among many Egyptians (Serageldin, 2005). For example, Mafouz (2006) uses the loanword “فوتيل” (fr. fauteuil) when describing pieces of furniture in the flat of one of the protagonists in *al-Hob taht al-Maṭar* [Love in the Rain] (p.22). However, Nowaira adopts a domesticating approach by translating all pieces of furniture into MSA (Serageldin, 2005/2009). The narrator of the novel uses words such as “bergère” (Serageldin, 2005, pp. 7, 177), and coiffeuse (Serageldin, 2005, p.194), and Nowaira translates them respectively as “مقعد” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.20), and “التسريحة” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.241). It seems that his choice is guided by his expectations about the familiarity of the average Egyptian reader with the words at the time of the reception of his translation.

It is a common practice in the circles where children attend bilingual schools to use the English or French names of these schools to refer to them, and the names have gradually become loan phrases that are well-known to people who belong to these subcultures, and sometimes to the bigger Egyptian culture (examples include “Collège de la Mère de Dieu” in Alexandria, commonly known as “المير دي ديو” instead of “مدرسة” أم الرب, and the schools of “E.B.S.” and “E.G.C.” which are also widely known as “إي بي إس” and “إي جي سي” and whose English abbreviations are used instead of “كلية النصر للبنين” and “كلية النصر للبنات”). However, when Nowaira translates “the Sacré Coeur school” (Serageldin, 2005, p.62), he does not use “ساكري كور” or even “ساكريد هارت” which are both commonly used among those whose children attend English and French language schools, and he translates the name of the school as “مدرسة القلب المقدس” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.87). The choice of direct translation into MSA seems to aim at making the meaning clear to the average Egyptian readers, many of whom do not attend French or English language schools.

Clarity does not seem to be the only reason why Nowaira sometimes avoids using loanwords in his translation. The narrator uses

the French term “marimaton” to refer to a young male servant (Serageldin, 2005, p.23), but Nowaira does not use the loanword “مرمطون” and translates the term into MSA as “صبي يساعده” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.37). This choice may be attributed to the fact that “مرمطون” has a derogatory use in the Egyptian dialect at present, and it seems that Nowaira does not use the loanword to avoid portraying the narrator as rude or condescending.

Nowaira's policy of tailoring the content to show the influence of the Anglophone and Francophone cultures on the Egyptian society in particular is evident when comparing his translations of the term “waiter” in different situations. The first situation is when Gigi's father takes his niece to dine at the Auberge restaurant, and when King Farouk arrives, Gigi's father decides to leave and “[motions] to the waiter for the bell” (Serageldin, 2005, p.57). The second situation is when Gigi dines out with her husband and their friends at a restaurant in Riyadh, and “the waiter [takes] away their menus” (Serageldin, 2005, p.113). When Nowaira translates “waiter” in the first situation, he uses the loanword “جرسون” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.57) which has been adopted from French and used by Egyptians, and is still in common use up till now in the Egyptian dialect. When Nowaira translates “waiter” in the second situation, he uses the MSA equivalent “نادل” (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p.140). The loanword in the first situation highlights the influence of the Francophone culture on Egypt in particular.

Nowaira's selective approach to the use of loanwords and loan phrases in his MSA translation suggests that he tailors the content in a way that reveals the influence of the Anglophone and Francophone cultures on the Egyptian dialect and conjures up the cosmopolitan image that the novel promises its Egyptian readers on its back cover (Serageldin, 2005/2009), but his selective approach also reveals that he avoids highlighting the influence of Anglophone and Francophone cultures through the use of loanwords if these may have a negative connotation in contemporary use or if the readers are not expected to understand them.

Religion

Nowaira seems to expect the average Egyptian reader of his translation to have some form of sensitivity in relation to religious

matters or to regard some situations as particularly religious. Therefore, he seems to tailor the content of some parts of the translation in accordance with the dominant religious beliefs in Egypt.

When Gigi's father dies and she enters his room, she addresses him saying "Hello" (Serageldin, 2005, p.125). Using the direct equivalent in MSA, which is "مرحبا", might be awkward in this situation. Nowaira gives the salute a religious tint that is typical of the rites and atmosphere related to passing away in the Egyptian society, and he translates the term using the Islamic salute "السلام عليكم" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 153). Nowaira also translates "gods" (Serageldin, 2005, p.20) as "إله" (Serageldin, 2005/2009, p. 34), and his decision is in line with the dominant monotheistic religions in Egypt. He localizes the translation of these words in accordance with the beliefs of the majority of the expected readers.

Conclusion

Nabīl Nowaira's (2005/2009) MSA translation of Samia Serageldin's (2005) *The Cairo House* reconciles globalization with localization to achieve its *skopos*. The translation's *skopos* seems to be appealing to the tastes of many nostalgic readers in the current Egyptian literary market while keeping the content comprehensible and thereby to meet the demands of many of consumers in the market and to sell. On its back cover, the translation promises the readers to present an image of life in a cosmopolitan Egypt. In order to keep the cosmopolitan feel of the source text, the translator employs foreignizing methods to keep the global aspects which reflect the influence of the Anglophone and Francophone cultures on social life of the elites in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century and helps him to deliver the promise given on the back cover of the translation. However, he resorts to employing domesticating strategies of translation for the sake of communication and to appeal to the reader for whom the content is tailored, and the localization thus brings the global cultural product closer to the local reader. Nowaira thus uses globalization and localization at the same time in order to tailor the content especially for the expected Egyptian reader in order to achieve the *skopos* of gaining cultural capital in the field (recognition) and economic capital (which is the typically expected

skopos of the publisher).

The analysis of the tailored content of Nowaira's translation (2005/2009) is further evidence that globalization and localization in translation are not contradictory and not exclusive of each other, and can be used at the same time to achieve the *skopos* of the translation. Globalization keeps the global character of the global cultural product, and localization is used to bring it closer to the local consumer in the market (the reader) by creating a local effect. This analysis also establishes a link between globalization and literary translation which is still a largely overlooked field and a new territory in literature on globalization and translation studies. For future studies, the present study recommends exploring the trends of globalization and localization in the translation of literary texts in the Egyptian literary market as well as other literary markets with similar circumstances (markets which belong to less hegemonic cultures) in light of the social changes that influence the literary fields in the age globalization.

Notes:

- (1) I use the *IJMES* transliteration system for Arabic when transliterating authors' names and titles of books, TV series, and films in general. However, I make the exception of not following the *IJMES* transliteration system in case the name of the author is written differently in his/her text or in case the name of the publisher is written differently on its website.
- (2) Dār al-Shorouk was established in the 1940s, and its name has been associated with the names of prominent award-winning authors such as Naguib Mahfouz and Bahā' Ṭāher ("Dār al-Shorouk", 2009, para 1)
- (3) Examples include *Shorūq wa Ghorūb* [Sunrise and Sunset] which revolved around the corruption of the Political Police (al-Shaikh, 1970), and *Rodda Qalbi* [Give My Heart Back] which revolved around social injustice before 1952 and presented an extremely cruel portrayal of the rich (Dhul-Fuqār, 1957).
- (4) In his memoir which is based on his interviews with Ragā' al-Naqāsh (2011), Naguib Mahfouz criticized Nasser for his disbelief in democracy and his intolerance of different opinions (al-Naqāsh, 201, p. 228).
- (5) TV series such as *Hawānem Garden City* [Ladies of Garden City] (Nūrul-Dīn, 1997-1998) and *Domū' Ṣahibat al-Galala* [Tears of Her Highness] (Ṣabry, 1993) showed that many aristocrats were patriotic and that they took part in the nationalist movement.
- (6) This appeared in TV series like *Zizinia* which suggested that all foreigners harmoniously integrated into the Egyptian society, and that the resistance movement never targeted them ('Okāsha, 1997).
- (7) AlDar AlMasriah AlLubnaniyya did not provide me with approximate sales figures. I also contacted Bayt al-Kotob and Diwan for information about sales figures, but they did not respond.
- (8) This strategy of advertisement is followed by Dār al-Shorouk (www.shoroukstores.com), and Bayt al-Kotob (www.thebookhome.com).

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