

**Drama Translation as Social Practice:
The Case of George Bernard Shaw's Dramatic Work in Arabic**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to investigate how George Bernard Shaw's drama has been represented and negotiated in Arabic translation through identifying the socio-cultural and political factors including poetics, patronage, capital, field properties, and censorship practices that conditioned its introduction, production, dissemination and reception. Drawing on concepts from Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory and Lefevre's rewriting theory, the Arabic translations of Shaw's drama are studied as a socially regulated activity rather than merely linguistic as previously researched. The study aims at analysing the Arabic translations meant for various media against the backdrop of their different contexts textually, contextually and paratextually.

After setting out the key problems and strategies and other issues related to drama translation from the perspectives of both translation and theatre studies, the study gives a historical background to the introduction and development of drama in the Arab culture in which translation played a major role. It identifies the socio-cultural and political influences that motivated the translation or rewriting of Shaw's drama in different time and place. A mapping of both the published drama translations in the twentieth century and of the published material on Shaw in various areas (i.e. academia; reading, stage and radio translations; and cinema and TV adaptations) are provided in tables and charts.

Different Arabic stage rewritings of Shaw's *Pygmalion* have been analysed in order to determine the different forces in the contexts where they operate that affect their forming. These rewritings range from 1969 to 2017 in Egypt and Lebanon. Then, eight plays by Shaw with their Arabic translations and retranslations are also analysed to identify the socio-cultural and political dynamics that informed their shaping and the reasons behind the presence of multiple retranslations.

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ARABIC SOUNDS

The transcription of Arabic sounds in this study follows the style of *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*. Names and titles are transcribed accordingly. The names of Arab authors published in a language other than Arabic are kept as they appear in the publication. Here are the list of sound symbols used to transcribe Arabic sounds:

Consonants

Arabic	Transliteration	Arabic	Transliteration
ء	'	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	'
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	هـ	h
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ	الـ	al-
ض	ḍ	ة	-a/-t

Vowels

Short vowels: a,i,u

Double vowel: iyy (in final position)

Long vowels: ā, ī, ū

Diphthongs: aw, ay

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ARABIC SOUNDS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
CHAPTER ONE: FOCUS OF THE STUDY: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA	1
1.1 Bernard Shaw's Drama in Arabic Translation: Previous Research and Rationale	1
1.2 Research Questions and Organization of the Thesis	3
1.3 Data: Selection Criteria, Translation Lists and Other Databases	7
1.4 A Note on Terminology	9
CHAPTER TWO: DRAMA TRANSLATION: THEORETICAL ISSUES AND PRACTICAL CHALLENGES	10
2.1 Theorising Drama Translation	10
2.2 Drama Translation: Readings, Problems and Strategies	12
2.2.1 Various Readings of the Playtext	12
2.2.2 Problems of Translating Playtexts	13
2.2.3 Strategies of Translating Playtexts	15
2.3 From Page to Stage and Radio: Implications and Debates	17
2.3.1 Page versus Stage	17
2.3.2 From Page to Stage and Radio	20
2.3.3 The Collaborative Task and the Translator	21
2.3.4 The Stages of Transforming a Playtext from Page to Stage	23
2.4 Notions Relating to Theatre Translation	25
2.4.1 Speakability, Graspability and Playability	25
2.4.2 Performability and the <i>Mise en Scène</i>	26
2.4.3 The Stylisation of Dramatic Discourse	30

2.5 Conclusion	31
CHAPTER THREE: THEORISING THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF TRANSLATION.....	33
3.1 Translation as Rewriting: Poetics and Patronage as Constraining Factors ...	34
3.1.1 Poetics	36
3.1.2 Patronage.....	37
3.1.3 Poetics and Patronage at Work: The Codification of Poetics, Patrons’ Censorship and Change in the Literary System	39
3.2 Translation as a Social Practice: Bourdieu’s Theory of Cultural Action.....	42
3.2.1 Field	43
3.2.2 Capital	44
3.3 Towards an Analytical Model.....	47
3.4 Conclusion	49
CHAPTER FOUR: GENESIS OF DRAMA AND DRAMA TRANSLATION IN THE ARAB WORLD	50
4.1 Beginnings and Development: The History of the Arabic Dramatic Field...	51
4.1.1 Birth of Arabic Drama	51
4.1.2 Development of Arabic Drama: A Historical Overview of the Political, Social and Economic Conditions in Egypt	58
4.1.3 The Language of Drama: The Debate over Arabic Varieties.....	67
4.2 Poetics of Translation into Arabic: Literature and Drama	74
4.2.1 Understanding the Socio-cultural Dynamics of Translation and Production of Literature and Drama in Egypt.....	74
4.2.2 Dynamics of Selecting Texts, Approaches and Registers for Drama Translation into Arabic	90
4.2.3 Examples of Two Different Approaches of Early Literary Translation: Rifā’a Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and Buṭrus Al-Bustānī	95
4.2.4 Early Drama Translation: Muhammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl (1828/1829 – 1889)	98
4.3 A Brief Background of the Lebanese Theatrical Field	104
4.4 Conclusion	109

CHAPTER FIVE: BERNARD SHAW IN ARAB CULTURE: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF PATRONGAE AND POETICS	110
5.1 Shaw in Arab Academia	111
5.1.1 Egypt	114
5.1.2 Other Arab Countries	118
5.2 Shaw’s Drama in Arabic Translation and Adaptation: Publication, Theatre and Radio	124
5.2.1 Egypt	128
5.2.1.1. First Translations: Published and Stage Versions	130
5.2.1.2 Patronage of Shaw’s Translations and Adaptations: Publishing Institutions and Specialised ‘Series’	132
5.2.1.3 Translators of Shaw: Motives and Poetics	141
5.2.2 Other Arab Countries	147
5.3 Shaw in Arab Cinema and Television.....	151
5.4 Conclusion	153
CHAPTER SIX: REWRITING BERNARD SHAW’S DRAMA FOR THE ARAB THEATRE: STAGE PERFORMANCES OF <i>PYGMALION</i>	154
6.1 The Rationale of Adaptation as Rewriting: Stage Adaptation in the Arab World	155
6.2 Translation Challenges in <i>Pygmalion</i> : Background of the Source Text	158
6.2.1 Implications of the Title and the Ending.....	159
6.2.2 Language and Characterisation.....	162
6.3 <i>Pygmalion</i> in the Egyptian Theatre: Two Adaptations in Different Socio- Cultural and Political Contexts	168
6.3.1 Translation as Egyptianisation: <i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i> (1969).....	168
6.3.1.1 Khedivial Egypt: ‘A Socio-Political Satire’	174
6.3.1.2 Egyptianisation of Language and Characterisation.....	183
6.3.2 Translation as Foreignisation: <i>Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ</i> (2017).....	202
6.3.2.1 Social Distance and the Important Role of the Middle-Class	203
6.3.2.2 Characterisation and Ending	217

6.4 <i>Pygmalion</i> in the Lebanese Theatre: Two Versions of the Musical <i>Bint Al-Jabal</i>	227
6.4.1 Two Lebanese Socio-Cultural and Political Contexts: 1910s and 1970s	232
6.4.2 The Lebanese Identity: Language, Characterisation and Title.....	244
6.4.3 The New Happy Ending: A Significant Arab Commercial Feature.....	253
6.5 Conclusion	255
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE POLITICS AND POETICS OF RETRANSLATION: A CASE STUDY OF EIGHT PLAYS BY SHAW TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC	257
7.1 The Retranslation of Political and Religious Taboos.....	258
7.1.1 Politics and Censorship Bodies: Three Political Contexts	258
7.1.2 The Retranslation of Religious Taboos in <i>Saint Joan, Man and Superman and the Devil's Disciple</i>	283
7.2 The Poetics of Retranslation: Register and Poetry in Different Socio-Cultural and Political Contexts	293
7.3 Conclusion	318
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION.....	320
8.1 Research Questions Revisited.....	320
8.2 Avenues for Future Research.....	331
BIBLIOGRAPHY	333
APPENDIX 1.....	352
APPENDIX 2.....	371

LIST OF FIGURES

<i>Figure 1.</i> Pavis' Series of Concretizations (1992, p.139).....	25
<i>Figure 2.</i> Published translations from English and French literary texts in Egypt (1900-1949) (Hanna, 2011, p.15).....	79
<i>Figure 3.</i> Tracing Drama Translation in the Arab World from ARUC	83
<i>Figure 4.</i> Egyptian publishing houses commissioned drama translation in 20 th and 21 st centuries	89
<i>Figure 5.</i> Distribution of the works of Arab academics on Shaw in terms of publication dates	112
<i>Figure 6.</i> Distribution of the works of Arab academics on Shaw in terms of publication countries.....	113
<i>Figure 7.</i> Distribution of academic works on Shaw by Arabs in terms of dates and publication countries.....	114
<i>Figure 8.</i> Distribution of Arabic translations and adaptations of Bernard Shaw's plays in terms of publication dates.....	125
<i>Figure 9.</i> Distribution of Arabic translations and adaptations of Bernard Shaw's plays in terms of publication dates.....	126
<i>Figure 10.</i> Distribution of translations and adaptations of Shaw's drama in the Arab World in terms of dates and country of publication.....	126
<i>Figure 11.</i> Numbers of Arabic translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays for three different mediums	127

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1.</i> Published translations of Shaw's plays by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture's specialized drama translation 'series'	134
<i>Table 2.</i> Published translations of Shaw's plays by the General Egyptian Book Organisation.....	134
<i>Table 3.</i> Published translations of Shaw's plays by the Supreme Council of Culture	135
<i>Table 4.</i> Published translations of Shaw's plays by Rose Al-Yusuf.....	135
<i>Table 5.</i> Published translations of Shaw's plays by private publishing houses in Egypt.....	138
<i>Table 6.</i> Stage translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays in Egypt	139
<i>Table 7.</i> Radio translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays in Egypt	140
<i>Table 8.</i> Published translations of Shaw's plays used for radio broadcasting	147
<i>Table 9.</i> Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in Lebanon	148
<i>Table 10.</i> Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in Syria	149
<i>Table 11.</i> Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in Kuwait	150
<i>Table 12.</i> Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in other Arab countries.....	151
<i>Table 13.</i> Cinema and television adaptations of Shaw's plays in Egypt	151
<i>Table 14.</i> Examples of CA Vocabulary and Expressions from Ramzī's <i>Caesar and Cleopatra</i> (1914).....	298
<i>Table 15.</i> Examples of Intertextuality with the Quran and Traditional Arabic Literary Prose from Ramzī's <i>Caesar and Cleopatra</i> (1914)	303
<i>Table 16.</i> Comparing the Arabic retranslations of <i>Saint Joan</i> and <i>Man and Superman</i> in terms of CA vocabulary and expressions	311
<i>Table 17.</i> Comparing the Arabic retranslations of <i>Saint Joan</i> and <i>Man and Superman</i> in terms of the use of <i>saja'</i> (rhyming prose).....	313
<i>Table 18.</i> Comparing the Arabic retranslations of <i>Saint Joan</i> and <i>Man and Superman</i> in terms of intertextuality with the Quran and traditional Arabic prose	315

CHAPTER ONE

FOCUS OF THE STUDY: RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND DATA

This thesis aims at investigating the socio-cultural and political factors that have conditioned the introduction, production, dissemination and reception of George Bernard Shaw's drama in Arab culture. Published and stage productions by various Arab countries in different periods of time will be analysed textually, contextually and paratextually. Some of these translations were researched and analysed by previous researchers from a linguistic perspective. Thus, the gap that this thesis tries to fill is to study these translations from a sociological perspective that considers translation as a social practice. In order to reach a complete understanding of this practice that takes Shaw's drama as a case study, a theoretical framework that comprises key concepts from both Andre Lefevere and Pierre Bourdieu are deployed. This chapter outlines the rationale of conducting this study, the research questions that motivated the thesis chapters, the organisation of the thesis, the data selection criteria, and a note on the terminology used.

1.1 Bernard Shaw's Drama in Arabic Translation: Previous Research and Rationale

Bernard Shaw's drama is chosen as the data for this thesis for reasons related to both the source culture and the target culture. For the former, he, as described in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2019a) "was not merely the best comic dramatist of his time but also one of the most significant playwrights in the English language since the 17th century." In addition, he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1925 (*ibid.*). As for the latter, he was early introduced to the Arab culture, has been widely present in Arabic translation, and the suitability of his plays' content, the socialist aspect in particular, with the political orientation of Egypt at some point in its modern history (i.e. the 1950s and 1960s) when Shaw was mostly translated and adapted for both radio and stage.

Previous research of Shaw's Arabic translations has only been conducted twice as university dissertations. The first study entitled *Translating the Sense of Humour: An Assessment Study of three Arabic Translations of George Bernard Shaw's Arms and the Man* is a PhD thesis from Al-Mustansiriya University in 2006, Iraq. It explores how humour and comedy in drama are translated from English to Arabic which, as the researcher points out, is not an easy task because what is considered amusing in a specific culture might not be amusing for the other. Three translations

of Arms and the Man are chosen for the analysis to identify the weaknesses in them and to decide on which of them is the more reliable with some suggestions to improve these translations. While the other study is a Master's dissertation entitled *Problems and Strategies of Drama Translation in Egypt: A Case Study of Two Arabic Translations of Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion* from the University of Salford in 2013. It examines drama translation streams in Egypt showing how drama translation developed in Egypt through history and highlighting the issues of translating drama. Two Arabic translations of Bernard Shaw's *Pygmalion* are chosen for analysis, a staged version and a reading version. Both texts are analysed and compared in terms of adaptation and translation strategies and techniques, language variety and cultural differences.

Accordingly, the rationale of this thesis involves four factors that justify conducting the present research: (1) the lack of a study that looks at all Arabic translations and rewritings of Shaw's drama; (2) the lack of a study that is not limited to a specific Arab country or period of time; (3) the lack of a study that is not limited to a specific medium or genre; (4) the lack of, if not complete absence, of a study that analyses Shaw's drama from a sociological perspective that considers translation as a social practice.

This study attempts to fill this gap in researching Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation deploying a theoretical framework that combines conceptual tools from both Lefevre and Bourdieu. It investigates how different place and time, or socio-cultural and political contexts, affected the shaping of these versions. It does not focus on a single medium, rather, all published, radio and stage versions will be looked at. This study provides a holistic mapping out of three fields: the field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World, the field of Shaw in Arab academia and the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation. The data used in the mapping out include: academic journal articles and university dissertations, published translations for readership, radio and stage versions, and adaptations for Arabic TV and cinema. Results are analysed against the backdrop of their socio-cultural and political contexts, and all information found are organised in detailed tables in Appendix 1.

The theoretical framework chosen for this thesis is a combination of concepts in order to conduct the socio-cultural and socio-political investigation. Lefevre's rewriting theory represents mainly the cultural side of the research with some overlapping ideas with the sociological aspects of Bourdieu's concepts. Lefevre introduces the two concepts of 'poetics' and 'patronage' in his discussion of the rewriting theory which have a significant impact on the manipulation process that

shapes the translations and rewritings of a specific socio- cultural and political context. Moreover, Bourdieu's concepts of 'field' and 'capital' besides his two modes of cultural production are used whenever needed in order to get a complete image of the social practice of translating Shaw's plays into Arabic.

1.2 Research Questions and Organization of the Thesis

The main question that motivated the thesis is:

How different Arab socio-cultural and political contexts have affected the introduction and negotiation of George Bernard Shaw's drama in Arabic translation?

From what is mentioned so far, a gap is identified in researching the dramatic works of Bernard Shaw holistically from a sociological perspective. Therefore, this thesis attempts to fill this gap by looking at all the Arabic translations that I could find to come up with a visualization of the key socio-cultural and political factors that shaped these translations.

This thesis theorises drama translation both as a process (in Chapter Two) and as a product (in Chapters Three). Chapter Two outlines the key issues and debates among scholars of both translation and theatre studies as well as the translation problems and strategies of drama translation. The chapter starts with defining drama translation and its hybrid nature that makes a playtext uniquely problematic to translate. It also explores the various readings of the playtext by the different individuals involved in the production process. It provides the main problems, suggested strategies and even the different opinions on the relationship between the written text and its performance according to the literature of both fields of study. In addition, the chapter looks into what the scholars have to say about the stages that a playtext goes through in its transformation into performance and about the drama-translation related notions of 'speakability', 'playability', 'graspability', 'performability' and the '*mise en scene*'.

Chapter Three discusses the conceptual tools opted for in the analysis chapters of this thesis. In order to research translation as a social practice, this study combines both Andre Lefevere's rewriting and manipulation theory and Pierre Bourdieu's social practice theory. The theoretical notions best describe the process of translating Shaw's drama into Arabic are Lefevere's 'poetics' and 'patronage' and Bourdieu's 'field', 'capital' and the two modes of cultural production i.e. 'large-scale' and 'restricted-scale'. This theoretical framework works perfectly together to achieve the aim of the thesis as it combines both cultural-oriented and sociological-oriented

types of research. The former is represented by Lefevere's 'rewriting theory', researching the ideas, ideologies, traditions and values, though, it has some overlapping ideas with the sociological aspects. For the latter, Bourdieu's concepts help in researching individuals (i.e. translators/rewriters) and institutions, and in understanding the complex relationship between individual agents and the field of cultural production they are engaged in. In addition, other related ideas are also discussed in the chapter including the process of codification and canonisation of a given poetics, censorship and change in the literary system.

Four research questions have been generated from the initial question as follows:

1- How did the translation, adaptation and rewriting of foreign drama into Arabic start and develop?

This research question is the concern of Chapter Four which has a double function. First, it entails a detailed discussion of the socio-cultural and political factors that led to the late birth of drama, in its modern sense, in the Arab World. Then, the development of the field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World is traced from its formation, in 1847 by Al-Naqqāsh in Lebanon and in 1870 by Ṣanū' in Egypt, until its decline in the 1970s shedding light on the influence of the political, economic and social conditions in that development. Within the discussion, different poetics, patrons and censorship bodies of each of these contexts are identified. Thus, this chapter works as a historical background to understand the factors that affect the drama translation activity within the field and of Shaw's drama in particular. It focuses on Egypt, where most drama translations have been produced, and it gives a brief history of the field in Lebanon.

Then, the dynamics of selecting texts, approaches and registers in translating Shaw's plays into Arabic are identified through examining the available translations (that I could find) against the backdrop of their various socio-cultural and political contexts. Examples of two different translation approaches and a detailed case study of an early pioneering Egyptian drama translator are given. For the former, I have chosen Rifā'a Al-Ṭaḥṭawī to represent the traditionalist approach which was the common poetics of that time and Buṭrus Al-Bustānī as a representative of the modernist approach during the *Nahḍa* period. As for the latter, Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl's translations of French drama are opted for.

Second, this chapter includes a mapping out of the drama translation activity within the field through collecting all published drama translations in Arab countries that could be found. It covers the twentieth and twenty-first centuries

publications, and the results are presented in a chart. In addition, a list of the main public and private publishers and translation serieses is also given with information about the key ones.

2- What key factors conditioned and shaped the introduction of Shaw's drama to the Arab culture and translation?

Chapter Five answers this research question by looking into the socio-cultural and political factors that motivated the introduction of Shaw and his drama to Arab culture. It constructs and maps out the fields of Shaw in Arab academia and of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation through investigating the history of Shaw's presence in academia, in drama translation for different media i.e. as reading, stage and radio versions, and in cinema and TV adaptations in the Arab World. All the data found in the mentioned areas are organized in tables and charts with statistical analysis. This data is categorized according to decades and countries of production in order to identify when, where, how and why Shaw's dramatic works have been most frequently produced and explore the reasons behind that. Again, the focus in the analysis of the data is put on Egypt whereas other Arab countries are briefly mentioned. The chapter benefits from the historical background given in Chapter Four.

As for the analysis of the Arabic translations of Shaw's drama, Chapter Five examines all available translations (that I could find) to discover how different poetics, patrons, censorship systems and motives in different socio-cultural and political contexts affect their shaping. Details of the sponsors and publishers of drama translation whether public or private, specifically in Egypt, are also explored. In order to do so, contextual and paratextual material is used in the analysis besides the textual material such as the translators'/adapters' bibliographies, the material published with the translation, the stage performance and radio recordings' supplements among others.

3- How have the constraints of 'poetics' and 'patronage', as theorised by Lefevere, affected the various rewritings of Shaw's *Pygmalion* for the Arabic stage?

In order to answer this research question, Chapter Six investigates the extent to which Arab rewriters have manipulated, according to their socio-cultural and political contexts, Shaw's *Pygmalion* (1912) when produced for Arab spectators. It contributes in the construction of the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation through the analysis of stage versions. The chapter starts with setting the scene for the translational implications in the ST itself which are related to the title, ending, language use and characterisation before thoroughly going through each

Arabic rewriting to see how these implications have been dealt with. Four theatre translations/rewritings are chosen for the data analysis: *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* (1969) and *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* (2017) in Egypt and two versions of *Bint Al-Jabal* (1977) and (2015) in Lebanon. This data includes three distinct Egyptian contexts (i.e. Khedivial in the late nineteenth century, post-1952-Revolution in 1960s and modern time in 2017) and two Lebanese settings (i.e. the *Mutaṣawifiyya* in 1910s and the Civil War in 1970s). This variation in the socio-cultural and political contexts, with their own poetics, patronage, censorship systems, competition over capital accumulation, field properties, modes of cultural production etc., helps in reaching a complete image of the factors that affected the circulation and the shaping of Shaw's drama in Arabic in different times and countries. I also made use of all available (that I could find) contextual and paratextual material in addition to the textual.

4- How to better understand the socio-cultural and political dynamics of the production, dissemination and reception of multiple Arabic retranslations of Shaw's plays in different Arab contexts?

Chapter Seven answers this research question through researching and analysing a sample of the published Arabic translations of eight plays by Shaw ranging from 1914 to 2008. The plays' titles are: *Widowers' Houses* (1893), *The Devil's Disciple* (1897), *Arms and the Man* (1898), *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1901), *Man and Superman* (1903), *Major Barbara* (1905), *Pygmalion* (1912), and *Saint Joan* (1923). The translations chosen are those that include some degree of manipulation in the areas that are discussed below, and that have enough contextual/paratextual material to help in the analysis.

The first section of the chapter explores how different types of political and religious taboos that are present in the STs have been translated differently according to distinct socio-cultural and political contexts. In addition, different censorship practices in each context are also looked at as a power that affects the shaping of these translations. The second section of Chapter Seven investigates the effects of the prevailing poetics in the Arabic dramatic field in each context on the shaping of the translations including register choices and the inclusion of poetry. Both sections benefit from Bourdieu's notions of 'field', 'capital' and 'distinction' to reach a better understanding of the dynamics of production, dissemination and reception of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation. Then, the reasons behind the process of retranslating Shaw's plays into Arabic are identified.

The concluding chapter of the thesis gives the final results of the investigation conducted in the three data analysis chapters which depended on the theoretical tools of both Lefevre and Bourdieu that have worked perfectly well together to answer

the main research question and achieve the aim of the thesis. The chapter revisits the research questions of the thesis and states the limitations and challenges faced and some future research suggestions.

1.3 Data: Selection Criteria, Translation Lists and Other Databases

I have been keen to choose Arabic versions of Shaw's plays that represent different socio-cultural and political contexts as a main selection criteria. Published translations include both post-performance publications and those that were mainly published for a readership. I have looked at all published Arabic translations that could be found, however, I only excluded the summarised versions, each published within a collection of other summarised World plays, which include both translations by Hilmī Murād of *Man of Destiny* (1991) and *Arms and the Man* (1995), and Salāma Mūsā's version of *Pygmalion* published in *Al-Adīb Journal* in 1956, Lebanon. The eleven radio versions are excluded from analysis and only exist in the mapping as they were all produced in the same period of time which is the 1950s and 1960s and are close-to-original translations.

As for the staged versions, I have chosen Shaw's *Pygmalion* as it has been adapted and rewritten many times for the Arabic stage in many Arab countries including Egypt, Lebanon, Yemen, and Iraq among others. Two Egyptian performances that belong to different socio-cultural and political contexts (i.e. the 1960s and 2017) are analysed. The 1969 *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* is the first Arabic stage adaptation of Shaw's *Pygmalion* that succeeded to the point that it affected the audience's taste and the rise and flourish of the private theatre in the second half of twentieth century Egypt. This means that I could find enough contextual material about the performance to help in the analysis. As for the 2017 *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, it was produced and performed by the National Troupe, which is a public troupe, and I could have personal contact with the adapter who is the director at the same time. In addition, I also analysed two versions of the Lebanese musical *Bint Al-Jabal* by Romeo Laḥūd that were produced in two different periods of time thus two different socio-cultural and political contexts i.e. 1977 and 2015. I could also find some useful contextual information for both of them as they were performed by a significant troupe of the Lebanese musical theatre. However, I excluded the staged versions that were performed by university students such as *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* by a group of students from the Higher Institution of Dramatic Arts (2015) and Akhbār Al-Yawm Academy (2017), and Iraqi versions which depended on the 1969 Egyptian. These excluded versions have no enough contextual information to help in the analysis.

To get the data needed for the mapping of drama translations into Arabic in Chapter Four, the mapping of Shaw's presence in the Arab culture in Chapter Five and the

detailed tables in Appendix 1, I have used many translation lists and other Arabic and English databases including, but not limited to, the Arabic Union Catalogue (ARUC), The National Library of Kuwait (NLK), Mandhuma Dissertations Database, Derasatek Dissertations Encyclopaedia, Egyptian Universities Libraries Consortium, The Saudi Digital Library (SDL), Saudi Cultural Bureaus in the English-speaking countries, AskZad: the Arabic Information Bank, Al-Mannhal, e-Marefa, Al-Kashshāf Dissertations Database, Iraqi: Academic Scientific Journals, Open Access Theses and Dissertations (OATD), Ethos: the British Library, SOAS University Catalogue, Leeds University Catalogue, Bibliotheca Alexandrina Electronic Catalogue, Archive of Arab Literary and Cultural Journals, UNESCO Index Translationum, Achieve Index of Al-Ḥadīth Journal volume (1) from 1927 to 1931, Al-Fahrast (1981), Hanna (2011), and other English edited books and Arabic academic journals such as Al-Masrah, Al-Tabyīn and Fuṣūl. The articles chosen are either written by academics or targeted to academics.

I have collected contextual material from different resources including newspapers and magazine articles such as *Al-Hayat*, *Al-Ahram*, *Annahar*, *Akhir Annahar*, *Al-Watan*, *Raseef22*, *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, *Al-Risāla* and *Al-Hiwar* among others, interviews on TV programmes like *Biwdūh*, *Quṣr Al-Kalām*, *Masā` DMC* and *Bilā Tashfir*, published diaries including Abyad's (1970) and Khafājī's (2017a; 2017b), and personal correspondence with the adapter and director Usāma Shafīq. Other databases of articles are also used such as Archive of Arab Literary and Cultural Journals and Wikipedia Resource. In addition, a historical background of the Egyptian and Lebanese theatrical fields are provided as a background to the following three data analysis chapters. Most of this background is taken from Arabic resources, thus, any quotation from them in the thesis is my own translation unless otherwise stated. Noting that I have used the style of *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* for the transcription of Arabic sounds in this thesis with two exceptions: (1) in the use of the common spelling of well-known Arabs as appeared in English writings including Taha Hussein, Tawfiq Al-Hakim, Naguib Mahfouz and Jamal Abdul-Nassir; and (2) in the use of the English spelling of the newspapers and magazines names, when available, as they appear on their websites. Moreover, this thesis makes use of Abdullah Yusuf Ali's English translation of the Quran published in 1938 to translate Quranic words and verses.

Similarly, paratextual material include those published within the translations themselves such as front and back covers, blurb, translators' introductions and prefaces, publishers' dedications, policies or messages etc. Moreover, even the paratextual material that are present in the performances themselves are used

including nonverbal gestures and body movements of actors on stage (some of them are attached to the thesis in Appendix 2) and any pre-performance speech or introduction etc.

1.4 A Note on Terminology

Apart from the terminology used by both Andre Lefevere and Pierre Bourdieu, there are two terms that needs be distinguished between i.e. ‘drama’ and ‘theatre’. ‘Drama translation’ or ‘drama translators’ are used as a generic term referring to all translations/translators of published translations and of translations for the stage and for radio, while ‘theatre translation’ and ‘theatre translators’ only refer to translations/translators of translations produced solely for the stage. In addition, the abbreviation (BT) is used in this thesis to mean Back Translation.

This thesis has benefited from Badawī’s three levels of the Egyptian colloquial (EC): (1) colloquial of the illiterate (*‘āmiyya-t al-`umiyīn*) which is the lowest level of EC spoken by the illiterate; (2) colloquial of the basically educated (*‘āmiyya-t al-mutanawirīn*) which is a higher level acquired by a basic level of education; and (3) colloquial of the cultured (*‘āmiyya-t al-muthaqafīn*) which is used by the intellectuals and academics in different fields of knowledge. I chose this classification because there is no standardised classification of EC, and because they help in the analysis of the different registers used by Arab translators/rewriters. They are also used in the analysis of the different levels of the Lebanese colloquial (LC) because Badawī’s classification is also applicable to other Arab dialects which are somehow similar to each other and in order to be consistent in the use of terminology related to register in the whole thesis. However, his two levels of the standard, i.e. heritage classical (*fushḥa al-turāth*) and contemporary classical (*fushḥa al-‘aṣr*), are not used. This is because they are so similar to, if not identical to, classical Arabic (CA) and modern standard Arabic (MSA) which are widely used in the literature of Arabic linguistics and literature and in translation studies among other fields.

CHAPTER TWO

DRAMA TRANSLATION: THEORETICAL ISSUES AND PRACTICAL CHALLENGES

This chapter aims to explore the main issues and debates discussed by researchers working in the field of drama translation; it will assess what is already known and what work still needs to be undertaken to fill gaps in research. In order to emphasise the unique nature of drama translation, this chapter will start by explaining some definitions of drama translation and will compare different approaches used for translating the playtext and the prose text. Various readings of a single text will be considered, together with the main problems of translating it for publication or for the stage. In addition, the implications of transforming a playtext from one medium to another in the same language, as well as translating it into another language will be discussed. The significance of the collaborative task in this transformation process will also be examined. This chapter will consider the main notions relating to drama translation including: speakability, graspability, playability, performability and the *mise en scène*.

The translation of the playtext and the prose text poses similar and different problems. As a result of belonging to distinct systems of communication, the stories of prose text are told by a narrator, whereas the story of a play is designed to be told through characters portrayed by actors. The narrator of a prose text can provide the reader with detailed information about the characters and/or story as well as interpretations of the actions of these characters. In a stage production this information is usually conveyed by actors playing characters. Therefore, the relationship between an audience of a play and the playtext is not the same as the relationship between a narrator of a prose text and its readers (Link, 1980). Therefore, translating the performance aspects of a playtext involves different challenges to those posed when translating prose text (Tornqvist, 1991). Accordingly, a play cannot be translated in the same way as a prose text, because it has specific features of its own, i.e. the performance dimension.

2.1 Theorising Drama Translation

Drama translation is defined by Zuber-Skerritt (1988, p.485) as “the translation of the dramatic text from one language and culture into another” and as the “transposition of the original, translated and adapted text onto the stage.” Aaltonen's definition (2000, cited in Mateo, 2006, p.176) links the choice of dramatic text to be translated with the needs of the target context and its audience. While theatre

translation is defined by Pavis (1989, p.26) as a ‘hermeneutic act’ because it pulls the source text towards the target language and culture that separates it from its source and origin. Gostand (1980, cited in *ibid.*, p.486) defines drama translation in much broader terms and takes into account the distinct processes and aspects involved in drama translation, such as:

1. One language to another (difficulties of idiom, slang, tone, style, irony, wordplay or puns);
2. One culture to another (customs, assumptions, attitudes);
3. One age/period to another (as above);
4. One dramatic style to another (e.g. realistic or naturalistic to expressionistic or surrealist);
5. One genre to another (tragedy to comedy or farce);
6. One medium to another (stage play to radio, TV or film);
7. Straight play-script to musical/rock [or] opera/dance drama;
8. Printed page to stage;
9. Emotion/concept to happening;
10. Verbal to nonverbal presentation;
11. One action group to another (professional-stage/film trained to amateur groups, students or children); and
12. One audience to another (drama for schools or the deaf) (*ibid.*).

Before translating any playtext, the translator should be aware of its hybrid nature and that it might have been written for two different purposes: as a literary text to be read (with or without a potential performance) and/or as a performance script to be delivered on stage. Bassnett argues that these two types of text have a dialectical relationship with each other and are ‘coexistent and inseparable’ (1985, p.87) but belong to two different semiotic systems, i.e. both verbal and audio-visual. A written playtext is composed of verbal dialogues and nonverbal stage directions, but an actual performance includes linguistic, para-linguistic and kinesic features. (For details on these features, see section 2.4). Because of this unique nature, Bassnett (1998, p.90) argues that drama translation is “the most problematic and neglected area of translation studies.” Indeed, only limited research has been undertaken to uncover translation problems and many of its aspects are still ‘unknown and unclear’ (Shahba et al., 2013, p.94). Bassnett thinks that one of the reasons for this neglect could be that many translations have been undertaken as ‘hack writing’ and have

been translated purely for commercial purposes, or to draw the attention of critics who are only interested in aesthetic values (1990, p.79).

This chapter offers an overview of the theoretical and practical issues of drama translation and critically reflects on the discussions relating to translating drama for readers and spectators: in other words, for page and stage. It will refer to the works and views of scholars from the interdisciplinary areas of translation studies, theatre studies and semiotics. It will cover topics such as the relationship between the written text and its performance; the strategies, implications and stages that exist in the process of transforming from page to stage; various readings of the same playtext; and the collaborative task undertaken by all those who work to create a performance. In addition, this literature review will shed light on the notions of 'performability' and '*mise en scène*' and compare and contrast these concepts with each other. Moreover, it will examine contemporary and historical debates about the 'gestic-text' and the 'meta-text'.

2.2 Drama Translation: Readings, Problems and Strategies

2.2.1 Various Readings of the Playtext

A dramatic text can be read in a wide range of different ways. Ubersfeld notes (cited in Bassnett-McGuire, 1985, p.87) that “a theatre text is the only kind of literary text that quite categorically cannot be read in the diachronic sequence of ordinary reading, and that only yields itself to a density of synchronic signs which are arranged hierarchically in space, spatialized.” Aaltonen (2000) and Mateo (2006) both believe that there is no single or fixed reading of a playtext, but rather a combination of diverse readings by different participants, including those involved in production, play-writing, translation, and in the acting process etc. According to Aaltonen (2000, p.29) every reading generates a new text that can be likened to apartments that are occupied and manipulated by different tenants at different times.

Susan Bassnett (1998, p.101) provides a list of six types of different readings. She argues that a playtext can be read *solely as literature* regardless of any potential performance. Also, there are *post-performance readings* and a *director's reading* which involve a process of decision making that aims to figure out the dramatic possibilities offered by the text. Furthermore, there is the *actor's reading* which is focused on a particular role, and which is variable, since acting conventions and styles can vary from culture to culture, and actor/actress to another. There is also the *designer's reading* which visualises the physical dimensions of the text, and a *rehearsal reading* which contains aural elements and paralinguistic signs. In addition to these readings, Bassnett identifies another crucial type of reading which

is specific to the act of translating. She explains that the *translator's reading* can incorporate any or all of the previously described readings because “every stage and feature of the dramatic production has and/or will involve processes of translation” (Gostand, 1980, cited in Zuber-Skerritt, 1988, p.2). The translator’s reading usually concentrates on the linguistic aspects of the text with attention to the production circumstances. In addition, scholars of theatre semiotics have identified another reading strategy known as the *pre-performance reading* which involves creating an imaginative spatial dimension that resembles the reading of a novel (Bassnett, 1991). Pavis (1992, p.31) thinks that the dramatic text “does not have an individual reader, but a possible collective reading, proposed by the *mise en scène*.” Accordingly, he differentiates between three types of reading: there is the reading of the ordinary reader, which has an imaginary *pre-mise en scène*; there is the reading of the piece as a spoken text, as it is uttered in performance, which is actualised in a specific context; and, finally, there is a reading of the performance text, which is formulated according to the *mise en scène* reading (or the reader’s interpretation of the text) that leads to its ‘stage actualisation’ (ibid., p.33).

2.2.2 Problems of Translating Playtexts

There are two groups of problems relating to the translation of a playtext. The first group of problems are pertinent to translating literary texts, including dramatic literature. These include the possible cultural and ethnic differences between the source and target languages. According to Pavis, “we cannot simply translate a text linguistically; rather we confront and communicate heterogeneous cultures and situations of enunciation that are separated in space and time” (1989, p.25). This requires the translators to be both bilingual and bicultural in order to be capable of overcoming such difficulties. Tornqvist (1991) suggests that the best way to translate for the page is to illustrate these differences in the translator’s notes for the reader to peruse. However, for a performance text, Tornqvist explains that a spectator will be at a loss unless the information they need is included in the performance, and, so, this task must fall to the director rather than the translator (ibid).

Zaltin (2005, p.67) explains that problems can arise for translators which are related to copyrights and acquiring permissions, and in identifying an appropriate version of the text. However, Bassnett (1991) feels that the key problem a translator faces relates to attaining close engagement with the text on the page, and that solutions must be found for various linguistic problems, such as those related to register (gender, age, and social position), deixis and consistency.

The second group of problems concerns the special nature of the dramatic text. First of all, Roman Ingarden (1960, cited in Tornqvist, 1991, p.9) has made an important distinction between the *primary text* and the *secondary text*. He explains that the former refers to everything verbalised from the play in performance (i.e. the dialogue), and the latter refers to everything verbalised only in the dramatic text (i.e. stage directions). On the one hand, problems relating to the dramatic dialogue can cover intonation, rhythm, pitch, patterns and loudness, register, dialects, and idiolect. Robert Corrigan (1961, cited in Bassnett, 2002, p.125) argues that the translator must hear the speaking voice and pay attention to language gestures, cadence rhythm and pauses. Additionally, the choice of the target language variety should reflect the idea that the characters need to use a language that the audience understands (Link, 1980). On the other hand, problems can arise when translating stage directions, commentaries, descriptions and any other extra information provided by the dramatist. Usually, this information is translated into the target language literally for a reading version, but when staged, this information appears in the stage settings, and can become acting directions, verbalised references or, in some cases, kept as stage directions (Tornqvist, 1991). Pavis (1982, cited in Tornqvist 1991, p.10) points out that, while dialogue is obligatory for the director, stage directions are optional; he compares staging a play to baking a cake “some will prefer to scrupulously follow the recipe and others will add a ‘pinch of salt’ or will substitute their own culinary technique.”

Furthermore, Pavis (1992, p.136) discusses four main problems related to translating for the stage including: *the intersection of situations of enunciation*, whereby he assumes that the translated playtext becomes part of both the source and target cultures because it adapts the source text’s semantic rhythmic, aural, connotative, and any other aspects, to the target language and culture. Loren Kruger (1986, cited in Pavis 1992 p.138) believes that the reception of any translation depends on “the extent to which the situation of enunciation of the source text, the translator, and the target discourse can be said to correspond.” The other three problems noted by Pavis are: *the series of concretizations*, which concerns the different stages of transforming a text into performance, *the conditions of the reception of theatre translation* and *the mise en scène of a translation*, whereby “the dramatic text can relieve itself of terms which are comprehensible only in the context of its enunciation.” The latter can be accomplished by the use of deictic units (ibid., p.144).

Finally, translating a playtext into a successful performance involves a ‘multiplicity of factors’ (Bassnett-McGuire, 1985, p. 93) because the translator is asked to accomplish an impossible task in treating the written text, which is part of a complex

sign system, as if it is a text to be solely read off the page (ibid., p.87). Thus, a collaborative approach is usually taken (and this will be discussed in section 2.4.2).

2.2.3 Strategies of Translating Playtexts

Translation scholars propose various strategies for translation, and have compiled different guidelines to assist translators. However, before choosing any strategy, Lai Chi Chun asserts that a translator must decide on the purpose of his/her translation and “this not only includes a choice between producing a reading text or a text for performance, but also one between ‘bringing the reader to the source text or bringing the source text to the reader’” (cited in Khalief Ghani, 2010, p.164). Bassnett McGuire (1985, p.90) lists five main strategies: *translating the theatre text as a literary work, using the source language’s cultural context as a frame for the text, translating ‘performability’, creating source language verse drama in alternative forms and co-operative translation*. Bassnett argues that the last strategy produces the best results, since it involves the collaboration of a least two people. This approach is usually used in the translation of a text into performance. In addition, this strategy avoids the notion of ‘performability’ and has the advantage of being able to take into consideration “the problem[s] posed by differing theatre conventions of SL and TL cultures and the problems of different styles of performance” (ibid, p.91).

Aaltonen (2010) suggests three types of translation strategy as follows: *an introductory translation* (targeting a large and diverse audience which comprises readers and spectators, and it is published as a printed book or circulated as a theatre script), *a gloss translation* (peculiar to theatre institutions that tailor their translations towards a linguistic analysis of the source text in order to target specific receivers), *the performance translation* (received in a particular theatrical context in an audio-visual form). She notes that audience size, time and space, the reception mode, and the anticipated life span of the text each plays its own role in the choice of the approach used for translation. She suggests two strategies that can be used to bring the source text in line with the target system’s theatrical conventions namely: ‘acculturation’ and ‘naturalisation’ (2000). She argues that if the playtext is viewed as one element in the constitution of the theatrical event, then it must, unavoidably, follow some degree of acculturation. For her, acculturation is “the process which is employed to tone down the Foreign by appropriating the unfamiliar ‘reality’, and making the integration possible by blurring the borderline between the familiar and the unfamiliar” (ibid, p.55). In fact, acculturation may involve naturalisation as well which “denies the influence of the Foreign, and rewrites the play through some elements as if coming from the indigenous theatre and society” (ibid). Therefore, both approaches function as a way of rewriting the source texts’ forging elements in

a way acceptable to the target culture because acculturation minimises the relationship to any specific culture, while naturalisation turns the alien culture to its own ends (ibid). Romy Heylen sees the acculturation of the playtext in terms of degrees. He talks about

a descending 'scale of acculturation' that goes from the so-called 'foreignised' texts, where no attempt is made to acculturate the source text, through various stages of 'negotiation', up to a complete acculturation, where problematic elements of the source text are normalised and domesticated to suit audience expectation and the constraints of the receiving theatre system (1993, cited in Marinetti, 2005, p.33).

Prior to Bastin (1998), Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) warn that translation is a procedure used to change the context of a source text, and this context might not exist in the target text's culture, and hence, translation must include some form of recreation aimed at finding equivalence (cited in ibid.). Newmark (1988, p.46) states that adaptation is the 'freest' form of translation and is used mainly for plays and poetry, and that themes, characters and plots are usually preserved, but the culture of the source language is often converted to the target language's culture, and, therefore, the text is rewritten. Furthermore, Brissett (1986, cited in Bastin, 1998, p.6) claims that 'adaptation' is the "reterritorialisation" of the original text, and argues that this kind of translation is annexed to suit the target audience. Santoyo (Zatlin, 2005, p.79) suggests that adaptation naturalises or domesticates the text to achieve an equivalent impact on the target audience. However, Tornqvist (1991, p.8), says that adaptation "involves significant voluntary deviations from the source text." For Bassnett (1985, p.93), 'adaptation' as well as 'version' are misleading terms that should be set aside and not used anymore. Therefore, the translator's task is "not simply to decode a text into a different language creating a linguistic equivalence" but to "recreate a text for performance to suit different needs" (Peghinelli, 2012, p.22). In his study of the translation of meta-linguistic texts, Coseriu (1977, cited in Bastin, 1998) argues that what matters in the translation of playtexts is function and not form, because only by focusing on function is it possible to achieve the same effect as the original, and Berman (1985, cited in ibid.) thinks that adaptation is an unnecessary form of exoticism.

There are two types of problems that can arise in relation to adaptation: **local adaptation** can raise issues connected with the differences between the source and target languages and corresponding cultures; also **global adaptation** raises problems in connection with the text as a whole in terms of reconstructing the function, purpose or effect of the original text (ibid.). Adaptation can be achieved using

different processes, such as: transcription, omission, expansion, exoticism, updating, situational equivalence, and creation (ibid.). Bastin (1998) explores some of the reasons why translators use adaptation. These reasons include: (1) when no lexical equivalence is available in the target culture; (2) when the source culture's view or context does not exist or does not apply in the target culture; (3) when genre switching is intended, and this requires a recreation of the source text; and (4) when a different type of audience is addressed, and when the modification of content, style and presentation is needed.

2.3 From Page to Stage and Radio: Implications and Debates

2.3.1 Page versus Stage

Scholars of translation studies, theatre and semiotics have engaged in many heated debates in order to determine what type of relationship exists between the written text and its performance, and to assess if one element has dominance over the other. Before discussing the views of these scholars, it is worth looking into Bassnett's distinction between two types of playtexts. She argues that "the written text is a functional component in the total process that comprises theatre and is characterised in ways that distinguish it from a written text designed to be read in its own right", and the theatre text (written with a view to performance) has special features that make it performable beyond the stage directions themselves (2002, p.125). Indeed, Anne Ubersfeld (cited in Bassnett, 2002 and Peghinelli, 2012) believes that the written dramatic text and its performance are indissolubly linked, and it is impossible to separate the two. She argues that attempts to distinguish between the two elements are artificial and tend to lean towards bias in favour of championing the prominence of the written text. She uses the term '*troué*' to show that the written text is incomplete. Bassnett (2002) thinks that the written text cannot be realised until it is performed on stage, and only through this combination can we get a complete text which mediates between the two. Both scholars agree that any higher status acquired by the written text will result in the misconception that there is only one 'right way' of reading and performing a playtext. However, it is worth noting that, a few years later, Bassnett changed her view to assert the pre-eminence of the written text; she said it was time

to focus more closely on the linguistic structures of the text itself" because "it is only within the written that the performable can be encoded and there are infinite performance de-codings possible in any playtext. The written text, *troué* though it may be, is the raw material with which the translator must work with, and the translator cannot begin by imagining a hypothetical performance (1985, p.102).

Alternatively, Jiri Veltrusky (1977, cited in Bassnett, 1998, p.98) asserts that not all plays are written to be performed, and that other types of texts can be performed such as lyrical works and narrative literature. He adds that whoever claims that the acting feature is only linked with drama is mistaken. However, it is worth mentioning that Kowzan, unlike Ubersfeld, thinks that the written playtext can function outside the theoretical system and vice-versa (cited in Khalief Ghani, 2010) and that it contains a series of performance clues that can be 'isolated and defined' (cited in Bassnett-McGuire, 1985, p.89).

He sees drama as a genre, and the dramatic text as a text written to be read within the conventions of that genre, and any potential performance falls outside its generic boundaries (Bassnett, 1998):

All plays, not only closet plays, are read by the public in the same way as poems and novels. The reader has neither the actors nor the stage but only language in front of him. Quite often he does not imagine the characters as stage figures or the place of action as a scenic set. Even if he does, the difference between drama and theatre remains intact, because the stage figures and scenic sets are then immaterial meanings whereas in theatre they are material bearers of meaning (p. 99).

Therefore, the translator is left with the central problem of whether to translate the text as a literary piece, or whether to translate its function as one element of a more complex system, such as the theatre. Ubersfeld warns against expecting *a semantic equivalent* between the written text and its performance, whereby form and content are identical when transferred from one system to another. Ubersfeld suggests that one of the reasons behind the supremacy of the written text is the perception of performance merely as a translation (cited in Bassnett, 2002). This illusionary equivalence serves to prioritise the dramatic text and "prevents us from exploring how the theatrical and the dramatic text signs function on their own as well as in relation to one another" (Marinetti, 2007, p.30).

Pavis (1992, p.24) emphasises the need to distinguish between the written text and its performance. He argues that a dramatic text is "the verbal script which is read or heard in performance" and that performance is "all that is made visible or audible on stage, but not yet perceived or described as a system of meaning or as a pertinent relationship of signifying stage systems." Therefore, he believes that there is an undeniable relationship between the two elements, and not only in terms of translation but in terms of a confrontation of the fictional universe that is structured by the text and the performance produced on stage. This confrontation is useful in establishing links between text and utterance, in comparing indeterminate aspects in the text and performance and, sometimes, in resolving any textual contradictions or

indeterminacy. In addition, he introduces the concept of *mise en scène* as the bringing together or confrontation of different systems for an audience.

In addition to belonging to distinct sign systems, a written text and an actual performance reveal differences relating to time and place. A performance is time-bound because it is, according to Aaltonen (2000, p.40) “more tied to immediate context than literary translation, as experience in the theatre is both collective and immediate.” This theatrical experience is subject to change because each performance demonstrates a different interpretation of the playtext from diverse production angles and it differs according to audience reception, whereas the written text remains ‘irrevocable and permanent’ (Zuber-Skerritt, 1988, p.485). A performance is place-bound according to the type of stage or performance venue, and the available budget and equipment. Thus, spectators perceive the story through this restricted medium of time and place, and according to a particular ‘reading’ of the playtext, and this differs from a reading experience because readers have plenty of time to use their imagination to form an individual interpretation of what they are reading (Aaltonen, 2000, p.41). Moreover, this ‘time shortness’ is problematic for those involved in creating performances because they have to manage the length of a character’s speech and its speed/rate of delivery in order not to distort the spectators’ understanding of the play (Carlson, 1964). Performing a translated playtext usually takes between 15% and 25% longer than reading the original text, and, therefore, the performance might need to be ‘shortened and revised’ in order to have the same impact on the audience (ibid, p.56).

Tornqvist (1991, p.5) notes a number of differences between the written text and its performance. For example, there is usually one written dramatic text but an infinite number of potential performances. In addition, the dramatic text is experienced directly and verbally by readers while it is experienced indirectly and audio-visually by spectators. Furthermore, a written text can be read in small or big portions, and in any order, while a performance is only experienced as a fixed linear continuum. Also, the dramatic text is ‘open’ since it can be imagined in many ways, whereas a performance is ‘closed’ since its presentation is limited to the imaginations of those involved in its production. Finally, the dramatic text is consecutive, whilst performance encompasses a complex pattern of simultaneity. Tornqvist distinguishes two attitudes relating to this relationship and suggests that advocates of the written text often protest against significant changes that are done to the text in its performance, because, they say, this distorts it (ibid). Defenders of the performance accept that the differences between the text and its performance can be significant because transposing a text to stage or to performance involves

transferring one semiotic system to another and that directors must be given the freedom to change whatever they feel fit (ibid). Tornqvist suggests that the solution for resolving this debate is to recognize that a play has a double or hybrid existence; he argues that readers must admit that plays are usually written to be performed and that spectators must acknowledge that different productions of the same play are all based on the same text (ibid).

2.3.2 From Page to Stage and Radio

Tornqvist (1991) talks in detail about what happens to the playtext when it is transposed from one medium to another and from one language to another. He thinks that the adaptation of a playtext to another medium, for example into a stage, radio, film or TV production, usually entails shortening it, and in order to produce the new medium text then the dramatic text must go through an intermediate stage which is “a version of the drama text adjusted to the medium in question” (p. 168). Accordingly, the ability to present a dramatic text in a particular medium is determined by the technical and dramaturgical rules that govern that medium, for example, the technical equipment and the team’s competence. For stage production, the realisation of production depends on the theatre size, the kind of staging used, and the lightening equipment, etc. Moreover, stage performances differ from one another according to “the time and place of the performance, the attitude of the authorities (censorship), the policy of the theatre company, the interpretation of the director, the skill of the stage designer, the ability of the cast, and the co-operative spirit of the production team” (p.13) Tornqvist (1991, pp.12-13) also mentions the consequences and implications of a ‘live’ performance on the unique medium of stage performance, and outlines the features of a stage production as follows:

1. There is a ‘two-way communication’ between the actors and the audience, and actions are responded to with reactions.
2. It is a social event and theatregoers are able to exchange views on the performance.
3. The production is partly determined by spatial facilities and the distance between the stage and the auditorium.
4. It has an un-repeated nature which is difficult to be notated in a satisfactory way.

With these points in mind Ubersfeld notes a distinction between the written text (T), the performance (P) and a text that mediates between the two (T1) which is necessary in the creation of the final product, and she offers the following equation to describe the scenario: $T + T1 = P$ (cited in Nikolarea, 2002, no pagination).

In fact, what is true for stage is also true for the radio in the way that the playtext is being transposed from the written state to the audible state in which the content of the play is communicated audibly. Unlike a stage performance, the radio play lacks the visual settings and the characters' body movements and gestures which are the actualization of the written stage directions. Thus, all of these need to be conveyed by using other means such as: sound effects, new invented lines in the characters' dialogues or a narrator/a commentator on the actions of the play (Tornqvist, 1991).

2.3.3 The Collaborative Task and the Translator

It could be argued that performance is '*collaborative*' because it is undertaken by specialised people in many different areas (ibid., p.13). Indeed, Aaltonen (2000, p.32) maintains that "playwright, translators, stage directors, dress and set designers, sound and light technicians as well as actors all contribute to the creation of theatre texts when they move into them and make them their own." Also, the different readings and interpretations made by each of these participants during the creation of the stage script can affect the process of translation (Zuber-Skerritt, 1988). Differences in performance and rehearsal conventions, as well as in audience expectations between cultures must be taken into consideration during the collaborative process (Bassnett, 1991). The translator rewrites and reshapes a ST tailoring it for the target language audience who lives in a different time and place (ibid.). However, translators are "cultural advocates", thus, they may refuse to adapt the text in hand to avoid neutralising that ST's cultural identity (Peghinelli, 2012, p.28).

Although translators can often play a major role in the shaping of the performance text and in the production, unfortunately, they are not recognised as creative figures (Peghinelli, 2012), and are often placed in a position of intellectual, aesthetic and economic inferiority (Bassnett, 1991). However, Peghinelli (2012) suggests the translator possesses many valuable skills and an ideal theatre translator must be trained to gain linguistic and cultural competence and be an expert in the theatrical experience from a theatrical and academic perspective in order to be able to produce a translation that seems as if it has been written by a playwright. Corringan adds that "without such training, the tendency will be to translate words and their meanings. This practice will never produce performable translations" (ibid., p.26). Zaltin (2005) adds that many of the participants in rehearsals find the cooperative process beneficial and essential and that "translators need to familiarize themselves with terminology and style of stage directions in the target language" (p.67). Furthermore, Tornqvist (1991) asserts that because directors are free to deviate from the original text, then translators must try to be faithful to the text and to be able to

produce an actable translation. With this in mind, Bassnett (1985, 1991) and Chan (2004, cited in Shahba et al., 2013) argue that, by following the collaborative strategy, translators are responsible for producing a basic *scenario* that is literally translated (as if intended for readers), before the translation is handed over to a *dramaturg*, a playwright or a director to make it performable on stage, and, thus, this type of translation avoids the ‘performability’ dimension. However, Bassnett (1998) notes that the translator cannot do everything alone, and collaboration among team members is needed.

Gostand (1980, cited in Zuber-Skerritt, 1988, p.1) notes that staging a play always involves some kind of translation:

Drama, as an art-form, is a constant process of translation: from original concept to script (when there is one), to producers/director’s interpretation, to contribution by designer and actor/actress, to visual and/or aural images to audience response ... these are only the most obvious stages (no pun intended) in the process. At every stage there may be a number of subsidiary processes of translation at work.

Building on this theory, Khalief Ghani (2010) suggests three strategies for staging a playtext: (1) using the performability criterion, (2) using the text function criterion, or (3) using a mix of the two strategies. To illustrate this point, it is valuable to consider the way in which the translator Inga-Stina Ewbank describes her collaboration with the director Peter Hall on the translation of *John Gabriel Borkman*. She says the task was to

produce a literal translation ... and then to collaborate with the director, Peter Hall, in turning this into a stage version. The operative word was ‘team’ for, around the text, the production evolved as a firmly directed group enterprise ... The original text as well as the literal were at hand during rehearsals, the one for consultation and the other for modification; and rehearsals had a way of turning into Ibsen seminars ... The text was at the heart of the enterprise, and everyone involved was ultimately trying to ‘translate’ Ibsen to a 1970s English audience (Bassnett-McGuire, 1981, p.47-48).

Schultze (1990) draws attention to the need for a theoretical framework for translating for the stage, and suggests this theoretical framework should account for three different elements as follows:

1. Specifically literary elements which cannot be transferred into any of the theatrical sign systems directly and precisely;
2. Specifically theatrical elements, i.e. signals primarily used for the production of theatrical meaning; and

3. The bulk of information that produces literary as well as theatrical meaning (p.270).

With this in mind, Lefevere (cited in Bassnett, 1990, p.77) notes that:

Although many monographs of X as translator of Y exist in the field of drama translation, none to my knowledge go beyond treating drama as simply the text on the page. There is therefore practically no theoretical literature on the translation of drama as acted and produced.

This quotation highlights what has been already mentioned especially in regards to the lack of work on the staging of drama translation and the fact that it is not the translator's job to produce performable or theatrical translations.

2.3.4 The Stages of Transforming a Playtext from Page to Stage

Zuber-Skerritt (1988) suggests a typology for the process of drama translation, i.e. "the process of translating the text into the target language" and "the process of transposing the translated text on to the stage" (p.487) as follows:

The first stage (the translation stage) consists of six steps:

Step 1: *A preliminary analysis of the text* in order to decide whether it is worthy of translation.

Stage 2: *An exhaustive style and content analysis* in order to establish what makes a literary text literary or what makes a scholarly text authoritative.

Step 3: *Acclimation of the text* by externalising the translation from the internal understanding of the source text.

Step 4: *Reformulation of the text* and verbalisation in the target language, mostly proceeding from sentence to sentence and often modifying earlier analyses.

Step 5: *An analysis of the translation* which is revised by the translator who as his/her own critic and editor measures his/her translation against the larger context of culture, audience needs, or the intended text function.

Step 6: *A review and comparison by another person* being familiar with the original and able to judge whether comparable effects and functions are achieved and whether they are desirable.

The second stage (the stage of transposing from page to stage) consists of two steps:

Step 7: *An analysis of suitability for the stage* to establish whether the text under consideration was written as a reading drama or for stage performance.

Stage 8: *A decision on what basis to use for the translation from page to stage* which has four possibilities:

1. To follow a published acting edition.
2. To produce one's own acting edition.
3. To decide not to use a stage script at all, but to let the production evolve from trials and discussions in rehearsals, experiments, creative ideas, and spontaneous interactions with the audience.
4. To combine 3 with 1 or 2.

In addition, Pavis (1992, p.138-142) articulates the stages of concretization, describing them as a series, i.e. the stages of transforming the dramatic text in a particular order: written, translated, analysed dramaturgically, staged and, finally, received, by the audience, as follows (see *Figure 1*):

Stage T0: The original text which represents 'the author's interpretation of reality' (Levy, 1969, cited in *ibid.*, p.139). This text is only readable in its own situation of enunciation, i.e. in its surrounding culture.

Stage T1 (the textual concretization): The text of the written translation which constitutes the initial dramaturgical concretization. Here, the translator works both as a reader and a dramaturge as someone who makes choices from among the potential indications of the original text by considering culture, stylistics and fiction. George Mounin rightly states that "a playable theatre translation is the product, not of linguistic, but rather of a dramaturgical act" (cited in *ibid.*, p.140).

Stage T2 (the dramaturgical concretization): This involves a dramaturgical analysis that incorporates a coherent reading of the plot, and the spatio-temporal indications implied within the text. This stage also involves a representation of the stage directions through the linguistic translation or through the extra-linguistic elements. The significance of this stage appears in the concretization of the text in order to make it readable for a reader or a spectator.

Stage T3 (the stage concretization): This is the onstage testing of T1 and T2. During this stage, the situation of enunciation is finally realised and it is formed by the target audience who decide whether the text is acceptable or not and whether the virtual T0 and the actual T1 creates a *performance text* through the examination of the relationships between textual and theatrical signs.

Stage T4 (the recipient concretization): This is when the source text reaches its final destination, i.e. the audience of the target culture.

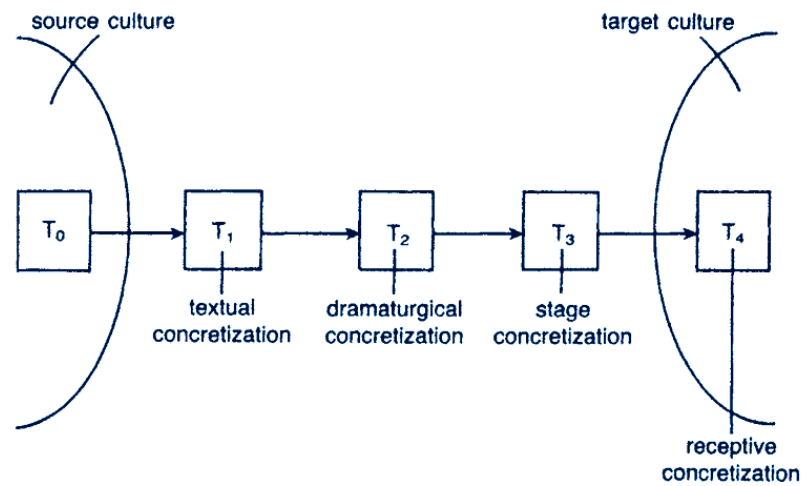


Figure 1. Pavis' Series of Concretizations (1992, p.139)

2.4 Notions Relating to Theatre Translation

2.4.1 Speakability, Graspability and Playability

Levy (2011) considers speakability and graspability as the main characteristics of theatrical language. He sees the language of drama as a stylised form of the spoken language which is constrained by theatrical conventions (ibid.). He argues that theatre translators should make their texts as pleasing to the ear and as understandable as possible. However, he reiterates that the consideration of the syntax of the actors' lines is an important factor in choosing an appropriate stage speech. He describes these syntactic characteristics, which today's audiences are more familiar with as he claims, as "short sentences and paratactic structures [which] are easier to articulate and to follow than complex sentences with a complex hierarchy of subordinate clauses" (p.129). Moreover, promoting speakability fulfils the objectives of "ease of articulation and intelligibility." He adds that this notion also has a historical dimension in the way that conversational styles vary from era to era (p.134).

In the same vein, Schultze (1990, p.268) talks about the "suitability for the stage" which is a sort of generic term that covers elements such as 'speakability', 'playability' and 'spontaneous understanding', but she believes this kind of theoretical approach implies a narrow understanding of theatre texts because it focuses only on the actor's role in creating theatrical meaning, without considering other nonverbal theatrical sign systems. For Schultze, ideas relating to 'speakability' are 'vulnerable' but she acknowledges that making a translated dramatic dialogue easy to pronounce is a normal thing to do (ibid). In respect of playability, she

reiterates that different modes are employed in a theatrical performance: verbal forms (words) and nonverbal forms (gestures, proxemic relationships, facial expressions, etc.) which “add up to a coherent statement” or even “contradict one another” (ibid, p.269). Both modes work hand in hand to create theatrical meaning and, they may change from scene to scene and from sequence to the sequence (ibid). However, demanding ‘speakability’ or ‘convenient pronunciation’ might, in reality be an act of ignorance of the role of the complex and difficult forms which may have a specific function to fulfil (p.268).

Pavis warns against interpreting speakability as ‘easy pronunciation’ because translation is often hidden “under cover of the text that speaks well”; rather, he prefers to use the phrase ‘language-body’ to refer to the union of the verbal and the nonverbal which are culture and language specific (1989;1992, cited in Aaltonen, 2000, p.42-43). On the other hand, Snell-Hornby (1984, cited in ibid) combines the terms speakability and playability into one term, namely ‘playable speakability’ to emphasise the significance of rhythm.

Writers for the stage, whether they are playwrights or translators, should remember that they are writing a *scenario* for production, and that the playtext is “merely a how-to-do-it manual for its animation on the stage” (Wellwarth, 1981, p.140). Although translators do not practice the same technique of oral communication that playwrights practice, they are still capable of producing a text of a similar quality (ibid). Wellwarth suggests that the best way to approach translating is to translate a play aloud, listen carefully to its various versions, and, if possible, read it aloud to someone with experience of plays, such as an actor for instance (ibid). However, Peghinelli (2012, p.29) does not advocate that the concepts of performability or readability should be applied to actual theatrical performances and translations because “they seem to share weakness in their perspective approaches.” Wellwarth (1981, p.142) suggests that the term speakability can sometimes be misunderstood to mean ‘concision’ and this mistake is a dangerous one to make for the inexperienced translator who may end up producing “a series of hermetically cryptic remarks.”

2.4.2 Performability and the *Mise en Scène*

On the one hand, performability is a term that first appeared in translators’ prefaces in the twentieth century to convey the idea that translations were suitable for eventual performance (Bassnett, 1991). Susan Bassnett has talked extensively about this notion more than any other Translation Studies scholar or researcher. She thinks that translators have invented it in order to escape the ‘servile relationship’ between playwrights and translators so that they can exercise more liberties in their works

(1991, p.105). For her, the term is defined as an attempt to create fluent speech rhythms and a text that is easy for actors to pronounce (1985), and its features include: “substituting regional accents in the SL with regional accents in the TL, ... creat[ing] equivalent registers in the TL and omitting passages that are deemed to be too closely bound to the SL cultural and linguistic context” (ibid, p.91).

The importance placed on performability is due to many factors, including the lack of theoretical research on the relationship between the written text and performance as well as on theatre and translation, the failure to consider the two traditions of translations for the stage, the dominance of the written playtext, and the problem of fidelity and power relationships (Bassnett, 1990). Bassnett notes that performability is “a very vexed term...the implicit, undefined and un-definable quality of a theatre text” (1985, p.90). However, she argues that considering performability encourages theatre translators to grapple with understanding what is meant by the relationship between the written and the performed (1990). She goes on to argue that it is necessary to put aside ‘performability’ as a criterion for translating (1985, p.102) and for evaluating translations since it no longer has credibility and can be damaging, and that it only has value in the marketplace, just like the terminologies used in advertising (1990, p.77).

Khalief Ghani believes that playwrights themselves should make an effort to include ‘performability’ in their playtexts (2010). Also, Young suggests that translators should resist the temptation to alter a word for the sake of variety or add another just to dress up a line (cited in Carlson, 1964, p.56). Moreover, Shahba et al. (2013) believe that the most important characteristic of the performing situation is its performability, which can be seen in both the steps of translating for the page and translating for the stage, but its definition differs in each case, and this is what makes the distinction between the two. Thus, both dramatic and theatre texts are performative and their only differences lie in staging issues and directing problems.

Bassnett (1990, p.72) says that theatre semioticians believe in the centrality of the performance in drama translation; they see the written text as a ‘blueprint’ for an eventual performance which functions as a network of signs that are realisable only in a spatial dimension. She adds that this view emerged at the same time as the development of naturalist theatre which is interested in the consistency of characterisation and in the notion of the gestural subtext. She believes that naturalist theatre works to foreground the idea of the scripted text as something that should be reproduced carefully for performance because only this script can afford complete power to the playwright’s role. This role can be seen in detailed stage directions and is realised in a high degree of fidelity to the written text, which leads to the

establishment of some sort of master-servant relationship between the playwright and the translator (1991). As a result, translators have invented the idea of ‘performability’ in order to escape this ‘servile relationship’ so that they can exercise more liberties in their work (ibid., p.105).

Bassnett thinks the term ‘performability’ implies that the theatre text has some kind of performable features in it, i.e. a coded gestural patterning (1991); however, she sees this as “a loose and woolly concept” (1985, p.98) and problematic because it makes the translator’s task ‘superhuman’ in that it is impossible for the translator to decode the ST’s gestural subtext and then recode it in the TT, and to deal with both the paralinguistic system and kinesic signs besides the linguistic aspects by only imagining the performance dimension (1991, p.100). In this respect, Tornqvist (1991) wonders if the acting subtext can be deduced from the TT just as it can be from the ST, whereas Ubersfeld (cited in Nikolarea, 2002) wonders about the boundaries of the written text and the possible existence of a subtext that can be read between the lines. In addition, Young encourages translators to resist the temptation to alter a word for the sake of variety or add another just to dress up a line (cited in Carlson, 1964). Thus, in order for the translators to succeed in this task, they need to be both bilingual and trained for gestic readings, just like performers and directors are (Bassnett, 1998). However, Starislawski, Berch and Bassnett all agree that this is the performer’s responsibility and not the translator’s (Bassnett, 1991).

In order to establish a criterion for the coded gestural patterning in a theatre text, even though there is no theatrical base to prove its presence, this criterion would have to radically vary from one culture to another, from one period to another, from one text type to another (Bassnett, 1991) and from one performer’s reading to another (Bassnett, 1998). In this respect, Susan Melrose, a theatre analyst and translator, argues that “*gestus* is culture bound and cannot be perceived as a universal” because its response depends on the cultural transformation of performers, theatrical conventions, age, gender, and behavioural patterns etc. (cited in Bassnett, 1991, p.110). Bassnett (1985) adds that if there is a gestural language, it surely lies in the interrelated usage of the deictic units, because these are in-keeping with the characters that use them, and they conform to the scene context. On the other hand, Pavis believes in the universality of gestures - *a gestural universality* - as Bassnett does (Nikolarea, 2002, no pagination).

On the other hand, Pavis notes that the term *mise en scène* is usually mistaken to have the same meaning as ‘performability’, but, he stresses, the two terms have different meanings. The *mise en scène* is “not a transformation of text into performance, but rather a theoretical ‘fitting’ which consists in putting the text under

dramatic and stage tension, in order to test how stage utterance challenges the text and initiates a hermeneutic circle between the text and its enunciation...opening up the text to several possible interpretations” (Pavis, 1992, p.30). Thus, the *mise en scène* is more concrete than performability because it does not only refer to a potential performance, but also to an actual ‘situation of enunciation’ for a future staging of the translated play (Boyd, 2014). However, the *mise en scène* is only applicable for translating for the stage, unlike performability which is applicable for both the page and stage (ibid). In addition, it is the translator who should create the necessary space for the *mise en scène* so that it can be realised by directors and performers (Pavis, cited in Boyd, 2014, no pagination).

To make everything clearer, Pavis (1992, p.26-29) devised list of things that the *mise en scène* should not be as follows: (1) it is not the only one good *mise en scène* of a supposed textual potential; (2) it does not have to be faithful to a dramatic text because it is nothing but repeating what is in the text by theatrical means; (3) it does not annihilate the dramatic text when staged; (4) different *mises en scène* of a common text produced in different times represent various readings of that text because the text’s message remains unchanged, but it is the spirit that changes considerably; (5) it is neither the stage representation of a particular text, nor it fills its holes which needs a performance to get meaning; and (6) it does not represent a unity of text and stage, nor does it attempts to find their common denominator.

To sum up, Susan Bassnett and Patric Pavis view theatre translation from different angles: according to the text and the stage. Each have different, and sometimes opposite, views about the *mise en scène*/performability and the written text. As mentioned previously, Bassnett (1985) asserts that the written text is what really matters in theatre translation, not the ‘performability’ dimension, and that the playtext can function as both a reading text and a stage script. Thus, she criticises Pavis for preferring *mise en scène*/performability over the written text (which he considers as an incomplete entity and as one component of a theatre text) (1991). Bassnett is an advocate of Ubersfeld’s notion of the inseparable nature of the theatre text and theatre performance. In addition, she argues against Pavis’ idea that “real translation takes place on the level of the *mise en scène*” because it requires a translator to transfer the unrealised text A into unrealised text B (ibid.). More information about this idea can be found in Nikolarea (2002) who notes the artificial theoretical debate between the two, or as she calls it ‘a theoretical polarization’ which has been sharply criticised by Boyd (2014).

Pavis (1992) articulates two opposite views about the relationship between translation and the *mise en scène*. The first view asserts that a translation does not

necessarily determine the *mise en scène*, but leaves the field open for a future director's interpretation. Some proponents of this view think there is no link between the written text and the *mise en scène*: "translating for the stage does not mean jumping the gun by predicting or proposing a *mise en scène*: it is rather to make the *mise en scène* possible, to hear speaking voices, to anticipate acting bodies" (Sallenave, 1982, in *ibid.*, p.145). In addition, some think it is a preparation for the *mise en scène*: "the *mise en scène* must remain open, allow for play without dictating its terms; it must be animated by a specific rhythm without imposing it. Translating for the stage does not mean twisting the text to suit what one has to show, or how or who will perform it. It does not mean jumping the gun, predicting or proposing a *mise en scène*: it means making it possible" (Jean-Marie Deprats 1985, cited in *ibid.*, p.145). Pavis sees this view as a false conception of the *mise en scène*. A second view sees translation as an operation that predetermines the *mise en scène*. Advocates of this view includes Vitez (1982, cited in *ibid.*, p.146) who considers that "a great translation already contains its *mise en scène*", and Regnault (1981, cited in *ibid.*, p.146) states that "translation presupposes first of all the subordination of the *mise en scène* to the text, so that – at the moment of the *mise en scène* – the text is in its turn subordinated to theatre."

2.4.3 The Stylistic of Dramatic Discourse

Stage discourse differs from ordinary every day speech, and its stylisation is one of the conventions of drama (Levy, 2011). Style is defined by Wellwarth (1981, p.142) as "the quality that conceals a translation's provenance ... [It] causes a play to sound as if it had originally been written in the target language." Theatrical discourse defines the character and creates the precondition of the conflict within the character itself or with the other characters on stage (Levy, 2011). A good dialogue contains "sufficient semantic 'cues' to create life-like characters, motivating their actions, and promoting actors so they need not improvise or fumble when fleshing out the character" (*ibid.*, p.156). It is within the characters' dialogue that the author's cultural and social markers can be identified which makes it impossible for a translator to avoid distorting them (*ibid.*).

With regard to the translation of theatrical discourse, Hamberg (cited in Shahba et al., p.94) states that the translated spoken lines must characterise the speaker, time and place and social class. In addition, it must not be ambiguous, rather, it must lead the audience's attention in the desired direction. In fact, the translator's approach to a dramatic text cannot be described as straightforward, but rather flexible, since it involves something like a system of variable procedures that depends on the translator's conception of the respective dramatic configuration and of the

performance primary objective (Levy, 2011). It is worth noting that modern theatrical discourse is closer nowadays to spoken language because “it has succeeded in capturing the way in which people form their ideas in popular speech, what aspects of reality they refer to and in what order, and when they slip into habitual clichés” (ibid, p.140). Therefore, as Bassnett (1985) notes, the translator should be aware of the fact that speech patterns are in a continuous process of change that ties these patterns to a particular point in time. In addition, Wellwarth (1981) points out that the strategy of toning down speech is widely used in modern drama; he thinks it is necessary in translating ordinary dialogue when the author deliberately heightens the original language, obligating the translator to make an effort to find a parallel heightening in the target language. Corrigan (cited in Khalief Ghani, 2010) argues that the translator must hear the voice that speaks, paying attention to the gestural language, pauses, and the cadence rhythm that appears when the written lines are spoken. In this respect, Zuber (1980) rightly states that theatrical translators need to be involved in rehearsals and discussions because they are the only ones who are comprehensively aware of the original, thus capable enough to advise of any changes to ensure that the playwright’s intention is maintained.

Moreover, translators sometimes face issues with the character’s lines that can be comprehended by the individual characters on stage as well as by the audience in different ways. Thus, in order to translate them, they should select words with similar functions (i.e. that can be understood in many different ways) (ibid.). Another issue is that each character actually has an individual style of speaking (i.e. idiolect). Jiri Veltrusky (cited in ibid., p.136) mentions that “No drama exists in which the lines of one person are based on intonation and those of another are based on expiration: the utterances of various persons may differ in vocabulary, but never in the overall nature of the dominations.” Accordingly, it is very important to keep the stylisation of the original lines because of their sub-textual functions (Levy, 2011). Finally, Franz Schoenberner (cited in Wellwarth, 1981, p.143) sees that “a really perfect translator is an alchemist, almost a magician” and what he/she is doing is “an act of grace, achieving the seemingly impossible.”

2.5 Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter introduces drama translation as researched by both translation studies and theatre studies scholars highlighting the main problems and strategies, various readings and the relationship between the written text and its performance. In addition, the stages that a playtext goes through to put on stage or radio and the collaborative task that is carried out in the process are also discussed. Then, key notions related to drama translation are defined and compared including

speakability, performability and the *mise en scène* among others. The following chapter discusses the theoretical framework of the thesis that is used to analyse the Arabic translations of Shaw's plays.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORISING THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DYNAMICS OF TRANSLATION

This chapter discusses the concepts theorized by Andre Lefevere and Pierre Bourdieu and chosen for this study as the theoretical framework. The chapter tests the viability of integrating the conceptual tools of both theorists in answering the identified research questions and effectively analysing the selected data.

This dissertation is situated within Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) since it combines a comparative analysis of the Arabic translations (TTs) and exploring the socio-cultural implications of these translations within the target literary and theatrical systems. According to Toury (1995), "translations are facts of target cultures" (ibid, p.29) and translators are socio-historical agents who play a social role influenced by their socio-cultural translational norms and constraints. Therefore, in order to answer the research questions of this thesis, a methodology that combines concepts from Translation Studies and sociology will be adopted to investigate drama translation as social practice.

On the one hand, translation is viewed as a social practice by Andre Lefevere, among other translation theorists. He considers translation as "a discursive activity embodied within a system of literary conventions and a network of institutions and social agents that condition textual production" (Asimakoulas, 2009, p.241). In his discussion of translation as 'rewriting', Lefevere points out the importance of the manipulation process which exercises a significant impact on both the translated text and its culture. In this respect, translation becomes a cross-cultural communicative act that tries to succeed in its mission to achieve cultural interactions in which translators, as social and cultural agents, need to manipulate original texts culturally (Zhang, 2013). Thus, Lefevere describes the dynamics of translation in its target culture and introduces the two concepts of 'poetics' and 'patronage' as effective theoretical tools to describe the constraints that govern the translation, the rewriting, the production of a foreign text in the target culture and the manipulation process itself.

On the other hand, with the introduction of many sociological perspectives into the field of translation studies, new sets of analytical concepts and procedures have emerged with the aim of theorising translation as a socially-situated activity (Inghilleri, 2009). Pierre Bourdieu's sociology, the most important of these perspectives, has proved useful in providing the conceptual tools which shed light on the role of translators as socio-cultural mediators in the production and

reproduction of texts (Inghilleri, 2005). Jean-Marc Gouanvic (2005) contends that Bourdieu's theory of cultural action is applicable to Translation Studies as it is "a sociology of the text as a production in the process of being carried out, of the product itself and of its consumption in the social fields, the whole seen in a relational manner"(p.148).

Adapting socio-cultural analytical concepts from both Lefevere and Bourdieu is crucial in this research to reach a complete understanding of the mechanisms of translating, rewriting and producing Shaw's drama for the Arab audience. As mentioned earlier, such an approach will help to fill in the gap of doing research that combines textual, contextual and paratextual analysis of the chosen Arabic translations of Shaw's drama.

3.1 Translation as Rewriting: Poetics and Patronage as Constraining Factors

For Lefevere, rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power which helps in the evolution of a literature and a society and in the introduction of new genres, new concepts and new devices (Lefevere, 1992). It is also "the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work" (Lefevere, 1982, p. 4). While translation for him is the production of a text on the basis of another aiming at adapting that other text to a certain ideology or poetics and usually to both (cited in Hermans, 1998, p.127). Although Bassnett and Lefevere (1990) see that a text is manipulated, as inspired by the existing ideologies and the prevailing poetics in a culture, in order to produce a target text that functions in its intended culture the same way the source text functioned in its own culture, it is not necessarily true for all rewritings. Sometimes a rewritten text functions in a totally different or even the opposite way. It is rewritten and processed in the same language, in another language or in another medium (Hermans, 1998). Thus, all forms of rewriting are governed by sociocultural factors abbreviated by Lefevere as 'tpt' 'time, place and tradition' (cited in Hermans, 1998, p.125) that, as a social phenomenon, determines how the foreign author/culture has been conveyed and what controlling mechanism enables possible changes to occur in the foreign image in a specific literary system (Dincel, 2007).

Among all forms of rewriting which includes reviewing, criticism, adaptation, anthologizing etc., translation is the most recognizable and influential due to its ability to project the image of an author or a work in the receiving culture (Lefevere, 1992, p.9). Accordingly, translators manipulate the texts in hand to bring them in line with the ideological and poetological currents of their time keeping in mind that there is a need for not only finding equivalences for the linguistic forms of the source text, but also to opt for effective strategies to create similar and acceptable cultural

effects (ibid). Some manipulative methods to manipulate texts linguistically include: additions, omissions and explanatory notes, while adaptation and rewriting depending on manipulating the text culturally and extra linguistically. Besides, translators may add new thoughts and ideas according to a hidden agenda or purpose consciously or unconsciously (Rösler, 2009). Alvarez and Vidal (1996) sees translators as being constrained by their own ideologies and by the prevailing ideologies, by the common poetics, by their feeling of superiority or inferiority as well as by opinions and expectations. Therefore, translation is certainly a social phenomenon and not “an isolated activity carried out independently of the power struggles within societies that can reach mass audiences (Delisle and Woodsworth, 1995, p.153). However, manipulative powers is not only exercised by the translator, but also by all those individuals involved in the act of translation at both the textual and extra textual levels from the choice the text to be translated to its publication or production (Fawcett, 1995).

As mentioned before, when rewriting for the stage, the translated text goes through a series of readjustments before being accepted for staging by people commissioning it. As a matter of fact, all the individuals involved in the performance rewrite the original text in a way or another in a ‘collaborative’ task; these individuals include playwrights, dramaturges, stage directors, actors, sound and light technicians and dress designers. Thus, there is a lot of rewriting taking place to produce a play in a theatrical system compared to a literary system (Dincel, 2007). While translating for the radio also requires many changes and transformations in the translated text in order to suit the audio medium and to successfully meet the expectations of the audience.

For Lefevre (1992), two factors controls the logic of culture: one tries to control it from within the literary system (i.e. poetics) and the other tries to do so from outside the boundaries of the literary system ensuring its aligned relation with the other social systems (i.e. patronage). Both factors take into consideration the ideology of that culture. Since patronage is more interested in the ideology of literature, patrons “delegate authority” to the professionals who work hard to ensure that the literary system is consistent with the patrons’ ideology in order to achieve harmony and avoid contradictions (ibid., p.15). Patronage retains most power in its operation of ideology, while the professional wield most influence in the determination of poetics (Munday 2012). Therefore, poetics and ideology work together to dictate the translation strategy and the solutions for specific problems (ibid.) because writers and rewriters do not operate independently of the constraints of their time and

location, rather they devise different strategies in order to live with these constraints as ranging from full acceptance to full defiance (Lefevere, 1982).

3.1.1 Poetics

Poetics refers to the aesthetic precepts that dominate the literary system at a certain point in time which are determined by the professionals, i.e. the critics, reviewers, teachers and translators, who decide what literature should or should not be acceptable (poetics) and for which society it should or should not be produced (ideology) (Lefevere, 1992). Poetics functions according to the ideological influences from outside its sphere generated from within the environment of the literary system (ibid.). In addition, a poetics is “a historical variable ... not absolute”; thus, it is subject to change with the course of time and this change occurs in its two components (ibid, p.35). However, both writings and rewritings are judged differently and irreconcilably according to the prevailing poetics of a certain period of time.

A poetics consists of two component: **the inventory component** which involves inventing literary devices, genres, motifs, prototypical situations and characters and symbols through rewriting and translation (ibid). This component is shown in the introduction of the dramatic genre as a whole in the Arabic culture in the late nineteenth century as well as in the integration of the theatre of ideas in this genre in the twentieth century through the exposition to European theatre and the translation of their drama among which Shaw is one. The other component is **the functional component** which determines how literature has to or allowed to function or what role it has or should have in the social system as a whole. It is influential in the selection of themes that suits that social system (ibid). In the Arabic culture, Shaw’s drama was chosen for themes like war, colonization, corruption and capitalism that the Arab nations have suffered from in different countries and at different periods of time. For example, Major Barbara was translated into Arabic in Syria in 2008 with the following dedication from the publisher:

إلى كلّ الحالمين بالأمن والسلام...
أزف إليهم مسرحية برنارد شو "الميجور باربارا" ليعلّموا أن الأمن والسلام لا يوجد بدون قوّة تفرّضه
وتحميه...

(Fir’awn, p.5).

BT: To all who seek peace...

I present to you Bernard Shaw’s “Major Barbara” to let you know that peace does not exist without a power that impose and protect it...

Thus, this play was translated for the sake of peace in the time when the Arab World as a whole was grieving for the condition of the Palestinians, especially what is

known as the Gaza War or Gaza Massacre 2008-2009, when 1417 Palestinians were killed without mercy. Syria is one of these Arab countries especially that it is a neighbouring country.

Unlike the inventory component, the functional component is subject to direct influence from outside the literary system which finds its most obvious expression in the themes written about (Lefevere, 1992). Particular themes dominate at certain times depending on the evolution of a system. The functional component of a poetics influences the literary system innovatively, whereas the inventory component does so conservatively affecting the way themes can be treated (ibid.). As for genres, they dominate in certain stages of the evolution of a literary system, then relegate to a secondary role with a possibility to be revived or given a new use (ibid.). In addition, rewriting and translation not only play a major role in the evolution of a literary system by projecting the image of a specific work or writer, but also by introducing new genres and devices into the inventory component of the receiving literary system and making changes in its functional component (ibid.).

3.1.2 Patronage

Patronage is “the powers (persons or institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature” (Lefevere, 1992, p.15). A patron can be a person, a group of persons, a religious body, a social class, a political party, a royal court, a publisher or the media (ibid). Patrons

regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other systems, which, together, make up a society ... by means of institutions set up to regulate, if not the writing of literature at least its distribution: academies, censorship bureaus, critical journals, and, by far the most important, the educational establishment (ibid., p. 15).

Rewritings, thus translations too, are used as an influential tool by powerful individuals and institutions to achieve their purposes, whether positive or negative (ibid.) and as a decisive tool for the evolution of a certain society through the introduction of new thoughts, art and literature (Dincel, 2007). In addition, Venuti (1998) argues that the identity-forming process initiated by a translated text can affect social mores to provide what is good or true when patronage is in the hands of the state or a similar institution. However, rewriters and translators are supposed to follow the parameters set by their patrons and to cooperate with and communicate these patrons’ objectives and legitimize, forcibly, the status and the power of those patrons (Lefevere, 1992). Rewriters of literature are “meticulous, hard-working, well-read, and as honest as is humanly possible” who have to be “traitors”

unconsciously most of the time as a result of them remaining within the boundaries of their culture (ibid., p.13).

Patronage consist of three components which are interrelated and interact in various combinations:

- **The ideological component**

Lefevere sees ideology as not limited to the political sphere defining it in early works as “world view” (1985, p.226), then as “the grillwork of form, convention, and belief which orders our actions (Jameson, cited in Lefevere, 1992, p.16) and in later works as “the conceptual grid that consist of opinions and attitudes deemed acceptable in a certain society at a certain time, and through which readers and translators approach texts” (1998, p.48). It determines the relationship between literature and other social systems (Dincel, 2007) and acts as a constraint in choosing and developing both form and subject matter (Aksoy, 2001).

- **The economic component**

Patrons give their writers/rewriters a pension to make a living or appoint them to some office, and employ professionals as teachers and reviewers (Lefevere, 1992). Patronage has the potential to act as a control factor on a more global level by paying royalties and production costs nationally and internationally (Asimakoulas, 2009).

- **The status component**

In return for economic payment, rewriters or translators are expected to conform to the expectations of their patrons (Munday, 2012). In addition, acceptance of patronage implies integration into a certain group and its lifestyle and behaving in a way that supports the group (ibid., Lefevere, 1992). This component enables the patrons to confer recognition and prestige (Hermans, 1998) and enables the rewriter/translator to obtain a certain position in the social system (Dincel, 2007).

In addition, patronage comes in two forms:

1. Undifferentiated Patronage

Patronage is undifferentiated when all its three components, i.e. ideology, economy and status, are in the control of one patron who represent one certain ideology which is the case in most literary systems in the past as attached to an absolute ruler whom a writer works for and in contemporary totalitarian states (Lefevere, 1982; 1992). In this type of patronage, patrons' efforts are devoted to preserving the social system stability and to directing the accepted literary production in that social system to further that aim or, at least, not oppose it (Lefevere, 1992). Thus, patrons are able to enforce a specific poetics (Lefevere, 1982). In addition, no 'other' literature is produced within this social system, but if it does, it will experience great difficulty to get published or else it will be considered as a 'low' or 'popular' literature (ibid., p.17).

2. Differentiated Patronage

However, patronage is differentiated when its three components do not depend on each other and are in the control of different patrons who represent conflicting ideologies which is typical to democratic or liberal societies where different patrons are at work at the same time (Lefevere, 1982; 1992). Differentiation occurs when the ideological and economic components of patronage are not necessarily linked within the society; whereas the economic aspects are liable to achieve the status of an ideology (Lefevere, 1982). Though, economic success can be gained without being dependant of ideological factors or even bringing status with it which is the case of most contemporary bestsellers authors (Lefevere, 1992). In addition, various poetics will compete trying to dominate in a system with undifferentiated patronage as a whole (Lefevere, 1982).

3.1.3 Poetics and Patronage at Work: The Codification of Poetics, Patrons' Censorship and Change in the Literary System

For Lefevere (1992), the codification of the poetics of any literary system can be summarized in the following points: (1) codification occurs through the selection of certain types of current practice and the exclusion of others at a certain time; (2) the codification of poetics entails the canonization of the works of certain writers, or rewriters, which conform the codified poetics. These works become an example for future writers to follow and occupy a significant position in the teaching of literature; (3) once codification has taken place at a certain time, it remains unchangeable even if the environment of its literary system has developed or changed; (4) the changing pace of the codified poetics is rarely the same as the changing pace of the environment of the literary system itself; and (5) the boundaries of a codified poetics transcend language as well as political and ethnic entities.

Moreover, the canonization of literary works to the level of ‘classics’ is closely related to the prevailing poetics of a specific period of time. Some works are elevated to this level in a very short time after its publication, while other works are immediately rejected or become classics at a later time when change has occurred in the dominant poetics (Lefevere, 1992). Once a literary work is canonized, it remains in the position of classics for a long time, unchangeable with the change of time and poetics (ibid.). Sometimes, these classics need to be reinterpreted or rewritten to become in line with the change of poetics so that they never lose their status (Munday, 2012). In addition, educational institutions, especially higher education, play a major role in keeping the canonized literary texts as classics in print since they are being taught widely and are known to the majority of people who are exposed to education (Lefevere, 1992). Thus, canonized works or authors are easily accepted for publication, whereas works that sharply differ from the preferences of the poetics and ideology of a certain literary system struggle and end up with being banned, rewritten, or published in another literary system (ibid.)

It is crucial to distinguish between the two concepts of patronage and censorship which possess different connotations. Patronage holds a positive connotation and should not be understood as a repressive force, rather

what makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse (Foucault, cited in Lefevere, 1992, p.15).

In contrast, censorship holds a negative connotation as it is

a coercive and forceful act that blocks, manipulates and controls cross-cultural interaction ... expressed through repressive cultural, aesthetic, linguistic and economic practices ... according to a set of specific values and criteria established by the a dominant body and exercised over a dominated one (Billiani, 2009, p. 28).

Translation has been and will always be a frequent target of censorship which does not only act according to the logic of punishment, but also according to the principle of correction (ibid.). Patrons may practice censorship whenever they feel that a specific rewriting/translation does not correspond with their moral, political and religious standards (Delisle and Woodsworth, 1995). They often employ professionals who occasionally repress certain works of literature that are all too blatantly opposed to the dominant poetics and ideology of a certain time and society (Lefevere 1992).

Patrons' censorship takes its institutional form, also known as preventive censorship, in which the translated text is questioned in terms of to what extent this text allows the circulation of ideas beyond the boundaries imposed by an authority (ibid.). Institutional censorship may reject a text depending on the author's profile or the translator's identity besides its content (ibid.). Therefore, the result of this type of censorship is either a completely banned text or a text labelled as 'strange' (ibid.).

Speaking of the types of censorship, it is worth mentioning that besides the institutional censorship, there is an individual censorship, also known as self-censorship, which is practiced by the rewriters or the translators consciously or unconsciously to meet the ideological and poetological currents of their time (ibid.).

Change is a must in any literary system to remain functional and influential on its environment through all the writings and rewritings it produces (ibid.). It is closely related to patronage and poetics as well as to the need felt in the environment of the literary system in the way that patrons encourage or even demand the production of literary works that meet the audience expectation and taste (ibid.).

In conclusion, it is important to pay a careful attention to all relationships between the translated text and the target culture in the analysis of translated literature. Translations shows the workings of all the constraints more clearly than other rewriting forms (Hermans, 1998) as they are "symbolic forms, located in specific social, temporal and geographic contexts, which, performed by translators and editors and fostered by translation policies, (re)construct meaning that can either support and strengthen existing ideologies or resist them (Munday, 2007, p.142). Lefevere (1992) adds that those engaged in the study of rewriting need to ask themselves "who rewrites, why, and what circumstances, for which audience" (p.7). In this respect, Dincel (2007) rightly states that

rewritings, or accurately speaking, translations, cannot be analyzed without taking into account the factors which the scholar regards as patrons, literary experts, professionals, critics, institutions, political parties, ideology and poetics which control the literary system along with the process of publicizing of any type of literature within a social system (p.146).

Based on the above, both components of poetics, inventory and functional, as well as its "variable" nature will be taken into consideration in the analysis of the chosen data. It is concerned with: What the prevailing poetics is in the TC? What language variety best suits the medium? What themes?

In addition, the three components of patronage will be beneficial to determine the role of patronage in the rewritings of Shaw's drama into Arabic and the type of

patronage in control in the time and place of the rewriting. It is concerned with: Who is supporting the translation or production? Why this ST? What intention? What ideological preferences? And if there is any censorship practices?

Accordingly, Lefevere's constraining factors of poetics and patronage are used in this study in the analysis of a number of Shaw's plays that have been translated and rewritten into Arabic for the stage and readership. In addition to the translations/rewritings themselves, "the critical refractions", as Lefevere (1982, p.17) names it, which are the introduction, translation commentary, notes and articles on the translation work together to help these translations take their place in the target system. Nevertheless, the researcher will refer to the following concepts by Bourdieu as well whenever needed.

3.2 Translation as a Social Practice: Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Action

Research in translation studies has been influenced by sociological theories and theorists two decades ago and the research areas include: the social and biological trajectories of translators and interpreters, the function of translation in terms of the global distribution and reception of translations as cultural goods, the translators' agency, the influence of market forces on the translation practices and the role of translation and interpreting in elucidating the states' socio political and symbolic claims (Inghilleri, 2009).

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Bourdieu's theory of cultural production in which he developed a theoretical approach based primarily on the concepts of: 'field', 'habitus' and 'capital' has been chosen for this thesis, of course in combination with the conceptual tools developed by Lefevere. These concepts are interrelated and interdependent in any social practice that results from the relations existing between an agent's dispositions (habitus) and that agent's position in a field (capital), within the current state of social interactions in a specific social space (field) (Maton, 2008). All of these concepts work hand in hand to form a social practice as shown in this equation: [(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice (ibid., p.51).

Accordingly, this theory ensures that only the combination of both the internal dimensions (habitus of social agent) and external dimensions (the characteristics of the field and forms of capital) of the product (or text) can accurately describe a social action or a practical instance. According to Gouanvic (2005), most studies have focused on one dimension of the two and, on the external dimension most of the time. Therefore, this study will fill in this gap through applying these ideas on the analysis of the translations which means that not only the textual aspects of these translations will be analysed, but also the roles and motivations of all those involved

in the translation, production and distribution besides the features and the constraints of the social context itself will be examined.

3.2.1 Field

A field for Bourdieu (1993) is a methodological device to explain “the locus of the accumulated social energy which the agents and institutions help to produce through the struggles” (cited in Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014, p.12). In his discussion of the field theory, Bourdieu defined the literary field as

a force-field as well as a field of struggles which aim at transforming or maintaining the established relation of forces: each of the agents commits the force (the capital) that he has acquired through previous struggles to the strategies that depend for their general direction on his position in the power struggle, that is, on his specific capital (1990, p.143).

In other words, within a given social field, agents struggle to maintain or change power relations using their habitus and their different types of capital (Wolf, 2010). As Inghilleri (2009) has put it, fields are the “sites for the confrontation of various forces, individual and institutional, and for the production, dissemination and authorization of different forms of symbolic/material capital.” Thus, a field is a structured system of social positions which are occupied by individuals or institutions and which its nature shapes these occupants’ situation (Bourdieu, 1994, cited in Wolf, 2010).

There is a number of properties that characterise any field. A field is the space of struggle or competition in which social agents or institutions seek to preserve or overturn their current capital. In addition, each field has its own rules, interests, histories, traditions and boundaries operating within it and in relation to other fields and which is formed according to the game played within it; thus, it cannot stand alone since it is in constant interaction with the other fields in the society in which it is situated. No field is fixed because its history is dynamic and can be traced by observing the competitions that take place between the existing and the new agents who/which are hierarchically positioned in the structure of the field. Accordingly, a field is an independent social microcosm that constitutes a network of objective relations between objective positions within it (Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014; Thomson, 2008; Inghilleri, 2009).

According to Bourdieu (1971, cited in Gouanvic, 2005, p.152), the field of cultural production within the social space consists of two types: **the field of restricted production** (or the autonomous principle) which does not have a predetermined

market of consumers and it only seeks cultural recognition; and **the field of large-scale production** (or the heteronomous principle) which has a predetermined market of consumers and seeks economic returns for translators and publishers. The latter produces symbolic goods for “the wide public” with a view of producing these symbolic goods in a way that obeys the law of competition to gain a vast market, while the former produces symbolic goods that obeys the laws of competition to gain cultural recognition and produces its own production norms and evaluative criteria (ibid.). In this respect, it is worth mentioning the principle of ‘disinterestedness’ used by Bourdieu (1986) in his discussion of the types of capital at work in a field; i.e. the display of disinterest in financial returns¹. Therefore, this thesis will shed light on two fields within which, and, through their interaction; the image of Shaw and his drama in Arabic translation have been formed; these fields are: the Arabic dramatic field and the publishing field.

3.2.2 Capital

Borrowed from the economic sphere to mean monetary exchange, the term capital is used and extended by Bourdieu to include all cultural exchanges which includes even economic exchnages because he thinks that it is “impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.46). As a matter of fact, the structure and limits of a field are determined by the dominant type of capital within it and the distribution of capitals among its members (Hanna, 2016). Wolf (2010, p.339) sees capital as the “sum of the social agent’s determinations, i.e., the qualities or distinctive features that agents develop, incorporates and represents.” It can be understood as the “energy” that drives a field to its development, and as the realization of power in certain forms (Moore, 2008).

A capital has four types that should be considered as being continuous and as one unit rather than separate entities. They are convertible to each other depending on the agent’s habitus and the field’s logic (Bourdieu, 1986):

¹ According to Bourdieu (1986, p.16), “Interest, in the restricted sense it is given in economic theory, cannot be produced without producing its negative counterpart, disinterestedness. The class of practices whose explicit purpose is to maximize monetary profit cannot be defined as such without producing the purposeless finality of cultural or artistic practices and their products... cannot be invented without producing the pure, perfect universe of the artist and the intellectual and the gratuitous activities of art-for-art’s sake and pure theory.”

1. Cultural Capital

This type of capitals is represented by education, certificates, titles and knowledge and comes in three forms:

- **The embodied form** is its fundamental state. This form of capital contains “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.243). These dispositions includes knowledge, culture, skills, politics, artistic tastes and cultivation that are accumulated through socialization, education and the media. This subtype of capital is acquired unconsciously depending on time, society and social class, integrated in a person or his/her habitus and then declines and dies with its bearers (ibid). It has some inherited properties as well as acquired ones when individuals add to their heritage (ibid.). Thus, all translators own an embodied cultural capital gained unconsciously from their socio-cultural environment.
- **The objectified form:** is the material state of cultural capital that takes the form of cultural goods, such as: books, writings, pictures and paintings, machines... etc. These material forms have both economic and symbolic values. Among these goods are the translations produced by the translators of a culture or a society.
- **The institutional form:** is the possession of “a certificate of cultural competence”, like an academic qualification or title, conferring its holder a constant, conventional and legally guaranteed value at a specific period of time (ibid, p.248). This qualification recognition makes it possible for social agents to go through a competition since such qualifications would be compared to each other.

2. Social Capital

It is the totality of the possessed actual and potential network of social connections and relationships of mutual recognition and acquaintances which is shown in the holder’s membership in a specific group such as family members, friends and colleagues. This group has a “collectively-owned capital” through its common name that could be the name of a family, a tribe, a school, a class, or a political party (ibid, p.251). Holders of social capitals, which are acquired through inheritance and sociability, are usually chosen as spokespersons who represent, speak and act in the name of their groups (ibid). A social capital has material profits as shown in the various services as a result of useful relationships and symbolic profits due to association with prestigious groups (ibid.). Translators who possess a social capital

are given, as well as their translations, more reliability and excellence due to the name of a well-respected figure or institution.

Moreover, a capital has two types of profits: symbolic capital and economic capital. On the one hand, symbolic capital is credibility, fame, social honour and prestige. This type of capital can accompany a cultural and/or a social capital. According to Gouanvic (2005), the symbolic capital of authors can be acquired by recognition gained through constant publishing in their literary fields. Once a work achieves the status of a classic, its author's symbolic capital becomes stable and unquestioned over time. Thus, a translator of such an author or such a work benefits from this symbolic capital, but of course, that translator's habitus is always at work to bring the translated author's image or work in line with the target literary field, culture and the recognition mechanisms (ibid). On the other hand, economic capital is the material possessions or economic resources (i.e. money and property). Bourdieu thinks that the economic capital is "at the root of all the other types of capital", even if some symbolic capital holders deny it, because once symbolic capital is recognized, it becomes nothing but an economic one (1989, cited in Haddadian-Moghaddam, 2014). Thus, he argues that symbolic capital is actually "nothing other than economic or cultural capital when it is known and recognized" since its economic returns becomes higher (ibid., p.21).

Lefevere has also talked about "cultural capital" and "economic capital" within his discussion of the objects of translations. He has used cultural capital in two senses: firstly as the kind of capital that intellectuals have in opposition to the economic capital that they do not possess. About this he says:

Cultural capital is what makes you acceptable in your society at the end of the socialisation process known as education. Even if you are a nuclear physicist, or other highly specialised professional, you are expected to be able to participate in conversations on certain topics... (1998, p.42).

Thus, this sense represents the institutional form of cultural capital. Secondly, he sees cultural capital as a kind of capital that a given culture or a "world culture" has stating that this type of cultural capital can be "transmitted, distributed and regulated by means of translation, among other factors, not only between cultures, but also within one given culture" (ibid., p.41). This is done depending on three factors: the needs of the audience, the patron or the initiator of the translation and the prestigious status of the source and target cultures and their languages (ibid.). In addition, he thinks that once a cultural capital is possessed, it can easily lead to an economic

capital which could eliminate the differences between a bourgeoisie and an aristocratic when that bourgeoisie becomes able to acquire an aristocratic cultural capital (ibid.). Thus, cultural capital can change its holders' class level by transforming their symbolic cultural capital into an economic one.

Applying Bourdieu's sociological concepts is crucial to determine the properties of the field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World and how it is influenced by other neighbouring fields. They also help in discovering the role of Arab translators' and/or producers' different types of capital, in addition to the author's (i.e. George Bernard Shaw's) cultural and symbolic capital, in the formation, production and reproduction/retranslation of Shaw's drama into Arabic as cultural products.

3.3 Towards an Analytical Model

After outlining the key concepts given by Lefevere and Bourdieu, it is important to talk briefly about how these ideas can work together effectively in order to successfully analyse a selective number of the Arabic translations, rewritings and retranslations of Shaw's drama. As mentioned earlier, this thesis is conducting a "sociocultural" investigation in order to do so. Therefore, it is worth noting that Lefevere's 'rewriting theory' represents mainly the cultural side of the research with some overlapping ideas with the sociological aspects in which Bourdieu's concepts are the heart of the matter. Katan (1999) sees culture as partly external (as behaviour and artifacts) and partly internal (as thoughts and values) (cited in Chesterman, 2006, p.11). Accordingly, a cultural system is produced by actions, especially social action and, at the same time, has the potency of influencing future action. Therefore, actions are the focus of sociology while ideas are in the centre of cultural studies attention (ibid.).

The sociocultural approach of this thesis involves a sociohistorical, socio-political and sociolinguistic investigation by placing translations and translators into their context to find out what roles have been played by the circumstances of their history and politics etc., as well as highlighting key sociolinguistic instances that are influenced by the constraints of time, place and medium. While speaking of the analysis of a field, Thomson (2008) has stated that this does not only require locating the object of investigation in its local, historical and relational context but also interrogating how previous knowledge about this object has been generated, for what purpose and by whom. In terms of translation, Chesterman (2006) has provided three sub-areas of the sociology of translation: the sociology of translations as products, the sociology of translators and the sociology of the translation process. On the one hand, although Lefevere's interest is mostly cultural, he has addressed some

sociological questions especially in his notion of patronage in which publishers or sponsors influence the selection of texts and set the translational norms. However, Lefevere has only provided generalized concepts without any guide to how one can use them as conceptual tools. Still, Lefevere's "rewriting" comes under the first sub-area. On the other hand, in Bourdieu's *field*, agents (or translators) go through a competition to win positions of power and status (i.e. *capital*), and *habitus* is concerned with the agents' (or translators') psychological and emotional dispositions (ibid.). Unlike Lefevere, Bourdieu has provided some conceptual tools to help researchers to study a specific practice or product. Bourdieu's concepts belong to the second sub-area.

Lefevere introduced his theory and concepts as contextual factors affecting translation linking it to issues of history and conventions and providing a diversity of examples from different literary traditions (Asimakoulas, 2005, p.47). While Bourdieu focused on behaviour and has done field work to derive his conceptual tools. Both theorists' concepts help in investigating the contextual factors that affect cultural productions (translations in this case). On the one hand, Lefevere's model is "instrumental in situating translation within a broader set of activities to which it is inextricably linked, and in drawing researchers' attention to social and institutional factors that influence all processes of rewriting" (ibid., 2009, p.244). It provides the first step for a researcher to investigate the contextual factors that affect translation taking into account "the interplay between textual variables and power/patronage in the broader socio political context in which translation takes place" (ibid., p.245). Lefevere has mentioned the role of individual agents, or as institutions, as effective constraints represented by the professionals (which includes translators, rewriters and others) and patrons in the shaping of the final product.

On the other hand, Bourdieu's model is the best suited to explain the complexities of cultural products, and for translations to enter into the logic of the cultural marketplace (Gouanvic, 1997, p.126-127). It can help in reaching detailed and complex descriptions of the wide context of translation as it highlights the unity of social life where economy and culture are interrelated (Asimakoulas, 2005, p. 48). A field of cultural production can be looked at in isolation and, at the same time, taking into account the effects of the other interconnected fields (ibid., p.63). Within this field, agents (whether individuals or institutions) pursue symbolic and material interests through the accumulation of various forms of capital. Capital, and other concepts by Bourdieu such as field, habitus and *habitus*, shows Bourdieu's theorisation of the interaction between agency and structure (Inghilleri, 2005). All these social insights offer a better understanding of the mechanisms behind cultural

productions. While Lefevre's model does not do justice to the social factors although it does describe the context and the effects of power through patronage, Bourdieu's model is more suitable to describe the conflictual aspects of social processes and the different struggles within various fields (Asimakoulas, 2005, p.64). It focuses more attention on the individual agents themselves, i.e. translators/rewriters, and their active cultural and social participation in the production of cultural products (Inghilleri, 2005). Gouanvic (1997) stresses that translators and all the agents in a field, translated and non-translated texts as well as the social function of a certain genre should be taken into account when studying translation. This includes the production, consumption, distribution and the critical meta-discourses. He argues that the interest of social groups who occupy certain positions in a given field needs to be linked with genres because the struggle of symbolic power is more concerned with classes and text types than with individual texts. All these social insights offer a better understanding of the mechanisms behind cultural productions.

Accordingly, these two theories and theorists are actually completing each other in answering the research questions addressed in this thesis helping to reach a complete understanding of all the internal and external influences that shaped Shaw's drama in the Arab world.

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, since the aim of this thesis is to study the translation activity of Shaw's plays in the Arab World as a social practice, a theoretical framework that combines conceptual tools from both Lefevre and Bourdieu is opted for to reach a better understanding of the sociocultural factors that affected Shaw's translations and rewritings. Lefevre's 'rewriting' theory and his concepts of 'poetics' and 'patronage' represent the cultural aspect of the research while Bourdieu's notions of 'field', 'capital' and the two modes of cultural productions provide the sociological aspect of it. However, they are not clear-cut, but rather, they overlap and complete each other's limitations as discussed in the chapter. The following chapter attempts to identify the features of the field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World and to map out the translational activity within the field. This investigation involves an identification of the role played by patronage, poetics, the conflicts taking place within the field over capitals, the censorship system etc. in the shaping of the Arabic translations and rewritings in order to understand various socio-cultural and political contexts in which they operate.

CHAPTER FOUR

GENESIS OF DRAMA AND DRAMA TRANSLATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

This chapter aims to answer the following research question: How did the translation, adaptation and rewriting of foreign drama into Arabic begin and develop? In this chapter, I will present the history of Arabic drama since its formation, in order to identify changes that have taken place in its socio-cultural context, and to prepare the foundation to answer the question posed.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section provides a historical background of the field of drama and drama translation starting with the birth of drama as a genre in the Arab world. It sheds light on the political, social and economic circumstances that have contributed to its formation and development, and clarifies the conditions where translations, adaptations and rewritings have taken place. In addition, this section explores the debate among scholars about language variety used in authored and translated plays for both publication and performance. The second section provides a mapping out of the translational activity within the field, and it discusses the socio-cultural factors of drama translation in the Arab World, and more specifically in Egypt. It also discusses the prevailing poetics of writing and of translating, i.e. themes and language, relating to different periods of Arabic drama in Egypt. It explores the dynamics of selecting texts for translation, selecting translation approaches, and selecting a suitable register in light of audience tastes. Moreover, this part of the thesis gives examples of two different literary translations that are the products of dissimilar backgrounds and translation decisions made by two Arab translators who worked during the same period of time: Rifa'ah Al-Tahtawi and Butrus Al-Bustani. Following this is a case study of the work of Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl as an example of how an early pioneer translated drama into Arabic. Then, a brief introduction to the Lebanese dramatic field is also given in the last section of the chapter.

The main sources this chapter depends on include books and articles on the history and censorship systems of Arabic, Egyptian and Lebanese theatres, and some secondary sources and desktop research such as publishers' websites and paratexts of the Arabic translations of Shaw's plays in hand among others. In addition, the database of the Arabic Union Catalogue (ARUC) and Hanna's 2011 mapping out is used to provide the chart that traces drama translation practices in the Arab World (see *Figure 3*).

4.1 Beginnings and Development: The History of the Arabic Dramatic Field

4.1.1 Birth of Arabic Drama

The dramatic genre in its modern sense appeared late in Arabic culture. It appeared from the middle of the nineteenth century, specifically in 1847. Most Arabic scholars agree that its appearance was associated with the works of Mārūn Al-Naqqāsh. During this time, the growth of academic communication with the West through university scholarships and through the colonisation of Arab countries exposed Arabs to many fields of Western knowledge, including literature and drama. The reasons for this late emergence of drama are many; some relate to the circumstances of Arabs' lives, and some are associated with the development of Arab academic mentality. In fact, critics and scholars cannot confirm the exact reasons for the emergence of drama, and academics in this field often speak of different causes. In this section, I will discuss the main reasons that have been put forward in this context.

Some academics perceive Islam as having delayed the introduction of drama to the Arab World. Some academics claim that Abbasid translators neglected to translate Greek drama during the 8th century because the subject matter of these plays sometimes touches on polytheism, which is contrary to Islamic beliefs. However, Ibrāhīm 'Awaḍ (1997) argues against this view, saying that these findings imply that translators read Greek drama but chose not to translate it on purpose. If this was true, he wonders, then, why cannot we find any mention of this goal in any literature of the time, or even the specific names of translators who made these decisions (ibid.). In addition, it was possible for Arabs to have replaced any polytheistic situations depicted, with Islamic-related situations, such as those depicting conflicts between God and Satan, between Muslims and others, between husbands and wives, between children and parents, and between masters and servants (ibid.). 'Awaḍ adds that before Islam, Arabs practiced paganism, just like the ancient Greeks did, but even then they still were not very interested in drama (ibid.). In this regard, Al-Hakim argues that Greek plays were not written to be read but as scripts for performance, and this makes it difficult for Arabs to understand their content, because Arabs did not imagine these texts as being performed on stage for this kind of performance was alien to them (ibid.). Other academics, such as Muhammad Mandūr and Tawfiq Al-Hakim, discuss explanations that relate to the 'Arab mentality' which 'cannot tolerate' complex arts due to a 'lack of patience' (ibid.). 'Iz Al-Dīn 'Ismā'īl claims that this kind of mentality prefers to think in terms of abstract ideas and likes generalisation rather than details or particulars (ibid.). However, this view can be rejected, because if this were true then Arabs in modern times would not have explored drama in their literature.

Al-Hakim argues that before Islam, Arabs were nomadic tribes and that establishing theatres requires a more settled life (ibid.). In addition, before Islam, individualism was dominant among Arabs, but the theatre is a collective activity that requires collaborative effort in order to succeed (ibid.). However, ‘Awaḍ argues that even after Arabs settled and built cities after their conversion to Islam, they still did not pay much attention to drama, even though they had seen it performed by the Romans before the times of Islam (ibid.). According to ‘Awaḍ, Arabs have glorified and have been proud of their poetry both before and after Islam, and that Arabs are poets by nature to the extent they think they have exceeded other nations in their poetic prowess, and that no other type of literature is as great as theirs (ibid.). Additionally, Arabs have been exposed to literary genres not known elsewhere, such as *Al-Maqāmāt* and *Al-Mu’alaqāt*. Another reason put forward for the lack of the early development of Arab theatre is that theatre requires the appearance of women on stage, and that Arabs did not favour this practice even when they were pagan (ibid.). Other reasons put forward include: looking down on acting and regarding it as a low-grade profession, being uninfluenced by other cultures until the nineteenth century, and the rejection of all that is Western during the colonial and post-colonial periods (ibid.).

The issue that has led to most debate among scholars and critics of Arabic literature in relation to the development of drama in Arabic is that Arabs knew about traditional drama-like literary forms common in every corner of the Arab World, such as maqams, shadow theatre, puppet theatre, storyteller gatherings, and *ta’āzī* (The Passion Plays) among others. These forms are similar to drama in the way they contain acted out scenes and dialogue that is performed with the aid of simple means and equipment. Scholars such as Al-Rā’ī and Duwāra believe that these arts performed the role of theatre in early Arabic culture, and they paved the way for the emergence of drama and its development in a modern sense (Duwāra, 1997). Additionally, Ḍayf (1980) believes that these dramatic forms prepared Arabs, especially in Egypt, to embrace Western drama. However, others argue that these forms cannot be classed as ‘drama’ and that the development of Arabic drama is, actually, Western-based. Ali Mubārak, who attended one of these shows, described them with sarcasm, saying they were, “based on obscenity, silliness and inappropriateness in a way that makes [the viewer] denounce the terrible words and actions, and leads whoever owns a brain, faith or decency to reject it” (cited in Ahmad, 1985, p. 13, my translation).

Indeed, there are different opinions among scholars about the first time Arabs were able to see a dramatic performance. Some claim that the first Arab dramatist who

introduced theatre in its modern form to the Arabs is Mārūn Al-Naqqāsh, a Lebanese man who lived in Italy and spoke Turkish, Italian and French. He translated and directed a performance of his first Arabic play *Al-Bakhīl*, a version of Moliere's *L'Avare* (The Miser) in 1847, in his own house in Lebanon, and this was attended by several foreign consuls and a number of dignitaries ('Ismā'īl, 1997; Starkey, 2006). He also translated *Abu Ḥasan Al-Mughaffal* (Abu Ḥasan the Buster) in 1851 and *Al-Ḥasūd Al-Salīṭ* (The Impudent Envier) which was also performed at his house in 1853; this is considered his most systematically structured play (Starkey, 2006). Furthermore, he established a successful theatre near his house after obtaining the approval of the Ottoman Governor, but he did not find enough support for the project and was bitterly criticised by religious and conservative activists at the time. Thus, he decided to close his theatre and turn it into a church ('Arsān, 1987).

In 1870, a few years after Al-Naqqāsh, an Egyptian dramatist called Ya'qūb Ṣannū', a well-educated Egyptian who knew thirteen languages, was the first to produce drama in Egypt. At the time, his audiences were unaware of drama as a genre of performance art, with the exception of some Pashas and high-class individuals. Ṣannū' wanted his work to reach the Egyptian masses, and so he introduced all his performances with a short talk about the play's theme and its social or moral value. He translated and wrote a number of plays which he directed in his small theatre, in Al-Azbakiyya Garden in Cairo. Then, he established his own theatre where he worked as an actor and a director of his plays. His first three plays were translated from Italian: *Al-Bint Al-'Aşriyya* (The Modern Girl), *Ghandūr Mişr* (The Dandy of Egypt) and *Al-Ḍurattayn* (The Two Co-Wives) ('Ismā'īl, 1997). Khedive 'Ismā'īl, the ruler of Egypt at that time, liked Ṣannū's work and so encouraged and funded him, as well as giving him the nickname "the Egyptian Moliere" (ibid.). Ṣannū' produced six plays in two years until Khedive 'Ismā'īl ordered him to close his theatre in 1871 (ibid.). Ṣannū' was the first producer to give women acting parts on stage in Egypt, as well the first to criticise social and political conditions within the content of his plays, and he was the first to create characters that symbolise real ones in order to mock elements of the socio-political Arab World. For example, he wrote the character of John Paul who is meant to represent British colonials (Al-Sūwayfī, 1963).

'Ismā'īl (1997; 1998) argues that Egypt knew about the modern theatre as early as 1800 due to the French Expedition in Egypt, and this means theatre was known about seventy years before the appearance of Ṣannū'. During the early 1800s, the French produced many dramatic performances in French that were attended by both the French and some high-class Egyptians, as noted in *Courier De L. Egypte* (ibid.).

Issue Number 13, published in 1798, explains “because the French currently in Cairo need a place to gather and rest in the long wintery nights, Dargeavel, a French citizen, decided to establish a private club where all the pleasures of the society are presented after he got the General Commander’s consent. He chose a house and a garden in *Al-Azbakiyya District* for the French to enjoy. This could be a way to attract the locals and their women to enter our societies and to learn, indirectly, the French tastes and manners” (cited in `Ismā’īl, 1998, p. 12). In addition, Arabic references to the theatre appear during the French Expedition in Egypt, as noted by historians such as Al-Jabartī and Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. For instance, in 29 December 1800, Al-Jabartī talked about a place where:

[The French] gather every ten days to watch some shows that are performed by a group of them as an entertainment for four hours of the night in French. They do not allow any one into the place unless those who have a certain piece of paper and dressed in a specific way (cited in *ibid.* p.12, my translation).

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī wrote many descriptions of theatres themselves, and included details about theatre lights, orchestras, stage decorations, scenery, and other related topics in his book *Talkhīṣ Al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Barīz* published in 1834 (*ibid.*). Some voyagers also talked about these theatres, such as Edward William Lane who described the first play by the *muḥbadhūn* troupes (vulgar drama) in detail in his book *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* published in 1836 (*ibid.*). Moreover, two official documents from the time of Sa`īd Pasha in 1858 prove that such troupes were performing in Khedivial Palaces (*ibid.*). `Ismā`īl (1997) explains that even before the mid to late 1800s, civil and religious theatres existed in Egypt, and they had their own censorship system. He refers to articles 3 and 9 of the work schedule of the Enquiry Commission of Modern Egypt as stated in *La Decade Egyptienne* (*ibid.*). The third article talks about the role of the police in censoring literature, and the ninth article discusses the recording of artistic information, including the activities of civil and religious theatres (*ibid.*). These theatres produced their work mainly for Egyptians, and everyone who worked there was an Egyptian Arab - the Commission was also dedicated to Egyptian traditions and conventions. However, these Egyptian theatres were censored by the French; the French enacted first censorship practices experienced in the history of Egyptian theatres (*ibid.*).

`Ismā`īl (1998) claims that Muhammad `Uthmān Jalāl was the first Egyptian to introduce drama in its modern sense to Egypt when he translated and published two Italian plays. This is mentioned in issue Number 58 of *Wādī Al-Nīl*, published in

1870. In the introduction to his work he writes that Arabs imitate [or translate] Western plays because:

We [Arabs] did not have the same [art] but we learned it from the Europeans who consider theatre as a characteristic of their civilization. Civilization is self-controlling and self-educating and it follows good manners, and this cannot be done without considering what people have done in the past and what developed nations are doing. These [dramatic works] are desired by many in our country but they cannot reach everyone because they are written in European languages... therefore, I decided to translate these works into our language [Arabic] letter by letter ... (cited in *ibid.*, p. 99, my translation).

Therefore, it can be seen that the first Arabic dramatic works are actually translations of European drama, and European drama was used as a template before Arabs began authoring their own work. Tawfiq Al-Hakim states that Arab theatre, “started by adapting from European theatres from the *Samir* stage to the stage of translation and adaptation until reaching the stage of genuine authorship” (1967, cited in Muhammad, 1994, p.90). The Egyptian government showed interest in and encouraged this new evolving genre. After he went to visit an exhibition in Paris, in 1867 Khedive `Ismā`il (1830-1895) decided to rebuild the neglected district of *Al-Azbakiyya* to resemble Paris (`Ismā`il, 1998). The district was transformed into a charming district and became the place where the Egyptian theatre first started. On the southern side of the district, Khedive `Ismā`il founded The National Theatre and he constructed two luxurious theatres: The French Comedy Theatre and The Opera House (Al-Samāhī, 2015). He did this in order to, “receive the delegations participating in the celebrations he prepared for his guests on the occasion of opening the Suez Canal” (State Information Service, 2009, my translation). He built another small theatre in *Al-Azbakiyya Garden* in 1870 as well as other small theatres in the country (Al-Samāhī, 2015, `Ismā`il, 1998).

The French Comedy Theatre was completed and opened in 1868, only one year after construction began. Khedive `Ismā`il hired foreign troupes to put on plays, including contingents from France, England and Italy (`Ismā`il, 1998). Khedive `Ismā`il was very interested in the performances staged there and attended many, and in 1870 he attracted the attention of the media when he clapped enthusiastically for the actors (*ibid.*). The Opera House was opened in 1869 and Khedive `Ismā`il held a party there to celebrate the opening of the Suez Canal, inviting royal guests (*ibid.*). After the party, more work was completed to finish the theatre and Khedive spent 219 bags of his own money to finish the outstanding works quickly (*ibid.*). Later on, The *Al-Azbakiyya Garden Theatre* was opened in 1880 where plays were performed, and

musical concerts and acrobatics shows were held (ibid.). Indeed, the Egyptian government, represented by Khedive `Ismā`īl, spent a lot of money building theatres; one example of his deep pockets was when fire broke out in some European theatres due to using oil for lighting, and Khedive ordered electricity to be installed in the Opera House (ibid.). Khedive `Ismā`īl also hired designer Paulino Dranet, a French man, as the manager of the Opera House, and this shows his desire to keep performances and the running of the theatres in the hands of foreigners. Indeed, the many Arab proposals submitted to perform in these theatres were rejected, such as one made by Mūsa Bayk to perform at the Opera House during the 1880-1881 season (ibid.). The first proposal accepted from Arabs was in 1884 and was made by Al-Shaikh Al-Qabbānī and `Abdū Al-Ḥamūlī, but complete acceptance was not granted because their request to the government to pay for the lighting (a privilege usually afforded to foreigners), was rejected. This reveals the extent to which the government was intent on creating obstacles for Arabs (ibid.). Examples of the plays performed by Arabs, specifically Egyptian, troupes at the Opera House are Ya`qūb Ṣannū's *Opera 'Aida* and Yusuf Idrīs' *Al-Zalūm*, (due to this performance he was expelled from Egypt) (ibid.). However, in later years, these theatres put on many successful performances that were either translated or authored by Arab theatre troupes from Egypt, Syria and Lebanon including: Salīm Al-Naqqāsh Troupe, Sulimān Al-Qirdāhī Troupe, Abī Khālīl Al-Qabbānī Troupe and Iskandar Farāḥ Troupe (ibid.).

As can be discerned from the above, the Egyptian government, especially at the time of Khedive `Ismā`īl, spent a significant amount of money helping to develop the Egyptian theatre. For example, it gave Sulimān Al-Qirdāhī a piece of land close to the Alexandrian beach for the establishment of his own theatre (ibid.). At this time the government was the main patron of Egyptian theatre, however, a few rich donors also helped fund the troupes, the most important being Abdul-Razaq Baik `Enayat. He built the Al-Qirdāhī's Theatre in Al-`Otaba where the Al-Qabbānī Troupe worked all the time. When Al-Qirdāhī's Theatre was burned down `Enayat supported the troupe so it could complete its artistic journey; he also worked as a financial manager for Al-Qirdāhī's Troup, added new members to the troupe, and travelled with the troupe to Syria on the invitation of an important person living there. However, `Enayat eventually left the troupe because of Al-Qirdāhī's greed (ibid.). In addition, he rented a theatre for Salāma Ḥijāzī, naming it Dār Al-Tamthīl Al-`Arabī (the Arabic Acting House); when Ḥijāzī became sick `Enayat formed a new troupe from members of Ḥijāzī's troupe, and this was led by Abdul-Allah `Ukāsha (ibid.).

As long as theatres have been running, censorship authorities have existed. In the early days, Egyptian theatre was censored by foreigners, mostly by French and Italians who usually patronised the theatre troupes during the time of Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1848) (‘Ismā’īl, 1997). The first regulations for the censorship system were set up specifically for the Italian Theatre in Alexandria. Article 1 states that, “a theatre must be under the local authorities’ supervision whoever its owner is. If anyone includes unrespectable content in the acting or the dialogues that do not take the audience into account, he/she will be imprisoned immediately after the performance” (ibid, p.16, my translation). Article 6 declares that, “six soldiers and a sergeant must take their position inside the theatre ready to abide by the orders of the police chef” (ibid, p.16, my translation). When Khedive ‘Ismā’īl established Egyptian theatres, he also hired the Frenchman Paulino Draneet Pasha to work as a manager and an inspector of the theatres (ibid.). This type of censorship was first applied to Ya’qūb Ṣannū’s *Al-Ḍurattayn* (The Two Co-Wives) in 1870, which was banned by Khedive ‘Ismā’īl who became furious because the play opposes polygamy, and presents it as a source of social disorder (ibid.). This incident led to the imposition of new censorship regulations by the government to maintain ‘moral appropriateness’ and for ‘serving the interests of the state’ (ibid, my translation).

The censorship system was formally and legally set up by Khedive Tawfīq in 1879, under the name of *Ḥifz Al-Tiyatrāt wa Tashghīlahā* (Securing and Operating Theatres). The British occupiers, the Ministry of Public Works, and the Ministry of Interior Affairs were the only ones who decided what was acceptable for publication and/or production, and what should be banned (ibid). Patronage in that period was undifferentiated, and power was placed in the hands of one main patron. The censors were given powers not only to ban, but to omit some parts and scenes in plays that they felt to be inappropriate, and this sometimes affected the development and comprehension of the play (ibid). ‘Ismā’īl (1997) described this censorship as “dictatorial” and its rules as “subtle”, because it aimed to serve the whims of the Egyptian government, the British colonisers and foreign communities (p.26, my translation). Ḥammad, an Arabian critic, criticised employees of *Qalam Al-Maṭbū’āt*, the official department of the Ministry of Interior Affairs who was responsible for supervising theatrical performances and issuing performance permits. He describes them as being unqualified and unspecialised in theatrical studies, and he calls for them to be replaced with experts (1928, cited in ibid). In this respect, E’tidāl Mumtāz explains that in order to choose censor personnel properly, candidates needed to go through a competition to test their educational and literary abilities, general knowledge, and powers of observation etc. (1977, cited in ‘Ismā’īl,

1997, p.417). `Ismā'īl (1997) adds that playwrights subject to this type of censorship comprise four types: playwrights who stop writing for a period of time because their works have been banned, playwrights who stop writing altogether after their works have been banned, playwrights and/or their troupes who contravene a ban by displaying a text and deceiving the authorities, or playwrights who guarantee a permit to publish their work even before writing it because their works are of low quality and purpose, thus, they do not contain any thought to ban (ibid.).

Later, in 1925, censorship was placed in the hands of the Egyptians themselves, and the first manager who took instructions from the British in this respect was Muhammad Mas'ūd, who signed permits in English (ibid.). Finally, the new censorship system that was set up in 1955 still operates today, and its main purpose is to maintain safety, order and politeness, and to ensure benefits for the state (ibid.).

4.1.2 Development of Arabic Drama: A Historical Overview of the Political, Social and Economic Conditions in Egypt

In this subsection, I will provide an overview of the political, social and economic conditions for different time periods relating to the development of Arabic drama since its inception. I will show how these conditions have affected Arabic drama in terms of poetics and patronage. Within the context of the discussion, I will cite relevant examples of Arab dramatists, translators and works of drama. It is important to note that the research concentrates on Arabic drama in Egypt, whether produced by Egyptians, Levantines or other Arabs, because this is where the genre was first developed. However, I will also provide a brief history of the emergence and development of the Lebanese theatre as well. Other Arab countries became aware of the genre as a result of tours by Egyptian troupes who performed in different parts of the Arab World during the first decades of the twentieth century, as well as through watching performances by Western colonisers in some Arab states (Starkey, 2006). Although the development of drama outside Egypt was erratic until the 1950s and 1960s, afterwards most Arab countries established theatrical institutions such as drama schools, and government troupes among others (ibid.).

After the closing of Ya'qūb Ṣanū's theatre by Khedive `Ismā'īl in 1871, theatrical performances in Egyptian theatres continued to be produced by foreigners, since the Khedive did not allow any Arab troupe to perform there (Al-Sūwaifī, 1963). About eight years after the closure of Ṣanū's theatre, Khedive `Ismā'īl gave permission for the troupe of Yusuf Al-Khayyāṭ to perform at the Opera House. Furthermore, in 1879, the Khedive attended a performance of the play *Al-Zalūm* (The Unjust) which is about an unjust ruler. Sadly, Khedive interpreted the play to be about himself, and, therefore, he expelled Yusuf Al-Khayyāṭ from Egypt (ibid.). However, in 1891, the

first regularly performing Arabic troupe was formed by Iskandar Farah, who came from Lebanon to Egypt, and among its members was the successful and well-known actor and singer Salāma Ḥijāzī. The Arab audience loved Ḥijāzī's beautiful singing and this made the musical play the most popular form of drama at that time (ibid.). Among those who worked in the genre of musical drama were Abu Khalīl Al-Qabbānī and Sayīd Darwīsh (Ḍayf, 1980). The kind of musical drama performed resembled an operetta rather than drama proper (Starkey, 2006).

Most troupe actors, writers and/or translators performing during this period originated from Syria and Lebanon, such as: Najīb Al-Ḥaddād, Taynūs 'Abdū, Farah Antūn, and Ilyās Fayyāḍ (Al-Sūwaifī, 1963). They migrated to Egypt to escape religious persecution by the Syrian authorities, and because they were attracted by the economic prospects offered in Egyptian theatres under Khedive's patronage (Starkey, 2006). The only Egyptian working in drama during the early 1890s was the lawyer 'Ismā'īl 'Aṣīm. In April 1893, he wrote the first Egyptian play written in Standard Arabic, using both poetry and prose, entitled *Hanā' Al-Muḥibīn* (Happiness of the Lovers). It was performed in the Opera House by the Iskandar Farah Troupe with the participation of the author himself as an amateur, and it was attended by Khedive 'Ismā'īl ('Ismā'īl, 1998). After this, 'Ismā'īl 'Aṣīm wrote, *Ṣidq Al-Ikhā'* (Sincerity of Fraternity) and *Husn Al-'Awāqib* (Good Circumstances) (Al-Sūwaifī, 1963).

In the second decade of the twentieth century, the troupe of George Abyaḍ came from France and performed in French (Al-Sūwaifī, 1963). Later, Abyaḍ was asked by Sa'd Zaghlūl, the Minister of Education, to form a new troupe of Arab actors and to perform in Arabic. This was the first time the Egyptian government encouraged performances by an Arabic troupe (ibid.). This troupe performed 'serious drama' using themes taken from Greek and Western tragedies, and focused on historical and social themes (Ḍayf, 1980). For example, the first play performed was Ḥafīz Ibrāhīm's *Jarīh Bayrūt* (The Wounded of Beirut), three plays in translation followed, namely *Odīb Al-Malik* (Oedipus) translated by Farah Antūn, *Luwīs Al-Ḥādī 'Aṣḥar* (Louis XIII) translated by Ilyās Fayyāḍ, and *'Uṭayl* (Othello) translated by Khalīl Muṭrān (Al-Sūwaifī, 1963). These plays were performed on the stage of the Opera House with government permission (ibid.). The opening night boasted the highest amount ever paid for a theatrical activity in Egypt until that time - 10,000 Egyptian pounds (ibid.). The troupe was extremely successful and the play performed to a big audience. As a consequence of this success, the Arab troupe was given the chance to perform as part of the annual season, starting in the middle of March and ending at the beginning of May every year (ibid.). The significant contribution made by this

troupe was that people began to respect and appreciate drama and performance, rather than looking down on it as they used to do before, and the work of the troupe helped to spread knowledge and awareness of this genre in all the Egyptian cities (ibid.). Furthermore, actors' income increased accordingly, and intellectual, and aristocratic youth to join the theatre as professionals or amateurs (ibid.). However, later on, because of financial problems Abyaḍ was forced to follow more popular tastes (Starkey, 2006).

After Britain was declared protectorate over Egypt, a new censorship system was set up to control the productions of the Egyptian theatre, music and the press (Al-Sūwaifi, 1963). As a result, drama productions were limited in number and audience numbers dropped for serious theatre (ibid.). Instead, comedies and melodramas began to become popular, mainly due to the work of 'Azīz 'Eīd and his troupe, that included popular actors Najīb Al-Riḥānī, Ḥasan Fayq, Amīn 'Aṭallah, and Rose Al-Yusuf (ibid.). Also, the first Egyptian actress and singer, Munīra Al-Mahdiyya, appeared in this troupe and was very popular (ibid.). Other troupes working in this area of drama were Najīb Al-Riḥānī and Ali Al-Kassār (Ḍayf, 1980). Furthermore, as a consequence of colonisation, new negative values developed in Egyptian society, such as prostitution, spending money on alcohol, gambling, and other immoralities (Ahmad, 1985), and some Arab playwrights began to move their attentions towards the 'social play' and away from musicals, one example being Faraḥ Anṭūn's *Miṣr Al-Jadīda* (The New Egypt) (1913) which was first performed in his theatre. The new message was that theatre was not just entertainment but a way for people to deliver human and social messages, and this was especially the case during the twentieth century struggles of the nation with colonisation and war.

The new type of play was further developed by the playwright Muhammad Taymūr who, in the main, kept history away from theatre, and instead focused on contemporary Egyptian issues and problems; he re-worded the social drama to avoid prosaic quotations and artificial scenes. Also, he made a distinction between artistic performance and non-artistic performance; he said that the former conforms to reality in words, actions and morals, and pays careful consideration to local situations, characters and dialogues of the time and place of the play's events, while the latter produces entertainment by the use of indecent jokes, embarrassing situations, and artificial surprises. He also singled out melodramas for criticism in the way they portray sad events that are far removed from the logic of mind and emotion. Taymūr noted that even if audiences preferred melodramas, a good writer should not follow prevailing tastes but should guide and elevate tastes in another direction. To achieve his goal of reflecting reality in the theatre he used Egyptian

colloquial dialogue for his characters, and vivid images of Egyptian society (ibid.). Influenced by his elder brother Muhammad Taymūr, Maḥmūd Taymūr first devoted his pen to developing theatre using the Egyptian colloquial, later, however, he abandoned it for Standard Arabic. The majority of his works were written during the time of World War II and focused on the subjects of war and its dangers, as in *Al-Makhba` Raqm 13* (Shelter Number 13) and *Qanābil* (Bombs). He also wrote historical plays such as *Al-Yawm Khamr* (Today is Wine) and social plays such as *Ḥaflat Chay* (Tea Party) (ibid.).

In 1919, the Egyptian government, headed by Sa'd Zaghlūl, campaigned for the right of independence, and patriotic emotions led to a revolution which ended up creating a considerable number of martyrs (ibid.). During this revolution, an urgent need was felt to produce public art and original realistic literature that was free from the imitation and adaptation of others' work. For instance, Muhammad Ḥaqqī wrote *Al-'Asfūr fī Al-Qafaṣ* (The Bird in the Cage) which dealt with the problems caused by giving children a tough and oppressive upbringing, and *Abdul-Sattār Afandī*, that explored the challenges of choosing a suitable husband, and how this should be carefully done. Also he wrote *Al-Hāwiyya* (The Abyss) about the problems of being addicted to cocaine, which was introduced into Egyptian society after World War I, and how it can lead to the destruction of the family. The main social themes covered by plays of this period include: criticising moral and behavioural depravities, especially those relating to marital relationships, such as polygamy, getting married for material purposes, loss of wealth, honour, and the use of alcohol, drugs and practising obscenity (ibid.). In addition, themes dealt with political issues relating to colonisers and the ruling authorities, and the patriotic songs within musical and comic plays were heard at public demonstrations in the streets (Al-Sūwaifī, 1963).

After the Revolution of 1919, both verse drama and prose drama flourished in theatres. Verse drama was first developed by Ahmad Shawqī (1868–1932) but this research will not discuss this sub-genre because it falls outside the scope of the thesis topic. Prose drama, on the other hand, was developed by the well-known Egyptian playwright Tawfiq Al-Hakim (1898 -1987) who was interested in exploring social issues in a realistic way. Examples of the issues he deals with include denouncing the uninvited guest, i.e. English occupiers, the status of women in the Egyptian society, he called for equality and freedom within the boundaries of religion, the war in Palestine, and politics and the media. In addition to his focus on realism and social themes, he incorporates light comedy and simple lyrics into his work in order to cater for audience tastes. Al-Hakim was influenced by Western literature, particularly by French literature, and he became interested in symbolic drama, focusing on general

human issues from a theatre of mind perspective. Among his works are: *Al-Ḍayf Al-Thaqīl* (The Uninvited Guest), *Al-Mar`a Al-Jadīda* (The New Woman), *Al-Ṣafqa* (The Deal), *Al-`Arīs* (The Groom), *Ahl Al-Kahf* (The People of the Cave) and *Milād Baṭal* (The Birth of a Hero) (Ahmad, 1985).

As the Egyptian government became more aware of the role of drama, new scholarships were created to enable students to study drama in Europe, and a new school of dramatic arts was established in 1930 under the directorship of Zakī Ṭulimat (Starkey, 2006). As a result of this, leading intellectuals such as Ṭāha Ḥusayn and Ahmad Shawqī, became more interested in drama (ibid.). Another occurrence during this flourishing period was the formation of the National Troupe or *Al-Firqa Al-Qawmiyya* headed up by Zakī Ṭulaymāt in 1935. He succeeded in convincing the government with his proposal to form a national troupe to be supported by the state, and this progressed the development of the Arab theatre in general and the Egyptian theatre in particular, right up until the end of the 1960s when private theatres and Egyptian TV emerged as the main producers of drama (Duwāra, 1997). In 1942, the troupe's activities expanded to include musical plays as well as all other types of drama, and this troupe was named by the government as 'The Egyptian Troupe for Acting and Music' (Al-Samāḥī, 2015). In 1950, the Minister of Social Affairs formed a new troupe called: The Modern Egyptian Theatre Troupe, made up of fourteen graduates from the Higher Institute of Dramatic Arts in Egypt. Being under state control, both troupes received annual financial support from the Egyptian government (ibid; Al-Rā'ī, 1999). However, it is worth noting that although these troupes were extremely successful, hitting box office revenues was not the main aim of this enterprise at the time (Abdul-Fattāḥ Al-Bārūdī, 1960, cited in Ḥasan, 1960, p.6). In 1953, after the end of colonisation and monarchy, the two troupes were united to form The Modern Egyptian Troupe (Al-Samāḥī, 2015). This merged troupe was supported and funded by the Egyptian government (ibid.). Most Arabic drama produced in the 1930s and the 1940s belongs to the sub-genre of the 'Theatre of Ideas' which explores ideas rather than reality and that criticises, although partially, some social and behavioural habits (Ahmad, 1985).

One of the most mature phases of the development of Arab theatre in Egypt occurred during 1952 after a group of army officers led by Muhammad Najīb and Jamāl Abdul-Nassir began a new revolution. This National Revolution succeeded in abolishing the constitutional monarchy, aristocracy and feudalism in Egypt and Sudan, and instead established a republic. This ended the British occupation of the country, and secured the independence of Sudan. Immediately after the revolution, the Egyptian government announced its aim to administer social justice, secure a

democratic life and form a powerful army (Muhammad, 1994). In order to put these aims into effect, the government issued its first law: The Agrarian Reform Law, and then overrode the anti-democracy political parties to seize the fortunes of ultra-rich individuals. Afterwards, it redistributed land equally among farmers and declared education as a right of all citizens. In this way the new government gained public support. The Egyptians celebrated their new laws, especially after Jamāl Abdul-Nassir became the President of the new-born republic (ibid.).

Political changes influenced the social life of the country, and the significant gap that existed between the social classes. The gap between the aristocratic and low classes closed and a new middle class started to appear. Ibrahīm (1985) states that,

[individuals' belonging to the middle class] occupy influential civilian and military positions, [work in] production and service institutions, include a big number of professionals such as doctors, engineers and university professors ... (cited in ibid., p.20, my translation).

As a consequence of the Turkish, French and English occupations of Egypt, there was economic decline because the occupiers had not made any efforts to enhance the Egyptian economy. Rather, they looted the goods of the country, such as Egyptian cotton, they imported taxes and monopolised industrial and trading investments for the benefit of foreigners. Therefore, after the revolution, Abdul-Nassir made an economic leap when he introduced a successful strategy for economic and social development. He proclaimed that the Egyptian economy would be made to work for Egyptians. This strategy affected insurance companies and major banks that were linked to French, English or Belgian interests, and resulted in their confiscation. The new leader also cleared all debts relating to the Suez Canal in one year and encouraged the development of the cotton, sugar, beer, and concrete industries (ibid.).

Mirroring its society, the arts and the theatre began to reflect the new status of the country. Egyptian theatre flourished when the public became more interested in going to theatres and the number of authored plays increased. The plays produced and written during this time called for the abandonment of old principles and the adoption of new ones, set in the context of the revolution. Popular subjects for plays focused on class conflict within society and differences between society before and after the revolution. Playwrights were also interested in producing patriotic plays such as *Al-Arḍ Al-Thā`era* (The Revolutionary Land) and *Al-Riḍā Al-Sāmī* (Supreme Satisfaction). Changes were visible in the themes chosen by playwrights who became more attracted to expressing the suffering and worries of a whole class or group instead of focusing on individual struggles. Examples of plays written in this

period are: Nu'mān 'Āshūr's *Al-Nās illi Taḥat* (Low-Class People), Alfred Faraj's *Ḥallāq Baghdād* (The Barber of Baghdad), Tawfiq Al-Hakim's *Al-Aydī Al-Nā`īma* (The Soft Hands), Maḥmūd Taymūr's *Al-Muzayafūn* (The Fake Men), and Mikhā`il Romān's *Al-Ḥiṣār wa Al-Dukhān* (Siege and Smoke).

Shortly after the revolution, Egypt was invaded by three powers: Britain, France, and Israel, as part of the Suez Crisis of 1956, but war ended in favour of the Egyptians. Many dramatic works produced after 1956 fall into the sub-genre of 'the theatre of resistance' such as: *Al-Laḥza Al-Ḥarija* (The Critical Moment) by Yusuf Idrīs (ibid.). In addition, the National Troupe flourished after 1956 by bringing these plays and many other ones to life (Duwāra, 1997).

A new censorship authority was formed in the 1950s, shortly after the end of British occupation, and the end of monarchy. During this time many writers penned and translated plays about colonisation and they revived plays dealing with the struggle of the nation, and some of these plays influenced audience members to donate money or join the army (Al-Samāḥī, 2015). Radical changes took place in the choice of themes, mainly because these kinds of plays could not be written previously when censorship was in the hands of British colonisers. The Revolution of 1952 did not only influence the themes of dramatic works, but also led to the formation of organisations devoted to guaranteeing the quality of drama productions presented in state theatres (Al-Rā`ī, 1999). One such ministry was The National Guidance Ministry which fell under the directorship of the well-known writer Faṭḥy Riḍwan. Later, in 1968, the Ministry was renamed The Ministry of Culture (ibid). After the end of colonisation and the monarchy in 1955, new rules for theatrical censorship were set out to maintain security, public order, and morality, and to make sure that the content of plays was in line with the interests of the state and its relationships with certain other states (ibid). During the 1960s, it is almost impossible to find a rejected or banned play because new expert staff was in charge (ibid.).

At the beginning of the 1960s, Abdul-Nassir showed a tendency towards socialism, and he made many socialist changes and reforms in Egypt (Sharaf, 2014). He argued that, "The socialism I mean is development in favour of the nation... the most notable principle of socialism is that it calls for social justice and equality in all aspects of life; material, moral and political to all members of the nation" (cited in Muhammad, 1994, p. 29, my translation). Accordingly, he established the Arab Socialist Union, but this organisation did not succeed because it exercised absolute control over people's livelihoods, and practised confiscation, arrests and the banning of private activities, all in the aim of stifling capitalism. The socialist values introduced by the government included: freedom of religion and worship, the

importance of knowledge to develop society, and the significance of work which was classed as an honour, as well as a brand of National Socialist Islam (ibid.).

These new trends impacted on society and the economy. In later years the government continued its application of new principles using better planning and renewed enthusiasm, but it eliminated forms of monopolisation and the principle of the equal distribution of fortune. The governmental sector secured absolute control over all important economic sectors in the country such as banks, insurance companies, mining, and basic industries etc. In addition, the trend eliminated aristocracy, feudalism and capitalism, whilst growing the middle classes (ibid.). Muhammad (1994) claims that during this time the state encouraged and supported the theatre because it wanted to distract intellectuals and writers away from the shock of the separation of Syria from Egypt in 1958 as well as to obtain an idea as to what their thoughts and tendencies were through their plays. During this period, playwrights used the sub-genres of mime, symbolism and historical drama as a way of circum-navigating obstacles posed by the censorship system and as a way of protecting themselves from being jailed. As a result, the Egyptian theatre saw its best days ever and became intellectually rich. Şafināz Kāzım said that theatre had ‘come to life’ in the 1960s thanks to the revolutionists (Al-Samāhī, 2015).

Playwrights working during this period continued to produce social and resistance dramas but also turned to historical drama. Historical drama is inspired by history and popular heritage and, often, an incident or a story is compared to a contemporary problem, using different devices including mime and symbolism. For instance, at this time writers wrote about equality, freedom and justice, and they used heroic stories that implied the need to practice noble and honourable values, and they mimic the manners of their time. Examples of these works are: *Al-Fatā Muhrān* (The Boy Muhran) which is inspired by the Mamluk era in Egypt and *Al-Ḥusayn Shahīdan* (The Martyr *Al-Ḥusain*) by Yusuf Idrīs, inspired by the Umayyad era (Ahmad, 1985), *Al-Zīr Sālim* by Alfred Faraj written in the form of an Arabic epic and *Al-Şulṭān Al-Ḥā'ir* (The Wondering Sultan) by Tawfiq Al-Hakim which is influenced by the Mamluk era (Muhammad, 1994). In addition, plays of this period are complicated in the way they do not literally describe reality, rather they probe deep into that reality discussing issues that affect the present and the future. This type of play falls into the sub-genre of ‘Mental and Social Theatre’ and is influenced by Western Socialist Realism. Examples of these works are Tawfiq Al-Hakim’s *Al-Şafqa* (The Deal) and *Ashwāk Al-Salām* (The Thorns of Peace) (ibid.).

It is worth mentioning that in addition to The National Theatre, other theatres were established such as: *Masrah Al- 'Arā'is* (The Dolls Theatre) in 1957, *Masrah Al-Jayb*

(The Pocket Theatre) in 1962, *Al-Masrah Al-Kumidī* (The Comedy Theatre) and *Masrah Al-Hakim* (Al-Ḥakīm's Theatre). Around this time TV troupes also emerged, such as *Firqat Anṣār Al-Tamhīl* (The Performance Supporters Troupe) in 1959, *Al-Masrah Al-Hurr* (The Free Theatre) in 1959, and *Taḥiyya Karyokkā* (*Taḥiyya Kariokka*) etc. (ibid.).

In 1967, the aftermath of the Six-Day War, Egypt experienced a serious economic, national, political and military depression due to the occupation of Sharm Al-Sheikh and most of Sinai, and the destruction of the Egyptian Air Force by Israeli forces. As a consequence, Abdul-Nassir resigned but then retracted his resignation for the sake of his people who demanded him to return. He rebuilt the armed forces and announced his new sound-bite of “no voice is louder than the sound of battle” thus implying that there was no freedom in the country anymore, and after this he began to punish, arrest and jail anyone who went against his mantra. There was a decline in the country's economy due to an industrial recession caused mainly by: the closing of the Suez Canal, (a main source of national income); the effects of the Sinai oilfields transferring into the hands of Israel, and the destruction of many factories, especially those specialising in petroleum refinement. Egypt was on the verge of bankruptcy. As a result, people began doubting the efficiency of socialism and they called for a revival of the private sector, an idea which the government later approved, with the condition of keeping the public sector, especially after the national income rate had fallen (ibid.).

Again, these new conditions in the country influenced output in theatres. According to Muhammad (1994), writers divided into three groups: one group attempted to write plays to cheer up depressed people through the use of sexual references and comedy, another group used symbolism and periphrasis extensively, and a third group utilised activism to speak out for their right to say what they thought. Some writers accepted the new reality and looked for excuses to justify it whilst seeking personal safety and wealth. Other writers tried to escape reality and wrote about metaphysical topics, the self and the destruction of reality. Those who tried to describe the new reality, discuss the reasons behind it, and put forward solutions, were banned by the media, the mainstream theatre and by publication censorship or were forced to write deceptively between the lines (ibid.).

As a consequence of economic decline, the government no longer provided theatres with money in the same way as it did before, and this paved the way for private theatres to flourish. The new theatres that emerged had commercial aims and focused on presenting whatever pleased the audience. Often, productions had no connection with reality and instead concentrated on myths and meaningless plots. One of the

remarkably successful troupes of the time is Samīr Khafājī's *Firqat Al-Fannānīn Al-Mutaḥdīn* (The United Actors Troupe) in 1966. This troupe produced the biggest number of the most successful performances of the second half of the twentieth century and helped in confirming the commercial features in the poetics of theatre production and the audience taste. However, some intellectually-mature writers still attempted to produce valuable works that reflected the growing national depression and that faced reality instead of escaping it, such as the work of Maḥmūd Diyyāb - *Al-Zawb'ā* (The Whirlwind) and *Lyālī Al-Ḥaṣād* (Harvesting Nights), Najīb Surūr - *Yāsīn wa Bahiyya* (Yasīn wa Bahiyya), and Ṣallaḥ Abdul-Ṣabūr - *Ma`sāt Al-Ḥaj* (The Misery of the Pilgrimage). However, the majority of these kind of plays were banned by theatre censorship authorities, except those that used symbolism, such as Yusuf Idrīs's *Al-Mukhaṭaṭīn* (The Stripped) and Mikhā`īl Romān's *Al-Zujāj* (The Glass). Even the National Theatre drifted towards commercial trends, and there was a resurgence of translated works performed colloquially, with added musical and show scenes. Furthermore, the number of theatregoers attending new comedy shows increased radically, and audience numbers for those attending The National Theatre and other theatres that staged 'serious' plays declined dramatically. This resulted in most writers looking to non-serious forms in order convey more serious ideas and intellectual messages, in order to please the audience rather than honouring the old art of theatre itself. Unfortunately, the Egyptian theatre has lost its role in promoting the nation and expressing the issues that are a mirror of social reality (ibid.).

4.1.3 The Language of Drama: The Debate over Arabic Varieties

Since the beginning of theatre in Arabic culture, writers have used different varieties of Arabic when translating and authoring dramatic texts. Over the years debate has raged among Arab dramatists and theatre specialists over which variety of Arabic (*Fuṣḥa*: Classical Arabic and/or Modern Standard Arabic, or Colloquial), is the most suitable for published and stage drama (Nawfal, 1985, pp.311-312). Proponents of Standard Arabic think that this is the only variety that can rightly express thoughts and emotions psychologically, intellectually and artistically. Also, these supporters worry that the extensive use of Colloquial Arabic may one day replace Standard Arabic. Conversely, advocates of Colloquial Arabic see it as the best way of conveying contemporary people's thoughts and feelings, naturally and effectively (Al-Qit, 1978).

Arab dramatists and theatre specialists use and refer to three main varieties of Arabic, namely: Modern Standard Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, and different in-between varieties. However, before exploring the debate about the three options in more detail, it is worth mentioning that the first Arabic plays introduced to Egyptians by Ṣanū'

and Jalāl, both translated and authored, were written using Colloquial Arabic. All of Ṣanū's social comedies were written in the Egyptian Colloquial with the addition of some folk songs. Ḍayf (1980) argues that Ṣanū's performances achieved admiration among Egyptians and Khedive `Ismā'īl claiming that using colloquial for shadow and puppet plays prepared the audience for using this type of language. In addition, Muhammad `Uthmān Jalāl used Colloquial Arabic in his translations from the French theatre; he was the first to use colloquial *zajal* or rhymed and metered colloquial verse for the characters' dialogue in his translation and authoring of comedies, when the prevailing poetics was to write using Standard Arabic rhymed prose with the additions of poetry or short poems as in *maqāmāt* (Bardenstein, 2005).

The colloquial variety of Arabic was the main variety of Arabic used in Egyptian theatre until the 1930s, with the exception of some social and historical works such as Ibrāhīm Ramzī's *Abṭāl Al-Manṣūrah* (The Heroes of Mansoura) (1915) (Ḍayf, 1980). Shortly afterwards, there was a tendency to use a simplified form of Standard Arabic as a consequence of the spread of education and press printing, and an increase in numbers of readers (Ḍayf, 1978). This simplified form of the standard variety is characterised by many commonly-used words and expressions that are believed to be colloquialisms but are actually from Standard Arabic, as well as containing manipulated structures to follow Arabic grammar rules (*ibid.*). Eventually, it was agreed among Arab writers that Modern Standard Arabic should be used in translated, intellectual and historical plays, but Colloquial Arabic was more appropriate for use in contemporary social and realistic plays, because it reflects the real social, emotional and intellectual expression of the characters (Ahmad, 1985; Nawfal, 1985, Al-Qīṭ, 1978). Two main opinions are held about the use of Colloquial Arabic in drama and theatre. On the one hand, Abdul-Qādir Al-Qīṭ argues that:

Colloquialism is the means of expression that people use regardless of their social class... we, through it, express our exact emotions and our most complicated biological and intellectual issues. In addition to this, [colloquialism] is part of our personality and our spiritual and mental beings ... modern theatre requires, due to its nature, the use of colloquialism because it is the best ... in expressing the naturalistic modern characters and situations (1961, cited in `Āmir, 1978, p.192, my translation).

In addition, Abū Ḥadīd (1953) thinks that Colloquial Arabic proves its capability for literary expression and that it bears some kind of beauty that touches the audience's hearts, and that audiences understand it much better than Standard Arabic. Qāyḍ (1995) argues that using Standard Arabic prevents the exact expression of one's feelings and that it fails to express humour. However, he thinks that using Standard

Arabic for the dramatic expression of dialogue for low and middle class characters is not suitable to reflect the characters' distinct class, education level and backgrounds as dialogue would sound fake (ibid.).

On the other hand, Al-Baṣīr (1978) suggests that using Colloquial Arabic is not practical because it changes over time and differs from region to region, and this minimises the life of drama, whilst Standard Arabic is taught through widespread education, and is understood in every corner of the Arab world (ibid.). Others such as Al-Nikdī (1969) and Alfred Faraj believe that Standard Arabic should be the language of literature and theatre, and that it needs to be used more often, but at the same time, they accept the use of colloquial words every once in a while, as long as they are needed or suitable in context. Although Faraj wrote many plays using Colloquial Arabic, he insists on his love for Standard Arabic, and classes it as the best way to express deep thought, tragedy, serious theatre, and the psychological (cited in Qāyd, 1995). However, Faraj thinks that the language of literature whether standard or colloquial must have aesthetic and expressive features, whilst the language of theatre requires an extra set of features pertaining to its unique nature. These features can be summarised as being short, concentrated and direct, with a specific tone and rhyme, and being devoid of complex structures. In addition, he talks about the feature of 'speakability', saying that the language of theatre should be the language of speech characterised with fluidity and comfort, for both pronouncing by actors and hearing by audience. Therefore, he uses a mixture of varieties, including the nobility of the standard and the fluidity of the colloquial (ibid.).

Most modern writers prefer to use Colloquial Arabic, such as: Nu'mān 'Āshūr, Sa'd Al-Dīn Wahba, Yusuf Idrīs, Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl, Rashād Rushdī, Maḥmūd Taymūr, Alfred Faraj, Luṭfī Al-Khūlī, Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd, Mikhā'il Na'īma among others (Nawfal, 1985) because it is understood by all classes that live in cities and in the countryside. For instance, Sa'd Al-Dīn Wahba states that he excludes Standard Arabic from his plays because it cannot convey the real environmental and cultural characteristics of characters like the colloquial variety can (Muhammad, 1994). Nu'mān 'Āshūr describes colloquial language by stating that, "[the new Arab theatre] depends mainly on a dramatic language of which the crucial function is to express the natural realistic life of everyday people" (ibid. p.83). 'Āshūr's works were written at a time when Egyptian society was turning to socialism and abandoning capitalism and feudalism. Other writers such as Maḥmūd Taymūr use both Standard and Colloquial Arabic; Taymūr writes dramatic dialogue in Egyptian colloquial in

order to copy real life, but he has used Standard Arabic in his play “*Al-‘Aṣfūr fī Al-Qafaṣ*” (The Bird in the Cage), before rewriting it in Colloquial (ibid.).

Rashād Rushdī describes colloquial as “the common language” and believes it is capable of multi-level expression, and can be intensive and clear to the extent that it can reach the status of poetry (cited in Qāyḍ, 1995, my translation). He explores rhetorical aspects of Colloquial Arabic or *Tafṣīḥ Al-‘Āmiyya*, and shows that some commonly used colloquial words are actually standard, such as: *ايوه* (*Aiwa*), which is the short form of *أي والله* (*Ay wallah*) (Nawfal, 1985). Shawqī Ḍayf describes using Colloquial Arabic in this way as “*Al-Fuṣḥā Al-Mu’āṣira*” (the Modern Standard) and this is the form of Arabic most used in the fields of science, modern literature, media and radio. Yusuf Idrīs uses what he calls “artistry colloquial”, which is a poetic colloquial variety of Arabic believing that the Colloquial Arabic of his time was refined by its use in education, magazines, radio and television (ibid.). Furthermore, Muhammad Mandūr makes a distinction between Colloquial Arabic used in comedy and Colloquial Arabic used in tragedy; the former uses a local colloquial to create jokes, while the latter is a more eloquent kind of colloquial (ibid.).

Nawfal notes two problems with using colloquialisms. The first problem is that there is a distinction between the aesthetics and artistic value of using Standard dialogue and using Colloquial dialogue (ibid.). The other problem is the gap between local dialects in different Arab countries, and even in the same country, which represents an obstacle in communicating the same effect. Ḍayf (1978) goes further to argue that some colloquialisms used by Arab writers are not everyday colloquialisms, but are manipulated colloquialisms that imitate the Standard in some words and structures. Thus, this can be described as a variety in between the Standard and the Colloquial (ibid.). Standard Arabic is the least used variety of Arabic by Arab writers because, in their opinion, it is not realistic enough to represent real life. Traditionally, it is used only in translated and historical works, as mentioned above, such as Alfred Faraj’s *Sulimān Al-Ḥalabī* (Suliman Al-Halabi) and Faṭḥī Riḍwān’s *Domū’ Iblīs* (The Tears of the Satan) (Ḍayf, 1980). However, advocates of Standard Arabic argue that drama does not represent reality, but it is an example of it; thus, when staged, it becomes “an artistic reality” not a materialistic or imitative one (Al-Qiṭ, 1978, my translation). In this respect, the orientalist Jan Barak states that, “the future of literature and theatre in the Arab world depends on *Al-Fuṣḥa* [the standard] alone since it is a rich language and it is the language of heritage while the local dialects are a distortion of it. These gaunt dialects will not excel the invincible genuine Arabic heritage” (cited in Al-Nikdī, 1969, p.47, my translation). In addition, it is worth mentioning that prior to this, and specifically in the early years of Arabic drama

when Arab writers depended on translating European plays, a combination of Standard and Colloquial Arabic was used, as seen in the work of Mārūn Al-Naqqāsh in his translation of Moliere's *L'Avare* (The Miser) *Al-Bakhīl* in 1847. Anṭūn Farah also uses it in his historical play *Miṣr Al-Jadīda wa Miṣr Al-Qadīma* (The New Egypt and the Old Egypt) in 1913 (Nawfal, 1985).

Verse drama was introduced and developed by Ahmad Shawqī who uses Standard if not Classical Arabic. His drama resonated with the Arab audience and helped draw attention away from the colloquial for a while, although Shawqī added in some comedy and lyrical verses to meet the Arab audience's taste (Ḍayf, 1980). In prose drama, Standard Arabic was mostly used for translated and historical plays such as: Tawfiq Al-Hakim's *Ahl Al-Kahf* (People of the Cave), Fathī Riḍwān's *Domo' Iblīs* (The Tears of Satan) and Alfred Faraj's *Sulimān Al-Ḥalabī* (Solomon of Aleppo).

Five popular Arab dramatists use an in-between variety of language in order to find a happy medium; they are Farah Anṭūn, 'Īssā 'Ubayd, Maḥmūd Taymūr, Tawfiq Al-Hakim and Alfred Faraj. Farah Anṭūn thinks that Modern Standard Arabic needs to be used for translated drama because the original language is actually foreign and it would sound unusual for a foreign character to speak colloquially, but that Colloquial Arabic should be used for drama that resembles reality (Nawfal, 1958). In his *Miṣr Al-Jadīda and Miṣr Al-Qadīma* (The New Egypt and the Old Egypt), Modern Standard Arabic is spoken by the high-class characters, Egyptian Colloquial is used by low-class characters, and a "*Fuṣḥa Mukhaffaffa*" (lightened Standard) by women characters in order to indicate their intellectual middle class status (ibid., 'Āmir, 1978). However, this experiment was criticised as an unsuccessful way of using a third variety of Arabic (Nawfal, 1958). For example, Ḍayf (1980) describes this experiment as "*Roqa' Laghawiyya*" (lingual patches) and criticises Anṭūn for contradicting himself. Furthermore, although Anṭūn justifies his mix of varieties as an attempt to resemble reality, he also stresses how drama must represent people's life rather than their language, and this is what matters when he chooses to use Standard Arabic for the translated play. Ḍayf thinks that the same principle should apply to social plays where Anṭūn could use Standard Arabic instead of "lingual patches" (1980, my translation).

'Īssa 'Ubayd argues that a moderate Arabic variety, which is free from complex linguistic structures and that includes colloquial words should be used for dialogue so that it does not seem artificial (Nawfal, 1958). Furthermore, Maḥmūd Taymūr wonders if there is a variety that comes in between the two that encapsulates the best of each variety. However, he used Colloquial Arabic first before turning to Standard (ibid.). The most important experiment undertaken in order to find a standard

dramatic language for dramatists was when Al-Hakim used what he called “*Al-Lugha Al-Thalitha*” (The Third Language). Al-Hakim uses a hybrid variety of types of Arabic in his play *Al-Şafqa* (The Deal) in 1956. Prior to this, he undertook two other experiments, writing one play in Standard Arabic and another one in Colloquial Arabic. However, he concludes that the former is readable but not performable, whilst the latter is suitable for the stage but needs to be rewritten in the Standard for readers. To justify his new concept he states:

This is a third trial to find a sound language that does not go against the rules of the standard. It is, at the same time, a language that is uttered by people, consistent with their life styles, and understood by all [Arab] generations, countries and regions... At first, it may look colloquial to the reader, but when reread according to the rules of the standard, it would sound logical. Thus, it can be read in two ways... if this trial succeeds, this will lead to two outcomes: first, [we would have] a joint dramatic language in our literature like that exists in European literatures; second, which is more important, it would unite the means of communication between social classes within the same nation and between different Arab nations as much as possible without harming the artistic element (1956, cited in Nawfal, 1985, p. 314, my translation).

Although, Al-Ḥakīm’s experiment did not really work, it influenced the language of drama that was used in later works by many Arab dramatists, some of whom simplified the Standard according to the rules of The Third Language, and some modified the Colloquial (ibid.). Among these was Alfred Faraj who follows Al-Ḥakīm’s suggestion to use a language in which vocabulary and structures are in line with the correct Arabic dictionaries and grammatical rules, except for few words. This method is viewed as extremely successful by critics such as Bahā’ Ṭāhir who believes Alfred Faraj has a remarkable skill for forming a dramatic dialogue. In addition, another critic, Farūq Abdul-Qāḍir, states that Alfred’s language has an enormous capability to express and influence (Qāyd, 1995).

Tawfiq Al-Hakim was the Arab dramatist who, arguably, contributed the most to developing Arabic drama. Al-Hakim experimented with three phases before his dramatic work reached maturity. During his first phase, he writes plays belonging to the sub-genre of the ‘theatre of mind’ in which characters and ideas are disguised using symbolism, such as in *Ahl Al-Kahf* (People of the Cave) and *Pygmalion*. In this phase he uses Standard Arabic without any trace of colloquialisms. During his next phase he tries out the new concept of ‘the third language’ in his play *Al-Şafqa* (The Deal), as mentioned earlier. This experiment was the consequence of watching his play *Al-Aidī Al-Nā’ima* (The Soft Hands) performed on stage after its form had

been changed from Standard to Egyptian colloquial. He liked it so much that he devised a new way of using Standard. In his last phase he radically changes his opinion about the language of drama. In 1966, he adds a supplementary statement to his play *Al-Warṭa* (The Dilemma) stating that it is acceptable to change the spelling of words according to how they are pronounced in the colloquial, and to use some words in a stenographical way, such as *إيه* instead of *أي شيء* and *الللي* instead of *الذي* (Ḍayf, 1980). However, Ḍayf believes that this is not really an acceptable or successful way of writing Arabic plays, because it creates difficulties for both the reader and the actor in recognising and comprehending certain words (ibid.). Furthermore, this idea seems to go against what Al-Hakim himself believes in, i.e. bringing the Arab nations closer through the use of a single language that everyone understands (ibid.). Moreover, Al-Hakim thinks that dramatists can benefit from using Colloquial Arabic as a supplement to Standard since the Colloquial owns the vitality of the present while the Standard encapsulates the creativity of the past. He concludes that it is important in all aspects of life, including when constructing language, to combine the past with the present and to look forward to the future (Nawfal, 1958). Later, however, Al-Hakim uses a simplified form of Standard Arabic that is similar to the language used in the media, and leaves the choice of using Standard or Colloquial to the producer of the play in order to cater for audience preferences and different levels of education (Duwāra, 1997).

These experiments show how Arab dramatists and theatre specialists are keen to unite the language so that no Arabic play is limited to its place and time, but rather it becomes a play for every individual in the Arab nation as a whole. In this respect, Ṣubḥī Mardīnī (1970) states that the writer's task is not to eliminate differences in dialects, but rather to bring the dialects close to the standard language to become one thing instead of two, so that every Arab regardless of his/her location in the Arab world can fully understand it. In addition, Al-Qulaybī (1978) states that the characteristics of an Arabic language for the stage should be a mixture of standard/classical and colloquial, but it should not include environmental-specific dialects, and that structures need to be accommodated in order to avoid identifying the locality of the work in order to assure its charm and vividness. Ahmad Luṭfī Al-Sayyīd refers to what he calls *tamṣīr al-luġha* (i.e. the Egyptianisation of the Arabic language) in order to meet half way between classical and colloquial forms (Salama-Carr, 2006). Moreover, many Arab writers believe that the role of the Arabic language is to unite the wide Arab population, regardless of their different states, dialects or even religions. Muṣṭafa Al-Shihābī describes Standard Arabic as:

..the most significant factor for forming our [Arabs] Arab nationalism, which is finding that strong feeling of sympathy and support among the speakers of *Dhad* [Arabic] in different nations and countries. It plays the most effective role in forming the common will pushing us to unite these dispersed nations into one Arabic nation and unite its different countries into a single shared homeland...our *Fusha* [standard Arabic], alone, represents the language of our Arab nationalism, and any of the different local dialects cannot do the same (1961, p.354, my translation).

He goes on to argue that Colloquial Arabic cannot be the language of knowledge, intellect or literature because it cannot last for a long time or even be enjoyed by other Arab readers (ibid.).

In conclusion, I think that dramatic works that are meant for reading should be written in a simplified form of Standard Arabic so they can be understood by Arab readers from different backgrounds. While the language of the theatrical texts can be written using Colloquial Arabic since they are meant to be performed for a specific audience, and to reflect the specific socio-cultural environment inhabited by the characters, so that everyone is able to understand the play. As for historical and translated plays, Standard Arabic, if not Classical, is the most appropriate form to use.

4.2 Poetics of Translation into Arabic: Literature and Drama

This section discusses the beginnings of translation and factors that facilitated its spread and development. Leading on from this, the beginnings of the translation of literature and drama will be examined to show the different translation approaches used, with relevant examples. The argument then explores the main expectations of the Arab audience over time, and how translators have addressed this issue. Finally, two examples of translated literature are discussed, and a detailed overview of the pioneering work of drama translation as carried out by Muhammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl is explored in order to illustrate the poetics of drama translation. Again, this research focuses on Egypt as a centre, because this is where Arabic drama first began and was developed, and from where it spread to reach other parts of the Arab World.

4.2.1 Understanding the Socio-cultural Dynamics of Translation and Production of Literature and Drama in Egypt

In order to fully understand the field of drama translation in Egypt since its emerging stage, i.e. during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is important to map the socio-cultural context that paved the way to the beginning of translation in general and the translation of literature and drama in particular. Because of new

foreign cultural elements that found their way to Egyptian society, mainly French and, later, English elements, Muhammad Ali, who ruled from 1805 to 1848, decided to modernise and reshape Egypt and make multiple reforms in the country. During the second half of the nineteenth century, he secularised education, and this resulted in a new generation of young writers who were capable of accepting new modes of cultural production (Reid, 1977). It is possible to observe contradictions within the society at the time that affected the cultural products created. This contradiction is obvious when we examine the two main socio-cultural groups in the Egyptian society during the nineteenth century, i.e. 'modernists' and 'traditionalists', in addition to the general uneducated and illiterate masses (Hanna, 2016b, p.73). Modernists mainly comprised Egyptians or Levantine immigrants who were educated in the West on governmental scholarships, or in their own countries at foreign missionary schools; thus, they were considered to be representatives of the West and carriers of its values (ibid.). The traditionalists were Egyptians who received a traditional religious education and were often regarded as an obstacle to modernisation (ibid.). They favoured the high register of Arabic found in the Quran and neo-classical poetry, prose and other writings in which rhymed prose *saja`*, parallel structures *muqābalā* and archaic lexis were extensively used. However, the modernists' knowledge of Arabic was formed through the language of the press and the published translations of popular fiction. Although the needs of modernists were marginal for theatre makers, their role in the development of published drama translation was significant. The resulting re-structuring of Egyptian society was reflected in the production of drama. However, for most of the eighteenth and the first half of nineteenth century, traditionalists controlled cultural production in Egypt because they were responsible of the social and intellectual life as well as of the law and its applications enjoying rich cultural and social capital and a powerful position in the Egyptian society (ibid.). Accordingly, the cultural products produced followed the form of books on rhetoric of the Arabic language, grammar, religious interpretations and Classical Arabic poetry and prose whose consumers were necessarily students and scholars at Al-Azhar due to the fact that most Egyptians were illiterate at that time (Hanna, 2016b, p.76).

A growing interest in Western culture, science and literature emerged as a result of frequent contact with the West during the French Expedition (1798-1801), the British occupation of Egypt (1882-1956), and via educational missionaries that visited the West during the mid-nineteenth century. After seeing French drama performed on stage, Arabs admired this new type of literature and attempted to adapt it for their own purposes. Napoleon's occupation of Egypt in 1798 ended the

Ottoman rule in the country, and this led to a rise in national consciousness and an attempt to improve political, social and intellectual conditions by means of a cultural renaissance that came to be known later as *Nahḍa* (Salama-Carr, 2006); this period is often referred to as a movement of reformation and modernisation of Arab intellect, in which translation was instrumental. Translations into Arabic disseminated new theories and renewed old ones in all fields of knowledge because texts were translated flexibly to encapsulate human relationships and intellectual developments (Al-'Bd, 1997).

Many factors influenced the spread of translations during the *Nahḍa* period. First, Muhammad Ali sent Egyptian students to France, and later to England, to equip them with European knowledge under the supervision of Rifā'a Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, an Egyptian teacher, writer, translator, and intellectual (Salama-Carr, 2006). Another factor was the introduction of the printing press in Egypt in 1819-20 (*ibid.*). The Arabic press supported translations of drama enthusiastically, since it saw theatre as educative and modern. In addition to this, the Arabic press printed explanations of translated plays and provided definitions for theatre-specific terms which, altogether, pushed intellectuals towards undertaking more translations (*ibid.*). Literary magazines and reviews evaluated the quality of translations, and these included critiques in publications such as *Majallat Al-Riwāyāt Al-Jadīda*, *Majallat Riwāyāt Al-Jayb* and *Majallat Al-'Usūr* (Hanna, 2011, no pagination). However, some commentators, mainly traditionalists, accused literary and theatre translators of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of being unfaithful to the philological, political and religious terms and of encouraging the public to fall under the Western spell (Hanna, 2016b, pp.87-79). In addition, state patronage played a significant role in the development of translation and, hence, in Arabic and Egyptian drama and drama translation. In fact, translation programmes have been established by different Arab states as part of their linguistic policies, i.e. the Arabisation undertaken in all fields especially after foreign colonisation, and as part of their cultural policies, i.e. to promote reading (Jacquemond, 2009). These policies are articulated around two logics: a humanistic logic and a developmentalist logic (*ibid.*). The former refers to translating the masterpieces of world literature and thought as a means to secure a place for the Arabic language among the main modern literary languages (*ibid.*). While the latter aims at translating the most recent scientific developments in order to become accessible for all Arab readers and to help in the modernization of the Arabic language (*ibid.*). For instance, Muhammad Ali established a programme of translation that is state-sponsored in order to produce translations in many fields of knowledge (Hanna, 2016b). This translation movement was taken in the service of

state-building. Tajer (2013) argues that translation flourished during the time of Muhammad Ali for two reasons: first, because he wanted to know more about the Europeans themselves and about their scientific and literary works; second, because of his intention to spread European knowledge in Egypt by hiring Europeans to educate his people. Consequently, he showed deep interest in translation to the extent that the translators of his time enjoyed a high respectable position such as Yusuf Bughuş who became the minister of both foreign affairs and commerce. His translators, who were European, Syrian and Turkish in the beginning, translated school books from French and Italian into Arabic and Turkish, the official language in the country during the Ottoman rule. Because he wanted to replace those foreigners with Egyptians, he sent Egyptian students on many scholarships to Europe, as mentioned before, to acquire both the knowledge and the languages so that each of them become capable of translating in his own area. Thus, those translators were replaced with Egyptian ones upon their return from the first mission of Egyptian students from Europe. He even asked them to translate the books they were studying and send these translations to Egypt in order to be taught in different Egyptian schools. In addition, he established *Madrasat Al-Asun* in 1835 in Cairo, a school of languages where the first generation of Egyptian translators were trained by Rifā'a Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, to translate from European languages all types of texts especially in the areas that the government required at that time (ibid.). Translators of this school strove to find equivalences to the new technical and scientific terminologies in Arabic; thus, they revived the ancient Arabic words that were used in scientific contexts, and introduced new ones through some widely-used colloquial words (Jacquemond, 2009). Also, Muhammad Ali established *Dār Al-Qalam* in 1840 which was joined with *Madrasat Al-Asun* both headed by Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (Tajer, 2013). Among graduates of the school are Abu Al-Su'ūd Afandī, Ibrāhīm Marzūq, Murād Mukhtār and Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (ibid.). Muhammad Ali demanded his translators to be punctual, accurate and hardworking, among them are Rifā'a Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 'Uthmān Nūr Al-Dīn Pasha and Ibrāhīm Adham Baik (ibid.).

Shortly after that, Muhammad Ali's grandson Khedive 'Ismā'īl ruled Egypt from 1863 to 1879. He wanted to create a Paris-like Egypt. He encouraged translation in all fields, and his time was known of a prosperity in the field of military translation from French (ibid.). In addition, because he was fascinated with European drama, he was extremely generous with establishing theatres and improving them and with theatrical troupes which were mostly foreign while occasionally Egyptian or Arabic. The latter performed translated and authored plays and one of them is *Ya'qūb Ṣanū'* (Hanna, 2016b). He established a sponsorship scheme which encouraged the nobility

to help in the expenses of visiting European artists (ibid.). Examples of the translators in his time are Šālīḥ Majdī Pasha, Ahmad ‘Ubayd Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and Muhammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl (ibid.). During the nineteenth century, some translators rendered European literary masterpieces into Arabic in their spare time and paid for their publications from their own pockets (ibid.).

Moreover, Syrian and Lebanese immigrants moved to Egypt in the second half of the nineteenth century and this coincided with the re-shaping of Egyptian society. Well-educated young intellectuals, mostly Christian, had to leave their countries due to interfaith violence that erupted in 1860. Economic depression, unemployment, lack of national authority patronage and Ottoman imperative policy and oppression, and other social, economic and political reasons that prevent the establishment of a theatrical movement in these countries all together led to this wave of immigration. Syrian and Lebanese intellectuals decided to invest their professional skills in Egypt, particularly in the field of language, since most of them were polyglots (ibid.; Zaytūnī, 1994). Syrian and Lebanese immigrants significantly contributed to the modernization of Egypt as well as to the development of Arabic drama and took part in writing, translating, directing and acting. Among Syrian and Lebanese translators were: Buṭruṣ and Salīm Al-Bustānī, Najīb Ḥadād, Ḥabīb Al-Yāzījī, Rushayd Al-Daḥdāḥ, Rizq-Allah Ḥassūn, Ahmad Al-Shidyāq, Faraḥ Antūn, and Ṭanyūs ‘Abdū (Sawā’ī, 2003; Zaytūnī, 1994)².

Most of the first translations by Syrians, Lebanese and Egyptian translators were scientific, historical, geographical, technical, legal and military based and, according to Abul Naga (1969, cited in Salama-Carr, 2006, p.315), in 1848 only two out of 191 translations were literary. The focus on these fields was in response to Muhammad Ali’s call to obtain enough Western knowledge, training and experience to build modern institutions such as educational establishments, military institutions, and to develop the press (Al-‘Bd, 1997). However, throughout the nineteenth century, interest in European literature increased rapidly, and this influenced translational efforts to render European masterpieces into Arabic (Sumīkh, 1982). Individual and institutional interest in European literature expanded, and interest in these cultural

² Those who remained in their countries undertook translations due to a number of motivations. They translated for religious purposes, i.e. they translated the Bible and other religious books and pamphlets; they translated for trade reasons with the West; and they translated as part of their work for different foreign embassies in the Arab States (Sawā’ī, 2003). For example, Rizqallah Ḥassūn translated the Book of Job, Exodus, Deuteronomy, the Song of Solomon, Ecclesiastes and Lamentations into Arabic verse and these were published in 1970 in Beirut (Library of Congress, 2015).

products led to an increase in the number of literary texts, including plays, translated into Arabic (Al-‘Bd, 1997). Indeed, translation played a major role in the introduction and development of published and staged Arabic drama. Although early translation practices were random, they were crucial samples for Arab translators and authors to follow, especially for those who did not know the original languages (ibid.).

Both Egyptian and Syro-Lebanese translators shared knowledge of French language and literature, but most translations of the second half of the nineteenth century until the end of the 1910s were from or through English. English drama was translated from French during the 1880s and 1890s; examples include translations of Shakespeare by Khalīl Muṭrān and Najīb Al-Ḥaddād (Hanna, 2011). In a study conducted by Hanna (ibid.) on the genesis and development of the English-Arabic translation of literature, drama and cultural studies in Egypt, he notes that thirty five translations of literary texts were published in the nineteenth century, of which only two were thought to be from English, and thirteen out of the thirty five are plays. This information was discovered in the indices of Dār Al-Kutub (The Book House) in Cairo. However, the translation of literary texts directly from English began to increase in the third decade of the twentieth century, as a consequence of the long British presence in Egypt from 1882 to 1956. Furthermore, after the Egyptian Constitution was formed in 1923, Arabic became the language of education, but English was still taught as a second language. In his study, Hanna (ibid.) notes that the number of literary translations made from English began to exceed those translated from the French, and this trend is illustrated in contents of the table shown below.

Years	English	French
1900-1909	8	32
1910-1919	7	14
1920-1929	38	24
1930-1939	39	27
1940-1949	240	136
Total	332	233

Figure 2. Published translations from English and French literary texts in Egypt (1900-1949) (Hanna, 2011, p.15)

English departments in both public and private universities began to grow in number during the second half of the twentieth century and the early two decades of the twenty-first century, with graduates mainly becoming teachers and translators. Also, since the 1940s, Egyptian universities have sent their graduates to undertake PhD scholarships, mainly in the UK and the USA. On their return, these graduates have contributed to the practice of translation in its various fields (ibid.).

Early Arab dramatists depended on European plays to translate from or to imitate. In his translation of Moliere's *L'Avare*, Al-Naqqāsh, includes musical verse with a mixture of dialectic registers - Classical Arabic, colloquial Lebanese, a hint of the Egyptian dialect, and an attempt to mimic the Turkish way of pronouncing Arabic (Starkey, 2006). In addition, in *Abū Ḥasan Al-Mughaffal*, Al-Naqqāsh mixes Classical Arabic verse with rhymed prose (ibid.). Both Al-Naqqāsh and Ṣanū' choose to combine musical interludes with dramatic characteristics and complex plots (ibid.). Consequently, musical scenes mixed with glee and laughter became a prevailing style used in the plays of the time (Ahmad, 1985). This characteristic existed due to the fact that the first European plays originated from operas (ibid.). In the main, these texts were written or translated for entertainment value besides giving a moral lesson or any kind of social comment (Zaytūī, 1994). In addition, playwrights were also influenced by Europeans when they reproduced historical stories in dramatic works, in order to celebrate military glories and or learn from its lessons. Ibrāhīm Ramzī wrote *Al-Mu'tamid Billah* (Al-Mutamed Billah) in 1892 and Farah Anṭūn "*Ṣallāh Al-Dīn wa Mamlakat Urshalīm*" (Salah Al-Din and the Kingdom of Jerusalem) in 1914. In the early 1900s many translators chose to translate, adapt and imitate the work of those before them because they rarely had any other model to follow when writing new plays. Also, dramatists did not have access to Ya'qūb Ṣanū''s authored works because these were all lost, except for a small number; and early dramatic troupes only tended to keep playtexts that contained extensive musical and performance-art content and prosaic language (Ahmad, 1985).

The Arab theatre in the first half of the twentieth century specifically until the revolution of 1952 depended on individual translational efforts in their exploration of this new genre benefiting from previous dramatic works and trying to set the translational norms for drama. Thus, Arab intellectuals and writers translated and adapted Western drama in order to build their own theatre among them are 'Azīz 'Īd, Zakī Ṭulimāt, George Abyaḍ, Muhammad and Maḥmūd Taymūr and Ahmad Bakathīr. From the revolution of 1952, Arabs started to author their own drama mostly with the use of Modern Standard Arabic besides translation to the point that

the Egyptian theatre in the 1950s and 1960s, which was regarded as the golden age of the Arabic artistic creativity, witnessed an unprecedented leap in the areas of translation, authorship and directing not to mention the patronage and support of the State to the theatre. However, since the crises of 1967, i.e. the Arab–Israeli War, which affected the Egyptians’ faith in many of its values, theatrical performances focused on laughter for laughter with no valuable message specially presented by private theatres and TV theatrical troupes which sought financial profits (Al-Rā’ī, 1999; Najm, 1967). This is mainly because of, as Sarḥān (1979a; 1979b) claims, the appearance of a generation in the Egyptian society who were financially-stable and did not pay attention to intellect or knowledge in addition to the Arabic tourists who also wanted to watch this kind of performances on theatre. As for serious performances on State theatres were decreasing in front of this new wave of theatrical performances and which started to follow the prevailing trend eventually (ibid.).

In respect of the cultural production of drama translation in Egypt, Muhammad Taymūr, in his *Trial of the Playwrights* article published in 1920, implies that there were two main modes of theatrical production in Egypt. One aimed to reach the largest audiences possible, and accrue economic capital regardless of the prestige of canonisation or gaining the recognition of fellow producers. The other mode of production prioritised the parameters of canonisation and did not seek any significant material return; writers and producers of this type of drama sought to accrue symbolic capital through cultural recognition. Each choice was made depending on the political and socio-cultural dynamics of the time (cited in Ḥanna, 2016a). The prevailing mode of drama produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was commercially-oriented, and many freelance writers, translators, theatre producers, and journalist critics emerged from a new wave of Levantine immigration. The main concern of these new translators was the “marketability” of cultural products rather than quality, in order to ensure continuity of production and a reasonable income (Hanna, 2016b). Other theatrical producers and translators sometimes used translation as a political tool through which they expressed their political opinions, and to acquire cultural capital (Hanna, 2016a).

According to Hanna (2011), translations from 1900 to 1949 were, mainly, produced by commercially-oriented publishers and, occasionally, by a few independent publishing houses. An example of the latter is the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publication which was founded by a number of young Egyptian intellectuals in 1914 to publish translated and authored books in the fields of humanities and social sciences, including literature. For instance, translations of

Walter Scott's *Talisman* and Bernard Shaw's *Joan of Arc* both appeared in 1938. During the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, the Egyptian Ministry of Education commissioned Arabic translations of world classics as texts book. These translations went through a strict quality process, and one example of a text translated at this time is Shakespeare's *King Lear* by Ibrāhīm Ramzī in 1932 (ibid.). In this regard, Mandūr (1971) mentions that the first systematic literary translation collection was established by the Ministry of Public Education in Egypt which translated ten Westren masterpieces into Arabic such as Shakespere's *Macbeth* and Moliere's *Tartuff*. The Egyptian government continud its patronage, support and encouragement to the translation movement especially after the Revolution of 1952. As *Alf Kitāb* project (A Thousand Books project) and *Masrahīyyāt 'Ālamiyya* series (World Drama Masterpieces) were launched besides the individual and institutional efferots (ibid.). In addition, translations published in the 1950s were commissioned by the state, while those published since 1970 were usually commissioned by institutions attached to the state which was represented by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture including, for example, the General Egyptian Book Organisation and the General Organisation of Cultural Palaces. Accordingly, most literary and drama translations were undertaken by state-run publishers, while the role of private publishers in these areas was marginal (Hanna, 2011).

The following chart (*Figure 3*) shows how drama translation is being carried out in different Arab States throught the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. It focuses on four main countries that have the most interst in drama and theatre; i.e. Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Kuwait, besides combining the rest of Arab States in one category. The information in this chart is taken from Arabic Union Catalogue (ARUC), Hanna (2011) for the periods from 1900 to 1949 and from 2000 to 2010, and other minor databases, lists by publishers and libraries among others. The data collected is classified according to the publication year and country and publisher.

ARUC is described on its website³ as

a collaboratively nonprofit project which mainly aims to establish a collaborative environment for the Arab libraries and to reduce the cost of cataloging Arabic information resources by sharing cataloging. This guarantees standardizing cataloging practices in the Arab libraries and conforming international standards in the bibliographic description.

³ Available from: https://www.aruc.org/en_US/definition

The catalogue is initiated by King Abdul-‘Azīz Public Library, Saudi Arabia which has been founded and supported by King Abdullah (ibid.). I also benefited from the study conducted by Hanna in 2011 for the periods from 1900 to 1949 and from 2000 to 2011. The chart covers the period from 1899 to 2011 as no drama translations after this specific date is listed in these databases.

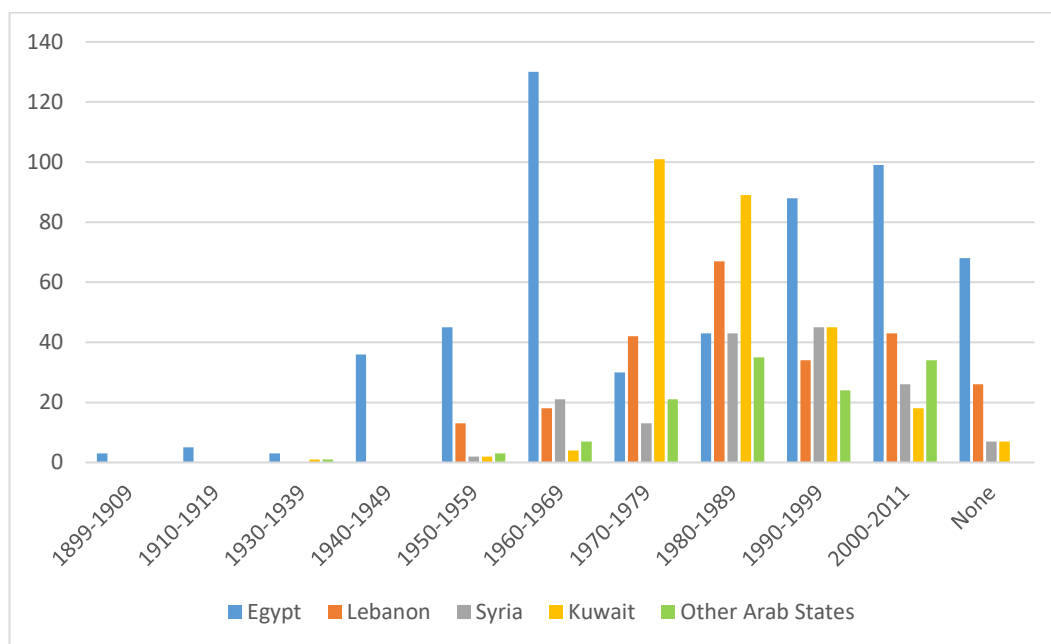


Figure 3. Tracing Drama Translation in the Arab World from ARUC

During the twentieth and twenty-first century, Arab countries have encouraged and supported the translation movement through public and private institutions. Most of the drama translations conducted by Arab translators have been produced in Egypt through publishers of both sectors. The most significant of these institutions are those established by the Egyptian government as attached to the Ministry of Culture. The following list includes details about the main translation programmes, institutions and publishers in Egypt which are collected from their websites, the ARUC catalogue, researchers' studies such as that by Hanna (2011) and 'Ismā'īl (2012), and other desktop research.

1. *Lajnat Al-Ta'lif wa Al-Tarjama wa Al-Nashr* (the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publication)

It was founded by a number of young Egyptian intellectuals in 1914 to publish translated and authored books in the fields of humanities and social sciences including literature and drama such as Muhammad Al-Ghamrāwī, Ahmad Abdul-Salām Al-Kurdānī, Ahmad Zakī, Mūḥammad Farīd Abū-Ḥadīd, Amīn Qindīlī,

Ahmad Amīn among others. They started to work in their homes with little money, and they paid the expenses of their first publications. Then, the committee started to expand in the number of members and works which gained the attention of the Arab audience and intellectuals. The Ministry of Education funded this committee with 3000 Egyptian pounds for three years to publish its works (Amīn, 1934). Examples of its translations are For instance, the translations of Walter Scott's *Talisman* and Bernard Shaw's *Joan of Arc* both in 1938 (Hanna, 2011).

2. The Arab League

A contemporary, though short-lived, project with the first *Alf Kitāb* was established in 1945 by the Arab League also patronized by Taha Hussein (Jacquemond, 2009). It published translations of world literature masterpieces (ibid.).

3. *Alf Kitāb* (Thousands Books)

It was launched in 1955, during Abdul-Nassir's regime, an initiative of Taha Hussein, by the General Department of Culture under the Ministry of Education with the purpose of translating and publishing primary texts and world classics (Jacquemond, 2009; Hanna, 2011). Thus, its translations were state-supported but were published by both private and state-owned publishers (Jacquemond, 2009). However, it was frozen in 1968 as due to the political and financial crises after the defeat of 1967 in the war with Israel (ibid.). Until then, it published 700 translations of main Western thought and literature (ibid.). It published about 600 hundred books (Al-Ahram Al-Masā'ī, 2015).

4. *Min Adab Al-Masraḥ* (From the Art of Drama)

Min Adab Al-Masraḥ (From the Art of Drama) is established by *Maktabat Al-Anjlū Al-Maṣriyya* (The Anglo-Egyptian Library). It is the first series specialized in publishing translated drama from 1957 to 1967 (ʿIsmāʿīl, 2012). It only translated American drama and introduced for the first time writers like Eugene O'Neill, William Saroyan and Thornton Wilder among others (ibid.). It did not include within its publication an introduction as if published for students (ibid.). For instance, Four Comedies by Shakespeare and Four Historical Plays by Shakespeare (Anglo-Egyptian Website, 2016).

5. *Maktabat Al-Funūn Al-Adabiyya* (The Library of Literary Arts)

Maktabat Miṣr (Egypt Library) published this series of translated drama from 1958 to 1964 under the supervision of Abdul-Ḥalīm Al-Bashalāwī to publish World Classics and drama-related topics (ʿIsmāʿīl, 2012). It translated from many different languages and, thus, introduced new writers and works to the Arab World (ibid.). Al-Bashalāwī himself translated 8 plays, which he often choose according to the political condition of Egypt, and wrote introductions for most of the issues (ibid.).

6. *Rawā` Al-Masraḥ Al-`Ālamī (World Drama Masterpieces)*

This series of translated drama was published from 1959 to 1966 The Ministry of Culture and National Guidance to be the first series published by the Egyptian government in this area (Ismā`īl, 2012). It included in its publications an introduction that contained details about the playwrights, their dramatic school and the importance of the work (ibid.). Among those who wrote introductions for this series are Muhammad Mandūr, Dirīnī Khasaba, Rashād Rushdī and Anwar Lūqā (ibid.). It published 80 issues in which new playwrights were introduced for the first time such as Gabriel Marcel, Henry Becque and Karel Čapek among others (ibid.).

7. *Masraḥiyyat `Ālamiyya (World Plays)*

This series of translated drama was established by *Al-Dār Al-Qawmiyya li Al-Ṭibā`a wa Al-Nashr* (The National House for Printing and Publishing) and published translated drama fortnightly from 1965 to 1972 (ibid.). It published 64 books after being approved by *Lajnat Al-Masraḥ Al-`Ālamī* (World Drama Committee) in *Hay`at Al-`Dha`a wa Al-Masraḥ wa Al-Musīqā* (Authority of Radio, Theatre and Music), among its members are Ḥamdī Ghayth, Abdul-Ḥakīm Surūr, `Attiyya Muhammad Ḥusayn Haykal, Abdul-Raḥmān Badawī and Muhammad Ghunaymī Hilāl (ibid.). It published the best of World Drama into Classical Arabic only with semi-research introductions, and it even translated the playwrights' introductions especially the critical ones like of Bernard Shaw and Thornton Wilder among others (ibid.). It retranslated some plays and included its justifications and comparisons of both translations in critical introductions (ibid.).

8. *Lajnat Al-Tarjama (The Translation Committee)*

Lajnat Al-Tarjama in the Supreme Council of Culture under the Ministry of Culture was established in 1980 and published literary translations by *Al-Hai`a Al-`Āmma lil Kitāb* (Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization, 1987).

9. *Alf Kitāb Al-Thānī (The Second Thousand Books)*

In 1986, the *Alf Kitāb* project resumed its translation activity as a series with the new name *Alf Kitāb Al- Thānī* (The Second Thousand Books) (Jacquemond, 2009). The translations produced by this project was published by the General Egyptian Book Organization (GEBO), the main state-owned publishing house established in 1971 (ibid.). The project published 369 translations in various fields of knowledge according to the General Egyptian Book Organization website.

10. *Maktabat Al-Usra (The Family Library)*

In addition, a wide-nation programme that aimed to provide cheap book for the Egyptian reading public was also launched by the GEBO and patronized by the First Lady Susān Mubarak in 1994 entitled *Maktabat Al-Osra* (The Family Library)

(Hanna, 2011). Some of the translated titles by *Alf Kitāb Al- Thānī* and *Al-Jawā'iz* have been republished in their second editions through this programme (ibid.). For example, the translation of Bernard Shaw's *Man and Superman* by Muhammad Fikrī Anwar in 2004.

11. *Al-Mashrū'*/Al-Markaz Al-Qawmī li Al-Tarjama (the National Project for Translation)

In 1995, the National Project for Translation was launched by the Supreme Council of Culture (SCC) and was headed by Jabir 'Usfūr (Jacquemond, 2009). Its purpose was to achieve 1000 translations, which the first *Alf Kitāb* failed to accomplish (ibid.). It achieved its purpose and published the book number 1000 in 2006. 'Usfūr states six principles that comprise the philosophy of the project as follows: (1) breaking away from the French and English languages and cultures and opening up to other less translated ones; (2) selecting translation titles that foster progress, experimentation and rationalism; (3) patronizing more works of natural and human sciences while less of humanities and literature; (4) translating foundational texts rather than second-hand knowledge; (5) translating directly from the source language and minimizing indirect translations from English and French; (6) opening to the contributions of Arab intellectuals and translators besides the Egyptians giving the project a pan-Arab dimension (translated in Jacquemond, 2009; and Hanna, 2011).

It has two other series of translation: *Mīrāth Al-Tarjama* (Translation Legacy) and *Rawā' Al-Drāmā Al-Ālamiyya* (Masterpieces of World Drama). The former republished some old translations along with a new translation of the same ST such as: Al-Bustānī's translation of the *Iliad* in 1904 and a new translation celebrating the translation's 100 anniversary and Taynūs 'Abdū's translation of *Hamlet* in the late nineteenth century with its latest translation by Muhammad Muṣṭafā Badawī ('Ismā'īl, 2012). While the latter is specialized in world drama translations. In the website of the SCC, there are 38 issues of this series starting between 2007 and 2016 from different languages such as English, French, Latin, German, Serbian and Spanish. Some issues contain two plays, some plays are in two issues and one issue has seven translations. Examples of these translations are Plautus's *Mstellaria* (The Haunted House) by Ḥātim Rabī' Ḥasan in 2013 and Shakespeare's *King Lear* by Mahdī Bunduq in 2012 (National Centre for Translation, 2016).

The committee give two translation awards. *Rifā'a Rāfi' Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī Prize* which is an annual reward, a certificate of appreciation, a memorial shield and 100.000 Egyptian pounds given for outstanding work of a translator or group of translators, since 2006 (ibid.). The other award is *Jā'izat Al-Shabāb* (The Youth Award) since 2011 for translator under 35 years of age which is a certificate of appreciation, a

memorial shield and 25.000 Egyptian pounds given for outstanding work of a translator or group of translators (ibid.).

12. *Āfāq Al-Tarjam/ Āfāq ‘Ālamiyya* (Translation Horizons/ World Horizons)

This series was launched by the General Organisation of Cultural Palaces in 1995 under the name of *Āfāq Al-Tarjama* (Translation Horizons); however, it was later reissued with under a different name which is *Āfāq ‘Ālamiyya* (World Horizons) (‘Ismā’īl, 2012).

13. *Al-Jawā’iz* (The Prizes)

Another series of translation established by the GEBO is *Al-Jawā’iz* (The Prizes) in 2005 which task is to publish award-winning literary texts whether Arabic or translated on a monthly basis (Al-Jawā’iz Series Facebook Page⁴). Its publications exceeded 100 translations (Jacquemond, 2009). One credit to be given to this series is that it translates less known works and authors that means new translations rather than retranslating specific texts or translating for the same authors (Hanna, 2011). For example, some of Harold Pinter’s plays were translated in two issues by Muhammad ‘Enānī (Al-Jawā’iz Series Facebook Page, 2017).

14. *Mashrū’ Al-Shurūq-Bingūwyn* (Al-Shuruq- Penguin Project)

This series was established in 2010 as a partnership between two publishing houses: the Egyptian Dār Al-Shurūq Al-Miṣriyya and the British Penguin Books. It aims at translating Penguin Books’ classics into Arabic to produce to Arab readers. Similarly, key Arabic literary pieces are translated into English (Bibliotheca Alexandria, no date⁵).

Moreover, foreign translation programmes also contributed to the translation movement in Egypt. American programmes for the purpose of promoting the USA’s own culture through translation support policies (Jacquemond, 2009). Among these are Franklin Publishers which opened its first office in Cairo in 1953 (ibid.). It was funded by the US public funding, but later, it lost its source of funding gradually so it had to reduce its activities until finally dissolved in 1978 (ibid.). In addition, the French ‘*Programmes d’aide a la publication*’ (Publication Support Programme) in Cairo was launched in the mid-1980s and in many other countries as well such as Syria, Lebanon, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco (ibid.). It produced about 400

⁴ Available from: https://www.facebook.com/pg/SlsItAljwayz/about/?ref=page_internal

⁵ Available from: https://bibalex.org/islamicthought/Home/StaticPage_Ar.aspx?page=14 [Accessed 30 July 2019].

translation titles funded by the Ministry of Paris that pays the cost of the foreign rights to French publishers, aids the local publishers with full or part of the translation expenses and, sometimes, covers part of the printing expenses (ibid.). Moreover, even the USSR established translation programmes in the Arab countries where hundreds of books were translated and published into Arabic in Moscow between the 1960s and 1980s, and then they are published and distributed in the Arab World by different publishers and booksellers (ibid.).

Here is a chart (*Figure 4*) that shows the Egyptian publishing houses, both private and public, that commissioned the translations of dramatic works referred to in the Egypt category in the chart (*Figure 3*) above noting that I removed the reprinted translations.

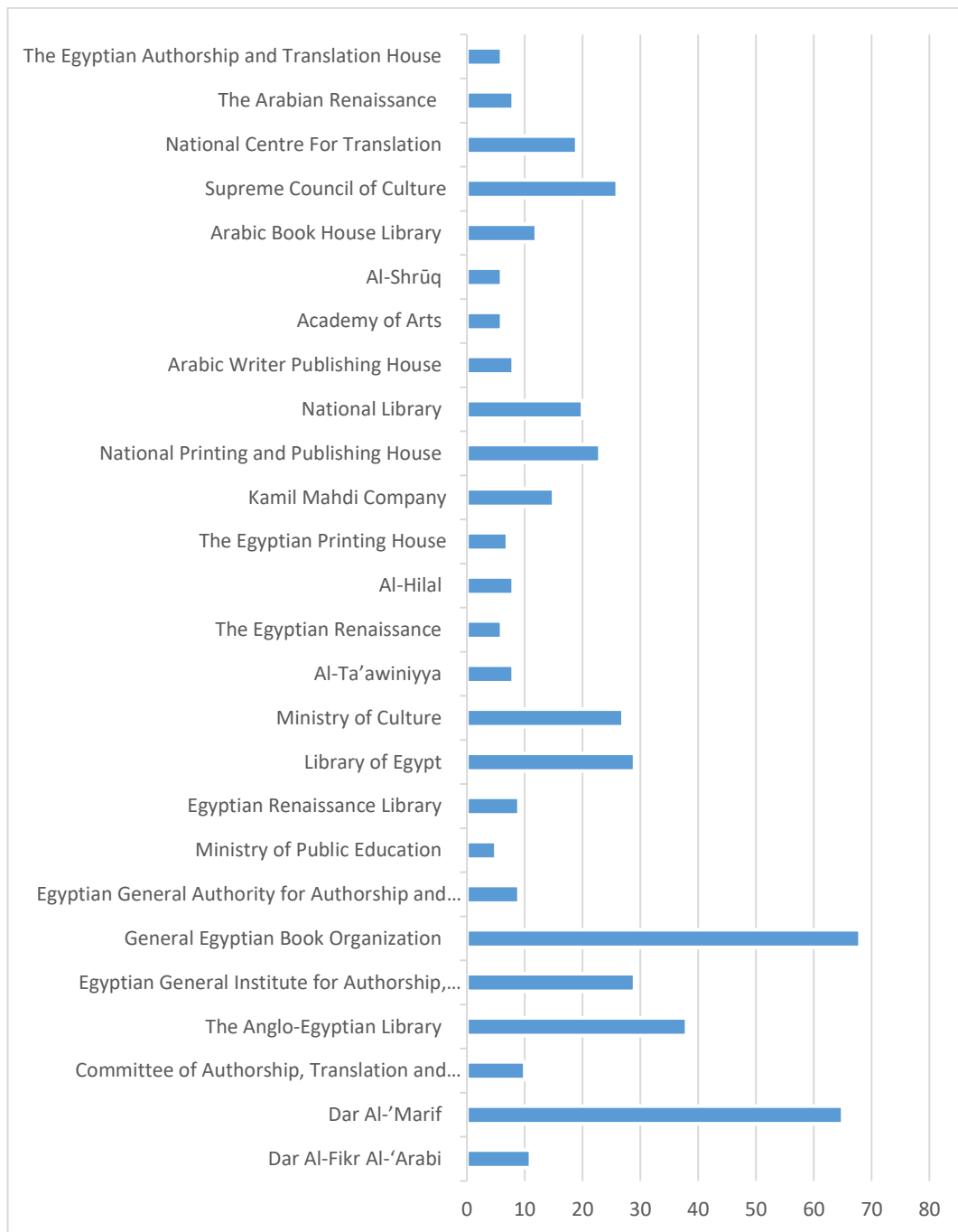


Figure 4. Egyptian publishing houses commissioned drama translation in 20th and 21st centuries

In addition to these publishers, there are some 74 others including: Al-Muqāṭaṭaf wa Al-Muqāṭṭam Printing House (3 translations), Kitābī Publishing House (3 translations), Al-Kirink Library (4 translations), Egypt Printing House (4 translations), Rose Al-Yusuf Press, Printing and Publishing Company (2 translations), Cairo International Festival of Experimental Theatre (4 translations) and National Centre for Theatre, Music and Folklore (4 translations).

Other significant Arab translation programmes and institutions include, for instance, (1) *Kalima* (Word) established in 2007 by the UAE government through the Department of Culture and Tourism in Abu Dhabi (Kalima, 2019); (2) *Min Al-Masrah Al-‘Ālamī* (From World Theatre) launched in 1969 in Kuwait through the Ministry of Media to carry on the mission of the Egyptian series *Masrahiyyāt ‘Ālamiyya*, that stopped in 1967, of publishing drama translation. The name of the series was later changed in 1998 to *‘Bda’āt ‘Ālamiyya* (World Ingenuities) to include the translation and publication of other literary genres such as short stories, novels and poetry (National Council for Culture, Arts, and Letters, 2019); and (3) *Al-A‘māl Al-Kāmila* (Complete Works) series by Dār Al-Biḥār which is attached to Al-Hilāl Publishing House in Lebanon which purpose is to translate and publish literary works (Raffy, 2019).

4.2.2 Dynamics of Selecting Texts, Approaches and Registers for Drama Translation into Arabic

Arab translators can be divided into two major categories: specialised translators who translate for a particular field of knowledge, and those who translate many different kinds of text including literary, historical, or general knowledge (ibid.). Falaṣṭīn (1970) stresses that it is important for translators to communicate a valuable message through their translations. Therefore, texts to be translated need to be wisely selected according to the needs of Arab societies (ibid.). According to Najm (1967), early Arab translators chose texts according to the popularity of the play or its author, or on the relevance of the play’s theme to the Arabic taste and traditional topics or themes popular at the time. These themes often included heroism, oppression of the poor, and chivalrous or thwarted love (Salama-Carr, 2006). Salama-Carr also adds to this the prestige of the source culture (ibid.). However, Hanna (2011) argues that the second generation of literary and drama translators, who were modernists, no longer enjoyed classical Arabic literature, and they turned to translating English popular fiction in order to fulfil their aesthetic needs, as well as translating canonical literature. He adds that some authors were translated more than others, some texts were re-translated more frequently than other texts, and some Arabic translations were more popular than other translations of the same text (ibid.).

Before considering different translation approaches, it is worth exploring the nature of the Egyptian audience⁶. Najm (1967) asserts that, historically, Arab translators

⁶ Other Arab audiences share the same nature.

often manipulated STs in order to bring the play in line with Arab audience tastes, and to address social realities. Thus, translators often summarised dialogue, omitted whole acts and scenes, and changed plots and endings, mainly because Arab audiences preferred comic, musical and dancing scenes. This was the prevailing method used for translating and even authoring Arabic drama in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Egypt. Hanna (2016b) states that the commission of a translation for the stage during this period required the inclusion of two features: it should be designed to attract the largest audiences possible, and it should offer opportunities for using leading popular actors' such as Salama Hijazī, a well-known Egyptian singer and performer in musical theatre (ibid.). This, again, emphasises the commercially-oriented production of drama and drama translation in Egypt in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and that theatre producers sought mainly to accrue economic capital. In addition, singing was what Arab audiences of that time wanted the most, so theatre troupes relied on it to guarantee financial success.

Najm (1967) notes that another characteristic of the Arab audience is the desire for interaction with the actors on stage by telling jokes, making comments about the actions of the play, or asking questions. Moreover, narration and nonverbal expressions also interest Arabic audiences (Hanna, 2016a). Many of these characteristics of the Arab audience still prevail and have been influenced by the traditional street drama that Arab audiences have been watched for many years, and because the first drama translations into Arabic were translations of operatic works (Salama-Carr, 2006). These characteristics have found their way into translations of European plays and the authoring of Arabic ones (ibid.).

On the whole, theatre makers, especially translators and producers, have to meet the needs of different audiences, and they are fully aware of this. However, Hanna (2016b) notes that after 1912, some drama translators started to operate independently of audience needs and decided to work on their terms. This new generation of literary and drama translators, who often worked as government officials, lawyers, teachers, university lecturers, and physicians among other jobs, introduced the practice of indicating their job titles or highlighting their cultural status and qualifications on the front covers of their translations. They began to practice translation independently of the commerciality of the mainstream cultural market, and were financially independent, so they could set new standards and criteria of translation quality, and experiment with using new selection mechanisms and translations strategies (Hanna, 2011). Examples of translators that belong to this new generation are Ibrāhīm Ramzī, Khalīl Muṭrān, Muhammad 'Iffat and

Muhammad Ḥamdī (ibid.). However, published drama translation considers the audience differently to stage drama translation (Hanna, 2016b). Hanna argues that early drama translators tended to publish their translations after the plays had been staged, so that they could reach another kind of audience, and, thus, a separation between published drama translations and staged ones began. Often, choices were shaped according to economic pressures imposed by theatre goers (ibid.). Also, some translations designed to be staged were never published in a book form (Hanna, 2011). A footnote written by Farah Antūn that was included in his translation of Alexander Dumas' *La Tour de Nesle* (that he entitled *Al-Burj Al-Hā'il* - The Massive Tower) explains:

These verses were composed for this riwāya (play)... by the respected, modern inventive poet Eliās Effandī Fayyād... As for the previous verses, these were composed by the poet of the court, the respected Ahmad Bek Shawqī... The arabizer (*mu`arrib*) would like to seize this opportunity not to extend his apologies for the lack of versification and melodies in this riwāya (play), since he believes that poetry and singing have nothing to do with this kind of play; suffice it to say that the original has none of these. I mentioned these verses and their likes in this version out of consideration for the taste of the audience, though I find that this [practice] goes against customs and established norms (Antūn, 1899, p. 94-96, translated and cited in Hanna, 2016b, p.92).

When it comes to translation approaches, Arab translators usually opt for various choices and they justify their choices by declaring the purpose they want to achieve through their translations; i.e. entertainment, education, or disseminating moral values (Salama-Carr, 2006). Back in 1956, Muhammad Najm distinguished three methods of rendering a text into Arabic according to the level of manipulation the translation undergoes: *tarjama*, *ta'rīb* and *ṭamṣīr*. He defines *tarjama* as the equivalent term for 'translation', which is rendering a ST equivalently without domesticating it. *Ta'rīb* (or Arabisation) refers to changes made to the environment or setting of a play to a local one, whether contemporary or historical, and changes made to the characters' names, behaviours, needs and manners in order to suit the new environment. Translators working to this method often rely on classical means of expression and traditional themes found in Arabic literature (Salama-Carr, 2006). *Ṭamṣīr* (or Egyptianisation), is a type of *ta'rīb*, whereby the play is adapted to suit local Egyptian conditions, conventions and morals, and so dialogue is written in the Egyptian colloquial variety. Najm provides examples of each method. For the first category, he refers to the translation of Moliere's *Le Médecin volant* by Najeeb Hadad entitled *Al-Ṭabīb Al-Maghṣūb* in 1904 (ibid.). For *ta'rīb*, he cites the translation of Victor Hugo's *Hernānī*, a French tragedy, into the Arabic *Ḥamdān* by

Najīb Ḥadād. Here, the translator changes the Spanish Christian environment of the ST into an Arabic-Muslim-Andalusian one, and he changes Spanish names and conventions into Arabic ones, and even changes the tragic ending of the hero (who commits suicide in the original) into a happy ending celebrating the marriage of the hero and the princess, in order to please Arabic audiences. He also omits many scenes and adds a scene in the final act in order to change the ending (Najm, 1967). For the third category, Najm refers to what Muhammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl did to Moliere’s *Tartuffe* and to other French plays as an example; this technique will be discussed later in more detail (see section 4.2.4.). The categories discussed above are not completely distinct and do not have clear-cut boundaries, rather, they overlap with each other. Even the examples provided reveal the overlapping of at least two categories. In this respect, Mandūr (1971) also believes that the Arab theatre depended mostly on the Egyptianization, Arabization and adaptation of foreign drama, specifically European, which were written as acting scripts and were hardly ever published as books to be read that is why we cannot find any of these. He adds that the close to ST literary translation approach did not appear until the beginning of the twentieth century in the hands of Khalīl Muṭrān and Ibrāhīm Ramzī and Taha Hussein among others.

Falaṣṭīn (1970) discusses several approaches that are followed by Arab translators. He notes how some translators see translation as a way of adapting the meaning of the ST regardless of its original form. Thus, they rewrite meaning in their own ways, as if they are re-authoring the work, and the final result contains additions, omissions, and shifts etc. Muhammad Al-Sibā’ī is this kind of translator; he is both a translator and a distinctive writer at the same time, and this helps him through the authoring process (ibid.). Falaṣṭīn notes that another group of translators often do not understand the original language enough, so they seek the services of a second translator who renders the text, literally, into Arabic for them, then they work creatively following the rules of Arabic poetics to produce a new piece of literature. Examples of these translators are Muhammad Luṭfī Al-Manfalūṭī who besides adapting this approach, he kept the foreign settings and characters and adds some Eastren aspects as a way of Arabisation (ibid.; Mandūr, 1971). A third approach consists of three stages: firstly, a quick literal translation is undertaken to translate the ST; secondly, the translator refines the translated text according to Arabic poetics; and finally, the text is rewritten in rhetorical Classical Arabic. Translators such as Ahmad Ḥasan Al-Zayyāt use this approach (Falaṣṭīn, 1970).

Some translators translate the ST literally, paying a careful attention to the clarity of both form and content (or meaning) as well as the elegance of style. Among these

are Ya'qūb and Fu'ād Ṣarrūf, 'Ādil Zu'aytar, Ali Adham, 'Abbās Ḥafīz and Rashīd Al-Barāwī. Najm (1967) notes that some translators are focused on the artistic rendering of the ST as they translate it as close to the ST as possible, but that some of these translations are unsuccessful when staged. Technical and legal translators often use this approach more than other translators, because of the nature of the texts they translate. Proponents of this style are Abdul-'Azīz Fahmī, Abdul-Ḥamīd Badawī and Sāba Ḥebshī (Falastīn, 1970). Translators working in the field of popular media often choose to undertake a rapid and understandable translation, though this is not necessarily always accurate, mainly due to the limited time they have to finish it (ibid.). Finally, according to Najm (1967), some translators combine a literal translation (or *tarjama*) with the domestication of the text (*ta'rīb* and/or *ṭamṣīr*), and this style proved to be remarkably successful in Ibrahīm Ramzi's translation of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*. In early translations of literature and drama, one notices that the dominant poetics is to produce simplified, concise Arabised or Egyptianised versions of the original; this practice is clearly stated on the cover of the Arabic translation as "*tarjama bi taṣarruf*" (free translation) (Hanna, 2011). However, shortly after this there was a new tendency towards rendering 'close to the original' translations (ibid.).

It is worth mentioning that the majority of first translations were in Standard or Classical Arabic which is regarded as a bold step specially that the language of most translators was weak like Salīm Buṣṭrus and Salīm Ṣa'ab (Zaytūnī, 1994). This weakness is the result of illiteracy, lack of Standard Arabic usage, and the spread of foreign schools and instructors (ibid.). Therefore, we can see Muhammad Ali hiring Azharite Sheiks, who were experts in the Arabic language, to work with the translators in order to guarantee the quality of language and expression, while Azharite translators worked independently of those Sheiks because their Arabic was excellent (ibid.). As a result, some of the first drama translators used colloquial speech which took into account majority audience tastes, rather than the prevailing poetics of translating a literary text. In addition to that, it was understood by all classes in cities and the countryside and by both the educated and the illiterate. Examples of the first translators who applied this style in their translations are Muhammad 'Utāman Jalāl and Ya'qūb Ṣanū'. Though, they still followed the prevailing poetics of using rhymed titles and writing in or inserting poetry. However, translating drama started in the hands of Ṣanū' and Jalāl with the colloquial variety, this translational norm seem to be disappeared in the later drama translations which favoured the standard or classical Arabic instead specially after the increase of the number of educated people and the revival of Standard Arabic.

In addition, Hanna (2016b) states that ‘a hybrid language’ was used by early drama translators in Egypt that comprised the juxtaposition of conventional Neo-classical Arabic with modern Egyptian plain prose (p.81). This means that the language used was partly classical and partly colloquial, and this was a common poetics during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But this form of poetics was torn into two trends: the revival of Classical Arabic and its literature, and the accommodation of new foreign writings introduced through translation, in an attempt to please all categories of Egyptian audience (ibid.). This hybrid language was used even by the first Lebanese Christian translators whose Arabic was different from that used in Islamic religious discourse (ibid.). This language did not contain Neo-classical constraints, although the Lebanese translators had to find a way of compromising the language so it encapsulated both their own norms and the literary norms of Egypt (ibid.).

Arabs translated from Greek, Italian, French, English and other languages. Examples of this kind of literary translation include Homer’s epic poems *Iliad* and *Odyssey* from Greek by translators such as Drīni Khashaba, who used prose instead of poetry restructuring them to meet the tastes of Arab audiences, and Amīn Salāma, whose translation was described as accurate. From Italian, ‘Abūd Rāshid translated Dante Alighieri’s *Divina Commedia* (Al-‘bd, 1997). In addition, Muhammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl’s *Al-‘Uyūn Al-Yawāqiz fī Al-Amthāl wa Al-Mawā’iz* is the Arabic version of *Fables de La Fontaine*, and Marūn Al-Naqqāsh’s *Al-Bakhīl* is Moliere’s *L’Avare*, both translated from French. Translating from English, Muhammad Al-Sibā’ī was the first Arab who translated English literature. He translated Charles Dickens’ *A Tale of Two Cities* in 1912 and Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* in 1909 among other works (ibid.). Al-Sibā’y is known for his accuracy, originality and beautiful eloquent Arabic style. Later, Shakespeare’s works were translated by many Arab translators, including prolific writers such as: Najīb Ḥadād, Sāmī Qardīnī, Khalīl Muṭrān, Muhammad ‘Awad, Maḥmūd Al-‘Aqād, Ahmad Ba-Kathīr and Ḥafiz Ibrāhīm (ibid.).

4.2.3 Examples of Two Different Approaches of Early Literary Translation: Rifā’a Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and Buṭrus Al-Bustānī

In this section, I will give examples of two Arab translators who translated literary texts into Arabic during the same period of time, but who used different approaches and techniques. The purpose of doing this is to fully communicate how literary translation was produced by early translators, and how their approaches differed according to their different backgrounds and the various audiences or consumers they aimed to please. Rifā’a Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801-1873) was a traditional Egyptian

translator, teacher and writer, who received a conservative Islamic education at Al-Azhar, a prestigious religious university in Cairo⁷. Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī undertook the translation of many books from different fields, such as history, sociology and anthropology, including one literary work in 1851 which he entitled *Mawāqi' Al-Aflāk fī Waqā'' Telīmāk* (Orbital Locations Regarding the Stories of Telemaque) which is a translation of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. He translated this book because, he states, it had great educational value in European schools and he wanted Egyptian schools to benefit from this knowledge (Al-'Bd, 1997). It is a French novel about Greek myths, and the translation is regarded as the first Arabic translation on the topic. However, the book was not published until sixteen years after its translation, i.e. in 1867 in Beirut (Sumīkh, 1982). In 1849, Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī oversaw the translation of the French opera *La belle Hélène* by Jacques Offenbach (Salama-Carr, 2006). He expressed his opinions about theatre and described the French theatre he saw in Paris in his book *Takhlīṣ Al-'Ibrīz fī Talkhīs Bārīz* (The Purification of Gold in the Summation of Paris), published in 1834. In his opinion theatre had a potential value because:

In reality these plays ... are serious matters in a humorous form: one is usually taught good lessons because one sees both good and evil deeds enacted; the former is praised while the latter is condemned so that the French say they reform morals and refine men's characters. [Plays] contain things to laugh at and to bring tears to the eyes. On the curtain, which is lowered at the end of the play..., 43 a Latin statement reads: "Customs may be improved by plays [*Castigat ridendo mores*]" (Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 1834/2001, p.133, translated in Sadgrove 1996, p.35, cited in Hanna, 2016b, p.87).

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī argues that the French theatre might have been valuable if not for the "diabolical illusions" it contained (cited in Salama-Carr, 2006, p.316). In fact, Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was credited for producing pioneering and systematic translations for the first time, conditioning, through his efforts, the translational practices of the second half of the nineteenth century, and disentangling theatre from the popular entertainment field, bringing it closer to the field of high literature (or *Adab*) (Hanna, 2016b). The title of his translation *Mawāqi' Al-Aflāk fī Waqā'' Telīmāk* is rhymed, and this reveals Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's interest in the classical prose style practiced in the middle-ages, and, especially, rhymed prose, i.e., '*saja*' (Sumkh, 1982). The first part of *Mawāqi' Al-Aflāk* (Orbital Locations) focuses on a phonic and decorative

⁷ Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was chosen as an official supervisor (or Imam) of the first educational mission sent to France from 1826 to 1831 by Muḥammad Ali.

style (ibid.). He chooses a form that suits the Arabic culture and uses a classical prose style with rhymed prose *saja`*, parallel structures *muqabala*, synonymy, and a classical Arabic rhythm that cannot be found in the ST (ibid.). In terms of content, it is a close-to-original translation (ibid.). Furthermore, he uses rhymed language that does not really differ from the language of narration, and he does not make his dialogue realistic (ibid.). Therefore, there are no differences between the speech styles of the characters, nor any signs of hesitation or stammer present in the dialogue (ibid.). However, Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translational style had little influence on prose writers (ibid.). It could be argued that Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī is a traditionalist, and his translations attracted the audiences who shared the same background (traditionalists).

Butrus Al-Bustānī (1819-1883), was a Christian Lebanese writer, historian, scholar and translator. He left school to join the American Protestant Missionaries to teach and to help with the translation of the Bible into Arabic, and he learned Hebrew and Greek in order to do this. After this, he worked at the Protestant Mission in Beirut and founded *Al-Madrasa Al-Waṭaniyya* (the National School) in 1863 on secular principles, where leading figures of *Nahḍa* in Beirut worked and studied (ibid.). He authored two key Arabic works: *Da'erat Al-Ma'ref Al-'Arabiyya*, which was the first Arabic encyclopaedia of modern times, and *Al-Qāmūs Muḥīṭ Al- Muḥīṭ* (Muhit Al-Muhit Dictionary) (ibid.). Also, he compiled and published several textbooks and dictionaries, and he wrote for magazines and newspapers, (ibid.). Al-Bustānī also translated Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* into Arabic in two parts: the first part was published in 1861 and the second one later on (ibid.). In the introduction, he explains that his translation is for all readers.

Al-Bustani uses an almost different style and register to Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī. Although the title of his translation, *Al-Tuḥfa Al-Bustāniyya fī Al-Asfār Al-Krūziyya* (The Bustanian Masterpiece of the Crusoian Journeys) is rhymed, the first part of the title incorporates the translator's own name; *Al-Bustāniyya* is taken from his surname (ibid.). Furthermore, Al-Bustānī makes a plain prose translation of the title shown in the inner cover of the book *Kitāb Riḥlāt Robinsūn Crūzū* (The Book of Robinson Crusoe's Journey). The style of the text does not use of rhymed prose *saja`*, except in the title, or parallel structures *muqabala* (ibid.). His translation benefits from the use of synonymy which is used for clarity and accuracy purposes, rather to create eloquence (ibid.). Unlike Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, Al-Bustānī believed that characters' speech should define them, and, therefore, he uses colloquial and semi-colloquial words and expressions within the translated text which is written mainly in Modern Standard Arabic (ibid.). For example, he changes the name 'Friday' to *Jum'a* (Friday in

Arabic) and Jom'a speaks in broken Lebanese. He translates the line "Yes, my Nation eat Mens [sic] o, eat all up" (Defoe, p.167) into "نأمة جماعتي يأكلوا الناسات" (Al-Bustānī, p.222) which contains many mispronunciations and wrong plurals (cited in *ibid.*, p. 54).

Al-Bustānī's translation strategies and language use were new for Arabs, and distinct from the prevailing poetics used in the literature of his time (*ibid.*). He represents the Levantine translators who had to compromise the language to encapsulate both the norms of their own and of the Egyptians. The significance of Al-Bustānī's experiment is that it gradually becomes the preferred and prevailing approach of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially among the new generation of writers and translators such as Tawfiq Al-Hakim, Yaḥyā Ḥaqqī and Naguib Mahfouz (*ibid.*).

4.2.4 Early Drama Translation: Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl (1828/1829 – 1889)

Muhammad 'Uthmān Jalāl was born in 1828 or 1829 in Banī Sūwayf, Egypt. He was a prolific translator who studied and was trained by Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and others at *Madrasat Al-Alsūn*. He was the first Arab translator who directed the translational efforts of his time towards literature when most translations were scientific, military and educational. Although he translated many French literary and dramatic masterpieces into Arabic, he was not the first to do so since both Ya`qūb Ṣanū' and Mārūn Al-Naqqāsh did the same many years before him. Unlike them, Jalāl was not involved in the production, promotion or acting of his translations. He introduced prestigious French drama to the nineteenth-century Egypt using the Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) as a legitimate register for prestigious literature or *Adab* and as a way of transculturation and target orientation (Bardenstein, 2005). In *Madrasat Al-Alsūn*, he learned Arabic and French literatures, grammar, meter, rhetoric, geography, history, medicine, geometry and many others by the best Azharite scholars and native French instructors (*ibid.*). He even memorized some Arabic poetry collections such as Ibn Sahl and Ibn Al-Fāriḍ and a part of the Quran as a child which could be the reason for his excellent Arabic literary language. Besides Arabic, he mastered both French and Turkish (*ibid.*).

His unique education has prepared him to work in many prestigious positions and institutions. He worked as an official translator in *Qalam Al-Tarjama* (The Bureau of Translation) where he was hired by the state, as an official teacher of French, as a personal interpreter for the French director of the Quarantine Bureau, and as a translator in many governmental bureaus with advancements in his salary (*ibid.*). In his spare time, he read and translated French literary works by La Bruyere, La Fountain and Rousseau among others (*ibid.*). He translated six of Moliere's comedies

and three of Racine's tragedies, and authored a number of books such as *Riwāyat Al-Khaddāmīn wa al-Mukhaddimīn* (Servants and their Agents), an Arabic novel published in 1904 (Bardenstein, 2005). In addition, as an official state translator, Jalāl translated many books in various other fields. For example, *Naṣā'ih 'Umūmiyya fī Fun Al-'Askariyya* (General Advice in Military Arts) and *Al-Sīyāḥa Al-Khidīwiyya fī Al-Aqālīm Al-Baḥriyya* (The Khedivial Tourism in the Military Provinces) (Arab Encyclopaedia, no date).

As for his literary translation register, Jalāl used both Classical literary Arabic and Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA) in rendering French literature and drama for the Arab audience. On the one hand, he chose the former as the register of his first two translations: *Paul et Virginie (Qabūl wa-Wardajanna)*, published in 1872 in one edition only, and the *Fables (Al-'Uyūn Al-Yawāqiz fī Al-Amthāl wa Al-Mawā'iz)*, published in 1858 on his own expenses. These two translations were meant to be used in school education which show that Jalāl contributed in the intellectual renaissance of the *Nahḍa* through providing Western literature to improve education and through the use of Standard Arabic in the time of its revival in writings and teaching in order to promote its status. Besides being devoted for educational contexts, these two works are novels that, according to Jalāl, needs to be translated into Classical literary Arabic following the existing conventions of *Adab* (ibid.). Jalāl applied his target-oriented translation approach in his translation of both texts by arabizing and/or egyptianizing the foreign elements in the original works using different translation strategies (ibid.).

In his translation of the *Fables*, Jalāl used *zajal* (or rhymed metred poetry) in a simple literary Arabic, with the exception of ten fables which were entirely composed in ECA, with many colloquial words inserted within the Classical Arabic text (ibid.). The text was not translated as closer to the ST as possible; rather, he rendered it in his own way adding to it some components of tradition heritage to familiarize the text to his nineteenth-century audience (Balāṣ, 1985). This translation was chosen to be taught in Egyptian schools in 1894 and appeared in many editions even after Jalāl's death which shows that it was popular and successful (ibid.). However, Jalāl transcultured one half of his fables using six different techniques: deletion, Arabization, Islamicization, Egyptianization, colloquialization and story-telling mode (Bardenstein, 2005). He deleted source-culture references that does not have an equivalent in the target culture and that would sound alien, confusing or offensive for his audience (ibid.). For example, he omitted "acting like a Norman" as referring to being diplomatic and not too frank, references to differences between French and Spanish mentalities (ibid., p.60). He used Arabization to render foreign

cultural references and, often, to add an Arabic touch even if there is no parallel in the ST (ibid.). For instance, he arabised geographical locations as he extensively used Kufa, Basra, The Tigger River, Al-Sham, Al-Sind and Shahbandar the Persian (ibid.). He even inserted Arabic proverbs like “كل عدوٍ عاقلٍ خيرٌ من صديقٍ جاهلٍ” (A wise enemy is better than an ignorant friend) (ibid.). In addition, he add Islamic-specific references to his translation by inserting Quranic verses in part or whole or alluded to them such as “وهكذا في الناس كل من بدأ بالخبث لا يخرج إلا نكداً” (And thus it is with people, whoever begins with malice will always come out with misfortune) which is an allusion to the Quranic verse 58 in Al-A’rāf Chapter: “والبلد الطيب يخرج نباته بإذن ربه والذي خبث لا يخرج إلا نكداً” (ibid., p.67). While Jalāl’s Egyptianization is clear in the existence of Egyptian locations such as *Al-Ṣa’īd* (Upper Egypt) and *Al-Ma’ādī* (a district in Cairo), Egyptian food such as “*fūl*” and “*’aysh*” and colloquial words such as “*shāf*” (saw) and “*al-rayyīs*” (the boss or leader) (ibid., p.70-72).

Unlike in the previous translation, Jalāl chose for the translation of *Paul et Virginie* rhymed prose with the insertion of some poetry that does not exist in the ST to be in line with the audience’s taste, who are used to find poetry just like in the *maqāmāt* (ibid.). He placed the play’s actions in a nineteenth-century-Egyptian context through arabizing the names of the characters and places. For example, he changed the names of the characters “Virginie” and “Paul” to “Wardjanna” and “Qabūl” which are phonetically similar to the original names; and changed the places names “Discovery Hill” and France to “*Jabal Kharṭūm*” (Khartoum Hill) and Algeria (ibid.). He inserted cultural-specific sayings in Standard Arabic like “من خان يخان، وكما يدين الفتى يدان” (He who betrays will be betrayed, and he who passes judgment will be himself judged) (ibid., p.93). In addition, he Islamicized the text when he alluded to some Quranic verses and used some Islamic-related elements as when he translated Virginie’s line “Everything on earth perishes; in heaven alone is there no change” into “وكل من عليها فان، ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والإكرام” (All that is on it [earth] will be destroyed, but the face of your God, master of glory and honour, will always remain) which is an allusion to the Quranic verses 26 and 27 in Al-Raḥmān Chapter (ibid., p.95). Moreover, Jalāl deleted very little parts that would be odd or offensive to his audience, and his version lacks any trace of ECA words or expressions (ibid.).

On the other hand, Jalāl used ECA *zajal* to translate French drama both comedies and tragedies which represents a radical change in his translational approach since the 1880s onwards (Bardenstein, 2005). He opted for some Egyptianisation, Arabization and Islamicization techniques such as transferring all that is related to the French culture into Egyptian or Arab ones besides using ECA in order to fit the literary and theatrical context in Egypt (ibid.). This approach has been viewed as

new and bizarre because the prevailing poetics to translate European plays in his time was done by using *saja'* (rhymed prose) in literary Arabic, with the exception of Ya'qūb Ṣanū', and also viewed as Jalāl's major contribution to the literary awakening in Egypt (ibid.). However, Jalāl did not mention anywhere in his translation prefaces or elsewhere any justification for choosing the colloquial rather than the standard or classical (ibid.). Jalāl used these techniques more frequently in Moliere's comedies than in Racine's tragedies. In addition, he semi-familiarized the tragedies through a number of Arabic and Islamic references, the use of the Egyptian dialect, expressions and proverbs but, at the same time, the original ancient Greek context is kept in contrary to what he did with the comedies when he made changes to fit the actions in an Egyptian environment with Egyptian characters (ibid.). Although Jalāl used ECA for both comedies and tragedies, his approach in translating Racine's tragedies is slightly different from that of Moliere's comedies in the way that the characters and settings of the former are kept foreign and ancient but the dialogues are in a nineteenth-century-ECA verse (or *zajal*) with special consideration to the Eastern conventions and the Islamic traditions which looks unsuitable and seriously odd (ibid.; Najm, 1967). Balāṣ (1985) thinks that Jalāl did not choose an Egyptian context to the plays' events and characters because he could not find parallel ones as he did in the comedies. One other contribution of Jalāl is that he was among the first who broke the verse unity in theatrical dialogue (Bardenstein, 2005). Thus, he introduced new changes to what was conventional in the nineteenth-century literary tradition which is using *zajal* in the dialogues of characters in the colloquial in the theatrical context which later became part of the Egyptian literary tradition (ibid.). However, Jalāl, as Bardenstein (2005) argues, does not seem to have any hidden agenda to go against the prevailing poetics of his time. Rather, he continues, he just wanted to highlight the sentimental as opposed to the "elevated" component in Racine's plays which he made explicit in his preface of the book:

I have followed the poetics form of the original, and put its verse [into a form] that the general public would understand. For the colloquial language is the most appropriate for this purpose, and is the best at reaching the hearts of both upper class and common people (cited in Bardenstein, 2005, p.173).

Speaking of Jalāl's translation of Moliere's comedies, he opted for *Zajal* in ECA to correspond to the Alexandrine verse except for *Le Médecin malgré lui* entitled as *Al-Fakh Al-Manṣūb lil Ḥakīm Al-Maghṣūb* (The Trap Set for the Involuntary Doctor) which was translated with unrhymed prose in ECA to correspond with the ST that is composed in French unrhymed prose (ibid.). I will use only one example of his

translations of Moliere's comedies which is *Al-Shaykh Matlūf*, published in 1873, and republished in 1889/1890, in 1912, and in 1964. This is the most successful of Jalāl's translations as Bardenstein (2005) claims, because it has been published and performed several times, it has been selected many times by scholars for study as an example of Jalāl's translation and literary and dramatic contribution, and an excellent example of Egyptianization. The play has been familiarized or Egyptianized through the use of ECA with explicit Egyptian-specific elements and expressions as well as a number of less obvious local cultural and literary references (ibid.). Jalāl stated his motivation in the preface as to "instruct, refine, educate and enlighten [people]... for we are in a period that is blossoming with progress, and a time that is fruitful in becoming civilized" (1873, translated and cited in ibid., p.118). It is worth mentioning that Jalāl added two verse lines in the beginning of the translation written in literary Arabic which content does not have anything to do with the events of the play:

وإذا بان بان وهو مرائي	كم غبي مذذب يتواری
يجدوه ولا إلى هؤلاء	لا إلى هؤلاء إن نسبوہ

(How many chatterbox fools are hiding, and if they appeared they look hypocrite, none to those whom they belong to can be found nor to others) (cited in Najm, 1967, p.274). In addition, Egyptianization is the main technique of the translation as shown in the use of only Egyptian referents and almost no Arabic ones can be found (ibid.). Although the ECA selected is not natural or the everyday used one since no one speaks in rhymed verse, it contains many words, phrases and sayings that are common in nineteenth-century Cairo like "*rī ṭ nishīf*", "*win-nabī*", "*ish-shaqī 'umrū ba ṭ*" (ibid., p.125), "*al-ḥamdulillah 'alā al-salāma*", "*raṭl*" and "*gibbā mishmishī*" (p.128). To translate names, Jalāl used three different strategies. Firstly, he changed some names into Egyptian ones without any linguistic or literary function like "Salmān" for "Cleante" and "Ahmad Nabīh" for "Valère". Secondly, some names are changed into Egyptian one given a literary function, i.e. comic effect, such as "Ghalbūn" for "Orgon" and "Matlūf" for "Tartuffe"; though, not normal Egyptian names while correspond phonetically with the original names to some degree but they tell about the characters: the former means "miserable and poor" and the latter means "corrupted and spoiled". It is worth noting that Tartuffe's characters is transformed from a Christian priest to a Muslim Shaikh and most Christian references are changed into Islamic ones accordingly; thus, Arabization and Islamicization come as secondary techniques and are integrated within the Egyptianizing one (ibid.). Thirdly, some names are rendered into their Arabic equivalences like "Maryam" for "Meriane" without any function (ibid.). On the other

hand, some parts are translated into literary Arabic when containing Quranic or other religious allusions such as or when a character tries to grant authority to the character speaking. As for the taboo contents, Jalāl muted away some, changed some into more explicit sexual references or enhanced them and toned down others. For example, Jalāl translated Bīhāna’s descriptions of aging in a more physical details than in Moliere’s play saying “لَمَّا أَتَاهَا الشَّيْبُ وَدَلَّدَ نَهْدَهَا” (when her hair turned white, and her breasts began to sag) (ibid., p.142). Finally, Jalāl considered the nineteenth-century Egyptian audience in many ways: he kept comic scenes and even enhance them while some times toned them down to please his audience’s love of comedy and laughter, changed the treatment between the characters and their parents or children in a way that suits the Eastern tradition, and deleted scenes that are considered inappropriate for an Eastern society like a man flirting with his wife in public or abusing the men of religion even if they were hypocrite (Najm, 1967; Balāṣ, 1985). Najm (1967) thinks that Jalāl has succeeded in creating an identical nineteenth-century Egyptian atmosphere through his unique dialogues even in translating the taboo.

In addition, these techniques are also apparent to a different degree in his translation of three tragedies by Racine. For instance, most names of places and characters were transliterated into Arabic alphabet except in the case of an equivalent name is available in Arabic such as “Hāmān” for “Aman” and “Murdakhāy” for “Mardochee” in *Istīr*, “Afghāniyya” for “Iphigenie” in *Afghāniyya* and “Iskandar” for “Alexander” in *Al-Iskandar Al-Akbar* (ibid.). In addition, there is no trace of any Islamic or cultural-specific elements in the three translations except for some Quranic references and Arabic and Islamic locations in *Istīr* such as “من كل فج” (from all sides) which is an allusion to the Quranic verse number 27 in Al-Haj Chapter (ibid., p.180). Using the ECA *zajal* form shows that he wanted to make his translation accessible to his audience’s hearts rather than presenting elevated ancient characters and speech which more suits the Greek historical environment (ibid.). For example, he included some Egyptian phrases and proverbs such as “عيني بختي راح” (Sparks would fly from his eyes, girl!) in *Istīr* (p.179), “هي ضعيفة لا” (She is weak and cannot move) in *Afghāniyya* (p. 184) and “دار عليه” (His luck has changed him) in *Al-Iskandar Al-Akbar* (p.187) (ibid.). Choosing the ECA as the register of his translation of the three tragedies by Racine was strange in the nineteen century because usually this type of texts is translated with a high register, i.e. Classical literary Arabic. Thus, Jalāl’s approach seems unusual, unacceptable and even offensive to the prevailing aesthetics of literature and drama at that time (ibid.).

In conclusion, Jalāl's translation approach differs according to the type of text and the purpose of translation as have been obviously observed. He attempts to make his language register corresponds with the nature and taste of his audience (Balās, 1985). In fact, Jalāl was one of the first Arabs who struggled to find the most suitable register and approach for translating drama before the translation norms were set by later translators in the twentieth century. Last but not least, although Jalāl was not the first Arab to use the colloquial in his translation of Western literature and drama, he is for sure the most keen to use it (Bardenstein, 2005).

4.3 A Brief Background of the Lebanese Theatrical Field

As mentioned earlier, the Arabic theatrical field started in Lebanon by Al-Naqqāsh in 1847 when he translated Moliere's *L'Avare* (The Miser). But with the immigration of Lebanese intellectuals including playwrights and actors to Egypt, and elsewhere, they helped in the establishment and development of the Egyptian theatre. Examples include Salīm Al-Naqqāsh, Yusuf Al-Khayyāt, Sulimān Al-Qirdāhī, Iskander Faraḥ, Geoege Abyaḍ and Faraḥ Anṭūn among others. Thus, the establishment of the Lebanese theatre was closely attached to the Egyptian theatre. While theatre was flourishing in Egypt, it stopped in Lebanon after Al-Naqqāsh and was only produced by amateurs in schools and social occasions to convey moral lessons and to preach.

According to Abdul-Laṭṭīf Sharāra (1957, cited in Al-Rā'ī, 1999), the Lebanese theatre was actually a type of literature to be read but not to be performed on stage. He divided the Lebanese theatrical movement in the twentieth century into four stages: (1) first attempts (Al-Naqqāsh); (2) stage translations such as Shalabī Milāt's *Al-Dhakhīra* (Ammunition), Adīb 'Ishāq's *Andrūmāk* (Andromache) and Fāris Kilāb and Līsha' Karam's *Zāyīr* (Roar) all from Frech; (3) revival of the Arabic national history on stage like Najīb Ḥaddād's *Ḥamadān* (Hamadan) which is a verse play about Abdul-Raḥmān Al-Dākhil and Ahmad 'Abās Al-Azharī's *Al-Sibāq bayn 'Isā wa Dhubyān* (The Race between Jesus and Thubian); (4) staging social realities, examples include Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān's *Erama Thatul-'imād* (Iram of the Pillars) and Mīkhā'il Na'īma's *Al-'Ābā' wa Al-Banūn* (Fathers and Sons) (ibid., p.207). For instance, Na'īma's play was written in 1917 about the conflict between the older and younger generations that existed in the Lebanese society of that time. Na'īma used two Arabic varieties, following the common practice of his time, according to Al-Rā'ī (ibid., p.210), MSA for educated characters while the colloquial for the uneducated. Even in the second edition of the play published in 1953, Na'īma mentions that he tried to change the colloquial with the standard but he could not because it did not make sense for him (ibid.). Similarly did Farīd Mudawar in his

play *Fawq Al-`Intiqām* (Above Revenge) in 1931 portraying ordinary people. In its performance, the colloquial was used and the actors and actresses had the right to choose the suitable dialect so that it sounds natural (ibid.).

Then, the Lebanese theatre flourished between 1960 and 1975 before the Civil War (1975-1990) took place which is regarded as the golden era of the Lebanese theatre. In Damascus Festivals, Lebanon was regarded as the leading theatre in the Arab World by critics' consensus (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.75). The critic Khālida Sa'īd in her book *The Theatrical Movement in Lebanon: 1960-1975* mentions that theatre at that time benefited from the political and intellectual conditions in Lebanon due to the availability of the right of free speech, rejection and belonging (cited in Wāzin, 1999). In addition, Lebanon was exposed to different theatrical approaches of world drama (ibid.). In addition, playwrights wrote 'performable' texts rather than reading versions which Abdul-Laṭṭīf Sharāra regarded as a significant condition for the theatre to develop (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). Among the pioneers are Munīr Abu-Dibs, Anṭwān Muṭṭaqā and Rūjayh 'Assāf among others. In addition, many troupes were formed such as (ibid., p. 215):

1. *Firqat Muḥtarif Bayrūt* (Beirut's Professional Troupe) established in 1968 by Rūjayh 'Assāf and Niḍāl Al-Ashqar. This troupe concentrated mostly on the political theatre and among its works are: *Al-Mufattish* (The Inspector) (1968), *'Adad Khāṣ* (A Special Edition) (1968), *Majdalūn* (Magdalon) (1969), and *'Drāb Al-Luṣūṣ* (Thieves' Strike) (1971).
2. *Firqat Al-Masrah Al-`Ikhtibārī* (The Experimental Theatre Troupe) established by Anṭwān and Laṭīfa Muṭṭaqā presenting translated works of various genres among their works are: *Zinjīyān Ṣaghīrān* (Two Little Negroes), *Waṣīyyat Kalb* (A Dog's Well) and *Anā Nākhīb* (I am a Voter).
3. *Firqat Al-Masrah Al-Mu'āṣir* (Contemporary Theatre Troupe) established in 1960 by Munīr Abu-Dibs who is considered as the father of the Lebanese theatre. Most, if not all, the works of the troupe are of foreign origin, for instance, Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, Sartre's *The Flies* and Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*. In 1970, the troupe's names changed to *Madrasat Bayrūt lil Masrah Al-Mu'āṣir* (The School of Beirut for Contemporary Theatre) and Abu-Dibs started to write verse plays inspired by undramatic works, among his works are *Al-Ṭūfān* (The Flood), *Jibrān Al-Shāhid* (Gibran the Witness) and *Yasū'* (Jesus).
4. *Al-Masrah Al-Waṭanī* or *Masrah Shūshū* (The National Theatre or Shosho Theatre) established by the theatre specialist Nizār Mīqātī and the actor Hassan 'Alā' Al-Dīn in 1965. This troupe depended on this actor alone who

was very talented. However, the productions varied artistically from good to low as Al-Rā'ī and Salāma claim (ibid., p.217; Ḥimyā, 2016).

There were two trends within the field that targeted different audience and sought different capitals. Before addressing them, it is worth noting that the Lebanese theatre received limited support from the state such as through Baalbeck festivals before the Civil War, and most of the Lebanese theatre makers were and still operating privately. The state exercised censorship through the Lebanese Ministry of Media especially on political content, but later, this system became more flexible and limited⁸. On the one hand, some writers wrote about topics isolated from their current conditions and reality such as artistic, rational and philosophical topics that targeted the educated audience (ibid., Al-Rāsī, 2010). One example is Munīr Abu-Dibs's *Dā'ira min Nār* (A Circle of Fire) (Al-Rā'ī, 1999, p. 220). Abu-Dibs's audience had to book for the whole season so that he guaranteed that he has an audience to watch his works that season (ibid.). On the other hand, other theatre makers seized contemporary political issues in the Arab World including Lebanon to mock and laugh at them which attracted a wide audience and guaranteed fair financial profits or economic capital. This second orientation increased even further after the defeat of 1967, when the low morale in Egypt reached Lebanon, transforming theatrical works into products ready to be sold in the production market (Al-Rāsī, 2010). For example, in *Ukht Al-Rijāl* (The Men's Sister) is about an immigrated Lebanese family which returned to Lebanon and is experiencing different issues like terrorism, bribe etc. (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). Some Lebanese theatre makers discussed political and economic issues in an attempt to change the sad reality such as in *Ḍrāb Al-Harāmiyya* (Thieves' Strike) which calls for changing the reality with the inclusion of both politics and economy attractively and accurately (ibid.). This play targeted a wide audience and included songs, jesting and comedy that the audience like (ibid.).

In addition, the musical theatre also flourished during the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s by Al-Raḥābina, Romeo Laḥūd and others. Al-Raḥābina mostly produced operatics that revolve around the village and villagers who fight against the evil acts of those in power and wealth. This troupe made use of the extraordinary voice and the Lebanese's love for the superstar singer Fayrūz in their performances. Among their works are *Bayyā' Al-Khawātīm* (Rings Seller) (1964), *Dawālīb Al-Hawā* (The Wheels of Air) (1965), *Hāla wa Al-Malik* (Hala and the King) (1967) (ibid.). While Laḥūd, as he distinguishes his works from Al-Raḥābina in an interview in Sky News

⁸ More about the censorship system of Lebanese theatre, see (Al-Rā'ī, 1999, p.180-181).

in 2014⁹, introduced the musical play in the American way which he defines as a play that includes singing and dancing but, at the same time, has a completely structured story and dialogues that can stand alone without the musical elements. He also had superstar singers most importantly of whom are Sabāḥ (1963-1973), then Salwā Al-Qaṭrīb (1974-1998) (Al-Zībāwī, 2017), and now Elīn Laḥūd among others. It is worth noting that both Al-Raḥābina and Laḥūd were drifted to produce works that included political content either explicitly through the plot of their plays or implicitly through symbolism and songs. For instance, Al-Raḥābina presented the struggle between the revolutionary patriotic and the occupying foreigner in many works like *Ayyām Fakhr Al-Dīn* (The Days of Fakhr Al-Din) and *Jibāl Al-Ṣawwān* (Mountains of Granite) among others. Laḥūd included some political references as in *Hilwi Ktīr* (Very Beautiful) (1975), *Ṭarīq Al-Shams* (Path of the Sun) (2014) and *Karakatīr* (Caricature) (2016) among others. The inclusion of the political conditions of Lebanon or other Arab countries in the Lebanese plays during the 1970s had mistakenly been classified as political theatre. Because the so-called political theatre in Lebanon, according to Muṭṭaqā, as “تنفيسي” or “stress relieving” (cited in Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.74) and that it

looks superficially at reality in a way that it contributes in misguiding the viewer rather than enlightening him [or her]. [Because] most plays presented here [i.e. in Lebanon] address issues directly which goes against the required goal leading to a very negative consequence. Not all [plays] that criticise the state superficially are [classified as] political theatre; rather, it is, literally, a bourgeois, entertaining theatre (ibid., p.75, my translation).

As for the register opted for by Lebanese playwrights, Usāma Al-‘Ārif, a Lebanese playwright, states that the Lebanese colloquial was used in the first attempts in Al-Naqqāsh’s works, but, later, dramatists turned to MSA until 1964 when they returned to the colloquial (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.44). However, this is not clear-cut because we can see some Lebanese theatre makers using MSA in social plays that usually use the colloquial such as in Anṭwan Muṭṭaqā’s *Qiṭṭa ‘lā Ṣafīḥ min Nnār* which is a translation of Tennessee Williams’ *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (ibid., p.76). While Jalāl Khorī, on the other hand, chose the Lebanese colloquial as the register of his translation of John Millington Synge’s *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1972 as *Al-Qabaḍāi* putting it into a Lebanese countryside (ibid., p.60). It is worth mentioning that the Lebanese theatre has been depending on translation and

⁹ Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YBUGTISva6U> [Accessed 09 March 2018].

adaptation since its beginnings similar to the Egyptian theatre for many reasons and most important of which are, as Laḥūd thinks, the lack of good playwrights and the state's neglect of the theatrical movement (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.86).

Since the beginning of the Civil War and the destruction it caused in all aspects of life, the Lebanese theatre declined which led to the immigration of many theatre makers such as Munīr Abū Dibs who lived in France for 15 years (Hammya, 2016). While others decided to stay in Lebanon and continue producing theatrical performances which include Al-Raḥābina, Romeo Laḥūd, Nabīh Abū Ḥasan among others. However, it has started to operate more efficiently after the end of the war in 1990 despite the lack of state support and the limited number of theatres. In an article written by Christīl Līsha' in 2016, different opinions of Lebanese theatre makers and specialists are given. Niḍāl Ashqar mentions that theatre makers depend on the financial support they get from the cultural centres in Lebanon which is not even enough to cover all the production expenses (cited in *ibid.*). Rif'at Ṭarbiyya thinks that what the contemporary Lebanese theatre lacks is "a state, a free climate, a middle class to hold the theatre on its shoulders, a good economic condition and free press and media" (cited in *ibid.*, my translation). Bitī Tūtil points out that the Lebanese audience does not have a good taste like it used to have before and that it is crucial to differentiate between the good popular theatre and the commercial theatre that is full of sexual references (*ibid.*). Yaḥyā Jābir sees that today's Lebanese theatre is in a good condition as it discusses significant humanitarian and social issues and keeps up the new issues that the country is experiencing (*ibid.*). Examples of theatre makers and troupes include the sons of Al-Raḥābina, Niḍāl Al-Ashqar, Rabiḥ Mroue, Zayna Dakāsh, Romeo Laḥūd, Rabī' Marwa and Zuqāq Troupe among others. For instance, Zuqāq Troupe is one of the successful troupes in Lebanon today that produce social and political works inspired by the conditions in Lebanon and the Arab World (Dīb, 2013). It targets all types of audience and uses everyday-language out of the belief that theatre is for all and it should play a role in achieving social goals (*ibid.*). Examples of the troupe's works include *Alīsānā* (Alisana); *Janna, Janna, Janna* (Heaven, Heaven, Heaven); and *Huwa Alladhī Ra`ā* (He is the One Who Saw) etc. (*ibid.*).

As for censorship practices, we can see, for instance, Rabī' Marwa's *Lakam Tamannat Nancy law anna kula ma Ḥadath lam yakun siwā Kidhbat Nisān* (How much Nancy wished that all that has happened was nothing but an April Fool's Day) being censored in 2007 as he included the actual names of politicians referring to them as criminals (A.F.B., 2014). However, later, the Minister of Culture at that time gave his permission to perform the play which, seems, due to the symbolic capital

of Marwa who is well-known internationally (ibid.). Prior to that, particularly in 1998, Marwa also produced a work that was received with strong disapproval by the public because it is about the war that ended recently and was caused by sectarianism (ibid.). In this regard, Ḥanān Al-Ḥāj-Ali, a theatre actress, thinks that theatre is the correct place to discuss the issues that are regarded as taboos especially that of sectarianism which is related to the taboos of politics and religion (‘Aṭawi, 2013).

4.4 Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter gives the historical background of the beginning and the development of the Arabic dramatic field specifically in Egypt and Lebanon. It discusses the impact of different political, social and economic conditions, censorship practices and patrons on theatrical productions in different socio-cultural and political contexts. Other related topics are also pointed out including the reasons behind the late introduction of drama in the Arab culture, the key drama translation series launched and the debates over Arabic varieties among others. Then, detailed examples of two different approaches of early literary translators as well as a case study of a pioneering early drama translator are given in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

BERNARD SHAW IN ARAB CULTURE: EXPLORING THE ROLE OF PATRONGAE AND POETICS

This chapter traces the presence and reception of Bernard Shaw in Arab culture in three areas: academia, Arab theatre and radio as well as Arab cinema and television focusing on the role played by translation in promoting this presence. The chapter presents a mapping out of the cultural productions on Bernad Shaw in the Arab World in two fields; i.e. the field of Shaw in Arab academia and the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation. This is done by collecting all data on Shaw in Arabic and transforming it into descriptive statistics presented in tables and charts to find out which periods of time and which Arab countries are the most interested in and influenced by Shaw and for what reasons. Then, detailed sections of each area discussing this reception and reflecting on the descriptive statistics are included within the chapter. Then, a comprehensive bibliography of all published Arabic works is given in Appendix 1.

This data has been collected by using a mixture of sources: (1) translation lists and some databases in order to cover the biggest number possible of the available Arabic works on and translations of Shaw; and (2) secondary sources and desktop research which include some newspaper articles, publishers' websites, other websites providing background information of Shaw's translators, paratexts of the available Arabic translations in hand, works of other researchers such as Hanna (2011), among others. For the academia section, I used Mandhuma Dissertations Database, Derasatek Dissertations Encyclopaedia, The Saudi Digital Library (SDL), Saudi Cultural Bureaus in the English-speaking countries, AskZad: the Arabic Information Bank, Al-Mannhal, e-Marefa, Al-Kashshāf Dissertations Database, Iraqi: Academic Scientific Journals, Open Access Theses and Dissertations (OATD), Ethos: the British Library, Archive of Arab Literary and Cultural Journals among others. The sources of the published Arabic translations of Shaw's drama include the Arabic Union Catalogue (ARUC), The National Library of Kuwait (NLK), Egyptian Universities Libraries Consortium, UNESCO Index Translationum, Achieve Index of Al-Ḥadīth Journal volume (1) from 1927 to 1931, Al-Fahrast (1981), among others. In addition, all radio translations are listed in the Facebook page of *Maktabat*

Ydhā'at Al-Barnāmaj Al-Thaqāfi (the Cultural Programme Broadcast Library¹⁰) and most stage adaptations are available on the datalists of Elcinema¹¹, which lists Arabic and foreign cinema and theatre productions with some details of each. Exceptions include the two translations for the Egyptian stage by Ramzī and Kāmil: the former translated *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1914 as mentioned in critics' works such as Najm (1967) and Ṣaqr (2017) and others; and latter translated *Arms and the Man* in 1927 as he mentions in the introduction of the published version (Kāmil, 1962, p.b). It is worth noting that the subject matter or topics covered by Arab academics in regards to Shaw in different periods of time and various Arab countries are identified by thoroughly examining the titles and skimming the works' contents.

It was a difficult task to collect the data as there is no official database that lists all of the Arabic drama translations published in Arab countries and even the database of the Egyptian National Library and Archives, which is one of the well-organized ones in the Arab World, could not be accessed as it had not been in operation for a while. Not to mention that I had to go to Egypt myself in order to find the old translations published there which are no longer available in print to purchase. The data collected has been compared and classified according to the publishing country and decade so that a chart of descriptive statistics that describes the translation activity of Shaw's drama in the Arab World could be provided and analysed.

The first section explores how far Shaw is present in the works and translations of Arab academics. The second discusses Arabic translations and adaptations of Shaw's drama for publication, stage and radio. The last overviews Arabs' adaptations of Shaw's plays for cinema and television. I will discuss only Egypt in detail, because it produced most works and translations of Shaw while other Arab countries will be briefly mentioned. Thus, this chapter seeks to answer the following research question: What key factors conditioned and shaped the introduction of Shaw and his works into Arabic?

5.1 Shaw in Arab Academia

This section outlines the work undertaken by Arab academics on George Bernard Shaw to construct the field of Shaw in Arab academia. The work reviewed include books, dissertations and journal articles authored by Arab researchers on, non-fiction

¹⁰ Available from: <https://www.facebook.com/190532101047794/posts/418885108212491/> [Accessed 31 October 2017].

¹¹ Available from: <https://www.elcinema.com/person/1979454/filmography> [Accessed 31 October 2017].

works written by Shaw that have been translated into Arabic. Full details of these works can be found in Appendix 1 attached to this thesis. Two sections have been added to critically reflect on the descriptive statistics and content of these publications to highlight trends among Arab academics, and to explore Shaw's reception in the Arab world. Reception to Shaw differs from one Arab country to another and from one decade to another. First, I will reflect in detail on the descriptive statistics and figures presented in order to understand Shaw's reception among Egyptian academics. Egypt is the focus of the whole thesis, because most translations of Shaw's work have been produced in Egypt. Then, I will briefly discuss Shaw's reception in other Arab countries.

Here are two tables that show the distribution of the works of Arab academics on Shaw in terms of publication dates, presented in decades, and countries:

Publication Dates	Books	Journal Articles	Dissertations ¹²	Shaw's Translations
1900-1929	-	3	-	1
1930-1939	-	7	-	2
1940-1949	4	3	-	4
1950-1959	7	8	-	1
1960-1969	5	16	-	4
1970-1979	4	-	3	2
1980-1989	5	12	4	1
1990-1999	6	2	6	-
2000-2017	3	29	22	-
(unknown)	-	2	1	-
Total	34	78	36	15

Figure 5. Distribution of the works of Arab academics on Shaw in terms of publication dates

¹² Master's (16), PhD (7) and unknown (4).

Publication Countries	Books	Journal Articles	Dissertations	Translations of Shaw
Egypt	24	35	12	10
Lebanon	5	6	-	3
Syria	1	11	-	1
Kuwait	-	1	2	-
Iraq	2	15	10	1
Saudi Arabia	-	1	2	-
Jordan	-	-	3	-
Algeria	-	2	1	-
Qatar	-	1	-	-
UAE	-	0	-	-
Yemen	-	1	-	-
Other¹³	USA 1 UK 1	USA 1 Netherlands 1	UK 5, USA 1	-
(unknown)	-	3	-	-
Total	34	78	36	15

Figure 6. Distribution of the works of Arab academics on Shaw in terms of publication countries

¹³ The 'other' category includes: UK, USA and Switzerland. Noting that these are works done by Arab researchers and scholars.

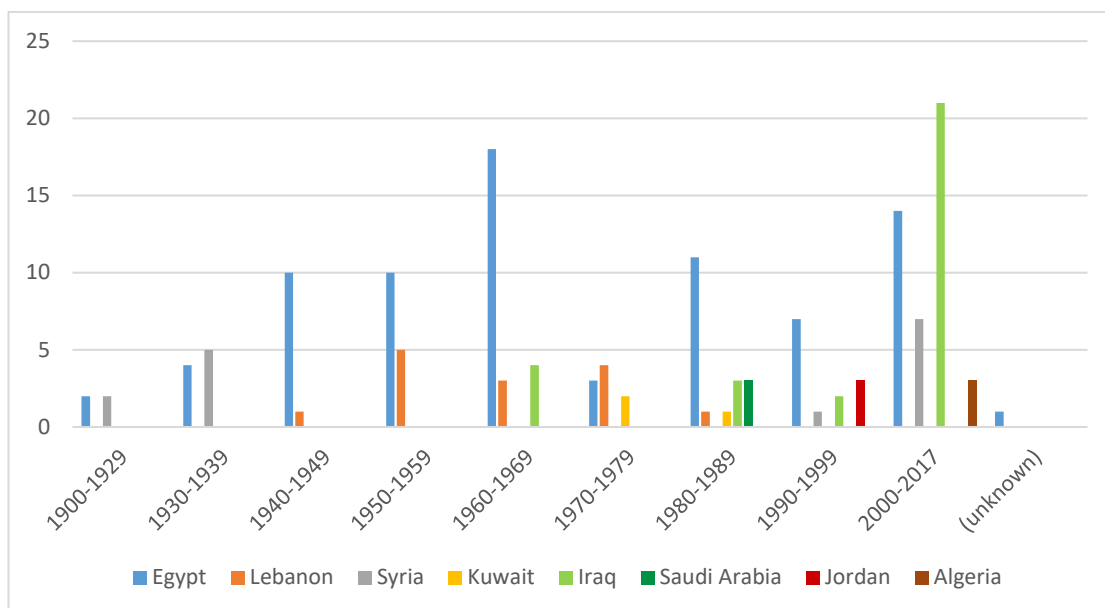


Figure 7. Distribution of academic works on Shaw by Arabs in terms of dates and publication countries

5.1.1 Egypt

Out of all the Arab countries, most published works about Shaw and translations of his non-fiction writings have been produced in Egypt. Egyptian academics have shown an interest in Shaw and his work from as early as 1914, when ‘Abbās Al-‘Aqqād wrote an article on him. The number of publications relating to Shaw reached sixteen by the end of the first half of the twentieth century: two were published between 1900 and 1929, four were published between 1930 and 1939, and ten were published between 1940 and 1949. These publications included four authored and translated books on Shaw, five translated books from Shaw’s non-fiction works, and seven journal articles. One reason for this interest in Shaw might be because, traditionally, a significant number of educated Arab intellectuals have either been educated or have spent time living abroad.

Authors who wrote about Shaw include: (1) Salāmā Mūsā who studied and lived in France and England. Mūsā met Bernard Shaw in person and was influenced by both Shaw and Fabian socialism (‘Āshūr, no date); (2) Naguib Mahfouz was awarded a Bachelor’s degree in philosophy from the Egyptian University (now Cairo University) and the Nobel Prize for literature in 1988 (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019b); and (3) Ḥabīb Jamātī who lived and worked in France and Cairo as a journalist, story writer and translator (Al-Zarkalī, 2002, p.165). The subject matter covered by academics writing about Shaw includes: Shaw’s life and works in general, Shaw’s views on women, war, and the relationships between the East and the West, the origin of mankind, and Shaw’s plays, including *Saint Joan* and *Back to Methuselah*, among others. In addition, academic work about socialism in general

and Shaw's brand of socialism in particular, such as Shaw's articles on Fabian socialism, were translated into Arabic by Muhammad Al-Shafqī in 1930 as *Maqālāt fī Al-ʿIshirākiyya Al-Fābiyya* (Essays on Fabian Socialism). From the 1920's onwards in Egypt, socialist thinking became popular among many Egyptian politicians and intellectuals. In 1921, Salāmā Mūsā established the Egyptian Socialist Party¹⁴ which was renamed as the Egyptian Communist Party¹⁵ in 1923 (Fawzī, 2017). Even though this Party weakened and disintegrated in 1928, many communist organisations and movements were founded from 1939 to 1958 made up of students, intellectuals and employees, such as Ahmad Ḥamrūsh, Sulimān Al-Rifāʿī, and Khālid Muḥyī Al-Dīn (ibid). Egyptian economists were involved in promoting socialism, and some were interested in promoting the economic freedoms that socialists were calling for. These economists included Wahīb Masīḥa and Saʿīd Al-Najjār who were university lecturers. Other intellectuals and academics interested in socialism included Rāshid Al-Badawī and Abdul-Razzāq Ḥasan, who called for state intervention to prevent any corruption by individuals who were exploiting the state at the expense of the public good (Amīn, 2017). Amīn (2017) refers to a book taught in Egyptian schools in the 1930s entitled *Al-Akhlāq li Al-Madāris Al-Thānāwiyya* (Ethics for the High School) which contains some of Jeremy Bentham's ideas. Amīn also refers to published books on the role of the state in the economy.

In the 1950s there were ten academic works published about Shaw, but this figure doubled in the 1960s, when eighteen publications were produced. One reason for this considerable increase was the growing number of English departments opening in public and private universities throughout Egypt; this had been happening since the first quarter of the twentieth century (Hanna, 2011). For example, the first four English departments to open in Egypt were at: the University of Cairo in 1925, the University of Alexandria in 1938, the University of 'Ain Shams in 1950, and the University of Al-Mīnya in 1970. Examples of graduates who translated or wrote on Shaw are Nu'mān 'Āshūr and Abdul-Mun'im Shumays. Since the 1940s, these departments had been sending some of their graduates to study for PhDs in the UK

¹⁴ The most important principles of the Party were the liberation of Egypt from colonialism, the freedom of its peoples, the rights of choice for all nationals, the equitable distribution of wealth to workers according to the law of production and personal efficiency, the improvement of wages and pensions, and the rights of Eastern women (Fawzī, 2017).

¹⁵ New principles were also added, including: ending British colonisation, making the Suez Canal the property of the nation, recognising workers' bodies and gaining rights to defend their interests, representing workers and the poor in parliament, fighting illiteracy, and making education compulsory for girls and boys. The Party also sent cadres to train in universities in Moscow (ibid).

and USA (ibid.). Among the well-known graduates who published works on Shaw were Lewis 'Awaḍ, Ali Al-Rā'ī, and Nabīl Rāghib. More examples of well-known Egyptian writers and critics are 'Abbās Al-'Aqqād, Muhammad Mandūr, and Ahmad Khākī among others. In the 1950s Abdul-Nassir adopted what was to become known as Arab Socialism, and he formed the Arab Social Union¹⁶ in 1962. During this time, graduates of Egyptian universities were sent to socialist or communist cities such as Moscow, Bucharest, Prague, Beijing and Budapest among others (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). The new political orientation of Egypt towards socialism encouraged intellectuals to publish work about socialism in order to complement the new political trends occurring in their country, and to spread socialist awareness among Egyptians. One more reason is to guarantee one's work for publication. Thus, we can see why special attention was paid to Shaw as a socialist playwright.

An example of Shaw's non-dramatic work translated into Arabic is *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928) which was translated into Arabic in 1962 and entitled *Dalīl Al-Mar`a Al-Dhakiyya `la Al-`Ishirākīyya wa Al-Ra`s Māliyya wa Al-Sūfītiyya wa Al-Fāshiyya* (The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism, Capitalism, Soviets and Fascism). An authored book entitled *Birnārd Shū wa Al-Masraḥ Al-`Ishirākī* (Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre) was published in 1964, and three articles focusing on Shaw and socialism were published by Salāma Mūsā in 1957, Kāmil Zuhayrī in 1964, and Jarjis Al-Rashīdī in 1965. Other books covering Shaw's life and work, the women in Shaw's life, in memory of Shaw, Shaw's philosophy and theatre, Shaw and Shakespeare, and Shaw's plays such as *Saint Joan* and *the Devil's Disciple* were published during this period.

The number of academic publications relating to Shaw declined sharply in the 1970s to only three publications. The beginning of this decade marked the beginning of Anwar Al-Sādāt's regime which lasted from 1970 to 1981. During the 1970s Egypt experienced a political, military and economic depression, because of the Israeli occupation of Sinai and Sharm Al-Shaikh. In response, Egyptians began to doubt the efficiency of socialism (Muhammad, 1994). In 1972, Al-Sādāt expelled all Soviet military consultants and ended the authority of socialism. In 1973, Al-Sādāt succeeded in reclaiming the Suez Canal and the Sinai Peninsula to the control of

¹⁶ The Socialist Union Act stipulates that the organisation is, "the socialist vanguard that leads the masses, expresses its will and directs national action, and effectively monitors its progress and its sound plan under the principles of the Charter" (Marefa, no date-b). This union unites within it the working forces of all classes, and it works as an alternative to the National Union (ibid). However, it was abolished in the late 1980s by President Ḥusnī Mubārak (ibid).

Egypt, and this, eventually, improved the country's economic status. In addition, the war ended with Camp David accords being signed by Al-Sādāt and the Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin in 1978 at The White House. After this success and drifting away from socialism, Al-Sādāt adopted capitalism and withdrew, though not completely, state support for the economy. These decisions led to an economic opening (known as *Infitāh* or *Open Door*) which in turn caused the rise of a modern consumerist and an entrepreneurial society, which brought with it inflation, unemployment, theft and fraud, and an ever increasing gap between social classes in the Egyptian society. Despite all the negative connotations of capitalism, tourism to the country began to flourish (Amīn, 2014; Al-Hiwar Magazine, 2011).

The political changes from socialism to capitalism in Egypt caused anger and shock among many Egyptians, especially intellectuals who were rudely treated by Al-Sādāt government (Amīn, 2014). As a result, some Egyptian intellectuals emigrated to Arab and European countries such as Iraq, Kuwait, France, and England, while others moved to work at international organisations, and some decided to stay at home and fight for change (Amīn, 2014). The Egyptian journalist Ahmad Baha` Al-Dīn worked in Kuwait as an editor of a Kuwaiti monthly magazine (Amīn, 2015), and some Egyptian writers stopped writing fiction completely, such as Yusuf `Idrīs, who switched to writing political articles instead of short stories. In an article published in *Al-Ahram Newspaper* in the mid-1970s, Yusuf expressed surprise about how people were expecting him to write stories whilst his 'house is on fire'. This was his way of referring to the intellectual conditions prevalent in Egypt at the time (ibid). In addition, Al-Sādāt ordered the arrest of many intellectuals in 1981, just a few weeks before his assassination (Amīn, 2014). However, conditions remained more or less the same during Ḥusnī Mubārak's rule (1981-2011), especially for those working in the cultural and intellectual spheres, although he released many of those arrested under Al-Sādāt and allowed slightly more freedom for journalists (Amīn, 2015).

In contrast, during this time higher education institutions began to grow, and student numbers increased; thus, the first dissertation on Shaw was undertaken in 1979 at Mansoura University. The dissertation dealt with educational dimensions in Shaw's *Pygmalion*. Shaw as a socialist was no longer the main focus of Egyptian academics in the 1980s onwards; rather, they began to focus on Shaw the dramatist. The main topics relating to Shaw as discussed in publications during the 1980s were: the role of women in Shaw's life, an Arabic translation of Shaw's unpublished letters, and an article by the Egyptian critic Fu`ād Duwāra who uses Shaw as a case study in his article *The Language of Modern Drama*.

In the 1980s, publication numbers for work relating to Shaw reached eleven items. However, this number decreased in the 1990s to seven, while raised again to fourteen between 2000 and 2017. In addition to one dissertation which date is not confirmed. The largest body of work is made up of journal articles which have totalled fourteen articles; this compares with twelve Masters and doctorate dissertations since 1979 and eleven authored and translated books. The dissertations cover different areas, including: comparative literature, such as comparing the different versions of the Pygmalion myth used by Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim; comparing the artistic and intellectual features of Shaw's and Nu'mān 'Āshūr's work; the influence of Shaw's socialist realism on 'Āshūr; an analysis of *Pygmalion* from a systematic functional grammar perspective; and Shaw's critical views in relation to his major works. This late resurgence of interest in Shaw from an academic perspective might be because it took a length of time for English departments to intellectually-mature in Egypt, and because Shaw is considered to be the 'private property' of academics in terms of both research work and academic translations of his works for students.

Ḥabīb (1992) argues that since the 1980s many Egyptian theatre specialists who studied theatre in the Arab World and abroad were rejected when they tried to participate in the theatrical movement in Egypt, mainly because it was restricted to famous names only. Thus, they found themselves obliged to work in academia, and this could be another reason why Shaw was researched in Egyptian academic institutions (ibid). The subjects most covered in books and articles written about Shaw since the 1980s include: socialism and love from Shaw's viewpoint; Shaw's views of the Prophet Muhammad, Egypt, Palestine and Islam; comparisons between Shaw and Al-Hakim and 'Āshūr; and, more generally, about Shaw's life, philosophy and works. In addition, a biography written by Shaw himself was translated into Arabic in 1983 by Wajdī Al-Fīshāwī.

5.1.2 Other Arab Countries

Iraq comes immediately after Egypt in the top Arab countries that have published work relating to George Bernard Shaw. The number of publications totals thirty since the beginning of the 1960s. These publications are distributed as follows: four publications in the 1960s, three in the 1980s, and two in the 1990s, with one less publication in each following decade. However, this number rises dramatically at the beginning of the twenty-first century, when twenty one items were published. The three articles on Shaw published in the 1960s were written by one author: Abdul-Wahāb Al-Wakīl: *Shaw and the Drama of Ideas* (1962), *Shaw's Ideas of Greatness and the Superman* (1967) and *St. Joan: Shaw's Final Statement on Greatness* (1969). In addition, a translation of Shaw's *The Revolutionist's Handbook and Pocket*

Companion was published with his play *Man and Superman*, called *Hikam lil Thawrīyīn* (Proverbs for Revolutionaries), by Ḥusayn Al-‘Amilī in 1969. Al-‘Amilī translated the book during a time of revolution and after the formation of the Republic of Iraq in 1958. The aftermath of the Revolution in the same year ended the monarchy. Additionally, two other revolutions took place in 1963 and in 1968.

In the 1980s, two translated books were published as follows: *Kayfa Ghayyar Birnārd Shū Majrā Hayātī* (How Did George Bernard Shaw Change My Life?) originally by Collin Wilson (1984), and ‘*Abqariyyat Birnārd Shū* (The Genius Bernard Shaw) (1985) both by the Iraqi translator Dr. Nājī Al-Ḥadīthī¹⁷. In addition, an article on Shaw’s *Pygmalion* as a myth and as a piece of literature was authored by Zāhir Shawkat Al-Bayātī, a linguist, in 1984. While two publications are found in the 1990s, i.e. a book entitled *Kitābāt Bayn Al-Jāḥiẓ wa Jūrj Birnārd Shū wa Jā`izat Nubil* (Writings between Al-Jāḥiẓ, George Bernard Shaw and the Nobel Prize) written by Nūrī Ja’far¹⁸ in 1990 and a university dissertation in 1990.

Many English departments based at higher education institutions and universities in the Arab World were established during the second half of the twentieth century. Although some of these departments were established early in Iraq, i.e. at the University of Baghdad in 1949, at Al-Mustansiriya University in 1963, and at Al-Yarmouk in 1976, the first dissertation on Shaw did not appear until 1990. The total number of dissertations on Shaw in Iraq is seven; six of them were undertaken between 2005 and 2011. These dissertations cover different areas of researching Shaw’s plays including: semantic and structural analyses, translating sense of humour, mythology, martyrdom, and self-dramatisation. It is worth noting that most twenty-first century articles on Shaw were written by specialists, lecturers and professors working in English departments at various Iraqi universities. Therefore, writing about or translating Shaw is mainly practiced by academics.

¹⁷ He worked as a lecturer in the English Departments of the University of Baghdad from 1969 to 1975 and Al-Mustansiriya University from 1995 to 1999. In addition, he held the following positions: Adviser at the Embassy of Iraq in London from 1975 to 1980; Founder and Manager of the Iraqi Cultural Centre in London from 1977 to 1980; Foreign Affairs Minister in Iraq from 2001 to 2003. He also belonged to the Arab Socialist Ba’ath Party in Iraq (Information Centre of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Iraq, 2015).

¹⁸ He was an Iraqi scholar who studied his PhD in the USA on a scholarship in 1949. He returned home to work as a scholar in Education and Psychology. He wrote thirty one books in different fields including literature (ibid). In 1975 he went to the UK to undertake research at the University of Sheffield. His topic was Creativity and Brain Mechanisms (Ḥamūdī, no date).

In addition, Lebanon has produced fourteen academic works on Shaw since the 1940s. The first publication is a translation of Shaw's *Fabian Essays in Socialism* in 1947 by Burhān Al-Da'jānī who was a specialist in economics. This number increased to five in the 1950s: two books and three articles. Among the most important authors working during this decade were Salāmā Mūsā, the Egyptian thinker who founded the first Egyptian socialist party, and Sulimān Mūsā, a Jordanian intellectual, translator, and the author of several books about literature and history (Jordan Heritage¹⁹). Sulimān Mūsā authored *Al-Siranādā* (The Serenade) which is a translation of Shaw's *Serenade*, published in 1955 and *Jūrj Birnārd Shū: Bimunasabat Dhikrāh Al-Khāmisa* (George Bernard Shaw: On the Occasion of his Fifth Anniversary) published in 1955, which is about Shaw's life, education and work in general.

Other Lebanese authors who wrote about Shaw in the 1950s were intellectuals who studied and translated Western literature or who wrote about literature, drama and literary criticism such as Abdul-Laṭīf Sharāra, Yusuf Tharwat, and Khālid Al-Qashṭīnī. Sharāra authored a book on Shaw called *Birnārd Shū: Al-'Aql Al-Sākhir* (Bernard Shaw: The Satirist's Mind) in 1957. In the 1960s, the number of publications decreased to three publications authored by the same type of writers: for example Rajā` Al-Naqqāsh wrote an article on the Nobel Prize won by Shaw and Sartre in 1964.²⁰ The titles of the other two articles are: *Birnārd Shū wa Al-Mas`ala Al-Yahūdiyya* (Bernard Shaw and the Jewish Question) by Muzāḥim Al-Ṭā`ī in 1966, and *Masrah Birnārd Shū wa Al-Jins Al-Ākhr* (The Theatre of Bernard Shaw and the Other Sex) by Yusuf Tharwat in 1968. The number of publications produced in the 1970s is within the same range, i.e. four. This includes translations of Shaw's non-fiction works and translations of books written on him into Arabic. Thus, two books written on Shaw were translated into Arabic namely, *Gharāmiyyāt Birnārd Shū* (The Love Affairs of Bernard Shaw) by Rif`at Nasīm in 1970 - who also translated another book on Shaw called *Nisā` fī Ḥayyāt Birnārd Shū* (Women in Bernard Shaw's Life) in 1978 which was published in Egypt - and *Birnārd Shū* (Bernard Shaw) by Ghālib Halsā in 1977. In addition, Shaw's preface to *Androcles and the Lion: on the Prospects of Christianity* (1912) was translated by George Fattāḥ in 1973 and was

¹⁹ Available from: <http://jordanheritage.jo/sulaiman-al-musa/> [Accessed 31 October 2017].

²⁰ Raja` Al-Naqqāsh is an Egyptian literary critic, dramatic historian and a journalist. He wrote in many Arabic journals such as *Rose Al-Yusuf* and *Al-Akhbar*, worked as an editor-in-chief for some others including *Al-Hilāl* and *Al-Kawākib*, and edited and published a number of books (Marefa, no date-c).

published in a separate book which did not include a translation of the play itself; this book was republished as a second edition in 1979.

The only authored book about Shaw to be published in the 1970s is *Al-‘Uẓamā` Abdul-Naṣir wa Birtrand Rasil wa Birnārd Shū* (The Great Persons Abdul-Nasir, Russel and Bernard Shaw) in 1971 by Omar Abu Al-Naṣir. By the end of the 1970s, the number of publications about Shaw had dropped and this figure continued to decline in the 1980s to only one publication. No publications were produced after this date. The title of the last work on Shaw published in the Lebanon is *Al-‘Ishṭirākīyya wa Al-Ḥub`ında Birnārd Shū* (Socialism and Love for Bernard Shaw) in 1980 by Nabīl Rāghib.²¹ It is worth noting that no dissertations have been written about Shaw in Lebanon.

In Syria, an interest in Shaw’s work began to show itself in the 1920s and 1930s, when seven articles were written by Arab intellectuals; all had studied English literature in the Arab World or in the West, or had lived in the UK or in the USA, and this influenced them to introduce Shaw to the Syrians. For instance, the Syrian poet Khalīl Murdām wrote an article focusing on Shaw’s life, education, works, thoughts and opinions on different topics such as religion, politics, society and literature. Another example is the writer Salīm Kھیāṭa²² who produced three out of the total number of articles written about Shaw during this decade. These articles are: *Fī Al-Bid` (riwāya li Birnārd Shū) Al-Riwāya Al-‘Ūlā min kitāb Al-Rujū` ilā mitushālīḥ - Al-Faṣl Al-Awal* (In the Beginning (a novel by Bernard Shaw) the First Novel in the Book “Back To Methuselah” – Chapter 1) in 1930, *Fī Al-Bid` (riwāya li Birnārd Shū) Al-Riwāya Al-‘Ūlā min kitāb Al-Rujū` ilā mitushālīḥ -Al-Faṣl Al-Thanī* (In the Beginning (a novel by Bernard Shaw) the First Novel in the Book “Back To Methuselah” – Chapter 2) in 1930 and *Birnārd Shū fī Dimashq* (Bernard

²¹ Nabīl Rāghib is an Egyptian intellectual, writer and critic who was awarded his PhD in English literature from the University of Lancaster in the UK. He has worked as a visiting professor at the University of Exeter and was a private consultant of the late President of Egypt Anwar Al-Sādāt. He authored and translated many novels and published works in the disciplines of critical, political, philosophical, cultural, and civilization studies in both Egypt and Lebanon. Since the 1970s there has been a trend for Egyptian authors to have their work published by Lebanese publishers (Maḥmūd, 2017; Al-Ḥūfī, 2017).

²² Kھیāṭa was born in the USA in 1909, but returned to live with his family in Lebanon in 1922. He grew up in an intellectual socialist family. He studied at the American University in Beirut, and he studied law in Damascus from 1929 to 1932. During this time he wrote the three articles noted. He was an active member of the Syrian Communist Party and contributed with writings in the literary and scientific fields. He wrote books, journal and newspapers articles, stories, and studies about literary criticism (Syrian Communist Party, 2016). His communist orientation led him to be imprisoned, where he was tortured. After this he stopped writing until his death in 1965. His socialist education in an English-speaking country could be the main reason why he wanted to write about and translate the works of Shaw (ibid.).

Shaw in Damascus) in 1931. The first two are translations of the first part of the play itself. In his first article, Khiyāṭa notes a short conversation with Shaw whom he met when Shaw visited Damascus. Khiyāṭa told Shaw that he admired his work and they talked about the Prophet of Islam for a few minutes.

No academic works about Shaw can be found from the 1940s until 1990 when ‘Īsā Sam’ān, a Syrian translator of many plays and books on psychology, among other topics, translated a book on Shaw by Erik Bentley. However, since the beginning of the twenty-first century and until 2017, the number of publications has doubled to seven. All are articles written by specialists such as: Muhammad Jalāl ‘Uthmān, who is a professor in the Department of English at the University of Tishrīn, Hibatullah Al-Ghalāyīnī who is a Syrian researcher and translator, and Ahmad ‘Amrī who is a Syrian writer and critic. Among the topics covered by academics during this period are: an introduction to Shaw’s life, his education and works, Shaw’s opinions on Shakespeare, Shaw as a social reformer especially after joining the Fabian society, and Shaw as a dramatist. However, just like in the Lebanon, no dissertations on Shaw can be found in Syria.

Other Arab countries have also contributed to the number of academic publications about Shaw as follows: Kuwait published three in the 1970s and 1980s, Saudi Arabia published three in the 1980s and in the twenty-first century, Jordan published three in the 1990s, Algeria published three in the twenty-first century, and only one in both Qatar and Yemen has been published. However, eight items have been published by Arabs living abroad in the UK, the USA, Switzerland and the Netherlands.

In Kuwait, writing on Shaw has run concurrent with a growing interest in stage and drama translation. This is mainly due to the presence in Kuwait of many theatre specialists from Egypt, such as Zakī Ṭulimāt and Ali Al-Rā’ī (Al-Rā’ī, 1999). Ali Al-Rā’ī is an Egyptian writer who works in the fields of politics, theatre and literary criticism. He undertook his PhD on ‘The Theatre of George Bernard Shaw’ at the University of Birmingham where he studied on a scholarship and worked as a broadcaster, a professor, a journal editor, and a translator (Abdul-Qādir, 1999). He taught modern drama in Kuwait between 1973 and 1982 during which he published an on Shaw entitled *Liqā` Ghair Mustaghrab bayna Birnārd Shū wa Naguib Mahfouz* (An Unsurprising Meeting between Bernard Shaw and Najuib Mahfouz) in 1981. In addition, he is also the author of the only academic work published on Shaw in Qatar in 1984, entitled *Ḥasad Birnārd Shū Wiliam Shakspīr wa Tamannā law Akhrajahu min Qabrih wa Rajamahu bil Hijāra* (Bernard Shaw envied William Shakespeare and wished he would get him out of his grave and stone him). The remaining two items published in Kuwait are university dissertations: *Mawqif*

Birnārd Shū min Wiliam Shakspīr: Ma'ā 'Ishāra khāṣa illā tanāwūl Al-Kātibayn li Shakṣīyatay Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā (The Position of Bernard Shaw towards William Shakespeare: With a Special Reference to the Two Authors' Handling of the Characters of Caesar and Cleopatra) in 1978, and *Bigmālyūn bayn Birnārd Shū wa Tawfiq Al-Hakim* (Pygmalion between Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim) in 1979.

In Saudi Arabia, both English Departments and overseas scholarships have played a role in the interest paid to Shaw by Saudi academics. Two dissertations were published in the 1980s. The first one originates from the Arabic Language Department at Umm Al-Qura University, entitled as *Bigmālyūn 'Inda Kullan min Birnārd Shū wa Tawfiq Al-Hakim* (Pygmalion for both Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim) (1985). The other originates from the English Language Department at King Abdul-Aziz University, which was established in 1968 entitled 'The Shavian Comic Concept of War and Soldiery in Shaw's *Arms and the Man*' (1988). While only one article was published which is Behold the Shavian Tempest: the Prospero archetype in Shaw's Heartbreak House in 1989. In addition, a book was published in 1985 in the UK by the Saudi Professor 'Adnān Wazzān who completed his PhD and post-doctorate studies in comparative literature (English, Arabic and French) at the University of Edinburgh between 1981 and 1991 on a scholarship from Umm Al-Qura University, where he now works as a professor (King Faisal International Prize, 2012). In his book *Essays in Comparative Literature: an Islamic Perspective*, a whole chapter is devoted to comparing and analysing two versions of *Pygmalion* by Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim. The comparison addresses elements in common and points of difference between the two versions.

In 1989, an article was published in the King Su'ūd University Arts Journal called *Behold the Shavian Tempest: the Prospero Archetype in Shaw's Heartbreak House* by Mufīd Huwaymida. Additionally, three publications on Shaw were produced at the beginning of the twenty-first century: dissertations by Saudi researchers who had studied abroad on government scholarships (these are published in the UK). Scholarships to Europe began in 1936 and to the USA in 1952. Saudi universities would send teaching assistants to pursue Master's and PhD studies (Alarabiya, 2015). Also, since 2005, the Custodian of the Two Holy Mosques' Overseas Scholarship Programme has been sending Saudi students to study in Europe and in the USA (ibid.). The titles of the dissertations are: *Representations of Gender Roles in George Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion and Tawfiq Al-Hakim's Pygmalion: A Comparative Analysis* (2011), *Problems and Strategies of Drama Translation in Egypt: A Case Study of Two Arabic Translations of Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion* (2013), and *The Representation of Children in the Plays of Bernard Shaw* (2016). All academic

publications on Shaw originating from Saudi Arabian students reveal that Shaw is only really of interest to academics working in an academic environment or publishing in an academic medium.

The three publications in Jordan are dissertations from the University of Jordan and were published in the 1990s. Their titles are: *The Martyr as Tragic Hero: A Quest for Certitude in our Century* (1991), *The Man in Petticoats: A Study of the Shavian Woman* (1994), and *Realism in the Works of George Bernard Shaw and John Osborne: A Comparative Study* (1998). Again, this information reveals that Shaw is only really of interest as a writer discussed among academics and researchers in Jordan. In Algeria, the only published dissertation on Shaw is *Uṣṭurat Bigmālyūn fī Al-Masraḥ Al-Faransī wa Al-Englīzī wa Al-‘Arabī ‘inda Jān Dark Rosū wa Birnārd Shū wa Tawfiq Al-Hakim* (The Pygmalion Myth in French, English and Arabic Theatres by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim) in 2007. In addition to this dissertation, two articles have been published: *Ṣūrat Al-‘Uruṣṭuqrāṭīyya fī Masraḥīya li Birnārd Shū* (The Image of Aristocracy in a play by Bernard Shaw) in 2011m and *Al-Namādhij Al-‘Insāniyya fī Al-Ādāb Al-‘Ālamiyya* (Human Models in the World Literature) in 2015, which uses Shaw as one of the human models studied.

In Yemen, an article entitled *Bigmālyūn: Dirāsā Muqārīna Birnārd Shū - Tawfiq Al-Hakim – Ali Luqmān* (Pygmalion: a Comparative Study Bernard Shaw – Tawfiq Al-Hakim and Ali Luqmān) was authored by Mubārak Ḥasan Khalīfa²³ and published in 2004.

5.2 Shaw’s Drama in Arabic Translation and Adaptation: Publication, Theatre and Radio

This section traces all Arabic translations and adaptations of Bernard Shaw’s drama to construct the field of Shaw’s drama in Arabic translation and adaptation. Here are two tables that show the distribution of the Arabic translations and adaptations of Shaw’s drama in terms of publication dates, presented in decades, and countries:

²³ The author is a Sudanese who holds a PhD in Arabic literature and is a specialist in literary criticism and comparative literature. He has worked as a school teacher in Sudan and UAE, and as a university professor in Yemen at the University of Adan from 1977, and, occasionally, as a translator (Al-Maḥbashī, 2013).

Publication Dates	Published	Radio	Stage
1900-1929	1	-	1
1930-1939	2	-	-
1940-1949	7	-	-
1950-1959	4	-	2
1960-1969	13	-	6
1970-1979	8	-	2
1980-1989	1	-	-
1990-1999	10	-	-
2000-2017	17	-	6
(unknown)	6	11	1
<i>Total</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>18</i>

Figure 8. Distribution of Arabic translations and adaptations of Bernard Shaw's plays in terms of publication dates

Publication Countries	Published	Radio	Stage
Egypt	35	11	9
Lebanon	12	-	1
Syria	10	-	4
Kuwait	7	-	1
Iraq	1	-	1 ²⁴
Jordan	2	-	-
Yemen	-	-	1
France ²⁵	1	-	-

²⁴ Performed in the USA by Iraqi immigrants in Arabic.

²⁵ The translation published in France is of *Arms and the Man*. Since the play is about warfare, it seems that the translator Fū`ād Ḥaṭīṭ decided to publish it outside his country Lebanon where the Civil War (1975-1990) had just ended and the Lebanese Republic was being built. He translated other books also about war such as *Arms and the Man*: Dr. Gerald Bull, Iraq, and the Supergun by William Lowther in 1991 published by Dār 'Uwaidāt Al-Dawliyya in

(unknown)	1	-	-
Total	69	11	17

Figure 9. Distribution of Arabic translations and adaptations of Bernard Shaw's plays in terms of publication dates

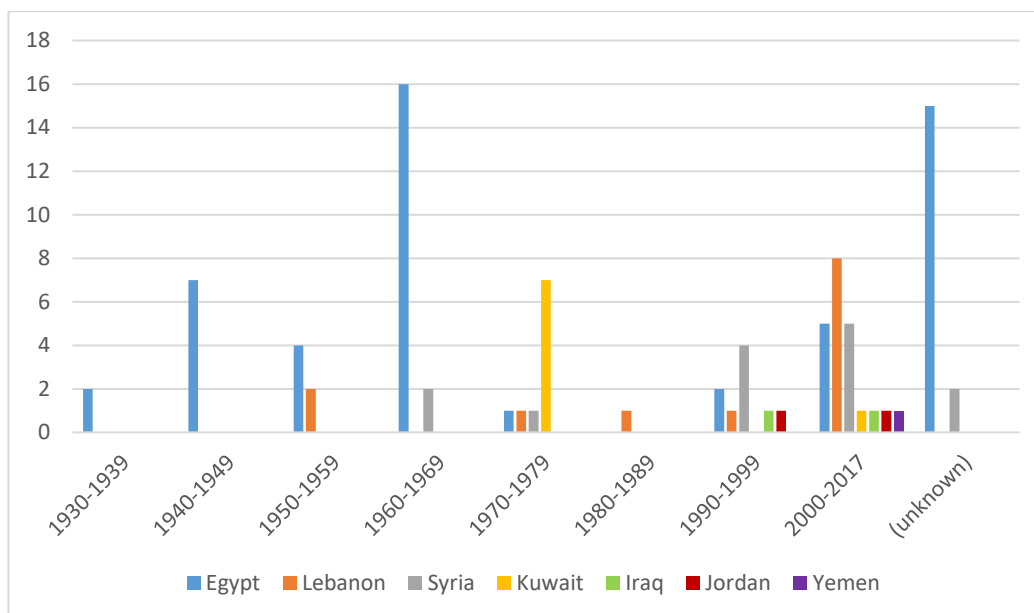


Figure 10. Distribution Distribution of translations and adaptations of Shaw's drama in the Arab World in terms of dates and country of publication²⁶

Title of the Play	Published (retranslations)	Radio	Stage
The Devil's Disciple	5	1	2
The Millionairess	4	1	-
Candida	3	1	-
Arms and the Man	13	-	1
Caesar and Cleopatra	3	1	1

Paris and Modern Spy Planes by Doug Richardson in 1992 published by Dār 'Ām Alfayn which is the same publisher of Shaw's translation as listed in Goodreads (2017a). He belonged to the left-wing party and participated through writing to the Lebanese and Arab political issues (a lament for him in the Lebanese Forces that tells about who he was can be read via this link: <https://www.lebanese-forces.com/2012/05/28/216192/>).

²⁶ I excluded: France (1 published) as it is not an Arab country and unknown country (3 published).

Man and Superman	7	-	-
Major Barbra	5	-	-
Widowers' Houses	3	1	1
Pygmalion	4	-	8
Saint Joan	2	-	1
Man of Destiny	4	1	4
Heartbreak Houses	2	1	-
Mrs Warren's Profession	3	-	-
You Never Can Tell	1	1	
Getting Married	1	-	
How He Lied to Her Husband	1	2	
The Apple Cart	1	-	
Geneva	1	-	
The Doctor's Dilemma	1	-	
Androcles and the Lion	1	-	
The Philanderer	1	-	
Captain Brassbound's Conversion	1	-	
Overruled	-	1	-
Selection of Short Plays	(two volumes)	-	-
(Could not be confirmed)	3	-	-

Figure 11. Numbers of Arabic translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays for three different mediums

In the following sections, I will reflect in detail on the descriptive statistics and figures presented, in order to elucidate Shaw's presence and reception in Egypt. This is because, out of all the Arabic countries, Egypt played host to the majority of drama translations and radio and theatre adaptations of George Bernard Shaw's plays. However, I will also briefly discuss Shaw's reception in other Arab countries. For Egypt, I will comment on the descriptive statistics and their relationship to the social,

political and economic conditions of the period. I will also discuss the relevance of public publishing institutions that undertook state patronage, and I will compare Shaw's impact here in comparison to his reception from private publishers. In addition, I will explore the following: the translators' and/or directors' backgrounds; forms of capital; motives for translation; and their register choices, in the light of the prevailing poetics of time, place, and their chosen medium, as well as looking at what any paratextual material reveals about the translations/adaptations, translators/directors, and publishers.

5.2.1 Egypt

Egypt comes out on top of the list of Arab countries that produced drama translations and adaptations for the stage and radio of Shaw's plays. The first published Arabic translation of Shaw's work was first circulated in Egypt by Ibrāhīm Ramzī, who translated *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1914. This translation was followed by two more in 1938 by Ahmad Zakī, who translated *Saint Joan* as *Jān Darak*, and by Muhammad Naḥās who translated *The Devil's Disciple* as *Tāb` Al-Shayṭān*. In the 1940s, the number of translations of Shaw's plays increased to reach seven. Examples of translations published in the 1940s are: *Man of Destiny* as *Rajul Al-Aqdār*, and *Man and Superman* as *Al-`Insān wa Al-`Insān Al-Kāmil*, by Muhammad Al-Dusūqī, and *Caesar and Cleopatra* as *Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā*, which was later re-translated by Narjis Naṣīf. However, a sharp decline occurred in the 1950s, and only two published translations of Shaw's plays were seen: *The Millionairess* as *Ṣāhibat Al-Malāyīn*, republished as *Al-Miliunīra* by Abdul-Mun'im Shumays, and *Getting Married* as *Al-Zawāj*, by Abdul-Ḥalīm Al-Bashalāwī. However, this decade witnessed the rise of Egyptian theatre generally, and the establishment and growth of the *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-Thaqāfī* or the Cultural Programme Radio Station (its original name was *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-Thānī* or the Second Programme Radio Station). During this time translational efforts were not only made for readership, but for theatre and radio as well.

In the 1960s, the number of Shaw translations jumped to thirteen. One crucial reason for this increase was that many specialised drama translation 'series' were launched, and the most important of these were commissioned by the Ministry of Culture. Furthermore, translators became interested in rendering the works of playwrights who promoted a socialist message, in order to comply with the new political orientation of the country. The 1952 Revolution created a perfect cultural climate in which the Egyptian theatre could flourish. Enthusiastic intellectuals exploited the theatre to express their political, social and spiritual views, whilst enjoying the state's encouragement. At this time there was plenty of scope and support for theatre makers

to write and produce theatre. A number of institutions were set up to organise and guide the theatrical movement, and among these was the Ministry of National Guidance (which became the Ministry of Culture in 1968). This was home to an arts production and administration department under the ministry called the Arts Department. Other notable institutions were established at this time, and included *Quṣūr Al-Thaqāfā* (Palaces of Culture), and the General Egyptian Organisation of Theatre, Music and Folklore Arts (in 1959) (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). However, this was not the case in the following decades. Translating Shaw's plays decreased so dramatically to the point that only one translation was published per decade, i.e. one in each of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. In addition, only two translations have been published since the beginning of the twenty-first century.

The decline in the number of translations of Shaw's plays appearing in Egypt is in line with the decline of the Egyptian theatre generally, after the 1967 Defeat, when the state reduced financial support and started to impose strict censorship on the content of plays. The state began a trend of setting aside work that, in ideological terms, did not correspond with the new political orientation of the country, which was slowly moving away from socialism towards capitalism. In addition, the popularity of TV troupes and private theatrical troupes played a role in the decline of Egyptian theatre. In later years, more radical political changes from socialism to capitalism and towards *infitāḥ* promoted the domination of these private troupes even more. The gap widened between the social classes and economic profit became the main interest of those working in the theatrical world. All these factors affected the translation and adaption of foreign plays into Arabic, and many 'series' were stopped such as: *Rawā'ī' Al-Masraḥ Al-Ālamī* (World Dramatic Masterpieces) in 1966, *Masraḥiyyāt Ālamiyya* (World Plays) in 1972, and *Min Al-Masraḥ Al-Ālamī* (From World Theatre) in 1972 (Ismā'īl, 2012).

Three translations of Shaw's plays, where the date of publication is not given, have been published in Egypt. These translations are: *The Millionairess* as *Al-Milyūnairā* by Nabīl Rāghib Faraj, *Mrs Warren's Profession* as *Mihnat Misiz Warin* by Sa'd Al-Dīn Tawfiq, and *Man and Superman* as *Al-Īnsān wa Al-Sūbermān* by 'Āṭif 'Umārā. The first two translations are recorded as being 'under translation' in the last pages of a translation of *Androcles and the Lion* in 1966. Also, there are two published translations of Shaw's plays where no information is available about the publisher: *Man of Destiny* as *Rajul Al-Aqdār* by Maḥmūd Al-Dusūqī in 1947 and *Widowers' Houses* as *Buyūt Al-Arāmīl* by Muhammad Riḍa Ḥasan in 1960. Moreover, Shaw's *The Shewing-Up of Blanco Bosnet* was not translated into Arabic, clearly because of its anti-religious content. In this play, Shaw expresses his own views on religion and

God, arguing that instinct is what controls human actions, and that nature is a continuously developing God who creates humans to do what 'He' is incapable of doing (Khashaba, 1962).

The adaptation of Shaw's dramas for stage and radio sat well with prevailing political trends in Egypt during the 1950s and 1960s, and this era also saw the flourishing of Egyptian theatre generally. However, prior to that, the staging of Shaw's plays started hand in hand with the published reading versions in 1914 by Ramzī's translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Other staged versions include: *Arms and the Man* as *Kerīm Chokolit* in 1927, *Man of Destiny* as *Rajul Al-Aqdār* in 1958, *The Devil's Disciple* as *Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān* in 1959, *Widowers' Houses* as *Buyūt Al-Arāmil* in 1960, and *Pygmalion* as *Sayidatī Al-Jamīlā* in 1969. Interestingly, no stage performances of a Shaw play can be found after 1969, until 2015 when a group of final-year students at the Higher Institution of Dramatic Arts in Cairo adapted the 1969 version of *Sayidatī Al-Jamīlā* and performed it as their final year project followed by two more adaptations in 2017.

The 1960s were the most productive period for Egyptian theatre in general, and for Shaw in particular; it saw the highest number of translations and productions of Shaw's dramas. Furthermore, in this decade, eleven radio adaptations of Shaw's plays were produced at *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-Thaqāfī* (The Cultural Programme Radio Station) and *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-'Āmm* (The General Programme Radio Station). In addition, the well-known Egyptian dramatist Nu'mān 'Āshūr translated *You Can Never Tell* as *Zawāj Al-Muflisīn* for the radio. In addition to his drama, some of Shaw's novels and stories have also been translated into Arabic and published in Egypt, including: *The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God* as *Al-Barbarīya Tabḥath 'an Allah* in 1933, *Gharāmiyyāt Ahl Al-Fun*²⁷ in 1958, *The Irrational Knot* as *Zawāj bilā Ta'aqqūl* in 1967, and *Al-Mutamarida*²⁸. The number of translations and adaptations of Shaw's fiction in Egypt totals sixty, and can be divided up as follows: forty reading versions (including drama, novels and stories), nine staged versions, and eleven radio versions.

5.2.1.1. First Translations: Published and Stage Versions

The first published translation of a George Bernard Shaw play into Arabic was actually meant for the stage in the first place. The translation seems to have been

²⁷ The ST cannot be confirmed.

²⁸ The ST and date of publication cannot be confirmed.

published after its performance, which was a common practice of that time, by George Abyad's troupe in 1914 Egypt (Najm, 1967; Abyad, 1970). It was carried out by the Egyptian writer and dramatist Ibrāhīm Ramzī and published by the Al-Taquadum Printing House. Ramzī translated *Caesar and Cleopatra* as *Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā* whilst he was working as a technical translator at the Ministry of Agriculture. His job title is written immediately under his name on the front cover of the publication, in order to indicate his competence as a translator and his cultural capital (see Image 1, Appendix 2). Al-'Arīs (1998) explains that Ramzī translated at least one play every year, and that his translations were chosen for performance at every annual theatrical season in Egypt.

Ramzī decided to translate *Caesar and Cleopatra* in particular because he read the play in 1908 when it was first published, and during this time he was studying in the UK. Ramzī admired the creative dialogue presented in the play, which satirised the British way of life and the British occupation of Egypt. For the translation itself, Ramzī chose a high register of Arabic, i.e. classical Arabic, which was commonly used for writing and translating literature at the beginning of the twentieth century; classical Arabic was the prevailing poetics of this time (Al-Muwāfi, 1966). When read, Ramzī's translation feels like a piece of literature originally written in the TL (Arabic) (ibid). However, Ramzī's translation was not a literal translation, because he uses translation strategies such as: omission, additions, shifts or changes, and summary, for different purposes. For example, he omits Act Three completely, probably because of the technical limitations of the Egyptian theatre at the time which, possibly, made the entire play impossible to perform (Najm, 1967). Al-'Arīs (1998) adds that Ramzī inserts his own views on nationalism and money. In addition, Saqr (2011, no pagination) states that Ramzī's translation, "is brilliant ... and [he is] fluent in English that he was successful in rendering it into a beautiful Classical Arabic. Whoever listens to it will never feel it is a translation even though he [the translator] did change some statements and omitted some incidents." One example of Ramzī's register is, "هلموا إلى رماحكم فادهنوها بدهن القنقد فسيدهمكم قيصر وجنوده لمطلع الفجر" (Al-Muwāfi, 1966, p.10) (Come and anoint your javelins with fat of urchin since Caesar and his soldiers will attack you by dawn and will pierce your guts with their spears) as the translation of "Go anoint thy javelin with fat of swine, O Blackamoor; for before morning the Romans will make thee eat it to the very butt." (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.137).

5.2.1.2 Patronage of Shaw's Translations and Adaptations: Publishing Institutions and Specialised 'Series'

This sub-section explores the patronage of translations of Shaw's plays in Egypt that were published as reading versions, and as theatre and radio translations and adaptations. This is done to identify the motives behind the translation practices.

1. Published Translations

Publishers of the thirty two translations of Shaw's dramas can be divided into two main groups: state-run institutions and private publishing houses. First, the state-run institutions produced twelve publications from the following publishers:

a) The Ministry of Culture

- Specialized Drama Translation 'Series'

The Ministry published Shaw's translations in two special series: *Rawā'ī' Al-Masrah Al-Ālamī* (World Drama Masterpieces), which included two translations, and *Masraḥiyyāt 'Ālamiyya* (World Plays), which included seven translations.²⁹ The former produced drama translations between 1959 and 1966 (ʿIsmāʿīl, 2012). The critical introductions to the plays include information about the authors and the literary approaches they use, as well as the artistic and literary value of the plays, written by critics and not by the translators (ibid.). On the back cover of the translations a statement is included as follows: "By the elite of translators and revisers with deep, thoughtful research of each author's approach" (Ahmad, 1962, my translation). While the latter appeared between 1965 and 1972 and was translating from various languages and cultures into Standard Arabic, with research or critical introductions written by the translators themselves (ʿIsmāʿīl, 2012). In addition, through this series, the Ministry commissioned a new group of translators, including Muhammad Maḥbūb who translated *Saint Joan* in 1965 (ibid.). On the first page of the translation of *Major Barbara* by Ahmad Al-Nādī (1966), a theatre ticket is attached, with the statement, "Holders of this ticket are eligible to enjoy 50% off the price of four seats to attend World Theatre performances during the 1965/1966 season" (my translation). The ticket is signed by the Manger of the World Theatre, Ḥamdī Ghaith (see Image 2, Appendix 2). This reveals how the state promoted the theatre and encouraged people to go to the theatre and watch these performances. On the first page, the statement "Approved by the World Theatre Committee" appears

²⁹ For more details about these 'series' please see Chapter Four, Section 4.2.1

in all issues (my translation). In some issues the names of the supervisors, directors and members (with titles) are included, such as Professor and Dr., to further enhance the cultural capital of the series. This also promotes the idea that the translations are of high quality. In addition, on the back cover of some issues, a summary of the play is given on the upper half of the page, while on the lower half of the page a summary of the play to be published in the next issue is given.

In the versions of Shaw's plays in particular, the General Director/Editor of the series Muhammad Al-Muwāfi, states that Shaw's literature has

a value that is independent of controversial views towards his plays and, specifically, towards their applicability or inapplicability for the stage. This value lies in the writer himself, who experienced a radical change in British as well as in World social thought, pushing him forward very effectively to become the most eloquent writer in modern English times. Thus, he is the best example to imitate of what literature should be like (1966, p.12, my translation).

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Translated by	Introduced by
<i>Rawā'i' Al-Masrah Al-'Ālamī (World Drama Masterpieces)</i>				
Heartbreak Houses	<i>Manzil Al-Qulūb Al-Muḥaṭṭama</i>	1962	Maḥmūd Sāmī Ahmad	Dirīnī Khashaba
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-'Insān wa Al-Silāh</i>	1966	Fū'ād Duwārā ³⁰	
<i>Masraḥiyyāt 'Ālamiyya (World Plays)</i>				
Saint Joan	<i>Al-Qidīsa Jūn</i>	1965	Muhammad Maḥbūb	
Major Barbara	<i>Al-Mijūr Bārbara</i>	1966	Ahmad Al-Nādī	
Androcles and the Lion	<i>Andruklīz wa Al-Asad</i>	1966	Maḥmūd Abdullah Ṣabrī	
Caesar and Cleopatra	<i>Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatra</i>	1966	'Ikhlaš 'Azmī	Two introductions: the critic Muhammad Al-Muwāfi and the translator
Pygmalion	<i>Bigmālyūn</i>	1967	Jarjis Al-Rashīdī	

³⁰ He introduced his own translation as he is a well-known Egyptian critic himself.

The Millionairess	<i>Al-Milyūnāirā</i>	none	Nabīl Rāghib Faraj
Mrs Warren's Profession	<i>Mihnat Misiz Warin</i>	none	Sa'd Al-Dīn Tawfīq

Table 1. Published translations of Shaw's plays by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture's specialized drama translation 'series'

- **The General Egyptian Book Organisation**

The GEBO produced three translations in two series. On the first page of the translation published by the Family Library (*Maktabat Al-'Usra*), a list of all contributory institutions appears, which includes the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Media, and the Ministry of Education, among others (Anwar, 2004 - see Image 3, Appendix 2)³¹. Furthermore an introduction by Samir Sarhān, the General Director of the series is included on the first page, just before the translated text, describing the purpose of the library.

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Series
The Devil's Disciple	<i>Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān</i>	1975	<i>Masraḥiyyāt Mukhtārā</i>
How He Lied to Her Husband	<i>Kaiḥa Kadhaba 'lā Zawjihā</i>	1996	<i>Mukhtārāt min Al-Masraḥ Al-'Ālamī, Alf Kitāb Al-Thānī 234</i>
Man and Superman	<i>Al-'nsān wa Al-Suberman</i>	2004	<i>Rawā'ī' Al-Adab Al-'Ālamī</i> published by the Family Library or <i>Maktabat Maktabat Al-'Usra</i>

Table 2. Published translations of Shaw's plays by the General Egyptian Book Organisation

- **The Supreme Council of Culture**

The Supreme Council of Culture published one translation through the National Project of Translation. On the first page of this translation, the purpose of the project is described as

³¹ For more details , please see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1

producing all intellectual approaches and trends for the Arab reader to know. The ideas included in these works belong to their writers and do not necessarily represent the view of the Supreme Council of Culture”³² (‘Umāra, 2006, my translation - see Image 4, Appendix 2).

On the last page, information about the dramatist and the translator is included, and on the back cover, there is a summary of the play.

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Series
Man and Superman	<i>Al-`Insān wa Al-`Insān Al-A`lā</i>	2006	the National Project for Translation 1034

Table 3. Published translations of Shaw’s plays by the Supreme Council of Culture

b) Rose Al-Yusuf

Rose Al-Yusuf published one translation of a Shaw play. On the front cover of *Mukhtārāt min Masraḥiyyat Shū Al-Qaṣīrā* by Rose Al-Yusuf, the blurb reads, “Under the supervision of the Department of Public Culture within the Ministry of Education in the Southern Region” (Abdul-Aḥad, 1961, my translation). Also on the first page, the following statement appears, “This series is produced with the support of The Supreme Council for Arts, Literature and Social Sciences [Supreme Council for Culture in 1980]” (ibid. , my translation). This publishing house was established by Rose Al-Yusuf (Fatima Al-Yusuf later) in 1925 as a private institution (Riḍwān, 2015). However, it was nationalised by the state after the revolution of 1952 (ibid).

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Series
a selection of short plays by Shaw	<i>Mukhtārāt min Masraḥiyyāt Shū Al-Qaṣīrā</i>	1961	in two volumes entitled as <i>Mukhtārāt min Masraḥiyyāt Shū Al-Qaṣīrā (Alf Kitāb Series, 339)</i>

Table 4. Published translations of Shaw’s plays by Rose Al-Yusuf

c) The Ministry of Education

In his introduction to the translation of *Heartbreak House*, Dirīnī Khashaba (1962) notes that the Ministry of Education published translations of Shaw’s short plays to

³² This statement might have been added to disclaim any content that went against the prevailing political regime or cultural values.

be taught as textbooks in 1960. However, I could not find these translations. These versions first appeared immediately after the introduction of the 1923 Constitution which referred to Arabic as the language of education and English as the second language. The translations produced by this Ministry are of good quality because they underwent a strict quality control process and were translated and revised by well-known intellectuals such as Ibrāhīm Ramzī, Khalīl Muṭrān and Zakī Ṭulimāt (Hanna, 2011, no pagination).

The trend of translating Shaw's drama had, by the 1960s, attracted the attention of state-run institutions, and eight translations were published during this decade. However, since the 1970s to the present day only five translations of Shaw's work have been published. The 1960s was called 'the golden age' of Egyptian theatre, because after the revolution of 1952 enthusiastic support for the theatre was enjoyed from the Egyptian government. During the first half of the twentieth century, the state controlled the translation market and this control extended into the second half of the twentieth century, mainly through institutions attached to the Ministry of Culture, such as the GEBO and the National Project for Translation (Hanna, 2011). The majority of Shaw's plays to appear in Egypt during this time were state-published translations commissioned by the Ministry of Culture or institutions attached to it, with the exception of those published by Rose Al-Yusuf and the Ministry of Education. Arguably, the motive behind this trend was the new political orientation of Egypt towards socialism. Thus, spreading the works of playwrights such as Shaw, who was a well-known socialist, helped to build the socialist republic of Egypt. However, the decline in the number of published translations of Shaw's works since the beginning of the 1970s could have been the result of a shift towards a capitalist economic system, and *infitāh*. Therefore, from the late 1970s onwards translating Shaw was no longer seen as important or preferable, because his ideology goes against new political changes that the Egyptian government were attempting to get its people to accept.

Second, nineteen translations of Shaw's plays were published by private, commercially orientated, publishing houses. These publishers aimed to appeal to the aesthetic tastes of their reading audience. One exception is the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing which was a non-profitable publisher. Indeed, the private sector commissioned translations of Shaw's plays much earlier than the state did, and as early as 1914, including translations by Ibrāhīm Ramzī, as previously noted. These translations also include paratextual material. In *Al-Zawāj*, published by Maktabat Miṣr as part of the Maktabat Al-Funūn Al-Dirāmiyya series, one of the first pages before the translation itself includes the following statement:

“The rights of performance and broadcasting are reserved for the translator” (Al-Bashalāwī, 1958, no pagination). This reveals that these published texts might be sometimes used or adapted for theatrical and radio performances. On the following page, the purpose of the series is given as

filling the wide gap in the Arabic library, aiming at translating world drama masterpieces, and all those related to dramatic and radio arts including performing, writing and directing. This might be the first organised effort in this area (ibid., no pagination, my translation).

In some issues, a summary of the play is included on the back cover also. Moreover, in *Tābi’ Al-Shayṭān*, published by *Al-’Itimād*, a photo of Shaw writing at a desk is shown on the first page along with his name. Also, in *Bigmālyūn*, published by *Wādī Al-Nīl*, a one-page biography of Shaw is included on the first page.

Publisher	ST Title	TT Title	Year
<i>Al-Taquadūm</i>	Caesar and Cleopatra	<i>Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā</i>	1914
<i>Al-’Itimād</i>	The Devils’ Disciple	<i>Tābi’ Al-Shayṭān</i>	1938
The Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing	Saint Joan	<i>Jan Darak</i>	1938
	The Apple Cart	<i>’Arabat Al-Tufāḥ</i>	1946
	Man and Superman	<i>Al-’Insān wa Al-’Insān Al-Kāmil</i>	1947
<i>Al-Ādāb</i>	Geneva	<i>Junayf</i>	1945
<i>Al-Sur’a</i>	Caesar and Cleopatra	<i>Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā</i>	1946
<i>Al-Kirink</i>	Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Asliḥa wa Al-’Insān</i>	1947
	Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Aqdār</i>	1947
<i>Jarīdat Al-Ṣabāḥ</i>	The Millionairess	<i>Ṣaḥibat Al-Malāyīn or Al-Milyūnīra</i>	1953
<i>Maktabat Miṣr</i>	Getting Married	<i>Al-Jawāj (Maktabat Al-Funūn Al-Dirāmiyya Series 12)</i>	1958
	Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Asliḥa wa Al-’Insān (Kunūz Kutub Al-Turāth 14)</i>	1995

	Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Aqdār (Kunūz Kutb Al-Turāth 6)</i>	none
<i>Dār Al-Fikr Al-'Arabī</i>	the Doctor's Dilemma	<i>Ḥīrat Ṭabīb</i>	1962
<i>Dār Al-Nahḍa Al-'Arabiyya</i>	Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Silāḥ wa Al-Rajūl</i>	1962
<i>Al-Dār Al-Qawmiyya</i>	Widowers' Houses	<i>Buyūt Al-Arāmil (Min Al-Sharq wa Al-Gharb Series 54)</i>	1963
	33	<i>Nisā` Al-Qarn Al-'ishrīn aw Mun Yadrī (Min Al-Sharq wa Al-Gharb Series 122)</i>	1964
<i>Wādī Al-Nīl</i>	Pygmalion	<i>Bigmālyūn</i>	2011
<i>Al-Maktab Al-'Arabī lil Ma'ārif</i>	Man and Superman	<i>Al-'Insān wa Al-Subermān</i>	-

Table 5. Published translations of Shaw's plays by private publishing houses in Egypt

2. Theatre and Radio Translations and Adaptations

Six of Shaw's plays were staged on the Egyptian theatre since 1927 in nine performances. Six were performed during the time when Shaw's plays were widely-staged, specifically between 1958 and 1969, and one play (i.e. *Pygmalion*) was re-adapted in 2015 and twice in 2017. The 1960s witnessed the highest number of performances of Shaw's plays, either translated or adapted for the Egyptian stage. However, as previously noted, from the end of the 1960s no new translations or adaptations of Shaw's plays were performed on the Egyptian stage until the second decade of the twenty-first century. This trend went hand-in-hand with the decline of Egyptian theatre generally. In 2015, a group of final-year students at the Higher Institution of Dramatic Arts in Egypt adapted the 1969 adaptation of *Pygmalion* (*My Fair Lady*) as their graduation project, supervised by Dr. Samīrā Muḥsin. They used an adapted text by Khafājī and Qamar but dealt with it differently using new stage production, acting and direction techniques as stated in the report by Walā` Al-Ḥidīnī in the TV programme titled *Biwdūh*, which is broadcast on the Al-Hayat Channel

³³ The ST could not be confirmed.

(2015³⁴). In addition, another adaptation of *Pygmalion* was performed by a group of students from Akhbār Al-Yawm Academy in 2017 and another by the National Troupe of Kafr Al-Shaykh sponsored by the General Organization of Cultural Palaces.

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Details
Caesar and Cleopatra	<i>Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā</i>	1914	By George Abyaḍ Troupe
Arms and the Man	<i>Kirīm Shukulīt</i>	1927	By Victoria Mūsa Troupe
Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Aqdār</i>	1958	By the National Troupe
The Devil's Disciple	<i>Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān</i>	1959	
Widowers' Houses	<i>Buyūt Al-Arāmīl</i>	1960	
Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Qadar</i>	1962 ³⁵	
Candida	<i>Kandidā</i>	1964	By World Theatre Troupe
Pygmalion	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i>	1969	By Al-Fannānīn Al-Mutaḥḍīn Troupe
	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i>	2015	By a group of students from the Higher Institution of Dramatic Arts
	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i>	2017	By a group of students from Akhbār Al-Yawm Academy
	<i>Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ</i>	2017	By the National Troupe of Kafr Al-Shaykh

Table 6. Stage translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays in Egypt

Ten out of the eleven radio translations or adaptations of Shaw's plays were broadcasted on the *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-Thaqāfī* channel (The Cultural Programme Radio Station) (The Cultural Programme Broadcast Library Facebook

³⁴ Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eWj4-Cp3z-E> [Accessed 20 November 2017].

³⁵ This performance was directed by Fārūq Al-Dimirdāsh. The two stage performances of Shaw's *Man of Destiny* could be actually one since I could not find any information about them.

page). The current General Manager, Muhammad `Ismā`il, told *Al-Miṣrī Al-Youm Newspaper* (2015) that the channel was established in 1957 to focus on contemporary cultural and intellectual issues that emerged from the 1952 Revolution. The channel targeted an elite audience with an interest in the arts, culture, literature and philosophical thought. Its programme schedule included subject matter covering poetry, short stories, analysis, criticism, music, and drama. It has broadcast hundreds of Classical Arabic and World dramas, written, translated, directed and performed by well-known writers, translators, playwrights, actors, directors, and critics (ibid). Its flourishing time was during the 1950s and 1960s (ibid). While *Zawāj Al-Muflisīn* (Shaw's *You Can Never Tell*) was broadcasted on the *Idhā`at Al-Barnāmj Al-`Āmm* (The General Programme Radio Station).

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Radio Station
The Devil's Disciple	<i>Tilmūdh Al-Shayṭān</i>	1950s/ 1960s	The Cultural Programme
The Millionairess	<i>Al-Milyūnīra</i>		
Caesar and Cleopatra	<i>Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā</i>		
Widowers' Houses	<i>Buyūt Al-Arāmil</i>		
Heartbreak Houses	<i>Bayt Al-Qulūb Al-Muḥaṭṭama</i>		
Candida	<i>Kāndidā</i>		
How He Lied to Her Husband	<i>Kaiḥa Kadhaba `alā Zawjihā</i>		
Overruled	<i>Al-Khatī`a Al-`Ūlā</i>		
Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Aqdār</i>		
You Can Never Tell	<i>`Ā`ila min Madira</i>		
You Can Never Tell	<i>Zawāj Al-Muflisīn</i>		The General Programme

Table 7. Radio translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays in Egypt

Plays chosen for Egyptian radio were mainly translated especially for radio, or a published version was adapted for radio performance. These three radio performances of Shaw's plays were adapted and translated specially for the radio, and I could not find any published versions of them: Narjis Naṣīf's *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Abdul-Mun'im Shumays' *The Millionairess*, and Maḥmūd Sāmī's *Heartbreak House*. In addition, none of the eleven recorded radio plays give the date

of the translation and broadcast. However, as these plays were commissioned by the State, I assume they were produced during the flourishing period of the Egyptian theatre in the late 1950s and 1960s. In a similar way to the staged versions of Shaw's plays in Egypt, the production of translated plays for the radio also declined from the 1970s onwards.

It is also worth noting that, in the first half of the twentieth century, most theatre translations in Egypt were produced as scripts to be performed on stage and were rarely published for public consumption as post-performance texts. For example, the translation of *Man and Superman* by Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmīl as *Kerīm Chokolit* was not published until 1962 as *Al-Silāḥ wa Al-Rajul*, and the translation of *Widowers' Houses* by Muḥammad Riḍa Ḥasan was published after the performance in 1960. The play-scripts of translated plays are archived in the National Centre for Theatre (Hanna, 2011). This is also true for radio translations I believe.

5.2.1.3 Translators of Shaw: Motives and Poetics

This subsection seeks to answer the following questions: *Who translates Shaw's drama? What type of capital they possess? What motives? What strategic decisions of translation they chose? And what relation the selection of register for different means of media have with the prevailing poetics?* In order to answer these questions, I will have a closer look at the background of each translator, explore the contents of the translators' introductions and go through the translation product itself.

After collecting some information about each translator of the Arabic TTs, it is concluded that Shaw's translators are of different backgrounds and they can be divided into three groups. The first group consists of well-known writers who hold at least one type of capital. This type of translators are the first to translate for Shaw such as Ibrāhīm Ramzī, who translated *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1914. Others who later translated Shaw's drama include Nu'mān 'Āshūr and Fayṣal Al-Sāmīr. Ibrāhīm Ramzī is an Egyptian dramatist, poet and professional translator. Ramzī belonged to a rich family that sent him to study in the UK where he fell in love with the theatre (Hindawi, 2019; Mu'jam Al-Bābāṭīn, 2017). Thus, he enjoyed cultural, symbolic and economic capitals. Nu'mān 'Āshūr is an Egyptian dramatist who studied English literature, and he wrote and translated many plays. He contributed to the development of the Egyptian theatre in the 1950s and 1960s (Marefa, no date-a). Thus, he enjoyed both cultural and symbolic capital. Moreover, Fayṣal Al-Sāmīr is an Iraqi politician, historian, researcher, poet, university professor (he holds a doctorate in history) and a former minister of media in Iraq (Baghdad University, 2019). Therefore, he holds cultural, social and symbolic capitals. Their different types of capitals give them more freedom to manipulate the STs without being

sharply criticised or rejected and even, sometimes, their works would automatically become of symbolic value due to the names attached to them. This type of translators have translated Shaw's drama, most probably, for the sake of art and to introduce his works for the Egyptian theatre.

The members of the second group are specialists who studied English literature and drama and/or worked as literary and drama translators or as university professors. Examples include Abdul-Mun'im Shumays who studied his BA and MA in the Arts School in Cairo University in the hands of famous Egyptian writers such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Amīn Al-Khūlī among others. He wrote and translated historical, cultural and Islamic drama for the radio for fifty years (Goodreads, 2017b; Yusuf, 2002). Another example is Fū'ād Duwārā who is an Egyptian writer and theatre critic that studied Arabic literature in Cairo University. He worked as a journalist and a teacher in Egypt and Kuwait specifically in the Higher Institute of Theatrical Arts in Kuwait. He published many books, articles and translations (Abāzā and Al-Māliḥ, 1999). Accordingly, both translators hold a cultural capital. One more example is Abdul-Ḥamīd Sarāy who studied English literature in Cairo University and graduated in 1948. He worked as a journalist, interpreter and translation supervisor in his area as a journalist. He translated a play by Shaw for the Egyptian radio (Anon, 2012). Other specialists also include 'Āḍ Al-Rubāt, an English teacher and dramatist (Anon, 2010a), Ikhlāṣ 'Azmī, a university professor (a doctorate in English literature) in the University of 'Ain Shams ('Azmī, 1966), Ahmad Al-Nādī, an English teacher in the University of 'Ain Shams (Al-Nādī, 1966), and Muhammad Fikrī Anwar, a professional translator of drama (Anwar, 2004). All of these translators hold cultural capitals because of their specialisation in study and/or job title. Their qualifications, speciality and cultural capitals are clearly stated on the front covers of their translations which indicates that these translations are of high quality and accuracy.

The last group of translators includes non-specialists in English literature or drama translation but have a great interest in literary and dramatic works. For instance, Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmīl who translated a Shaw play during his studying a bachelor of law. He met Bernard Shaw coincidentally in the Valley of the Kings in Luxor in 1932 (Kāmīl, 1962). In addition, Mukhtār Al-Wakīl is a poet, a translator and a university professor (he holds a doctorate in journalism). He mastered English due to his study at the American University in Biuret and in Manchester (Goodreads, 2017c). Similarly, both Muhammad Qadrī 'Umārā and Ahmad Zakī are university professors; the former holds a doctorate in genetics while the latter in chemistry ('Umārā, 2006). Zakī is one of the founders of the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing. He established and directed many journals in different fields such as

literature, Arabic language, history and politics among them are: *Al-Risālā*, *Al-‘Arabī* and *Al-Hilāl*. Although these translators are not literary or drama specialists, they are very interested and well-read in these areas (Abdul-‘Azīz, 1996). Although these are non-specialist translators, they still hold some type of cultural capital in other fields which is also stated on the front covers of their translations which gives them some degree of credibility. Zakī, in particular, did hold a symbolic capital as well-known writer.

One limitation was faced while searching the background of the translators of Shaw’s drama is that I could not find enough information about some of them such as Narjis Naṣīf, Maḥmūd Al-Dusūqī, Muhammad ‘Awad `Ibrāhīm etc. In addition, a translation of Shaw’s *Pygmalion* published by *Wādī Al-Nīl* in 2011 does not include the name of the translator. Interestingly, the translation is identical to the translation by Ḥusām Al-Tamīmī published in 2008 by *Dār Al-Hilāl* in Lebanon.

As for the motives of translation and of the ST selection, Shaw’s plays were translated at the beginning to be performed on the Egyptian theatre. For example, Ibrāhīm Ramzī translated *Caesar and Cleopatra* for the troupe of George Abyad and Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil translated *Arms and the Man* under the request of the Egyptian playwright ‘Abbās ‘Allām for the troupe of Victoria Mūsā as he mentions in his introduction to the printed version of the translation (Ramzī, 1914). Another motive of translation is the request of publishers such as Ahmad Zakī who translated *Saint Joan* as he was asked by the Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing (Zakī, 1938). He himself is a fan of Shaw as he attended many of his speeches and arguments and saw his plays performed on stage when he was living in the UK for a whole decade. In addition, some translate a Shaw play for its suitability to the Egyptian society. For instance, Abdul-Mun’im Shumays translated *The Millionairess* which is, as he mentions, “a play of interest to the Egyptian reader” since it presents a character who is an Egyptian doctor who lives in the West but retains his religion and appearance at the same time (1953, p.5, my translation). He is honourable in his profession from which he does not seek a fortune; rather, he tries to struggle against Western capitalism and to maintain his belief in God and his strong determination. It is worth mentioning that the translator even mentions in his introduction that he could not publish this translation before the Revolution of 1952 because “Shaw in this play destroyed the strongholds of English colonialism in London and the basis of English capitalism. He also mocks the English millionaires and subdues them in the end to Egypt represented by the Egyptian doctor” (ibid., p.6, my translation). One more reason of translating Shaw’s plays is to contribute in building the new socialist Egypt through the works of Shaw. In his introduction to

the translation of *Saint Joan*, Muhammad Maḥbūb (1965, p.6, my translation), states that “Shaw’s theatre in particular is more relevant than any other [theatres or dramatists] to our [Egyptian] socialist reality which we [Egyptians] are working hard to build.” A last motive is artistic-related, so we see Abdul-Ḥalīm Al-Bashlāwī (1958) translating *Getting Married* for its ‘dramatic perfection’ in which characters are diverse and each has his/her own unique problems, for its wonderful dialogues and for its time and space unity since there is only one settings i.e. the kitchen in the Bishop house (p.17). He also states that this play is perfect for the purpose of the issue i.e. to give an example of a play of ideas. Another translator has a similar motive is Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil (1962) who, besides the request from ‘Abbās ‘Allām, thinks that it is one of the best plays by Shaw for stage performance since it is full of action and surprises and it lacks the long philosophical dialogues. However, most of the later translations since the 1960s including those published in the specialised series mentioned earlier, no motives or purposes of the translation or the selection of texts are given in the translators’ introductions except for Muhammad Maḥbūb’s version of *Saint Joan* in 1965. In latter translations especially those published in the twenty-first century, we cannot even find translators’ introductions and if there is any introduction, it is a brief overview of Shaw’s life and works such as in the translation of *Man and Superman* by Muhammad Fikrī Anwar in 2004 and by Muhammad Qadrī ‘Umārā in 2006.

In their introductions, some translators state their translational strategies chosen for the TT. The word *ta’rīb* (Arabisation)³⁶ is used on the front cover of the translations of Shaw’s plays especially in the first half of the twentieth century. It appears in the translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* by Ibrāhīm Ramzī in 1914, in the translation of *Saint Joan* by Ahmad Zakī in 1938, in the translation of *The Devil’s Disciple* by Muhammad Kāmil Naḥḥās in 1938, in the translation of *The Millionairess* by Abdul-Mun’im Shumays in 1953 and in the translation of *Arms and the Man* by Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil in 1962 among others. However, this practice has changed in the second half when *tarjama* (translation) is used instead. A few number of translators mention their strategies. For instance, Muhammad Kāmil Naḥḥās states “I hope that I have succeeded in formulating it [the play] in the same way as the great Irish writer did” (1938, p.5, my translation). While Abdul-Ḥalīm Al-Bashlāwī (1958) decided not to translate Shaw’s introduction to the play *Getting Married* because it is long; rather,

³⁶ In addition to the use of *riwāyā* (novel) instead of *masraḥiyya* (play) until the second half of the twentieth century.

he summarized it in several points including two that he described as raising the Arab readers' eyebrows³⁷. Also, he added two quotations from Shaw's views on marriage in Arabic just before the translation of the play.

In addition, some translators comment on their translation of the title. For example, Maḥmūd Al-Dusūqī who translated *Man and Superman* as *Al-`Insān wa Al-`Insān Al-Kāmil* (Man and the Perfect Man) depending on what Shaw writes in a footnote in his preface “ليس السوبرمان في الواقع سوى صديقنا القديم الانسان العادل جُعل كاملا” (Superman is nothing but our old friend the human being who is made perfect³⁸) (1947, p.4). If not for this footnote, as Al-Dusūqī adds, he would prefer to translate ‘superman’ as *Al-Fā`iq* (super) instead of *Al-Kāmil* (perfect³⁹) as it is a more accurate translation of the word ‘superman’, and he even wished he could transliterate it (ibid.). Also, Abdul-Ḥalīm Al-Bashlāwī states that he chose to translate the title *Getting Married* as *Al-Zawāj* (Marriage) instead of *Al-`Isti`dād li Al-Zawāj* (Preparing for Marriage) for simplicity (1958, p.23).

As for the selection of register i.e. Modern Standard Arabic or Colloquial is not given in the translators' introductions except in the translation of *Arms and the Man* by Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil (1962). He explains that he opted for a simple form of Standard Arabic which contains unavoidable colloquial words and expressions that suit the comic nature of the play, with some summary and changes (ibid.). By skimming the written translations I have collected⁴⁰, it becomes clear that all translators used MSA a choice that goes in line with the prevailing poetics i.e. to use a Standard form of Arabic for translated literature and drama⁴¹. But this includes one exception which is the translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* by Ibrāhīm Ramzī in 1914 using a Classical Arabic as mentioned before. However, some early translators of Shaw's plays allow some changes, additions and omissions or at least used some cultural-specific words or expressions to different degrees in their TTs, but this was not the case for later translations which became more literal and academic. For instance, the

³⁷ The first point is that Shaw wonders why a woman who does not want to marry should marry for the sake of becoming a mother which is a question that he thinks cannot be answered. While the other is that Shaw thinks that the most successful marriages are those in which sex enjoys the least attention.

³⁸ I could not find the original one in the ST.

³⁹ The phrase *Al-`Insān Al-Kāmil* (literally: the complete person) is controversial when used to refer to any person rather than the prophet Muhammad who is the only human being considered “perfect” in Islamic tradition. It means that a person has reached perfection (Leaman, 2006).

⁴⁰ Available in Chapter One, Data of the Study section.

⁴¹ For more details, see Chapter Four, section 4.1.3.

translation of *Pygmalion* published by *Wādī al-Nīl* in 2011 put the TT in front of its ST i.e. a page in Arabic in front of a page in English as if targeting students⁴².

Moreover, the register of the staged adaptations of Shaw's plays could not be 100% confirmed since I have no access to them. The performances of *Man of Destiny* in 1958, *The Devil's Disciple* in 1959 and *Widowers' Houses* in 1960 by the National Troupe is assumed to be in Standard Arabic. However, the National Troupe was patronized by the state which required its literary experts to translate from World literature and to produce these works using Modern Standard Arabic and did not permit the use of the colloquial (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). Also, because the post-performance publication of the staged version of *Widowers' Houses* in 1960 uses Standard Arabic as its register. In addition, the translation of *Arms and the Man* by Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil was originally devoted for the stage before it was published more than thirty years later. The translator states in his introduction of the published version that he did not change even a word of his 1926 translation that was turned into the 1927 *Kirīm Shukulūt* performance. Thus, it is assumed that it was staged as it is. Thus, this proves that these four performances used MSA as its register. In contrast, in the 1969 adaptation of *Pygmalion* as *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, the whole play was Egyptianised in terms of plot, characters, names, dialogues etc. and the Egyptian colloquial variety was chosen as its register. This was and still is a common practice or a prevailing poetics for performances of Egyptian-society-related texts even if it is of a foreign origin. Because by adapting a play to the Egyptian environment, it is no longer a translation. Likewise, the 2015 adaptation of the same play by Egyptian students was also Egyptianised since they adapted the 1969 adaptation itself, the 2017 student adaptation was also Egyptianised, but the 2017 adaptation by the National Troupe used both MSA spoken by high-class and educated characters and the Egyptian colloquial spoken by low-class and uneducated ones.

In addition, going through the recordings of Shaw's plays translated for the radio shows that they depended on the printed translations since the exact texts were used with the addition of some words only to indicate what is going on in the stage directions. However, it could not be found anywhere if the translated text had been published before or after the radio performance. Though, all of them were published within the specialised series of the Ministry of Culture (please see the table below). Similarly, other radio performances used the same variety of Arabic which is a

⁴² Again, this translation is identical to the translation by Ḥusām Al-Tamīmī published in 2008 by Dār Al-Hilāl in Lebanon.

simplified, semi-colloquial MSA with some Egyptian colloquial pronunciation of some letters and colloquial words and expressions. The radio translations of Shaw's plays were broadcasted on *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-Thaqāfī* and *Idhā'at Al-Barnāmj Al-Thānī* that have been established and patronized by the state around the same period of time of the Egyptian theatre flourish. Therefore, I assume that a similar requirement to staging in MSA was there for translated literature when produced on radio. The published translations used for radio are:

ST Title	TT Title	Translator
The Millionairess	<i>Al-Milyūnīra</i>	Abdul-Mun'im Shumays
Caesar and Cleopatra	<i>Qayṣar wa Kilyūbatrā</i>	Narjis Naṣīf
Widowers' Houses	<i>Buyūt Al-Arāmīl</i>	'Āiḍ Al-Rubāṭī
Heartbreak Houses	<i>Bayt Al-Qulūb Al-Muḥaṭṭama</i>	Maḥmūd Sāmī Aḥmad

Table 8. Published translations of Shaw's plays used for radio broadcasting

5.2.2 Other Arab Countries

Lebanon, as Abdul-Laṭīf Sharārā states "could not establish a theatre as an art; rather, it could initiate it as a literature to be read and as a means to express life and inner self" (1957, cited in Al-Rā'ī, 1999, p. 206). Although, however, theatre has started as late as the 1960s, and mainly targeted the intellectual elites, Lebanese dramatists, translators and actors played a major role in the establishment as well as the development of the Egyptian theatre. Examples of these Lebanese individuals are Farah Anṭūn, George Abyaḍ, Saīm Al-Naqqāsh, Yusuf Khayyāt, 'Iskandar Farah and Sulimān Qirdāhī.

Twelve translations of Shaw's plays were published in Lebanon since 1955 by private publishers and only one play was performed on stage as follows:

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Publisher
Published Translations			
Candida	<i>Kandīdā</i>	1955	Dār Al-Malāyīn
Pygmalion	<i>Bigmālyūn</i>	1956	Al-Adīb Journal (5)- <i>shortened</i>
The Millionairess	<i>Al-Milyūnīra</i>	1980	Dār Al-Ḥarf Al-'Arabī

Major Barbara	<i>Mayjur Bārbara</i>	1990	Al-Ḥayyāt Library
The Devil's Disciple	<i>Tabi' Al-Shayṭān</i>	2003	Dār Al-Hilāl
Candida	<i>Kandīdā</i>	2004	
Mrs Warren's Profession	<i>Mihnat Al-Sayīda Wārin</i>	2004	
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Rajjul wa Al-Silāḥ</i>	2005	
Man and Superman	<i>Al-`Insān wa Al-`Insān Al-Amthal</i>	2006	
Pygmalion	<i>Bigmālyūn</i>	2008	
The Millionairess	<i>Al-Milyūnīra</i>	2012	
Major Barbara	<i>Mayjur Bārbara – Jaysh Al-Khalāṣ</i>	2017	
Stage Adaptations			
ST Title	TT Title	Year	Details
Pygmalion	<i>Bint Al-Jabal</i>	1977, 1988, 2015	Adapted by Romio Laḥūd

Table 9. Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in Lebanon

In Syria, the theatrical movement started with individual efforts whose works were mostly described as theatrical texts for reading rather than for performing on stage (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). In 1959, the Syrian theatre was patronized and supported by the State under the Arts Department in the Ministry of Culture (ibid.). However, the role of Syrian intellectuals and theatre specialists is crucial in the establishing and development of the Egyptians theatre as well. Both the Military Theatre (established in 1958) and the National Theatre (established in 1963) witnessed a flourish in the 1960s and 1970s (Syrian Ministry of Defence, no date⁴³; Fedaa, 2014).

Ten translations of Shaw's plays were published in Syria by both public and private publishers, and some of Shaw's plays were adapted for the Syrian theatre as follows:

⁴³ Available from: <http://www.mod.gov.sy/index.php?node=556&cat=685> [Accessed 03 November 2017].

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Publisher
The Devil's Disciple	<i>Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān</i>	196?	Ministry of Culture and National Guidance
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Silāḥ wa Al-`Insān</i>	1990	Dār Al-Mu`alif
	<i>Al-`Insān wa Al-Silāḥ</i>	1994	Al-`Ajlūnī Printing House
	<i>Al-Rajul wa Al-Silāḥ</i>	1996	Dār Al-Anwār
	<i>Al-`Insān wa Al-Silāḥ</i>	1999	Dār Al-`Aydī
44	<i>Lā Aḥd Yadrī</i>	2000	Dār Al-Kindī
	<i>Lā Aḥd Yadrī</i>	2004	Dār Al-`Aydī
You Can Never Tell	<i>Lā Yumkinuka An Tahzar</i>	2003	Dār Al-Munajjid
Major Barbara	<i>Al-Rā`id Bārbara</i>	2007	Rislān Organisation
	<i>Al- Mayjur Bārbara</i>	2008	Dār Usāma
Stage Adaptations			
ST Title	TT Title	Year	Details
Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Aqdār</i>	1962	Hānī Ṣunūbar (director), on the Syrian National Theatre
	<i>Rajul Al-Aqdār</i>	-	Rafīq Ṣabbān (director), on the Military Theatre
The Devil's Disciple	<i>Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān</i>	1963	Muhammad Al-Ṭayīb (director), on the Syrian National Theatre
Saint Joan	<i>Jān Darak</i>	1971	Muhammad Al-Ṭayīb (director), on the Syrian National Theatre

Table 10. Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in Syria

In Kuwait, the theatrical movement began as an educational activity in schools since the 1930s which performed both Arabic and translated plays (Al-Rā'ī, 1999). In 1961,

⁴⁴ The ST could not be confirmed.

a state-sponsored troupe was formed under the request of the Egyptian theatre-specialist Zakī Ṭulimāt whom Kuwait hired to establish a sound theatre for ten years since 1961 (ibid.). Another Egyptian theatre-specialist contributed to the establishment and development of the Kuwaiti theatre is ‘Alī Al-Rā’ī in 1972 (ibid.). In addition, Kuwait has been publishing translated drama through the drama-specialised series called *Min Al-Masrah Al-‘Ālamī* (From World Theatre) issued by the Ministry of Media⁴⁵. Through this series, seven translations of Shaw’s plays were published in the 1970s and only one play was adapted for the stage as follows:

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Series
Published Translations			
The Philanderer	<i>Al-‘Ābith</i>	1972	From World Theatre Series by the Ministry of Media
Widowers’ Houses	<i>Buyūt Al-Arāmīl</i>	1972	
Candida	<i>Kandīdā</i>	1973	
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Silāh wa Al-‘Insān</i>	1973	
Man of Destiny	<i>Rajul Al-Maqādīr</i>	1973	
Captain Brassbound's Conversion	<i>Hidāyat Al-Qubṭān Brasbaund</i>	1975	
The Devil’s Disciple	<i>Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān</i>	1975	
Stage Adaptations			
ST Title	TT Title	Year	Details
Pygmalion	<i>Bigmālyūn</i>	2013	prepared and directed by Ibrahīm bu Ṭaybān

Table 11. Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw’s plays in Kuwait

Other published and staged translations of Shaw’s plays in the Arab World include:

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Country
Published Translations			
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-‘Insān wa Al-Asliḥa</i>	1990	Jordan

⁴⁵ For more details please see Chapter Four, section 4.2.1, footnote 2.

Mrs Warren's Profession	<i>Mihnat Al-Sayīda Wārin</i>	1991	Iraq
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-`Insān wa Al-Silāh</i>	1992	France ⁴⁶
Arms and the Man	<i>Al-Silāh wa Al-`Insān</i>	2007	Jordan
Heartbreak Houses	<i>Manzil Al-Qulūb Al-Muḥaṭṭama</i>		47
Staged Adaptations			
Man of Destiny	<i>Rajūl Al-Qadar</i>	1962	Switzerland
Pygmalion	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i>	2008	Yemen
	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i>	2015	USA by Iraqi Troupe

Table 12. Published translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays in other Arab countries

5.3 Shaw in Arab Cinema and Television

Bernard Shaw's plays were also adapted for the Arab cinema and TV specifically in Egypt. Three films were produced, a TV series and an episode of a *Fawāzīr* (Puzzle Program). Here is a table of these adaptations:

ST Title	TT Title	Year	Country	Media
Pygmalion	<i>Bayyā`at Al-Tuffāh</i>	1939	Egypt	Cinema
	<i>Tamr Ḥinna</i>	1957		
	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i>	1975		
	<i>Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla</i> (an episode in <i>Fawāzīr Al-Aflām</i>)	1983	Egypt	TV
	<i>`Imra`a Jamīla</i> ⁴⁸	2016		

Table 13. Cinema and television adaptations of Shaw's plays in Egypt

⁴⁶ Although not published in an Arab country, it was translated by Arabs.

⁴⁷ Both date and country could not be confirmed.

⁴⁸ The only information available about this TV series is that the Egyptian actress Narmīn Al-Faqqī announced that the series will be released after the holy month of Ramadan of 2016, which is the main season to release new series, because of the poor advertising. However, it seems that the series was not produced.

Pygmalion is adapted to the Egyptian milieu in all these adaptations and the Egyptian colloquial was used as their register. This is the variety used in cinema and TV except in historical films or series. As for the cinema adaptations, the 1939 adaptation is about a wealthy man who bet his friends to transform an apple seller to an aristocratic lady for a large sum of money then he will show her in high-end circles. When the date of his success to win the bet came, the girl discovers the plan of the two friends so she told the truth at a party. Soon after that, the young man shows his love and desire to marry her. In the 1957 adaptation, Tamr Ḥina is a gypsy dancer who is loved by her colleague Ḥasan. Ahmed, a rich young son of a Basha, frequented attended her dances to watch Tamr Ḥina with his bankrupt neighbour Rostum and Ghafir Zūrūb. Ahmed was courting her which aroused the jealousy of Ḥasan who quarrelled with him. Ahmad's father wanted him to marry his cousin Kawthar because she is very rich. Because of a quarrel between Khattar and Tamr Ḥina, Ahmad's father ordered to demolish the tents of the gypsies and burn them. Ahmed told his father that there is no difference between Kawthar and Tamr Ḥina because we are all the children of Adam and Eve. However, his father was not convinced so Ahmed bet him that if he could prove this, he can win the eastern homestead. Thus, Ahmed took Tamr Ḥina to Cairo where he changed her appearance and taught her to become like an aristocratic for six months. With the end of the six months, she met Ahmed's father and told him that she is the daughter of a very rich man and her name is Yasmīn. Ahmad's father became interested in marrying her to join their fortunes. In the party he held to announce their decision of marriage, Kawthar revealed the truth of Tamr Ḥina who became also aware of Ahmed's bet with his father and that he did not like her; therefore, she preferred to return to her lover Ḥasan. The plot of the last adaptation of 1975 revolves around a university professor who taught a simple seller to become a classy lady.

In addition, *Pygmalion* was produced in an episode of *Fawāzīr Al-Aflām Faṭūṭa* (Film Puzzles with *Faṭūṭa*) in 1983. In this TV program, an Arabic film or stage performance is presented in short scenes with songs and dances acted by the cast of the program as a puzzle that viewers of the show should guess the name of that film or performance and send their answers by mail. This episode is based on the 1969 *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* adaptation of *Pygmalion* with three scenes re-performed with singing instead of dialogues. These three scenes are: the first meeting between Ṣuḍfa and Kamāl, Kamāl teaching Ṣuḍfa how to walk properly, and the final party where Ṣuḍfa succeeded as a lady.

5.4 Conclusion

To sum up, Bernard Shaw has become of an interest for Arab intellectuals both as academics and as theatre, radio, TV and cinema makers since the first decades of the twentieth century. Shaw and his drama were used from different perspectives in order to serve different socio-cultural and political purposes. As discussed in the chapter, Shaw has been introduced to Arab audiences as early as 1914, and the highest number of publications and productions of Shaw's drama and other non-fiction works was in the 1960s during socialist Egypt under Abdul-Nassir's regime. This is due to Shaw's socialist reforming ideas that are in line with the country's new orientation. In other Arab countries, he appeared in the writings published in Lebanon in the 1940s, Iraq in the 1960s, Kuwait in 1970s, Saudi Arabia and Qatar in 1980s, Jordan in 1990s and both Yemen and Algeria in the twenty-first century.

In addition, the chapter provides a list of the specialized series and other public and private publishers who published the Arabic translations of Shaw's drama specifically in Egypt, and two lists of all Arabic stage performances and radio translations of Shaw's plays. It investigates the translators' identities, their choices in light of the prevailing poetics of their time and place, and the motives of publishing those translations. The following chapter analyses four Arabic stage versions of Shaw's *Pygmalion* ranging from 1969 to 2017.

CHAPTER SIX

REWRITING BERNARD SHAW'S DRAMA FOR THE ARAB THEATRE: STAGE PERFORMANCES OF *PYGMALION*

As noted in Chapter Two, “rewriting manipulates, and it is effective” (Lefevere, 1992, p.9). Indeed, Lefevere argues that “rewriters adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time” (ibid., p.8). Thus, rewriting contributes to the evolution of literature and society, and to the introduction of new genres, new concepts, and new devices (ibid.). Translation is the most recognisable and influential means of ‘rewriting’ because of its ability to project the image of an author or a work in the receiving culture (ibid.). Accordingly, translators manipulate texts to bring them in line with ideological and poetological currents, in order to serve specific socio-cultural and political agendas. Alvarez and Vidal (1996) see translators as being constrained by their own ideologies, by prevailing ideologies, by common poetics, and by their feeling of superiority or inferiority, as well as by opinions and expectations. Translators may add new thoughts and ideas because they have a hidden agenda or purpose, both consciously and unconsciously (Rösler, 2009). However, when rewriting for the stage, the translated text goes through a series of readjustments before being accepted for staging, by the people commissioning it. Furthermore, all the individuals involved in the performance rewrite the original text in one way or another; these individuals include playwrights, dramaturges, stage directors, actors, sound and lighting technicians and dress designers (Dincel, 2007). Accordingly, the translator’s task “is not simply to decode a text into a different language creating a linguistic equivalence” but to recreate a text for performance to suit different needs (Peghinelli, 2012, p.22).

What makes an adaptation different from a translation is that the latter creates an encounter between cultures in order to achieve intercultural transfer, while the former acculturates otherness in the original text regardless of its message, for a new audience (Joseph Farrell and Nick Dear, cited in Cappuccio, 2010, p.58). Therefore, adaptation is an appropriation of the original playtext for performance purposes, and various changes are made to the ST to the point that, sometimes, the TT is detached from the ST. These changes are achieved through the use of many procedures, including: transcription, omission, expansion, exoticism, updating, situational equivalence, creation, illustration, explanation, and exemplification (Bastin, 1998; Assaqaf, 2016). During the adaptation process, the adapter must keep in mind the

knowledge and expectations of the target audience; the choice of an appropriate target register that matches that of the source text; and the meaning and purpose of the source and target texts (Bastin, 1998). Therefore, adaptation involves a deliberate intervention for functional purposes, including imitation, appropriation, and manipulation, which leads to a shift in authorship (ibid.). Different eras, audiences, and the translator's agenda require different degrees of manipulation and translational strategies in order to bring the TT in line with theatrical conventions and with the audience's requirements of the TC. Since translation involves rewriting and manipulation, adaptation is suitable for rendering foreign texts into a target culture, and the manipulation process is affected by the cultural constraints of the TL and the translators, as well the audience who belong to a specific culture, and those who try to culturally appropriate the ST. Lefevere and Bassnett argue that any form of translation is actually a new creation, which results from the rewriting of the ST. In this regard, Bassnett (2009, cited in Cappuccio, 2010, p.170) claims a translator rewrites, reshapes, restructures, and re-encodes for a new public, and in the theatre this is particularly apparent; they argue that it is simply not possible to be 'faithful' to an original text, because cultural systems, horizons of expectations, and stylistic frameworks etc. can be completely different.

6.1 The Rationale of Adaptation as Rewriting: Stage Adaptation in the Arab World

Arab Theatre depends heavily on adaptation (or *iqtibās*) and translators began translating Western dramas into Arabic during the early stages of Arab theatre. Translators adapted the themes of a foreign text as well as the characters or a number of characters, the main story or action of the drama, and the writing style, or all of these together (Salām, 1993). In this regard, Tawfiq Al-Hakim (1974) states that

The 'Egyptianised' foreign play used to be described as *iqtibās* [literally, 'lighting a piece of wood from a fire', hence 'acquisition' or 'adoption'], just as a foreign novel freely translated (as was done by Al-Manfalūṭī) was described as 'Arabization' – i.e. 'Arabization' [was the term used] in [fictional] literature, and 'Egyptianisation' in the theatre. The word *iqtibās* was not used in its strict linguistic sense. In common usage, it meant that the play was neither pure creation nor pure translation. It consisted rather of transferring the topic from one milieu to another, changing the foreign characters into Egyptian or Orientals...

Among us, theatrical *iqtibās*... amounted almost to semi-authorship especially in those long departed days when we used to write... The alteration of social relations in accordance with the demands of our milieu in turn necessitated changes in the dialogue, the characterisation and some of the situations of the play, adding up to considerable departures from the original... These activities were tantamount to a school for the training of playwrights, giving the

opportunity to such of them as wished to spread their wings in the future to fly solo...

None of us allowed himself to write the word *ta' līf* (authorship) unless that was what had actually taken place, or if his inventiveness and effort had reached the point of creative writing. If the play was translated, then the name of the foreign author was mentioned in all advertisements, no matter how valuable the contribution of the translator or 'Arabizer' was... (cited and translated in Cachia, 1990, p.37).

Salām (1993, p.60) differentiates between two types of adaptation (*`iqtibās*) in the Arab World: *`iqtibās 'an* (meaning based on) and *`iqtibās min* (meaning adapted from). The former refers to the task of taking one or more elements from the ST and then reconstructing the whole text in a new and different way, while the latter refers to the adaptation of an element or several elements in addition to using, to a limited degree, the speech, actions or incidents present in the original drama. In relation to *`iqtibās min* Tawfiq Al-Hakim (1974) adds that

[If] the play had been so changed that it had become something else – then it was enough to say, '*iqtibās* from the pen of so-and-so'. It so happened that 'Abbās 'Allām wanted to get rid of this word *iqtibās* that had become customary, so he adopted – and perhaps he was the first to do so – that obscure, ambiguous formula, when used by itself: 'from the pen of...'... This practice spread among all writers until it came to seem natural. (cited and translated in Cachia, 1990, p.37).

Salām (1993, p.60) suggests that the more creative an adapter is, then the more the adapted text comes across as original. Arabs began adapting for the stage for several reasons: firstly, to facilitate the beginning of Arab theatre; secondly, because there were a limited number of playwrights in comparison to the large number of theatrical troupes; thirdly, because of the weak and uncreative quality of authored plays; and fourthly, to convey culturally-related content for the Arab audience (among others). In the Arab world, adaptation is more associated with Arabic stage performances, than with drama or drama translation as published literature (ibid.). For example, it is not possible to find any printed or published versions of the adaptations of early Arab dramatists such as Al-Naqqāsh and Ṣanū', or even any later productions. However, some translators managed to publish their stage adaptations as post-performance texts, and this trend has continued to this day. For instance, there are no published texts in existence of the successful Lebanese adaptation of Shaw's *Pygmalion*, entitled *Bint Al-Jabal*.

In this chapter, I will focus on Arabic stage adaptations/rewritings of Shaw's *Pygmalion*. The play has been adapted many times in different Arab countries and periods of time; i.e. seven times between 1969 and 2017, in Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq⁴⁹ and Yemen⁵⁰. Thus, the chapter attempts to answer the following research question: How have the constraints of 'poetics' and 'patronage', as theorised by Lefevere, affected the various rewritings of Shaw's plays for the Arab theatre? In order to answer this question, I have chosen to analyse three adaptations of *Pygmalion*, textually, contextually and paratextually. A textual analysis will be undertaken by examining the verbal means of the performance, mainly the dialogue, in terms of register, literary dialect or colloquialisms. The contextual analysis will rely on both the textual context and the socio-cultural and political context of the adaptations, and, thus, it will benefit from an examination of elements such as: audience type and expectations; the adapter's background and capital; the motivations of the adapters and producers for undertaking the production; censorship; political structures; resources other than the ST itself, as a basis for adaptation, and reception and feedback from the audience, critics and the press where available. Finally, I will undertake a paratextual analysis which will look at elements such as: material distributed during the performance; any introductory speeches given before the beginning of the performance and the nonverbal gestures and body movements of the actors on stage.

The data selection criteria is based on the following factors: *Pygmalion* has been adapted for the Arab stage more than any other play by Shaw, and the play has been staged in different socio-cultural and political contexts or settings (i.e. in Egypt in 1969 and 2017; and in Lebanon in 1977 and 2015). I will focus on the socio-cultural and political factors of different time-frames, and the diversity of patrons who commissioned the performances, in order to explore the extent to which the patronage and poetics of different eras have affected the reception of a specific play or author, textual selection, and even translational choices made. In addition, I have chosen the TTs because they offer enough contextual material about the performance, adapters and other agents involved in the productions.

In the following section, I will discuss specific source-text and source-cultural issues that represent translational problems, before presenting an analysis of the data, in order to understand difficulties. I will then undertake an in-depth analysis of how

⁴⁹ The Iraqi version was performed in the USA.

⁵⁰ A full list of these adaptations is presented in Appendix 1.

each adapter dealt with them. The problems addressed include the ST's plot, author intentions, the use of literary dialects, titles and endings, and characterisation, using both verbal and nonverbal means. In the subsequent sections, I will analyse two Egyptian adaptations and two versions of the Lebanese adaptation.

6.2 Translation Challenges in *Pygmalion*: Background of the Source Text

Pygmalion is Shaw's funniest, most popular and most beloved play. It has been described as "one of the great English Comedies of the twentieth century – notable not only for its brilliantly drawn characters, wit, satire, and subversiveness, but also for its underlying concerns of socialism, feminism and gender" (McGovern, 2011, p.6). It was written in 1912 but was not published until 1918 with *Androcles and the Lion* and *Overruled* (Shaw, 1912/2002). The play was first performed in Germany in 1913, then in England in 1914 in His Majesty's Theatre in London (ibid.). The play has also appeared as a stage musical in 1956 and has been seen on screen as two films *Pygmalion* in 1938 and as a musical adaptation *My Fair Lady* in 1964⁵¹.

The play is based on the ancient Greek story by Ovid of the myth of *Metamorphoses*, in which a sculptor, who was ashamed of women's status in his era, decides to live alone and unmarried. Being a sculptor, he creates a beautiful statue of the 'perfect woman' and falls in love with his creation, naming it Galatea. He then goes to the temple and prays to the goddess of love, Aphrodite (the Greek counterpart to the Roman Venus⁵²), to give him a 'perfect woman' just like his statue. Aphrodite, touched by his desire for love brings Galatea to life, and he returns from the temple to find his statue brought to life. He then marries Galatea and lives happily ever after. However, there is another ending of this myth in other resources in which Pygmalion prays to Aphrodite to turn Galatea back into statue which he later destroys.

Shaw adapts the myth and introduces a new plot line that is in-keeping with late twentieth century English culture, in which a professor of phonetics, Henry Higgins, teaches a Cockney lower-class flower girl, Eliza Doolittle, to speak properly, in order to pass her off as an upper-class lady. Shaw avoids using the supernatural elements apparent in the original myth, and replaces the actual transformation of the statue with the educational and cultural transformation of a real woman who 'comes to life' when she becomes educated about how to 'speak and behave properly' (Shaw, 1912/2002). Shaw includes phonetics as one of the main themes of his play because

⁵¹ A film version of the stage musical '*My Fair Lady*' (1956) was made in 1964, based on a dramatic film of the play made in 1938.

⁵² Ancient History Encyclopaedia (2013). Available from: <https://www.ancient.eu/venus/>

he was interested in this subject and was influenced by phoneticians of his time, the most important being Henry Sweet, on whom Higgins is based, and who Shaw, in his preface to the play, says Higgins has ‘touches’ of (p.xxi). In addition, Shaw uses the play to undertake a criticism of the English people of his day, whom he describes as having:

...no respect for their language, and will not teach their children to speak it. They spell it so abominably that no man can teach himself what it sounds like. It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him. German and Spanish are accessible to foreigners: English is not accessible even to Englishmen. The reformer England needs today is an energetic phonetic enthusiast: that is why I have made such a one the hero of a popular play. (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.xix).

Another intention for writing the play is to mock English society which, Shaw believed, judged people according to their class, accent and appearance. Shaw wanted to challenge the prevailing idea that those born in to a specific social class cannot change this circumstance (MacDonald, 2006, in Chair and Lakhadri, 2017). Shaw was a socialist who believed in the right to education for people from all classes; he allows Eliza to succeed in her struggle to change her social class through education (ibid.). In the preface to his work, Shaw explains that his play is

for the encouragement of people troubled with accents that cut them off from all high employment, I may add that the change wrought by Professor Higgins in the flower-girl is neither impossible nor uncommon ... But the thing has to be done scientifically.” (Shaw, 1912/2002, Preface, p. xxii).

In other words, Shaw expresses his disgust with the upper-classes, and he depicts them as dominating the working classes in a class struggle (Chair and Lakhadri, 2017).

6.2.1 Implications of the Title and the Ending

The ending of Ovid’s telling of the original myth is romantic and happy, but the ending of Shaw’s *Pygmalion* is ambiguous. The former ends with the marriage of Pygmalion and Galatea, but the latter ends with a quarrel in which Eliza threatens to marry Freddy and teach him what she has learned from Higgins, to which Higgins responds with mysterious laughter after her departure. Thus, Shaw seems to follow the second ending of the myth.

Shaw was famous for saying “don’t talk to me of romances; I was sent into the world to dance on them with thick boots to shatter, stab, and murder them” (in Shaw’s

Collection Letters, cited in Jeff Berryman, 2011, no pagination⁵³). Although Shaw adds the word 'romance' as a subtitle to his play: 'Pygmalion: a Romance in Five Acts', this is a mischievous move on Shaw's part, because the title leads readers and the audience into pre-supposing a romantic ending that unites the hero and heroine. However, Shaw's play ends without defining the future for Eliza and Higgins, which is later explored in an epilogue, entitled 'What Happened Afterwards?' which was added to the published version in 1916, two years after the performance. Crane (1951) argues that the symbolism of *Pygmalion* in the title has two implications: firstly, Pygmalion creates Galatea as Higgins creates a new Eliza; and secondly, Pygmalion becomes the victim of his creation, but this is not the case with Higgins. Crane (1951, p.882) explains as follows:

[Higgins] must do more than merely recognise Liza's independence of him; he must himself become dependent upon her; he must, in short, be brought to the realisation that he loves her. Shaw, in his memoir of Sir Herbert Beerbohm Tree as Higgins, expressed his disgust with Tree for tossing a bouquet out of the window to the departing Liza, just before the final curtain. Whatever one may think of the part, Higgins was not entirely unsound. And Shaw's condemnation of the sentimentality of the audience does not close the question.

Shaw fights against an ending that unites Higgins with Eliza for life. Indeed, during his life Shaw wrote different endings for the play as well as a detailed explanation of what happened next with Higgins and Eliza, and why they cannot be lovers. He also clarifies what he means by the word 'romance' in his epilogue. Shaw explains as follows:

The rest of the story need not be shown in action, and indeed, would hardly need telling if our imaginations were not so enfeebled by their lazy dependence on the ready-mades and reach-me-downs of the rag-shop in which Romance keeps its stock of "happy endings" to misfit all stories. Now, the history of Eliza Doolittle, though called a romance because of the transfiguration it records seems exceedingly improbable, is common enough... Nevertheless, people in all directions have assumed, for no other reason than that she became the heroine of a romance, that she must have married the hero of it. This is unbearable, not only because her little drama, if acted on such a thoughtless assumption, must be spoiled, but because the true sequel is patent to anyone with a sense of human nature in general, and of feminine instinct in particular. (Shaw, 1912/2002, Epilogue, p.72).

⁵³ Available from: <https://jeffberryman.com/2011/07/12/george-bernard-shaw-and-the-fight-for-pygmalion/>

Thus, he assures the audience that the ‘romance’ is achieved through Eliza’s transformation and independence from her ‘creator’ since “Galatea never does quite like Pygmalion: his relation to her is too godlike to be altogether agreeable” (ibid. p.82). Shaw thinks that being separated means protecting Eliza’s integrity, as he wrote to Mrs. Campbell in 1920:

When Eliza emancipates herself – when Galatea comes to life – she must not relapse. She must retain her pride and triumph to the end. When Higgins takes your arm on 'consort battleship' you must instantly throw him off with implacable pride; and this is the note until the final 'Buy them yourself.' He will go out on the balcony to watch your departure; come back triumphantly into the room; exclaim 'Galatea!' (- meaning that the statue has come to life at last); and – curtain. Thus he gets the last word; and you get it too (Cornell University Library, 1997, p.34).

Solomon (1964) argues that Shaw’s ending is ‘the only satisfying one’ because if Eliza returns to Higgins then it means that she will always be his ‘servant’ and Higgins would not have succeeded in really changing her. Moreover, Shaw was very keen to note that any stage performances and film adaptations should not end in any way that contradicted his intentions. Thus, during his life, Shaw wrote both stage versions and screen scripts, and helped in directing the play (Jeff Berryman, 2011). For instance, Shaw directed the 1914 stage production of his play. A document in Cornell University Library (1997, p.42) notes that “both Campbell and Sir Herbert Tree, who played Professor Higgins, proved difficult in rehearsals - Shaw walked out of the theatre in frustration at one point... [But the play] had a successful run of 118 performances.” For the 1938 film adaptation of the play, Shaw wrote a compromise conclusion for Gabriel Pascal that showed Eliza and Freddy happy together and running a flower shop. However, Pascal did not follow Shaw’s epilogue advice and ended the production with Eliza returning to Higgins’ house, where she hears him listening to a recording of her voice saying “I washed my face and hands before I came, I did.” In addition, Shaw wrote an additional scene for this film adaptation which takes place at the ambassador’s party, where Eliza succeeds to present herself as lady, and, thus, wins the bet Higgins set for her: this scene is alluded to in the original published play but not acted out on stage. All the scenes Shaw added to the screen adaptation were also added to the 1941 publication of the play as a ‘Note for Technicians.’ In addition, Pascal introduced two now famous pronunciation scenes, in which Eliza is shown practising the phrase “the rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain” and “In Hertford, Hereford, and Hampshire, hurricanes hardly ever happen” (Pascal, 1970, p.83). Shaw did not want his play *Pygmalion* turned into a musical, but this happened in 1956 and was staged under the title *My*

Fair Lady, later produced as a musical film in 1964 (Bostridge, 2014). Both the stage and film versions of the musical end in the same way the 1938 film did.

Over the years, the implications of the changes made to the title of Shaw's play, as well as the composition of different endings to the play (the ending included in the original published version or those used for other stage and film adaptations) represent difficulties for a dramatic translator or adapter. Should the original title be used for the TT? Which ending should the translator/adapter choose to use? Should the translator/adapter be faithful to Shaw's original ending and stick to the original intended ending or can he/she still be faithful to Shaw's vision if a later version of the ending is used, or even if the adapter creates a new one? What factors determine the choice of a specific ending? All these questions will be answered in the analysis of the Arabic adaptations of the play.

6.2.2 Language and Characterisation

Shaw uses language as a main theme in *Pygmalion*. He developed this theme from his interest in phonetics and his fascination with the class implications of using standard 'Queen's English' and dialectic English. The study of phonetics is explored through the characters of Henry Higgins and Colonel Pickering. Higgins is a professor of phonetics and the author of the book entitled *Higgins' Universal Alphabet*. He makes his living by schooling those who want to learn to speak English more appropriately. In the first act, he makes a visit to Covent Garden for academic purposes; he takes notes of all the different accents and dialects he hears and refers to Covent Garden as his "living laboratory" (Roy, 2004, p.2). Higgins proclaims "I can place any man within six miles. I can place him within two miles in London, sometimes within two streets." (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.8). Colonel Pickering is also a professor of phonetics who specialises in the ancient languages of India, and is the author of a book called *Spoken Sanskrit*. Pickering shows an interest in Higgins' proposal to transform Eliza from a simple flower girl into a lady by changing her Cockney accent so that she can speak 'proper English', or as Higgins describes it "I shall make a duchess of this draggletailed guttersnipe" (p.16). Pickering states that if Higgins succeeds in the experiment, he will admit that Higgins is "the greatest teacher alive" (ibid.). Pickering is even willing to pay all the expenses needed for the experiment. Shaw was interested in phonetics and was introduced to Henry Sweet by his Irish friend James Lecky (Shimizu, no date⁵⁴). In *Pygmalion*, Shaw proposes

⁵⁴ Available from: <https://ci.nii.ac.jp/els/contents110004646332.pdf?id=ART0007367398>

a reform of the alphabet based on using phonetic sounds found in the English language (ibid.). This suggestion is a consequence of him struggling to transcribe the Cockney tones spoken by Eliza and her father. For example, Shaw composes an apology after one attempt to transcribe Eliza's speech in Act 1 "Here, with apologies, this desperate attempt to represent her dialect without a phonetic alphabet must be abandoned as unintelligible outside London." (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.3).

Pygmalion demonstrates one of the most successful treatments of the Cockney dialect among English playwrights. In his preface, Shaw stresses the importance of phonetics as a tool of social mobility. Shaw explores phonetics as a central theme in the play, but places more emphasis on the British class system that has resulted from a capitalist and aristocratic led society (ibid.). During the course of the play, it becomes clear how Shaw believes a person can improve social class using phonetics training in that "the thing has to be done scientifically." (Shaw, 1912/2002, Preface, p. xxii).

Standard English is used by high class characters including Higgins, Pickering, Mrs. Higgins, Mrs. Pearce and the Eynsford Hills, and the Cockney dialect is apparent in the speech of Eliza Doolittle and her father (Shaw's literary dialects).⁵⁵ The characters' use of language is one aspect of their characterisation⁵⁶ that reveals their backgrounds and identities; their speech implies which social class they belong to, and what level of education they have. According to Tien (2015), any dialect used in literature is not identical to the speech it represents in real life, since it comprises features of the real dialect and the author's own observations or impressions of dialect and of the way people speak. Ives (1971, p.146) defines a literary dialect as "an author's attempt to represent in writing the speech that is restricted regionally, socially, or both." Ives adds that literary dialects can be exaggerated to the point that they seem foreign to listeners or readers who become aware that they are not real dialects (ibid.) Among the many reasons why writers use literary dialects is to inform the reader of the circumstances under which the character is speaking, and it helps an audience understand the socio-cultural and political outline of a character (Pinto,

⁵⁵ Shaw explores dialects in a number of his writings, including the Irish dialect in *Immaturity* (1879), a character who corrects another's accent in *Among the Artists* (1881), in *Widowers' Houses* (1892), in *Candida* (1894) and in *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* (1999) (Shimizu, no date).

⁵⁶ Characterisation, according to the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (2015), is "the representation of persons in narrative and dramatic works... [through] direct methods like the attribution of qualities in description or commentary, and indirect (or 'dramatic') methods inviting readers to infer qualities from characters' actions, speech, or appearance."

2009). Thus, authors use fictional dialects to guarantee specific reactions from readers and listeners, to help build characterisation. However, these dialectic recreations are not accurate, and are subject to change according to the authors' objectives (ibid.).

In *Pygmalion*, Shaw describes the social conditions of the lower-classes in early twentieth century England using the characters of Eliza and her father, and he presents the Cockney dialect as the representative dialect of the lower-classes in *Pygmalion*. Eliza appears at the beginning of the play as a poor and dirty flower girl:

She wears a little sailor hat of black straw that has long been exposed to the dust and soot of London and has seldom if ever been brushed. Her hair needs washing rather badly: its mousy color can hardly be natural. She wears a shoddy black coat that reaches nearly to her knees and is shaped to her waist. She has a brown skirt with a coarse apron. Her boots are much the worse for wear. (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.2).

The Cockney dialect was spoken by working-class Londoners, particularly in the East End, close to St. Marylebone Church, Cheapside in the City of London (Britannica Online Encyclopedia, 2018). It is both a social and a regional dialect because it is spoken in a specific community and by a certain social class of people. The Cockney dialect has always been looked down upon, has encapsulated pejorative connotations, and is generally applied by writers when depicting lower-class speech (Fowler, 1984; Britannica Online Encyclopedia, 2018). Fowler (1984) adds that it has been labelled as “monotonous, ugly, harsh, confused, and weak” and explains that “such judgments are based on instinct or snobbery, not scientific accuracy” (p.20). Eliza's lower-class status becomes clear when she and Freddy Eynsford Hill clash in Act 1, she says “Nah then, Freddy: look wh' y' gowin, deah”. Higgins thinks she produces “depressing and disgusting sounds.” She is also uneducated and unemployed, since during the era in which the play is set, it was difficult for the lower-classes to find work. In addition, Eliza's father, Alfred Doolittle, does not really care about her, only about chasing women, alcohol and ready cash. He is a dustman by trade and is depicted as having no morals. When he hears that Eliza has visited Henry Higgins in order to take lessons, Alfred decides to try to get some money out of the situation. Accordingly, he is willing to sell his daughter for a few pounds (Wiener, 2002). In her transformation from a flower girl into a lady, Eliza takes the first step to visit Higgins at his house and asks him to teach her to speak correct English, offering him money in return. When she proves that she is a hard-working student and Higgins begins to perceive her as a talented and clever student who contributes to her own progress, he praises her by saying that

she has "the most extraordinary quickness of ear" (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.43). Eliza already possesses qualities that will help her achieve independence, such as self-respect, pride, ambition, and a sense of humour (Busiel, no date, p.3).

Henry Higgins and Pickering represent the English upper-classes. Higgins comes from an upper-class family and had the experience of being brought up by an intelligent and warm-hearted mother. His way of dressing is neat and he has a beautiful, big house and a housekeeper who takes care of him. He is perceived as a gentleman due to his class, manners, speech, clothing, and profession, but does not treat Eliza or others well. For example, he refers to Eliza as one of "the squashed cabbage leaves of Covent Garden." He treats some people in an offhand way because of his own feelings of isolation and self-contempt, and he attacks the stupidity of mankind, saying "We are all savages, more or less" (Roy, 2004, p.6). He treats Eliza in a way that is stereotypical of English upper-class people, for instance he calls her "baggage" (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.14) and "an ungrateful wicked girl" (p.18). He also threatens that "somebody is going to touch [her], with a broomstick" (p.15) and tells Mrs. Pearce to "put her in the dustbin" (p.17).

Pygmalion is a reflection of Shaw's socialist views in its theme and message. Ganz (1983) claims that "*Pygmalion* illustrates the differences and tensions between the upper and lower class in the era of the early twentieth century; a basic belief of the period is that a person is born into a class, and that no-one can move from one class to another" (p.45, as cited in Lakhadri, 2017, p.31). Shaw uses Eliza's Cockney way of speaking in order to criticise both the upper-classes who judge people according to their speech, and the lower-classes for their vulgarity (ibid.). Thus, the play dramatises class division built on dialect, which leads to a class struggle: Eliza is represented by Shaw as someone who is striving to move up the social ladder by learning to speak well (ibid.). Another message of the play is that humans have the power to change, and that people from different classes are actually equal to everyone else, but what makes them different is their lack of access to opportunities in life and how they are treated by others. He illustrates this point through the character of Eliza who changes from being a vulgar flower girl into an independent and attractive human being. She effectively proves, especially to Higgins, that even a "guttersnipe" can learn to pass herself off as a "princess" (Wartenberg, 1999). Through the character of Alfred Doolittle, Shaw expresses his socialist views and "middle-class morality" in relation to the "undeserving poor", because Doolittle is unwilling to shoulder the responsibility of the money he inherits.

Shaw explores the following features of the Cockney dialect: (1) phonetic features, such as the inability to pronounce the consonant *h*, as in "eez ye-ooa san, is e?"

(Shaw, 1912/2002, p.3) which translates as **he** is your son, is **he**?; (2) grammatical errors⁵⁷ such as double negatives “I don’t owe him nothing” (p.21) and “I ain’t got no parents” (p.18) (Vettore, no date⁵⁸). There are also examples of Eliza’s own idiolect such as her whimpering interjections “Ah-ah-ah-ow-ow-ow-oo” (p.8), “Nah-ow” (p.17), and “boo-hoo-oo” (p.5). In addition, and even swear words are used by people who speaks this variety in the ST. For instance, when Eliza is asked by Freddy if she would like to walk with him across the park, she replies “Walk! Not bloody likely... I am going in a taxi” (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.40).

Nonverbal means of communication are also explored in the play in order to present a full image of the characters’ social identities, including appearance, body movements or gestures, tone, and idiolect or manner of speaking. In the early twentieth century people would often judge a person based on appearances, as well as speech. Thus, a person’s social class is not only apparent because of the dialect they speak, but also in the way they speak, dress, and even think (Lakhadri, 2017).

A third important element presented in relation to the characterisation of class is the dynamics of the relationships between the main characters. From the very beginning of their relationship, Higgins treats Eliza harshly and is unconcerned about doing so, he frequently talks to her using sarcasm. For instance, he says “It’s almost irresistible. She’s so deliciously low-so horribly dirty” (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.16). Even when she wins the bet, he exclaims “You won my bet! You! Presumptuous insect! *I* won it...” (p.50). In addition, he pretends that he does not care about her, saying “When I’ve done with her, we can throw her back into the gutter” (p.19). Higgins is unfeeling in his treatment of Eliza, but this may be more a reflection of the way he presents himself, rather than his true feelings. It is part of his manner to treat people rudely, including his mother. Mrs. Pearce warns him to be careful of his swearing when speaking in front of Eliza. However, he does not believe that Eliza has feelings, as shown in his reply to Pickering’s question “Oh no, I don’t think so. Not any feelings that we need bother about” (p.18). Higgins portrays the image that “Eliza is merely a thing to be taught; then a thing which has been taught; and finally a thing which it would be agreeable and useful to have around the house” (Wiener, 2002, p.63). Higgins begins to feel as if Eliza is his possession and thinks that Freddy

⁵⁷ Fowler (1984) explains that Cockneys are often accused of having “no grammar” because their speech does not obey Standard English grammatical rules, and these errors are the most obvious feature of their dialect, even more so than the pronunciation and vocabulary (p.4).

⁵⁸ Available from: https://www.academia.edu/21557287/_Cockney_An_Overview_of_the_London_dialect_and_its_representation_in_fictional_works. [Accessed 15 May 2019].

does not deserve his perfect creation, or in his words “my creation of a Duchess Eliza” (p.68). Higgins says “I’m not going to have my masterpiece thrown away on Freddy” (p.70). However, Eliza learns to behave like a lady from Pickering, and not from Higgins. She says to Pickering:

It was from you that I learnt really nice manners; and that is what makes one a lady, isn’t it? You see it was so very difficult for me with the example of Professor Higgins always before me. (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.63).

Higgins only teaches Eliza about proper pronunciation, while Pickering's thoughtful treatment towards Eliza teaches her self-respect. She says “You calling me Miss Doolittle that day when I first came to Wimpole Street. That was the beginning of self-respect for me” (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.63). Higgins treats Eliza as a laboratory object, and says things like “[I] created this thing out of squashed cabbage leaves of Covent Garden” (p. 62). However, Pickering treats the flower girl as if she is a lady, and does not distinguish between classes in his treatment of her, but Higgins treats a lady like a lower-class flower girl, as it is in his nature to act rudely with others, including his mother and Mrs. Pearce. After Eliza’s triumph, both Higgins and Pickering neither realise nor thank her for her efforts, but when confronted with this fact by Mrs. Higgins, Pickering realises his mistake and regrets it, but Higgins shows no regret.

The translator or adapter can be faced with issues relating to the translation of the verbal or linguistic aspects of the ST, including literary dialects, nonverbal or paratextual aspects, and the setting (i.e. space and time). Both verbal and nonverbal choices in the TT shape the image of the characters. Here is a list of questions to be answered in the analysis of the chosen data:

1. What varieties or dialects of Arabic are chosen as equivalents for Cockney and Standard English in the different Arabic adaptations of *Pygmalion*? Do they function similarly? Do they have similar socio-cultural and political connotations? What translation strategies are used?
2. How are the nonverbal aspects of the characters represented in the Arabic performances, especially those of Eliza throughout her transformation?
3. Does the rendering of both verbal and nonverbal aspects re-shape characterisation features intended by Shaw?
4. Have Arab adapters kept to the original space and time settings, changed one part of these elements, or altered both of them? How have decisions made affected the selection of linguistic varieties and nonverbal means?
5. Which characters have been kept and which have been removed and why?

After setting the scene for analysing and identifying translational difficulties, it is now time to look in depth at the selected Arabic performances of *Pygmalion*. As previously mentioned, four adaptations will be analysed.

6.3 *Pygmalion* in the Egyptian Theatre: Two Adaptations in Different Socio-Cultural and Political Contexts

I will compare an adaptation produced by a private/non-governmental troupe in the 1960s with another by a public/governmental troupe in 2017 in order to explore how different socio-cultural and political factors have affected the different choices made.

6.3.1 Translation as Egyptianisation: *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* (1969)

As mentioned in Chapter 4, after the 1952 Revolution, socialism was adopted in Egypt by Abdul-Nassir in the 1960s, and most forms of cultural production were nationalised by the state in order to control their content and to monitor opposing views (Abdul-Qādir, 1979). During that time, the introduction of the new National Constitution in 1962 stressed

[the superiority of] the role of the state over classes and the alliance of these classes under ‘the socialist unity’ framework. Its application meant that the bourgeoisie class would lead this alliance to serve its own interests...Then new sectors that can be named as ‘the top category’ in the new society joined the old [the bourgeoisie]” (ibid., p.82, my translation).

Abdul-Qādir explains that these new ‘sectors’ did not represent ‘a class’ but ‘an inconsistent group of individuals’ comprising the rich of the countryside, those working in the non-government sector, and senior government staff. He describes this group as people “having privilege, narrow-minded, unintelligent, tasteless, greedy for all luxuries and [leading a] daily consumerist style of life, and uneducated” (ibid., p.83, my translation). This group represented a significant percentage of Egyptian consumers of culture, a group that was growing and was later targeted by cultural producers, especially after the decline in national state theatre after the 1967 defeat. For instance, high-quality journals, such as *Al-Thaqāfa* and *Al-Risāla* which were re-published in 1963 by the Ministry of Culture, did not sell as well as they once did in the 1930s and 1940s. Only 1,500 out of 6,000 copies of *Al-Thaqāfa* and 2,000 out of 6,000 copies of *Al-Risāla* were sold that year (ibid.).

This proves that the cultural taste of the masses had been changed because any poetics is a ‘historical variable...not absolute’ and is subject to change with the course of time as Lefevre points out (1992a, p.53). The reasons behind this change

of taste, as mentioned in Chapter 4, is the writers' escape from the sad reality after the 1967 defeat to cheer up their audience and the state's encouragement of theatre to distract the masses and to know what the intellectual have in mind regarding the regime. Some Egyptian intellectuals were unhappy with these changes and found themselves obliged to choose one of two options: either to accept the new orientation and taste since they could not fix it, and rather than try to justify or change it, use it to guarantee personal security and/or wealth; or to ignore reality and try to deliver serious messages using the means that the audience preferred, i.e., "the illusion of the possibility of conveying a serious content through a non-serious form" (Abdul-Qādir, 1979, p.89, my translation). For example, the Egyptian critic Lewis 'Awad (cited in *ibid.*, p.86) thinks that the new TV theatre is just nonsense and a waste of the Egyptian money that do not serve the theatre, but rather to build certain individuals' empires. He thinks that true art is mixed up with hilarious fun and the unqualified artists with well-qualified ones and those were given long hours of broadcasting on TV and radio channels to fill "with their nonsense" (*ibid.*). Thus, they were "establishing in people's minds and hearts that entertainment is something different from serious art and that they do not and cannot be combined" (*ibid.*). Accordingly, there was a tension in the Egyptian theatre field among its makers who were divided into two groups. The first group followed the new trend to guarantee the widest audience and to accumulate economic capital through commercial elements in their productions. While the other group included intellectually-mature writers who see theatre as a means to convey serious messages for the good of the society did not follow this trend as they were seeking symbolic capital. Therefore, targeting the new type of audience guarantees a large-scale production that brings with it economic capital.

A new type of theatrical troupes started to emerge in the 1960s in the Egyptian theatre field i.e. TV theatre troupes which were established and run by the Radio and Television Corporation. In their third season in 1962, the number of TV theatre troupes reached ten and were categorised into four main theatre troupes: The Al-Hakim Theatre, the Comedy Theatre, the World Theatre, and the Modern Theatre (Abdul-Qādir, 1979; Khafājī, 2017a). The practice of recording Arabic plays, translations and adaptations on TV, as well as translations for the radio, served to document plays, and these performances were not lost as previous performances had been. TV theatre was extremely successful and, at the time, private/non-government theatre could not compete with it for many reasons including: the high salaries paid to employees and actors, commercials, low-price tickets, and new artistic equipment (Khafājī, 2017a). Khafājī (2017a) argues that most works presented by TV troupes

were good in quality, but Abdul-Qādir (1979) claims that the quality of the content of these performances began to decline to include more singing, dancing and comic scenes, which then emerged as foundational principles of any Arabic or Egyptian play and formed the major taste among the audience (ibid.). This is due to the fact, as Abdul-Qādir notes that the content or the texts began not to really matter; what became more important was comic scenes as well as the singing that suited the acting abilities of the celebrity actors and actresses, and the inclusion of sexual references, whether shown through dancing or through dialogue (ibid.). These new features began to win audience admiration especially that of the new type of audiences, and more spectators attended performances especially at the Comedy Theatre.

Khafājī himself, who is the adapter of this adaptation with Bahjat Qamar, participated in this form of theatre by providing playtexts for TV troupes, which belong to the government theatre, such as *Ana wa Hūwa wa Hiyya* (I, He and She), *Muṭrib Al-‘Awāṭif* (The Sentimental Singer), *Aṣl wa Ṣūra* (Original and Photocopy) and *Ziyārā Gharāmiyya* (Romantic Visits) among others, mainly from 1963 until sometime before the 1967 defeat, and most productions were a success (2017a). He authored new plays and adapted foreign plays often with the help of other writers, the most important of whom were Muḥammad Dawāra, Bahjat Qamar, and Yusuf ‘Awf (ibid.). Also, he sold many playtexts to the Egyptian radio and accepted TV recording of many of his performances for 500 Egyptian pounds each, especially when he experienced financial crises, due to his debts or his upcoming performances. All of his efforts were to make his dream of forming a private, permanent theatre independent of the government control come true (ibid.).

With the flourishing of TV theatre, national theatre declined, especially after the 1967 defeat and the economic depression that followed, affecting all aspects of life, including the theatre, which was controlled and supported by the state. Accordingly, audience numbers increased for TV theatre but decreased at the National Theatre. For example, audience numbers at the National Theatre in seasons 58/59 and 59/60 exceeded 45,000 but for the Comedy Theatre this number reached approximately quarter of a million. During the years between 1962 and 1965, the former decreased from approximately 71,000 to 45,000, whereas the latter increased from approximately 44,000 to 240,000 (Abdul-Qādir, 1979, p.88). Khafājī also participated in private/non-government theatre and formed the Sa’a li Qalbak Troupe in 1955, even before working with TV troupes, with which he started to write and adapt plays (Khafājī, 2017a).

Eventually, the public theatre lost its mission and most public troupes started to follow the private troupe’s commercial way of adaptation and the use of the EC to

get the attention of the widest audience possible. These commercial-oriented productions are considered in Bourdieu's terms as large-scale cultural productions that seek economic capital. However, there were other public troupes who were still producing, on a smaller scale, translated plays in MSA that targeted a specific type of audience i.e. the educated elite such as Al-Masrah Al-'Alāmi (World Theatre). In addition, the serious theatre sometimes used the EC which also targeted the educated audience such as works written by Alfred Faraj, Sa'ad Al-Dīn Wahba and Nu'man 'Āshūr among others. This type of production is what Bourdieu calls restricted production which seeks symbolic capital and cultural recognition.

In this climate *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* was introduced to the Egyptian audience in 1969. The play was extremely successful and accrued profits. It became a model that all private/non-government troupes wanted to imitate. In Abdul-Qādir's opinion, the play demonstrated foundational principles that are needed in any successful play and it informed public taste by discussing issues that did not appear to have much to do with current reality. The production also used celebrities that the audience liked, and talented directors were hired who could mix ingredients together to come up with the perfect recipe (ibid.). Khafājī himself mentions that he only chose playtexts that suit the abilities of his celebrity comedian actors and actresses and meet the audience expectation of laughter when attending his troupe's productions (2017b). Thus, Khafājī's works helped in the dominance of this new poetics which was already known in Egypt since the time of Sanū'. It was competing with the prevailing poetics that was promoted by Abdul-Nasir's regime of using MSA for translated plays. As a commercial production that seeks the widest audience possible, this adaptation was among the first theatrical productions that put the intellectual content to its lowest if not to an end and filled the work up with things that the uneducated and simple people among the audience would understand and enjoy. Khafājī's version is, actually, even more commercialized than the film adaptation *My Fair Lady* on which it depended through the use of laughter, singing, sexuality, comic political taboos, etc.

The play was performed in 1969 at the Ḥurriyya Theatre which was attached to the Lycée School in Cairo by Firqat Al-Fanānīn Al-Muttaḥidaīn (The United Artists Troupe). The troupe was formed by Samīr Khafājī, who is named as the founder of private comedy theatre in 1966, and who was almost bankrupt at the time, but he had years of experience working at TV theatres which belonged to the public theatre. The troupe stopped operating in 2010 due to Khafājī's health problems; its last play was *Bodyguard* starring 'Adel Imām which achieved the highest audience numbers and profits in the history of Arab Theatre (Yāsīn, 2010). In an interview with Sharīfa

Shihāta for Al-Watan Newspaper in 2014, when asked why he formed his troupe, Khafājī answered “I sought to form a troupe of young celebrity actors and actresses that worked only for the stage. At that time I noticed that Fu`ād Al-Muhandis and Abdul-Mun`im Madbūl⁵⁹ were enthusiastic to work and they welcomed the idea once I told them about it. This motivated me to immediately announce the troupe’s formation and a large number of excited, ambitious youth then joined in.”⁶⁰ However, he adds “others said I was crazy and said, ‘do you think you will be allowed to form a troupe that is competitive with the state’s troupes during Abdul-Nasir’s regime?’ It was absolute insanity but I did not give up...” (Khafājī, 2017b, p.7, my translation). This is due to the undifferentiated patronage of Abdul-Nasir’s regime as shown in the nationalisation of most cultural productions and the strict censorship on private/non-government theatres which eventually declined at that time. One example of Khafājī’s works that was censored is *Fardat Shimāl* (A Left Shoe) was not given the permission until it was watched by deputy of the Ministry of Culture himself. The title of the play led to the censorship body to think that the play implies a communist content. However, since the establishment of TV troupes, the private theatre especially after the formation of Khafājī’s troupe, the private/non-government theatre has started to flourish. The United Artists Troupe has been the most successful private/non-government troupe in the second half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century, and provided Egyptian theatre with the most successful, famous plays, thirty four in total with sixty six productions (Akhir Al-Nahar, 2016).⁶¹ For example, *Hello Shalabī* (Hello Shalabi), *Madrasat Al-Mushāghibīn* (School of Hooligans), *Al-`Yāl Kebrit* (*The Children have Grown Up*), *Shari` Muḥammad `Ali* (Muhammad Ali Street), *Rayya wi Sakīna* (Raya and Sekina) etc. In addition, this troupe introduced the best Egyptian comedians, some of whom are still active in the business today, including `Ādil `Imām, Midḥat Ṣaliḥ, Aḥmad Bidayr, Yunus Shalabī, and Shīrīhān etc.

In his published diaries, Khafājī (2017b) states that staging *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* was his dream and he was highly encouraged by Al-Muhandis to make it happen. Though, Al-Muhandis was not going to play the major role since it is a female character and this role would go to his wife, Shūwīkār. The couple were very famous

⁵⁹ This refers to well-known Egyptian comic actors.

⁶⁰ The full interview can be found on this link: <https://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/571026>

⁶¹ An interview with Samīr Khafājī with Muḥammad Al-Dusūqī on Al-Nahar TV channel. Available from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yXXsDPTUTQc> [Accessed 27 March 2018].

and worked on many stage performances and films together and was loved by Egyptian as well as Arab audiences. Khafājī explains that he became excited and called his friend Bahjat Qamar, who is an Egyptian writer, producer and actor, with whom he has worked many times before to help him in the rewriting of *Pygmalion*. After staging this play, they wrote other great plays, both authored and adapted such as: *Rayya wi Skīna* (Raya and Skina) and *Ana Fīn wi Intī Fīn* (Where Am I and Where Are You) etc. Khafājī notes that Qamar had a unique sense of humour for writing dialogue (ibid.) and thanks to him that the play is considered as one of the most comic Egyptian plays from which many generations until today memorize many lines. *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* was the second comic show play for the troupe after *Bamba Kishir* in 1968 (Nādyā Luṭfī, 2018⁶²). As Abdul-Qādir (1979) notes, the director's role became really apparent in the fascinating decoration, lights, sounds, and music which are important elements of any show. Khafājī brought cloths, wallpapers, accessories, tools, among other things, from Beirut and elsewhere especially during the restricted economy during Abdul-Nasir's regime. This was because of economic restrictions during that time; he mentions in his diary that the materials he needed for the production could not be found in Egypt (Khafājī 2017b). The play received very positive feedback from the audience, the media and critics, and was extremely successful to the point that it became a classic of Egyptian theatre. It is considered one of the best, if not the best, plays produced in the second half of the twentieth century. It ran for a decade and was recorded for the television. It is still being watched by millions of Arabs (Elmeligi, 2016). In this regard, Lefevre (1992) mentions that the codification of poetics entails the canonization of the works of certain writers, or rewriters, which conform to the codified poetics. These works become an example for future writers to follow and occupy a significant position in the teaching of literature. In Khafājī's opinion, *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* "is the best dramatic work that Bahjat Qamar and I ever wrote" and it was "a fascinating performance that was received with extreme joy by the audience and with warm welcome by the critics" (Khafājī, 2017b, p.103, my translation). He adds that it was the first time that any of his works was not attacked with extreme criticism as a way of punishment to leave the public theatre (ibid.) which shows how difficult it was for a private/non-government troupe to operate during that time. He explains that Shūwīkār worked hard with the help of Al-Muhandis until she proved to be a

⁶² An interview with Usāma Kamāl on DMC channel in 2018. Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2LwgJ19AG7c_ [Accessed 23 July 2018].

celebrity on the stage. Similarly, Al-Muhandis performed the comic silent responses required by the character he is playing well (ibid.). A German director who attended the performance said that Al-Muhandis was “one of the best four actors who played this role” (ibid. , my translation). ‘Amrū Duwāra, an Egyptian theatre-specialist, felt that *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* was the best play performed by Al-Muhandis and Shūwīkār, because the roles were suitable, the quality of both the original and the Egyptianised texts was high, and artistic elements aimed for perfection (Al-Bīlī, 2016).

The governor of the Western Region in Egypt, Wajīh Abāza, who supported the arts and artists, gave Khafājī the right amount of money needed to stage the production (Khafājī, 2017b), and Khafājī raised the ticket price from 51.50 piasters to 64.50 piasters so he could pay off his debts. This is one example of a figure who despite working under Abdul-Nasir’s government, he still financially supports the private/non-government theatre. Even after this price increase audience numbers remained very high, and included Egyptians from different social classes as well as other Arab tourists (ibid.). However, the adapters were clearly influenced by the 1964 American musical *My Fair Lady*, and it seems that this was used as their main resource; the production echoed the film, even though the production was Egyptianised. This is apparent in the title, the ending, incidents included in the play, the characters, and even in the dialogue, and this will be discussed in more detail in the analysis section in this chapter. First, the title *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* literally means ‘my beautiful or fair lady’ as translated into MSA. Elmeligi (2016) suggests that the reason for this choice was because the Egyptians were unfamiliar with the myth referred to in Shaw’s title, but might have been familiar with the famous Hollywood musical. Also, the play ends happily, as does the musical and a comic element is added to the romantic ending (it will be discussed later in the chapter).

The structure of the analysis will be as follows: the setting of the Egyptianised *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* will be identified in order to understand the new milieu. Then, an analysis of the characters’ dialogue in relation to dialect (literary dialect) and in relation to the era’s prevailing poetics will be undertaken. Also, nonverbal elements of characterisation will be analysed, including gestures and appearances.

6.3.1.1 Khedivial Egypt: ‘A Socio-Political Satire’

In their adaptation (or Egyptianisation) of Shaw’s *Pygmalion*, Khafājī and Qamar choose Khedivial Egypt as the setting for *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*. Khafājī explains that he and Qamar chose the time of Khedive `Ismā`īl in particular in an implied way (Khafājī, 2017b). During the time of Khedive `Ismā`īl, radical social change took place. Western conventions and culture were introduced into society, and new clothing, food, house decorations, and languages found their way into Egyptian

society, especially among the high-class Egyptians. People who could afford it began to enjoy luxurious lifestyles, including pursuits such as concerts, the theatre, and horse racing, among others (Al-Ayyūbī, 2013). Although Khedive `Ismā'īl's grandfather Muhammad Ali Pasha initiated the revival of the Arabic language and literature (Zīdān, 2018, p.333) and this care of the Arabic language is enhanced during the time of the Khedive himself, princes and princesses tended to learn French and Turkish, rather than Arabic (Al-Ayyūbī, 2013), and they tended to live in Europe and Istanbul, which distances them from the masses. We see echoes of this in the adaptation, for instance, the Khedive's mother owns property in Ankara. In addition, the names of people and places, as well as ways of addressing people are changed to be in line with the new setting. Examples of address titles include *effendī*, *bey*, *pasha*, *aghā*, *hanım*, *mademoiselle Afendīna*, *Walī Al- Ni'am* and *mawlāi*; people's names include: *Gūlbahār*, *Oghlī*, *Kamāl*, *Ḥasan* and *Sultan Salīm Al-Awwal*; place names include: *Sarāyā*, *Haramlik*, *Ḥussainīya*, *Ankara* and *Istanbul*. In addition, decorations, costumes and conventions are explored. We see low-class characters living in the *Ḥalāl 'Alīk* neighbourhood in the first act, wearing clothes, such as 'Am Lallu and *Shiḥta* wearing a *jalabiyya* or *jilbāb*, a traditional Egyptian garment worn by both men and women, and an *'imāma* or turban. In contrast, the high-class male characters wear western suits with a *ṭarbūsh* or *fez*, and the female characters wear stylish western dresses, hats and umbrellas. Other culturally specific aspects include references to *Mūlid*, which is the celebration of the anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad's birth, women hiding money in their bras, and people greeting the Khedive with a bow and a kiss on his hands as way of showing respect. In addition, some Egyptian proverbs are used, such as when Kamāl tells *Ṣudfa* “لبسيتها السلطانية” (You put a bowl on her head) which means to deceive someone cleverly, and when Kamāl tells *Ḥasan* “عيني بترف” (my eyes are blinking) which means he expects something evil to happen soon.

The plot of *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* has an Egyptian milieu and *Ṣudfa* (Eliza) becomes a pick-pocket rather than a flower girl, her father *Ba'dishī* (Doolittle) is unemployed instead of being a dustman, and *Kamāl* (as *Higgins*) is a teacher of manners, not of linguistics. After fleeing his wedding, set up by the Khedive, *Kamāl* is wanted by the police and so he hides in the *Ḥalāl 'Alīk* neighbourhood, where *Ṣudfa* lives. *Kamāl*'s friend *Ḥasan* (*Pickering*) has convinced the Khedive that the reason why *Kamāl* has absconded from his wedding is that he is already married to the *Tafakshī Pasha*'s daughter. *Kamāl* then receives an invitation from the Khedive for him and his 'wife' to attend a party. Thus, *Kamāl* decides to teach *Ṣudfa*, whom he has met in the *Ḥalāl 'Alīk* neighbourhood, to talk and behave like a lady so he can introduce

her as his wife to the Khedive. At the Khedive's party, Şudfa succeeds in tricking the Khedive, and both she and Kamāl are given the title of 'Pasha' by the Khedive. Just like Eliza, Şudfa is transformed into an independent, self-confident woman, but at the end, Kamāl and Şudfa are united instead of being separated.

The adaptation tackles many political, religious and sexual references. According to Elmeligi (2016), this adaptation is an example of socio-political satire in that it is "deeply rooted in locality" (p.245). In his study of the political aspects of this adaptation, Elmeligi suggests that it raises questions relating to the vitality of Nasserist social justice, by Egyptianising a foreign play, and by criticising Ottoman rule and the autocracy that was widely discussed in political discussions in the 1960s. The play explores two major issues: Khedive's tyrannical presence and the socio-economic plight of poor Egyptians. Elmeligi goes further to claim that the character of the Khedive is meant to allude to both King Fārūq and a secret police officer who worked for Abdul-Nasir, Şalāḥ Naşir⁶³ (ibid.). However, Khafājī explains that he and Qamar intended to criticise the era of the Khedive in particular; the family was heavily attacked specifically during the period from 1805 to 1952 after the 1952 Revolution (Khafājī, 2017b). However, Khafājī thinks these attacks were, in some ways, unjust because the family contributed significantly to the development of Egypt in almost all aspects including education, the translation of western knowledge, theatre, and archaeology etc. (ibid.). Khafājī explains his opinion about the conditions in Egypt before (i.e. during the monarchy) and after (i.e. during the Abdul-Nasir's regime), the revolution:

I would like to confess that I did not feel any sympathy towards Jamal Abdul-Nasir since the first day of his appearance... I belong to that generation which was brought up during the existence of multi-parties, opposition-party journals, independent journals, and a royal family that had astonishing rituals that made me amazed by and admire it... with deep sorrow I did not have the chance to work and be creative during the monarchy era, not until the era of the man that I took a stance against, since the first day bringing with him the constraints on freedom, the elimination of parties, the confiscation of journals, the imposition of a single political system without allowing any other one to be at work, and the control over all production means including the artistic and cultural one... (Al-Sa'danī, 2017, my translation).

⁶³ Şalāḥ Naşir was head of the Egyptian General Intelligence Directorate from 1957 to 1967. Elmeligi (2016) said that Naşir selected women and presented them to rulers who were womanisers in order to blackmail these rulers, with the goal of attaining a higher position in society.

In the interview with Sharīfa Shihāta, Khafājī is asked about why he keeps a photograph of the late Egyptian King Fārūq. He said that he felt that Egypt was much better during the monarchy, unlike in the times of the republic and what it “had done to us [Egyptians].” However, Khafājī said he did not want to imply any political message in his works. In his published diaries, Khafājī says that in 1965 he changes the title of his play from *Ba'da 13 Sana* (After Thirteen Years) to *Jūzain wa Fard* (Two Couples and an Individual) because the performance was due to coincidence with the thirteenth anniversary of the 1952 Revolution (2017a). He also mentions that he was asked many times by Amīn Ḥammād, the director of Egyptian radio and television, whenever Egypt becomes in trouble with any Arab country to rewrite some of his works to criticise the political figure of that country, but Khafājī refused to do so (ibid.). In addition, although the state promoted productions of a socialist orientation during that time, Khafājī did not follow this trend and struggled against it as well as against the monopoly of productions and industries (Khafājī, 2017b; Al-Sa'danī, 2017). Even though, he was always given the ‘green light’ and experienced no obstacles in his career as the first owner of private and independent artistic production in a time the public sector was in control of almost everything in the country (ibid.). This could be due to the lack of any opposing views to socialism and Abdul-Nasir’s regime in his works. The theme of *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, i.e. criticising the monarchy or the era before the 1952 revolution, is part of the common poetics at that time in different cultural productions and political discussions as mentioned earlier.

Many Egyptian writers of the 1960s were highly censored, and the growth of the nationalisation movement meant they were forced to allude to their political messages and intentions in a subtle way by referring to history, as mentioned in Chapter Four. Thus, it seems that many adapters used similar strategies in order to criticise socio-political and socio-economic conditions of the day, as well as those of the past. After the formation of his troupe of United Artists, Khafājī explains that although private/non-government theatre was growing, it was attacked by theatre specialists and critics in seminars and journals (ibid.). The Minister of Culture Tharwat ‘Ukāsha, who was a socialist that believed that theatre is something the state should provide to its people, would not be expected come to witness the huge success of *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, but he did and even congratulated Khafājī for his success (Khafājī, 2017b). Khafājī then knew that ‘Ukāsha had admitted that good, purposeful art could be both a product of a state or of private theatre troupes (ibid.). ‘Ukāsha is another governmental figure who supports the private/non-government theatre at least by encouraging and admitting its success.

In *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, the Khedive is portrayed as a feared tyrant. For example, many times we are presented with Kamāl's fear of injustice and punishment under the Khedive's regime (see Image 5 in Appendix 2). When he chooses not to marry a woman chosen for him, Kamāl is warned by his friend Ḥasan that the Khedive might punish him in the same way he punished Ūghlī Aghā, by castration. Later in the play after Ḥasan convinces the Khedive that Kamāl is already married, Kamāl receives a letter from the Khedive. When asked by Ḥasan why he won't open the letter, Kamāl answers "هيكون فيها ايه يا نفي يا إعدام" (What do you think is written in it? It is either sending me to exile or execution). In addition, throughout the play, Kamāl refers to the Khedive in terms of fear of death and execution: "إعدام رسمي" (an official execution), "حبل المشنقة" (hanging robe), and "لو ما وطيطهاش بخاطر ك هيوطيهالك السياف" (If you do not make a bow yourself, the executioner will make you do it forcibly). At the Khedive's party, the Khedive orders Kamāl to dance, since everyone is dancing, but when Kamāl tries to tell him that there is no women free to dance with, the Khedive raises his voice, to which Kamāl responds by pretending to dance with someone while he is actually dancing alone. In another scene, the Khedive suspects that Şudfa's identity is fake, and he tells Ardaghān:

إذا اتضح أن الولد كمال دا غشاش أنا هأربطه في سور القصر وأخلي الحيات والنسور تهمش في لحم راسه

BT: If this boy Kamāl turns out to be a deceiver, I will tie him to the palace walls so the snakes and eagles eat the flesh of his head.

Criticism of the tyranny of the Khedive is also implied during the scene where Şudfa is making mistakes when repeating the exercise given to her by Kamāl. This type of political taboo makes this adaptation more commercial and could refer to both the khedive and Abdul-Nasir as they both interfered into the personal lives of their people. Instead of saying:

أنت القلب الكبير، أنت نعمة وإحسان، بنعمتك تختال علينا، وأنت مرآة حضارتنا

BT: You are the big heart, you are grace and kindness, with your blessings you bring on us and you are the mirror of our civilisation.

She recites this verse incorrectly, using words with similar sounds in Arabic:

أنت الكلب الكبير، انت نعجة وحصان، بحكمتك تحتال علينا، وأنت مرات حضرتنا

BT: You are the big dog, you are a sheep and a horse, with your wisdom you deceive us, and you are our wife.

Also, there are many references to well-known Islamic words and religious expressions of everyday use. Among the examples are: *a'ūdhu-billa*, *wi-annabī*, in

shā` Allah, ya fattāḥ ya `alīm, ya dīn al-nnabī etc. Kamāl also uses a line intertextually taken from the Quranic verse number 28 in Yusuf Chapter:

"فلما رأى قميصه قد من دبرٍ قال إنه من كيدكن إن كيدكن عظيم"

BT: So when he saw his shirt,- that it was torn at the back,- (her husband) said:

"Behold! It is a snare of you women! truly, mighty is your snare! (Ali, 1938, p. 147).

كمال: كيدهم دا عظيم وحياتك.

BT: Their snare is mighty, I swear to you.

Moreover, a multi-religious Egypt during both periods⁶⁴ is mirrored in Şudfa's speech as she says:

صدفة: وحياة من حط ايده عالبحر هدي، وخلي الكافر يهتدي، لا تقولوا يا عزيز، موسى نبي، عيسى نبي، محمد نبي، وكل من له نبي يصلي عليه.

BT: I swear by He who put His hands on the sea to calm it, and guided the disbeliever to the right path that you say O Al-Mighty. Moses is a prophet, Jesus is a prophet, Muhammad is a prophet and everyone who has a prophet [anyone who follows any of these three prophets], please praise him.

The third type of references explored is sexuality both verbal and nonverbal⁶⁵. These references are made to guarantee the widest audience possible which is the result of the commerciality of the private theatre. The play portrays the Khedive as a well-known womaniser:

كمال: أفندينا زبون في كل صالات الرقص وحافظ شكل البنات وحدة وحدة.

BT: His majesty is a regular customer in all dance halls and recognises every single girl.

It is also made clear that the Khedive has a sexual attraction towards Şudfa, which he expresses by staring at her, calling her "pretty" and touching her back while

⁶⁴ According to the official Egyptian census, the percentage of Christians in Egypt in 1897 was 6.26%, 6.3% in 1907, and 8.1% in 1917, among a majority of Muslims; while the percentage of other religions was 1.36% in 1897, Jews 0.46% in 1917. The Khedivial period covers the period between 1897 and 1917, and lasted from 1867 to 1914. The 1966 census during Abdel Nasser's regime shows 6.67% of Christians living in Egypt, but gives no numbers for Jews until 1986 (Babāwī, 2001).

⁶⁵ Sexuality in this adaptation, using some of these examples, is also discussed in the study conducted by Elmeligi (2016).

dancing with her. He even asks her to sit on his lap and tries to make Kamāl leave the room so that he can be alone with her. He is also known to have a relationship with the women he wanted Kamāl to marry. Moreover, he tells one of the women at the party:

الخدوي: كنتكوت أنت وصغفن خالص.

BT: You are a little chick.

Almost all the upper-class and lower-class characters show an interest in women, specifically in Şudfa. Although he is an old man ‘Am Lallū, who seems conservative, hints that he wishes to marry Sudfa. One upper-class man tells his friend that Şudfa is “a mannequin that Kamāl met in Europe.” Even Kamāl who is supposed to be disgusted by Sudfa’s dirty appearance as Higgins is in the ST, he says that he met a “gazelle”, meaning that she is beautiful. Another example is when Şudfa robs Kamāl’s flannels without him noticing, but on discovery, Kamāl says:

الحمد لله جات على كدا، مين عارف يا حسن لو كنت قعدت أكثر من كدا كان ابيه اللي أتتشل تاني!

BT: Thank God it is only the flannel. Who knows what else would be pick-pocketed if I stayed longer, Ḥasan?

Another important scene is the physical punishment of Şudfa by Kamāl as her teacher when he slaps her backside with a cane three times; she punishes him the same way when he mispronounces a word while teaching her, as an act of revenge. Şudfa seizes every chance to be close to Kamāl, and when he speaks comforting words to her after he becomes tired of trying to make her understand his lessons, she hugs him, but he pushes her away and tells her never to do this again.

Other moral issues explored include the stealing of Kamāl’s pocket watch, flannels, car and items from his house by Şudfa with the help of some of her friends. Sudfa’s father, Ba’dishī, is often drunk, owns a bar, and never pays for drinks. He is also hated by the people who rent his house because he sells a ladder in order to buy alcohol, and this prevents the upper-floor renters from going to work the next day.

Being a satire, the play contains many humorous scenes which fulfil an Egyptian audience’s expectations for comedy. In Egypt a play’s success depends on how much laughter can be heard from the audience. In his published diaries, Khafājī recalls that in 1965 during the first showing of his play *Jūzain wa Fard*, Amīn Ḥammād asks Khafājī why he cannot hear anyone laughing in the audience, even though Ḥammād said he had laughed when he read the play. Khafājī replies that this is because of the

pale colour of the furniture and the July heat. Ḥammād then orders Khafājī to buy new colourful furniture in a hurry to guarantee the play's success, and this plan succeeds. Ḥammād then comments that "...the laughter exceeded all expectations... the play succeeded" (2017a, p.195, my translation). This further highlights that laughter is the criterion of a play's success or failure and that everything in the production including decoration, lights, room temperature, etc., is devoted to prepare the perfect environment to reach this goal. In addition, it proves that most private/non-government-theatre workers try to include the comic component in their works to achieve a large-scale production that guarantees an economic return and capital. In this regard, Khafājī suggests that important messages can be conveyed using jokes, since they express the reality of people's lives (Shadīd, 2014). Besides comedy, many adaptations of plays by Egyptians contain song-and-dance routines, which help to assure the audience's acceptance of a play.

Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla includes six songs and the lyrics have different functions. Khafājī explains that musical shows are usually written in a way that makes the audience feel that they are part of the production (Khafājī, 2017b). The first song is sung by Ba'dishī and his two friends, and works to reveal his character: his love of money, hatred of work, and the fact he has no wife or mistress (information which diverts from the ST and the Hollywood musical). This song closely resembles the song in *My Fair Lady* called *With a Little Bit of Luck*. Similarly, the second song works to reveal information about the characters of Kamāl and Ṣudfa: he is arrogant, rude and dislikes women, and she is often vulgar. The song also works to show the contrast between the language and manners used by people of different classes. The third song confirms Kamāl's desire to remain a bachelor, and he distances himself from any possibility of liking Ṣudfa because she is only "an artistic and personal experiment for him." This song replaces a dialogue scene between Higgins and Pickering in the ST when the latter warns the former "I hope it's understood that no advantage is to be taken of her [Eliza's] position...are you a man of good conduct where women are concerned?" (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.21). The song is similar to a song in *My Fair Lady* called *I'm an Ordinary Man*. The fourth song informs us that much time has passed in Kamāl's house, and this performs the same function as the song in *My Fair Lady* entitled *Poor Professor Higgins*, but is much shorter. The fifth song appears at the beginning of the horse racing scene, a pastime attended by upper-class people during the time of Khedive Ismael, and contains Turkish words because this was classed as an upper-class language. The last song appears just before the happy ending when Ṣudfa quarrels with Kamāl and leaves the house. In the lyrics of the song he tries to convince himself that he does not care for her but finally admits

to himself that he loves and misses her. Thus, the song reveals his inner conflict as a monologue in the form of a song.

One characteristic of Arab theatre is to consciously allude to the audience or involve them at some point in the performance. Thus, at the Khedive's party, we see Kamāl telling Ṣudfa:

كمال: أما جيل فسدان صحيح! لما شبان الأيام دي تعمل كذا أو مال شبان 69 حيعملوا ايه!

BT: What a spoiled youth indeed! When today's youth do such things what do we expect the youth of 69 would do!

The play ended with Kamāl listening to Sudfa's recorded voice as Ṣudfa enters the room. She turns-off the machine, and repeats the same line. When Kamāl notices her, they hug each other, and Kamal speaks the following line, which is romantic and funny at the same time:

كمال: الشيء اللي مكنتش قادر أفهمه إني كنت لابس قميص بست زراير، وكرفطة مربوطة، وصديري، وجاكتة مقفولة، ومع ذلك قدرتي توصلني لقلبي وتسرقيه، إزاي؟ ما أعرفش!

BT: The thing that I do not understand is that I was wearing a shirt with six buttons, a tied tie, a vest and a buttoned jacket, but you could still reach my heart and steal it. How? I do not know!

This line is comic because he has already repeated it many times during the play, when thinking about how Ṣudfa had managed to pick-pocket his flannels at their first meeting without him noticing it.

This ending is expected by the Egyptian audience because the play is presented as a comic play. Generally, Arab audiences do not like tragedies, and this is why it is difficult to find any tragedies composed or translated in Arabic (Mahfouz, 2011). Faizo links this poetics of the ending in the Arab theatre to "the tendency of Arabs to be very emotional and to dislike the portrayal of suffering of great people on the stage (1985, cited in *ibid.*, p. 369). It has been the practice of translators/adapters/directors in late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to change the endings of Western tragedies in order to meet the audience's expectation. For instance, in Taynūs 'Abdū's translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in 1901 as commissioned by Eskandar Faraḥ for his theatrical troupe, we can see 'Abdū toning down the tragic elements in the play and changed the ending entirely into a happy one. Thus, in the last scene, Hamlet is handed the throne by his father's ghost rather than dying as in the original text saying to him "فلتتش سعيداً على الأرض مغفوراً لك في"

”السماء، فاصعد أمامي إلى مقام عمك، فما خلق إلا لأجلك هذا العرش (And you may happily live on earth, forgiven by Heaven. Go before me to where your uncle sat; this throne was made but for you) (Hanna, 2005, p. 171). In addition, the ending unites the famous actor pairing to mirror their relationship in real life and, as the adaptation was taken from the musical *My Fair Lady*, it also takes its ending.

To answer the question posed at the beginning of the chapter, about the extent to which Arab adapters retain the space and time of the original, or change one element or alter both, it is fair to say that Khafājī and Qamar make use of an era that reflects the time period of the original, but they set the play in another part of the world. In doing so, this version places the play within an Arabic socio-cultural and political framework, and explores the period before the 1952 Revolution. The ST is manipulated to suit the socio-cultural poetics and audience expectations of the writer’s locality. This can be seen not only in the textual decisions made, but also in nonverbal elements of characterisation, which will be analysed in the following section.

6.3.1.2 Egyptianisation of Language and Characterisation

Whenever dialect is included in any literary piece, the text becomes problematic for a translator to render into the TL, due to the localised meaning of the dialect used. The translator needs to select a target language variety or dialect that implies the same meaning and function as the source dialect. Translation studies scholars and researchers have studied many strategies that have been suggested by different translators. However, in the case of *Pygmalion*, the rendering of something equivalent to Cockney is a must, because the dialect is central to the themes and plot of the play. The linguistic contrast between Standard English and Cockney in grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation must be conveyed using an appropriate target language and dialect.

In *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, *Pygmalion* is totally Egyptianised in all aspects, including characterisation, dialogue and nonverbal elements. In Khafājī’s published diaries, he describes how foreign plays were Egyptianised at the time he wrote the play, and quotes Badī’ Khairī’s⁶⁶ words to him:

My son, I do not have enough time to translate plays, and there are plenty of those who know [foreign] languages and are able to translate plays. This is a linguistic ability. But to rewrite [a translated play] and

⁶⁶ Badī’ Khairī (1893-1966) was an Egyptian playwright who formed one of the most successful Egyptian theatrical troupe with najīb Al-riḥānī in 1918.

put it in an Egyptian environment without any foreignness that the spectator would feel is difficult. I do not [only] change names so John would be Bur'ī, I rewrite the play, create new incidents and add striking effects.. I can translate a novel in 48 hours but I would work on it for months to be presented to the audience in the way that satisfies me (Khafājī, 2017a, p.49, my translation).

This quote shows that the common poetics of rendering a foreign text for a new audience is through Egyptianisation. The procedures undertaken include the elimination of any foreignness, the bringing of the original text closer to the target culture and the audience taste; thus, through adaptation rather than translation. Following such procedures refers to Khairi's interest in attracting the widest audience possible which is also applicable to other private-theatre workers. He even makes a distinction between the two terms saying that translation (or the linguistic transfer) is actually an easy job that does not take more than 48 hours and is usually given to translators. However, rewriting a translated text to suit the Egyptian context is a much difficult task that needs months and he works on it himself. Khafājī himself has given an example of this practice in his published diaries (2017b) that his adaptation of a play by the Swiss dramatist Friedrich Dürrenmatt did not succeed because of the foreignness of the decoration. Noting that many of Khafājī's well-known adaptations are of foreign origin that were rewritten/Egyptianised such as *Šuk 'Alā Banātak* (Lock Up Your Daughters), *Sirrī Jiddan* (Very Confidential), *Madrasat Al-Mushāghebīn* (School of Hooligans) and *Shāhid ma Shafshi Haga* (A Witness who Did Not See Anything) among others. This only reminds us of the two modes of production that Bourdieu used in describing cultural production, i.e. 'large scale' vs. 'limited scale'. It seems clear from theatrical practices by non-government theatre troupes in the 1960s Egypt that most of them adopted 'large scale' cultural production.

Furthermore, Shaw's *Pygmalion* explores social issues of wealth and class, and such plays are usually translated or authored using the EC as their register. However, the prevailing poetics of Egypt at the time *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* was conceived were that plays of a foreign origin were performed in MSA, and many of Shaw's plays were commissioned by the Egyptian state and performed in MSA in public theatres. This was because the sponsoring government body did not allow the use of the colloquial varieties for translated plays. Examples include: *Rajul Al-Aqdār* (Man of Destiny) in 1958, *Tilmīdh Al-Shayṭān* (The Devil's Disciple) in 1959, *Buyūt Al-Arāmil* (Widowers' houses) in 1960, and *Kandidā* (Candida) in 1964. Unfortunately, these performances are lost because they were not published in book form or even recorded for TV or radio. Being a product of the private/non-government theatre, *Sayīdatī Al-*

Jamīla uses comedy through, as noted by Abdul-Qādir (1979), who explains that theatre-makers of that time usually made use of comic stock characters such as pick-pockets, stupid villagers, and *al-raddāḥa* etc. (p.110). *Al-raddāḥa* is a low-class woman who practices *radh*, and this character is described by Al-Ḥamāmṣī (2012, my translation) as speaking with a “loud voice, rudeness, offensive remarks, lies and deception, and all that goes against ethics, values and good conduct.” This character is usually presented as being in conflict with most others and her mannerisms include clapping her hands, hitting her chest, and swaying as if she is dancing (ibid.). Şudfa is characterised as both a pick-pocket and a *raddāḥa*.

The characters of *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* are divided into three groups according to their social class: low-class, high-class, and the royal or aristocratic class. Each class communicates using particular verbal and nonverbal characteristics. Thus, the first group is usually rude, energetic, talkative, careless, and cunning; the second group is educated, neat, gentle and, to some extent, able to control their manners, speech and behaviour, when being riled by the low-class characters. The third group is portrayed as cosmopolitan and urbane in their speech and behaviour, and the men, in particular, are usually portrayed as womanisers. During translation, original characters were frequently removed or changed, while others were added who did not exist in the ST, in order to conform to Egyptian theatrical trends of the day.

In Shaw’s *Pygmalion*, as well as in the English stage musical *My Fair Lady*, two varieties of English is used: Standard English which is spoken by the high-class, educated characters, and Cockney, which is spoken by the lower-class characters. In *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, use is made of EC, all three types described by Badawī (1973): the colloquial of the illiterate, the colloquial of the basically educated⁶⁷ and the colloquial of the cultured⁶⁸; the royal class EC variety during Khedival Egypt (which is not mentioned by Badawī); and MSA. The adapters employ four types of EC, depending on the social-class of the character they are depicting. The low-class characters speak with the colloquial of the illiterate that is characterised by a high

⁶⁷ Colloquial of the illiterate is the lowest level of EC spoken by those who are illiterate. This variety is rich in clichés and ready-made expressions, and does not incorporate much creativity in terms of new word and phrase combinations. However, when its speakers receive some kind of education, then use another level which is the colloquial of the basically educated (Badawī, 1973).

⁶⁸ This level of EC is associated with modern civilisation and is used most often by the educated in their daily life. It comprises a marriage between standard and colloquial features, and is closely associated with MSA from a class and intellectual perspective. It is easier to pronounce and to use for speaking, while MSA is used more commonly in writing. For example, a university professor might use MSA to write, and CC to deliver lectures (Badawī, 1973).

pitch, a strong rude tone, sometimes in rhyme, and swear words. The characters who use this type of the EC are Şudfa, Ba'dishī and the other characters who live in the Ḥalāl 'Alīk neighbourhood. Examples of rhyme include: تكونيش فاكرنا سارقينها وخايطينها (Do you think we stole it, pick-pocketed it, or found it and picked it up?). This is said by Şudfa and her father when they are trying to sell back the pocket-watch she pick-pocketed from Kamal to him. Swear words are used by these characters to insult others. For example, when Şudfa calls Shajarat Al-Dur أم أربعة ("a centipede" which means he is malicious) and she refers to Kamāl as ابن بارم ديله ("the son of an animal which tail is rounded" which means that he is bragging and showing off), and 'Am Lallo calls Kamāl خسع قليل الأصل ("weak and with little roots" which means an unreliable and malevolent character). Also, in the second song, the women of the Ḥalāl 'Alīk neighbourhood, including Şudfa, all abuse Kamāl as follows:

جرى ايه يا ندمان يا حوارى يا جبان يا خسع يا معصص يا أبو قردان، يا قليل الذوق والتربية، يا تعيس يا خسيس يا قريب لأبليس يا أبو خلقه بتشبه للنسانيس.

BT: What is going on, you worthless, savage, coward, weak, and skinny cattle egret⁶⁹. O you are tasteless and impolite. You are wretched, mean, the devil's relative [i.e. you are evil], and you look like a monkey!

Also, this class of character often mispronounce words that are used by speakers of higher levels of EC revealing their ignorance. For instance they say, لغوتنا *laghwitna* instead of لغتنا *lughatuna* (our language), and السخص *alsakhṣ* instead of الشخص *alshakhṣ* (the person), and المستوظفين *almustawzafīn* instead of الموظفين *almuwāzafīn* (the employees), and الكتاكيك *alkatākīk* instead of الاتيكيك *aletikīk*. This last mistake is the product of two words that have similar sounds in Arabic and so the meaning is changed from 'etiquette' to 'chicks', obviously, for the audience to laugh. In addition, certain body movements and gestures are used by the characters of this class. One clear example is the way Ba'dishī greets 'Aṭa by embracing and pushing, and then he greets Ḥasan by lifting him up many times and shaking his hands strongly, to which Ḥasan responds by asking 'Aṭa to save him. The low-class characters are always shown as using physicality to express different emotions, for

⁶⁹ Cattle egrets are common in agricultural lands in Egypt but are considered to be a farmer's friend because they eat the insects which ruin the crops (Marefa, no date-d). Available from: https://www.marefa.org/%D8%A3%D8%A8%D9%88_%D9%82%D8%B1%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%86

example in their greetings, or when they are laughing, or angry etc. In their appearance, they all wear traditional Egyptian clothes, such as the *Jalabiyya* which is simple and old. Some characters, such as Şudfa, Shiḥta, Ba'dishī are made to look dirtier as if their faces and bodies, as well as their clothes, are stained with mud. When he first meets her, Kamāl describes Şudfa to Ḥasan as “وشها مليون تراب معفر مقفر” (Her face is full of dust and her clothes are torn and messy but it looks beautiful and romantic on her.)

The play depicts scenes of common events that took place in low-class districts of Egypt at the time of the Khedive. These scenes include the following quarrel between Ba'dishī and 'Ibs:

عبس: يا راجل يا راجل مش اتفقنا من أربع سنين تديني الخماره وأطفحك بإيجارها خمره علشان تسكر صح ولا لأه؟

بعضتشي: صح، أربع سنين وأنا بأشرب عندك إنما ما سكرتش أبداً هاهاها.

عبس: الهي ينتقم منك يا بعضتشي.

بعضتشي: ازاي بقى ترجع تسميها خمره وتحسبها من الإيجار؟

عبس: يا عالم أنا زبني ايه اذا كانت دماغه مصفحة، دا أنا ساقيك من الأصلي (يشد عم للو من ثيابه بقوة) عم للو والنبي تجي تدوقها.

عم للو: الهي ما توعى منك له...

بعضتشي: طيب بيني وبينك الصحة هاجبها عشان نشوف اللي بتبيعه دا خمره ولا منقوع صرم.

BT

'Bs: Look man, didn't we agree four years ago on me renting your bar while I pour wine for you until you overflow in return, so that you get drunk?

Ba'dishī: Yes, we did. But for four years I am drinking your wine but never got drunk, hahaha.

'Bs: Damn you Ba'dishī (literally: I pray to God that he take revenge from you Ba'dishī).

Ba'dishī: Then how come you call it wine and count it from the rent?

'Bs: But what is my fault if your brain is armoured (meaning he is not affected by the wine). I am giving you from the high-quality wine (he pulls 'Am Lallu strongly while telling him this) 'Am Lallu I swear by the Prophet, can you taste it?

'Am Lallu: Oh God! Go away from me both of you...

Ba'dishī: OK then, I will tell the Ministry of Health to come and check what you are selling, wine or soaked shoes.

Features of this EC are made clear by the use of certain words such as أطفحك (pour for you until you overflow), ما توعى منك له (go away from me both of you) and منقوع صرم (soaked shoes), as well as the inclusion of physically rude gestures. The forms of address used also differ between classes, and this is highlighted when we hear that Şudfa and Kamāl cannot recognise some of the words they speak to one another. This technique is used to reveal the gap that exists between social classes at that time. For instance, Şudfa calls Kamāl دلعدى *dal'adī*⁷⁰ at their first meeting, which makes him laugh in confusion, and she calls Shajarat Al-Dur يا وليّة *yā wiliyya* (you woman), and يا حجة *yā ḥaja* (a woman who performs Hajj to Makkah and usually used for old women). This echoes the ST and the musical when Eliza calls Freddy by his name, which was very common at that time. Also, Şudfa mixes up high-class titles, such as Pasha, Bey and Khedive.

Example 1: During classes, Kamāl asks Sudfa how she should greet the Khedive and she replies:

صدفة: هاقوله سالخير يا حليوة يا مدوخني

كمال: هتقولي لأفندينا سالخير يا حليوة يا مدوخني!

صدفة: اه طبعا حاجة تليق بمقام سعادة البيه.

كمال: وكمان عملتيه بيه!

صدفة: هو أنهي أجدع البيه ولا الخديوي يعني مش تفهموني!

BT

Şudfa: I am going to tell him, 'Good Evening handsome, you make me dizzy'.

Kamāl: Are you really going to tell his majesty, 'Good Evening handsome, you make me dizzy!'

Şudfa: Yes, of course. This is an appropriate greeting for a Bey [a high-class man].

Kamāl: And you even make him a Bey!

Şudfa: Which is higher, a Bey or Khedive? Please tell me!

However, Kamāl is polite with Şudfa even when she is rude and robs him as in the following:

⁷⁰ This is a word used during quarrels in Egypt originally يا ألد أعدائي (my greatest enemy) (Muhammad, 2017). Available from: <https://lite.almasryalyoum.com/lists/144327/>

Example 2: During their first meeting in stage as Kamal remembers that he saw her earlier when Sudfa pick-pocketed his pocket watch. She starts to shout and calls ‘Am Lallū to interfere:

صدفة: حوش عني الراجل المتوحش دا، الراجل اللي معندوش شفقة اللي ما عندوش رحمة بيضربني.

كمال: يا ستي هانم..

صدفة: شايف مطرح كف ايده؟ يرضيك يستقوى على بنية غلبانة وأنت في الحنة يا سيد الحنة؟

عم للو: يستقوى ازاي! هو أنا طرطور!

كمال: يا سيدي عايز أقول لسيادتك..

عم للو: اخرس!...

صدفة: وسرق ساعتني.

كمال: دا اللي هو أنا برضه؟

صدفة: الساعة اللي جدو الباشا كان مدهالي يوم عيد ميلادي.

عم للو: أه عارفها، اخس عليك حرامي خسع مش حرام تسرق ساعة البنية المسكينة دي.

كمال: يا للو بيه أفهمني انا عايز أقول لسيادتك أن دا ما حصلش...

صدفة: كفاية يديني حق الساعة.

كمال: اتفضلي اتفضلي حق الساعة.

BT

Şudfa: Please take this savage man away from me, he has no sympathy, he has no mercy and he is beating me.

Kamāl: But my lady...

Şudfa: Do you see the marks of his hand [meaning he hits her]? Do you accept that he is abusing a weak girl while you are here, the boss of all?

‘Am Lallu: He is abusing you whilst I am here! Am I a no one?

Kamāl: Sir, I want to tell your excellence that...

‘Am Lallu: Shut up...!...

Şudfa: And he stole my pocket-watch.

Kamāl: [Are you sure] it is me who did this?

Şudfa: The pocket-watch that my late grandfather who was a Pasha gave to me on my birthday.

'Am Lallu: Yes, I know it... Shame on you a wicked thief. Don't you feel sorry for stealing this poor girl's pocket-watch?

Kamāl: Lallu Bey, please listen to me. I want to tell your excellence that this has never happened...

Şudfa: I just want him to pay me for the pocket-watch.

Kamāl: Here it is, here it is the money for the pocket-watch.

Here, Kamāl retains his manners while addressing both Şudfa and 'Am Lallu. He was not given the chance to defend himself and then pays Sudfa the money she asks for. Thus, Sudfa steals his pocket watch and then makes him pay for it. Şudfa is portrayed as a *Raddāḥa* who is always ready to fight others verbally and physically. Those who use *Radḥ* are sometimes not even understood in their own communities.

Example 3: The first appearance of Şudfa when she is chasing Shiḥtta who has helped her in pick-pocketing. 'Am Lallu is trying to calm her down but she insults him.

صدفة: ودين النبي لأبيتك في المشرحة، ومقام الحسين لأخلي ولا قهوة تطل في خلقتك.

شحنة: معليش يا معلمة، حرمت يا معلمة، معليش يا معلمة (تضربه وتعضه في مؤخرته وهو يصرخ).

صدفة: اخرس! بنتحامى فيه! اسند على حيطه مايلة يا ابن المقلعة!

عم للو: ما تتلمي يا ست.

صدفة: أتلّم! أتلّم يا ميعزق! أتلّم يا مفشكل! أتلّم يا شوال مخروم يا بيت مهدوم يا بابور مكتوم! (تصفق بيديها وتصرخ عاليا) و شووبالاش يا أهل الحتة هترمي بالقتة.

عم للو: الله الله الله الله! ما تروقي! أنا غلطان يا صدفة هانم.

صدفة: هانم! بتمهز أني!

عم للو: أبداً والله.

صدفة: بتعصبني! هانم ايه دا يا عمر؟ شاي فني ماسكة الجرنال في ايديا وحاطة الكحلة في عنيا؟ هانم دا ايه يا لمونة وانعصرت يا بصلّة واندشت يا صفيحة زباله وأندلقت! وشوباش يا حوارتيه من الجيزة للحوسنية.

.... عم للو: أعوذ بالله! دا لسان ولا مزبلة دا!

BT

Şudfa: I swear by the Prophet's religion that I will make you lie on the morgue. I swear by the shrine of Hussein that I will let no café even look at you.

Shiḥtta: I'm sorry boss. I won't do it again boss. I'm sorry boss.

Şudfa: [Hitting and biting Shihtta] Shut up! Do you seek his ['Am Lallū's] help? Backing up on a leaning wall, you son of a person without roots (means that he is fragile) [This implies that 'Am Lallū's personality is not strong enough to fight her.]

'Am Lallu: Watch what you are saying, woman.

Şudfa: I watch! I watch, you disrespectful! I watch, you total mess! You defective sack, you wrecked house, you faulty kerosene stove (meaning a useless person) (She claps her hands and shouts loudly while speaking) *Shobash* (look and listen everyone) People of the neighbourhood, I will be thrown with an Armenian cucumber. ('Am Lallū sells pickles).

'Am Lallu: Oh, calm down... I'm mistaken Ms. Şudfa.

Şudfa: Ms! Are you mocking me?

'Am Lallu: No, I swear to God I don't.

Şudfa: Do you want me to get angry? Do you see me holding a newspaper or putting on an eyeliner to call me Ms? What Ms., you squeezed lemon, you chopped onion, you spilled garbage bin! *Shobash* look, listen everyone from Giza to Hussaniyya.

'Am Lallu: I will seek refuge in God! What a sharp tongue!

Example 4: When Şudfa sings:

وأنا مش قدو! أنا برضه عقيّة، أنا أشرح من الصنف دا مية، ما تحوشنيش وأنا أجبلك داغه.

BT: Am I not an equal competitor? I am also tough. I can cut a hundred of his type into slices. Do not keep me away from him and I will pull out his jaw.

These examples show the characteristics of *Radh* and the nonverbal body language that accompanies it (see Image 7 in Appendix 2). Şudfa is used to getting the upper hand with men, and this is made clear when Shihtta calls her *يا معلمة* (boss), but even some of the characters of her own class are puzzled by what she says sometimes. Examples of the words she uses are: *ابن المقلعة* (you son of a person without roots), *مبعزق* (disrespectful) and *مفشكل* (a total mess) which she uses to insult people. She also often uses repetition that sounds like a catchphrase, jingle or rhyme "I watch, you disrespectful! I watch, you total mess!" and insults "you squeezed lemon, you chopped onion, you spilled garbage bin!" She is not averse to using threats of or actual physical violence.

In the first test given to her by Higgins, Eliza is told to stick to two topics of conversation when speaking to guests at a party at Mrs Higgins' house, namely the weather and everyone's wellbeing. However, she becomes excited and drifts away from these topics, and then begins to use Cockney vocabulary with Standard English pronunciation. This makes the guests confused, but they are convinced by Higgins that this is just a new kind of small talk. Similarly, at the horse racing Sudfa is told by Kamāl to only use three phrases: ازاى الصحة؟ (How do you do?), الجو جميل (the weather is nice), and برافو (bravo). Again, Sudfa loses track and reverts back to *Radh*. She also tries to pick-pocket women at the races so Kamāl has to keep her away from everyone. Just as Eliza is given elocution lessons to improve her speech, Sudfa is given lessons about how to behave in a better way. For example, Sudfa has to pretend she is the director of a charity association invented by Kamāl in order to provide a cover story for her behaviour. She then asks for 'donations' from the people at the races.

صدفة: يجعلها بيضا عالكريم، سودا عاللنيم، بمبا عالي ما يساعد الحريم.

Sudfa: May God makes it [life] white [good] for the generous, black [bad] for the mean and pink [to have blurred vision] for those who do not help women.

Sudfa proceeds to tell the guests about her uncle who died because of hunger, but Kamāl provides a cover story saying that this was because her uncle followed a strict diet. This is similar to the scene in which Eliza tells the Eynsford Hills about her aunt whose children "done her in." Sudfa also takes off her shoes, which are hurting her, and puts them under her armpit, and Kamāl has to tell everyone that this is the new fashion in Europe. Then the rest of the guests begin to imitate her.

Even Eliza's whimpering sounds in *Pygmalion* are Egyptianised in the play *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* as: أه ياني يمه (Ah yanī yamma), يالهوي (Ya Lahwī) and يا خرابي (Ya Kharābī)⁷¹ sounds which are commonly heard in Egypt.

A sub-variety of the EC (or a sociolect) is used in this adaptation as a coded EC of thieves and pick-pockets (it comes under the colloquial of the illiterate) which is incorporated into Sudfa's and Shiḥtta's speech. It is coded to the extent that even people from the same social class cannot understand it. In the following example,

⁷¹ These two words are used when some kind of disaster befalls someone. *Ya Lahwī* is originally يا لهو حالي (how amused I was to not see this was going to happen) and *Ya Kharābī* (how ruined I am) (Mazen, 2014). Available from: http://aslwm3any.blogspot.com/2014/11/blog-post_23.html

the coded words are transliterated and italicised because they will be defined later in the conversation itself.

Example 5: The conversation between Şudfa and Shiḥtta, when Sudfa is complaining to ‘Am Lallu (who sells pickles) about Shiḥtta who keeps the pick-pocket haul for himself:

شحنة: يرضيك يا عم للو ملقطين يعضو في بعض؟

عم للو: ملقطين! قصدك نشالين يعني؟ ... الحكاية ايه؟

صدفة: غالطني في سالاقوس.

عم للو: سالاقوس!

صدفة: يعني جمل، يرضيك يغالطني في جمل يا سي للو؟

عم للو (يضرب شحنة): حرام عليك، طيب غالطها في معزة في وزه مش في جمل.

شحنة: يا عم للو أفهم بقى جمل في لغوتنا يعني زبون... طيب وشرفك يا عم للو مظلوم، هو أنا معقول يا

جدعان أفلع عنكب؟

عم للو: عنكب! يا ابني أنا طرشجي، تكلمني في اللفت أفهم، في الخيار أفهم، في البنجر أفهم، لكن عنكب دي

افهمها ازاي؟

صدفة: يعني محفظة، محفظة تخن كدا.

BT

Shiḥtta: Uncle Lallu, do you accept that two tongs tug each other?

‘Am Lallu: Two tongs? Do you mean two pick-pockets?... What happened?

Şudfa: He tricked me over a *Salāqūs*

‘Am Lallu: A *Salāqūs*!

Şudfa: It means a camel. Do you accept that he can trick me over a camel Mr. Lallu?

‘Am Lallu (hitting Shiḥtta): Shame on you, trick her over a goat or a goose, not a camel!

Shiḥtta: Uncle Lallu, please understand that a camel in our language means a customer... I swear by your honour that I am wronged. Is it possible to steal a *‘inkib*?

‘Am Lallu: A *‘inkib*! My son, if you talk to me about kale I understand you, about cucumber I understand you, and about beet I understand you. But how can I understand what you mean by a *‘inkib*?

Şudfa: It means a wallet that fat.

A second variety of EC is used by high-class and educated characters which the colloquial of the cultured, including Kamāl, Ḥasan, Injī Hanim, and Shajarat Al-Dur among others. The characters speaking it mix some Turkish, English and many French words with EC. In appearance, they wear clean, elegant Western-style suits and behave like gentlemen and ladies. Kamāl takes a cane everywhere he goes and wears glasses. During the Khedivial era, high-class Egyptians learned Turkish because Egypt was under Ottoman rule. High-class people also spoke French fluently, as a consequence of the Napoleon Expedition in Egypt (1798-1801). As mentioned in previous chapters, French was the language via which most drama translations were undertaken during in the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century in Egypt. Later, English became more commonly used by Egyptians, as a consequence of the British colonisation of Egypt (1882-1956). In *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* high-class characters use French words to express their surprise, complaints, and other emotions.

Example 6:

Kamāl: *Mon Dieu, donne moi la patience* (My God, give me patience).

In *Pygmalion*, Higgins (being a professor of linguistics) claims he understands all dialects, including lower-class ones and does not seem puzzled by anything discussed. In contrast, Kamāl (as a teacher of manners) does not understand the Egyptian colloquial spoken by lower-class people and he cannot even communicate with some of them; he is fascinated and afraid of the lower-classes, as if they come from a strange world. In *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* the high-class characters obey the lower class characters out of fear of the unknown, just as they do with the royal class and the khedive. This reveals the gap between the social classes during the Khedivial era.

Example 7: During a conversation between Kamāl and Ṣudfa in their first scene together:

كمال: مودمازيل مش انتي يامودمازيل اللي ...

صدفه (تقاطعه): نعم! أظن هتقولني سرقتي الساعة؟

كمال: مش انتي اللي...

صدفه: أنا اللي إيه يا دلعددي؟

كمال: ايوه إنتي الدلعددي.. إنتي بتاعة الدلعددي وأنا الدلعددي.

صدفه: اخرس قطع لسانك اقعده (وتأخذ عصايته فيجلس بسرعة خوفا منها)، أنا الدلعددي يا أفندي عرة ما يساويش باللي بهدوم بقشيش باللي بتغسل وشك بالورنيش! وشوباش من حنفي لأبو الريش.

كمال: إيه! مين أبو الريش؟

صدفة: ... أنا بنت الأصول، تربية المدارس، وعفية جدو الباشا مكتوب له فيها ربحميت فدان، جاي أنت اللي تستعطى سجارة تقول عليا أنا الدلعدي! أنا الدلعادي يا أفندم قزازة!

كمال (ينهض وهو غاضب): قزازة! أنا ما أسمح حد يكلمني كدا.

صدفة: بأقلك انكتم وأقعد (تعض يده ويصرخ).

كمال: يا نهار أسود!

BT

Kamāl: Mademoiselle, are you the mademoiselle who...?

Şudfa: Yes! I think you are going to say: who stole the pocket watch!

Kamāl: Aren't you the...?

Şudfa: I what, *ya dal'ādī*?

Kamāl: Yes, you are the *dal'ādī*... You are the [one who called me] *dal'ādī* and I am the *dal'ādī*.

Şudfa: Shut up! May your tongue be cut! Sit down! (She takes his cane and he sits down in fear and obedience). Am I the *dal'ādī* you valueless effendi!⁷² You who wear clothes that are given as a tip, you who wash your face with varnish! *Shobash*... from Ḥanafī to Abu Al-Rīsh.

Kamāl: What! Who is Abu Al-Rīsh?

Şudfa: I am a member of a well-respected family, I was educated in schools. My grandfather who is a Pasha who inherited 400 acres. After all of this you come and call me *dal'ādī*! Am I the *dal'ādī*, glass effendi?

Kamāl (standing up angrily): Glass! How dare you speak to me in such a way!

Şudfa: I told you to shut up and sit down. (She bites his hand and he screams because of pain.)

Kamāl: What an unfortunate day! [Literally: What a black day!].

In this example, we can see a contrast between the language and manners used by Kamāl, and those used by Şudfa. Similarly, the second song (sung by Kamāl, Şudfa,

⁷² This refers to a man of high education or social standing from an eastern Mediterranean or Arab country (Google Translate).

Ba'dishī, and other two lower-class characters) also shows differences between the classes in regard to the language and manners they adopt.

When Kamāl decides that he does not want to continue to hide in the Ḥalāl 'Alīk neighbourhood, Ḥasan and 'Aṭa remind him of the Khedive's punishment of making him an *aghā*⁷³. He chooses the least 'scary' option, which is living with the lower-classes, rather than being punished by the Khedive.

Example 8

كمال: أنا أسكن في كوم زبالة! أشرب الشاي الصبح فين؟ بدال ما أفتح عنيا على صوت البلابل والعصافير
أسمع الكلاب وهي بتهو هو والبقر وهو بينعر!... أودي وجهي فين من الأمراء أصحابي! أقول إيه للوزراء
أصدقائي! لا مستحيل امبوسبيل (بالفرنسي) أبقى هنا دقيقة واحدة أنا ماشي.

BT

Kamāl: I live in this heap of junk! Where can I have my morning tea? I wake up in the morning hearing the dogs barking and the cows mooing instead of the sound of birds and bulbuls! ... What shall I say to my friends who are prices and ministers! No way, *impossible* (in French) I am not staying here for even a minute, I am leaving.

Then when he changes his mind, he says:

كمال: مالها الحنة؟ حنة ظريفة وأهلها ناس طبيين، وشامم الايصانص الإف بتاع المخلل دا؟ و شوف
(يشير إلى سلم خشبي قديم) ، والهوا من فوق هيبقى حلو يرد الروح... الايصانصير الخشب الطريف دا

حسن: هتشرب فين الشاي الصبحية؟

كمال: على الكافتريا دي.

حسن: هتسمع فين صوت البلابل والعصافير وهي بتغني؟ (يُسمع صوت نهيق حمار)

كمال: الله! هو في صوت بلابل أجمل من كدا!

BT

Kamāl: What is wrong with this place? It is nice and its people are kind. Can you smell this yucky essence of these pickles? See, there is a cute wooden lift (pointing out at an old, wooden ladder). I can have some fresh air from the upper floor.

Ḥasan: And where will you have your morning tea?

Kamāl: In that cafeteria.

⁷³ This is an Ottoman title for a castrated man.

Ḥasan: Where will you hear the singing of birds and bulbuls? (A braying donkey is then heard).

Kamāl: How beautiful, a bulbul is singing!

The animals referred to are part of the Egyptian natural environment. The sound of birds and specifically a ‘bulbul’ is considered a pleasure to hear in the Arab culture. However, dogs barking and donkeys braying are ugly sounds. Elsewhere in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* there is mention of buffalos, which are widespread in Egypt, used in agriculture, and as a main source for milk and red meat. Moreover, Kamāl uses a French word to confirm his decision to leave i.e. *impossible*.

The third variety of EC spoken in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* is by the Royal family and the aristocratic class. This includes broken Arabic and many Turkish words. In appearance, the men wear stylish Western-style suits with fezzes and the women wear fashionable Western-style dresses and hats. The Khedive wears an official suit with real insignia (as Khafājī notes in his diary) (2017b, p.106) and a fez. Among the characters belonging to this class are the Khedive, Gulbahār Hanim, and a few other minor characters.

Example 9: During a conversation between Injī and Gulbahār at the horse racing:

جلبهار: انجي هانم موصيبت (مصيبة) كبيرة ، تتصوري ابني أنا يمشي مع بنت ابوها حنة بيه لاطلع ولا نزل!

BT: Gulbahār: Ms. Injī, what an awful disaster! Can you imagine that *my* son is befriending a girl whose father is nothing more than a bey⁷⁴.

Gulbahār mispronounces the word مصيبة as *muṣibat* instead of *muṣiba* because she has a foreign accent, Turkish, while speaking. In addition, most Turkish words that are adapted from Arabic end with هـ (which is pronounced as *h*) are pronounced as ت (*t*) as in عدالة *Adālit* instead of ‘*Adāla* (justice) and جناية as *Jināyit* instead of *Jināya* (crime).

Example 10: At the Khedive’s party, Kamāl introduces Şudfa to the Khedive:

الخدويوي: تشوك جوزال تشوك جوزال، زوقك عظيم كمال بيه يشبه زوقنا تمام... الخديويي عاوز ياخذ راحتة، انصرافات، ياللا ياللا ياللا، مستنتي ايه ولد؟ أنا قلت انصرافات.

⁷⁴ A bey is an upper-class Ottoman, but not the most high-ranking type.

BT

Kamāl: Actually, Ms. Şudfa does not go out a lot because she comes from a *muḥafẓa* (conservative) family.

Şudfa: Please do not mention the word *muḥafẓa* (police station).

Example 12: When Şudfa insists on ‘Am Lallu testifying in her favour:

صدفة: هاتشهد ولا أحيب خبرك؟ إشهد.

عم للو: أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله.

BT

Şudfa: Are you going to testify or shall I kill you? *Ishhad* (testify)!

‘Am Lallu: *Ashhad* (I bear witness) that there is no god but Allah.

In the first example, both words are pronounced as *Muḥāfẓa* but have different meanings: used as an adjective it means ‘conservative’ and used as a noun it means ‘police station’. Similarly, the word *Ishhad*, which is a verb, has two meanings: to testify or to declare one’s belief in God according to the Islamic tradition.

Furthermore, MSA is used in many scenes where the characters are reading or when they are writing, because MSA is used for all written forms.

Example 13: During a conversation between ‘Aṭa and Ḥasan in the Ḥalāl ‘Alīk neighbourhood.

حسن: هي فين القهوة دي يا اسطا عطا؟

عطا: ما هي ياسعادة البيه.

حسن: دي قهوة!

عطا: لا طبعا إنما اهو مكتوب عليها قهوة.

BT

Ḥasan: Where is the café, Mr. ‘Atta?

‘Atta: Here it is, sir.

Ḥasan: Is this a café!

‘Attah: Of course not, but it is written on the door - Café.

Example 14: During the Khedive's party, Ardughān is taking notes about other people. This is what he writes about Kamāl:

أردوغان: أسمر البشرة، خفيف شعر الحاجبين، طويل الأذنين، بنظارة... (يداه) صفراء حمراء مضغوطة
في أطراف الأصابع مما يدل على إنتمائها إلى فيصلة الدم رقم 2 ب مكرر اللي بتضم سلالات قوقازية
مختلطة بالدم المصري الناتجة عن أحد فروع الطاروطية.

BT

Ardughān: Brown-skinned, thin-haired, eyebrows, long ears, wearing glasses... [his hands] are yellow and red, flat fingertips, which indicates that his blood type is duplicate B2, which includes Caucasian strains mixed with Egyptian blood from one branch of Al-Ṭārūṭiyya.

Here, 'Aṭa reads the name of the shop in MSA exactly as it is written, and Ardughān writes his observations in MSA, except for the use of one word *illi* instead of *al-lattī* (that is) in his EC. In addition, the exercises in the musical are Egyptianised to suit the Egyptian socio-cultural and political context, and are in MSA. For example, everyone must greet the Khedive by bowing, kissing his hands in respect and saying: أنا قلبي طاير من فرحته بروية طلعتك البهية يا مولاي (My heart is full of joy to see your glorious appearance, your majesty), and أنت القلب الكبير، أنت نعمة وإحسان، بنعمتك (You are the big heart, you are grace and kindness, with your blessings you rule over all of us and you are the mirror of our civilisation).

Furthermore, some of characterisation is changed in the adaptation for the purposes of Egyptianisation. The minor characters in Act 1 of *Pygmalion*, including the Eynsford Hills, are changed to low-class Egyptians who live in the Ḥalāl 'Alīk neighbourhood (such as 'Am Lallū, Shiḥṭta, 'bs etc.). Similarly, minor aristocratic characters at the ambassador's party in *My Fair Lady* are also Egyptianised, and the ambassador becomes the Khedive. Other examples of these characters include Gulbahār and Majdī. Some characters are given different personality qualities. For example, Ḥasan (or Pickering) is talkative and gossipy, and is not a language professor. Shajarat Al-Dur (or Mrs. Pearce) complains about everything. Injī (or Mrs. Higgins) is turned into Kamāl's aunt, instead of his mother. Ardughān (or Zoltan) turns out to be a fraud (because he comes from the same poor neighbourhood as Ṣudfa, and his real name is Ji'edī). Finally, Ba'dishī (or Doolittle) does not work and does not have a wife or a mistress, and he does not become rich at the end of the play.

In *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* the relationship between Ṣudfa and Kamāl is also changed, and aspects of these characters' personalities are also changed. Ṣudfa (or Eliza) is not a

naïve flower girl who works hard to gain her own money, but is portrayed as a sharp-tongued pick-pocket. When she first meets Kamāl, she steals from him and, during their second meeting (depicted onstage) she is rude and accuses him unjustly. Kamāl (or Higgins) is closer to the original *Pygmalion* character in profession, although he teaches manners instead of language, but he also dislikes most women and the idea of marriage (as is made clear in the third song). However, Kamāl reveals that he likes Şudfa; he says she is beautiful from the very beginning and treats her gently even when she is rude. During their lessons, Kamāl hits her many times with the cane whilst he practices his power over her as a teacher. This violence does not exist in the ST or the musical, and in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* is culture-related. During the quarrel in which Şudfa reveals her real transformation into an independent women, she tells Kamāl that she has grown up, has her own feelings, and she is given dialogue very similar to the song entitled *Without You* in *My Fair Lady*, as follows:

غصباً عنك إنسانة وهكون على طول إنسانة... من غيرك، ومعاك أنا أو مع غيرك، الشمس هتطلع برضو
مش هتظلم من غيرك، والأرض هتفضل دايرة مش هتفرمل من غيرك، والناس هتعيش وبتكبر مش راح
تصغر من غيرك، وأنا هفضل أنا من غيرك.

BT: I am a human being whether you like it or not and I will always be a human being... without you. With you or without you I can do, the sun will rise and it will never get dark without you, the earth will still rotate and is never going to brake without you, people will live and grow up, and never get younger without you, and I will be myself without you.

Kamāl asks her to lower her voice because he does not want anyone to hear her and harm his position in society. In the last scene when Sudfa returns to give him back her jewellery, Kamāl pretends to be speaking on the phone with another woman in order to make her feel jealous. This scene is completely original to *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, but in the last song Kamāl reveals that he is thinking about Sudfa and how she will live, unlike Higgins who does not seem to care about Eliza.

In order to answer the question posed in section 6.2.2 regarding characterisation and language, it is possible to say that language variations as presented and explored in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* function in a similar way to how they function in *Pygmalion*. However, there is no regional equivalent to Cockney in the Egyptian colloquial. The colloquial of the illiterate is spoken all over Egypt, with dialectal variations, and it functions as an indication of social class and education. Nevertheless, the choice of register chosen in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* is rational and natural in order to replicate the exploration of linguistic distinction made by Shaw. There are examples of linguistic

contrast, i.e. the vocabulary and pronunciation used by the three groups, but grammar is not explored in this thesis, since EC does not follow specific grammatical rules. The lower-class characters produce different lexis and pronunciation and there is the coded sub-dialect of the pick-pockets, whilst the high-class characters speak correct, fluent EC as well as other languages. The Royal and aristocratic characters mispronounce some Arabic words and sounds, and use Turkish vocabulary. *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* also explores nonverbal aspects of characters such as appearance and body language in its socio-cultural and political context.

In conclusion, *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* was the first Arabic adaptation of Shaw's *Pygmalion* for the Arab Theatre. However, it became a classic and still has a cultural capital as well as its adapters. It was rewritten by Khafājī in 1996 as *Ka'b 'Alī* (A High Heel) but it did not succeed (Khafājī, 2017b). It was used to inform many later adaptations of the play in Egypt and in other parts of the Arab World. For instance, the play heavily informed both the Yemini (2008) and the Iraqi (2013) versions of *Pygmalion* (which adapted *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* entirely but made some changes to suit a new milieu), and both adaptations copied the same title: *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*.

6.3.2 Translation as Foreignisation: *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* (2017)

This adaptation of *Pygmalion* was performed in one of the theatres of the General Organisation of Cultural Palaces, based in the East Delta Cultural Region, in Kafr Al-Shaykh Governorate. It was performed by the Kafr Al-Shaykh National Troupe (a non-profit organisation) in 2017. The governorate produced the play, using a budget of 50,000 Egyptian Pounds (€2,500). The adapter, Usāma Shafīq (2018⁷⁶), explains that he intended the play to be presented to an audience of lower to middle-class theatre goers of all ages. Shafīq also directed the play, and notes how he chose the title of the play himself. However, another play he adapted from the work of the Polish dramatist, Sławomir Mrożek, (which was to be performed by the same troupe) was banned by the censorship body⁷⁷ just a week before it opened. Shafīq is an Egyptian actor, author, and director, and won a number of awards for his work. *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* ran for fifteen days, which is the usual run period for a play performed in a state organisation theatre. However, as Shafīq claims, in spite of the

⁷⁶ In correspondence with the adapter/director Usāma Shafīq (2018).

⁷⁷ This censorship system was launched in 1955 and is still operating until today. Its role is to preserve security, order, good morals and the state's interests ('Ismā'il, 2009, p.7). (For more details about the history of censorship for the Egyptian stage, please see Chapter 4).

play's success, he did not win any awards for this work because he is a supporter of an opposition stream to the Egyptian Government (ibid.).

Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ relies on Shaw's *Pygmalion*, the *My Fair Lady* musical, and on the Pygmalion-Galatea myth (Al-Hakim's version rather than the original⁷⁸) for its main sources. All the acts and characters of Shaw's *Pygmalion* are kept in the adapted version, but with some changes. In writing and directing his new stage version, Shafīq was also inspired by scenes and characters from the musical *My Fair Lady* and the aforementioned Greek myth, albeit with some changes that will be discussed later. In addition, Shafīq's play also honours the two foundational principles of theatrical content for an Egyptian audience, namely: comedy and singing, but these are included to a much lesser extent than in previous Egyptian adaptations of Shaw's play. All these points will be discussed in more detail in the upcoming sections.

6.3.2.1 Social Distance and the Important Role of the Middle-Class

Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ is a new adaptation of Shaw's *Pygmalion* that combines both Shaw's and Al-Hakim's dramatic content, in order to create a new message that suits an Egyptian socio-cultural and political context. *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* criticises the class system of Egyptian society. The plot of Shaw's *Pygmalion* is kept in its entirety, but frequent allusions to Al-Hakim's version are included within the scenes in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*.

Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ begins with the upper-class characters Higgins, Pickering and the Eynsford-Hills watching a scene from a play that alludes to Al-Hakim's version of the Pygmalion myth. In this first scene, they watch Pygmalion making the statue of Galatea. Higgins then meets a new character, Smith, who is an actor and a sculptor. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, Higgins asks Smith to make a new statue of Galatea, stating that he will pay Smith good money in return. As in Act 1 of Shaw's play,

⁷⁸ The plot of Al-Hakim's version (written in 1942, entitled *Pygmalion*) is different from the original myth related by Ovid, in that, after Galatea comes to life, Pygmalion wakes up one morning to discover that she has eloped with Narcissus, the guard of Galatea's statue. Afterwards, she regrets her decision and returns to Pygmalion, after intervention from the gods. Like in Shaw's ending, Pygmalion sees that his creation has become mortal and has human faults, and so he prays to the gods to turn her back into stone, but then he suffers from loneliness, destroys the statue, and (as added by Al-Hakim) dies (The Nahj Al-Attārīn Institute, 2015).

Available from:

<https://www.facebook.com/289720194490978/photos/a.293817030747961/692137530915907/?type=1&theater> . Al-Hakim adds in two other mythical Greek characters: Narcissus and Ismene.

Eliza bumps into Freddy, thus causing her flowers to fall in the mud. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, Eliza meets the character of Smith who tells her about a deal he has just struck with Higgins, and informs her that Higgins has supplied an address where the new statue must be delivered. Eliza overhears details of this address when Higgins and Pickering are talking about the possibility of educating Eliza to become a high-class lady. Eliza pays Higgins a visit and then asks him to teach her good pronunciation and manners; she also explains that she is ready to pay him. Later on, Smith visits Higgins' house to show him the new statue, which Higgins likes, but Smith notices another broken statue of Galatea at the house, which he offers to fix for free. Higgins agrees to this on the condition that Smith repairs the statue in-situ at Higgins' house. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* Smith is present when Higgins is giving Eliza classes, because he is working on fixing the broken statue. The scene from *My Fair Lady*, in which Eliza prepares for the ambassador's party, is also included. However, in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, Eliza practices an exercise she chooses for herself, from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, which Higgins dislikes, but Smith memorises (this will be discussed later within the analysis).

As in Shaw's play, Doolittle shows up at Higgins' house asking for his daughter to come back, and takes money from Higgins in this respect. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, Eliza meets Smith while he is working on Higgins' broken statue, and tells her about the bad fortunes his acting troupe are experiencing. He explains they have cancelled performances because the actress who plays Galatea has left the troupe. Eliza suggests she might play the role of Galatea, and Smith agrees. During Eliza's first test of manners, at a horse racing event (a scene taken from *My Fair Lady*), she restricts her conversation to two topics, the weather and people's health, but later on, she begins to use CI, just like in the musical. After Higgins becomes angry with Eliza about this, Smith comforts Eliza after Higgins leaves the room. After Eliza's success at the ambassador's party, which is not acted out on stage (just like in the ST), Higgins and Pickering ignore her and never thank her for her efforts. Eliza then quarrels with Higgins and leaves the house in order to join Smith's troupe. The last scene of the play is inspired by Al-Hakim's version of the original Greek myth, which is acted out by Eliza (as Galatea), Smith (as Narcissus) and another minor character as Pygmalion. After the performance, Eliza speaks with Higgins, and threatens to marry Smith. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, Eliza decides to stay with the acting troupe, after which she receives an offer to play Juliet in *Romeo and Juliet* in London. Her father, Doolittle, becomes the troupe's main producer.

Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ draws on scenes and characters from both Al-Hakim's interpretation of the Greek myth (two scenes and three characters) and the musical

My Fair Lady (the horse racing scene, and when Higgins listens to Eliza's voice recordings). In addition, other scenes are also taken from *My Fair Lady* including the voice exercise scenes, which include "the rain in Spain stays mainly in the plain" and "in Hertford, Hereford, and Hampshire, hurricanes hardly ever happen". These phrases are translated as:

إن المطر يغسل البيوت والأشجار في هارتفورد وهيرفورد وهامشاير وهاريكانز وهاردلي وهابنت.

Transliteration: *Inna al-maṭara yaḡhsilu al-buyūta wa al-ashjāra fī hārtfūrd wa hīrfūrd wa hāmsḥāyar wa hārīkānz wa hārdlī wa habint.*

BT: Rain washes the houses and trees in Hertford, Hereford, and Hampshire, where hurricanes, hardly ever happen.

Also, some parts of the song *Without You*, as included in the musical *My Fair Lady*, are used as parts of Eliza's dialogue. For instance, using 'England' or 'انجلترا' in the song as "ستبقى انجلترا كما هي بدونك" (England will remain as England without you). This enhances the foreignisation of the adaptation, but Eliza has no difficulty in pronouncing the *h* sound in Arabic in general and the colloquial of the illiterate in particular, as is the case in Cockney.

Foreignisation is the main strategy Shafiq uses in producing this play. It is shown in the settings used in the play as well as in the characters' language and appearance. Foreignisation as defined by Venuti (1995, p.20) is "an ethnodeviant pressure on [target culture] values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text, sending the reader abroad." Venuti advocates foreignisation, and encourages translators to keep the foreignness of the original in their TTs. Foreignisation is usually achieved by keeping the original settings of the ST, which, in the case of *Pygmalion*, is Victorian London, as well as all the names of the characters, currencies, social conventions, and religious references. For instance, in this version, there is a reference to names of place (Lucas Hall, London etc.), currencies (pence, sterling etc.) and social customs (Victorian intolerance). When Higgins becomes angry with Eliza for learning so slowly, he tells her "You still speak the vulgar dialect of Lisson Grove" because she uses CI. As for the religious content of the ST, this is apparent in Pickering's speech when he talks with Higgins "You need to visit the church immediately and as soon as possible! Do not you see that what you are saying makes God angry, sir?" The addition of characters in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* that performed the two scenes from Al-Hakim's *Pygmalion* and *Galatea* myth also brings an ancient Greek flavour to this version in terms of the cultural background, clothing, and religion. For instance, Smith tells Eliza as he encourages her:

BT: Stand up, come on, stand up and go ahead for Venus' sake, stand up.

Shafiq makes linguistic choices that aim to highlight the economic and social distance between classes in Egyptian society. He uses a simplified form of MSA as an equivalent to Standard English, and the colloquial of the illiterate to replace Cockney. In this regard, Shafiq (2018) notes that the variety of language used by the different characters is a reflection of their personalities and classes. He explains that the speakers of the colloquial of the illiterate do not follow any grammatical rules and are freer to use this to reflect situations in their life. In contrast, users of MSA are obliged to follow strict grammatical rules, and this reveals their dedication to applying social rules.

In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, MSA is spoken by the upper-class characters and by the mythical characters during the performance of the two added 'play within a play' scenes. However, some characters mispronounce some MSA words in a way similar to how they are pronounced in the EC.

Example 1: In the dialogue between Higgins and Smith (about Higgins' opinion of Smith's statue) we read the following exchange:

هيجينز: لا بأس به، لكن الخامة التي صنعت منه لا تناسب ذوقي تماما فإنها خشنة بالشكل الذي يفقدها الكثير من الجمال والرقي كما أنه صغير أكثر من اللازم.

BT

Higgins: It's OK. But the material that it's made of does not suit my taste. It is rough to the point that it lacks a great deal of beauty and sophistication. Besides, it is very small.

Example 2: During dialogue between Higgins and Pickering in the first scene:

بيكرينغ: هل سمعت ما سمعته يا سيدي؟ تقول الملكة اليزابيث!

BT: Pickering: Have you heard what I've heard, Mr? She says 'Queen Elizabeth!

Here, Pickering pronounces the sound 'th' in 'Elizabeth' as 's' the same way it is pronounced in the EC⁷⁹. Even Higgins, who supposed to be a language professor, does the same during dialogue scenes with Eliza.

The colloquial of the illiterate is spoken by the lower-class characters Eliza, Doolittle and the two friends Toni and Roni. This type of EC is characterised by high pitch, the mispronunciation of some words or sounds, specific whimpering sounds and, sometimes, swear words. This language is usually accompanied by physical gestures made by the characters that express different emotions.

Example 3: In the dialogue between Higgins and Doolittle:

دولتل: أصل انت مش واخذ بالك، الناس بتروح الخمارة آخر الليل بعد ما تكون الدنيا خبطت فيهم طول النهار
ااه، يعني بعد الهم ووجع القلب اللي بيشوفوه طول اليوم، الناس فاكرين ان اللي بيروح الخمارة دا بيروح
عشان يسكر ويسهر، بالعكس دا بيروح لأبعد مكان في الدنيا للتأمل والتفكير أو زي كدا ما بيقولوا بتوع
السياسية إعادة تكييم الموقف.

BT

Doolittle: Actually, you are not paying attention to why those who go to bars go at midnight after they had been pissed off all day, yeah! This is because they experience depression and heartache the whole day. People think they go to bars because they want to get drunk and stay up until late. On the contrary, they go so they can reflect and think, or as those who work in politics say, 'to re-evaluate the situation.

In this example, Doolittle uses the colloquial of the illiterate and this is apparent in the tone and the language used in his speech. Examples include الدنيا خبطت فيهم (after they had been pissed off all day), ااه (yeah), and بتوع (those who). His educational background is echoed by his mispronunciation of the term إعادة تقييم الموقف (to re-evaluate the situation) as إعادة تكييم الموقف by softening the sound ق or 'q' as ك or 'k'⁸⁰. This mistake shows how it is difficult for a speaker of a lower level of the EC to pronounce a word or phrase of a higher level. The character here is trying to show

⁷⁹ The Arabic fricative dental consonant ث (th as in three) is pronounced by all levels of EC as 's' and/or 't' except that speakers of the colloquial of the cultured pronounce it correctly in topics related to religion or other intellectual matters (Badawī, 1973, p.175; 178; 193).

⁸⁰ The Arabic consonant ق or 'q' is pronounced by all levels of EC as a glottal stop (Omar, 1976, p.1), except that speakers of the colloquial of the cultured, and the colloquial of the basically educated but to a lesser degree, pronounce it correctly in topics related to religion or other intellectual matters (Badawī, 1973, p.160; 181). The character here does not pronounce the sound as a glottal stop, rather, he tries to pronounce it correctly but fails to do so.

off and is not aware of his mistake which gives a comic impact and brings laughs to the audience.

These linguistic features are often used to add up a comic effect, which is a pre-requisite for Egyptian audiences. This comic effect is also heightened through the new characters of Toni and Roni.

Example 4: Doolittle arrives at Higgins' house with his two friends Toni and Roni, in order to try to hold Higgins accountable for his change of circumstances from a poor dustman into a rich man. Toni tries to read a letter Higgins has sent to one of his French friends, but Toni cannot do this because he does not have the skills to read French. This comic effect is even enhanced by Roni's attempts to correct Toni:

توني: عزيزي يا روني.. عزيزي.. اس.. اس.. اس.. اس.. اس.. اس..

روني: استفسار يا توني...

هيغينز: سيد دولتل!

دولتل: معلش معلش.. هو بيتقطع في الكلام حبتين بس لعلمك دا أحسن واحد بيقرأ في الخمارة اللي باسکر فيها ااه.

BT

Toni: Dear, Roni. Dear... en... en... en...

Roni: It's enquiry, Toni.

Higgins: Mr. Doolittle!

Doolittle: It's ok. Sometimes he stammers, but, for your knowledge, he is the best reader in the bar where I drink, yeah.

Shafiq emphasises the important role of the middle-class in society and warns against marginalising or eliminating this group. The title of the adaptation *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* (which translates as 'the people in the middle') reveals this intention. According to Shafiq (2018, my translation), the middle class in Egypt "neither belongs to the bourgeoisie class that owns a lot, nor to the poor class that cannot do anything. Thus, the absence or marginalisation of this class may increase the fragmentation of society, which affects that society's safety and integrity" (ibid., , my translation).

In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, the characters who belong to the middle class are players from the Pygmalion-Galatea troupe, including, most importantly, Smith, who mirrors the role of Narcissus. In the play, Smith interacts with all the characters and is depicted as the main representative of the middle-class. Shafiq (2018) notes that

“Smith, for me, is the mouthpiece of the author [i.e. Shafiq himself] and, thus, to all those intellectuals who belong to the middle-class that own [education and talent] but do not have [money or opportunity]” (ibid., my translation). In Shafiq’s introduction⁸¹, he explains that “We [most of the Egyptian population] are indeed the generation *who is in the middle*” (my translation). By ‘similar’, Shafiq means that Smith has skills and an education but cannot do anything without financial resources and support, which the bourgeoisie has. In the play, Galatea/Eliza and Narcissus/Smith eventually come to represent this class. Those who strive for, and gain, an education and skills, but have no socio-political power to convert these skills into financial gains. One example of this is that Smith’s sculpting skills are not appreciated or encouraged by anyone until he meets Higgins. However, Smith’s dignity and self-respect do not allow him to accept ‘charity’ from others, and so he refuses the money Higgins tries to give him in their first meeting.

Shafiq tries to emphasise that educated people who belong to the middle-class would like to work and earn the money they deserve from their skills, but what they need is opportunity and support, not charity, in order to be active members of society. In the play, other troupe members are talented actors who are unappreciated. They become almost bankrupt when the actress playing Galatea leaves the troupe, but are brought to life again when Eliza accepts the role instead. There is a resemblance between the characters in the play and the audience, with whom they are similar in terms of outlook and shared economic experiences. The adapter, himself belonging to the middle class, manipulates the original text in order to achieve his goal of criticising governments in Egypt who have not provided opportunities and support for the middle class in Egyptian society.

The adapter chooses another form of the EC which is the colloquial of the basically educated when writing dialogue for Smith unlike the colloquial of the illiterate given to the lower-class characters. Smith uses better pronunciation and vocabulary, which reveals a higher education level.

Example 5: During the first scene, the director of the acting troupe speaks to the audience:

الحقيقة أيها الجمهور الأفاضل احنا فكرنا نقدمكم المسرحية دي تحت السماء المكشوفة دي والطبيعة الخلابة دي علشان تحسوا بأجواء المسارح الاغريقية العريقة وكأنكم قاعدين في أثينا الجميلة نفسها...

⁸¹ "كلمة مرفقة للعرض كنت مقدمها للجنة: التحكيم"

BT

Troupe Director: Our dear audience, we thought of presenting this play outdoors and in stunning nature, so that you get the feeling of the atmosphere of ancient Greek theatres, as if you are in the wonderful Athena itself...

The lower and middle-class characters both speak EC, to a greater or lesser extent, but the varieties differ between the lower and middle-class characters, with regard to vocabulary, tone and, sometimes, pronunciation.

Example 6: Eliza meets Smith accidentally at Higgins' house while he is repairing Galatea's statue:

اليزا: سميث! إزيك يالا؟

سميث: اليزا، أفتقدك كثيرا أيتها الزهرة البرية.

اليزا: وأنت كمان والله، إزيك يالا وإزاي أمك؟ (تضربه بقوة على ذراعه).

سميث: كويسة! اياه! قتلتك مليون مرة ماما كويسة يا اليزا، طب أفلك على حاجة يا اليزا ماما ماتت...

اليزا: هاو أو أوووو! يعني أخيرا لقيت اللي بيعتبرك فنان يا معفن!

BT

Eliza: Smith! How are you, dude?

Smith: Eliza, I missed you so much, wild flower.

Eliza: I missed you too. How are you? And how is your mother? (She hits him strongly on his arm.)

Smith: Oh! She's fine. I told you a million times that my mum is fine, Eliza. I will tell you something, Eliza, my mum is dead...

Eliza: Ha`oow Aoow Aoow Aoow! Finally you found someone who considers you an artist, you disgusting piece of shit!

In this dialogue, Smith's level of EC is much higher than Eliza's, and he uses some words and pronunciation characteristic of MSA, which shows he is educated, such as: إنما أنا جنئت لأفوم (I missed you so much, wild flower) and بترميم تمثال غلاتيا للسيد هيغينز (I came to repair Mr. Higgins' Galatea statue). This is used to emphasise the ability of the middle-class to communicate with all classes. Higgins insists on calling Eliza 'Elizabeth' instead of 'Eliza', because he says "Eliza is a vulgar, common name. Your name from now on is Elizabeth... stick to it otherwise

I will hit you.” However, this outburst confirms the limitations and rules imposed by his class, and those implied by the language he uses.

In another scene, Smith’s educational background is demonstrated through using a high register of Arabic (i.e. Classical Arabic), occasionally tinged with Quranic lexis, for instance, Quranic verse number 21 from Tāha Chapter:

"قال خذها ولا تخف سنعيدها سيرتها الأولى"

BT: “Seize it, and fear not: We shall return it at once to its former condition” (Ali, 1938, p. 207).

سميث: وأنا أعدك بأنني سأبذل قصارى جهدي ليعود لسيرته الأولى.

BT: Smith: And I promise you that I will try my best to return it to its original form.

In addition to that, he knows Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet* by heart as we see him singing with Eliza some lines of it or inspired by it:

سميث: من لم يذق طعم الجراح يسخر من النجوم، ما ذلك النور الذي ينساب عبر النافذة؟ هل هو المشرق لاح أم أنها جولبيت شمس الصباح؟

BT

Smith: *Those who did not taste heartache would mock the stars. What is that light coming through the window? Is it the time of sunrise or is it Juliet, the morning sun?*

In the play, some of the upper-class characters do not understand some of the words used by the lower classes, and this gives the impression that they are isolated from the society they live in.

Example 7: In a conversation between Higgins, Pickering and Smith:

هيجينز: ... ولكن ملابسك وطريقة نطقك تقول أنك لست من الطبقة المعدمة!

سميث: أنا بالفعل كذلك يا سيدي، آه!! لكنها الأيام لا تبقى كما هي، لقد عشت حياتي دائما يا سيدي نقطة فاصلة بين كلمتين فإن في روعي فنا يجعلني أشعر أنني من قاطني القصور، وفي جيبي *مافيش!*

بيكرينغ: لحظة لحظة لحظة! ماذا تعني بكلمة .. *مافيش!*؟

سميث: *مافيش!* امم! *مافيش* يا سيدي على رأي العامة والبسطاء تعني أشياء كثيرة جدا وفي نفس الوقت فإنها تعني أنه لا يوجد أي شيء على الإطلاق، ها ها!

BT

Higgins: ... but from your clothing and pronunciation you cannot tell that you are from the poor class.

Smith: Oh! This is true, sir. However, everything may change. I've always lived my life at that period, separating two words. I have art in my soul that makes me feel as if I live in castles, while I have *māfīsh* (nothing) in my pocket!

Pickering: Wait, wait, wait..! What do you mean by... *māfīsh*?

Smith: *Māfīsh*, I am *Māfīsh*, sir. According to the common, ordinary people this means a lot of things, and, at the same time, it means that there is nothing at all, haha!

In this scene, Higgins is judgmental, just like the high-class people in Victorian England, whom Shaw criticises in *Pygmalion*. The variety of language Smith can use and his appearance does not reveal his real class (the middle class). Furthermore, Higgins and Pickering's inability to understand the meaning of the EC word *مافيش māfīsh* (nothing) does not only imply that they do not understand lower class words, but also that they do not know or understand poverty, because they have never experienced it. This scene confirms the wide gap between social classes. It reveals that middle-class characters are able to speak with versatility and can communicate with all classes, as we see Smith doing here.

At various points in the play, Eliza uses all three varieties of Arabic, as she transforms herself. As a poor flower girl, she uses the colloquial of the illiterate with all its verbal and nonverbal features and connotations.

Example 8: In a conversation between Eliza, Mrs. Eynsford Hill and Clara, when Eliza accidentally crashes into Freddy:

اليزا: أأأي! مش تحاسب يا سي فريدي! مش حرام عليك سلة البنفسجات تطيح في الطين كدا!

مسز اينسفوردهيل: لحظة واحدة! لكن أخبريني كيف علمتي أن اسم ابني هو فريدي؟

اليزا: ايه دا! هو.. هو دا ابنك يا ست؟

كلارا: والالو! ست!

اليزا: الله او مال ايه! راجل! ما انتي لو كنتي ربتيه كويس ما كنتش هيقف كدا زي التيس بعد ما حاسلي

بنفسجاتي اللي بأكل بها عيش و الله!

BT

Eliza: Aw! Watch out, Freddy! Don't you feel sorry these violets are being thrown in the mud like this?

Mrs. Eynsford Hill: Just a minute! How did you know that my son's name is Freddy?

Eliza: Is he your son, woman?

Clara: Wow... Woman!

Eliza: Yes, woman. What do you want me to say? Man! If you raised him up well, he wouldn't stand up like a bull (i.e. an idiot) after ruining my violets that I sell for a living, I swear to God!

Although foreignisation is used as the main strategy in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, there is some degree of domestication in the TT, because the text is being presented to an audience from a different background. When translating, the choice of EC, with its different types, reflects the culture of the adapter/director, and translators are affected by existing ideologies of time and place, and these usually find their way into the TT unconsciously. This forms part of the manipulation that takes place during the re-writing process.

In the scene quoted above, Eliza uses the word 'bull', and this is categorized as an offensive word in Arabic culture. It is an impolite word addressed to women, and is usually proclaimed with accompanying gestures of clapping and shouting. This is included to emulate the language used in the ST by Eliza. In other scenes, Eliza uses the colloquial of the illiterate words such as: يا أخينا (bro), أه يا خرابي (Oh, how ruined I am!), جاتك ضربة في مصارينك (I hope you get hit on your guts) and جاتكو القرف (may you rotten!). In the ST during one scene, Eliza throws Higgins' slippers at him. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* the slippers are replaced by a coat because throwing shoes is classed as an extremely rude insult in Arabic culture generally, and so, this would be inappropriate to include for Arabic audiences.

During the rendition of the first song in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*, Higgins calls Eliza "really vulgar" and she says that "she can beat, break and punch" which reveals class vulgarity. Eliza is also described by Pickering as "a wild beast!" The colloquial of the illiterate is usually accompanied by physically rude gestures, as in previous versions.

Example 9: When Eliza undertakes her first test at the horse racing, she reverts to her original variety:

اليزا: مرات أبويا دي كانت غير أمي خالص اااه فشششر ايش جاب لجاب!

كلارا: مس دولتل ماذا تعني كلمة فشششر؟

اليزا: يعني أقطع لسان اللي يقول كدا، دا أنا امي دي كانت حنيفة الدنيا فيها، طب دي مرة مرات أبويا غلظت في أبويا وهو مش موجود وقالت عليه عواطلحي، قتلها فشششر دا أحسن منك ومن اللي خلفوكي، قالت دا صايح وضايح ومش متربي، قتلها فشششر دانا أبويا أنا دا راجل وسيد الرجالة...

BT

Eliza: My stepmother was so different from my mother, yeah! *Fashar*⁸² Unfair to compare them to each other!

Clara: Miss Doolittle, what does *fashar* mean?

Eliza: It means that I will cut the tongue from anyone who says so. My mother was the most tender-hearted person ever. Once, my stepmother said bad things about my father while he was away. She said he was unemployed, and I told her '*fashar*' he is better than you and your family. She said he was reckless vagabond with no manners. I told her '*fashar*' he is the best of men.

After her transformation and success at the ambassador's party, Eliza begins to use the same MSA as used by the upper-class characters.

Example 10: During a quarrel between Eliza and Higgins:

هيجينز: ما الذي حدث يا اليزا؟ ما الذي أصابك!

اليزا: اليزا! الآن أصبحت اليزا! بعد أن ربحت رهانك.

هيجينز: ألم يكن هذا ما تم الاتفاق عليه؟

اليزا: ياليتني لم أوافق، ولم أقبل أن أحول نفسي إلى دمية تلعبون بها.

BT

Higgins: What's happened Eliza, what's wrong with you?

Eliza: Eliza! Now you are calling me Eliza after you won the bet!

Higgins: Wasn't that what we agreed upon?

Eliza: I wish I hadn't agreed to that, and that I'd not transformed myself into a puppy for you all to play with.

At the end of *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* when Eliza decides to work with the troupe, she becomes an independent, educated woman who belongs to the middle-class. Her new class is reflected in her speech, and she begins to speak a better form of EC (i.e.

⁸² According to Al-Ma'ānī Dictionary, *fashar* means lying or false claims. Available from: <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D9%81%D8%B4%D8%B1/>

which is the colloquial of the basically educted), which is similar to that spoken by Smith.

Example 11: The director of the troupe announces good news about the troupe's future, and Eliza listens as a member of the troupe herself:

عضو الفرقة: مفاجأة يا اليزا مش هتصدقني اللي هتسمعيه دلوقتي... أخيرا تمت الموافقة من إدارة مسرح بيكاديللي وهتستقبل عرضنا على مسرحها.

اليزا: ... دا خير مدهش!

BT

Troupe Director: Surprise, Eliza, you will not believe what you are about to hear...finally, we have been accepted by the Managing Department of Piccadilly Theatre to perform on their stage.

Eliza: What wonderful news!

In one scene Higgins utters a line in the colloquial of the basically educated during a quarrel with Eliza, but afterwards he voices his disgust about this language:

هيجينز: طرز فيكي، وطز في القهوة، وطز في مسز بيرس، جاتكو القرف!

BT: Higgins: Damn you, damn the coffee, and damn Mrs. Pearce. May you rotten!

Shafiq (2018) provides two justifications for this. Firstly, that Higgins does not care anymore about how he speaks in front on Eliza, because he has already succeeded and won the bet. Secondly, that anger shows the ugly things within us. He explains that, for him, Higgins is a representative of the bourgeoisie class, whose members have no feelings about anything that is happening around them. Shafiq's linguistic choices make his version seems artificial as his characters speak both MSA and different types of the EC at the same time. However, this style has not existed in any part of the Arab World at any time. Classical Arabic, spoken hundreds of years ago, has various dialects. The register used in this version is a simplified form of MSA that is used in official environments, and the EC with all of its types is used by all classes of Egyptian society in everyday speech. Shafiq explains why he chose this intentionally artificial effect:

The everyday colloquial vocabulary which the target audience uses does not help for creating other hypotheses for another world different from theirs... the main purpose is to impose a sense of foreignness on the target audience who mostly belong to the lower or middle classes

who use the colloquial. The colloquial that the poor speaks in the play resembles that of the audience... (ibid., my translation).

Accordingly, Shafiq needs his audience to feel that the speech of the upper-class characters is strange and difficult to understand, in order to highlight how significant the gap between classes is. In respect of using the EC, he adds “I think that this would deprive the text a lot of enthusiasm and clarity since all types of EC are similar [in one way or another]” (Shafiq, 2018, my translation). In addition to serving a linguistic purpose, the use of EC is crucial for obtaining the audience’s attention, enhancing the comic effect, in order to meet the Egyptian audience’s expectations. In spite of the artificiality of combining EC (with its types) with MSA, it is meant to attract the widest audience possible, assuring the play’s success and economic return.

Example 12: Dialogue between Higgins and Doolittle at Higgins’ house:

دولتل (وهو يصرخ): هو فيه ابييه سيادتك هو هفضل واقفين هنا ولا ابييه! ... اسمع بقى سيادتك، أنا جابلك في موضوع خطير جدا وأنت مش صغير وفاهم ااه.
هيغينز: قبل أن تسترسل في حديثك هل أنت من هونسلو وأمك من ويلز على ما أعتقد؟
دولتل: ابوه صحيح، وعرفت منين! احنا ما اتقابلناش قبل كذا!
هيغينز: من طريقة نطقتك. ها ما الذي تريده يا سيد دولتل؟

BT

Doolittle (shouting): What is going on, sir, am I going to stay here or what...? Listen to me, sir. I want to talk with you about a very serious topic. You are old enough to understand it, yeah?

Higgins: Before you go on, you are from Hounslow and your mother is Welsh I think, right?

Doolittle: Yeah, how did you know that? We have not met before.

Higgins: From your accent! What do you want Mr. Doolittle?

In this example, linguistic artificiality is very clear in the different varieties of Arabic used, including Higgins’ MSA and Doolittle’s the colloquial of the illiterate. In addition, when Higgins remarks about Doolittle’s origins from Hounslow and Wales, Doolittle is speaking in the colloquial of the illiterate.

Shafiq's use of the colloquial of the illiterate to replace Cockney succeeds in conveying the low social class and low educational level of Eliza, but his choice of MSA to represent SE does not work so successfully. This is due to the artificiality of combining both varieties together at the same time as discussed earlier. Although, Shafiq achieves linguistic contrast in the ST, it does not function the same way as intended by Shaw.

The foreignisation of the characters is not only demonstrated through their speech, but also through their appearance and the background they come from. The characters in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* can be divided into three groups: first, characters that appear in the original ST of *Pygmalion*, including Eliza, Higgins, Pickering, Mrs. Pearce, Mrs. Higgins, Mrs. Eynsford Hill, Clara, Freddy, Doolittle (plus the two added characters of Toni and Roni as Doolittle's friends, and the new character Smith); second, the minor characters from the *Pygmalion-Galatea* acting troupe; third, Al-Hakim's *Pygmalion-Galatea* characters, including *Pygmalion* (performed by a minor character), *Narcissus* (performed by Smith) and *Galatea* (performed by Eliza). The first group of characters are close to the original ST based in Victorian London. The upper-class male characters wear suits and hats, and the female characters wear dresses and hats, while the lower-class characters wear dirty, torn clothes. In her first appearance on stage Eliza wears shabby clothes, her hair is dirty and messy, and she is barefoot reflecting her social class. Characters from the other two groups wear ancient Greek clothing. In addition, some of the low-class characters' gestures and body movements portray the real cultural background of their variety (i.e. CI) although they wear Victorian clothes. Thus, they behave in a way that is compatible with and inseparable from the language they speak. This is clear, for instance, when we see Eliza and Doolittle shouting, clapping loudly, and hitting others just like low-class Egyptian do. In addition, Doolittle hugs and kisses Higgins when Higgins mentions that he is ready to help Doolittle at any time.

6.3.2.2 Characterisation and Ending

Some changes are made to the original ST which affect the relationships depicted in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* as well as the ending. For instance, Pickering is not the kind-hearted man he is in the ST. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* he is a pessimist and a rude character. From the very beginning, his rudeness is demonstrated in the presence of Eliza and Smith, and Eliza does not learn self-respect from him, as she does in Shaw's original ST. When Eliza arrives at Higgins' house to request him as a tutor, Pickering asks her how she has

obtained the address, and when she replies that she has obtained it from Smith, Pickering shouts in sarcasm:

فلتسعد يا سيد هيغينز فإن منزلك هذا سيتحول إلى ملجأ للسوقة والرعاع!

BT: Pickering: Be happy, Mr. Higgins, your house is going to be a shelter for vulgar people and mobs!

In the horse racing scene, just before Pickering and Eliza come on stage, Pickering is heard insulting Eliza:

توقفي عن هذه الأفعال السوقية وإلا ضربتك.

BT: Pickering: Stop these vulgar things you are doing otherwise I will hit you.

Therefore, copying the ST line about Pickering treating a flower girl as a duchess, while Higgins treating a duchess as a flower girl seems out of place.

Doolittle is portrayed as a more caring father than he is in Shaw's original ST, and as a supportive participant in Eliza's future. When he discovers that Eliza has escaped from Higgins' house after the quarrel, he tells Higgins to hurry up to help him find her. At the end of the play when Eliza decides to work for the troupe, Doolittle becomes the producer of that troupe, in order to help his daughter. Again, here target culture is at work, and this defines the role a father should have towards his children. Staying with the theme of moral and material neglect, as in the original text, would not be acceptable to an Egyptian audience. In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* Doolittle is given the following line which alludes to the corruption of those who work in the Egyptian Government:

دولتل: وزير ايه! دي شغلانة ما تلفيش العالم، دي عيشتهم زفت بعيد عنك، أصل الناس دي بتكذب بكل سنت، وتغش بكل ضمير، وتتصب بكل أمانة... وأنا بقى راجل مزجانجي وعرييد أحب أعيش يومي ولا يهمنيش بكره هيكون في ايه ااه.

BT: Doolittle: Minister! This is a worthless job as [ministers] live a very bad life, may God protect you from this. These people lie with every cent, cheat with all their consciousness, and swindle with honesty... and I am a down-and-out man, following my instincts man. I like to live my day without thinking of tomorrow, yeah.

In *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* Freddy is portrayed as foolish and childish, and this portrayal deviates from the original character in Shaw's ST. In *Al-Nās illī fī*

Al-Nuṣ Freddy laughs at anything and embarrasses his mother everywhere and his mother constantly shouts at him. This is done to emphasise that Freddy would not be a good husband for Eliza.

In introducing more elements from the Greek myth, in scenes and through characters, Shafīq makes implicit comparisons and contrasts between Pygmalion, Higgins and Smith as well as between Galatea and Eliza. Shafīq links phonetics (via Higgins) with sculpting (through both Pygmalion and Smith) as both create 'masterpieces'. Although Smith is a talented sculptor, just like Pygmalion (his friends call him 'Pygmalion') he is obviously poorer, because Pygmalion in the original Greek myth is a king. This link is further explored via the character of Higgins and his love for collecting beautiful sculptures. Both Higgins and Smith are happy and proud of their professions, which they also consider to be their hobbies. Both have faith in their ability to create beautiful objects. Whenever they talk about sculpting and sculptures, their opinions reflect the way they think of and treat Eliza throughout the play. Higgins gives Smith the task of repairing the broken statue of Galatea. At the same time, Higgins is training Eliza to speak and behave like a lady. Thus, both are 'repairing and creating their masterpieces'. A connection is made between Eliza and the statue of Galatea in a nonverbal as well as in a verbal way.

Example 13

After Higgins' angry words to Eliza, Higgins asks Smith how the statue repairs are progressing:

سميث: إنها مسكينة يا سيدي مازالت تعاني، ولكن أعدك بأنها ستتعاوى وتخرج من محنتها.

هيغينز: غريب هو استخدامك للكلمات أيها الفنان!... أنك تتحدث عن تمثالي هذا وكأنه تمثال يتألم ويعاني ويحس!

سميث: هو بالفعل كذلك يا سيدي، إن لكل قطعة فنية روح.. (وهو ينظر إلى اليزا) روح تتألم وتحس وتشعر بمن يرعاها ويحبها ويسرّها... فإنني أستطيع أن أحدثها وأستمع إليها (وهو ينظر إلى اليزا) وأشعر بآلامها وأمالها.

هيغينز: أتعني أنني إذا تحدثت إلى هذا التمثال فسأجد من يجيبني؟

سميث: بالطبع يا سيدي شريطة أن تمتلك المقدرة الخاصة على فهمه وترجمة لهجاته (وهو ينظر إلى اليزا) فإن للتماثيل أيضا لهجة يا سيدي.

BT

Smith: She is poor, sir. She is still suffering but I promise you that she will recover and her suffering will end.

Higgins: How strange is your use of words, artist!... You speak about my statue as if it feels and suffers.

Smith: It really is so, sir. Each artistic piece has a soul (while looking at Eliza) a soul that feels and suffers and that can recognise those who take care, and loves and pleases it... I can speak and listen to it (while looking at Eliza) and feel its pains and hopes.

Higgins: Do you mean that if I speak to this statue it will answer me?

Smith: Of course, sir, on the condition that you have a special ability to understand its various dialects (while looking at Eliza) for statues, sir, also have a dialect.

This example shows how Smith is passionate and sensitive who sees that even a 'statue' can have a 'soul'. He even expresses his feelings for Eliza through the Galatea statue. However, Higgins does not treat Eliza as a human being with a soul.

In the second song, Higgins and Pickering sing about making Eliza look clean and changing her appearance, as a first step to her learning. At the same time, Eliza expresses fear and wonder and stands behind Galatea's broken statue (see Image 8 in Appendix 2). This implies that Eliza needs to be 'repaired' just as Galatea's statue needs repair. Therefore, Eliza is treated somewhat as an object by Higgins "my love of these artefacts is nothing more than my love of possession especially if that what you possess is beautiful."⁸³ For instance, when Eliza leaves Higgins' house after the quarrel, he begins to miss her and listens to her recorded voice. With sadness on his face, he puts Eliza's shawl on Galatea's statue which has not been repaired. This alludes to Eliza's new maturity after she has been 'fixed' by Higgins as well, and Higgins now thinks of her as something beautiful that he has created and possesses. Higgins' treatment of Eliza is clear in other scenes as the following:

⁸³ Higgins resembles Al-Hakim's Pygmalion who serves Apollo, the god of prophecy, healing, art and archery (Ancient History Encyclopaedia, 2012). Available from: <https://www.ancient.eu/apollo/> in his love of beautiful things. Thus, they both create beautiful things but do not understand the meaning of love. Pygmalion's love of Galatea is nothing but his love of his perfect masterpiece and this is why he cannot love her as a wife, only the way he did when she was a statue. Similarly, Higgins sees Eliza as a beautiful thing to have around in his house rather than someone to love and marry.

Example 14

This scene takes place after Eliza's failure to stick to the two prescribed topics at the horse racing. Higgins becomes very angry and upset, and shouts at her while Smith is around. Higgins compares Eliza with the statue of Galatea:

هيغينز: ...بعد كل هذا الوقت الذي أهدره معك ومازلتي تتحدثين بلغة لاسن كروف السوقية هذه! من الواضح أنه لا فائدة من تعليمك... لو كنت أعلم هذا التمثال الأصم لكان قد نطق.

BT: Higgins: After all this time I am wasting with you, you are still speaking this vulgar dialect of Lisson Grove! There is no hope of teaching you... If I taught this deaf statue, it would have spoken.

In contrast, Eliza is treated in the opposite way by Smith who loves her and encourages her. Even at the beginning, he gives her Higgins' address:

اليزا: أصله طول عمره بيقولي انتي لازم تتعلمي يا اليزا وعلى طول بيقولي انتي نبيهة وناجحة.

BT: Eliza: He always tells me that I have to learn and be educated and that I am intelligent and successful.

Smith tries to comfort Eliza and positively supports her until her confidence is restored, and he shows maturity that will lead her, later, to her independence as in the following example:

سميث: اليزا عزيزتي، لا تحزني فإن في كل غد قريب أمل جديد... القسوة تقاقل الرحمة... نفسوا بالمطرقة على الصخرة كي نستخرج منها تحفة فنية.

اليزا: وأنا مش صخرة، أنا أبدأ مش تمثال أو تحفة! أنا إنسانة لها مشاعر.

سميث: أنتي روح حرة أبيّة، أنت ملح الأرض الحرة، بل أنت قلب الحرية... فلتنهضي...

اليزا (تغني): أتعلم كيف أكون كي أصلح ذاتي، أتحمل رغم الصعاب لأنجو بحياتي

أنحت تمثالي بالقوة وأحقق آمالي المرجوة، وأزيل غمامات عيوني لأدشن خطوات زماني

BT

Smith: My dear Eliza, do not be sad because there is hope in every new day... harshness fights mercy...we hit a rock harshly with a hammer to come out with an artistic masterpiece.

Eliza: But I am not a rock, nor a statue or a piece of art! I am a human being with feelings.

Smith: You are a free, proud soul, you are the very essence of the free land, and you are the heart of freedom... Stand up...

Eliza (singing): *How can I learn to create myself? I endure despite the hardships, to survive in my life, I sculpt my statue to create my personality to achieve my desired hopes, and I remove what prevents me from seeing, in order to move forward with each step.*

With Smith's comforting words and encouragement, Eliza becomes braver and more convinced that she needs to win both her independence and freedom from her creator (i.e. Higgins). While she is singing, Smith uncovers the statue of Galatea, which is now totally repaired and Eliza stands next to it. This is a nonverbal reference to the fact that Eliza is now fully improved and matured (see Image 9 in Appendix 2).

Smith is given all the good qualities of Pygmalion while Higgins is given the bad ones. Smith and Pygmalion share the qualities of a creative sculptor, but Higgins and Pygmalion share greedy and possessive characteristics. In the last scene inspired by Al-Hakim's version of the myth, which is acted out by the troupe, and watched by the upper-class characters, the dialogue echoes the inner thoughts and feelings of Shaw's characters: Pygmalion (Higgins), Narcissus (Smith) and Galatea (Eliza) (see Image 10 in Appendix 2).

بيجماليون: أنت أيها الغادر! ألا تستحي من مواجعتي أيها الساقط الوضع؟

نيرسيس: من يستحي من الحب، لا يستحقها أيها الكاره للحياة، إن غلاتيا قد أنطقت، وهي جديرة بروحها.

بيجماليون: أنا من صنعت جمالها وعيونها من بعد صخر برّي، أنا أمتلك ما أستحق.

نيرسيس: تبا لصخرك وإن نحتته جواهر، إن الفؤاد لمن يريد خليله فلنحتكم إلى قلبها، إنني أبادله الغرام بقلب مخلص.

بيجماليون: أنا لا أفاوض فيما ملكت حقيقة، فالمال مالي ولقد ملكته سلفاً، فأنا الذي صنعتها.

نيرسيس: وأنا الذي عشقتها، وعلى غلاتيا أن تقرر من ذا الذي فاز بقلبها الرقيق، ادخلي يا غلاتيا.

(تدخل اليزا في دور غلاتيا وتقف على صخرة التمثال الفارغة)

هيغينز (يقف): اليزا!

بيجماليون: غلاتيا! (في نفس الوقت مع هيغينز) أين كنتي؟

غلاتيا: كنت أبحث عن حياتي النائية... وجدتها... بين الناس، بين البشر.

بيجماليون: ولكنك لست بمثلهم.

نيرسيس: بل مثلهم، وتفوقهم في الروح والقلب الجميل.

بيجماليون: أنسيتي من كان يسهر الليل في صناعتك لكي تكوني جميلة وجلييلة؟

غلالتيا: (تنظر إلى هيغينز) لم أنسى أبدا أنك منحتني حياة جديدة مخلدة ولكنني أحمل قلبا نابضا (وهي تنظر إلى سميث) قلبا يحس المشاعر الصادقة من غير زخرف خدّاع للعيون الكاذبة.

بيجماليون: تريدون تلك الحياة الفانية من الخلود كتحفة؟

غلالتيا: إنني اخترت الحياة بكل ما فيها من صعاب مع من أحب، إنني قد اخترت الممات على حياة مستقلة، وقد اخترت بحب الفناء، عد إلى عالمك المزخرف بالجواهر والتحف، (تنظر إلى هيغينز) فأنا قد قبلت بأن أموت ولا أخلد...

BT

Pygmalion: You are treacherous! Don't you feel ashamed to face me, you degraded vile thing?

Narcissus: He who is ashamed of love does not deserve her, you enemy of life.

Galatea has been made able to speak and she deserves her soul.

Pygmalion: I created her beauty and eyes out of wild rocks, I own what I deserve.

Narcissus: Damn your rock, even if you sculpture it into jewels! A heart wants its soulmate, let her heart choose between us. I love her sincerely.

Pygmalion: I do not negotiate on what I already possess since the money is mine and I already own it and I created her.

Narcissus: And I am the one who fell in love with her. Galatea has to decide who wins her tender heart. Come in Galatea.

(Eliza enters acting out the role of Galatea, and stands on the base of the Galatea statue)

Higgins (standing up): Eliza!

Pygmalion (standing in front of Higgins who is among the audience): Galatea, where were you?

Galatea: I was looking for my lost life... and I found it... among the people, among the humans.

Pygmalion: But you are not like them.

Narcissus: But [she is] like them and even excels them with her beautiful soul and heart.

Pygmalion: Have you forgotten who stayed until late at night creating you to be pretty and great?

Galatea (while looking at Higgins): I have never forgot that you gave me a new immortal life but I hold a beating [living] heart (while looking at Smith) a heart that feels real emotions without any deceiving masks to hide false eyes.

Pygmalion: Do you want this mortal life instead of being immortalised as a masterpiece?

Galatea: I have chosen life with all its hardships to spend with whom I love. I have chosen to die after living an independent life. I have chosen to extend with love. Go back to your fancy world of jewellery and antiques (while looking at Higgins) since I have accepted to die rather than to be immortalised...

Eliza's escape from Higgins' house mirrors Galatea's disappearance in the myth. In this scene, Pygmalion looks for Galatea just as Higgins looks for Eliza, everywhere. At the same moment Pygmalion sees Galatea leaving, Higgins sees Eliza departing. During his search Higgins stands in the audience area just behind Pygmalion, as if he is asking Eliza the same questions. Eliza looks at him from time to time while speaking with Pygmalion as if she is answering his questions. Pygmalion's words are: (Do you want this mortal life instead of being immortalised as a masterpiece?) This echoes Higgins' words to Eliza after she tells him that she would rather marry Smith:

هيجينز: إنك حمقاء يا إليزابيث، حمقاء! إنك مثل الضفدع الذي مهما رفعت من شأنه ووضعته على كرسي من الذهب فإنه يعود إلى المستنقع الذي أتى منه من جديد، إن هذا.. هذا هو كل طموحك في الحياة؟ إذا كنتي لا تقدرين ما تملكين إذاً احصلي على ما تقدرين، وإذا كان الزواج هو ما تطمحين فلماذا لا تتزوجي رجلاً ثرياً من الأثرياء الجدد؟ على الأقل سيؤمن لك حياة أفضل من نحاتك هذا!

BT: Higgins: You are fool, Eliza, a fool! You are like the frog that whenever its position is raised on a chair of gold, it goes back to the swamp where it comes from. Is this your ambition in life, that's all? If you do not value what you have then get what you value. If marriage is all that you long for then why not you marry a rich man from among those who have recently became rich? At least he can guarantee a better life for you than that your sculptor would provide.

It is worth mentioning here that during the dialogue between Higgins and Eliza at the end of the play, Eliza tells Higgins that she is looking for independence, to which he replies:

الاستقلال! ذلك الحق الذي تطالب به الطبقات الدنيا؟ تباً لكم جميعاً أيها الأغبياء.

BT: Higgins: Independence! That right which the lower-classes are seeking and demanding? Damn you, you are a bunch of fools.

This line implies that the lower classes wish to lead independent lives, but they do not have money or opportunity to progress, and Higgins, as a rich man, does not understand this dilemma.

The ST ends with Eliza marrying Freddy and running a flower shop. In Al-Hakim's myth Galatea is turned back into a statue which Pygmalion destroys before he dies. The *My Fair Lady* musical ends with the reunion of Higgins and Eliza. Shafiq creates a new ending that unites Eliza with Smith, after she decides to work with him in the troupe to perform Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. Thus, Smith is shown as the character who is most compatible with Eliza because: (1) He keeps encouraging her to learn and improve until she finally wins her independence and freedom from her 'creator'; (2) they belong to the same class and speak the same language variety; (3) he treats her kindly unlike Higgins; and (4) they have similar tastes, e.g. they both like *Romeo and Juliet*. Shafiq suggests that Smith also resembles Narcissus⁸⁴, the character he plays in the myth scene. Narcissus is the first human being Galatea sees after she becomes human. Eliza likes Smith because he is the first person to be genuinely nice to her (ibid.).

Both the comparison drawn between the characters of Higgins and Smith especially in regards to their way of treating Eliza as well as the new ending convey the main purpose of this adaptation. It is to explore the important role of the middle-class, a group that must not be marginalised or eliminated. Through the character of Smith, Shafiq argues that middle class people have good qualities, including patience, kindness, sympathy and skills, in comparison to upper-class people who destroy every beautiful thing. Shafiq (2018) describes Smith's treatment of Eliza as "he can use emotions as a substitute for the chisel" (my translation). These qualities are accompanied by accuracy, tenderness and strength while "Higgins who always has confidence in his financial ability lacks the skills to use the chisel with the required gentleness, and only uses the hammer so that he almost destroys his statue (i.e. Eliza)" (my translation). Shafiq refers explicitly to Smith twice in his introduction to

⁸⁴ Smith shares ideas of love and beauty with Al-Hakim's Narcissus who serves Venus, the goddess of love, beauty, sex and fertility (Ancient History Encyclopaedia, 2013). A major difference in the character of Al-Hakim's Narcissus and Shafiq's is that Al-Hakim's Narcissus tells Pygmalion that he does not love Galatea, while in Shafiq's version, Narcissus admits and defends his love of Galatea.

the play, and in the song at the end of the play. In this song, Eliza and Smith are seen holding hands and singing with the other characters, to the exclusion of Higgins and Pickering:

هأأأو هأأأو أو أو أو، هأأأو هأأأو أو أو أو، هأأأو هأأأو أو أو أو، أو أو أو
لما العشق اللي فينا يحس، نلقى الحب اللي ليينا وبس
الدنيا تلف بيينا، تعبنا بنت اللذين، واللي مكتوب علينا، نبقى الناس اللي في النص
توجعنا يمكن ساعات، تجمعنا وقت الشتات، وقلوبنا تجمعها فرحة، تقوينا ساعات ثبات

BT

Singing: *Ha`woow, awoow, awoow, Ha`woow, awoow, awoow, Ha`woow, awoow, awoow awoow. When we feel that we are in love, we will find the love which is only ours. Life is driving us crazy, it has exhausted us, daughter of those who*⁸⁵. *This is our fate to be the people in the middle. Sometimes it causes us pain, but in other times it unites us during times of separation, and our hearts became full of joy which helps us stand firmly.*

They sing Eliza's words *هأأأو هأأأو أو أو أو* (Ha`woow, awoow, awoow) to show that they are proud of their class and language variety. This sound belong to the CI. We can see the love between the couple, and their confirmation of class, and a determination that they will build a whole new life away from Higgins, who does not appear in the song.

Shafiq created a new ending, a happy one, and included a song at this point to meet audience expectations and achieve the two foundational principles of Egyptian theatre. Throughout the play, Shafiq draws comparisons between Higgins and Smith, emphasising that Smith is the person who deserves Eliza. To further justify the changes he makes, and to give them credibility, Shafiq provides background and commentary to Shaw's *Pygmalion* in his introduction, and agrees that Eliza and Higgins are not compatible with each other. He also refers to a similarity of purpose between his version and Shaw's when he says:

What is stranger is that even Bernard Shaw agreed on what we are thinking about as he disagreed with the Romantic School Pioneers on transforming the ending of the play when performed. He clarified, later, that he was actually discussing the idea of the marginalisation of the

⁸⁵ It is literally translated as "daughter of those who" as a toned down form of more offensive similar expressions. One can add any insult after "who".

middle-class before the Romantic drama makers transformed it into a love story between a rich man and a poor girl.

In conclusion, although *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* includes all the common practices of Egyptian commercial theatre (i.e. comedy, singing and a happy ending), it also challenges the audience intellectually. Using a combination of Al-Hakim's take on the Pygmalion myth, and using Shaw's *Pygmalion*, comparisons and contrasts are drawn between the characters of both works. Adding the character of Smith and lines from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, further emphasises the work's foreignisation. However, the audience needs knowledge or an awareness of the allusions made. This approach also poses problems, because the play is seemingly aimed at production on both a large-scale and on a restricted-scale. *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* aims to please a varied audience demographic, in order to gain both economic and symbolic capital in the field. In this case, Bourdieu's distinction between two types of cultural production is not clear-cut, but, rather, overlaps, and this proves that it is possible to combine the two types of capital.

6.4 *Pygmalion* in the Lebanese Theatre: Two Versions of the Musical *Bint Al-Jabal*

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 4, the golden period of the Lebanese theatrical field was from 1960 to 1975 just before the civil war. Since then, it declined and it has got worse especially after the Israeli Invasion in 1982 which destroyed most of the theatres. Even when the civil war ended in 1990, theatres did not get enough attention as it was more paid to economic and developmental aspects among others. Ṭa'ma (2012) claims that critics agree on the fact that the main obstacle to the development of the Lebanese theatre is "the Lebanese [social] structure which is coated with acute sectarianism" (my translation).

The Lebanese theatre has been depending on translation and adaptation since its beginnings similar to the Egyptian theatre for many reasons and most important of which are, as Laḥūd thinks, the lack of good playwrights and the state's neglect of the theatrical movement. He even commented ironically if the state has any idea that there is theatre or even art in Lebanon (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.86). Laḥūd claims in an interview with Amal Shamūnī in 1992 on Al-Hayat newspaper that in other parts of the world, folklore troupes usually get the state's support but that was not the case in Lebanon as the state is taking the quarter of a troupe's income as taxes (Shammūnī, 1992).

Adwār Al-Bustānī, a Lebanese playwright, mentions that there are many good directors in Lebanon and that they are frustrated with the lack of playwrights which they justify their restoring to translation and adaptation (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.88). For instance, we see all performances of the 1972 season of what is known as al-masrah al-tajribī are adapted from Western plays which are: *Waṣīyat Kalb* (A Dog's Will) from Ariano Suassuna, *Al-Rāhiba wa Al-Āhira* (The Nun and the Prostitute) from Tom Arie, *Min Waḥī Hamlit* (From the Inspiration of Hamlet) from William Shakespeare and *ʿAndalīb lil ʿAshā* (A Nightingale for Dinner) from Josef Topol. When adapting, Lebanese playwrights change the foreign milieu into a Lebanese one. In *Waṣīyat Kalb*, for example, the struggle between the classes in Brazil is so similar to the one in Lebanon. Whereas in *Min Waḥī Hamlit*, adapted by Anṭwān Multaqā, Hamlet represents an Arab who wants to revolutionize for his extorted self, land and rights but he is incapable of positive action (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p. 76).

Bint Al-Jabal is a Lebanese musical comedy that is an adaptation of Shaw's *Pygmalion* and was written, directed and produced by Romeo Laḥūd⁸⁶ in 1977, 1988⁸⁷ and 2015. The first two versions were introduced to the Lebanese theatre during the civil war (1975-1990) by Romeo Laḥūd's troupe starring Salwā Al-Qaṭrīb and Antoine Kerbāj on Al-Elīzīya Theatre. This play is a successful play that is regarded as a classic in Arab theatre in general and the Lebanese musical theatre in particular and it has been even studied in schools in Lebanon. Laḥūd is one of the founders of the Lebanese musical theatre and the Lebanese folklore shows in the 1960s along with Al-Raḥbānī brothers and Fayrūz. He also worked with the well-known Lebanese actress and singer Ṣabāḥ for ten years before Salwā among the works are *Al-Qal'a* (The Castle), *Fīnīqyā 80* (Phoenicia 80) and *Al-Funūn Junūn* (Arts are Mad). The musical theatre has been an important type of theatre that has its place in the theatrical seasons in Lebanon and even flourished by Al-Raḥbānī troupe. Thus, Laḥūd has been accumulating symbolic capital in the field for many years and he received many rewards from different countries such as Geneva, *Epiney sur seine* from France, the Golden Medal from USA, and the Golden Cedar from Lebanon among others. In describing his theatre, Laḥūd states that "my theatre is

⁸⁶ He is a Lebanese director, producer and lyrics writer who studied mechanical scenography in Italy. He starts his theatrical journey since 1964 and his works exceeded 44.

⁸⁷ The 1977 version is a traditional Lebanese folklore version while the 1988 is closer to *My Fair Lady* according to the dance designer of the three versions Nādī Laḥūd (Enta Dhyf, 2015). Available from: <http://entawayn.com/archives/2242>

neither [functioning as] preaching nor [political] commitment⁸⁸. Rather, it is a representation of specific aspects of life” (ibid., p.85, my translation). He also mentions that he has been always working hard to firmly establish and promote the Lebanese art and the local dialect” (Hijāzī, 2008). When asked in an interview with Tammām Bilīq in his programme *Bilā Tashfīr* in 2017⁸⁹ about his opinion on the contemporary Lebanese festivals, he said that he thinks none of them is good enough to be called ‘a festival’. This is due to their lack or shortage of Lebanese folklore or heritage which is his main criterion for a successful festival. It is worth noting that the use of the colloquial in drama and theatre is as old as Al-Naqqāsh’s works. According to Usāma Al-‘Ārif, a Lebanese playwright, later on, Lebanese dramatists opted for MSA until 1964 before they returned to the colloquial (Al-Rāsī, 2010, p.44).

In addition, in the interview with Shamūnī, Laḥūd states

Our works were never [produced] for profits only but they were the consequence of a main motivation that is our love of our work. Our intention is to do a work that pleases us before it pleases the audience because we do not present any works that have [even a single] inappropriate word. Rather, our words are well thought out and imply humour, meaning and non-commercial laughter because we want our works to remain in the memory of our audience... we work as a team and this is what makes our works succeed since each one has his/her own role as theatre is a beehive (my translation).

Here, Laḥūd is distancing his theatre from the commercial theatre that was common at that time. It depended on what he calls the ‘inappropriate word’ and ‘commercial laughter’ to guarantee good profits. This type of theatre, as described by Al-Rāsī (2010), used techniques like shallow jesting especially on current political, social or economic issues, comic body movements and word play. In this regard, Anṭwān Kirbāj, a well-known Lebanese actor, says that the Lebanese theatre is becoming more and more a product to sell and buy through producing works according to the audience’s taste instead of trying to refine and develop that taste (ibid., p. 82). The Lebanese theatre has been always commercial and available only for those who can pay well in return (ibid.; Hīmya, 2016). Therefore, most of the theatre goers belong to the middle class due to the high cost of the tickets. One reason for being

⁸⁸ ‘The committed theatre’ as defines by Anṭwān Multaqā is a phenomenon that makes an artist nothing but a means to advertise the current regimes (cited in Al-Rāsī, 2010, p. 76).

⁸⁹ Available from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3pHq1afw5E_ [Accessed 06 February 2018].

commercial could be the lack of state patronage and sponsorship and the low salary and poor working contracts that cannot guarantee the rights of those who work in the theatrical sector. However, Laḥūd has to follow the aesthetic taste or poetics of his time since rewriting, as Lefevere points out “reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature to function in a given society in a given way” (1992a, vii). Translators try to rewrite the original texts according to the poetics of the target culture to make sure their translations simply please the audience and will be actually read or even viewed in the case of theatre (1992b, p.26). Even when he is criticised, it seems that no one has classified his works as commercial and I could not find any banned works by him. One example of criticism to a Laḥūd’s work is done by Al-Rāsī who comments on his *Mīn Jawz Mīn* (Who is the Partner of Whom) (1972) as ‘close to quality and success but in lower quality to his other works’ because it contains some boring scenes and artificial or unspontaneous in the body movements and acting (ibid., p.252).

However, the inclusion of comedy is a common poetics for a play to succeed in the Arabic theatrical field as a whole. In the theatrical season of 1973, for example, the successful performances were those depended on ‘laughter’ even in the musical plays like those of Fayrūz and Ṣabāḥ (ibid.). While the ones that could not succeed are those performances with much more straightforwardness and seriousness. Those plays included fake support to current politics as Al-Rāsī (ibid.) claims. One example of this practice is *Al-Qabaḍāi* by Jalāl Khūrī which is inspired by John Millington Synge’s *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907) in 1972. Khūrī transfers it from a verse drama into a comic show performance according to the poetics of the field (ibid.).

It is worth noting that although Laḥūd described the work in his troupe as team-based, the advertisement poster of *Bin Al-Jabal* in 2015 tells just the opposite. As can be seen in Image 11 in Appendix 2, Laḥūd is controlling both Liza and Henry who are made as puppies in a puppet show. This actually echoes what he thinks of the director as the “head” of any theatrical work (cited in ibid., p.85).

In 2015, Laḥūd re-presented the play for an audience that consists of the old generation who had seen the play on stage in the 70s and/or 80s and the new generation who did not see it except on TV; thus it is for all ages. The new performance starring Aline Laḥūd (the daughter of Salwā Al-Qaṭrīb and niece of Romeo Lahud) and Badī’ Abū Shaqrā. As mentioned in many newspaper articles and even in TV interviews, Laḥūd states that he asked a specialised company to see what his audience prefer: introducing a whole new play or reintroducing an old play through a questionnaire. Most of the votes (72 %) were for the reproduction of *Bint*

Al-Jabal (Antūn, 2015; Ḥaṭṭāb, 2015). The 1977 text is used as it is with some added and changed dialogues, body movements (especially comic ones) and changes in songs. The 2015 version is a big production that costed half a million dollars in order to meet the expectation of a younger generation of audience who became more interested in technology and less intellectual, though highly educated, than used to be before as Laḥūd mentions (Al-Zawāhira, 2015). It was performed on *Mahrajān A'yyād Bayrūt* (Beirut Holidays Festival) which is sponsored by the Lebanese ministries of tourism and of culture that aims at improving the country in areas like production factory, tourism, cultural production and economy (Choufijdid, 2017). Later, the performance took place on Al-Funūn

Theatre (*Theatre des Arts*) in Jounieh, Lebanon. It was performed during the difficult times that Lebanon and the neighbouring countries have been experiencing. The play received a very positive feedback from the audience, press and critics in regards to the beautiful decorations, costumes, music and acting that reminded them of the golden era of the Lebanese theatre. According to Aline Laḥūd, many spectators came to watch the play more than once and even the youth likes it (Hyām Banūt, 2016). Because of the high demand to attend the performance, Laḥūd extended the time of performance and, later, reintroduce it during March 2016. It was attended by top political, media and artistic figures.

The adaptation relied on one resource which is the musical *My Fair Lady*. The original plot is kept as a whole with the addition of some scenes. Liza Barbūr, a mountain villager flower girl, asks Henry Adīb to teach her a higher level of the Lebanese colloquial in order to work in a flower shop. After six months, she succeeds at a minister's party and is transformed into an independent woman. Some of the original characters are removed (such as Mrs. Eynsofrd Hill, Freddy, Clara and Zoltan from the musical), changed (Mrs. Pearce to Layla as Henry's sister) and added (two minor characters as maids). The message of the work is still the same as the play is showing the differences between the two classes and the two environments (the mountain of Lebanon and the city) in a simple, realistic and comic way. "By determination and cooperation people might be united and classes may diminish under [our] homelands roof" as described by the journalist Shāhīn (2015).

I will compare the two versions (i.e. 1977 and 2015⁹⁰) of *Bint Al-Jabal* to see how the socio-cultural and political contexts of the same place can change through time

⁹⁰ The 1988 version could not be found.

affecting the representation of the same text. During the analysis of the plays, I will refer to major differences between the two versions and provide their causes. Laḥūd points out that although the new version keeps the spirit of the older one and uses the same text, there are differences in the director's vision, decorations, costumes and dances (Enta Dayf, 2015).

6.4.1 Two Lebanese Socio-Cultural and Political Contexts: 1910s and 1970s

Laḥūd domesticated (or *Lebanonized*) the play and put it into a Lebanese setting both in the Mount of Lebanon and the city specifically in a Christian Lebanese environment as he himself is and most of the cast are. Names of characters and places, currency, conventions, costumes and others are changed accordingly. The 1977 version conveys its contemporary socio-cultural and political context as it was performed during the civil war⁹¹. Thus, we see the characters wearing the 1970s clothing style: blouses and trousers by men and dresses, skirts, trousers and blouses by women. The currency is changed from pounds to liras and telephone and letters are used as means of communication at that time.

While the settings of the 2015 version is changed to around the date 1912 as Babū Laḥūd, a Lebanese fashion designer, chose the fashion of that specific date (Anṭūn, 2015). At that time, Lebanon was under the Ottoman rule and the Mount of Lebanon was self-ruled until the French Mandate (1920-1943)⁹² of it and other part of Lebanon. The characters' costume convey the era as men wear formal suits and fezzes in parties and women put on stylish dresses, hats, gloves and hold umbrellas. The telephone is also used here by Madam Adīb which was introduced and used in Lebanon since the second decade of the twentieth century during the French Mandate (Farran, 2013). The play was performed during the hard times that Lebanon and neighbouring countries are experiencing, specifically Syria, Palestine and Iraq. The adapter wants to convey a message to the youth to work hard to improve their country rather than leaving it saying "it is the Lebanese people's duty to do their part. We

⁹¹The civil war in Lebanon started in 1975 and ended with the Taif Agreement in 1990. Since the establishment of the republic in 1943 until 1975, the country witnessed an economic, social and cultural flourish. (For more information, please see Chapter 4).

⁹² During that time, Lebanon was a province of the Ottoman Empire. While the Mount of Lebanon, where a majority of Christians lived, was a *Mutaṣarifiyya* which is self-ruled under the Ottoman Empire by a Christian Ottoman who is neither Lebanese nor Turkish as agreed by the Ottomans and the major European powers (i.e. Britain, France, Russia, Italy, Austria and Prussia). These countries and especially France had been interfering in the issues related to the condition of the East Christians. Later in 1920, Lebanon came under the French Mandate until its independence in 1943.

cannot hide while Lebanon is being destroyed... our youth are already leaving it to live abroad” (Al-Zawāhira, 2015, my translation).

Bint Al-Jabal is made a musical rather than a social drama as the original playtext. This change of genre could be for the following reasons: (1) Laḥūd himself works in the musical theatre as a director, a writer/adaptor and a lyrics writer and composer; (2) he could be influenced by the original source that he depended on which is the musical film *My Fair Lady* and (3) he made use of the abilities of his celebrity singers Salwā Al-Qaṭrīb⁹³ and her daughter Elīn Laḥūd achieving one of the foundational principles in the field of the Arab theatre (i.e. singing). As a matter of fact, the celebrity theatre was very popular at that time that appeared in various types of theatrical genres including the musical and musical comedies (Al-Rāsī, 2010). Thus, we see dialogues mixed with humour and traditional dancing and songs (ibid.). In the season of 1973, for example, there were two musical comedies in the productions of that year showing how important the position of the musical theatre was in the Lebanese theatrical field (ibid.). These productions are: *Al-Funūn Junūn* (Arts are Madness) starring Ṣabāḥ and *Al-Maḥaṭṭa* (The Station) starring Fayrūz. They depended on both celebrities to attract the attention of the audience especially their fans to the point that Al-Rāsī wonders about the number of the audience that would attend these performances if not for these big names (ibid.). Belonging to that specific field and as one of the founders of the Lebanese musical and folklore theatre and a lyrics writer, Laḥūd included songs and dances in his rewriting. The songs of 1977 reveal the political condition of the country and console the audience in four out of ten songs. It is mostly through the songs that the adapter mirrors Lebanon. It seems that this adaptation is somehow calling for equality and harmonic living among all the Lebanese classes. This practice was common at that time and was also used by other theatre makers such as Al-Raḥābina. For instance, in that very year (i.e. 1977), they presented the musical *Al-Batrā`* (Petra) in Petra, Jordan. The story of the play symbolises the condition in Lebanon during the war. Petra wins the war against its enemies as if the play wants to say that the war will end in Lebanon and Beirut will be a winner just like Petra. In this performance, we see Fayrūz singing explicitly about Lebanon, opposite to the symbolic way in the actions of the play, such as *أحلى من الغضب* (Beirut the country that never dies) and *بيروت البلد اللي ما بيموت* (Better that Anger in My Country) among others.

⁹³ It is worth noting that the Lebanese singer, ‘Abdū Yāghī, who played the role of Jawhar in 1977 shared the singing with Salwā Al-Qaṭrīb. He sang three songs out of ten.

Example 1: Song by Liza (part of the song):

مش كل السنة بتتلج الدنيا وبيشيب القمر... قنديل السفر على الريح انطفى يا سنين أرجعي، قنديل القمر بالغيم
اختفى يا نجوم أطلعي...

مش كل السنة بنشوف الشجر خضراء ملونة، مش كل البشر في عندن خبر عن كل الدنيا

BT: *It is not snowing and the moon looks old [with grey hair] the whole year...The travel lamp went out because of the wind, oh [old] years return... the moon lamp [or light] disappears because of the clouds, oh stars come out*

The trees are not green and colourful the whole year; not all the people know about what is happening in the whole world

The lyrics of this song is symbolising the sad conditions in Lebanon although the mentioning of Lebanon in the other songs is explicit. However, it is not difficult to recognize that Lahūd is actually referring to political side of Lebanon during the war when seeing the content of the other songs (see the examples below). This is not the first time that Lahūd uses this technique as we see the same thing in his previous works such as *Al-Mahrajān* (the Festival) in 1971. In this play, he included songs sung by the celebrity Ṣabāḥ about Lebanon such as أنت يا لبنان (You, Lebanon) and about Palestine like يا فاتح القدس (O, Conqueror of Jerusalem) (referring to Saladin) (Al-Zībāwī, 2017).

Example 2: After Liza's success at the minister's party (a line and a part of the song):

ليزا: صحيح نسيت كل العذاب والتعب، كان فيا أرقص وأغني كل الليل للصبح، بلادنا، دنيتنا، أصحابنا، كلن
حلوين، شايفة كل شي حلو اليوم، بدي أغني، أغنيلهن، أغني لكل.

حطيت بهالغنية ربيع العمر الغالي، نجوم وشمس الطافية و نسمة من جبالك عالي، بدي أقدملك هي أنت يلي
على قلبي غالي

بدي أغني أغنية لبلادي الحلوة وأقلها، لا تنكي يا عينيا بكرة بيفرجها الله، بكرة شمس الحرية بتشرق على
أرضك كلها

BT

Liza: Indeed I forgot all the tiredness [during my study], I could have danced and sang the whole night until morning [to] our country.. our world.. our friends. They are all beautiful, I see everything beautiful today. I want to sing.. sing to them.. sing for everyone.

I have put the precious spring years in this song; the stars and the sun of Tayfiyya, and a breeze from your [i.e. Lebanon] high mountains [because] I want to present them to you who are so dear to my heart

I want to sing a song for my beautiful country and tell her “don’t cry my darling; tomorrow God will drive away [all this suffering], tomorrow the sun of freedom will rise on your whole land”

In this song, Laḥūd consoles his audience and gives them hope. Here, he explicitly mentions Lebanon contrary to the previous song. These patriotic songs seem isolated from the plot of the adaptation and do not serve it.

Example 3: A song by Jawhar and folklore dance or *dabka*⁹⁴ (part of the song):

فوق جبال المضوية، على طرقات البحرية، خلي العيد بيوم الزينة، رشي زهور الحرية
بعيدك يا بلادي الدنيا فرحت كلها، يظهر أرضك على ايدي حطها الله
صوت الرعد وكمشة مجد وجبلها الله وأقلها، إنت الوعد وقيل وبعد، إنت وبعديك محمية
لما بلادي يتنادي بدها رجالها، كل رجالها يتوقف بالصف قباليها
مثل البرق شمال وشرق وما بينعدوا أبطالها، ايد بايد يروح بعيد فوق جناح الحرية

BT: *On shining mountains and sea routes, let our festive celebrations be well-decorated, spread the flowers of freedom*

In celebrating you, my country the whole world rejoiced; it seems that your land is protected by God

The sound of thunder and a blaze of glory; God created you and said: “you are the promise before and after, you are still protected”

When my country calls for its men, all its men stand up in a line in front of it

Just like thunder [is seen] north and east, its [Lebanon’s] heroes are countless; hand in hand Lebanon goes away on the wings of freedom

⁹⁴ “[It] is an Arabic folk dance that started in the mountainous regions above the Mediterranean coastline and the Tigriss River... it was mainly danced by people of the villages and towns of Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq, and some quasi-bedouin tribes that were living in nearby territories.” (The College at Brockport, 2013).

This song celebrates the heroes of Lebanon during the war and gives hope of freedom that will be achieved when the Lebanese stand hand by hand. It also refers to Lebanon as a country protected by God. This reminds us of the role of politics of a specific socio-cultural and political context in imposing or dictating the type of poetics of that context noted by Leferevere. Here, Lebanon is experiencing a fierce war which caused the formation of a nationalistic tone among the intellectuals of the time that was mirrored in different cultural productions as we can see clearly in this version (Himya, 2016). Not only in the songs but also in the dances that the nationalistic orientation is apparent as the dancers are dancing the tradition Lebanese *dabka* so similar to other musical theatre makers like Al-Raḥābina (see Image 12 in Appendix 2). Such paratextual elements of the performance as shown in the photos help in adding a further Lebanese identity element to these patriotic songs. Therefore, both verbal and nonverbal means are employed to give the effect wanted. Embracing a nationalist agenda by Arab intellectuals/artists has always been seen as symbolically profitable and had a wide audience characterised with, as described by Himya “social and cultural awareness and struggle” (ibid., no pagination⁹⁵, my translation).

Example 4: A song about Lebanon by Liza:

يا رايح سلم على الكل وخبر لي الناس وقلها، الأرض اللي حبيتها بتضل أعلى من الدنيا كلها
 خبرها على بلاد العز، رجالها وصخور جبالها، اللي بعمرها ما بتتنهز ولا بتتغير أحوالها
 خدلها على شفافك أغنية بتحكي عن أرض الحرية، وعلى دروب الخضرة المضوية ما تنسى تدلها
 قول للعالم يتذكر الدار اللي بابه مفتوح، أبواب بلادي ما بتتنسك حتى لو قلبها مجروح
 يا رايح سلمتك حبي وكمشة من تراب المحبة، تا تزرعها حبة حبة بالدنيا كلها

BT: *You who is leaving [Lebanon] send my greetings to everyone and tell the people that the land I love will always be more valuable than the whole world*

Tell them about the land of glory and about its men and mountains' rocks which will never change

⁹⁵ Available from:

<https://raseef22.com/culture/2016/07/20/%D8%A5%D9%82%D9%81%D8%A7%D9%84-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AD-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A8%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%AA%D8%8C-%D9%87%D9%84-%D9%8A%D9%87%D8%AF%D8%AF-%D9%85%D9%83%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D9%87/>

Take with you a song [i.e. sing to them] about the land of freedom and to the green paths do not forget to direct them

Tell the world to remember the country which door is always open; my country's doors will never be closed even when its heart is broken

You who is leaving I give you my love and a handful of the sand of love [i.e. the sand of Lebanon] so that you can grow it one by one in the whole world

This song is directed to the Lebanese people who are leaving Lebanon during the war to live a better life abroad that there is nowhere else like Lebanon. He is celebrating Lebanon's glory, brave men, mountains and lands. Although Lebanon's heart is broken due to the war, its doors are still open for everyone as Laḥūd calls it the country of freedom and love. The *dabka* is also danced in this song which shows that this paratextual element plays a role in conveying the patriotic atmosphere compatible with the song's lyrics.

The play's songs echo Laḥūd's patriotic attitude toward Lebanon, something which comes up in his interviews: "I presented 13 plays during the war and even when we faced difficulties to reach the theatre... we continued... I'm used to making initiatives [through producing theatrical works and music] ..." (Al-Zawāhira, 2015, my translation). Although the play shows the political side of Lebanon, it seems that it has no political agenda. In this regard, Laḥūd expresses his dislike of politics, though he comes from a family who get involved in it. He thinks that those who use their plays as a tool to serve any political agenda make their works nothing but commercial that is against genuine creativity and that kind of art would not last long (Al-Rāsī, 2010). He even apologises if he had ever taken sides unconsciously in what he presented during the war (Ḥijāzī, 2008).

Nevertheless, we can see clearly in the following line by Barbūr that it has some kind of political connotations in the 2015 performance which did not exist in the 1977 version of the play. When he uttered these words, we see the Lebanese audience clapping for him. This can only mean that although the adaptation is not actually political, it does include some degree of political references clearly seen in this line.

(1977)

هنري: تعرف يا جوهر إذا استلمت هالزلمة وعلمته بقدر أعمل منه أحسن واعظ لأحسن وزير بهالبلد.

بربور: ايه! اش بدك تعمل مني؟ هاهاها! لا سيدي كتر الله خيرك، أنا سمعت كل هودي اللي بيوعظوا
والوزراء، بنظري بيضل الفقير بيستحقش أفضل.

BT

Henry: You know, Jawhar, if I take this man and teach him, I can make out of him
the greatest preacher or the greatest minister in this country.

Barbūr: What! What do you want to make out of me? Hahaha! No, sir, thank you so
much. I've heard those who preach and the ministers. I think the poor still deserves
better.

(2015)

هنري: شايف يا جوهر اذا استلمته لهالزلمة و علمته بأعمل منه أحسن واعظ لأحسن وزير بهالبلاد.

بربور: هاهاها! اش بدك تعمل مني؟ لا كتر الله خيرك، أنا سمعت كل هودي اللي بيوعظوا وبياكلوا هواء!
والوزراء بيلتوا حكي، في نظري المتواضع بأفضل أبقى زبال ولا أصير متلن.

BT

Henry: You know, Jawhar, if I take this man and teach him, I can make out of him
the greatest preacher of the greatest minister in this country.

Barbūr: Hahaha! What do you want to make out of me? No, sir, thank you so much.
I've heard those who preach and have never been listened to, and the ministers just
talk [and never do what they say]. In my humble opinion, I prefer to remain a
dustman to be like them.

This kind of statements has been always attracting the Lebanese audience's attention
and meeting their expectations especially after the defeat of 1967. At that time, many
theatre makers have been calling for a theatre that is 'political' and often mocking
the political condition and politicians to get the required laughs from the audience
(Al-Rāsī, 2010). We see this in the theatrical works of that time such as *Ukht Al-
Rijāl* (Sister of the Men) in which the playwright mock some political and social
conditions in Lebanon and even in the musical plays of Al-Raḥābina including *Al-
Layl wa Al-Qindīl* (Night and Cresset), *Ayām Bakhr Al-Dīn* (The Days of Fakhr Al-
Din), and *Hāla wa Al-Malek* (Hala and the King) among others. In the context of the
2015 version, this practice is still being used by contemporary theatrical troupes such
as the successful troupe of Al-Zuqāq that continually includes the political and social
circumstances in Lebanon and the Arab World into their plays to find solutions for
them as they claim (Bashīr, 2017). On example is *Janna, Janna, Janna* (Heaven,
Heaven, Heaven) in 2014 which plot is about the history of Lebanon represented

through ‘a national morgue’ where the corpse of Lebanese history is being autopsied (ibid., no pagination⁹⁶). As for Laḥūd’s other works, we see performances that include some degree of political references. In *Ḥilwi Kīr* (Very Beautiful) in 1975, Ṣabāḥ gives political advices to the audience that are described by Al-Rāsī (2010, p. 276) as having “neither meaning nor content except that it caused outrage in some individuals in the audience” (my translation). His *Ṭarīq Al-Shams* (Path of the Sun) in 2014 is a political play in the form of symbolism. In this play, Laḥūd is referring to different periods of sufferings that Lebanon has gone through because of various greedy powers including the Ottoman Empire, the French Expedition among others in a patriotic way (Mansī, 2014). *Karakatīr* (Caricature) in 2016 is another work by Laḥūd that is regarded as political in which he criticises the world leaders that they are not qualified enough to lead the world especially those in the Arab World. Different quarrels among Arab rulers are symbolised, nevertheless, he portrayed them in perfect harmony with each other to say that they have to take decisions according to the whims of those powers above them (ibid.). It is worth noting that he put caricature photos of different Lebanese politicians including the current president (before he was elected) in the advertisement. But because the performance was delayed to a time after the election of the president, he was asked by the authorities to remove the president’s photo and the lines that refer to him from the play (ibid.). Laḥūd described this work as

an enlarged picture of the conditions in Lebanon in [the last few] decades. No matter how the names, faces and decision makers are changed, the tear-causing though comic at the same time circumstances of the governor and the governed are the same until a further notice (Anṭūn, 2016, my translation).

However, in the interview with Tammām, Laḥūd insisted that his theatre is not political though in the same interview he mentions that the Lebanese theatre has been always “politicized” especially after the war. It seems that Laḥūd is trying to invest further in the symbolic capital he accumulated in the field of theatre in general and the musical theatre in particular since the field, according to Bourdieu, is the space

⁹⁶ Available from:
<https://raseef22.com/culture/2017/11/15/%D8%B2%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%82-%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%82%D8%A9-%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D8%AD%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%B8%D8%B1-%D8%A5%D9%84%D9%89-%D9%85%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%83/>

of competition in which social agents seek to preserve or overturn their current capital. Laḥūd claims that he does not seek economic profits or support as he once pointed out “I have always worked alone and never asked [financial] help from anyone or waited for any sponsor or bank. All my works are of my own production until today” (Al-Zawāhira, 2015, my translation). When asked if his social network of politician family members have helped in the wide spread of his works, he replied “no one can impose anything on the public. The public is the one who decides to put you up or down” in the interview with Tammām (my translation). In the same interview, Laḥūd said that some Lebanese celebrity singers asked him to reproduce some of his classic songs and he agreed without asking for any money in return (ibid.) which further proves his interest in the continuum of the symbolic value of his works. In addition, to introduce his 2015 version he had to renovate Al-Funūn Theatre (*Theatre des Arts*) for two years so that it would be a future ‘salvation for theatre lovers’ (Shāhīn, 2015). He states that although he is not physically strong as used to be due to his age, he is still excited to do something for his country and Lebanon needs to see its people’s loyalty (Al-Zawāhira, 2015). However, all of this remind us of Bourdieu’s concept of disinterestedness which is the display of disinterest in financial returns. Laḥūd is actually showing disinterestedness in economic capital which disguises his interest in symbolic or artistic capitals instead because they eventually transform into economic returns. After all, economic capital, as noted out by Bourdieu (ibid.), is actually at the root of all types of capital.

The 2015 songs are no longer taken from the Lebanese folklore although he kept five of the original songs that do not have war-related content. These are: *خلصت الصيفية*: (Summer has Ended), *يا أستاذ الأبجدية* (O Professor of Alphabets), *شو في خلف البحر* (What is There behind the Sea?), *ليلي* (Layla) and *قالولي العيد* (They Told Me about the Eid).

I think he had to keep some of the classical songs as they are so attached to this classical play and are expected to be there by the audience. Laḥūd added four songs inspired by the musical *My Fair Lady* and an original one sung by the high-class guests with French accent. This is due to the fact that he is no longer conveying any message through them to his audience except that which helps in the development of the plot. For instance, *لو في أودة* (If There is a Room) to reveal Liza’s wish to have an appropriate house inspired by the song entitled *lovely*, *راح يتشوف* (You Will See) as Liza is challenging Henry taken from the song *Just You Wait*, *وقف على بابي مية تاكسي* (a Hundred Taxies have Stopped at My Door) by Barbūr similar to the song *Get Me to the Church on Time* and *راحت الأفراح* (Happiness Went Away) as Liza is saying

farewell returning to her village and at the same time indicates the end of the play itself which takes after the music of the overture of *My Fair Lady*.

In addition to the description of the political condition in the 1977 version, it contains much less religious content than that in the 2015 in the form of Christian references and wine-related words and acts. I think that they were toned down in the first version because of censorship and/or Laḥūd did not want to include any religious connotations that might make his adaptation controversial at a time when the country was experiencing a bloody war caused by sectarianism. It is worth noting that Anṭwan Muṭṭaḩā's *A Dog's Will* (1972) was banned by censorship authorities to be performed on Ba'labak Festival after three months of successful performances in al-masrah al-khtibārī around the same time of the 1977 version (Al-Rāsī, 2010). According to Al-Rāsī, it was banned because of the clergies' pressure on the authorities without any clear reasons although many other clergies attended the performance and did not see anything against religion in it (ibid.). One reason for their increase in the 2015 version could be the result of Laḥūd's attempt to portray the Christian community in 1912 with all the languages they speak and the social practices they used to have during the *Mutaṣarifīyya*.

For instance, Christian figures are added in the dialogues such as: Saint Teresa and the biblical magi: Caspar and Balthazar as clear in the following examples:

Example 5: Madam Adīb is talking with Jawhar about finding a suitable bride for Henry:

(1977)

مدام أدیب: حتى لو اخترنا له بنت يمكن الأفتل ما يعجبه.

BT: Madam Adīb: Even if we created a girl for him, the fool may not like it.

(2015)

مدام أدیب: بهالصفات مافي إلا سانتريزا ويمكن الأفتل ما يعجبه.

BT: Madam Adīb: These qualities can only be found in Saint Teresa, and the fool may not like it.

Example 6- Madam Adīb sees Henry, Layla and Jawhar standing strangely as they are hiding Liza behind them:

(1977)

مدام أدیب: ليش واقفين مثل المجوس!

BT: Madam Adīb: Why are you standing like the magi?

(2015)

مدام أديب: شوبكن بعدكن واقفين مثل غاسباغ وبلتيساغ!... المجوس!

BT: Madam Adīb: Why are you still standing like Caspar and Balthazar (with the French pronunciation of r)... the magi!

There are also mentioning of the church and the Christian marriage-related terms especially in relation to the character of Khalīl Barbūr.

Example 7: Barbūr to Liza about the money he took from Henry:

(1977)

بربور: شو بدك أعمل فيهن يعني! اصبرهن على ظهر الخزانة؟

BT: Barbūr: What do you think I will do with it then! Put it on the closet top?

(2015)

بربور: ويش بدى حطهن بصينية الكنيسة!

BT: Barbūr: Do you expect me then to put it on the church tray?

Example 8: Madam Adīb is introducing Barbūr and Jawhar:

(1977)

مدام أديب: العريس بيكون خليل بربور، وصديقنا الكريم الدكتور جوهر.

BT: Madam Adīb: The bridegroom is Khalīl Barbūr and our dear friend doctor Jawhar.

(2015)

مدام أديب: العريس بيكون السيد خليل بربور، والاشبين بيكون دكتور جوهر.

BT: Madam Adīb: The bridegroom is Khalīl Barbūr and the groomsman is doctor Jawhar.

In the 2015 version, there are more references to wine and even drinking on stage which are not there in the 1977 version. In the song by Barbūr called وقف على بابي مية (a Hundred Taxies have Stopped at My Door), we see him drinking and singing “إن شفتو كاسي بارملي راسي” (If you see me dizzy because of the drink I had). In addition,

in her test at Madam Adīb's party, Liza tells the guests what her father did with her aunt when she was sick differently:

(1977)

ليزا: كلن أفتكروها ماتت، وبابا قضى كل بعد الظهر يطعميها بملعقة الشورية.

BT: Liza: Everyone thought she was dead, but my father spent the whole of the afternoon feeding her soup with a spoon.

(2015)

ليزا: كلن أفتكروها ماتت، وبابا قضى كل بعد الظهر ييلعها عرق بالكفكير.

BT: Liza: Everyone thought she was dead, but my father spent the whole of the afternoon pouring arak⁹⁷ in her mouth with a big spoon.

The second one is closer to the ST. In addition, in the 1977 version, she says that her father is addicted to food instead of alcohol as in 2015 which is the same as in the ST. In both versions, the song ليلي (Layla) is comparing Layla, Henry's sister, to a glass of red wine while all characters on stage are holding glasses of wine among the lyrics are:

ليلى يا ليلي يا بنت الناس، يا خمرة حمراء بأحلى كاس... ملوا الكاس وقوموا يا ناس، على صحة ليلي
تنشرب كاس

Layla O Layla the daughter of a prestigious family, you are a red wine on the nicest glass... O people fill out your glasses and let us have a drink for Layla's health.

Moreover, a social issue is also present in the 1970s adaptation which is the high cost of living, through a song by Jawhar called *Idfa'* (Pay). While the ST moral issues are similarly presented and looked at such as Barbur is not married to his mistress and addicted to food (in 1977) or to alcohol (in 2015), and the only added one is Henry and Jawhar talking about what usually happens at the end of parties when everyone is drunk as negative thing (in 1977). While the ST Eliza throws Higgins' slippers at him, the TT Liza throws the bouquet of flowers she has from the party at

⁹⁷ Arak is "any of various spirituous liquors distilled in the East Indies and other parts of the East and Middle East from the fermented sap of toddy palms, or from fermented molasses, rice, or other materials" (Dictionary Com, 2018). Available from: <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/arak>. It is commonly used in countries like Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, Israel, Turkey, and Iran. 'Arak' is taken from the Arabic word 'araq' (عرق) which literal meaning is "sweat."

him because it is a terrible insult in the Arab culture to throw slippers or shoes at others. This is also the case in the previous adaptation when Eliza throws Higgins' jacket at him.

6.4.2 The Lebanese Identity: Language, Characterisation and Title

Laḥūd chose the Lebanese colloquial (LC) as the register of his adaptation using two varieties of it: the one spoken by low-class mountain villagers (similar to the Egyptian colloquial of the illiterate) and the other is used by the middle and high class in the city (similar to the Egyptian colloquial of the cultured). The former is both a regional and a social dialect that replaces Cockney and functions similarly while the latter shows the educational level and social class just like Standard English.

On the one hand, the mountain LC (similar to the Egyptian colloquial of the illiterate) is spoken by Liza (Eliza) and her father Barbūr (Doolittle) who are from a village in the mountains of Lebanon named Kfaryanūḥ. Thus, the title of this adaptation is taken after this: *Bint Al-Jabal* is the Mountain Girl. This variety is harsh and loud and accompanied with active body movements. Both characters wear traditional dirty and torn clothes and their faces are stained with dirt. The first scene is in a traditional Lebanese vegetable market (equivalent for Covent Garden) where Liza is selling her flowers and meets Henry and Jawhar. Linguistic characteristics of this dialect includes: first, the negation with ما (mā) instead of لا (lā) or ليس (laysa) such as "مانيش بندعي" *manīsh binid'i* (I don't claim), "ما كتابش" *mā kitābish* (this is not a handwriting) and "مانكش" *mannaksh* (you are not); and أ (ā) instead of ما (mā) like "أتغلطش" *a-tighlatsh* (don't cross the line), "أتعيطش" *a-t'ayaṭsh* (don't shout), "أبتخلينيش؟" *a-bitkhalīnīsh* (won't you allow me?) and "أتنسوش" *a-tinsūsh* (don't forget). Second, the addition of the sound ش (sh) after a negated word or to ask a yes/no question such as "مانيش بنطلب شيش" *mānīsh biniṭlub shīsh* (I am not asking for anything), "ما هاكش؟" *mā haksh* (right?) and "ماني حمارش" *mānīsh ḥemarish* (I'm not a fool). Third, the addition of the sound ل (l) before some words as in "إبلش" *e-blāsh* (for free), "إكتبتلو" *e-ktabtū* (you wrote to him), "إصحيح" *e-ṣḥīḥ* (for real). Fourth, the integration of prepositions with the following word such as على (alā) and من (min) as in "عصاحبتي" *a-ṣaḥibtu* (on his girlfriend) and "مليبت" *m-ilbayt* (from home). Fifth, there are special vulgar vocabulary including "يا عيب الثوم" *yā 'ayb al-shūm* (what a shame), "معترّة" *me'attra* (poor) and "شرشوحه" *sharshūḥa* (a messy woman). Sixth, mispronunciations of Arabic words like "سجاعة" *sajā'a* instead of *shajā'a* (bravery), "ريلات" *rīlāt* instead of *līrāt* (liras) and "عجيزتي" *'ajīzīti* instead of *'azīzīti* (my dear); and of French words by Barbūr as he is trying to speak like higher class characters. He pronounces "pardon" as بارادون (Baradon) and calls Jawhar "madam".

Woman: Sorry I didn't see you.

Liza: I'm telling you that you don't see, you walk without looking. Who will pay me for these flowers?

Woman: I told you I'm sorry.

Liza: eh! You could have walked as others did, [but you were] absentminded as if you are in the field with goats. What a fool!

Woman: Stop shouting and leave me alone.

Liza: Am I the one who is shouting or is it you opening your mouth so wide and shouting just like frogs... Go away otherwise I will smash your head.

Woman: I said shut up.

Liza: I won't shut up, you shut up. What a jerboa and worm.

Woman: Will you shut up or I will put you in the trash bin?

Liza: Go to hell (literally: may you see blood coming out of your chest), you sewage manhole... You are a flower thief and a blue fly zizz!

Here, this is a typical quarrel of the lower class in a Lebanese mountain village where the characteristics of the linguistic variety is very clear as in: *أبتشعيش* *a-btish 'tsh* (you don't see?). Liza insults the lady who accidentally hits her which spoils her flowers using words like: بقرة (you cow), شطيحة (fool), جربوعه (jerboa), دودة (worm), جورة (worm), المجارير (a sewage manhole) and دبانة (fly). She even wishes that she experiences a bad incident where blood is shed. The lady as well threatens her to shut up or to be thrown in the trash bin (see Image 13 in Appendix 2).

During her study, Liza practices an exercise given to her by Henry when her mispronunciation is caused by her variety:

هنري: رحنا على الدكانة، بلكي فواكه بنلاقي، جبنا سلة مليانة، خيي دفعلي نُصن، وأنا دفعت الباقي.

ليزا: رحنا عدكانة... بلكي فواكه بنلاقي... جبنا سلة ملانة... خيي دفعلي نُصن... وأنا دفعت لبقاني... ما

هاكش؟

BT

Henry: We went to the market, we may find fruits, we brought a full basket, my brother paid half, and I paid the rest.

Liza: We went **to the market**... we may find fruits... we brought a **full** basket... my brother paid **half**... and **I** paid **the rest**...**is that correct?** (With errors in the bold words).

Here, Liza makes six mistakes: she joins the preposition على ('alā) with the word دكانة (dikani) in "على الدكانة" ('alā al-dikani) as "عدكانة" ('adikani), uses the wrong vowels in the word "نصن" as *naṣan* instead of *noṣon*, and she pronounces أنا *ana* (I) as *ina*, الباقي *el-bāṭ* as *lib`ānī*, ما هيك *mā haik* as *ma haksh* by adding the *sh* sound at the end and مليانة *malyāni* as *mlāni*.

When asked by Henry to show him how she greets guests, she does it the way they do it in her village using high tone and death-related words⁹⁸ while accompanied with lots of active body movements (see Image 14 in Appendix 2):

ليزا (تتحدث سريعاً): يقصف أعماركن قصف، أنتو هون! لك مسيكون بالخير! كيفكن كيف أحوالكن كيف صحتكن؟ طمنوني عمحروسة والعيلة والقرايب، ابيه كيفك يا خالة أتعزيبش خليكى قاعدة يقصف عمرك عالموديل، كيفك يا تقبريني وكيف إمك وبيك وعمك وابن عمك؟

BT: Liza (speaking fast): What a surprise (literally: may your age is bombed badly)! You are here! Good evening to all of you. How are you and how are you doing? How are the Miss, the family and the relatives doing? Hey how are you, aunt? Don't bother standing up [i.e. I don't want to make you tried to stand up and greet me] please remain seated, what a bad taste (literally: may your age is bombed for this fashion)! How are you dear (literally: may I die before you and you see me in grave) and how is you mother, father, uncle and cousin?

The first use of يقصف عمرك (may your age is bombed badly) is used with positive connotation as a marker of exclamation while the second use has a negative one as she is criticising that person's taste of fashion and she says it with a lower voice so that person cannot hear it. The word تقبريني (may I die before you and you see me in grave) always has a positive connotation.

⁹⁸ In the Levantine Arabic dialects, people use some words that are death-related or torture-related. Some of these words have positive connotations such as تقبريني (may I die before you and you see me in grave) and some others have negative ones like حمى اللي تسلفك (may you have a bad fever that makes you feel boiling). Sometimes, some words can have both connotation depending on context as يقصف عمرك (I hope you die; literally: may your age is bombed).

However, the three songs sung by Liza during this time are in good LC (similar to the Egyptian colloquial of the basically educated at least if not the colloquial of the cultured) which seems unrealistic and inconsistent with her real way of speaking. The names of these songs are: *لو في أودة* (If There is a Room), *يا أستاذ الأبجدية* (O Professor of Alphabets) and *شوفي خلف البحر* (What is There behind the Sea?).

During Madam Adīb's party where Henry told Liza to stick to two topics: the weather and everyone's health, Liza lost track by adding vocabulary of her variety with correct pronunciation and sometimes she shouts and slaps others while speaking as she normally does.

ليزا: مرات عمي ماتت من القغيب، السنة اللي قبلها خلصت من التيفويد، كان بدك تشوفي منظرها (تصرخ) زرقاء ويابسة مثل عود الحطب... (بهدوء) معقولة مرا بهالقوة نموت من القغيب! بعدين فيكي تقولي وين أختفت بورنيتها الجديدة اللي الها ريشة؟ (تصرخ) حدا معطلها ياها، (بهدوء) واللي معطها فضالها الغرض أكيد.

مدام أديب: شو معناتها فضالها الغرض؟

هنري: ماما هايدي طريقة جديدة بالحكي، فضالها الغرض يعني قتلها.

BT

Liza: My uncle's wife died of *grippe* [i.e. flu in French]. The year before she had got typhoid, you should have seen her (shouting vulgarly) [she was] blue and dry just like firewood... (Speaks normally) is it possible that a woman with this strength die of *grippe*? And can you tell me where has her new fathered hat gone? (Shouting vulgarly) [For sure] someone stole it, (speaks normally) and that who stole it must have done her in.

Madam Adīb: What does 'done her in' mean?

Henry: Mum, this is the new way of talking, it means killed her.

In the same party, Liza's vulgarity and original variety becomes clear in other incidents such as pointing out at Monsieur Antoine Safina shouting and laughing "هادا انطوان سفينا ما غيروش! هادا سفينا امبلى هو!" (This is Antoine Safina, no one else! This is Safina, indeed he is!). She seems remembering the tiring time she had to practice pronouncing his name correctly as seen on stage. When Henry introduces his cousin Miss Fallūs, Liza, amazed by the strange name, says "العمى بقلبها على الاسم" (What a bad name!, literally: may her heart becomes blind for this name). She returns to her old pronunciation and sometimes she is being cautioned by Henry that she immediately corrects them including *دبوس* (dabūs) as dabaws, *كمان* (kmān) as kmānī, and "في شيش ما كان لازم قولو" (is there anything I shouldn't have said?) by adding sh

to shī to become shīs. Most of these mistakes are added to the 2015 to be more comic both verbally and nonverbally which makes more sense to add a bigger dose of comedy in the 2015, which was not possible with the older version. I think the adapter decided on this due to the better conditions in Lebanon compared to the miserable one during the first version. Besides, this could be one the strategies he used to get the attention of the new generation of youth who are not used to the theatre. Thus, the second foundational principal in the field of Arab theatre is present here (i.e. comic scenes).

In addition, Liza is making fun of what Henry is teaching her during her studies to bring more laughs among the audience and shows her sense of humour such as:

هنري: رحنا على الدكانة، بلكي فواكه بنلاقي، جبنا سلة مليانة، خيي دفعلي نُصن، وأنا...

ليزا: ليك! هلا من كل عقلك خيي دفعلي نصن! مو طول عمري أنا اللي أدفع وهو يأكلون الفجعان! بعدين ايش محسب في بدكانة كفر يانوح ها؟ شوية دخان بلدي مسوس، وبرنية لبن محمض، وشوية ملح ومكنسة، طز.

BT

Henry: We went to the market, we may find fruits, we brought a full basket, my brother paid half, and I...

Liza: Stop! Do you really think that my brother would pay half of the price! It has been always the case that I pay and he only eats, the gluttonous! And what do you think is there in Kfaryanūh's market, ha? Some worm-eaten local tobacco, a pottery of sour-tasted spoiled yogurt, some salt and a broom, never mind!

On the other hand, the other LC is spoken by high-class characters who live in the city (similar to the Egyptian colloquial of the cultured) including Henry Adīb (Higgins), Madam Adīb (Mrs. Higgins), Jawhar (Pickering) and Layla (Higgins' sister who replace Mrs Pearce). This variety is a correct Arabic pronunciation according to the Lebanese colloquial with some words and phrases that shows the well-educated level of these characters especially Henry. For instance, اللفظ الصحيح (good and bad pronunciation), الضمة والفتحة (Arabic vowels) and a rhymed speech he gives to the characters at the vegetable market:

هنري: انتو بتعرفوا إذا كان الشخص من الجبل أو من المدينة حسب اللهجة وأنا باقدر أفلكن من أي ضيعة ومن أي شارع بأي مدينة، هايدي شغلتي... واللي لفظه غلط بأقدر أعلمه اللفظ الصحيح... اللفظ علم ومافي واحد بيحكى مثل الثاني مافي واحد مثل الثاني، ناس تمشي على طول وفي ناس تمشي خليفاني، وناس بتحكي على الأصول وناس بتحكي على العمياني، مافي واحد مثل الثاني...

BT

Henry: You [can] know if a person from the mountain or the city according to his dialect, [but] I can tell you from which village and which street in which city. This is my profession... and whoever has wrong pronunciation, I can teach him the correct pronunciation... pronunciation is a science and there is no one speaks the same way as another since they are not identical.

This added lines by the adapter summarizes a long speech between Higgins, Pickering and the other minor characters in Covent Garden to tell about his profession and his ability to teach Eliza and pass her as a lady. However, the mentioning of ‘the republic’ is irrelevant to the era chosen as the settings of the 2015 adaptation. The word is copied from the 1977 version which kept its contemporary context (i.e. more than thirty years after the formation of the republic in 1943).

In order to show their social class and educational level, speakers of this variety also speaks other languages mainly French and English. However, the presence of these two languages in the characters’ speech differ in the two versions and it is mostly by Madam Adīb. There is much less use of languages in the 1977 version than that of 2015. Even Henry’s in pronounce in the French way as Onri in both versions, while low-class characters pronounce it the Arabic way as Hinari. In fact, French and English are spoken fluently in Lebanon especially after the French Mandate (1920-1943). Even before that time, the Lebanese knew these languages particularly in the Mount of Lebanon *Mutaṣarifiyya* (1861-1918) from Christian missionaries which came from different Western countries. The French cultural presence is there in the *Mutaṣarifiyya* very early, for instance, there was an official Lebanese newspaper called *Jarīdat Libnān* (Lebanon Newspaper) was established by Dawūd Pasha, the first governor of the *Mutaṣarifiyya* between 1861 and 1868, in Arabic and French (Juḥā et al., 2008).

Example 9: Madam Adīb greets the guests to Barbūr’s wedding:

(1977)

أيها الضيوف الأحباء، اليوم عتًا عيد وفرح كبير، فرح صديق عزيز علينا كثير كثير، وبما أنه العريس موجود، وصديق عزيز علينا أيضًا موجود، راح أقدملكن ياهن.

BT: Our dear guests, today we have a feast and a big wedding of a very dear friend of ours. And since the bridegroom is here as well as a dear friend of us, let me introduce them to you.

(2015)

إكسيلوننت، إكسيلوننت، إكسيلوننت، أعزائي مثل ما بتعرفوا اليوم في عتًا فرح كبير، فرح صديق عزيز علينا كثير كثير كثير كثير، ويبدو حسب ما سمعت شامبيان وشامبيان أنه صار عزيز على قلبك كمان، بما أنه كلنا حاضرين خلينا نروح فوراً على الكنيسة مع العريس والأشبين.

BT: *Excellent, excellent, excellent* (in French). My dear [guests], as you know today we have a big wedding of an extremely dear friend of ours. As I have heard, *champagne.. champagne* (in French), he has become dear to all of you as well. Since we are all here, let us go to the church immediately with the bridegroom and the groomsmen.

In the first example, she only uses Arabic while in the second one there are many French words added (italicised).

Example 10:

In the 1977 version, Layla asks her mother to sing something to her and Jawhar because she has got a beautiful voice. She sings in Arabic unlike in 2015 when we see her crooning many times in French. The other characters on stage are repeating the word *Allah* (wow) while she is singing which is a Middle Eastern thing to do to show your admiration to the singer's voice:

(1977)

كان بأيام الموسيقى الشرقية والطرب الأصيل، هلاً كل شئ أتغير ما بقى فيه إلا تربتانا و تربتاتي... يعني يا مامي مثل ما كنا نغني من زمان ومثل ما بعدهن يغنوا عشاق الطرب... (تغني) ليلية الوداع، طال السهر وقلبي قلبي إيه الخير؟ ومتى الحبايب هجروني؟

BT: [I used to sing] at the time of good Middle Eastern music (or *tarab*), everything is changed now and you can only hear *tarabatatta* and *tarabatatti* (the sound of a drum)... I mean, my dear, the way we used to sing in the past and the way the *tarab* lovers still sing... (Singing) *the night of farewell, the staying up until late is more frequent, and my heart told me what is going on and when did our loved ones leave us?*

At the end of the six months, Liza becomes a speaker of this variety as well and she no longer uses her original one except in one incident when she was shocked to see her father wearing nice clothes the same as the ST and *My Fair Lady* Eliza did. This is an example of her new variety as she is speaking with Jawhar and Henry:

ليزا: كيفك أستاذ أونري؟

هنري: أنا كثير منيح.

ليزا: دكتور جوهر كيف أصبحت؟

هنري: دكتور جوهر كيف أصبحت؟ ما بالها هايدي أنا معلمك ياها.

ليزا: بتمنى دكتور جوهر أنني بأبقى أشوفك من وقت لآخر حتى لو كنت خلصت تجربتك.

جوه: ما تقولي هيك مادموزيل ليزا لأنه بنظري ما كانت تجربة كانت أكثر من متعة.

ليزا: بأكون كثير حزينة إذا ما عدت شفتك مش لأنك كنت تدفع حق تياي بس منك أتعلمت اللطافة واللياقة والحركات الراقية ولو ما منك ما كنت عرفت الفرق بين ست مجتمع وبننت شارع.

BT

Liza: How are you, Professor Henry?

Henry: I am quite well.

Liza: How are you doing, Doctor Jawhar?

Henry (copying her): How are you doing, Doctor Jawhar! Stop this! I taught you this!

Liza: I hope I can see you more regularly, Doctor Jawhar, even though the experiment has ended.

Jawhar: Do not say that please, Mademoiselle Liza. In my opinion, it was not an experiment [but] more than a pleasure.

Liza: I would be very sad if I won't see you not because you used to pay for my clothes, but from you I learned gentleness, decency and elegant behaviour. If it was not for you, I would not have known the difference between a lady and a street girl.

Here, Liza is transformed as can be seen through her variety and way of dressing as she is wearing a stylish dress in both versions.

In addition, her real transformation into a mature, independent woman is also apparent in her speech with Henry during the quarrel:

ليزا: ياريت فيني أرجع على سلة الزهور.

هنري: كل عمرك راح تضلي ببيعة زهور لأنك ما عندك أي طموح.

ليزا: أنا ما عندي طموح! ولشو جيت لعندك؟ يا بلا إحساس يا قليل المربي يا بلا تهذيب يا مجنون!

BT

Liza: I wish I could sell flowers again.

Henry: You will always be a flower girl because you have no ambition.

Liza: I do not have ambition! Then why I came to you? You have no feelings, politeness or manners, you are insane!

After saying these words to him (which is quite similar in the two versions), she slaps him on the face in 2015 while repeatedly punches him on the chest in 1977. Henry is actually happy with this change as he can see how much she has changed and became independent on him as her 'creator' saying

(1977)

لك أنا قلت بدي أعمل منك ست مرآة ليدي، هلاً بأعتبر حالي نجحت، من خمس دقائق كنتي بعدك تقل علي، هلاً صرتي برج مسطح.

BT: See, I told you I will make a lady out of you. I consider myself just succeeded because only five minutes ago, you were a burden on me. But now you are a fortified castle.

(2015)

للحقيقة هلاً ربحت الشرط بتعرفي ليه؟ لأنه هلاً صرتي ست.

BT: Actually I just have won the bet, you know why? Because now you have become a lady.

It is worth mentioning that some characters are given different features in order to create more comic scenes and dialogues and the most important of which is Madam Adīb. She always looks in a hurry as she speaks very fast and moves here and there. She continuously forgets the names of Jawhar and Barbūr and calls them different names. These features are increased in the 2015 version. For instance, she calls Jawhar as Za'tar, Jazar, Za'far, Nawbat, Sa'igh, 'Anbar etc. Barbūr and Liza also utter more comic words and expressions and have humorous body movements compared to the ST, *My Fair Lady* and the 1977 version. For example, we see Liza more hostile with Layla and the maid and she walks in a funny way while wearing a dress at Madam Adīb's party.

6.4.3 The New Happy Ending: A Significant Arab Commercial Feature

Bint Al-Jabal ends happily but in a different way from *My Fair Lady* musical. At the end of the play, Liza decides to return to her village Kfaryanūh and this dialogue takes place (similar in both versions):

جوهر: ليزا، لك ليش هالتياب؟ لوين رايحة؟

ليزا: البابا رايح يتجوز، أنت راجع على الهند، وأنا راح أرجع على كفر يانوح، كل واحد رايح بطريقه هايدي الدنيا.

BT

Jawhar: Liza, why are you wearing this clothes? Where are you going?

Liza: My dad is getting married, you are returning to India and I am returning to Kfaryanūh. Every one of us is going on his way, this is life.

Liza sings a song about farewells called *Ya Rayh* (You who is Leaving) in 1977 and *Rahet Al-Afrāh* (Happiness Has Gone) in 2015. But the way the play ended is slightly different:

(1977)

After the song, Henry gives his hands to Liza and calls her name. Then, she gives him her hand too from a distance (see Image 15 in Appendix 2).

(2015)

After the dialogue between Liza and Jawhar, Henry enters the room and says (see Image 16 in Appendix 2):

هنري: ليزا، ليزا، نسيتي هايدي الخاتم.

BT: Henry: Liza, you forgot this ring.

This ending follows the Arabic poetics of happy endings but the adapter has chosen not to copy the well-known ending of the *My Fair Lady* musical. The reason behind this decision seems that he does not want his adaptation to end in a dull, repetitive way. Although the ending is a bit ambiguous that it does not say anything or confirm the union of the couple, it implies this meaning.

Using Bourdieu's terms, it seems that Laḥūd aims at the large-scale cultural production of his play in that he follows the aesthetic taste or what Lefevre calls 'poetics' of both socio-cultural and political contexts as he is not producing theatre independently of these contexts. Therefore, the three foundational principles of the Arab theatre field are found in his two versions of *Bint Al-Jabal*: singing, comedy and a happy ending. Though, he shows disinterest in economic capital and, rather, looks as attempting to retain his current symbolic capital in the field by ensuring that his audience like what they see and hear in his performances. This means that productions on large-scale do not always attached to economic capital as a primary

goal however symbolic capital will convert into material profits after all. In this regard, Laḥūd has invested most of the financial returns he gained from the successful performance of the 2015 version in producing his next work *Karakatīr* in 2016 (Anṭūn, 2016).

6.5 Conclusion

A theatre is not produced in a vacuum; rather, it conveys its socio-cultural and political context and is inspired and influenced by factors that Lefevere summed up in the initials 'tpt' (i.e. 'time, place and tradition') (cited in Hermans, 1998, p.125). As discussed in this chapter, the three Arabic theatrical productions did reflect the socio-cultural and political contexts in which they operate and followed both ideological and poetological preferences of the field. Both *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* and *Bint Al-Jabal* have been located into their Arab milieus with all their language varieties, use of proper names, costumes, conventions, among others. These stage versions testify to the fact that translation (as a form of rewriting), according to Lefevere, is the production of a text on the basis of another through adapting that text to a certain ideology or poetics and usually to both (cited in *ibid.*, p.127). Only in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* that the adapter chose a foreignization strategy and a combination of highly intellectual content and another that is accessible by mainstream middle class theatre goers. In addition, Alvarez and Vidal (1996) think, translators are not only constrained by prevailing ideology and poetics, but also by opinions and expectations of their audience. Therefore, these choices affect the type of audience that these adapters are targeting. While *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* and *Bint Al-Jabal* seek all types of audience, *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* seems to target the educated members of the audience through the intellectual parts as well as the common members through the parts where he used EC and other commercial features.

During the golden decade of the Arab theatre (i.e. the 1960s), we see two trends among theatre makers especially in Egypt. One calls for serious intellectual works aiming at accumulating symbolic capital and recognition; while the other work seeks to meet the audience's expectations to bring the largest number of spectators in order to accumulate economic capital. The second trend prevailed and pushed theatre translations/adaptations seeking symbolic capital to the margin of the field. Commercially oriented translations/adaptations shaped the common poetics of the Arab theatrical field through endorsing and promoting such practices as the inclusion of songs, farcical elements, happy endings and, sometimes, making political allusions. These practices can be seen in the three Arabic adaptations to various degrees. The commercial elements are more present in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*, but less in *Bint Al-Jabal* and even lesser in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ*. All sought large-scale

production through producing symbolic productions to the wide public obeying the law of competition to gain a vast market. However, the adapter of *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* seems to have sought the accumulation of both economic and symbolic capital in the field which suggests that the mode of production is in mid-way between large scale and restricted scale. This even further indicates that Bourdieu's two types of cultural production can actually overlap. In addition, although Lahūd seems to be mainly interested in accumulating symbolic capital in the field, Bourdieu argues that economic capital is "at the root of all the other types of capital" and, thus, once symbolic capital is recognized, it becomes nothing but an economic one (1989, p.54).

Moreover, the textual (the characters' dialogues), contextual (the field of Arab theatre, media and critics reviews, and the adapters' own views) and paratextual (nonverbal body movements and gestures, dances, pre-performance introduction and advertisement posters) materials that could be found for the three adaptations have been used in the analysis. They worked successfully together to come up with a complete understanding of the rewriting mechanism of Arab theatre makers in introducing Shaw's drama to the Arab audiences. Finally, the analysis in this chapter answered the two research questions stated in the section 6.1.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE POLITICS AND POETICS OF RETRANSLATION: A CASE STUDY OF EIGHT PLAYS BY SHAW TRANSLATED INTO ARABIC

Lefevere (1992) argues that manipulation is widely practiced by translators and other rewriters, in order to bring STs in line with the poetics and ideological currents of their socio-cultural contexts. Lefevere introduces two concepts that influence the translation, rewriting, and production of foreign texts into a target culture. The first is 'poetics', which is informed by the aesthetic and artistic tastes of a given culture and generation. The second is 'patronage', which is the influence of the persons and institutions that shape artistic production in a given culture (ibid.) Patrons aim to create harmony between artistic and literary systems and other systems in society, and they seek to impose ideologies whilst delegating tasks to professionals.

Both poetics and ideology work together to dictate translation choices, and these different powers influence the production of a text. These powers influence translators, directors, and others, during all stages of translation, including the choice of text itself, right through to its publication (ibid.). According to Shuping (2013), the type of translated text, the translation methods used, and the translation purpose are all elements determined by certain forces of power (cited in Ahmad and Shabana, 2017, p. 200). Indeed, political and religious ideologies, among others, can work to influence translations into a target culture. Bearing this in mind, the main aim of this chapter will be to investigate how Arab translators have manipulated Shaw's plays when translating them into their target culture, and how the socio-cultural and political context and ideology and poetics have informed the translation choices made. This chapter seeks to answer the following research question: How to better understand the socio-cultural dynamics of the production, dissemination and reception of multiple Arabic retranslations of Shaw's plays in different Arab contexts? To answer this question, the chapter will be divided into two main parts. The first part will deal with the retranslation of political and religious taboos, and the second part will examine the retranslation of register, in relation to the prevailing poetics of the target culture in different eras. Two types of data will be considered in this chapter: translations published for readership, and post-performance translations. Eight of Bernard Shaw's plays have been chosen for this analysis with a selection of their Arabic (re)translations: *Widowers' Houses* (1893), *The Devil's Disciple* (1897), *Arms and the Man* (1898), *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1901), *Man and Superman* (1903), *Major Barbara* (1905), *Pygmalion* (1912), and *Saint Joan* (1923).

7.1 The Retranslation of Political and Religious Taboos

7.1.1 Politics and Censorship Bodies: Three Political Contexts

A number of Shaw's plays have been retranslated and published in different periods of time and in several Arab countries. This subsection analyses the (re)translations that were produced under different political regimes and conditions that included some political references or that included manipulated parts, to various degrees, by the translators because they are considered as political taboos and to avoid censorship banning. In order to decide on the excerpts to be analysed, the chosen TTs have gone through a parallel reading that include the STs along with all their TTs in hand. Three political contexts are identified: the British Occupation of Egypt, socialist Egypt and the Arab-Israeli conflicts.

In Egypt, a number of Shaw's plays have been translated into Arabic which began during the time of the British occupation of Egypt, which lasted until 1956, and flourished under Abdul-Nassir's socialism, then continued afterwards up until the present day. The (re)translations have been influenced by political conditions and key political events. In the Arabic (re)translations published in Syria, the issue of the Arab-Israeli conflicts is dealt with differently by the translators and it appears in different paratextual material.

1- Drama Translation under the British Occupation (1882-1953): The (Re)translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* and *Saint Joan*

For example, Ibrāhīm Ramzī's translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1914 and Ahmad Zakī's translation of *Saint Joan* in 1938 were both informed by the politics of their day. As noted in earlier chapters, Ramzī was a well-known Egyptian writer and poet, who worked as a professional translator for various Egyptian Government organisations, such as the Ministry of Agriculture. Ibrāhīm Ramzī's translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* was originally undertaken to be performed by the Troupe of George Abyaḍ at the Egyptian theatre, in the presence of the Khedive Abbās Ḥilmī II. However, in the same year that the play was performed, the Khedive was deposed by British authorities, who then declared Britain to be the protectorate of Egypt.

Zakī was an Egyptian writer, university professor and dean, a minister, and a holder of the high social rank of *beik* (Abdul-'Azīz, 1996). He was also one of the founders of *Lajnat Al-Ta`līf wa Al-Tarjama wa Al-Nashr* (The Authorship, Translation and Publishing Committee) as well as being a member of the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo (ibid.). After the deposition of the Khedive, Ramzī made alterations to his translated play, deleting some parts of it that alluded to the Roman occupation of Egypt during Cleopatra's rule, in case this content was perceived as making an

indirect negative reference to the British occupation of Egypt. Indeed, Ramzī himself was an employee of an Egyptian Government institution, and, thus, he may have felt that he could not include anything that went against a state that had pledged loyalty to the British. Furthermore, the choice of the play itself could be perceived as imparting a certain message to Egyptians, about colonialism. Najm (1967, p. 256) explains that the original translated play includes, ‘creative dialogue and implicit sarcasm of the British style of life and occupation of Egypt’, which can be linked to the translator’s stay in London in 1908. Examples of how the play was manipulated by the translator are outlined below:

Example 1

Caesar: I could do no less, Pothinus, to secure the retreat of my own soldiers. I am accountable for every life among them. But you are free to go. So are all here, and in the palace.

Rufio: What! Renegades and all?

Caesar: Roman army of occupation and all, Rufio...

Pothinus: This is a trick. I am the king’s guardian: I refuse to stir. I stand on my right here. Where is your right?

Caesar: It is in Rufio’s scabbard, Pothinus. I may not be able to keep it there if you wait too long.

Pothinus: And this is Roman justice!... I can call a witness to prove that but for us, the Roman army of occupation, led by the greatest soldier in the world, would now have Caesar at its mercy. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.168).

قيصر: لا أستطيع أن أفعل غير ذلك لأحفظ لجيشي خط الرجعة، إنني محاسب على روح كل واحد منهم ولكنك حر في الذهاب يا بوتينوس وكذلك كل من كان هنا أو كان في القصر.

روفيو: ما هذا! حتى الخارجين!

قيصر: الجيش الروماني والجميع يا روفيو.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.50)

BT

Caesar: I cannot do anything but that to save the way back for my army. I am accountable for each one (literally: soul) of them but you are free to go, Pothinus, and everyone was here or in the palace.

Rufio: What! Even the rebels!

Caesar: The Roman army and all, Rufio.

Example 2

Rufio (to Caesar): Agh! I might have known there was some fox's trick behind your fine talking. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.181).

روفيو: آه، ربما كان كذلك!

(Ramzī , 1914, p.68).

BT: Rufio: Agh, it might be so!

In these two examples, Ramzī did not render the whole line as it is presented in the ST, in order to avoid referring to Caesar (who the audience might compare to the British occupiers) as someone who is capable of being deceptive, tricking others, and thinking only of his own interests. He, especially, did not include the phrase “the Roman army of occupation” in his version which is mentioned many times in the ST (Ramzī , 1914, pp.50 and 61).

Example 3

Caesar: Assassinated!- Our prisoner, our guest! Rufio-

Rufio: Whoever did it was a wise man and a friend of yours; but none of us had a hand in it. So it is no use to frown at me. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.229).

This same approach can also be seen in the example above, where the translator did not include these lines to avoid alluding to any issues that could be interpreted as referring to the occupation, such as assassinations.

Example 4

Caesar: And why not see that? Cleopatra: will you come with me and track the flood to its cradle in the heart of the regions of mystery? Shall we leave Rome behind us – Rome, that has achieved greatness only to learn how greatness destroys nations of men who are not great! Shall I make you a new kingdom, and build you a holy city there in the great unknown? (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.224).

قيصر: ولماذا لا نراه، كليوباترا. أتأتي معي نتقفى النيل إلى مهده في قلب تلك الأصقاع الخفية! تعالي
أخلق لك مُلكاً جديداً وأبني لك مدينة مقدسة في ذلك الفضاء الذي لا يعرف له حد.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.93).

BT: Caesar: Why not we see it, Cleopatra? Will you come with me to track the Nile to its cradle in the heart of the mysterious regions? Come and let me create for you a new kingdom and build you a holy city there in that endless space.

In the example shown above, Ramzī does not render anything that might be interpreted as an implied reference to the British being deceivers, barbarians, or greedy. The line, ‘Rome, that has achieved greatness only to learn how greatness destroys nations of men who are not great!’ could be seen as echoing the British view of the Egyptians at the time, as uncivilised peasants who are being civilised by the colonisers.

Ramzī appears to have exercised self-censorship on his translation, so that it would not be banned by the censorship body. Indeed, Ramzī’s translation ended up being performed and published under censorship laws that had been set out by Khedive Tawfīq in 1879.⁹⁹ In his study of censorship in the Egyptian theatre, ‘Ismā’īl (1997) discusses the role of censorship during the time of British occupation and explains that certain books, translations and stage performances were banned if they included references to Egyptian patriotic sentiment, criticism of Egyptian society under British rule, and/or any direct or indirect reference to the British occupation. These rules of censorship presented a stumbling block for theatrical creativity, and were designed to restrain playwrights from encouraging audiences to challenge the realities of their lives (Najm, 1967, p. 137).

Censorship was practiced by the British authorities via the Egyptian Ministry of Interior who prevented the performance and publication of any plays that included political references to the occupation, or that included anything that might be perceived as encouraging Egyptian rebellion against it (‘Ismā’īl, 1997). Tough censorship measures reached the point where the Government sent policemen to every Arab-run theatre in Egypt, to make sure the performances did not contain any anti-colonisation content. In 1910, the police banned a student performance of a play entitled *Ḍaḥāyā Al-Majd* (Victims of Glory), the profits from which were meant to be given to a welfare association. The titles of banned plays were also listed in the *Al-Akhbar* newspaper on 12 April 1911. These plays included *Dunshuwāy* (Dunshway), *Al-Azhar* (Azhar), *Nabilyūn* (Napoleon), *Isrā’īl* (Israel) and *Al-Waqā’i’ Al-Mudhisha* (Amazing Incidents) (‘Ismā’īl, 2009).

One example of a play that was banned in 1924 was *Al-Sharaf wa Al-Waṭan* (Honour and the Homeland). This had been performed in 1906 by the Troupe of Iskandar Farāḥ. However, in 1924, George Abyaḍ was not permitted to perform it again. The

⁹⁹ For more information about censorship laws, please see Chapter Four.

the censor said that it was, ‘powerful in its topic, fluent in its language and expression and is filled with patriotic spirit. It extensively mentions the state and sacrificing one’s self to save it’ (ibid.). The Head of the Censorship Committee did not license its performance, and wrote the following in a note: ‘The Committee decided that it should be delayed due to the current conditions [the British occupation]’ (ibid., no pagination). Ḥussain Fahmī’s *Al-Raqīq Al-Abyaḍ* (The White Slave), also known as *Asrār Al-Gharbī* (Al-Gharbī’s Secrets), was also banned in 1925 for including references to Egyptian Government workers. However, the censors provided flimsy justifications for banning the play.¹⁰⁰ Copied below is part of a song included at the end of Act One taken from Fahmī’s play (cited in `Ismā’īl, 1997, p. 72):

ياله بقي نصلي ونطلب من رب كريم، يحفظ بلادنا ويحميها من كل ذميم
يارب حقق أملنا بالاستقلال، وفق جميع أحزابنا وأصلح الأحوال
طهر قلوبنا إهدي نفوسنا، واللي يسئنا وعلينا يكبر الله أكبر

BT

Let’s pray and ask [our] generous God; to protect our country and save it from every abhorrent individual

Oh, God let our dream of independence come true; give luck to all our [political] parties and better our conditions

Purify our hearts and guide our spirits; and to those who are unjust to us, [may God take our revenge from you] (literally: Allah is the greatest).

Sayyid Darwīsh, a well-known Egyptian singer and composer, received threats of exile and imprisonment from the British in connection with his 1919 song entitled *Qūm Yā Miṣrī* (Rise Up, Egyptian) (Bassiouney, 2015). Lines from the song are copied below (translated by ibid., p.88):

قوم يا مصري مصر دائماً بتناديك، خد بنصري نصري دين واجب عليك
يوم ما سعدي راح هدر قدام عينيك، عد لي مجدي اللي ضيعته بأيديك

¹⁰⁰ `Ismā’īl (1997, p. 65) explains that, ‘the censor provided three justifications for the banning of this play: (1) uninhibited statements; (2) the heartbreak it might cause the audience because of the portrayal of the dire circumstances of the girls that led them to prostitution; and (3) the story is identical to the real story of Ibrahim Al-Gharbī. Miṣṭāḥ (2014) explains that Al-Gharbī ran fifty four houses of prostitution, and was sentenced to prison for five years with hard labour in 1925, and died a year later. Available at <https://www.vetogate.com/896795> [Accessed 20 February 2019].

BT

Rise up Egyptian, Egypt is always calling you

Take my hand to victory, my victory is your duty

Cherish my glory, the glory that you lost with your own hands

Every bone of your ancestors is ashamed of how fossilized you have become

In his translation of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Ramzī deletes any allusions that might be interpreted as calls for patriotism and unity among Egyptians, including the phrase 'Egypt for Egyptians!' Reid (1998) explains that this phrase was coined by Ya'qūb Sannū' in the newspaper *Abū Niḍḍārah*, and the phrase gained readership popularity after the discovery of Tutankhamen's Tomb in 1922 (in Bassiouney, 2015, p. 84). It was a political slogan that became popular during the time of Khedive 'Ismā'il, and was used to criticise the authorities and mobilise public opinion. The phrase means that Egyptians have the right to run their own affairs and to challenge foreign interventions (Abū Ghāzī, 2016). However, according to the State Information Service (no date), this phrase actually emerged much earlier, as a slogan associated with 'Urābī's Revolution in 1881¹⁰¹. Including this slogan in his translated play would have been classed as a revolutionary act against the British occupation, as well as against the Ottomans, because, at the time, Egyptians were still classed as Ottoman subjects. Until the end of 1914, the idea of Egyptian nationality did not exist. The concept of Egyptian nationality was devised in November 1914, after the separation of Turkey and Egypt, which was a consequence of the British and French war against Turkey (ibid., p. 87). Similarly, Khalīl Muṭārṅ changed references to the Ottomans as the enemy in his Arabic translation of Shakespeare's *Othello* in 1912, rendering references to the 'Ottomans' or 'Turks' enemy simply as 'أعداء' (enemies) (Najm, 1967). Hanna (2016) argues that Muṭārṅ did so because there were families living in Egypt from Turkish background at that time, thus, referring to them as 'enemies' would be offensive for this group in his audience.

¹⁰¹ The 'Urābī Revolution was led by Colonel Ahmad 'Urābī (previously known as Qā'im Maqām) in 1881, against the Khedive. The revolutionaries demanded that the Khedive deposed the Minister of Military Operations, 'Uthmān Rifqī, and replace him with Maḥmūd Sāmī Al-Bārūdī. Reasons for this attempted revolution included a poor economy and foreign interference in Egyptian affairs (State Information Service, no date). Available at <http://www.sis.gov.eg/Newvvr/egyptionrevoution/keam.html> [Accessed 07 March 2019].

Example 5

Pothinus: Caesar: be honest. The money you demand is the price of our freedom. Take it; and leave us to settle our own affairs.

The Bolder Courtiers: Yes, yes. Egypt for the Egyptians!

Rufio: Egypt for the Egyptians! Do you forget that there is a Roman army of occupation here left by Aulus Gabinius when he set up your toy king for you? (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.165).

بوتينيوس: إلزم جانب الأمانة يا قيصر، إذا كان المال هو كل غرضك من تزوج هذه من ذلك، وذلك من تلك، فخذها واذكر عهد رومة لنا واتركنا ندبر أمر بلادنا بأنفسنا.

قيصر: إني للعهد ذاكر ولكن أليس لنا في دياركم جيش مرابط تركه أولانوس جابينوس منذ سنين.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.48).

BT

Pothinus: Caesar, be honest. If money is all your concern to marry this to that and that to this, then take it and remember the promise of Rome to us. And leave us to rule our own country ourselves.

Caesar: I remember the promise, but do not we have an entrenched army in your land that Aulus Gabinius left years ago?

In the example above, Ramzī leaves out the phrase ‘Roman army of occupation’ and other controversial phrases such as ‘our [Egyptian] freedom’ and ‘Egypt for the Egyptians’. Even the phrase ‘your toy king’ was considered problematic because of perceived allusions to the Khedive.

Example 6

Caesar: So you can make war on the Egyptians in the name of Rome; and on the Romans – on me, if necessary- in the name of Egypt?

Achillas: That is so, Caesar.

Caesar: And which side are you on at present, if I may presume to ask, general?

Achillas: On the side of the right and the gods. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.166)

قيصر: وفي أي جانب أنت الآن يا أخيلا؟

أخيلا: في جانب الحق والألهة.

(Ramzī , 1914, p.49).

BT: Caesar: On which side are you, Achillas?

Achillas: On the side of the right and the gods.

In the example outlined above, Ramzī excludes the words shown underlined because they might have been perceived as inviting war against the British. Ramzī removes these words from his version in a process of self-censorship. Under censorship laws of the time, Ahmad Yusuf's play *Al-Za'īm* (The President), for instance, was banned from performance because it contained political criticism. A 'controversial' line from the play is copied below (cited in `Ismā'il, 1997, p. 124):

... يجب أن نقدم على التخلص من كل ذلك.. لا استعباد.. لا استعمار.. لا حماية.. لا تدخل في شؤوننا.. هذا ما نريد الحصول عليه ولا بد من الحصول عليه ولأجل أن نصل إلى غايتنا النبيلة يجب أن نعمل بجد.

BT: ... We have to get rid of this all.. no subjugation.. no occupation.. no protectorate.. no interference in our affairs.. this is what we want to have and in order to reach our noble end, we have to work hard.

Only in the following example that Ramzī keeps-in a negative comment that is related to the British view towards the Egyptians which, apparently, would not be a problem for the censors.

Example 7

Britannus: ... It is these Egyptians who are barbarians; and you do wrong to encourage them. I say it is a scandal! (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.165).

بريطانوس: ... إنما البرابرة هم هؤلاء المصريون وإنك لتخطئ إذا أنت مألأتهم. إني أرى الأمر فسقاً.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.47).

BT: Britannus: ... it is these Egyptians who are barbarians; and you do wrong to encourage them. I say it is a rakishness!

The British High Commissioner in Egypt, regularly undermined the concept of a coherent Egyptian identity, describing Egyptians as follows:

A mongrel nation full of peasants and sheikhs, so stuck in their traditional ways that only a European outsider could bring them the law, order, water, and regular taxation they needed to make best use of their simple assets (Roger Owens, 2004, cited in Bassiouney, 2015, p.79).

In this respect, explains that, ‘therefore, like the British in India, he was caught, in David Washbrook’s trenchant phrase “between inventing an Oriental society and abolishing it” (ibid.).

In contrast, in his translation of *Saint Joan* in 1938, Zakī does not practise the kind of self-censorship practised by Ramzī. The play includes elements that Ramzī would have assiduously self-censored out of fear that the play might have been banned. Zakī’s translation appeared during a time when the Egyptian Government was becoming more liberal (1923-1952) (Abū Ghāzī, 2016) and censorship was beginning to be placed in the hands of Egyptians themselves. However, even then, censorship laws prevented the production of any work that was overtly political or patriotic in content, or that called for change.

ʿIsmāʿīl (2009) notes that on 4 November 1926, in *Al-Mumathil* magazine, an article authored by the office of *mudīr qalam al-maṭbūʿāt* (the Director of the Publication Department) appeared, which stated the following:

Theatre directors have accused the Director of the Publication Department of distorting every nationalistic or patriotic scene and of the regular refusal of political plays... this is a serious accusation in such an era, which is the era of freedom and free thought... we hope that this is the first and last time we write this as we remind the Director of Publication Department that today is not like yesterday (my translation).

In his translation of *Saint Joan*, Zakī keeps-in text that might be perceived as direct and/or indirect references to the British occupation. Examples of this are outlined below:

Example 8

Joan: They are only men. God made them just like us; but He gave them their own country and their own language; and it is not His will that they should come into our country and try to speak our language. (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p.59).

جان: إنهم ليسوا إلا رجالاً، خلقهم الله كما خلقنا، وأعطاهم أرضاً ولغةً غير لغتنا وأرضنا، وتأبى مشيئته أن يحتلوا أرضنا ويتكلموا لساننا.

(Zakī, 1938, p.23).

BT: Joan: They are only men created by God as he created us. He gave them a land and a language that are different than our language and land. And it is not His will that they occupy our land and speak our language.

Example 9

Robert: ... have you ever seen British soldiers fighting? Have you seen the plundering, burning, turning the countryside into a desert? Have you heard no tales of their Black Prince who was blacker than the devil himself, or of the British king's father? (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p.60).

روبير: ... أرايت الإنجليزي يحارب؟ ألم تريهم أبدا يسلبون ويحرقون ويقلبون الريف الأخضر خراباً
يباباً؟ ألم تسمعي القصص تروى عن "أميرهم الأسود" وقد كان أسود من الشيطان؟ وملكهم، ألم تسمعي
الحكايات تحكى عن أبيه؟

(Zakī, 1938, p.24).

BT: Robert: Have you seen a British fighting? Have you ever seen them plundering, burning, and turning the countryside into a complete ruin? Have not you heard stories about their "black prince" who was darker than the devil? And their king, have not you heard stories about his father?

Example 8 might be interpreted as a message that God does not want the British to occupy Egypt. While Example 9 explicitly describes the British as savage and merciless. It refers to their King as a 'black prince' who is worse than the devil.

It is interesting to consider why Zakī's translation was not banned. One reason might be because of the significant symbolic capital attached to his name. He was a well-known writer, minister and *beik*. `Ismā'īl (1997, p. 130) notes that, at the time, some well-known writers had mutual interests in respect of their connections to the censorship committee, and they made use of nepotism to prevent their work from being banned. For instance, in 1936, Yusuf Wahbī' was given permission to stage *Banāt Al-Rīf* (The Countryside Girls) but another play, *Jarīma fī Al-Rīf* (A Crime in the Countryside) which had a similar plot but was written by a lesser known writer i.e. Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, who obviously had no symbolic capital, was banned (ibid.). In his report, the censor wrote that Ibrāhīm's play lacked artistic taste, morals, and appropriateness (ibid.). However, `Ismā'īl argues that Ibrāhīm's play was much more appropriate for staging than Wahbī's, especially because the latter included a rape scene that was only referred to in dialogue in Ibrāhīm's play (ibid.). Nevertheless, Wahbī's play was given permission to be staged, and, most likely, this was because of the symbolic capital attached to the writer.

`Ismā'īl (1997, p. 142) claims that after 1936, no play was banned until the 1952 Revolution. He argues that this phenomenon was connected to the financial crisis which engulfed many countries, and which led to grave austerity. Little disposable

income was available to be spent at the theatre and on entertainment, and there was a decrease in audiences of theatre goers and at cinemas. Many private theatrical troupes disbanded and a National Troupe was formed by the Government (ibid.).

In his translation of *Saint Joan*, Zakī's only concession to censorship was to remove the direct insult of 'goddams', as follows:

Example 10

Joan: ...Are they ours or the goddams'? (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p.82).

جان: ... أهما لنا أم للإنجليز؟

(Zakī, 1938, p. 69).

BT: Joan: ... Are they our or the British's?

Example 11

Joan: ... If the goddams and the Burgundians do not make an end of me, the French will. (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p.102).

جان: ... فإذا لم يهلكني الإنجليز والبرجنديون، أهلكني الفرنسيون.

(Zakī, 1938, p. 108).

BT: Joan: ... If the British and the Burgundians do not make an end of me, the French will.

Both plays were retranslated in the 1960s under the regime of Abdul-Nassir, after the end of British occupation, and after the formation of the Republic. This type of retranslation activity could imply that the translators or the publisher saw a necessity to retranslate these two plays of Shaw. They, might, claim two marks of distinction, as used by Bourdieu¹⁰²: firstly, to come up with translations that are as closer as possible to the STs; and secondly, to pay more attention to the target culture sensitivities especially in the translation of religious taboos that will be discussed in section 7.1.2.

¹⁰² For Bourdieu (1996, cited in Hanna, 2016a, p.135), 'marks of distinction' are deployed by the agents throughout their competition within the field of cultural production, in the social space and in time. To achieve distinction means to challenge existing works of arts, mostly their norms, by producing a work that is considered as distinct in order to accumulate symbolic capital rather than economic capital (ibid., p.61).

2- Drama Translation in Socialist Egypt under Abdul-Nassir's Regime (1956-1970): The Translation of *Widowers' Houses*

ʿIsmāʿīl (1997) argues that new censorship laws drafted in 1955 were designed so that most plays were hardly ever banned.¹⁰³ From this, as Şafinaz Kazim notes (in Al-Samahī, 2015), the Egyptian theatre began to come to life in the 1960s, thanks to the revolutionaries. However, some argue that the censorship laws under Abdul-Nassir's regime were even stricter than before. Khafājī (2017a), who lived and worked in a pre and post 1952 environment, claims that Egypt was more liberal during the times of the monarchy and the British occupation, and he cites the existence of multiple political parties, as well as rights to freedom of speech and expression, which, he claims, were suppressed under Abdul-Nassir's regime, when only a single political entity held power. Khafājī suggests that this kind of political monopoly means that freedom is constrained and cultural production is controlled and censored (ibid.). Khafājī also claims that most plays that had previously been banned, but which were then staged between 1955 and 1988 were written by playwrights who were not very popular, and censors took this into account when exercising censorship, in that they discriminated based on the name of the writer, the troupe, and the theatre (ibid., p. 403). Khafājī claims that this explains why it is impossible to find any work by well-known playwrights that was banned (ibid.).

In contrast, Shalyūṭ (2018) suggests that this is a false claim, and provides examples to justify his argument. In his 2018 study, Shalyūṭ argues that under Abdul-Nassir's regime, all types of cultural production flourished, and was encouraged by the State, and that Abdul-Nassir himself was an intellectual and a keen reader. Shalyūṭ also claims that Abdul-Nassir only imprisoned people for political reasons, and gives the example of the imprisonment of Said Quṭub¹⁰⁴ (ibid.). He goes even further to claim that Abdul-Nassir personally intervened in censorship decisions to allow the production and/or publication of some works, and gives the example of Abdul-Raḥmān Al-Sharqāwī's *Al-Fattā Mahrān* (The Boy Mahrān). This play was banned by censors for its political criticism of the 1952 revolutionists, and for its stance on

¹⁰³ For more information about censorship laws during Abdul-Nassir's regime, please see Chapter Four.

¹⁰⁴ Said Quṭub (1906-1966) was an Egyptian writer, poet and Islamic thinker who was imprisoned and sentenced to death in 1966 when he was involved in a political conspiracy to overthrow the Government (Aljazeera, 2019). Available from: <https://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/icons/2014/9/20/%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%AF-%D9%82%D8%B7%D8%A8> [Accessed 19 May 2019].

some political decisions, yet Abdul-Nassir gave permission for the play to be published and staged at the National Theatre.

Translations produced in socialist Egypt during Abdul-Nassir's regime promoted the new political orientation of the country towards socialism. As discussed in Chapter Four, the Government financially sponsored drama translation and theatre after the 1952 Revolution, and launched a drama translation programmes. Many dramatists and translators of drama worked to promote the country's new political orientation, but many abstained from direct criticism of the Government in their plays.

The production and publication of socialist material was not peculiar to dramatists or drama translators, but encompassed all types of writers. For example, the book *Miṣr Al-`Iṣtirākīyya: Baḥth `Ijtimā`ī* (Socialist Egypt: Social Research) was banned in 1943 by the censorship body under British occupation and was not published until after the 1952 Revolution (Kāmil, 1962¹⁰⁵). Similarly, Abdul-Mun'im Shumays was not able to publish his translation of Shaw's *The Millionairess* before the revolution, because the play criticises British colonialism and capitalism. The retranslation of Shaw's *Saint Joan* by Muhammad Maḥbūb (1965) clearly promotes socialism and the building of a new socialist Egypt.

Under Abdul-Nassir's regime, Muhammad Ḥasan Riḍa published his translation of Shaw's *Widowers' Houses*, which is a post-performance play, in 1960. The translator avoided using the word 'socialist' if he thought it might carry a negative connotation. The example set out below shows this:

Example 12

Sartorius: ... you are not a Socialist, or anything of the sort.

Trench: Certainly not. I'm a Conservative... (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.70).

سارتورياس: ... لست بأخصائي إجتماعي ولا بباحث في شئون الرأي العام.

ترنش: بالتأكيد لا ... أنا رجل محافظ...

(Riḍa, 1960, p.98).

BT: Sartorius: ... You are not a social worker or a researcher in public opinion.

Trench: Certainly not... I'm a Conservative man.

¹⁰⁵ This information is found in the last pages of Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil's translation of Shaw's *Arms and the Man* published in 1962, Egypt added by the publisher.

In another part of the play, Riḍa inserts the word ‘capitalists’ in a line that contains criticism:

Example 13

Sartorius: ... one would suppose, to read this, which we are the most grasping; grinding heartless pair in the world, you and I. (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.85).

سارتورياس: ... ويخيل إلى من يقرأ هذه الكتب أنني وأنت تكون زوجا من الرأسماليين الجشعين والمستغلين القاسين الذين لا رحمة لديهم ولا ضمير عندهم.

(Riḍa, 1960, p.130).

BT: Sartorius: ... Whoever reads this would suppose that you and I are greedy, exploiter, drastic, heartless and with no conscious pair of capitalists.

Indeed, the criticism of capitalism and the suggestion that socialism is a better political solution are themes common to many works of the time, including *Askar wa Harāmiyya* (Policemen and Thieves) by Alfren Faraj (Ḥammādī, 2018). As noted in Chapter Five, most translations of Shaw’s plays were carried out in Egypt in the 1960s. This suggests that the content of Shaw’s plays was suitable for the new socialist political environment in Egypt as he himself was one.

As already mentioned, nepotism was practiced under the Egyptian censorship system of the colonial era, and this practice continued to exist under the new censorship laws. For instance, Azīz Abāza’s *Shajarat Al-Dur* (Shajarat Al-Dur) was performed by the National Troupe in 1950 at the Royal Opera House without making any of the changes the censors demanded (‘Ismā’īl, 2017). Abāza enjoyed a symbolic capital as he was a well-known Egyptian poet and worked in some governmental positions. The Opera House Manager, Sulimān Najīb, who possessed the high social status of *beik*, intervened in the censors’ decision and his opinion was taken into account by the censors (ibid.). Similarly, we see Riḍa adding into his play negative comments about businessmen (capitalists in particular) to echo changes that were beginning to take place in Egypt, in relation to its soon to be new socialist direction, and the move away from capitalism, feudalism and aristocracy. However, I could not find any contextual information about Riḍa, but nepotism is still one possibility for the inclusion of such content in his translation which was also staged as mentioned earlier. In the examples detailed below, Riḍa refers to ‘capitalists’ (‘businessmen’) as deceivers and hypocrites whose voices are good and caring, but whose agenda is not. Criticism also appears about Governmental officials, and lines are added that allude to class conflict.

Example 14

Sartorius: I am afraid, Dr Trench, that you are a very young hand at business; and I am sorry I forgot that for a moment or so. May I ask you to suspend your judgement until we have had a little quiet discussion of this sentimental notion of yours? (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.70).

سارتورياس: أخشى يا دكتور ترنش أن أقول أنك لا تفهم شيئاً عن الأعمال التجارية، وأنك لم تعرف سوق المال والتجارة، إن يدك الناعمة لم تدر بها المعاملات، ولم تجربها المبادلات، فمعرفة أمور الحياة معرفة ضيقة معدودة سطحية، ولذلك كان من السهل أن تنطلي عليك هذه الأقوال الجوفاء والعبارات المنمقة والكلمات الضخمة التي تلهب المشاعر وتدمي القلوب.

(Rida, 1960, p.97).

BT: Sartorius: I am afraid, Dr Trench, to tell that you understand nothing in regards to business and you have not ever known the business market. Money has never touched your soft hands and never have you dealt in market exchanges. Your knowledge of life is very superficial and limited so that is why it was easy to deceive you with these big, empty, rhetorical words and statements that arouse feelings and break hearts.

Example 15

Lickcheese: ... Which of us is the worse; I should like to know? Me that wrings the money out to keep a home on my children, or you that spend it and try to shove the blame on to me? (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.61).

ليكتشيز: ... أينا أشد وزراً وأكبر ذنباً؟ الذي يأكل الأموال وينفقها ويتقلب في فراش النعيم بها ... أم الأجير المسكين الذي يجمعها ويريق ماء وجهه في الحصول عليها، ولا يناله منها إلا الفتات والنذر اليسير ليقيم أوده و أود أطفاله؟ أريد أن أعرف أينا أحق باللوم والتحقير؟!!!!

(Rida, 1960, p.78).

BT: Lickcheese: ... Which of us has committed a bigger sin? That who eats money, spend it and roll in a bed of luxury because of it... or that poor worker who loses face while collecting it and he only gets a small portion to save the roof over his children's heads? I want to know which of us deserves the most blame and scorn?!!!!

Example 16

Trench: ... your fortune has been made out of a parcel of unfortunate creatures that have hardly enough to keep body and soul together- made by screwing, and bullying, and threatening, and all sorts of pettifogging tyranny. (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.69).

ترنش: ... إن ما تعيش عليه من نعمة يقوم على دموع الفقراء وتأوهات المرضى والدعوات الصارخة للآرامل والثاكلات، حتى أصبحت أعتقد أن من يلمس هذا المال يصيبه غضب الله وتقع على رأسه أوزار الدعوات الصادرة من قلوب المظلومين والأناة المرتفعة من جروح المكومين.

(Riḍa, 1960, p.96).

BT: Trench: ... The luxuries and blessings that you have in your life comes from the poor's tears, the sick's sighs and the cries of the widowers and the bereaved. I have started to believe that whoever touches that money, God's anger would befall on him, would be the target of the devoted prayers of the oppressed and the would hold a heavy load of sins because of the loud sighs of the wounded.

`Ismā'īl (1997, p.164) talks about how corruption among high status employees of the Government is a theme in the play *Kafr Ayūb* (1969), but previously banned because it was thought to contain overt political criticism. In contrast, Riḍa includes more subtle forms of criticism, which is why his work was not banned from either the stage or from publication. Here is an example taken from *Kafr Ayūb*:

أمين: ... كانت الشمس بتحرق في أدمغتنا ما نحس.. تسود في وشوشنا ما نحس.. كلنا فاهمين إنها رسالة.. وشوية شوية ابتدينا نفهم.. ابتدينا نتعلم.. ابتدينا نتعلم من المهازل اللي بتقابلنا.. احنا نتجازى لو الدود أكل المحصول، والبهوات اللي في المديرية اللي في الضل تاخذ مكافأة لو الإنتاج زاد.. مش مهم إنك تسرق.. الشطارة محدش يشوفك.. مش مهم إنك تسرق قد ما هو مهم حتقسم مع مين..

(cited in *ibid.*, p.165).

BT: Amīn (in EC): ... The sun was burning our brains but we could not feel.. making our faces darker but we could not feel.. We all know it is a message.. Gradually we could understand.. We could learn.. We could learn from the nonsense we are experiencing.. We are to blame if the worms destroys the harvest.. The gentlemen who work in the administration under the shadow take the bonus if the production increases.. What is cunning is not to steal.. but to steal without being seen.. To know with how many people you will share [what you stole] is not as important as to steal it [in the first place].

When he embraced socialism, Abdul-Nassir called for social justice and equality in all aspects of life, including in education, religion, freedom of speech, economic opportunity, in industry, and in the military (Muhammad, 1994). However, although this sounded good in theory, the practical application of these values did not turn out

as expected.¹⁰⁶ In his translation, Riḍa includes the word ‘government’ or ‘الحكومة’ where it does not exist in the ST, as shown in the following examples:

Example 17

Trench: ... It’s a damnable business from beginning to end; and you deserve no better luck for helping it. I’ve seen it all among the out-patients at the hospital; and it used to make my blood boil to think that such things couldn’t be prevented. (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.61).

ترنش: ... إن العملية كلها عملية قذرة وتعسة من بدايتها إلى نهايتها، وأنت لا تستحق حظاً أسعد من هذا لمشاركتك في هذا العمل الظالم، وقد رأيت أثر ذلك كله في مرضى العيادات الخارجية بالمستشفى الذي أعمل فيه، إن هذا يجعل الدم يغلي في عروقي ولا أدري كيف لا تستطيع الحكومة وقف مثل هذا الابتزاز المنكر وذلك الاستغلال الدنيء!

(Riḍa, 1960, p.78).

BT: Trench: ... This is a dirty and miserable business from beginning to end. You do not deserve a better luck than this to participate in this unjust work. I have seen the impact of all this in the outpatients in the hospital where I work. This makes the blood boils in my veins and I do not know how the government cannot stop such evil extortion and vile exploitation.

Example 18

Sartorius: I am glad to find that so far we are in perfect sympathy. I am, of course, a Conservative. Not a narrow or prejudiced one, I hope, not at all opposed to true progress. Still, a sound Conservative. (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.70).

سارتورياس: أنا مسرور من أننا متفاهمون إلى هنا... أنا أيضاً من حزب المحافظين ولكنني لست من ذوي العقلية الضيقة والأفق المحدود مثل بعض المحافظين. ولا أعارض في التقدم الحقيقي ولا النظرة الواسعة للحياة ولو جاءت من جانب الشيوعيين¹⁰⁷ أنفسهم... إننا في عصر نهضة وزمن تقدم وتطور وإنقلاب شامل في الفكر وثورة تامة في الرأي. فلا حياة اليوم للتزمت، ولا بقاء للمتزمين.

(Riḍa, 1960, p.98).

¹⁰⁶ When Abdul-Nassir established the Arab Socialist Union, it exercised absolute control over people’s livelihoods, and practised confiscation, arrests and the banning of private activities, all in the aim of stifling capitalism (Muhammad, 1994).

¹⁰⁷ This grammatical error is copied as it is in the translation.

BT: Sartorious: I am glad that we agree so far... I am a conservative too but not a narrow-minded and prejudiced one like other conservatives. I do not mind true progress and the wider view towards life even if it is the view of the communists themselves... We are in an age of renaissance, development, a radical change in thought, and a complete revolution in opinion. Today, there is no need for rigidity and no place for the rigid.

Example 19

Blanche: If you say it, papa, I will kill myself. It is not true. If he were here on his knees tonight, I would walk out of the house sooner than endure it. (Shaw, 1893/1976, p.79).

بلانش: أنا أعرف جيدا ما قاله وأنت لم تسمع من حديثه لي شيئا.. لقد أستعطفته ورجوته وتوسلت إليه.. فكان رأسه صلبا لا يلين.. صحيح انه لم يقل شيئا، ولكنه كان يتكلم بلهجة العاتي المستبد، كنت أرى في عينيه أنه يرى فينا نقیصة لا يريد أن يذكرها ويكتم أمرها عني.. فلما علمت انه لا يكتم شيئا عرفت السر الذي دفعه إلى ذلك.. فهو يظن نفسه من النبلاء، ويرى أننا من السوقة والدهماء.. إنه محافظ وعقليته رجعية يتمسك بنظام الطبقات ويعتقد في الدماء الزرقاء ويرى الناس فيهم العالي والوضیع والحقیر والرفیع.. وهذه عقيدة عفا عليها الزمان.. فالناس أمام الله سواسية وهم في نظر القانون سواء.. لا فرق بين رجل ورجل ولا بين امرأة وامرأة.. أنت رجل من الشعب كونت نفسك بنفسك وبنيت مستقبلك بيدك. تكذ وتكذب من أجل المال حتى نجحت وصرت من رجال الأعمال. فما الذي يعيننا وما الشئ الذي يضيرك؟ أما هو فإنه متغطرس لا يعتبر نفسه من الشعب، وأنا لا أرضى الذل يا أبي... لا أريد أن تحدثني في هذا الأمر بعد ذلك وإلا فإنك ستراني جثة هامدة، إن كنت تحبني حقيقة.

(Rida, 1960, p.115).

BT: Blench: I know very well what he said, you did not hear what he said to me. I begged him, but he was suborn.. It is true that he said nothing [bad], but he was speaking arrogantly. I saw in his eyes that he saw some limitation in us, but did not want to spell it out and tried to hide it from me. [But] when I knew that he does not have something to hide, then I knew that secret behind his attitude. He thinks that he is a nobleman and we are vulgar and riffraff. He is a conservative with a reactionary mind-set who believes in social classes and blue blood. He sees people as high and low, noble and vulgar. This is a mentality since people are equal in front of God and the law; there is no difference between a man and another or a woman and another. You are a man from among the public who worked hard to build your future with your own hands. You struggled to gain money until you became a businessman. So what makes us imperfect [in his eyes] and what harm does this cause you? But he is arrogant who does not see himself part of the public and I cannot take it, father...

Do not talk to me about that matter ever again if you really love me otherwise you will see me a dead body.

Riḍa includes negative descriptions of ‘conservatives’ who do not embrace the new age they are living in and who have not changed their thoughts or opinions. This content seems to refer to Egyptians who had not yet accepted socialism and who were sticking to their ‘narrow-minded’ thoughts about monarchy, instead of embracing the new modern Egypt under socialism. In the last example cited above, Riḍa uses the character of Blanche to criticise the class system and the arrogance of the upper classes, while suggesting that the values of socialism are better for promoting the equality of all people in the eyes of God and in the law. These examples comply with the prevailing political rhetoric of the day. Many contemporary writers embraced common themes, dealing with the abandonment of old principles and the adoption of new ones, and highlighted the differences in the society before and after the Revolution (Ibārḥīm, 1985).

Riḍa’s lines echo many Presidential speeches given by Abdul-Nassir. A speech given on International Workers' Day in 1966¹⁰⁸, for instance, reads as follows:

The goals we seek are to abolish colonisation and to abolish exploitation... What is socialism? Socialism gives a person his humanity and his rights in life. What is socialism? Socialism is where everyone works for a better society... What is socialism? Socialism is the abolition of poverty. We take from the rich and give to poor people... Socialism is equal opportunities, socialism is equality (my translation).

The play was later retranslated by Muhammad Ali Murād in 1972 and published in Kuwait by the Ministry of Media. The translation is academic and close to original, and no significant changes can be seen in it.

In addition to Riḍa, Salah Al-Din Kamil published his translation of Shaw’s *Arms and the Man*, that was performed in 1927 but not published until 1962. In this translation, we can see how the translator changes the text for political reasons in the following:

¹⁰⁸ Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1rOAI0FYuTU> [Accessed 12 March 2019].

Example 20

Petkoff: Are you Emperor of Switzerland?

Bluntschli: My rank is the highest known in Switzerland: I am a free citizen.

(Shaw, 1893/1976, p.99).

بتكوف: هل أنت إمبراطور سويسرا؟
بلونتشلي: كلا يا سيدي، ولكنني في أكبر مركز موجود في سويسرا. أنا صاحب لوكاندات وأحد
رعايا الجمهورية.

(Riḍa, 1960, p.143).

BT: Petkoff: Are you Emperor of Switzerland?

Bluntschli: My rank is the highest known in Switzerland. I am the owner of many hotels and one of the Republic subjects.

The change made here was the translation of ‘I am a free citizen’ into ‘one of the Republic’s subjects’. This implies that there no more freedom is to be gained in the Republic as was available under the monarchy. This reminds us of what Khafājī published in his diaries (2017a). In his preface to the play, Kamil claims that he has not changed anything from the 1927 version (when Egypt was not yet a Republic) but this example proves the opposite.

3- The Arab-Israeli Conflict: The (Re)translation of *Major Barbara* and *Man and Superman*

In Syria, two Arabic translations of *Major Barbara* were published; one was translated by Ghaliyya Hanī Khalīfa in 2007 and another by Muḥammad Ṭarīf Fir’awn in 2008. In the paratextual material accompanying both translations, there are alludes to a Syrian Presidential speech made in connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict and the occupation of the Golan Heights.¹⁰⁹ The publisher of the former includes a line in the blurb that says:

إنها مسرحية رائعة نقدّمها في هذه الطبعة العربية المتميزة في وقت تزداد فيه الحاجة لإدراك قيم السلام
والازدهار والابتعاد عن تجار الموت والفقير...

(Khalīfa, 2007).

¹⁰⁹ During the 1967 war in Egypt, Syria and Jordan, the Golan Heights were occupied by Israel. This has always been a point of contention between Syria and Israel.

BT: It is a wonderful play that we present in this distinguished Arabic edition at a time when there is a need to realize the values of peace and prosperity and to move away from the merchants of death and poverty...

The dedication in the latter states:

إلى كل الحالمين بالأمن والسلام... أرف إليكم مسرحية برنارد شو "الميجور باربارا" ليعلموا أن الأمن والسلام لا يوجد بدون قوة تفرضه وتحميه..

(Fir'awn, 2008, p.5).

BT: To all who seek peace...I present to you Bernard Shaw's "Major Barbara" to let you know that peace does not exist without a power that impose and protect it...

The publishers include lines that are reminiscent of the Syrian president Bashār Al-Asad's speeches about the Golan, for instance, in an interview with the *Times* in 2002, he said:

As a general principle, peace has been always our goal whatever the circumstances are... we welcome any peace initiative... but if you want for something to come true, then you need to look for the factors of success since it is not enough to only declare the principle (President Assad, no date¹¹⁰, my translation).

In addition, he told the *Der Spiegel* Magazine in 2001 that

Since peace depends on more than one side, an interest in peace should be there among all the sides. For us, we have not changed our stance, we want peace... Thus it is normal that we do not want to involve in a war. But if it is imposed on us, we would not escape... we hold on to the return of rights, and without [this return] peace would not be (ibid., my translation).

Fir'awn manipulated the play, to some extent, so that, politically, it falls in line with the ruling political discourse in Syria at the time. He removes many political and military references, especially any references that might be interpreted as criticism of the Government and those who work for the Government. In contrast, Khalīfa translates the play literally, making almost no changes.

¹¹⁰ Available from:

http://www.presidentassad.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=933:2013-03-09-09-04-34&catid=238&Itemid=485 [Accessed 18 May 2019].

The extracts below all criticise the Government. In one, the Government is compared to a thief that steals from its subjects, and plays tricks. It is also described as being made up of fools who are chosen at random, and the last example implies a call for revolution and rebellion against the regime and the replacement of it. Thus, all these lines are not rendered in Fir'awn's version but they are included in Khalīfa's.

Example 21

Price: ... Make the thievin swine give you a meal: they've stole many a one from you. Get a bit o your own back. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p. 78).

Example 22

Undershaft: ... these tricks of the governing class are of nonsense to me. I am one of the governing class myself; and it is waste of time giving tracts to a missionary. I have the power in this matter; and I am not to be humbugged into using it for your purposes. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p. 120).

Example 23

Undershaft: It is the final test of conviction, the only lever strong enough to overturn a social class, the only way of saying Must. Let six hundred and seventy fools loose in the streets; and three policemen can scatter them. But huddle them together in a certain house in Westminster; and let them go through certain ceremonies and call themselves certain names until at last they get the courage to kill; and your six hundred and seventy fools become a government. Your pious mob fills up ballot papers and imagines it is governing its masters; but the ballot paper that really governs is the paper that has a bullet wrapped up in it.

Cusins: That is perhaps why, like most intelligent people, I never vote.

Undershaft: Vote! Bah! When you vote, you only change the names of the cabinet. When you shoot, you pull down governments, inaugurate new epochs, abolish old orders and set up new. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p. 144).

However, Fir'awn keeps in some lines that might be interpreted as political or military references, but only those that are in line with the publisher's dedication and those that convey the political situation of Syria.

Example 24

Cusins: ... Dare I make war on war? I dare. I must. I will. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p.95).

كاسوس: ... سأشن حرباً ضد الحرب...

(Fir'awn, 2008, p. 138).

BT: Cusins: ... I will make war against war...

The example above might be interpreted as referring to the political situation of Syria, and the political situation of parts of the Middle East, in relation to Israel. The line, 'I will make war' may imply a call for war on the 'war' that the Israelis started, and to free Golan, Sinai and Palestine which the Syrian President always include in his speeches the same way his father Ḥāfiẓ Al-Asad (1971-2000) did before him.

Example 25

Undershaft: ...The government of your country! I am the government of your country: I, and Lazarus... You will make war when it suits us, and keep peace when it doesn't. You will find out that trade requires certain measures when we have decided on those measures. When I want anything to keep my dividends up, you will discover that my want is a national need. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p. 124).

أندرشافت: حكومتك..؟! أنا الحكومة، أنا ولازاروس، سنشن حرباً عندما يناسبنا ذلك، وتضع السلام عندما يناسبنا ذلك أيضاً، ستعرف أن وجودك هناك يحتاج إلى مهارات خاصة نحن نحددها، عندما أريد شيئاً يرفع أرباحي ستكتشف أن رغباتي هي مصلحة وطنية.

(Fir'awn, 2008, p. 107).

BT

Undershaft: Your government..?? I am the government, I, and Lazarus. You will make war when it suits us, and keep peace when it suits us as well. You will know that your being there needs certain measures that we determine. When I want anything to keep my dividends up, you will discover that my want is a national need.

The line detailed above describes how people of fortune and position have an important role to play in government and in decisions made about war. The translator keeps in lines that seem to be implying that 'Zionists own most of the world's fortune', that they 'control the world', 'make decisions about war or peace for their own benefit', and 'wield power because of their wealth'. Also, lines are kept in which, it could be argued, imply that 'Israel has the power to convince other world leaders to help it in its mission.'

Maḥmūd Al-Dusūqī's version of *Man and Superman* is worth examining in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was translated during the time of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in 1947, and was published by the Authorship, Translations and Publishing Committee. It appears that the play was deliberately chosen by the translator, and the translator provides 'historical background' in a footnote which appears to imply that, 'for many years the Jews have been on the attack against the native inhabitants of Palestine (the Canaanites who are Arabs), trying to drive them out of their land, and live on it as their own' (p.20).

Example 26

Shaw wrote in the preface of the play:

...if I appreciate the vital qualities of the Englishman as I appreciate the vital qualities of the bee, I do not guarantee the Englishman against being, like the bee (or the Canaanite)... (University of Adelaide, 2018).

فإني إذا قدرت الصفات الحيوية في الإنجليزي كما أقدر الصفات الحيوية في النحلة، فلا أضمن له ألا يقصى كما تقصى النحلة (أو كما أقصي الكنعاني...)

(Al-Dusūqī, 1947, p. 20).

BT: ...If I appreciate the vital qualities of the Englishman as I appreciate the vital qualities of the bee, I do not guarantee that he would not be expelled just like a bee (or as a Canaanite was expelled)...

Then, the translator added this footnote:

إشارة إلى خروج أهل كنعان عن أرضهم بنزوح اليهود إليها وإقصائهم عنها.

(Al-Dusūqī, 1947, p. 20).

BT: A reference to the departure of the people of Canaan from their land due to the displacement of the Jews and forcing them out.

As for the words and phrases that describe Jews as 'Zionists' and that refer to Jerusalem, they are translated differently by the different translators of *Major Barbara* and *Man and Superman*. In *Major Barbara*, Shaw uses the phrase 'the trumpet in Zion' (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p. 109). This phrase is translated literally by Al-Nādī and Akkāwī into 'نفير صهيون' which means 'Zion trumpet' (Al-Nādī, 1966, p. 195; Akkāwī, 2017, p. 185). Alternatively, Shaw's phrase is rendered as 'البوق في بيت المقدس' (the trumpet in Jerusalem) by Khalīfa (2007, p. 115), and as 'لبوق في السماء!'

(The trumpet in Heaven) by Anīs (1990, p. 135). The phrase is deleted completely by Fir’awn (2008, p. 88).

Another phrase used by Shaw is ‘Lazarus is a gentle romantic Jew’ (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p. 138). The word ‘Jew’ is kept-in by Al-Nādī (1966, p. 241), Khalīfa (2007, p. 169) and by Akkāwī (2017, p. 230). However, it is removed from the versions of Fir’awn (2008, p. 123) and Anīs (1990, p. 172). This reveals that both Fir’awn and Anīs decided not to make reference to Jews in their translation especially as being ‘gentle romantics’.

In *Man and Superman*, three translators attempted to render the sentence shown in the following example, while Al-Tamīmī (2007, p. 242) deleted it from his translation and even from the English ST, which accompanies his translation. The line appears to imply that ‘it is the Zionists’ purpose to attack Arab countries in the goal of occupying Palestine’.

Example 27

Mendoza: ... It is true that I have the honor to be a Jew; and, when the Zionists need a leader to reassemble our race on its historic soil of Palestine, Mendoza will not be the last to volunteer. (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 62).

In the example below, the translators use literal translation, to render the line exactly as it is in the ST. However, Anwar (2004, p. 95) renders the line with the opposite meaning, to suggest that ‘Jews are hated by non-Jews’, possibly because he misunderstood it. Furthermore, two translators mistranslate the word ‘Gentile’. Anwar (ibid.) translates it as *الطبقة الراقية* (the high class) while Umāra (2006, p. 132) translates it as *طبقة السادة والنبلاء* (The class of gentlemen and nobles).

Example 28

Mendoza:... Our elaborate sanitary code makes us unduly contemptuous of the Gentile... I became leader, by his brains and imagination. But with all my pride of race I would give everything I possess to be an Englishman. (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 66).

It is possible to view these Arabic translations in the context of the Arab-Israeli conflicts, and in the context of the continual battle of land occupation between Israel and surrounding Arab nations.

7.1.2 The Retranslation of Religious Taboos in *Saint Joan, Man and Superman* and *the Devil's Disciple*

Shaw's *Saint Joan, Man and Superman*, and *The Devil's Disciple* all contain references that a Muslim audience, in majority, might find offensive. Each Arabic translator made certain decisions to confront dealing with these references. The taboos found in the three plays can be divided into three types: offensive references to the Prophet Mohammed and Muslims, worshiping the devil, and atheist or Darwinian content. However, it is important to note that each translator worked in different eras and in different socio-cultural and political environments which affected their decision making.

Firstly, offensive references to the Prophet Muhammad in *Saint Joan* reveal a medieval view of the Prophet. Zakī keeps-in most of these references and only removes explicit insults, such as 'the accursed'. This is because he worked in a specific political environment, one which was dominated by British colonial rule, but he also worked in an era that was classed as fairly liberal.

Example 29

Cauchon: ... Let me tell you that the writing of such letters was the practice of the accursed Mahomet, the anti-Christ. ... By it an Arab camel driver drove Christ and His Church out of Jerusalem, and ravaged his way west like a wild beast until at last there stood only the Pyrenees and God's mercy between France and damnation. Yet what did the camel driver do at the beginning more than this shepherd girl is doing? He had his voices from the angel Gabriel: she has her voices from St Catherine and St Margaret and the Blessed Michael. He declared himself the messenger of God, and wrote in God's name to the kings of the earth. Her letters to them are going forth daily... (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p. 94).

TT

كوشون: ... ألا فاعلموا أن ارسال هذه الكتب عادةً جرى عليها قديماً محمد عدو المسيح... وبمثل هذا قام عربيّ جمّال فطارد المسيح وكنيسة المسيح حتى طردهما جميعاً من أورشليم ثم مضى يضرب في الأرض فبيث الفزع والخراب فيها، حتى إذا بلغ مغربها قام جبل الأبواب دونه وقامت رحمة الله، وحيل بين فرنسا وبينه، فنجت من لعنة الله. فماذا صنّع هذا الجمّال العربي في بداية أمره أكثر مما صنعت هذه الفتاة؟ جاءه الوحي من جبريل، وجاءها من القديسة كثرينة والقديسة مرغريت والمبارك ميخائيل. وأذن في الناس بأنه رسول الله، وكتب الكتب إلى ملوك الأرض باسم الله وكُتِبَها لا تقتأ تصدر للملوك كل يوم...

(Zakī, 1938, p.93).

BT

Cauchon: ... Let me tell you that this habit of writing such letters was the practice of Muhammad, the enemy of Christ. In such a way, an Arab camel driver chased Christ and the Church of Christ until he expelled them all from Jerusalem. Then he went on travelling the earth spreading terror and destruction. When he reached the West, the mountain of doors [i.e. Pyrenees Mountains] restrained him from reaching to France, which escaped the wrath of God. What did this Arab camel driver make at the beginning of his command more than this girl? The revelation came to him by Gabriel, and came to her by St. Catherine, St. Margaret and blessed Michael. He declared to the people that he is the Messenger of Allah, and wrote letters to the kings of the earth in the name of God. Hers never cease to be issued to the kings every day...

Here, the translator renders phrases such as 'the anti-Christ' into 'عدو المسيح' (the enemy of Christ), rather than the more literal 'ضد المسيح' (against Christ) which could be considered as a slightly an over translation of the ST. Indeed, both phrases would not have been acceptable to Muslims during the time in which Zakī wrote. It is possible to argue that choosing the phrase 'عدو المسيح' (the enemy of Christ) is rather less offensive than 'المسيح الدجال'. In Islamic tradition, *Al-Dajjāl* or the 'anti-Christ' refers to a false Messiah who will appear before the end of time in order to test believers. The anti-Christ will come to rule during the era just before the Last Judgement or the second coming of Jesus or the real Christ (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2019c).

Example 30

Warwick: ... As a pilgrim I saw something of the Mahometans. They were not so ill-bred as I had been led to believe. In some respects their conduct compared favorably with ours.

Cauchon: I have noticed this before. Men go to the East to convert the infidels. And the infidels pervert them. The Crusader comes back more than half a Saracen. Not to mention that all Englishmen are born heretics. (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p. 96).

ورك: ... وقد حججت إلى بيت الله المقدس، ورأيت بعضاً من أتباع محمد، فلم أجدهم من سوء الأدب بالمكانة التي أفهمونها قبلاً، بل وجدت لهم ادباً لا يقل من بعض الوجوه عن أدبنا.

كوشون: لقد لاحظت هذا من قبل: أنّ رجالاً يذهبون إلى الشرق ليُنصروا الكفار، فلا يلبثون أن ينقلبوا هم كفاراً. إن الجندي الصليبي يعود من الشرق وهو نصف شرقيّ مسلم. دغ أن الإنجليز جميعاً زنادقة من يوم يولدون.

(Zakī, 1938, p.96).

BT

Warwick: ... I did pilgrimage to God's holy land and saw some of Muhammad's followers but I did not find them as ill-mannered as I was told. On the contrary, they have good manners which are similar in many respects to ours.

Cauchon: I have noticed this before: men go to the East to Christianise the infidels, but it is not too long that they themselves became infidels. The Crusader comes back from the East half an Eastern Muslim. Not to mention that all Englishmen are born heretics.

In the example above, a description of Muslims or 'Mahometans' as 'infidels', a term which Zakī renders into Arabic as 'الكفار' (disbelievers) even though most of his audience would have been Muslims. Even though including this is insulting to Muslims, I could not find any contemporary criticism of the translation. This might have been because the writer held significant symbolic capital, and so might not have been challenged. Other contemporary writers celebrated the translation among them was Muhammad Fahmī Abdul-Laṭīf, a well-known Egyptian journalist. In an article published in *Al-Risāla* Magazine in 1938¹¹¹, he praises Zakī's translation of *Saint Joan*, for its accuracy of style and expression, its wisdom of choice, and eloquence of the chosen lexis. He describes Zakī's translation as being 'loyal' to the original ST, and regards the translation as a unique and useful piece of literature which adds the canon of Arabic literature (ibid.).

Example 31

Warwick: ... Frankly, I am not afraid of this girl becoming another Mahomet, and superseding The Church by a great heresy. I think you exaggerate that risk. (Shaw, 1923/1979b, p. 97).

ورك: ... إني لا أخشى أن تنقلب هذه الفتاة محمداً، وأن تحل محل الكنيسة بسبب زندقة كبرى، إنك تبالغ في خطرها.

(Zakī, 1938, p.98).

¹¹¹ Available from

https://ar.wikisource.org/wiki/%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A9/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%AF%D8%AF_286/%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%A8 [Accessed 3 April 2019].

BT

Warwick: ... I am not afraid of this girl becoming another Muhammad and superseding the Church with this great heresy. I think you exaggerate her danger.

In the example shown above, the Prophet Mohammad is described as someone who possesses 'great heresy', but this comment is retained in Zakī's translation. As previously mentioned, it is possible that because Zakī was of a high social status and had symbolic capital, he was able to practise more freedom of expression than other cultural producers could at the time.

In regard to the religious taboos context, Maḥmūd Ali (2008) describes how, in 1926, a fierce campaign emerged against Yusuf Wahbī who accepted the role of the Prophet Mohammad in a French film (cited in Abū Ghāzī, 2016). The Azhar sent a letter to the Ministry of Interior Affairs to investigate the issue and to prevent Wahbī from taking part in the film, and requesting the French authorities to stop the filming (ibid.). Maḥmūd Ali describes how King Fārūq warned Wahbī sternly which, eventually, meant that Wahbī turned down the role (ibid.). This proves that although Wahbī made use of his symbolic capital and social networks to produce his play *Banāt Al-Rif* later in 1936, they could not benefit him in such a sensitive case. This situation can be contrasted with the kind of freedoms enjoyed by Zakī, who was able to publish his translation of *Saint Joan*, which is characterised by its 'closeness to the original'.

Saint Joan was retranslated in 1965 by Muhammad Maḥbūb and published in Egypt by the Ministry of Culture as part of the *Masraḥiyyāt 'Ālamiyya* series (the World Drama series). This translation retained many political references contained in the ST as stated earlier, but it excluded all offensive references to the Prophet Mohammad, Islam, and Muslims. It is interesting that, at the time he undertook the translation, the translator had no symbolic capital to rely on.

Similarly, offensive references to the Prophet Mohammad and Islam are also present in *Man and Superman*, but are much less offensive than those found in *Saint Joan* as shown in the following example:

Example 32

Don Juan: ...men never really overcome fear until they imagine they are fighting to further a universal purpose-fighting for an idea, as they call it. Why was the Crusader braver than the pirate? Because he fought, not for himself, but for the Cross. What force was it that met him with a valor as reckless as his own? The force of men who

fought, not for themselves, but for Islam. They took Spain from us, though we were fighting for our very hearths and homes; but when we, too, fought for that mighty idea, a Catholic Church, we swept them back to Africa... this idea of a Catholic Church will survive Islam, will survive the Cross, will survive even that vulgar pageant of incompetent schoolboyish gladiators which you call the Army... Every idea for which Man will die will be a Catholic idea. When the Spaniard learns at last that he is no better than the Saracen, and his prophet no better than Mahomet, he will arise, more Catholic than ever, and die on a barricade across the filthy slum he starves in, for universal liberty and equality. (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 81).

Two out of the four translators rendered the example shown above, as taken from the ST, literally, except for Anwar (2004) and Al-Tamīmī (2007). The underlined statement was translated as follows:

Anwar's Translation (2004, p. 123)

ان هذه الفكرة عن الكنيسة الكاثوليكية سوف تخلد مع الاسلام، وتخلد مع الصليب.. بل وتخلد مع ذلك الالحاد الشرس الذي يصدر عن التصرفات الصبانية لأولئك التلاميذ في مدارس السحل والقتل، والذين تسمونهم: "الجيش".

BT: This idea of the Catholic church will survive Islam, will survive the Cross.. and will even survive this fierce atheism which is the outcome of the boyish conducts of those schoolboys of the schools of slaughter and murder that you call “army.”

Anwar confronts the idea of atheism, referring to it as ‘الالحاد الشرس’ (fierce atheism). This is in response to the growing trend of atheism among Egyptian youths, which began to be explicitly declared after the 2011 Revolution (Mabrūk, 2018). He also refers to the army as ‘مدارس السحل والقتل’ (schools of slaughter and murder).

Al-Tamīmī's Translation (2007, p. 342)

لماذا كان الصليبي أشجع من القرصان؟ لأنه حارب، ليس من أجل ذاته، بل من أجل الصليب... فكرة الكنيسة الكاثوليكية ستبقى حتى بعد زوال المجالدين.

BT: Why was the Crusader braver than the pirate? Because he fought, not for himself, but for the Cross... the idea of a Catholic church will survive even after the gladiators vanish.

Here, Al-Tamīmī does not retain this part in its entirety in his translation, removing references to Islam and the Prophet Mohammad. He even deletes this part from the

English version of the ST, which accompanies his translation. Al-Tamīmī's translation of *Man and Superman* avoids references to religion and the Prophet, but this might be because of the influence of the modern Lebanese socio-cultural experience of sectarianism. Al-Tamīmī's translation of Shaw's play is published in a series called *برنارد شو الأعمال الكاملة* (Bernard Shaw's the Complete Works) by *Dār Al-Biḥār* based in Beirut, which targets a readership of young adults. The front cover of the series depicts cartoons and the translation is published together with the English source text. Immediately after the translation, a glossary of important vocabulary and questions for further study are presented which implies that the translation is most likely meant for students. The inclusion of any controversial references might have been deemed inappropriate for Lebanese students, who comprise a mixture of Sunnah and Shia Muslims, as well as Christians and Druze. Therefore, the translation decisions made might reflect the politically tense circumstances Lebanon has experienced since its civil war (1975 – 1990).

Secondly, Arabs first became aware of the work of Darwin through the *Al-Muqataṭaf* Magazine, which published numerous articles about Darwin by different writers, especially writers from the Levant, between 1882 and 1911. The director of the magazine, Fāris Nimr, was an advocate of Darwin's theories (Abdul-Azīz, 2018; Ibrāhīm, 2015). The Lebanese writer Shablī Shumayl also introduced Darwin's theory of evolution in his book *Falsafat Al-Nushū` wa Al-`Irtiqā`* (The Philosophy of Evolution and Progress), which includes a translation of Darwin's thoughts into Arabic, with added notes by the author (Qazzī, 2018). Among the first people in the Middle Eastern world who wrote about or translated Darwin are Jurjī Zīdān, Bushāra Zalzal, Muhammad Abdo, Ya'qūb Ṣarūf, Sulimān Al-Bustānī, Faraḥ Antūn, and Salāma Mūsā, among others (ibid.). However, Darwin's theories have been received with great criticism and rebuttal by Muslim scholars such as Muhammad Farīd Wajdī in his book *Islam in the Age of Science*, Sheikh Ṭanṭawī Jawharī in *The System of the World and Nations*, and Jamāl Al-Dīn Al-Afghānī in *A Message to Respond to the Atheists*, as well as by Christian Middle Eastern scholars such as Ibrāhīm Al-Ḥūrānī in his two books *Approaches of the Wise in the Denial of Evolution and Progress* and *The True Certainty in the Reply to the Hero of Darwin* (Ibrāhīm, 2015).

Darwinian content can be found in *Man and Superman*. However, the content is rendered in its entirety by all four translators, albeit with some changes made by Al-Tamīmī (2007) and Umāra (2006), as shown in the following examples:

Example 33

Don Juan: ... Life is a force which has made innumerable experiments in organizing itself... all more or less successful attempts to build up that raw force into higher and

higher individuals, the ideal individual being omnipotent, omniscient, infallible, and withal completely, unilludedly self-conscious: in short, a god? (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 83).

Al-Tamīmī's Translation (2007, p.352)

دون جوان: ... الحياة هي قوة قامت بتجارب متعددة في تنظيم نفسها... كلهم تقريباً محاولات ناجحة لتعزيز تلك القوة الخام في داخل الأفراد ذوي المرتبة الأعلى والأعلى، الشخص المثالي يكون ذا سلطة مطلقة، ذا معرفة غير محدودة، معصوماً، وفوق ذلك تماماً واعياً لذاته بشكل بعيد عن الوهم. باختصار، حاكم قوي.

BT: Don Juan: ... Life is a force which has made multiple experiments in organizing itself... all are rather successful attempts to build up that raw force into higher and higher individuals, the ideal individual has absolute power and unlimited knowledge, and is infallible and, most importantly, unilludedly self-conscious. In short, a powerful ruler.

Referring to life as something that is not created by God is taboo in Islamic tradition, as is referring to someone as a god. The first section underlined in the example is a literal translation made by Al-Tamīmī, but the second underlined part was changed to 'حاكم قوي' (a powerful ruler). The other translators keep in the literal translation of 'إله' (God).

Example 34

Don Juan: ... Sexually, Woman is Nature's contrivance for perpetuating its highest achievement... she invented him, differentiated him, created him in order to produce something better than the single-sexed process can produce. Whilst he fulfils the purpose for which she made him... (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 82).

Al-Tamīmī's Translation (2007, p. 346)

دون جوان: ... من الناحية الجنسية، المرأة هي اختراع الطبيعة أو وسيلتها من أجل إدامة أعلى إنجاز لها... هي التي أخترته، ميّزته، من ناحية الشكل والوظائف، وخصّته لينتج أفضل من ما تتمكن أن تنتجه العملية الجنسية الأحادية الجانب. في الوقت الذي ينفذ فيه هذا الغرض الذي أنشأته من أجله...

BT: Don Juan: ... Sexually, women are the invention of nature or its means to perpetuate its highest achievement ... she invented him, differentiated him, in terms of form and function, and assigned him to produce better than what the unilateral sexual process can produce. While fulfilling this purpose for which she made him...

In this example, Al-Tamīmī has toned down the word 'created' and changed it into 'أخترته' (invented) but he keeps in 'she made him' as 'أنشأته' (created).

‘Umāra’s Translation (2006, p. 182)

دون جوان: ... جنسياً، المرأة هي حيلة الطبيعة لاستمرارها في إنجازها الأعظم... قامت باختراعه وتشكيله
وخلقه لكي تنتج شيئاً أفضل مما يمكن أن ينتجه الجنس المفرد. وبينما هو يحقق الغرض الذي صنعه من
أجله...

BT: Don Juan: ... Sexually, women are the ploy of nature to continue in its greatest achievement ... She invented, formed and created him to produce something better than can be produced by a single sex. While fulfilling the purpose for which she made him...

In the above example, Umāra summarises the lines, but keeps in and, arguably, enhances controversial words: ‘قامت باختراعه وتشكيله وخلقه’ (She invented, formed and created him). However, he removes other lines of a similar content. This approach might have been influenced by the translator’s career as a specialist in genetics; he holds a PhD degree in the field and works as professor at the Assuit University in Egypt. The publisher of this translation, which is the Supreme Council of Culture via the National Project for Translation, states the following in the first pages before the translated text:

The productions of the National Project for Translation aim at presenting and introducing various intellectual trends and ideologies to the Arab reader. The ideas presented in these productions are the writers’ own intellectual attempts that do not necessarily represent the viewpoint of the Supreme Council of Culture (my translation).

The publisher is a Government-run institution, but it is interesting that they have published the work in spite of strict censorship laws outlined in 1976 by the Ministry of Culture which state that literature should be banned if it makes reference to atheism, if it underestimates religion, or favours sorcery (‘Ismā’īl, 1997, p. 39).

Example 35

Don Juan: ... Life, having once produced them, should, if love and beauty were her object, start off on another line and labor at the clumsy elephant and the hideous ape, whose grandchildren we are. (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 84).

Al-Tamīmī’s Translation (2007, p. 354)

دون جوان: ... الحياة التي خلقتهم في يوم ما، يجب، إن كان الحب والجمال هما هدفها، أن تبدأ باتخاذ مسار
آخر وترمي بثقلها على الفيل غير الرقيق والأفعى البشعة، اللذين نحن أحفادهما؟

BT: Don Juan: ... Life, that once created both of them, should, if love and beauty were her object, start off on another line and labor at the clumsy elephant and the hideous snake, whose grandchildren we are?

In this example, Al-Tamīmī changes ‘apes’ into ‘الأفعى’ (snake) in order to try to tone down the Darwinian content, although, in doing so, the sentence no longer makes sense.

Example 36

Don Juan: ... Just as Life, after ages of struggle, evolved that wonderful bodily organ the eye, so that the living organism could see where it was going and what was coming to help or threaten it, and thus avoid a thousand dangers that formerly slew it, so it is evolving to-day a mind's eye that shall see, not the physical world, but the purpose of Life... (Shaw, 1903/2007, p. 84).

Al-Tamīmī's Translation (2007, p. 358)

دون جوان: ... تماماً مثل الحياة، بعد عصور من الكفاح، طوّرت ذلك العضو الجسدي الرائع العين، لكي يستطيع الكائن الحي أن يرى إلى أين هو ذاهب وليتميز إن كان ما يتجه نحوه هو شيء يهدده أو يعينه، وهكذا يتجنب آلاف المخاطر التي فتكت به (بالإنسان السابق). لذلك فإن الحياة تُطوّر في الوقت الحاضر رؤية عقلية سوف ترى ليس العالم المادي فحسب وإنما هدف الحياة...

BT: Don Juan: ... Just as Life, after ages of struggle, evolved that wonderful bodily organ the eye, so that the living creature could see where it is going and recognize if the thing it is heading towards is threatening or helping it, and thus avoids thousands of dangers that formerly slew it (the former human). So life today is evolving a mental vision that shall see, not only the physical world, but the purpose of Life...

In the above example, Al-Tamīmī keeps in the verbs ‘evolved’ and ‘evolving’ as ‘طوّرت’ and ‘تُطوّر’. He includes a note in brackets to explain how eyes helped to protect its owner from different dangers ‘الإنسان السابق’ (the former human).

Overall, Al-Tamīmī keeps in but tones down Darwinian content in his version of the play, rather than removing it completely. This reflects the liberal environment enjoyed in Lebanon, and the fact that it would not provoke sectarian conflict.

Thirdly, the worship of the devil in *The Devil's Disciple* also represents a religious taboo for the Arab audience. However, the following example is retained by all the translators, because it is essential to the plot.

Example 37

Richard: ...I knew from the first that the Devil was my natural master and captain and friend... I prayed secretly to him; and he comforted me, and saved me from having my spirit broken in this house of children's tears. I promised him my soul, and swore an oath that I would stand up for him in this world and stand by him in the next... (Shaw, 1897/1965, p. 66).

Al-Nahhās' Translation (1938, p.50)

ريتشارد: ... عرفت من أول الأمر أن الشيطان هو مولاي وقائدي وصديقي... لقد صليت سرأ له، فواساني، ونجأ روعي من أن تتمزق في منزل دموع الأطفال هذا. وهبت له نفسي وأقسمت يمينا، أنني سأحارب من أجله في هذه الدنيا وسأقف إلى جانبه في الآخرة...

BT: Richard:... I knew from the first that the Devil is my master and captain and friend... I prayed secretly to him, and he comforted me, and saved my soul from getting broken in this house of children's tears. I promised him my soul, and swore an oath that I would fight for him in this world and stand by him in the next...

Murād's Translation (1975, p.53)

ريتشارد: ... أن الشيطان هو سيدي الطبيعي، وقائدي، وصديقي... فكنت أعيده سرأ. وكان هو يواسيني، وقد أنقذني من المصير الذي يتعرض له الأطفال في بيت الدموع هذا فلم تتحطم نفسي. أنا نذرت روعي له وأقسمت أن أدافع عنه في هذه الدنيا وأقف في صفه في العالم الآخر...

BT: Richard:... I knew from the first that the Devil is my natural master and captain and friend... I worshipped him secretly, and he used to comfort me, and saved my soul from the destiny of children in this tears house, so I was not broken. I promised him my soul, and swore an oath that I would defend him in this world and stand by him in the next...

Al-Tamīmī's Translation (2005, p.94)

ريتشارد: ... لكنني عرفت منذ البداية أن الشيطان كان سيدي الطبيعي وربان سفينتي وصديقي... لقد صليت له خفية، وهو أراحني وأنقذني من أن أسحق في هذا البيت المليء بدموع الأطفال. لقد عهدت له بروحي، وأقسمت بأن أكرس نفسي له في هذه الدنيا وأقف إلى جانبه في العالم الآخر...

BT: Richard:... But I knew from the first that the Devil is my natural master and the captain of my ship and friend... I prayed secretly to him, and he comforted me, and saved my soul from getting broken in this house which is full of children's tears. I promised him my soul, and swore an oath that I would devote myself to him in this world and stand by him in the next world...

All three translators rendered this part, however, Murād used an over-translation of “prayed” as “أعبد” (worship) rather than the literal “صليت” (prayed).

7.2 The Poetics of Retranslation: Register and Poetry in Different Socio-Cultural and Political Contexts

The Arabic (re)translations of Shaw’s plays show the use of different registers that are informed by prevailing poetics as practised in different socio-cultural and political contexts. The older the translation, then the higher the register; thus, the varieties used in these translations can be divided into three types: CA and two types of MSA¹¹². Some of Shaw’s characters speak in dialect, in two plays, namely *Pygmalion* and *Major Barbara*. These literary dialects are rendered by two translators, who published their translations as part of the World Plays series promoted by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture in the 1960s into EC. The excerpts analysed in this subsection are decided on after a parallel reading that include the STs along with all their TTs in hand.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, in the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, there was a debate between traditionalists and modernists about which variety of Arabic should be used for writing and translating literature. The traditional style of Arabic dominated as a prevailing poetics of the nineteenth century, and by using this, writers and translators accumulated symbolic capital. Traditional Arabic is called Classical Arabic of the literary tradition which is the closest variety of Arabic to that used by ancient Arabs, from which much CA vocabulary originates (Badawī, 1973). However, it is characterised by its rigid vocabulary, and it does not permit the use of new words (ibid.). Nowadays, CA is only used by religious and Al-Azhar scholars (ibid.). It was used to write and to translate Arabic rhetorical prose, and it included features such as: *saja’* (rhymed prose), figurative language, poems, high register, and archaic vocabulary among others (Al-Zayyāt, 2017). However, some translators challenged the prevailing poetics of their day such as Jalāl, who favoured using a colloquial style of Arabic, but this colloquial style did not become popular enough to usurp dominant poetics

¹¹² MSA is a standardised form of Arabic that has been influenced by modern civilisation, and is strongly connected to different and various fields of academic knowledge and learning, including literature (Badawī, 1973). It is described by Badawī as, ‘the written record of modern age knowledge’ (ibid, p.127). It can be successfully spoken, but is not as widely used for speech as it is in writing. The difference between CA and MSA is that the former is easier to speak by those who master it, because of its restricted range, but the latter was adopted for use officially in written communication across all fields and topics. The latter is also more difficult to speak naturally and to understand, because differences in pronunciation and dialect are more noticeable, unlike in its written form (ibid.).

of the day. In the late nineteenth century, a simpler and clearer form of Arabic emerged that mixed the use of colloquialisms with rhetorical devices (Al-Zayyāt, 2017). In the early twentieth century, writers and translators developed this form further in order to devise a more flexible form of Arabic which also embraced grammatical correctness (ibid.).

Najm (1967) describes how early twentieth century translators followed three main strategies when rendering a dramatic text. Firstly, they tried to bring the ST closer to the target culture and traditional tastes. To do this they would delete and summarise dialogue and scenes, change endings, and add in songs (for stage performances) and poetry (in published plays). These translators included: Najīb Ḥaddād, Amīn Ḥaddād, Elyās Fayyād, George Mirzā, Niqūlā Rizq-Allah, Ṭaynūs ‘Abdū, and Farah Anṭūn. For instance, Ṭaynūs ‘Abdū changed the ending of *Hamlet* into a happy one, for his 1901 version. In doing this, he changed the genre from tragedy into melodrama (Hanna, 2005). In the same vein, Abdul-Malik Ibrāhīm and Eskander Jarjis deleted three scenes from the ST in their translation of *Macbeth* (1900).

In the early twentieth century, Egyptian audiences expected to be entertained with comedy and songs (especially by Salāma Hijāzī), and with melodramatic scenarios. Fu`ād Rashīd (1952) recalls how the audience demanded to hear Salāma Hijāzī sing during a performance of Abdū’s *Hamlet*, which was staged so as not to include any songs. Hijāzī had to seek the help of the Egyptian poet Ahmad Shawqī in order to give the audience what they wanted (cited in Najm, 1967, p. 260).

Some writers and translators cared about artistic aesthetics, and so they tried to be as loyal as possible to the ST when they translate. However, even the closest to the original among these translations have usually been changed in some way, including work by Muhammad Al-Sibā’ī, Muhammad Ḥamdī, and Sāmī Al-Juraydinī. Al-Zayyāt (2017) argues that this shift in style developed due to a new translation purpose that emerged around 1920, which encouraged students to study plays from around the world. In addition, commercial factors began to play an increasing role in a translator’s business, and translators were required to finish translations as quickly as possible, so that they could be published and sold. This led to a new focus on conveying meaning rather than on beautifying the form or staying faithful to the ST. For example, Al-‘Aqād and Al-Qurbā’s translation of *Henry VIII* was published without the inclusion of Act Five (ibid.).

Translators working in the first half of the twentieth century attempted to combine strategies for remaining closer to the ST with creating plays that audiences wanted to watch, and that would be commercially successful. These translators included Ibrāhīm Ramzī, Khalīl Muṭrān and, sometimes, Muhammad Ifft (Najm, 1967).

Ramzī's *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1914) is a good example of this kind of translation. Ramzī came from a traditionalist background, in that he studied the Quran as well as traditional Arabic poetry (Al-Mūwāfi, cited in 'Azmī, 1966). The front cover of his published 1914 translation notes that he is a professional translator at the Ministry of Agriculture, although he also translated drama as a freelancer, as did many other contemporary translators (Taymūr, 1922; Al-Zayyāt, 2017). Critics such as Najm (1967) and Taymūr (1922) argue that Ramzī's work demonstrates a distinctive style and excellent lexical choices. However, Taymūr argues that Ramzī pays more attention to style than to meaning or content in his translations.

Ramzī's manipulative style is revealed in his deletion of some parts of dialogue in Act Two and the whole of Act Three of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*. He justifies this in a handwritten note added into the publication, stating that, 'I deleted some of Pothinus's statements from Act Two as I was requested to do so by the Governorate and the Censorship Department because they are patriotic and enthusiastic' (Al-Zayyāt, 2017, p. 277). Ramzī also states that he 'deleted Act Three from the translation because it was not performed on stage in England.' However, Najm (1967) claims that this decision was really made because of the technical limitations of the Egyptian theatre at the time. Furthermore Al-Zayyāt (2017) argues that the deleted Act contains material that would not have been well received by Egyptian audiences at the time. However, Ramzī adds in lines to emphasise the author's intentions. He adds in 'لا يشفع عندئذ ضعف المرأة ولا براءة الرضيع' (Women's weakness and children's innocence cannot work as an intermediary) (Najm, 1967, p. 257).

It is worth mentioning here that Ramzī translated Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* to be performed on stage by George Abyaḍ's Troupe, which was the most successful in Egypt at the time (Najm, 1967). Abyaḍ introduced what is referred to as 'serious theatre' when he produced plays from around the world, in an era when musicals and melodramas were more popular and were performed by troupes such as those headed by Eskander Farah, Al-Qabānī, and Hijāzī among others. He revived as-accurate-as-possible translations of the classics whether these were tragedies, comedies or historical plays, and this encouraged more translators to play a role in this new flourishing theatrical movement, and to come up with translations that suited Abyaḍ's criteria (Al-Zayyāt, 2017). Abyaḍ chose and performed plays in CA, and his theatre targeted the educated elite. Works were written by Khalīl Muṭārṅ, Ibrahim Ramzī, Luṭfī Jum'a, Muhammad Mas'ūd, Faraḥ Anṭūn, Taha Hussein, and Tawfiq Al-Hakim among others (Abyaḍ, 1970, p. 125). Examples of World Theatre writers translated include Shakespeare, who was translated by Muṭārṅ, and Sophocles, Moliere, Shaw, and Ibsen etc. Abyaḍ's theatre helped to positively transform views

about the acting profession, and shaped the tastes of a new type of audience, who previously preferred comedies and musicals (ibid., p. 119). However, he compromised somewhat by including singing in his plays, especially singing by Salāma Hijāzī and Sayīd Darwīsh (ibid.). Abyaḍ performed Ramzī's *Caesar and Cleopatra* when his troupe worked with Hijāzī's troupe between 1914 and 1916. Most probably, Hijāzī sang poetry added to the translation (ibid.). Other plays translated or written by Ramzī, and which were performed by Abyaḍ include *Taymūrlink* (Timur), *Al-Hawārī* (The Districts), *'Adū Al-Sha'b* (The People's Enemy), *Al-Ḥākim Bi'mr-illah* (Al-Hakim bi Am Allah) and *Abtal Al-Mansura* (The Heroes of Mansoura) among others (ibid.).

Ramzī retained the well-known stylistic features of CA, including *saja'* (rhyming prose), poetry, catchphrases, semantic exaggerations, and lexical redundancy among others (ibid.). Ramzī included such devices, apparently, to comply with the prevailing poetics of the day, as well as to satisfy Abyaḍ's criteria for staging. This means that he invested in an accumulation of symbolic capital. To use these devices, the translator sometimes had to compromise the original meaning or form of a play, and examples of this will be discussed later in this section. This was true not only for Ramzī, but for others, including Muṭrān and Najīb Ḥaddād. Muṭrān's *Othello*, which was performed by Abyaḍ's Troupe in 1912, also complies with the kind of criteria used in Ramzī's translation. Najm (1967) explains that Muṭrān uses CA features such as a high-level of Arabic register, *saja'*, and poetry, among others.

صدقنتني النبأ، وإن الخطب لجلل، فلم يبق إلا أن تجرّع الصاب بعد الهوان، في القليل من أيامي.

(ibid., p. 245).

BT: You were right about the news, it's a serious matter. There is nothing left for me to do except to swallow the bitterness of *Ṣāb*¹¹³.

¹¹³ *Ṣāb* is defined in a footnote in Muṭrān's translation as "a bitter tree that excretes a white milk-like liquid when squeezed" (1912/2013, p. 20). Available from: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=fl68DQAAQBAJ&pg=PT20&lpg=PT20&dq=%D9%85%D8%A7+%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%86%D9%89+%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%B1%D8%B9+%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A8&source=bl&ots=b-BfVrfpSG&sig=ACfU3U3sYX-gLfK6zkV_dY8kS5kQDqcGQw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiH7YvO1tzhAhXWVBUIHVjpB2YQ6AEwCXoECAgQAQ#v=onepage&q=%D9%85%D8%A7%20%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%86%D9%89%20%D8%AA%D8%AC%D8%B1%D8%B9%20%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A8&f=false [Accessed 19 April 2019].

In addition, Muṭrān also manipulated the ST by deleting some scenes, adding in parts to make the original author's intention clearer, and, even, mistranslating some parts (ibid.).

In the following paragraphs, I will analyse the features of CA found in Ramzī's translation of *Caesar and Cleopatra*, and give examples of archaic vocabulary and expressions, *saja'* (rhyming prose), mono-rhyming poetry, and intertextuality¹¹⁴ with the Quran and traditional Arabic literary prose.

1. Examples of CA Vocabulary and Expressions found in Ramzī's *Caesar and Cleopatra*

ST	TT	BT	Page ST/TT
" [they] fled"	"وَلَوْ الْأَدْبَار"	(turned their back)	140/10
"this news will run through the palace like fire through stubble"	"الآن يستطير الخبر في القصر كالنار علفت بالهشيم"	(Now the news is spreading in the palace <u>like wildfire</u>)	140/11
"O mother of guile! O aspic's tongue!"	"لك الويلات يا أم قشعم"	(Woe to you, <u>O mother of Qash'am</u> ¹¹⁵)	145/17
"taste death"	"ذوقى الجمام"	(taste <u>death</u>)	145/18
"A child at its breast!"	"أطفلة بين ترائيه!"	(a child at <u>its ribs</u>)	147/22
"Come. Oh, come"	"هلم بنا"	(Lets go)	152/28
"The council chamber of the chancellors of the king's treasury"	"بيت مال الملك"	(The King's <u>treasury</u>)	161/42
"that is your chair of state"	"هذا كرسي سطانك"	(This is the chair of your <u>sultanate</u>)	161/42

¹¹⁴ According to the Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms (2008), intertextuality is "a term coined by Julia Kristeva to designate the various relationships that a given text may have with other texts. These intertextual relationships include anagram, allusion, adaptation, translation, parody, pastiche, imitation, and other kinds of transformation."

¹¹⁵ *Um Qash'am* (mother of Qasham) was an evil woman from *Bani Kalb* tribe who put her tribe in serious problems because of her sharp tongue and evil plotting that her people had to send her away. Available from: <https://www.maajim.com/dictionary/%d8%a3d9%85%20d9%82d8%b4d8%b9d9%85> [Accessed 12 April 2019]. The word is used to refer to war and death among others. Available from: <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D8%A3D9%85-D9%82D8%B4D8%B9D9%85/> [Accessed 12 April 2019].

“The King’s taxes have not been collected for a whole year”	"ولم يجمع خراج الملك عاما كاملا"	(The King’s <u>tributes</u> have not been collected for a whole year)	163/44
“Away with you”	"إلى حيث القت"	(to wherever she has thrown ¹¹⁶)	166/49
“Caesar, whose delight in the moral eye-to-business of his British secretary is inexhaustible, smiles indulgently”	"يسمع قيصر هذا الكلام هادنا كأنه معجب بحكمة سكرتيره مقدرته على إصابة كبد الأمر"	(Caesar listens quietly to this as if he admires his secretary’s wisdom and ability to get <u>to the heart of the matter</u> - literally: the liver of the matter)	171/54
“but I tell you that your next victory will be a massacre”	"الكنني أجهرك بأن نصرتك القريبة لن تتم الا بعد مذبحه تشيب من هولها الولدان"	(but I tell you that your coming victory won’t be won until a <u>massacre that causes the young boys’ hair turns into white out of fear</u>)	171/55
“A beautiful young man, with strong round arms”	"فتى جميل الطلعة، ملفوف الذراعين، قوي العضدين"	(A good-looking boy, with round arms and strong upper arms)	174/58
“After half an hour of the enthusiasm of an army, one feels the need of a little sea air”	"ان من وقف مدة طويلة بين أفراد جيش عرمرم... يتوق ولا شك الى استنشاق شئ من نسيم البحر"	(Whoever stands among a <u>huge army</u> for a long time... longs, without a doubt, to breath something of the sea breeze)	236/110
“he offered the chief priest two talents for it”	"وقد أشرت على قيصر ان يشتريه فدفعت فيه وزنيتين من الذهب"	(I suggested to Caesar to buy it so he paid <u>two weights of gold</u> for it)	23/1107
“I ask you to excuse the language that escaped me in the heart of the moment”	"أسألك العفو على ما تعجل به لساني في حومة الوغى"	(I ask your forgiveness for what had escaped my tongue <u>in the middle of fierce fighting</u>)	23/1138

Table 14. Examples of CA Vocabulary and Expressions from Ramzī’s *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1914)

2. Examples of *Saja*’ (Rhyming Prose) found in Ramzī’s *Caesar and Cleopatra*

In the following examples, we can see that Ramzī sometimes keeps in the general meaning, adds in words that do not exist in the ST, and/or changes words to maintain

¹¹⁶ This phrase is part of a poem composed by the poet Zuhair bin Abī Sulma and it is used to mean something like (go to hell!) (Mūwāsī, 2017). Available from: <http://www.bukja.net/archives/654356> [Accessed 12 April 2019].

saja'. Similarly, in his translation of Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona* in 1905, Ahmad Allūsh adds in words for the sake of maintaining rhyme.

سأذكرك ما تلوت أحب كتب الحب والغرام، داعياً لك بالتوفيق وبلوغ المرام.

(ibid., p. 238).

BT: I will remember you whenever I read, I like the books of love and affection wishing you the best of luck and the achievement of goals.

Here are some examples from Ramzī's translation; the added or changed parts are underlined:

Example 1

And we nobles, consecrated to arms, descended from the gods! (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.138)

هيهات نحن أشراف مصر خلقنا للوغي، نحن أبناء الآلهة أفنجشنى الردى!

(Ramzī, 1914, p.7)

BT: (How impossible! We, the nobles of Egypt were created for war. We, the gods' sons do not fear death!)

Example 2

I like men, especially young men with round strong arms. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.149)

أحب الرجال ولا سيما الشبان، من كان مفتول الساعد قوي البنان.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.24)

BT: (I like men, especially the young, who has curved forearm [and] strong fingertips).

Example 3

No: he will find me out: he will find me out. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.152)

إنه لن يغيب عنه أمرى، إنه لن يخفى عنه سرى.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.27)

BT: (My matter won't be concealed from him, my secret won't be hidden from him).

Here, the translator kept the meaning but changed the words and the way of expression.

Example 4

Oh, my wrinkles, my wrinkles! And my child's heart! You will be the most dangerous of all Caesar's conquests. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.155)

ويح هذه الأسارير! وويح قلبي النضير وفؤادي الفطير، إنك أخطر ما غلبه قيصر، وشر من به ظفر.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.33)

BT: (Woe unto these lineaments! Woe unto my blooming heart and my fresh heart. You are the most dangerous of those defeated by Creaser, and the most wicked of those whom he conquered).

In addition to keeping the rhythm here, Arabic lexical redundancy is clear here in “my blooming heart and my fresh heart.”

Example 5

I will kill my enemies in the fields; and then you can preach as much clemency as you please: I shall never have to fight them again. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.171)

وألق ما تريد من المواعظ والحكم في فضل اللحم والكرم، أما أنا فلا أريد أن أراهم في كل موقعة أشهدها
وملحمة أغشاها.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.55)

BT: (You can preach as much sermons and proverbs about the virtue of clemency and generosity as you want, but I do not want to see them in every battle I witness or epic I get involved in).

Example 6

Well, had I not been Caesar's pupil, what pious things might I not have done to that tigress! I might have punished it. I might have revenged Pothinus on it. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.241)

فلو أنني كنت مناسياً بغير مناقب فيصر لعلت بهذه النمرة ما يشيب منه الظلام ثم لتخطت يدي إلى سواها
حبا في الانتقام، ثم تمتلت لي مشاهد الدماء، ومصارع الأبرياء بوصينيوس وغيره من الشهداء، فبطشت
بطشة تفرع آلهة الأرض والسماء.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.116)

BT: (If I were following other than Caesar's morals, I would have done to this tigress what would make the darkness grow old, then my hands would exceed her out of

revenge, then the blood scenes would be revealed, and the innocents' deaths like Pothinus and other martyrs would, then I would attack so violently that the Gods of heaven and earth would be frightened).

The translator used "If I were following other than Caesar's morals" rather than "had I not been Caesar's pupil" and he expressed the meaning behind "punished" and "revenged" in the long underlined line.

Example 7

But I put all these follies behind me; and, without malice, only cut its throat. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.241)

حزرت حلقومها بسيفي فهي اليوم من الغابرين، ولم أكن فيما فعلت من المنتقمين.

(Ramzī, 1914, p.116)

BT: (I cut off her throat with my sword that, today, she is a past, and I would not be revenging with what I have done).

The first part of the translated line conveys the meaning of "cut its throat" while the rest of the statement, although containing extra words, gives the meaning of "without malice" and putting behind "all these follies".

3. Examples of Intertextuality with the Quran and Traditional Arabic Literary Prose

Arabic writers often like to display intertextuality with other sources, such as the Quran and traditional Arabic literary prose. Writers and translators do this in order to display their educational and intellectual credentials. Traditionally, it has also helped them to accumulate symbolic capital.

ST	TT	Source
<p>The gods are angry. Do you feel the earth shaking? (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.152)</p>	<p>أفلا ترى الأرض من تحتنا تمور؟ (Ramzī, 1914, p.29) (Don't you see <u>the earth</u> beneath us <u>shaking</u>?)</p>	<p>"أأنتم من في السماء أن يخسف بكم الأرض فإذا هي تمور" (The Quran, Al-Mulk Chapter, verse 16) (Do ye feel secure that He Who is in heaven will not cause you to be swallowed up by <u>the earth</u> when it <u>shakes</u> (as in an earthquake)?) (Ali, 1938, p. 410).</p>

<p>The king will not suffer a foreigner to take from him the throne of our Egypt. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.160)</p>	<p>إن الملك لا يرضى لبلاده الشقاء ولا لشعبه الذلة وأنه لابد أن يعلم قيصر أن ماء النيل مرّ لا يساغ. (Ramzī, 1914, p.40) (The king would not allow his people to suffer or to be humiliated. Caesar needs to know that the Nile's water is bitter, <u>cannot be drunk</u>).</p>	<p>"هذا عذب فرات سائغ شرابه وهذا ملح أجاج" (The Quran, Fāṭir Chapter, verse 12) (Nor are the two bodies of flowing water alike,- the one palatable, sweet, and <u>pleasant to drink</u>, and the other, salt and bitter) (Ali, 1938, p. 299).</p>
<p>If you are not a fool, you will take that girl whilst she is under your hand. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.167)</p>	<p>خذ هذه الفتاة وهي في قبضتك، وإلا كنت من الغافلين. (Ramzī, 1914, p.49) (Take this girl while she is under your hand, otherwise, you will be <u>among those who knew it not</u>).</p>	<p>"نحن نقص عليك أحسن القصص بما أوحينا إليك هذا القرآن وإن كنت من قبله لمن الغافلين" (The Quran, Yusuf Chapter, verse 3) (We do relate unto thee the most beautiful of stories, in that We reveal to thee this (portion of the) Quran: before this, thou too was <u>among those who knew it not</u>) (Ali, 1938, p. 144).</p>
<p>I will, too, when I grow up. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.167)</p>	<p>إني فاعل ذلك غدا يوم أكبر. (Ramzī, 1914, p.50) (<u>I shall be sure to do so tomorrow</u> when I grow up).</p>	<p>"ولا تقولن لشيء إني فاعل ذلك غدا " (The Quran, Al-Kahf Chapter, verse 23) (Nor say of anything, "<u>I shall be sure to do so and so tomorrow</u>") (Ali, 1938, p. 193).</p>
<p>We have given you a full and sweet measure of vengeance. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.169)</p>	<p>تأرنا لك تأراً جميلاً. (Ramzī, 1914, p.51) (We revenge you- a beautiful revenge¹¹⁷).</p>	<p>This line is composed similar to the following verse although the words and their meanings are different: "فاصبر صبراً جميلاً" (The Quran, Al-Ma'ārij Chapter, verse 5) (Therefore do thou hold Patience,- a Patience of beautiful (contentment) (Ali, 1938, p. 417).</p>
<p>We are on the palace roof, O Beloved of Victory! (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.215)</p>	<p>فوق سطح القصر يا أبا الهيجاء. (Ramzī, 1914, p.83)</p>	<p>This phrase is taken from a poem composed by the Umayyad Caliph Al-Ma'mūn and it means (a war fellow):</p>

¹¹⁷ This is the literal meaning, however, it means that the revenge is great or fair.

		<p>إن أخوا الهيجا من يسعي معك *** ومن يضر نفسه لينفعك¹¹⁸</p> <p>The war fellow is that who strive in your support with you *** Who harm himself to benefit you</p>
<p>Caesar: ... and now every man of them is set upon clearing out this nest of assassins- for such we are and no more. Take courage then; and sharpen your sword. Pompey's head has fallen; and Caesar's head is ripe. (Shaw, 1901/1965, p.232)</p>	<p>قيصر: ... فكل رجل قد وطن النفس على تخريب هذه العش الذي نحن فيه. عش السفاحين فما نحن إلا كذلك ولا مرء. هلم يا لوسيوس اشحن سيفك. بالأمس سقط رأس يومبيوس، <u>واليوم أينع رأس قيصر وحن</u> <u>قطافه.</u> (Ramzī, 1914, p.104)</p>	<p>This line involves an intertextuality with the speech given by the Umayyad governor of Iraq Al-Ḥajāj bin Yusuf Al-Thaqafi:</p> <p>"أما والله فإني لأحمل الشر بثقله و أحذوه بنعله و أجزيه بمثله، والله يا أهل العراق إني لأرى رؤوساً قد <u>أينعت وحن قطافها، وإني</u> <u>لصاحبها، والله لكأني أنظر إلى</u> الدماء بين العمائم واللحي"¹¹⁹</p>

Table 15. Examples of Intertextuality with the Quran and Traditional Arabic Literary Prose from Ramzī's *Caesar and Cleopatra* (1914)

4. Examples of Mono-Rhyming Poetry in Ramzī's *Caesar and Cleopatra*

In Ramzī's version of *Caesar and Cleopatra*, Caesar's long speech admiring the Sphinx is rendered into poetry. It appears that Ramzī sacrificed some of the original meaning of the ST in order to foreground the rhyme (Ramzī, 1914, p. 19). Thus, Ramzī compromised content for the sake of form, as did many of his contemporary translators, so that the play could be staged to meet audience expectations. In another part of the translation, Ramzī includes a short poem which replaces Cleopatra's call to the Nile. He adds in extra words to foreground rhythm, as shown in the underlined parts of the example below. This was common contemporary practice.

Example 8

I have found flocks and pastures, men and cities, but no other Caesar, no air native to me, no man kindred to me, none who can do my day's deed, and think my night's thought... (Shaw, 1901/1965, p. 146).

¹¹⁸ Available from: <https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D8%A3%D8%AE%D8%A7/> [Accessed 12 April 2019].

¹¹⁹ Available from: https://ar.wikisource.org/wiki/%D8%AE%D8%B7%D8%A8%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%AC%D8%A7%D8%AC_%D9%81%D9%8A_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%82 [Accessed 12 April 2019].

سل الأرض كم عبت فيها حزونها *** وروعت نجم الليل اذ أنا أنظر
خبرت نفوس الناس طرا فلم أجد *** لنفسي مثلا حين أذكر يذكر

(Ramzī, 1914, p.19)

BT: Ask the land how sadness has paved it *** and I frightened the night star when I look

I knew all people's spirits and I did not find *** someone like me when I am mentioned, he is also mentioned

Here Ramzī kept the general meaning of the lines but exaggerated the meaning as commonly done in Arabic. He also had to choose what suits the rhyme. A similar practice by a contemporary drama translator to Ramzī who is Najīb Ḥaddād that adds poetry to his translation of *Romeo and Juliet* in order to be sung by Salāma Hijāzī.

سلام الله يا شبه من أهوى *** ويا حبذا لو كنت تسمع لي شكوى

(Najm, 1967, p. 229).

BT: Greetings to you who look like the one I love *** I would love you to hear my complaints

Due to the rise of MSA, new translators were required to produce new translations. Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* was retranslated by Ikhlaṣ 'Azmī in 1966 and published as part of the World Plays series in Egypt. The General Supervisor of the series was Muhammad Al-Mūwāfī in his introduction to the translation notes that the main reason for producing this new translation was to rectify the lexical choices made by Ramzī, which were difficult to understand. Al-Mūwāfī argues that the deletions, additions and changes made by Ramzī serve to arabise the play, and he suggests that it is not particularly close to the original ST. To give the new rendering of the play credibility, Al-Mūwāfī highlights the cultural capital of the translator and the editor of the translation, describing how they both have PhD degrees in the field of English literature. This is also made apparent on the front cover of the published translation. Al-Mūwāfī suggests that a translation produced by respected translators would, 'guarantee that the translation is extremely loyal and highly accurate' (Al-Mūwāfī, 1966, p.11). Thus, the changes in the canonized poetics (particularly the choice of register and the inclusion of poetry in this case) is another form of distinction, in Bourdieu's sense, referred to, so explicitly, in the Arabic retranslations of Shaw's plays.

While MSA was replacing CA as the prevailing poetics, it went through stages of development and change that it was gradually getting rid of traditional features. Therefore, a difference can be noticed in the Arabic translations of Shaw's plays that were published in the first half of the twentieth century and those published in the second half of the twentieth and the early twenty first centuries.

MSA was first used at the turn of the twentieth century, when a group of Syrian theatre journalists called for the use of a simplified form of Arabic that was clear, direct and free from the features of past literary tradition (Al-Zayyāt, 2017). These intellectuals wanted to place more emphasis on meaning rather than form. However, some would argue that the style of MSA they devised did not meet specified needs and was influenced by foreign forms. Later on, after the study of traditional Arabic literature, language experts succeeded in devising a clearer and more formal version of Arabic that could be used officially. The new standardised form of Arabic was adopted across the board, including by translators of drama. In the process, translation began to lose more complex structures and lexical variation. Al-Zayyāt notes how, after 1920, drama translations became more accurate and more academic.¹²⁰ This new standardised form of Arabic helped students at school learn about a wide variety of subjects, including the drama curricula, because writers and translators were using MSA to translate plays, as well as produce texts for staged productions (ibid.). Over time, audience demands began to change, and MSA was favoured by educated people who were used to reading World plays in their original languages. MSA was popular because it conveyed meaning more clearly, rather than sacrificing meaning in order to beautify language. Thus, MSA became more dominant as medium for writing and translating. Furthermore, the development of mainstream media, in the form of books, newspapers and magazines, also helped to disseminate the use of MSA (ibid.).

Styles of writing and ways of translating drama have developed gradually, and poetics have changed over the course of time. In Arabic, poetry can be delivered using CA and MSA. Indeed, there are two and a half pages of poetry in Ramzī's version of *Caesar and Cleopatra*, but only a couple of lines in Zakī's published reading version of *Saint Joan* (1938). Poetry can also be found in Riḍa's version of

¹²⁰ Al-Zayyāt defines الترجمة العلمية الدقيقة (accurate, academic translation) as, 'translation that is extremely loyal to the text to be translated without any changes in section divisions or content. It transfers it as a whole into good Arabic, sentence by sentence, with no omissions or additions. I mean, a translation that respects the literary work... the only downfall of this [type of] translation is the tendency to translate literally sometimes. However, there is no harm in beautifying the translation' (2017, p. 400).

Widowers' Houses (1960), and was, most probably, meant to be sung on stage. Until the 1960s, poetry formed the bulk of the Arabic literary canon, and was positioned firmly at its centre. No literary work was generally accepted into the Arabic literary canon if it did not include poetry, which was associated with significant symbolic capital.

By the middle of the twentieth century, in the theatre, MSA was being chosen to translate plays by dramatists around the world, and it became the register of choice, especially after the formation of the National Troupe in 1935 by the Egyptian Government. At first, the National Troupe performed plays in MSA and in اللغة العامية الممتازة (excellent colloquial) which is the colloquial of the cultured and which is closely related to MSA (Abyad, 1970, p.345). It was the norm for most performances to include some form of poetry and music, to meet audience expectations. For example, the National Troupe's first season included a production of Al-Ḥakīm's *Ahl Al-Kahf* (People of the Cave). This play made use of a complex form of Arabic, according to Abyad, which, arguably, would have been difficult to understand by most apart from the highly educated (ibid., p.289). Later in 1960, the play was performed again by the National Troupe, and directed by Nabīl Al-Alfī, who succeeded in simplifying the language (ibid.).

Translations of Shaw's plays that were published in the first half of the twentieth century include Zakī's *Saint Joan* (1938), Al-Naḥḥās' *Major Barbara* (1938)¹²¹ and Al-Dusūqī's *Man and Superman* (1947). The register used in these translations is MSA with minimal CA features, although it has not disappeared. While most translations produced in the second half of the twentieth century, and after that, avoid the use of the traditional features of CA. The following examples show how a single extract from the ST has been translated differently by different translators proving how the use of CA features have reduced over time.

1. Examples of CA vocabulary and expressions

ST (Shaw, 1923/1979b)	Zakī's Translation (1938)	Maḥbūb's Translation (1965)
"Thousand thunders" (p. 49)	"عليك لعنة الأولين والآخرين" (The curses of the ancient people and those be born in	"فلتصعقك الصواعق أيها الرجل" (May thunders befall you, man) (p. 71)

¹²¹ This translation was published in Syria, and the register used is the closest to MSA out of the three. There are a few examples of the use of CA also, but I have excluded these from the analysis.

	the future may fall on you) (p.2)	
“You fool” (p. 51)	"أيها المأفون" (You fool) (p.6)	"أيها الغبي" (You fool) (p. 75)
-“back me up” (p. 58)	"شد أزرري" (Pull my strength, which means support me) (p.20)	"كن في عوني" (Support me) (p. 90)
“You actually see them?” (p. 59)	"أرأيتهما رأي العين؟" (Have you seen them <u>with</u> <u>your own eyes?</u>) (p.22)	"ولكنك تشاهدنيهما فعلا" (But you do see them) (p. 92)
“Tcha!” (p. 60)	"صَهْ، صَهْ" (Hush) (p.25)	"أف ف ف!" (Pshaw!) (p. 95)
“the deuce” (p. 71)	"ويحك" (Woe to you) (p.47)	"ومن بحق الشيطان" (p. 120)
“an idle fellow” (p. 74)	"رجل لا نفع فيه ولا رجاء" (A <u>useless, hopeless</u> man) (p.53)	"أنت فتى ماجن" (Who the devil) (p. 126)
“Call for silence, you little beast, will you?” (p. 78)	" أنت يا ابن البهيم صح فيهم بالسكوت لا أبا لك ¹²² !" (You son of an animal, call for silence, <u>you have no</u> <u>father</u>) (p.62)	"نادي بالسكوت يا جحش، أسمع؟" (Call for silence, <u>you burro</u> , do you hear?) (p. 136)
“West wind” (p. 80)	"ريح النّبور" (West wind) (p.64)	"ريح الغرب" (West wind) (p. 140)

¹²² It is used for over praising someone. Available from:
<https://www.almaany.com/ar/dict/ar-ar/%D9%84%D8%A7-%D8%A3%D8%A8%D8%A7-%D9%84%D9%83/> [Accessed 26 April 2019].

“they stole it from Him” (p. 82)	"فهم سرقوها من الله <u>بغياً</u> وعدواناً" (They stole it from God <u>unjustly and aggressively</u>) (p.69)	"فقد <u>أغتصبوها</u> منه" (They <u>took</u> it <u>by force</u>) (p. 145)
“to save her soul from perdition” (p. 116)	"أن تتجو بروحها من هلاك <u>مقيم</u> " (To save her soul from a <u>quiet destruction</u>) (p.135)	"أن نخلص روحها من <u>اللعة الأبدية</u> " (To save her soul from devastating destruction) (p. 215)
“Let there be an end of this” (p. 127)	"فليكن هذا <u>فصل الخطاب</u> " (Let this be <u>an absolute and convincing speech</u>) (p.156)	"فدعنا ننتهي من هذا" (Lets finish with this) (p. 239)
“etc., etc.” (p. 129)	"وهلم جرا" (etc.) (p.159)	"الخ، الخ" (etc., etc.) (p. 242)
“Hm! I wonder!” (p. 143)	"ليت شعري ¹²³ أهذا آخره!" (I wish I knew) (p.186)	"عجبي! ترى!.. من يدري!" (I wonder! I wonder!. Who knows?) (p. 271)
ST (Shaw, 1903/2007)	Al-Dusūqī’s Translation (1947)	Others’ Translations (2004; 2006; 2007)
“I refused the trust” (p. 24)	" <u>رفضت القوامة</u> " (I reused <u>guardianship</u>) (p. 59)	"رفضتها... فلا حق لي في فرض نفسي عليها <u>وصياً</u> في شئونها" (I refused it... I do not have the right to impose myself as a <u>guardian</u> on her affairs) (2004, p. 21)
“the fact of your not being legally married matters not” (p. 43)	"كونك لم تتزوجي <u>زواجاً شرعياً</u> لا <u>يهم فتياً</u> "	"رفضت تلك <u>الثقة</u> " (I refused that <u>trust</u>) (2006, p. 24) + (2007, p. 40)

¹²³ Available from:

<https://www.maajim.com/dictionary/%D9%84%D9%8A%D8%AA%20%D8%B4%D8%B9%D8%B1%D9%8A> [Accessed 27 April 2019].

	(It <u>does not matter at all</u> that you are not legally married) (p. 91)	"فإن الحقيقة القائلة بأن زواجك غير شرعي لا تعني أحداً" (The fact that says that you are not legally married <u>does not matter anyone</u>) (2004, p. 54) "حقيقة أنك لست متزوجة بطريقة شرعية ليس لها قيمة" (The fact that you are not legally married <u>does not really matter</u>) (2006, p. 75) "إن كونك لست متزوجة شرعاً لا أهمية له متقال ذرة" (The fact that you are not legally married <u>does not matter an atom's weight</u>) (2007, p. 144)
"The cup of our ignominy is full" (p. 45)	"وقد أترعت كأس مهانتنا" (Our humiliation glass has been overfilled) (p. 93)	"لقد طفح العار من كأسنا" (Shame has overflowed our cup) (2004, p. 56) "إن كأس فضيحتنا مترعة" (Our disgrace cup is brimful) (2007, p. 78)
"tighten the coils" (p. 52)	"شددني الخناق" (Put more pressure on us) (p. 104)	"الحصار يضيق" (The siege is tightening) (2004, p. 68) "أحكمي قبضتك" (Tighten your grip) (2006, p. 95) "شد الأسلاك" (Tighten the wires) (2007, p. 184)
"That will finish your mother" (p. 53)	"فلا تقوم لأمك بعد ذلك قائمة" (That will finish the role of your mother in your life, once and for all) (p. 107)	"من ثم ينتهي من حياتك دور أمك" (Then your mother's role in your life comes to an end) (2004, p. 70) "هذا سيقضي على أمك" (This will end your mother) (2006, p. 99) "إن ذلك سيقضي على والدتك"

		(This will end your mother) (2007, p. 192)
“an incorrigible liar” (p. 52)	"كذّابة أشرة" (An outright liar) (p. 105)	"كاذبة أفافة" ¹²⁴ (Liar, <u>impostor</u>) (2004, p. 68) "كاذبة" (Liar) (2006, p. 96) "كاذبة كبيرة" (A <u>big</u> liar) (2007, p. 186)
“could you really go back there is you desired to; or are the grapes sour?” (p. 76)	"أيسعك حقا أن تعود إلى الجنة إذا شئت؟ أو أن العنب <u>حصرم</u> ؟" (Could you really go back to heaven if you wanted to? Or is the grapes <u>sour</u> ? Which means: something is impossible to happen) (p. 145)	"هل تستطيع العودة إليها حيثما تريد؟ أم هل أصبح العنب <u>مر</u> ؟" (Can you return to it whenever you want? Or are the grapes <u>bitter</u> ?) (2004, p. 114) "هل تستطيع أن ترجع إلى الجنة إذا رغبت أم أن العنب <u>مُر</u> ؟" (Can you return to it if you want? Or are the grapes <u>bitter</u> ?) (2006, p. 162) "هل تستطيع الرجوع إلى هناك إذا رغبت أو هل طعم الأعتاب <u>مر</u> المذاق؟" (Can you return to it if you want? Or are the grapes <u>taste bitter</u> ?) (2007, p. 316)
“perverse devil that you are” (p. 84)	"أيها الشيطان الفاسد <u>السيرة</u> والسريرة" (Oh, you devil! You are <u>bad inside out</u>) (p. 158)	"أيها الشيطان <u>اللعين</u> " (You, <u>damned</u> devil) (2004, p. 128) "أيها الشيطان <u>المنحل</u> " (You, <u>degenerated</u> devil) (2006, p. 186) "إنك شيطان <u>منحرف</u> " (You are a <u>corrupted</u> devil) (2007, p. 354)

¹²⁴ This is a spelling mistake. The translator meant to use أفافة *afāka*, (liar) not أفافة *afāqa* (which has no meaning).

<p>“she regarded me as her property” (p. 85)</p>	<p>"عدتني ملك يمينها" (She regarded me as <u>her</u> captive) (p. 160)</p>	<p>"فأصبحت ملكا خاصا بها" (I became <u>her private</u> property) (2004, p. 131) "تعتبرني ملكها الخاص" (She considers me <u>her private</u> property) (2006, p. 190) "اعتبرتني ملكاً لها" (She considered my <u>her</u> property) (2007, p. 362)</p>
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Table 16. Comparing the Arabic retranlations of *Saint Joan* and *Man and Superman* in terms of CA vocabulary and expressions

2. Examples of *saja'* (rhyming prose)

ST (Shaw, 1923/1979b)	Zakī's Translation (1938)	Maḥbūb's Translation (1965)
<p>“Child: you are in love with religion” (p. 73)</p>	<p>أي بنيّتي، إنك تخلصين لله الدين، وتحبين الإيمان حب صدق ويقين. (Oh, my daughter, you obey God's religion, and you love faith truthfully) (p. 51)</p>	<p>أنت تعشقين الدين يا طفلي. (You adore religion, my child) (p. 125)</p>
<p>“I tell you that your little hour of miracles is over, and that from this time on he who plays the war game best will win” (p. 107)</p>	<p>إني أنذركم أن ساعة الكرامات فاتت، زشمس المعجزات أفلت، وأن النصر لن يكون إلا لأكثر المتحاربين فطنة، وأبرعهما حيلة. (I am warning you that the hour of miracles <u>had</u> passed, and the sun of miracles <u>had</u> sank. Victory will be with those fighting in a <u>cleverer</u> and more <u>cunning</u> way) (p. 119)</p>	<p>وأنا أقول لك أن موسم معجزاتك الصغير قد أنتهى إلى غير رجعة.. ومن الآن فصاعداً سينعقد النصر لمن يلعب لعبة الحرب خيراً من الأخر. (I will tell you that the small season of miracles had irrevocable passed.. From now on victory will be with those who plays the war game better than the other side) (p. 197)</p>
<p>“But I am wiser now; and nobody is any the worse for being wiser” (p. 112)</p>	<p>الآن قد تكتشفت حقيقةكم فعرفتها عياناً، ورأيت الحقد في أمركم عرياناً، ولن يكسب أحد من معرفة الحق خسراناً. (Your truth has been fully exposed that I knew it now, and I have seen your grudge so clearly. No one will lose anything because of knowing the truth)</p>	<p>ولكنني أعقل الآن.. ولن يضار إنسان قط عندما يصبح أعقل وأحكم. (But I am wiser now.. and no one will ever be harmed when becoming wiser and more sensible) (p. 207)</p>

	(p. 128)	
ST (Shaw, 1903/2007)	Al-Dusūqī's Translation (1947)	Others' Translations (2004; 2006; 2007)
<p>Had she any other purpose than to delude your suitors into the belief that your husband would have in his home an angle who would fill it with melody, or at least play him to sleep after dinner?</p> <p>(p. 88)</p>	<p>أكان لها غرض من هذا سوى خديعة خطابك بأن من يتزوجك منهم سيكون في بيته مَلَك يملأه بالأنغام، أو أن يعزف له بعد العشاء حتى ينام؟</p> <p>(p. 164)</p> <p>(Had she any other purpose in that except to delude your suitors into the belief that who will marry you would have in his home an angle who would fill it with <u>melody</u>, or play him after dinner to <u>sleep</u>?)</p>	<p>Anwar's Translation</p> <p>فهل كانت تهدف الى اي هدف آخر غير الايقاع بخطابك وجعلهم يعتقدون أن الذي يفوز بك زوجة له انما يمتلك بذلك ملاكا يملأ عليه البيت نغما أو، على الأقل، يعزف له بعد العشاء ويجعله ينام على أنغام الموسيقى؟</p> <p>(2004, p. 135)</p> <p>(Had she any other purpose except to delude your suitors into the belief that whoever wins you as his wife would have in his home an angle who would fill it with melody, or, at least, play him after dinner to sleep on music?)</p> <p>'Umāra's Translation</p> <p>هل كان لها أي غرض آخر بخلاف خداع من يريد الزواج بك ليقتنع بأن بيته سيكون فيه مَلَك يملؤه بالألحان، أو على الأقل يعزف له لينام بعد الغداء؟</p> <p>(2006, p. 197)</p> <p>(Has she any other purpose except that to delude whoever wants to marry you into the belief that he would have in his home an angle who would fill it with melody, or, at least, play him to sleep after lunch?)</p> <p>Al-Tamīmī's Translation</p> <p>هل كان لها أي هدف آخر غير تضليل طالبي يدك للزواج بالاعتقاد بأن زوجك سيحصل في بيته على ملاك يملأ البيت بالأصوات المتسقة، أو على الأقل تعزف له لينام بعد العشاء؟</p>

		(2007, p. 374) (Had she any other purpose than to delude your suitors into the belief that your husband would have in his home an angle who would fill it with harmonious melody, or at least play him to sleep after dinner?)
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Table 17. Comparing the Arabic retranslations of *Saint Joan* and *Man and Superman* in terms of the use of *saja* (rhyming prose)

3. Examples of intertextuality with the Quran and Traditional Arabic Prose

ST (Shaw, 1923/1979b)	Zakī's Translation (1938)	Maḥbūb's Translation (1965)
Thirty thousand thunders! Fifty thousand devils! (p.51)	يا أرض ميدي ويا سماء أظقي! (p. 5) (O, earth shake and o, sky grow darker) 1. Intertextuality with Ali Ṭanṭāwī ¹²⁵ (1935): "أظقي يا سماء، وتشققي يا أرض، وتصدّعي يا جبال" 2. Intertextuality from the Quran: "والقى في الأرض رواسي أن تميد بكم" (Al-Nahl Chapter, verse 15) (And He has set up on the <u>earth</u> mountains standing firm, lest it should <u>shake</u> with you; and rivers and roads; that ye may guide yourselves) (Ali, 1938, p. 172). 3. Similar structure to the following Quran verse:	يا للشيطان! يا لأبالسة الجحيم! (p. 74) (What the devil! What the demons of the hell!)

¹²⁵ Ali Ṭanṭāwī (1909-1999) is a well-known Syrian jurispudent, judge and writer.

	<p>"يا أرض ابلعي ماءك ويا سماء أقلع" (Hūd Chapter, verse 44). ("O earth! Swallow up thy water, and O sky! Withhold (thy rain)!" (Ali, 1938, p. 137).</p>	
<p>I will deliver you from fear. (p. 82)</p>	<p>إذن فدعني أطرد الخوف من قلبك وأطهرك تطهيراً (p. 69) (Then, let me through the fear out of your heart and <u>totally purify you</u>) Intertextuality with the Quran: "إنما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس أهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيراً" (Al-Aḥzāb Chapter, verse 33) (And Allah only wishes to remove all abomination from you, ye Members of the Family, and <u>to make you pure and spotless</u>) (Ali, 1938, p. 289).</p>	<p>سوف أنفض عنك الخوف. (p. 144) (I will chase fear away from you).</p>
<p>We shall be defeated; and serve us right! (p. 107)</p>	<p>فقد حُقت علينا الهزيمة جزاءً وفاقاً. (p. 119) (Our defeat has proved true, <u>a fitting recompense</u>) Intertextuality with the Quran: "جزاء وفاقاً" (Al-Naba` Chapter, verse 26) (<u>A fitting recompense</u> (for them) (Ali, 1938, p. 433).</p>	<p>فسوف تحيق بنا الهزيمة.. وبكل جدارة واستحقاق. (p. 197) (Defeat will befall us.. worthily and deservedly).</p>
<p>ST (Shaw, 1903/2007)</p>	<p>Al-Dusūqī's Translation (1947)</p>	<p>Others' Translations (2004; 2006; 2007)</p>
<p>MRS. WHITEFIELD, by the way, is a little</p>	<p>ومسز هويتفيلد بهذه المناسبة امرأة ضئيلة الجسم، يبدو شعرها</p>	<p>Anwar's Translation</p>

<p>woman, whose faded flaxen hair looks like straw on an egg. (p. 27).</p>	<p>الكتاني الباهت كالعَيْن¹²⁶ أو كالببيضة. (p.64). (Mrs. Whitefield, by the way, is a little woman whose dull flaxen hair looks like coloured wool or like an egg). "وتكون الجبال كالعَيْن المنفوش" (Al-Qāri'a Chapter, verse 5) (And the mountains will be like carded wool) (Ali, 1938, p. 461).</p>	<p>(The whole stage direction here was removed by the translator) 'Umāra's Translation السيدة وابتقيلد امرأة ضئيلة الجسم يبدو شعرها المشعث مثل كومة القش على بيضة. (2006, p. 32). (Mrs. Whitefield is a little woman whose uncombed hair looks like straw on an egg). Al-Tamīmī's Translation السيدة وابتقيلد، بالمناسبة، امرأة صغيرة الجسم، شعرها الذابل الباهت يشبه قشاً يغطي بيضة. (2007, p. 58). (Mrs. Whitefield, by the way, is a little woman whose dull, faded hair looks like straw on an egg).</p>
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Table 18. Comparing the Arabic retranslations of *Saint Joan* and *Man and Superman* in terms of intertextuality with the Quran and traditional Arabic prose

4. Examples of mono-rhyming poetry

There are examples of mono-rhyming poetry in both Zakī's translation of *Saint Joan* and Riḍa's translation of *Widowers' Houses*. In Zakī's translation, the translator keeps in the scene where a character tries to devise a rhyming poem but fails. However, Zakī adds in more words to match the style of Arabic mono-rhyming poetry (Zakī, 1938, p.66). The translator also tries to use a similar rhythm to render other lines included in the ST, although he changes the word 'bacon' to 'لحم' (meat) as would be a taboo for the majority of his Muslim audience (Zakī, 1938, p.200).

¹²⁶ العَيْنُ (al-'ihn) means coloured wool. Available from: https://ar.wikisource.org/wiki/%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%A9_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A9/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%AF%D8%AF_103/%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%A9_%D9%81%D9%8A_%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A8%D9%82%D9%8A%D8%B9_ [Accessed 28 April 2019].

Riḍa also translates a two-line poem using the style of Arabic mono-rhyming poetry and adding in more words to keep the rhythm (Riḍa, 1960, p.16).

In the Arabic translations of Shaw's plays, it is possible to detect the rendering of two English dialects, namely Cockney and high-class slang. On the one hand, Cockney appears in both *Pygmalion* (spoken by Eliza and Alfred Doolittle) and *Major Barbara* (spoken by Bill). This is rendered into the colloquial of the illiterate. This occurs in Jarjis Al-Rashīdī's version of *Pygmalion* and in Ahmad Al-Nadī's version of *Major Barbara*. However, both translators also use MSA as the main register in their translations. Both plays were published by the Egyptian Ministry of Culture in the 1960s, even though it was the publisher's policy only to publish in MSA. These rules also applied to stage performances and radio plays during the same time. In the preface to his work, Al-Rashīdī thanks the Series Supervisor, Al-Mūwāfī, for his thoughtful suggestions in helping to shape the translation, especially those relating to the dialects and colloquial terms use in the ST. Al-Mūwāfī advised the translator to keep in the original author's use of language varieties, i.e. to use the standard to render the standard, and to use the colloquial to render the colloquial (1966). This proves that although the series has a clear policy, the publishers allowed some degree of compromise in order for their translations to be closer to the STs and to convey the original author's intention.

Example 9 - Al-Rashīdī

The flower girl: Nah then, Freddy: look wh' y' gowin, deah... There's menners f' yer!
Te-oo banches o voylets trod into the mad.

The mother: How do you know that my son's name is Freddy, pray?

The flower girl: Ow, eez ye-ooa san, is e? Wal, fewd dan y'de-ooty bawmz a mather should, eed now bettern to spawl a pore gel's flahrzn than ran awy atbaht pyin. Will ye-oo py me f'them? (Shaw, 1912/2002, p.3).

بائعة الزهور: ... ايه ده يا فريدي: مش تفتح؟ ياخويا!... ما فيش حيلتك ذوق! حزمتين بنفسج يروحو كده في
الطين!

الأم: كيف عرفت أن اسم ابني فريدي من فضلك؟!

بائعة الزهور: هو ده بيقى ابنك! بقى بدمتك لو كنت ربنيه كويس كان خسر الزهورات بتاعة بت غلبانة زي
وجرى كده من غير ما يدفع تمنهم. ياللا ادفعي لي تمنهم انت بقه!

(Al-Rashīdī, 1967, p. 40).

BT

The flower girl: ... What's that, Freddy! Would you open your eyes, you silly?... You have no manners! Two bunches of violet are wasted on the mud!

The mother: How did you know that my son's name is Freddy?!

The flower girl: Is this your son? Honestly, if you had taught him good manners when you raised him, he wouldn't have damaged the flowers of a poor girl like me and then run away without paying for them. Here, you pay me for them.

Example 10 - Al-Nadī

Bill: I want nan o your kentin jawr. I spowse you think aw cam eah to beg from you, like this demmigid lot eah. Aw downt want your bread and scripe and ketlep. Aw don't believe in you Gawd, no more than you do yourself. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p.84).

بل: مش عاوز وعظك ده، وما اعتقدش إني جيت هنا علشان أشحت منك زي ما بتعمل الشلة الملعونة دي. مش أنا اللي يعمل كده. مش عاوز عيشك ولا وعظك ولا تأنيبك ولا أوْمن باللهك زي ما بتؤمني أنت.

(Al-Nadī, 1966, p.155).

BT: Bill: I don't need your preaching and I didn't come here to beg you as this damned bunch of people do. I don't do that. I don't need your bread, preaching, or rebuke. I don't believe in your God as you do.

On the other hand, Lumax in *Major Barbara* uses a new kind of high-class slang, which is a mixture of standard and non-standard English vocabulary and forms. Similarly, Ahmad Al-Nadī choses a mixture of MSA and EC or what Badawī (1973) calls the colloquial of the cultured to depict the character's dialect. The following examples, the slang words and phrases are underlined:

Example 11

Lomax: Oh I say! Theres nothing to be exactly proud of, don't you know. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p.65).

لوماكس: كلام جد! ليس هناك ما يدعو إلى الفخر. ألا تعرفين ذلك؟... إذن يبقى شارب مقلب.

(Al-Nadī, 1966, p.123).

BT: Lomax: Is this true! There is nothing to be proud of, don't you know that?... It means that he must have been tricked!

Example 12

Lomax: ... Takes you some time to find out exactly where you are, don't it? (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p.67).

لوماكس: ... يحتاج المرء بعض الوقت ليعرف رأسه من رجليه.. مش كده؟

(Al-Nadī, 1966, p. 126).

BT: Lomax: ... A person need some time to understand (literally: to distinguish his head from his feet)... right?

Example 13

Lomax: Well; but it stands to reason, don't it? The cannon business may be necessary and all that: we can get on without cannons; but it isn't right, you know. On the other hand, there may be a certain amount of tosh about the Salvation Army – I belong to the Establishment Church myself – but still you cant deny that it's religion. (Shaw, 1905/1979a, p.70).

لوماكس: حاضر، ولكن كلامي منطقي والا إيه؟ صناعة المدافع قد تكون ضرورية إلى آخره، ما نسلکش من غير مدافع. لكن دا غلط زي ما أنتو عارفين، لكن ناحية ثانية: جايز فيه تدجيل في جيش الخلاص- أنا نفسي أعتنق الديانة الرسمية لكن برضه ما تقدرش تقول إنه مهوش دين.

(Al-Nadī, 1966, p.131).

BT: Lomax: Sure, but I'm being logical, right? Canon manufacture is necessary etc., we cannot win without canons. But this is wrong as you know. From the other side, it is possible that there is deception in the Salvation Army- I myself embrace the official religion but still you cannot say that it is not a religion.

7.3 Conclusion

To sum up, most changes made to content in translation were undertaken during the British occupation of Egypt. Ramzī's version of *Caesar and Cleopatra* is a notable example. This kind of self-censorship took place during a period in which the practise of free translation (or adaptation) with additions, omissions and changes was the norm. However, a few later translations, such as Zakī's version of *Saint Joan* in 1938, reveal a tendency to retain content that might be interpreted as a criticism of the ruling political regime and/or contemporary social and cultural sensitivities. Zakī makes hardly any changes during translation, and undertakes very little self-censorship. The translator might have been at liberty to do this because of his high status in society, his connections, and the symbolic capital associated with his name.

Translations published in the 1960s under Abdul-Nassir's regime remain closer to the original STs, and were undertaken by specialist translators rather than well-known writers, as was the case previously. In the retranslations published in this era, political taboos retained while religious taboos removed such as in the retranslation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* by 'Ikhlaṣ 'Azmī and *Saint Joan* by Muhammad Maḥbūb.

While Shaw's Arabic retranslations published in Syria show echoes of presidential speeches in the paratextual material and only Fir'awn (2008) exercises manipulated omissions. In addition to that, translators of the different translations and retranslations produced in various Arab countries during distinct times dealt differently with Jews- or Zionists- related parts in both *Major Barbra* and *Man and Superman* by literal rendering, omitting or changing. Even atheist and Darwinian content is not rendered similarly among the translators of *Man and Superman* who opted for strategies like deletion, toning down and/or even enhancing the taboo. One significant manipulation is that practiced by Al-Tamīmī in his translation of *Man and Superman* in 2007 as he deleted all content that may cause sectarian conflict among the readers, who are most probably students, in both the Arabic TT and the English ST that is included within the translation. His translation was published in Lebanon that experienced a deadly civil war between 1975 and 1990.

Moreover, the prevailing poetics of register selection and poetry inclusion in the various socio-cultural and political contexts of Shaw's Arabic translations has been looked at. Ramzī's translation (1914) uses CA, the other translations of the first half of the twentieth century like that by Zakī (1938) and Al-Dusūqī (1947) opt for MSA with remaining CA features, and the rest of the translations which are produced since the second half of the twentieth century uses a MSA that is free from CA features as they have become more academic and closer to the original.

To conclude, this chapter has sought to rationalise chosen retranslations, based on the socio-cultural and political circumstances that fashioned them. The retranslation of plays takes place in a number of circumstances, and one of these circumstances is that some translators might not be aware of already available versions of the texts they are translating. Other motivations might include decisions to publish a reading version of a play as an addition to an already available post-performance version, and to produce translations that simplify the register used in earlier versions in order to appeal to new audiences, as in the case of 'Azmī's retranslation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1966. The following chapter gives the concluding remarks of the whole thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

This conclusion has two objectives. It seeks to revisit the research questions detailed in Chapter One in order to draw conclusions from the discussion and analysis presented in the subsequent chapters. Furthermore, it seeks to identify implications and recommendations for future research.

8.1 Research Questions Revisited

The main research question this study posed is as follows:

How different Arab socio-cultural and political contexts have affected the introduction and negotiation of George Bernard Shaw's drama in Arabic translation?

The previous chapters of this thesis have presented an investigation of the socio-cultural and political factors that have motivated the introduction of Shaw and his drama to the Arab culture. In this endeavour, the thesis has examined published, radio and stage translations/adaptations of Shaw's plays. Previous researchers have only sought to analyse some Arabic translations of Shaw's plays from a linguistic perspective, as outlined in Chapter Five. Therefore, a research gap existed which the researcher of this thesis sought to fill, in studying certain Arabic translations of Shaw's plays from a sociological perspective, and in a way that considers translation as a social practice. The data chosen was analysed textually, contextually and paratextually, within a theoretical framework based on Andre Lefevere's key concepts of 'rewriting', 'poetics' and 'patronage', as well as Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'field', 'capital', and the two types of cultural production.

This thesis contains two theoretical chapters; one theorises drama translation as a process (i.e. Chapter Two) and the other theorises it as a product (i.e. Chapter Three). On the one hand, after defining drama translation, Chapter Two discusses the hybrid nature of the playtext- whether a playtext has been written as a literary text to be read (with or without a potential performance) and/or as a performance script to be performed on stage- something that needs to be recognised and taken into consideration by a translator. It moves on to discuss the different readings of a source text by all those involved in the production, play-writing, translation, and acting etc. as there is no one fixed reading of a playtext. Then, an overview of the main problems and strategies of drama translation as discussed by translation studies scholars is presented. In addition, the chapter also explores the viewpoints of both translation

studies and theatre scholars on topics that include the relationship between the written text and its performance, the stages of transforming a playtext into performance, the collaboration among different individuals involved in the production of a play, and defining key concepts related to theatre translation such as: ‘performability’, ‘graspability’, ‘playability’ and the ‘*mise en scene*’.

On the other hand, Chapter Three introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis which combines conceptual tools from both Lefevere and Bourdieu. Lefevere’s ‘rewriting theory’ is discussed along with his concepts of ‘poetics’ and ‘patronage’. Other ideas of his like the canonization and codification of poetics, change in the literary system, and his views of Bourdieu’s cultural and economic capitals are also mentioned. In addition, Bourdieu’s notions of ‘field’, ‘capital’ and the two modes of cultural productions are thoroughly explained. Then, the justifications for combining both scholar’s theories is given. In short, it is a combination of a cultural-oriented research with a sociological-oriented research that somehow overlap and, at the same time, complete each other’s limitations. Although Lefevere’s model does help in describing the context of translation and the factors affecting the shaping of cultural products from inside and outside the literary system, Bourdieu’s concepts give deeper and more powerful insights into the social practices and the producers of cultural products themselves, and how they affect these products. This theoretical framework has proven effective in reaching a complete understanding of the socio-cultural and political factors that affected the shaping of different Arabic translations and rewritings of Shaw’s plays.

Four research questions are developed out of the main research question, and they are used to motivate the discussion of the thesis. The first two map out the field of drama and theatre translation into Arabic (Chapter Four) as well as the fields of Shaw in Arab academia and Shaw’s drama in Arabic translation and adaptation (Chapter Five). The other two are answered in two data analysis chapters (Chapters Six and Seven) to identify the relationship between these translations and adaptations and the characteristics of the fields and the different contexts. In the following section, a discussion of how each research question is answered along with the main research methods, contributions, limitations and findings are given.

1- How did the translation, adaptation and rewriting of foreign drama into Arabic start and develop?

This research question is answered in Chapter Four which has a double function. First, it works as a historical background that identifies the social, political and economic factors besides censorship bodies that have been affecting the field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World. It focuses on various Egyptian

contexts, where most of the Arabic translations and adaptations of Shaw's plays were produced, and on the Lebanese, although to a lesser degree. The main sources that this background depends on are books and articles on the history of the Arabic, Egyptian and Lebanese theatres and the censorship systems operating in them. Other secondary sources and desktop research are consulted such as publishers' websites and paratexts of the Arabic translations of Shaw's drama among others.

Second, the chapter maps out the translational activity within the field of drama and drama translation from 1899 to 2011, as the databases do not provide any drama translations after this year. This mapping takes into consideration Hanna's 2011 mapping which concentrated only on the periods from 1900 to 1949 and from 2000 to 2010. The researcher depended on the databases of ARUC and the mapping of Hanna (2011) in the provided descriptive statistics. After collecting the data (i.e. all Arabic drama translations published in a book form), it was classified according to country of publication, decade of publication and publisher, both public and private, and presented in two charts (Figure 3 and 4). The chapter also includes a detailed list of the main Arabic translation programmes, most important of which are those sponsored by the Egyptian government. This helps in understanding the role of patronage to confirm or confront the common poetics and/or ideology and how it causes an increase or a decrease in the quantity and quality of the translations. For instance, the extensive patronage and sponsorship of the Egyptian government under Abdul-Nassir's regime in the 1950s and 1960s of theatre and drama led to the flourish of the Egyptian theatre and the production of drama translations as radio plays broadcasted on channels like The Cultural Programme Broadcasting Channel and The General Programme Broadcasting Channel, or in a book form through the specialised drama translation serieses and other translation projects. That specific decade also witnessed the largest number of Arabic publications and productions of Shaw's plays for different means of media, most probably for their socialist content. This mapping gives facts and statistical analysis of the translational activity rather than mere assumptions, and this can be linked to the field in general as presented in the historical background which is one of the contributions of this thesis. Although this mapping out is the most comprehensive available, it could have benefited from the more systematic databases of the Egyptian National Library and Archives which could not be accessed due to maintenance on their website. This could be taken into consideration for future mappings of the field. In addition, this mapping out could entail some limitations on the micro-level analysis.

As for the field itself, the translation and adaptation of Western drama played a major role in the introduction of drama to the Arab World, which started with the

works of Marūn Al-Naqqāsh in 1847 in Lebanon and Ya'qūb Ṣannū in 1870 in Egypt. Arab translators first chose French literature before directing their efforts to English literature in the second decade of the twentieth century. The Arab theatre started and developed in Egypt where it gradually flourished in the late nineteenth century through private troupes which mostly performed melodramas, comedies and musicals. At the same time, published drama translations began due to the efforts of a few individuals, especially by those who migrated from Lebanon and Syria. In the second decade of the twentieth century, George Abyaḍ formed the most successful troupe in Egypt, and introduced serious drama, including tragedies and historical plays, to Arab audiences when he staged translated plays from around the world, such as Shakespeare's and Racine's plays. Around this time, drama translations were published independently of audience needs, and translators decided to work on their own terms. These translators were mostly freelancers who translated in their spare time, because they held other day jobs.

The Egyptian Government established the National Troupe in 1935, and sought to refine audience tastes. This project was led by Abyaḍ who had already begun the project of refinement with his own troupe, before joining the National Troupe. Even so, most performances included songs and poetry that the audience liked and expected. After the 1952 Revolution, Egyptian theatre moved into a 'golden era' with the encouragement and support of the Government, who sponsored the translation and writing of many plays. The National Troupe was the dominant theatrical troupe until after the 1967 defeat, which affected the Egyptian economy. After this, Government financial support for the theatre declined. This paved the way for the re-emergence of private troupes and TV troupes, which flourished. This began an era of growth for commercial tastes and a major change in the prevailing poetics within the field of theatrical production.

In order to understand the prevailing poetics and the register preferences in the field of literary production in general, the chapter discusses debates among Arab specialists over which variety of Arabic was best to use in an official capacity including: (1) the debate between traditionalists and modernists; and (2) the debate whether to use Classical Arabic/MSA, the colloquial, or an in-between path as the language of writing and/or translating literature. In this realm, two different approaches taken by early literary translators are presented in order to uncover differences in poetics between Arab translators in Egypt who were traditionalists (through Rafā'ah Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī) and those who is classed as modernists (through Buṭrus Al-Bustānī). In addition, a case study of the translation approaches used by the early pioneering Egyptian drama translator, Muhammad 'Uthman Jalal is also

given. Although he received a traditional education, Jalal did not follow the common poetics of his day, which was to use Classical Arabic, and used the colloquial and *zajal* instead.

In Lebanon, after Marūn Al-Naqqāsh's dramatic trials in 1847, theatrical troupes did not exist, and drama was performed only in schools and churches. However, many Lebanese intellectuals migrated to Egypt and helped in establishing the Egyptian theatrical field there, after which theatrical performances took off in the early twentieth century. The Lebanese theatre itself flourished between 1960 and 1975, reaching its 'golden age' just before the start of the Civil War (1975-1990). The Lebanese Government did not support theatre and, therefore, it was established through the work of individual efforts. An influential genre of theatre that flourished in the 1960s and 1970s was the musical theatre. This was exemplified by the work of Al-Raḥābina and Romeo Laḥūd, among others. The Lebanese theatre declined during the Civil War, and only a few troupes were still operating. In terms of their influence on register, Lebanese playwrights such as Al-Naqqāsh used the Lebanese colloquial at first, but turned to MSA in later years, until 1964 when writers returned to using the colloquial. With the dominance of commercial features as the poetics of theatrical production in the Egyptian theatre, this helped in confirming the same features in Lebanon as well.

2- What key factors conditioned and shaped the introduction of Bernard Shaw and his work to the Arab culture and translation?

Chapter Five investigates when, where, how and why Shaw was introduced into the Arab culture; this was mainly done via academia, printed translations, and radio, stage, cinema, and television productions. This chapter maps out two fields of cultural productions on George Bernard Shaw, i.e. the field of Shaw in Arab academia, and the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation for the period from 1914 to 2017. During the process of collecting data for this mapping, a mixture of resources have been consulted including: (1) lists and databases of university dissertations and translations produced in the Arab World such as ARUC, Mandhuma, AskZad etc.; (2) Hanna's 2011 mapping; (3) secondary sources and desktop research. Similar to the mapping in Chapter 4, the data collected was classified according to country of publication, decade of publication and publisher, both public and private. The results are presented in charts and tables as follows:

- Two tables for the academia section that give numbers of the published Arabic academic works on Shaw as books, journal articles, university dissertations and translations of Shaw's non-fiction works according to the

decade and country of publication (Figures 5 and 6), and a chart that shows descriptive statistics for these numbers (Figure 7).

- Two tables for Shaw's drama section that give numbers of its presence in different Arab media, i.e. published Arabic translations and radio and stage adaptations of these plays according to the decade and country of publication (Figures 8 and 9), a chart that shows descriptive statistics for these numbers (Figure 10), and a table that gives numbers of each Shaw play distributed according to the medium i.e. published as a reading version, radio and stage.
- A table that gives details of the Arabic cinema and TV adaptations of Shaw's plays are also given (Table 13).
- A bibliography that includes detailed information about each work is presented in tables in Appendix 1 attached to the thesis.

Both the mapping and the bibliography of both fields are among the contributions of this thesis as there is no other mapping, other than Hanna (2011), of the two fields has been produced by any other researcher so far. The results of this mapping are analysed and linked to the larger field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World in order to identify the main socio-cultural and political factors that motivated the productions of Shaw's works into Arabic.

In addition, the chapter identifies both public and private publishers who produced the Arabic versions of Shaw's plays in order to understand the role of patronage, especially in Egypt where the largest number of these productions are being produced. Besides publishers, translators/adapters of Shaw are also categorized, their translational approaches and other poetics-related choices are identified so that a better understanding how Shaw has been introduced to different Arab audiences is reached and by whom.

The analysis in this chapter has depended on textual, contextual and paratextual material as follows:

- Textually (most notably, the academic works/translations/adaptations themselves).
- Contextually (undertaking research about social, economic and political contexts, researching the translators' backgrounds, and using published reviews by audiences or critics).
- Paratextually (the material added and published with the translations including translators' introductions, other information added by the publishers, blurbs etc.).

A number of challenges has been faced by the researcher while working on this chapter that can be considered among the limitations of the study. Although there is a dearth of accurate and well-organised databases with high quality data in the Arab culture, the researcher has been able to find good Arabic databases that were consulted to build the analysis presented in this chapter. At first, the researcher was optimistic about the quality of databases available in the Egyptian National Library and Archives, but they could not be accessed as the website had not been in operation for a while. As for finding the old published translations for both the mapping and the analysis chapters, the researcher had to take a trip to Egypt to look for used copies as they are no longer available to purchase. Other challenges include the inability to find more reliable resources on the background of some of the translators and more accurate dates for the radio productions (although the decades have been identified). In regards to the latter, it was difficult to confirm whether or not some published translations of radio productions were published before or after their radio broadcast, and whether or not translations were undertaken especially for radio in the first place. These radio versions are close to original translations that uses MSA as their register, though, they utilise semi-colloquial pronunciation. In light of this, and because they were produced in the same context, i.e. time (1950s/1960s) and place (Egypt), radio versions were not analysed.

Here is a summary of the main findings of the investigation undertaken to construct the field of Shaw in Arab academia, and the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation. Shaw's work was first introduced to Egyptians in 1914, when an article about Shaw's life and works appeared by the well-known Egyptian writer Abbās Al-'Aqqād, and through the staging and publishing of Ibāhīm Ramzī's translation of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra*. Other translations of Shaw's work then appeared. In the first half of the twentieth century, translators followed the principles of free translation, which allowed for some degree of manipulation of the ST. These translations were undertaken specifically for theatrical troupes, such as those led by George Abyaḍ and Victoria Mūsā, to perform on stage. Almost all Arabic translations of Shaw's plays seen in this era were published by private publishers, and some of these translations were post-performance publications.

Shaw's plays have been most numerous published, translated, and turned into radio and staged performances in the 1950s and 1960s Egypt, during the era of socialism under Abdul-Nassir's regime. Generally, at the time, translators became interested in translating plays with socialist content in order to curry favour with the Government, which, in turn, guaranteed publication and helped in both building a new socialist Egypt and accumulating symbolic capital. During this era, the Egyptian

Government launched drama translation serieses, and translations of many famous plays from around the globe were completed by specialists. This era also saw Government sponsorship of the Egyptian theatre and radio. The National Troupe was formed in 1935, and the Egyptian Broadcasting Channel *Idha'at al-Birnamig al-Thaqāfi* (the Cultural Programme Radio Station¹²⁷) appeared in 1957. Shaw's plays were introduced to an Egyptian audience using these media.

Since the 1970s (after the 1967 defeat) Egypt has witnessed an influx of writers and intellectuals and a growth in the influence of capitalism. This era has also seen the end of the translation serieses, reduced financial support for the theatre from the Government, and a decline in published, radio and staged translations of Shaw's plays in Arabic. This economic crises led to a change in the prevailing poetics within the field so that more commercial-oriented cultural productions in the field is produced and the economic capital was heavily sought to accumulate by most producers of cultural products.

Since the 1950s in Egypt, Shaw's plays have been steadily translated by academics and other specialists. However, from 1979, Shaw began to attract the attention of students, who began to feature his work in a number of university theses and dissertations. However, the only two university dissertations dealing with Arabic translations of Shaw's plays have focused on a linguistic level of analysis. One study researches the translation of the Arabic sense of humour in three translations of *Arms and the Man*, while the other study identifies the problems and strategies of drama translation in two Arabic translations of *Pygmalion* published in Egypt.

3- How have the constraints of poetics and patronage, as theorised by Lefevere, affected the various rewritings of Shaw's *Pygmalion* for the Arab theatre?

Chapter Six answers this research question through investigating the role played by poetics, patronage and other factors including the adapters' forms of capital, audience expectations and censorship among others in different Arabic socio-cultural and political contexts in shaping the stage adaptations/rewritings of Shaw's *Pygmalion*. Four stage adaptations have been chosen for analysis as they represent different Arab contexts between 1969 and 2017 in both Egypt and Lebanon and encapsulate sufficient contextual and paratextual information. They are *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* (1969), *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* (2017), and two versions of the musical *Bint Al-*

¹²⁷ Its original name was *Idha'at al-Birnamig al-Thani* (the Second Programme Radio Station).

Jabal (1977 and 2015). This chapter contributes in further constructing the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation through an in-depth investigation and analysis of a sample of the Arabic stage adaptations of Shaw's *Pygmalion*. The researcher depended on the video recordings of these four stage adaptations, which were transcribed by the researcher for easy reach during analysis, and they have been analysed as follows:

- Textually (everything verbalised in the performances including the characters' dialogues and songs).
- Contextually (in relation to the context in which they were produced, the field of drama and drama translation in the Arab World, available reviews by media, critics and audience, and adapters/rewriters' backgrounds and their own words and/or views through interviews, diaries among others).
- Paratextually (including nonverbal gestures and dances, pre-performance introductions, advertisements, and the words or speeches made prior to radio or stage performances).

After identifying the ST's major implications that would represent translational challenges, the analysis focused on researching how Arab rewriters/adapters dealt with them in their versions. These implications are related to title, ending, the linguistic distinction of using both standard and dialect to represent different social classes, verbal and nonverbal means of characterisation, and settings. It was concluded that, as adaptations, most of these implications were changed according to the new milieu especially in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* which was Egyptianised to represent Khedival Egypt and the two versions of *Bint Al-Jabal* to convey the conditions in Lebanon during the Civil War and the Mutaṣarifiyya. However, some of the original features were kept in *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* as the adapter opted for a foreignisation strategy that he even enhanced through the addition of scenes from Tawfiq Al-Hakim's version of the Pygmalion-Galatea myth.

Among the key findings of Chapter Six is that both *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* and *Bint Al-Jabal* were part of large-scale production trends, and were produced following the laws of the market. These productions included commercial features, such as low-quality comedy, songs, dance, and happy endings. Writers such as Kafājī, Qamar, and Laḥūd embraced commercialism in order to make their names and accumulate symbolic capital in the field of drama. They also sought economic profit, which, according to Bourdieu, is at the root of all types of capital. Both adaptations became classics and canonised in the field of Arabic drama. *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla* helped to build the reputation of private theatrical enterprise in the 1960s Egypt, which began to compete with the National Theatre in shaping the new poetics of theatre

production. *Al-Nās illī fī Al-Nuṣ* is unique in terms of Bourdieu's types of production, in that two types of production overlap. Shafiq sought both large-scale and restricted-scale production. He combined intellectual content that targeted the well-educated, as well as commercial features to attract popularity.

The challenges and limitations of researching this chapter include:

- Inaccessibility to scripts and/or recordings of the staged versions of the first half of the twentieth century, especially those performed by the Egyptian National Troupe so that they could be compared with their contemporary commercial-oriented adaptations produced by the private sector such as *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*. This would have helped in identifying key differences in translation policies adopted by as well as the conflict of opposite poetics (i.e. intellectuality versus commerciality) between public and private theatres at that time.
- The analysis depends heavily on secondary resources.

4- How to better understand the socio-cultural and political dynamics of the production, dissemination and reception of multiple Arabic retranslations of Shaw's plays in different Arab contexts?

Chapter Seven answers this research question by examining a sample of (re)translations of Shaw's plays in order to find out the socio-cultural and political factors that affected and shaped them. After having a closer look at all available Arabic (re)translations, the researcher decided to analyse the (re)translations of eight Shaw plays published in a book form in different Arab countries and periods of time, i.e. Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Kuwait between 1914 and 2008. The analysis aims at showing how Arab translators dealt with political and religious taboos present in the source texts, and how the prevailing poetics within their contexts affected the choices made in relation to register and the inclusion of poetry. The TTs that contain any type or degree of manipulation in these areas have been selected after going through a parallel reading that involves the STs along with all their TTs in hand. Similar to Chapter Six, this chapter contributes in the construction of the field of Shaw's drama in Arabic translation and adaptation through a text-based analysis. One limitation in this chapter is that the analysis depends heavily on secondary sources as there is a lack in the (re)translators' justifications for their different choices. They could not be found either in paratextual material (i.e. (re)translators' introductions or footnotes, etc.) or in contextual material (i.e. (re)translators' mentioning of these justifications in articles, interviews, etc.) except for minor decisions. The only

exception is a handwritten note by Ramzī in his published version of *Caesar and Cleopatra* explaining why he deleted dialogues in Act 2 and the whole of Act 3.

The chosen data has been analysed as follows:

- Textually (through examining the (re)translations themselves).
- Contextually (through linking to the field of Arabic drama and theatre production and translation, researching the translators' backgrounds and their own words and/or views from interviews, diaries among others, and using published reviews by audience or critics).
- Paratextually (the material added and published with the translations including translators' introductions, other information added by the publishers, blurbs, front covers etc.).

To sum up the findings of the chapter, it is worth mentioning that the researcher investigated how Arab translators manipulated retranslations of Shaw's plays according to prevailing poetics, politics, censorship rules and other socio-cultural factors. In addition, Bourdieu's concepts of 'field', 'capital' and 'distinction' were used to inform the analysis. In the section related to political and religious taboo, the researcher explained how translators participate in self-censorship, to a greater or lesser extent. The most manipulations were found in Ramzī's version of *Caesar and Cleopatra* undertaken in 1914 (which was published under the British occupation of Egypt) from which he removes most references to the Roman occupation of Egypt. However, although Zakī's version of *Saint Joan* was published under the same circumstances in 1938, he retains many political and religious 'taboos' found in the ST (i.e., offensive references to the Prophet Mohammad). It is apparent that Zakī did not fear the censors, and this might have been because of the significant symbolic capital he enjoyed working in the literary field and due to his social status as a *beik*. The changes made by early translators through omissions and additions led later translators to produce new versions that were closer to the ST. Indeed, a retranslation of *Caesar and Cleopatra* was published in 1966 by Ikhlaṣ Azmī which keeps in all political references. Additionally, a retranslation of *Saint Joan* was published in 1965 by Muhammad Maḥbūb who kept in the political references that may have caused offence during the times of the British occupation of Egypt, but removed content that would be offensive to Muslims living in late twentieth century. The content related to Darwinism and evolution in *Man and Superman* was dealt with differently by the retranslators ranging from literal rendering to over translation by enhancing the taboo. However, the socialist content present in the STs is retained to fall in line with the socialist direction Egyptian politics took during the 1960s. As for words and expressions relevant to the Arab-Israeli conflict, retranslators kept them literally,

changed them, added historical information about the conflict in footnotes, or referred to it in the paratext of their translation.

As for the section investigating the influence of poetics, the discussion concluded that, the older the translation, the higher the register chosen by the translator. Classical Arabic was the prevailing poetics of the early twentieth century, and this was used by Ramzī. Over time, MSA gradually replaced Classical Arabic as the most common variety used when authoring and translating literature. We can see this gradual shift away from Classical Arabic in the translations made by Zakī (1938) and Al-Dusūqī (1947). Retranslations published since the 1950s are closer to their STs. Generally, from the mid-twentieth century, translations become more academic; they utilise a simple variety of MSA, they begin to be carried out by specialists or professional translators; and are published to be enjoyed by readers or to help students understand the drama curriculum.

In the early twentieth century, Shaw's plays (along with the work of other dramatists from around the world) were translated to be performed in Egypt by famous theatrical troupes. Performances usually included poems or songs, to be sung on stage, in order to meet the audience expectations. When these plays were published as post-performance texts, the poems and songs were included in the printed texts. However, by the mid-twentieth century, poetics began to change, and the poems and songs were no longer included in published texts, almost as if they had never existed. Changes in poetics, in the form of the moving away from Classical Arabic towards MSA motivated translators to produce new translations of source texts, and this motivation is explicitly cited, for example in the preface to Ikhlaṣ Azmī's retranslation of *Caesar and Cleopatra*.

Chapter Seven concluded that retranslations of Shaw's plays were undertaken for three main reasons or, using Bourdieu's term, forms of distinction as follows:

1. The retranslator's lack of knowledge of other available Arabic translations of their chosen Shaw text.
2. In order to replace a post-performance text with a version designed for reading (which usually involves the production of a version that is closer to the ST).
3. To simplify the register of Arabic that was used in a previous version, so as to make the play more appealing to new audiences.

8.2 Avenues for Future Research

This study analyses a number of Arabic translations and stage adaptations of Shaw's plays, all of which have been published and produced in the Arab World. This was done in order to understand the socio-cultural and political factors which conditioned

their introduction, production, dissemination and reception. Some of the chosen translations and adaptations had only ever been investigated from a linguistic point of view by previous researchers. With this in mind, this study has tried to fill gaps in research by analysing these translations and adaptations textually, contextually and paratextually from a sociological perspective.

Despite the study's limitations discussed above, and while the aim has, largely, been achieved, there remains scope for further research as follows:

- Extending the body of data to include other works:
 - Researching performances of Shaw's plays by the Egyptian National Troupe (in recording or script form) would be valuable. The goal of this task would be to compare National Troupe versions with versions staged by private troupes operating at the same time, in order to reveal just how big the gap between the two theatres was, from a sociological perspective.
 - Using the databases of the Egyptian National Library and Archives, in order to find further published Arabic translations of Shaw's plays or any academic works about him.
 - Exploring radio translations/adaptations.
- Researching the impact of the translated versions of Shaw's plays on Arab theatre and playwrights to discover the extent to which they have influenced them.
- Researching the processes and factors involved in the canonisation and/or marginalisation of the Arabic translations of Shaw's plays.
- Using retranslation theory to examine published translations in more detail.
- Employing adaptation shifts models to examine the adaptations in greater depth.
- Using a more systematic cataloguing of translation shifts (electronic or other) and extending the types of shifts to look at.
- Linking findings to aspects of characterisation; focus on specific characters and how they evolve across time; perhaps linking such characters to ideological, political or gender-related debates.
- Audience response studies (which would entail different methodologies, such as interviews and questionnaires asking readers which versions they prefer and why or what their motivation for going to the theatre to watch a play by Shaw might be).

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APPENDIX 1

1. Shaw in Arab Academia

a) Details of Books

Title	Author	Year	Publisher
فظائع الاحتلال البريطاني، الرعب في دنشواي، فظائع العدالة البريطانية في مصر	Wilfrid Scawen Blunt Translated by: Muhammad Mistikāwī	1940	Nahdat Miṣr, Egypt
جورج برنارد شو: فلسفته وشخصيته George Bernard Shaw: His Philosophy and Personality	Fullah Badawī	1944	Elias Modern Press, Egypt
جورج برنارد شو George Bernard Shaw	Michelle Taklā	1946	Dār Nashr Al-Thaqāfa, Egypt
برنارد شو وأصل الانسان Bernard Shaw and the Origin of Man	Michelle Taklā	1948	Dār Nashr Al-Thaqāfa, Egypt
Bernard Shaw برنارد شو	‘Abbās Al-‘Aqqād	1950	Dār Al-Ma’ārif, Egypt
عن الأدب الإنجليزي الحديث On Modern English Literature	Lewis ‘Awad	1950	Dār Al-Fikr, Egypt
مسرح برنارد شو: دراسة تحليلية لأصوله الفنية والفكرية Bernard Shaw’s Theatre: An Analytical Study of his Artistic and Intellectual Roots	Ali Al-Rā’ī	1955	Egyptian General Organization for Authorship, Translation and Publishing, Egypt
برنارد شو وجوركي وأرجن Bernard Shaw, Gorky and Aragon	Nu’mān ‘Āshūr	1956	Dār Al-Fikr, Egypt
برنارد شو: العقل الساخر Bernard Shaw: The Sarcastic Mind	Abdul-Laṭīf Sharāra	1956	Dār Bayrūt, Lebanon
Pioneers of Thought رواد الفكر	Nu’mān ‘Āshūr	1956	Dār Al-Fikr, Egypt
Bernard Shaw برنارد شو	Salāma Mūsā	1957	Al-Khanjī, Egypt
World Theatre المسرح العالمي	Lewis ‘Awad	1961	Dār Al-M’ārif, Egypt
هؤلاء علموني Those have Taught Me	Salāma Mūsā	1964	Al-Khanjī, Egypt
برنارد شو والمسرح الاشتراكي	Muhammad Al- Sharqāwī	1964	Al-Dār Al-Qawmiyya, Egypt

Bernard Shaw and the Socialist Theatre			
برنارد شو: تاريخ حياته الفكري Bernard Shaw: His Intellectual History	Ahmad Khākī	1967	Al-M'ārif, Egypt
تايخ الأدب الحديث: تطوره، معالمه الكبرى، مدارسه من الحملة الفرنسية في مصر إلى العهد الاشتراكي: دراسة منهجية مركزة	Ḥamid Ḥifnī Dāwā	1967	Dār Al-Ṭibā'a Al-Muḥammadiyya, Egypt
غراميات برنارد شو Bernard Shaw and Love (translated)	H. Pearson, translated by: Rif'at Nasīm	1970	Dār Al-Qalam, Lebanon
العظماء: عبد الناصر، برتراند رسل، برنارد شو The Great Figures: Abdul Nassir, Bertrand Russel, and Bernard Shaw	Omar Abū Al-Naṣr	1971	Dār Omar Abū Al- Naṣr, Lebanon
برنارد شو Bernard Shaw (translated)	A.M. Gibbs, translated by: Ghālib Halssa	1977	Al-Mu`asassa Al- 'Arabiyya, Lebanon
نساء في حياة برنارد شو Women in Bernard Shaw's Life (translated)	H. Pearson, translated by: Rif'at Nasīm	1978	Dār Al-Hilāl, Egypt
الاشتراكية والحب عند برنارد شو Socialism and Love for Bernard Shaw	Nabīl Rāghīb	1980	Al-Markaz Al-'Arabī lil Thaqāfa wa Al-'Ulūm, Lebanon
عبقريّة برنارد شو The Genius Bernard Shaw (translated)	Michael Holroyd , translated by: Nājī Al-Ḥadīthī	1985	Ministry of Information and Culture, Iraq
Essays in Comparative Literature: An Islamic Perspective	'Adnān Wazzān	1985	Ithaca Press, UK
قراءات من هنا وهناك	Huda Ḥabīsha	1988	General Egyptian Book Organization, Egypt
برنارد شو والإسلام Bernard Shaw and Islam	Maḥmūd Murād	1989	Dār Al-Hilāl, Egypt
برنارد شو Bernard Shaw (translated)	Erik Bintelli Translated by: 'Issa Sam'ān	1990	Ministry of Culture, Syria
كتابان بين الجاحظ وجورج برنارد شو وجائزة نوبل Two Books between Al-Jāḥiz, Bernard Shaw and the Nobel Prize	Nūrī Ja'far	1990	General Cultural Affairs House, Iraq

حوار حول الاسلام بين الفيلسوف الايرلندي برنارد شو والعالم المسلم محمد عبد العليم الصديقي	Translated by: Majdī Muhammad Abdul-Raḥmān	1992	Dār Al-`I'tisām, Egypt
المسرح العالمي	Lewis `Awad	1993	General Egyptian Book Organization, Egypt
جورج برنارد شو George Bernard Shaw	Muhammad Al- `Ashamāwī	1994	Dār Al-Shurūq, Egypt
العمل المسرحي في ضوء الدراسات النقدية: النظرية والتطبيق Theatrical Work in the Light of Critical Studies: Theory and Practice	Abdul-Latīf, Ḥadīd	1996	Dār Al-Ma'rifa, Egypt
Beyond the Arab Disease: New Perspectives in Politics and Culture	Riaḍ Nūrallah	2005	Routledge, USA
الدراما الواقعية بين برنارد شو ونعمان عاشور Realistic Drama between Bernard Shaw and Nu'mān `Ashūr	Amānī Fahīm	2011	Dār Gharīb, Egypt
برنارد شو: مشاهير عبر التاريخ Bernard Shaw: Celebrities throughout History	Muhammad Ṣālīḥ	2011	Dār Al-Fārūq, Egypt
Translations of Bernard Shaw's Non-fiction Works			
كلمات خالدة	From Bernard Shaw (translated)	1928	Al-Ḥadīth Journal, (Year 2, no.10), Syria
مقالات في الاشتراكية الفابية Essays in Fabian Socialism	Translated by: Muhammad Al- Shafqī	1930	Al-Dār Al-Qawmiyya, Egypt
كيف يخلص الشرق من الغرب: كلمة صريحة لبرنارد شو	Translated by: (not available)	1933	Al-Ḥadīqa Journal (11), Egypt
قداسة النقد لبرنارد شو	Iskandar Al-Buṭrusī	1940	Al-Risāla (379), Egypt
الاشتراكية الفابية: أبحاث بقلم برنارد شو	Translated by: Burhān Al-Dajānī	1947	Dār Al-Ṭalī'a, Lebanon
آراء في التعليم والتربية	Translated by: (not available)	1947	Al-Tarbiyya Al-Ḥadītha Journal (3), Egypt
أنصاف المتعلمين: لذعات بقلم الكاتب العالمي برنارد شو، ملخص عن مؤلفه "دليل الكل في سياسة الكل"	Translated by: (not available)	1948	Al-Hilāl Journal (6), Egypt
السيرانادا	Translated by: Sulimān Mūsā	1955	Al-Adīb Journal (6), Lebanon

دليل المرأة الذكية إلى الاشتراكية والرأسمالية والسوفيتية والفاشية The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism	Translated by: Omar Makkāwī	1962	Dār Al-Qalam, Egypt
مولع بفاجنر The Perfect Wagnerite	Translated by: Tharwat 'Ukāsha	1965	Dār Al-M'ārif, Egypt
مختارات من برنارد شو في السياسة والنقد	Translated by: Omar Makkāwī	1965	Dār Al-Hilāl, Egypt
حكم للثوريين The Revolutionist's Handbook and Pocket Companion	Ḥusayn Al-'Āmilī	1969	Al-Azhar Printing House, Iraq
رسائل لم تنشر	Translated by: Ahmad Fawzī	1972	Al-Kātib Journal (139), Egypt
المسيح ليس مسيحياً: مقدمة لمسرحية أندروكليس والأسد	Translated by: George Fattāh	1973	Dār Al-Ṭalī'a, Lebanon
جورج برنارد شو: حياته بقلمه	Translated by: Wajdī Al-Fīshāwī	1983	Dār Al-Thaqāfa, Egypt

b) Details of Journal Articles

Title	Author	Year	Journal
المرأة في رأي برنارد شو	'Abbās Al-'Aqqād	1914	Al-Bayān lil Barqūqī (23), Egypt
برنارد شو	Salāmā Mūsā	1923	Al-Hilāl (9), Egypt
حكم و أقوال متنوعة	From Bernard Shaw, Paul Doumer etc. (translated)	1927	Al-Ḥadīth Journal, (Year 1, no.6), Syria
في البدء (رواية لبرنارد شو) الرواية الأولى من كتاب "الرجوع إلى متوشالح"- الفصل الأول	Translated by: Salīm Khiyāṭa	1930	Al-Ḥadīth Journal, (Year 4, no.3&4), Syria
في البدء (رواية لبرنارد شو) الرواية الأولى من كتاب "الرجوع إلى متوشالح"- الفصل الثاني	Translated by: Salīm Khiyāṭa	1930	Al-Ḥadīth Journal, (Year 4, no.3&4), Syria
برنارد شو في دمشق	Salīm Khiyāṭa	1931	?, Syria
جورج برنارد شو: الكاتب الانكليزي الشهير (بمناسبة زيارته سورية)	Iskandar Grant	1931	Al-Ḥadīth Journal, (Year 5, no.4), Syria
برنارد شو	Khalīl Murdām	1933	Al-Thaqāfa Al-Sūrriyya (4), Syria

الرجوع إلى ميتوزيلا لبرنارد شو	Najīb Maḥfūz	1934	Al-Ma'rifa Al-Maṣriyya (7-8), Egypt
برنارد شو	Abdul-Raḥmān Ṣidqī	1939	Al-Thaqāfa (29), Egypt
برنارد شو	Ahmad Khākī	1942	Al-Thaqāfa (167), Egypt
برنارد شو	Lewis 'Awaḍ	1946	Al-Kātib Al-Miṣrī (8), Egypt
برنارد شو الفرنسي	Ḥabīb Jamātī	1947	Al-Hilāl (1), Egypt
أثر المرأة في حياة برنارد شو وأدبه	'Issa Futūḥ	1950	?
شكسبير وبرنارد شو	Anwar Al-Jundī	1952	Al-Thaqāfa (692), Egypt
برنارد شو يصحح دراستي عنه	Andre Moreau Translated by: Muhammad Abdul-Ghanī Ḥasan	1953	Al-Kātib (Year 8, Part 4), Egypt
برنارد شو الكاتب الناقد	Yusuf Tharwat	1954	Al-Adīb (9), Lebanon
برنارد شو... والمرأة	Malak Abdul-'Azīz	1954	Al-Risāla Al-Jadīda (9), Egypt
جورج برنارد شو (بمناسبة ذكره الخامسة)	Sulimān Mūsā	1955	Al-Ādāb (2), Lebanon
برنارد شو في الكتب والصحف والإذاعة	Muhammad Mandūr	1957	Al-Majalla (1), Egypt
اشتراكيان.. ورجعيان	Salama Mūsā	1957	Al-Ādāb (Year 4, no.12), Lebanon
برنارد شو، عبقرى صنع نفسه	Omar Makkāwī	1960	Al-Majalla (48), Egypt
جورج برنارد شو: فلسفته ومسرحه George Bernard Shaw: His Philosophy and Theatre	Muhammad Al-'Ashamawī	1961	Faculty of Arts Journal (vo.1), University of Alexandria, Egypt
Shaw and the Drama of Ideas	Abdul-Wahāb Al-Wakīl	1962	School of Literatures Journal in Baghdad University (no.5), Iraq
شكسبير وشو ومسرح العرائس	Ali Al-Rā'ī	1964	Al-Kātib (37), Egypt
الاشتراكية الفابية ولماذا تعثرت؟	Kāmil Zuhayrī	1964	Al-Kātib (37), Egypt
جائزة نوبل بين سارتر وشو	Rajā` Al-Naqqāsh	1964	Al-Ādāb (Year 12, no.12), Lebanon
اشتراكية برنارد شو	Jarjis Al-Rasīdī	1965	Al-Majalla (105), Egypt
برنارد شو والمسألة اليهودية	Mizahim Al-Ṭā'ī	1966	Al-Ādāb (Year 4, No.1), Lebanon

الفنان في مسرح شو	Muhammad Al-Shafqī	1966	Egyptian General Organisation for Authorship, News and Publishing, Egypt
التطور الخلاق وثورة شو في أدب المسرح	Muhammad Abdul-Hamīd	1967	Faculty of Arts Annual Journal, Ain Shams University (vo.10), Egypt
Shaw's Ideas of Greatness and the Superman	Abdul-Wahāb Al-Wakīl	1967	School of Literatures Journal in Baghdad University (no.10), Iraq
مسرح برنارد شو والجنس الآخر	Yusuf Tharwat	1968	Al-Adīb (5), Lebanon
جورج برنارد شو موهبة وعلم	Abdul-Mun'im Shumays	1968	Al-Adab (vo. 11, no.2), Egypt
العنصر البيولوجي في مسرح برنارد شو	Nabīl Rāghib	1968	Al-Majalla (143), Egypt
العودة إلى متوشالغ	Jarjis Al-Rashīdī	1968	Turāth Al-'Nsāniyya (vo.8, no.3), Egypt
St. Joan: Shaw's Final Statement on Greatness	Abdul-Wahāb Al-Wakīl	1969	School of Literatures Journal in Baghdad University (12), Iraq
الدراما السياسية عند شو	Ibrahīm Ḥammād	1980	Al-Masraḥ (6), Egypt
لقاء غير مستغرب بين برنارد شو ونجيب محفوظ	Ali Al-Rā'ī	1981	Al-'Arabī (267-2), Kuwait
كيف غير برنارد شو مجرى حياتي	Collin Wilson Translated by: Najī Al-Ḥudaythī	1984	Al-Aqlām (6), Iraq
حسد برنارد شو ولیم شكسبير وتمنى لو أخرجه من قبره ورجمه بالحجارة!!	Ali Al-Rā'ī	1984	Al-Duḥa (8), Qatar
بيجماليون بين الأسطورة والأدب	Dhāhir Al-Bayātī	1984	Journal of Popular Heritage (vo.15, no.1&2), Iraq
جورج برنارد شو: دراسة السويبرمان البرجوازي لكريستوفر كودويل	Translated by: Ibrāhīm Ḥammād	1985	Fuṣūl – Literature and Ideology 1 (volume 5, no.3), Egypt
ماذا يقول برنارد شو عن النبي محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام	?	1985	4 th World Conference of the Prophetic Biography of Prophet Muhammad and 10 th Conference of the Islamic Research Centre (vo.2), Egypt
الإسلام وبرنارد شو	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1985	Al-Hilāl (3), Egypt

برنارد شو وقضية دنشواي		1985	Al-Hilāl (6), Egypt
برنارد شو يؤيد تعدد الزوجات		1986	Al-Hilāl (5), Egypt
الحب والجنس في حياة جورج برنارد شو	Amīn Al-‘Ayūṭī	1988	Al-Hilāl (12), Egypt
Behold the Shavian Tempest: the Prospero archetype in Shaw’s Heartbreak House	Mufīd Huwaymida	1989	King Su’ūd University Journal, Literature (vo.1, no. 1&2), Saudi Arabia
On the Rocks: A Shavian Comedy of Manners	Firdaws Al-Bihansawī	1992	Education and Psychology Research Journal (vo.1), Egypt
بيجماليون دراسة نقدية مقارنة بين الأسطورة والإبداع الأدبي	Muhammad Abū Dūma	1997	Literatures and Humanities Journal (vo.1), Egypt
The Aesthetics of 'Pygmalion' in G.B. Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim: a Study of Transcendence and Decadence	Muhammad R. Salāma	2000	Journal of Arabic Literature, (vo.31, is.3), Netherlands
Art and Politics in Shaw’s Heartbreak House	Samar Al-Zahrāwī	2002	Al-Ba’th University Journal (vo.24, no.3), Syria
برنارد شو ومحاكمة مجرمي الحرب	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	2002	Al-Hilāl (5), Egypt
Introduction to the Works of Bernard Shaw	Muhammad Jalāl Ali ‘Uthmān	2003	Tishrīn University Journal for Research and Scientific Studies, Literature and Humanities Series (vo.25, no.19), Syria
بيجماليون: دراسة مقارنة برنارد شو – توفيق الحكيم – علي لقمان	Mubārak Ḥasan Khalīfa	2004	Al-Tawāṣūl (11), Yemen
برنارد شو.. شكسبير الثاني	Hibatullah Al-Ghalāyīnī	2006	Al-Ma’rifa (519), Syria
الأسلوب الأدبي في بيجماليون بين برنارد شو وتوفيق الحكيم: دراسة مقارنة	Sirī Al-Sharīf	2006	Faculty of Arts Journal, Assiut University (20), Egypt
جورج برنارد شو	Ahmad Al-‘Amrī	2007	Al-Ma’rifa (522), Syria
الإصلاح الاجتماعي في مسرحيات مختارة لجورج برنارد شو: بيجماليون وميجر بابارا والرجل والسلاح	Rulī Al-Muwallī	2007	Al-Ba’th University Journal (vo. 29, no.6), Syria
The Analysis of the Interpersonal and Declaratory Acts of the Humorous Utterances in Bernard Shaw’s	Sahira Salmān & Bayda’a Nūrī	2008	Faculty of Arts Journal (86), University of Baghdad, Iraq

Comedy You Can Never Tell: A Pragmatic Study			
Different Eyes and a Single Status and Intertextual Study: Tawfiq Al-Ḥakīm's Pygmalion and Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion	Faṭīma Al-Dīwānī	2009	School of Languages and Translation Journal, Al-Azhar University (no.46), Egypt
A study of a Few Dramatic Devices: Humour in Selected Plays by George Bernard Shaw	Alā` Abdul-Ḥusayn Hāshim	2010	Basra Journal of Researchers (Humanities Series) (vo.35, no.2), Iraq
Metamorphosis and Social Distinction in Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion	Azhir Sulimān Šāleḥ	2010	Journal of Education and Science (vo.17, no.1), Mosul University, Iraq
روح الدعابة في مسرحيات مختارة لبرنارد شو: دراسة في بضع وسائل مسرحية	Alā` Ḥusayn Hāshim	2010	Basra Journal of Researchers (Humanities Series) (vo. 35, no.2), University of Basra, Iraq
دراسة صورة البطلة في مسرحية "بيجماليون" لبرنارد شو	Wafā` Ḥaṣnī	2010	Al-Ba'th University Journal (vo.32, no.31), Syria
Romance and Realism in G.B, Shaw's Arms and the Man	Ghassān Ibrāhīm	2011	Heritage School Journal, Iraq
صورة الارستقراطية في مسرحية لـ" برنارد شو"	Fāṭima bin Rabī'	2011	Al-Tabyīn (36), Algeria
Transformation in the Two Pygmalion Plays by Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Ḥakīm	Muḥsin Al-Sa'dī	2011	Journal of Al-Qādisiyya (vo.14, no.4), Iraq
Political Theatre and its Influence on the Writings of George Bernard Shaw	`İkhlāṣ Šabāḥ Abdullah	2012	Journal of Arts (57), Al-Mustansiriya University, Iraq
بيجماليون وسحر الأسطورة حين يتجسد عملا مسرحيا في ركح الذهن	Hunayda 'Uthmān	2012	Al-Thaqāfa Al-Jadīda (263), Egypt
The Changing Image of Egypt: the Disciple or the Saviour?: In G. B. Shaw's Caesar and Cleopatra 1898 and the Millionairess 1935.	Amal Muḥzir	2012	The Third International Conference: The Image of Egypt in World Literature, Centre of Languages and Translation in the University of Cairo, Egypt
Bernard Shaw and Bertolt Brecht: The Unity of Opposites	Azhir Sulimān Šāleḥ	2013	Adāb Al-Rafidayn (68), Mosul University, Iraq

The Idea of Philandering in G. B, Shaw's The Philanderer	Liza Ḥusayn Dwaynī	2013	Al-Ustadh (vo.1, no.206), University of Baghdad, Iraq
From a Soldier to a Saint: George Bernard Shaw's Image of Joan of Arc	Ranīm Al-Ḥiṣrī	2013	Al-Ba'th University Journal (vo.35, no.3), Syria
Verbal Humorous as an Anti-Feminist Vehicle in Shaw's Heartbreak House: A Pragmatic-Stylistic Study	Jinān Al-Ḥajāj & 'Arafāt Al-'Abbādī	2014	Basra Journal of Researchers (Humanities Series), (vo.39, no.1), University of Basra, Iraq
Partners in a Moral Crime: A Social Study in George Bernard Shaw's Play Widowers' Houses	Rāfid Sāmī Majīd	2015	Al-Ustadh, University of Baghdad, Iraq
النماذج الإنسانية في الأدب العالمية	Qāsī Abdul-Raḥmān	2015	Majallat Al-Ḥaqīqa (35), Algeria
It is Not Just Phonetics and Aristocrats – It is Sexuality and Politics: The Adaptation of Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion in the Egyptian Theatre	Wisām Al-Milījī	2016	In: Rewriting Narratives in Egyptian Theatre: Translation, Performance and Politics, Routledge, USA
Conversational Implications in Shaw's How He Lied to Her Husband	Hushang Najmaldīn Muṣṭafā and Salām Ni'ma Ḥakīm	2016	Zanco (Humanities), (vo.20, appendix), Iraq
برنارد شو والعرب! رأيه في التوراة وقصص "ألف ليلة" ومأساة الطبيب	Sulimān Mūsā	?	?
برنارد شو والفن.. وهلاك الإنسانية	Ali Al-Rā'ī	?	?

c) Details of Dissertations

Title	Author	Year	Institution
موقف جورج برنارد شو من ولیم شكسبير: مع إشارة خاصة إلى تناول الكاتبين لشخصيتي قيصر وكليوباترا	Ḥasan 'Awn	1978	Higher Institute for Dramatic Arts, Kuwait
بيجماليون بين برنارد شو وتوفيق الحكيم	Shākīr Ma'tūq	1979	Higher Institute for Dramatic Arts, Kuwait
The Educational Dimensions of B. Shaw's Pygmalion (MA)	Muhammad Abū Khaṭwa	1979	Mansoura University, Egypt
Bernard Shaw's Cosmopolitan Perspective: An Approach to	M.W. Al-Dūrī	1980	University of Birmingham, UK

Selected Plays in International Settings (PhD)			
بيجماليون عند كل من برنارد شو وتوفيق الحكيم Pygmalion for Both of Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim (MA)	Samīrā Zīdān	1985	University of Umm Al-Qura, Saudi Arabia
The Shavian Comic Concept of War and Soldierly in G. B. Shaw's Arms and the Man (MA)	Fahad Al-'Asarī	1988	King Abdul-Aziz University, Saudi Arabia
The Trial in Modern Drama with Special Reference to Three Representation Plays by Berthold Becht, Bernard Shaw and Salah Abd El-Sabur	Najlā' Al-Hadīd	1989	University of Cairo, Egypt
Evolution and Individuation of Eliza Doolittle: Shaw's Self Dramatization in Pygmalion (MA)	Khalaf Dayf-Allah	1990	Al-Yarmouk University, Iraq
The Evolution of Creative Evolution in Selected Plays of Bernard Shaw (MA)	Anīs Bawarshī	1991	California State University, USA
The Martyr as Tragic Hero: A Quest for Certitude in our Century (MA)	Samya Da'ānī	1991	University of Jordan, Jordan
The Man in Petticoats: A Study of the Shavian Woman (MA)	ʿĪmān Hammād	1994	University of Jordan, Jordan
Realism in the Works of George Bernard Shaw and John Osborne: A Comparative Study (MA)	Nada Al-Wākid	1998	University of Jordan, Jordan
السمات الفنية والفكرية لمسرح نعمان عاشور وبرنارد شو (MA)	Amānī Fahīm	1998	Academy of Arts, Egypt
رؤية برنارد شو طوباوية في النظرية والممارسة في مسرحيات مختارة Bernard Shaw's Utopian Vision in Theory and Practice in Selected Plays (MA)	Wā'il Muṣṭafā	2001	University of Cairo, Egypt
The Pygmalion Myth as Used by W.S. Gilbert, Bernard Shaw and Tawfiq Al-Hakim	Sālī Shanūda	2003	Ain Shams University, Egypt
واقعية برنارد شو الاشتراكية في أعمال الكتاب المسرحيين المصريين المحدثين مع إشارة خاصة إلى نعمان عاشور Bernard Shaw's Socialistic Realism in the Works of Modern Egyptian	Najlā' Abū 'Ajāj	2003	University of Alexandria, Egypt

Dramatists with a Special Reference to Nu'mān 'Āshūr (PhD)			
نظرة حديثة لشخصية دونجوان عند برنارد شو في أسد سوبرمان وتنس وليمز كامينوريل A New Perspective to the Character of Don Juan in Bernard Shaw's Man and Superman and Tennessee Williams' Camino Real (PhD)	Munā Bijātū	2004	Menoufia University, Egypt
تحليل دلالي – تداولي للافتراض المسبق في مسرحيتين لجورج برنارد شو كانديدا والرجل (MA) والأسلحة	Hind Al-Azzāwī	2005	Al-Mustansiriya University, Iraq
الميول المادية ومضامينها الأخلاقية في مسرحيات مختارة لهنريك ابسن وجورج برنارد شو (MA)	Hāmid Al-Fahdāwī	2005	University of Bagdad, Iraq
مفهوم الرجل الأسمى في مسرحيات مختارة لجورج برنارد شو (MA)	Hārith Al-Dulaymī	2005	Al-Mustansiriya University, Iraq
Translating The Sense of Humour: An Assessment Study of Three Arabic Translations of George Bernard Shaw's Arms and The Man (MA)	Anas Al-Abū	2005	University of Bagdad, Iraq
الخرافة المسرحية الحديثة: دراسة في مسرحيات مختارة ليوجين اونيل وجورج برنارد شو وت. س. اليوت (MA)	Samāh Abdullah	2006	Al-Mustansiriya University, Iraq
Martyrdom as Reflected in English and Arabic Theatre: A Comparative Study of Selected Works of Bernard Shaw, T.S. Eliot and Abdel-Rahman AlSharqawi (MA)	Khawla Al-Karīm	2006	University of Tikrit, Iraq
الدلالات غير المباشرة لتراكيب الطلب في مسرحيتي جورج برنارد شو السلاح والانسان واثر ميلر وفاة بائع متجول	Halā `Ismā'īl	2007	University of Bagdad, Iraq
أسطورة بيجماليون في المسرح الفرنسي والإنجليزي والعربي عند جان درك روسو وبرنارد شو وتوفيق الحكيم (PhD)	Nasīma Masalatī	2007	University of Algeria, Algeria
A Reading of George Bernard Shaw as a Romantic Dramatist (MA)	Hādyā Muhammad	2010	University of Cairo, Egypt
التحليل التداولي لأفعال كلام تعابير الإلزام في بعض المسرحيات المختارة لبرنارد شو	Mālik Hassūn	2011	University of Bagdad, Iraq
Pragmalinguistic Analysis of (Im)politeness in Literary Discourse: A Study of Major Works by Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde,	Muhammad Al-Badawi	2011	University of Aberdeen, UK

Tawfīq Al-Hakim and Najuib Mahfouz (PhD)			
Representations of Gender Roles in George Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion and Tawfīq Al-Ḥakīm's Pygmalion: A Comparative Analysis (MA)	Ibrāhīm Al-Frayh	2011	University of Manchester, UK
البناء الدرامي بين مسرحي برنارد شو ونعمان عاشور: دراسة مقارنة Dramatic Structure between Nu'mān 'Āshūr and G.B. Shaw's Theatres: A Comparative Study (PhD)	Ghāda Al-Tihāmī	2011	Minya University, Egypt
Problems and Strategies of Drama Translation in Egypt: A Case Study of Two Arabic Translations of Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion (MA)	Issrā' Al-Rayīs	2013	University of Salford, UK
Verbal Humours and Jokes in Shaw's Heartbreak House and Coward's Relative Values: A Pragma-stylistic Study	'Arafāt Abd Ali Rakhīṣ	2013	University of Basra, Iraq
The Analysis of Pygmalion and Educating Rita: A Systematic Functional Grammar Approach (MA)	Mary Naṣīf	2015	Ain Shams University, Egypt
The Representation of Children in the Plays of Bernard Shaw (PhD)	Manāl Fattāḥ	2016	University of Leicester, UK
المثاقفة بين الأدبين العربي والإنجليزي- برنارد شو نموذجا: دراسة مقارنة Acculturation between Arabic and English Literatures – Bernard Shaw as a Sample: A Comparative Study (MA)	Jihān Muhammad	2016	University of Alexandria, Egypt
George Bernard Shaw: His Critical Views in Relation to his Major Plays	Muhammad Ḥasan	?	University of Cairo, Egypt

2. Shaw's Drama in Arabic Translation and Adaptation: Publication, Theatre and Radio

a) Published Translations

Original Title	Translation Title	Translator	Year	Country	Publisher
The Devil's Disciple	تابع الشيطان	Muhammad Al-Naḥḥās	1938	Egypt	Al-'`timād
	تلميذ الشيطان	Muhammad Al-Ṭayīb	196?	Egypt/Syria	Ministry of Culture and National Guidance
	تلميذ الشيطان	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1975	Kuwait	Ministry of Media
	تلميذ الشيطان	Dr. Mukhtār Al-Wakīl	1975	Egypt	General Egyptian Book Organization
	تابع الشيطان	Ḥusām Al-Tamīmī	2003	Lebanon	Dār Al-Hilāl
The Millionaire	صاحبة الملايين	Abdul-Mun'im Shumays	1953	Egypt	Jarīdat Al-Sabāḥ Publishing House
	المليونيرة	Nabīl Rāghib Faraj	196?	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
	المليونيرة	Dr. Riḥāb 'Akāwī	2012	Lebanon	Dār Al-Ḥarf Al-'Arabī
Candida	كانديدا	Samīrā 'Azzām	1955	Lebanon	Dār Al-Malāyīn
	كانديدا	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1973	Kuwait	Ministry of Media
	كانديدا	Ḥusām Al-Tamīmī	2004	Lebanon	Dār Al-Hilāl
Arms and the Man	الأسلحة والرجل	Fayṣal Al-Sāmir & Qarnī Al-Dogharmajī	1947	Egypt	Al-Kirink Printing House
	السلاح والرجل	Ṣalāḥ Al-Dīn Kāmil	1962	Egypt	Dār Al-Naḥḍa Al-'Arabiyya
	الانسان والسلاح	Fu`ād Duwārā	1966	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
	السلاح والانسان	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1973	Kuwait	Ministry of Media
	الانسان والأسلحة	Haytham Ali Ḥijāzī	1990	Jordan	Dār Al-Nasr

	السلاح والانسان	Muhammad Zayzakī	1990	Syria	Dār Al-Mu`alif
	الانسان والسلاح	Fu`ād Ḥaḥīt	1992	France	Dār `Ām Alfayn
	الانسان والسلاح	Ḥarb Muhammad Shāhīn	1994	Syria	Al-`Ajlūnī Printing House
	الرجل والسلاح	Fāris Dāhir	1996	Syria	Dār Al-Anwār
	الانسان والسلاح	Da`d Zīdān	1999	Syria	Dār Al-`Aydī
	الرجل والسلاح	Ḥusām Al-Tamīmī	2005	Lebanon	Dār Al-Hilāl
	السلاح والانسان	Samīr `Īzat	2007	Jordan	Al-Ahliyya
	الأسلحة والانسان	Ḥilmī Murād	1995	Egypt	Maktabat Miṣr
Caesar and Cleopatra	قيصر وكليوباترا	Ibrāhīm Ramzī	1914	Egypt	Al-Taqaḍūm
	قيصر وكليوباترا	Narjis Naṣīf	1946	Egypt	Al-Sur`a
	قيصر وكليوباتره	Dr. `Ikhlaš `Azmī	1966	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
Man and Superman	الانسان والانسان الكامل	Maḥmūd Al-Dusūqī	1947	Egypt	Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing
	الانسان والسوبر مان	Muhammad Fikrī Anwar	2004	Egypt	Family Library
	الانسان والانسان الأمتل	Ḥussām Al-Tamīmī	2006	Lebanon	Dār Al-Hilāl
	الانسان والانسان الأعلى	Muhammad Qadrī `Umārā	2006	Egypt	Supreme Council Of Culture
	الانسان والسوبر مان	`āṭif `ūmārā	?	Egypt	Al-Makktab Al-`Arabī lil Ma`ārif
Major Barbra	الميجور باربره	Ahmad Al-Nādī	1966	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
	ميجر برباره	Anīs Zakī Ḥasan	1990	Lebanon	Al-Hayyat Library
	الرائد بربراة	Ghaliyya Hanī Khalīfā	2007	Syria	Rislān Organisation
	الميجور باربارا	Muhammad Ṭarīf Fir`awn	2008	Syria	Dār Usāma

	ميجور باربرا، جيش الخلاص	Riḥāb ‘Akkāwī	2017	Lebanon	Dar Al-Ḥarf Al-‘Arabī
Widowers’ Houses	بيوت الأراامل	Muhammad Riḍā Ḥasan	1960	Egypt	?
	بيوت الأراامل	‘Aid Al-Rubāt	1963	Egypt	National Publishing House
	بيوت الأراامل	Maḥmūd AliMurād	1972	Kuwait	Ministry of Culture
Pygmalion	بيجماليون (ملخصة ومختصرة)	Sulimān Mūsā	1956	Lebanon	Al-Adīb Journal (5)
	بيجماليون	Jarjis Al-Rashīdī	1967	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
	بيجماليون	Ḥussām Al-Tamīmī	2008	Lebanon	Dār Al-Hilāl
	بيجماليون	?	2011	Egypt	Wādī Al-Nīl
Saint Joan	جان درك	Dr. Ahmad Zakī	1938	Egypt	Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing
	القديسة جون	Muhammad Maḥbūb	1965	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
Man of Destiny	رجل الأقدار	Maḥmūd Al-Dusūqī	1947	Egypt	Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing
	رجل الأقدار	Fayṣal Al-Sāmīr & Qarnī Al-Dogharmajī	1947	Egypt	Al-Kirink Printing House
	رجل المقادير	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1973	Kuwait	Ministry of Media
	رجل الأقدار	Ḥilmī Murād	1991	Egypt	Maktabat Miṣr
Heartbreak Houses	منزل القلوب المحطمة	Maḥmūd Samī Ahmad	1962	Egypt	Ministry of Culture (<i>Rawā’i’ Al-Masraḥ Al-‘Alamī</i> 31)
	منزل القلوب المحطمة	Majd Al-Dīn Ḥanafī Naṣīf	196?	Egypt	Ministry of Culture

Mrs Warren's Profession	مهنة مسز وارين	Sa'd Al-Dīn Tawfiq	196?	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
	مهنة السيدة وارين	Amīn Salāmā	1991	Iraq	House of Public Cultural Affairs
	مهنة السيدة وارن	Ḥusām Al-Tamīmī	2004	Lebanon	Dār Al-Hilāl
You Never Can Tell	لا يمكنك أن تحزر	ʿImān Abū Layl	2003	Syria	Dār Al-Munajjid
Getting Married	الزواج: مسرحية أفكار	Abdul-Ḥalīm Al-Bashalāwī	1958	Egypt	Maktabat Miṣr
How He Lied to Her Husband	كيف كذب على زوجها	Muhammad Abdul-Mun'im Jalāl	1996	Egypt	General Egyptian Book Organization
The Apple Cart	عربة التفاح: بحث سياسي متطرف	Muhammad 'Awaḍ Ibrāhīm	1946	Egypt	Committee of Authorship, Translation and Publishing
Geneva	جنيف	Muhammad Faṭhī & Mustafā Ḥabīb	1945	Egypt	Al-Ādāb
The Doctor's Dilemma	حيرة الطبيب	Omar Makāwī	1962	Egypt	Dār Al-Fikr Al-'Arabī
Androcles and the Lion	أندروكليز والأسد	Maḥmūd Abdullah Ṣābir	1966	Egypt	Ministry of Culture
The Philanderer	العابث	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1972	Kuwait	Ministry of Media
Captain Brassbound's Conversion	هداية القبطان براسبوند	Maḥmūd Ali Murād	1975	Kuwait	Ministry of Media
128	نساء القرن العشرين أو من يدري	Jamāl Al-Dīn Al-Ramādī	1964	Egypt	Al-Dār Al-Qawmiyya (<i>Min Al-Sharq wa Al-Gharb</i> 122)
	لا أحد يدري	Khālīd Ḥaddād	2000	Syria	Dār Al-Kindī

¹²⁸ ST could not be confirmed.

	لا أحد يدري	?	2004	Syria	Dār Al-‘Aydī
Selected short plays	مختارات من مسرحيات شو القصيرة جزء 1 و 2	Michelle Abdul-Aḥad	1961	Egypt	Rose Al-Yusuf Organisation, (<i>Alf Kitāb</i> 339)

b) Stage Translations/Adaptations

Original Title	Translation Title	Director	Country	Year
The Devil Disciple	كريم شوكلات	Mansī Fahmī	Egypt	1927
	تلميذ الشيطان	Muhammad Al-Ṭayīb	Syria	1963
Widowers' Houses	بيوت الأرملة	Nūr Al-Dimirdāsh	Egypt	1960
Man of Destiny	رجل الأقدار	?		1958
	رجل الأقدار	Hānī Maṣṣūr		1962
	رجل الأقدار	Hanī Ibrāhīm Ṣunūbar		Syria
	رجل الأقدار	Rafīq Ṣabbān	?	
Candida	كانديدا	Fārūq Al-Dimirdāsh	Egypt	1964
Saint Joan	جان درك	Muhammad Al-Ṭayīb	Syria	1971
Pygmalion	سيدتي الجميلة	Bahjat Qamar, Samīr Khafājī	Egypt	1969
	بنت الجبل	Romeo Laḥūd	Lebanon	1977, 1987, 2015
	سيدتي الجميلة	‘Amrū Jamāl	Yemen	2008
	بيجماليون	Ibrāhīm bū Ṭaybān	Kuwait	2013
	سيدتي الجميلة	Prof. Samīrā Muḥsin	Egypt	2015
	سيدتي الجميلة	Ḥusām Zūrū	Iraqi in USA	2015
	سيدتي الجميلة	Muḥsin Rizq (translator) Ayman Mustāfa (director)	Egypt	2017
	الناس اللي في النص	Usāma Shafīq		

c) Radio Translations/Adaptations

Original Title	Translation Title	Translator	Director	Year
The Devil's Disciple	تلميذ الشيطان	Zaghlūl Fahmī	Hilāl Abū 'Āmir	1950 s/196 0s
The Millionairess	المليونيرة	Abdul-Mun'im Shumays	Wahba Abū Al-S'ūd	
Cesare and Cleopatra	قيصر وكليوباترا	Narjis Naṣīf	Kamil Yusuf	
Widowers Houses	بيوت الأرمال	'Ā'd Al-Rubāṭ	Ahmad Zakī	
Heartbreak Houses	بيت القلوب المحطمة	Maḥmūd Samī	Muhammad Al-Sharqāwī	
Candida	كانديدا	Abdul-Ḥamīd Sarāyā	Maḥmūd Mursī	
How He Lied to Her Husband	كيف كذب على زوجها	Abdul-Raḥmān Ṣālīḥ	Nūr Al-Dīn Muṣṭafā	
Overruled	الخطينة الأولى	Salīm Al-Asyūṭī	Ṣalāḥ Maṣṣūr	
You Can Never Tell	عائلة من ماديرا	Muhammad 'Uways	Kamil Yusuf	
	زواج المفلسين	Nu'mān 'Āshūr	Ḥusnī Abdul-'Azīz	
Man of Destiny	رجل الأقدار	Ahmad Riyādh	Ṣalāḥ 'Iz Al-Dīn	

3. Other Translations of Shaw's Fiction

Original Title	Translation Title	Translator	Year	Country	Publisher
The Adventures of the Black Girl in Her Search for God	البربرية تبحث عن الله	Ḥasan Ṣubḥī	1933	Egypt	Al-Hilāl Library
¹²⁹	غراميات أهل الفن	Riyāḍ Jarkis	1958		Dār Al-Hilāl (Riwāyāt Al-Hilāl 111)
The Irrational Knot	زواج بلا تعقل	Maḥmūd Ṣābir Abdullah	1967		Dār Al-Kātib Al-'Arabī

¹²⁹ ST could not be confirmed.

130	المتمردة	Khalīl Ḥanna Tadris	?		Dāḍ Publishing House
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4. Shaw in Arabic Popular Culture

Original Title	Adaptation Title	Adaptor/Story by	Year	Country	Medium
Pygmalion	بياعة التفاح	'Azīza Amīr	1939	Egypt	Cinema
	نمر حنة	Ḥusayn Fawzī	1957		
	سيدتي الجميلة	Fāris Yūwākīm	1975		
	فطوة	Abdul-Raḥmān Shawqī	1983		TV
	امرأة جميلة	?	2016		

¹³⁰ ST could not be confirmed.

APPENDIX 2

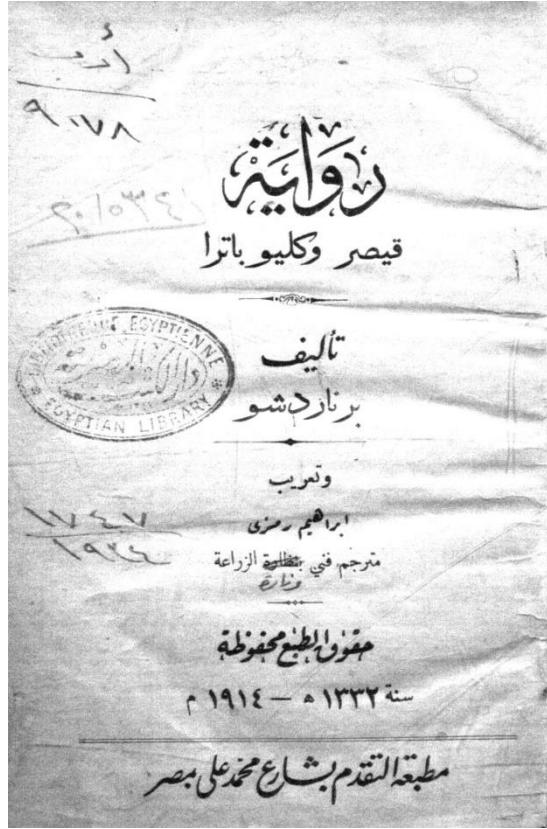


Image 1. Front cover of Ibrāhīm Ramzī's translation of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* in 1914

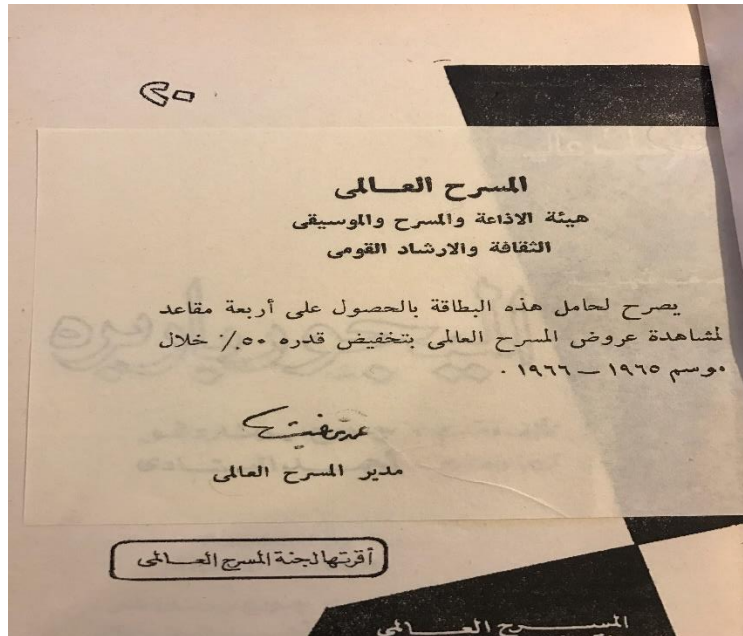


Image 2. A theatre ticket for World Theatre performances (1965-1966 season) signed by the manager Ḥamdī Ghayth

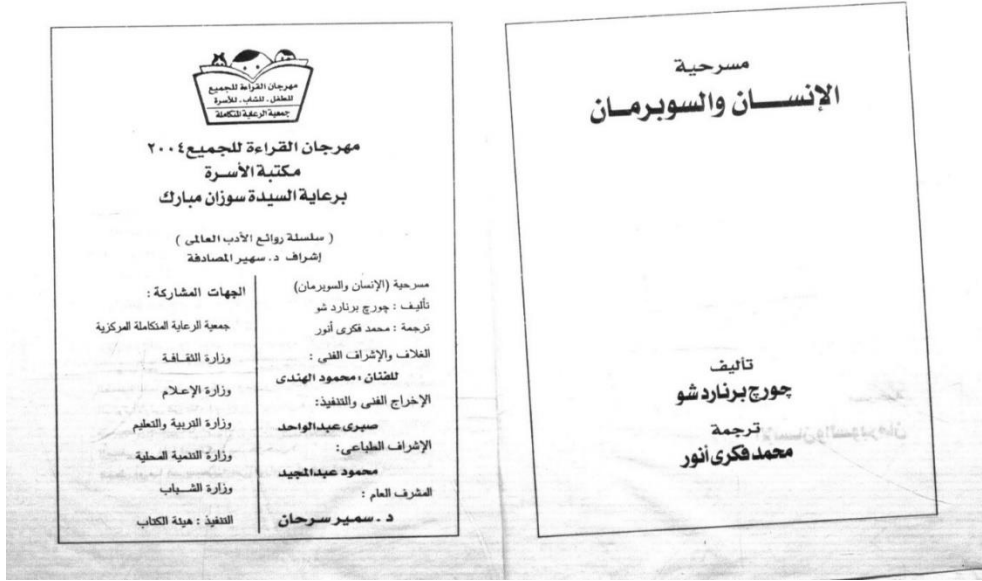


Image 3. Front Cover of Anwar's translation of Shaw's *Man and Superman* in 2004 published by the Family Library

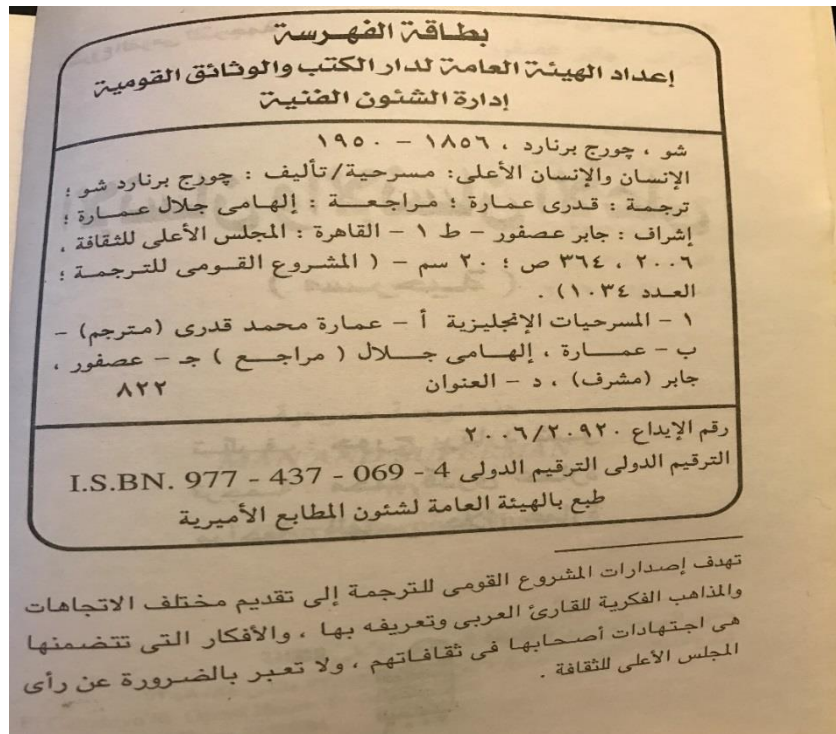


Image 4. The First Page of a translation published by the Supreme Council of Culture showing the purpose of the National Project of Translation



Image 5. Kamāl's fear of the Khedive's injustice and tyranny



Image 6. Low-class characters wearing the traditional Egyptian *Jalabiyya* in *Sayīdatī Al-Jamīla*



Image 7. Şudfa's *Radh* accompanying vulgar verbalism and nonverbalism



Image 8. Eliza standing behind Galatea's statue as to symbolise their similar situations



Image 9. Eliza standing with maturity and confidence while Smith is uncovering the repaired statue of Galatea



Image 10. Higgins standing behind Pygmalion to show that they hold the same views towards Eliza/Galatea



Image 11. The Advertisement image of *Bint Al-Jabal* in 2015



Image 12. The tradition Lebanese dance known as *dabka* from *Bint Al-Jabal* in 1977



Image 13. Liza's vulgar body movement while doing *Radh*



Image 14. Liza while showing Henry her vulgar way of greeting



Image 15. The happy ending of the 1977 version of *Bint Al-Jabal*



Image 16. The happy ending of the 2015 version of *Bint Al-Jabal*