The Subtitling of Yacoubian Building Film: A Study of the Translation of Cultural-Specific Items

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Abstract

Translating culturally specific items (CSIs) in films presents a formidable challenge for translators, who must navigate the delicate balance between preserving the unique cultural elements of the source material and adapting them to resonate with the cultural expressions familiar to the target audience. This study scrutinizes the translation strategies used in the film "The Yacoubian Building," with a particular focus on the translator's approach to cultural references. Additionally, it assesses the degree to which the translator embraced the "domestication hypothesis," which states that translators of foreign films tend more towards localising the cultural references in these films. The methodology of the study proceeds this way: 1) the CSIs in the film are identified and transcribed; 2) the procedures of translation used in translating these items are then determined according to Aixelá's typology (1997); 3) these procedures are then distributed into foreignising or domesticating procedures; 4) the statistical differences between the last two methods of translation are analyzed in relation to the 'domestication hypothesis'. The findings of this study show that the translator used domesticating procedures in translating mostof the CSIs in the film, confirming thus the 'domestication hypothesis'.

Key words: culture-specific items, domestication, foreignisation, subtitling, Yacoubian Building Film

أ جامعة إربد الأهلية

ترجمة فيلم عمارة يعقوبيان: دراسة في ترجمة مواد ثقافية محددة.

الملخص

تعد ترجمة الإشارات الثقافية (CSI) ولاسيما في الأفلام، واحدة من أصعب المشكلات في الترجمة. فالمترجمون يجدون أنفسهم، في حالة من التأرجح بين الحفاظ على السمات أو العناصر "الأجنبية" في النص المصدر أو توطينه عبر استخدام أشكال التعبير الثقافي المكافئة لتلك الإشارات في اللغة الهدف. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى استكشاف الطريقة التي تعامل بها مترجم فلم عمارة يعقوبيان مع الإشارات الثقافية فيه، وإلى أي مدى حاول أن يتناغم مع الفرضية المعروفة ب "فرضية التوطين" وهي الفرضية التي تقول أنّ المترجمين الذين يترجمون الأفلام الأجنبية يميلون أكثر نحو تقريب أو توطين الإشارات الثقافية من اللغة أو الثقافة الهدف. كما تسلط الدراسة الضوء على السياق الذي تم فيه إنتاج هذا الفيلم وتلقيه، وتقدم تفسيرا للمنهج الذي اتبعه المترجم عند نقل الإشارات الثقافية فيه. وقد انبنت منهجية الدراسة على الآتي: 1) تحديد الإشارات الثقافية في الفيلم وجدولتها. 2) تحديد تقنيات الترجمة المستخدمة في ترجمة هذه العناصر وفقا لتصنيف إكسلا Aixelá (1997)؛ 3) تصنيف هذه التقنيات إلى تقنيات تندرج تحت استراتيجية التغريب أو تقنيات تندرج تحت استراتيجية التوطين؛ 4) تحليل الاختلافات الإحصائية بين الاستراتيجيتين الأخيرتين للترجمة (التوطين والتغريب) في ضوء "فرضية التوطين".

الكلمات المفتاحية: الإشارات الثقافية، التوطين، التغريب، ترجمة الأفلام، فلم عمارة يعقوبيان.

Overview

Films are nowadays available to everyone thanks to modern technology and the revolution and popularity of film-broadcasting websites and TV channels. Films cross-borders and reach global audiences, creating a common 'space' for various cultures and languages. All people can see foreign films, hence the importance of translating them in such a way that other people in other languages and cultures can understand and enjoy them.

One of the most challenging obstacles that translators of films should properly deal with is the conversion of the meanings of cultural expressions or references understood only by those who belong to the source culture of films. Translators should deal optimally with the cultural gap between the foreign film and the target audience, especially when this gap is big and significant.

This study examines the cultural subtitling of the Yacoubian Building film (2006) directed by the Egyptian director Marwan Hamed, trying to identify the translation procedures used by the translator in rendering them and whether the translation leans more toward the source language and culture or the target language and culture. The paper explores the translation of culture in the film using tools and concepts from Translation Studies, particularly the work of Venuti (1995),(2013) and Aixelá, among others. By showing how the English translator of this film handled the cultural elements of this text, it is hoped that there will be a better understanding of the English translation of this film and the similarities and differences between Arab culture and Western culture.

Most research on subtitling culture-specific items (CSIs) in films between Arabic and English has focused on foreign films, mainly, English (Abdelaal (2019); Afifi and Mohammed (2019); Salami (2020)). Very few studies have been dedicated to translating CSIs from Arabic films into English (Mehawesh and Neimneh (2021). This study aims to contribute to this relatively unexplored area of research by shedding light on how and why the translator of this film chose to translate cultural references, known widely as culture-specific items (CSIs), in this film.

1- Literature Review: Translation of Cultural References in Films

Film translation, particularly through subtitling, is indispensable to the film industry for both practical and cultural reasons. It dismantles language barriers, enabling speakers of various languages to enjoy foreign films, thereby contributing to the globalization of culture and enriching the intellectual and human connections between people. Subtitles facilitate cultural exchange by allowing viewers to immerse themselves in the diverse stories, emotions, humor, and traditions of other cultures, thereby deepening their appreciation of cultural differences.

Additionally, subtitles significantly boost viewer engagement, especially in films where accents or dialects may be challenging for native speakers of the language. They ensure that every dialogue and narrative nuance is accessible to all viewers, leading to a more enriching viewing experience. Crucially, this form of translation maintains the actors' original voices, tones, and emotional expressions. Unlike dubbing, which can alter the timing and impact of

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performances, subtitling preserves the director's original vision and the authenticity of the performance, safeguarding the film's artistic integrity.

However, film translation presents many challenges, some of which relate to the complex nature of the language, cultural nuances, and technical limitations. Regarding the challenges associated with translating the language of films, it can be noted here that this type of translation must be brief due to the limited space on the screen, and translators often have to condense the original dialogue while trying to preserve its meaning, tone and sense of humor. This requires a careful balance between brevity and clarity.

Cultural challenges in translation primarily involve navigating cultural references, idiomatic expressions, jokes, and colloquial language. These elements are particularly difficult when they lack direct semantic or cultural equivalents in the target language. Additionally, finding translations that faithfully convey the original emotions without alienating or confusing the audience demands a deep understanding of both the source and target cultures. This complexity underscores the translator's task of bridging disparate cultural contexts while maintaining the integrity of the content. Yet, the translation of CSIs is considered one of the most problematic translation issues, not only in the audiovisual field but also in the fields of translation studies and literary translation in general (Ranzato, 2016, p.3). The problem becomes more difficult when there are major cultural disagreements between the two cultures regarding translation. Cultural references in a movie not only anchor the story within a specific culture and era but also embody certain values and create an atmosphere. These elements impact how the viewer relates to the story and the characters. Therefore, it is important to find the most suitable method to translate them, whether subtitling or dubbing. However, it is the former method of film translation that concerns us in this study, which some researchers define as "supplying a translation of the spoken source language dialogue into the target language in the form of synchronized captions, usually at the bottom of the screen" (Eslamieh and Javankhah, 2018,p. 162). This field of translation occupies an important place in Translation Studies because it is one of the most visible, influential, or widespread forms of translation, especially as it is linked to bridging cultural and linguistic gaps in audiovisual media. Translation in this field is not just a technical task of converting spoken dialogue into written text; but rather involves a complex decision-making process that balances linguistic precision, cultural sensitivity, time constraints, and spatial constraints. Moreover, because this type of translation is a multimodal translation where language is intertwined with visual and auditory elements, translators must take into account on-screen events, music, tone of voice, and cultural context, making it a rich area for academic exploration.

The cultural component of films is highly important, especially when it comes to the translation of CSIs, which are generally defined as those words or expressions that refer to things peculiar to a certain culture but unknown or perceived differently in another culture. These items are of various types. Peter

Newmark (1988, p.103), for instance, categorized them into the following types which will be used in this study:

-Things related to ecology or the environment such as flora, fauna, hills, winds, and plains.

-Material Culture about clothes and local food (e.g., kabsa(an Arabic food).

-Social culture such as greetings and personal titles. One example of this is Pasha in Arabic and Turkish.

-Organizations and customs (for example, Gulf Cooperation Council, Christmas).

- Religious and Political concepts (i.e., zakat in Arabic).

-Gestures and Habits (e.g., fingers crossed).

The non-equivalence issue is, without a doubt, the primary challenge in translating CSIs. These cultural items refer to ideas or practices that the intended audience is not familiar with and thus have no direct equivalents in the intended culture (Palumbo, 2003, p. 33). There are no exact Arabic translations for terms like study house or single mom, which relate to culturally distinct concepts in English. Additionally, cultural differences may express themselves in films, and languages in general in yet a different way. Two words in two languages may refer to the same thing, but still differ significantly because of the added cultural meaning these words have in these two languages. For example, the word 'owl' in Arabic refers to a 'bird' which is seen as a symbol of death, whereas in English this same bird is a symbol of 'wisdom'.

This problem becomes more difficult when the differences between the two cultures are big. In other words, some of these cultural references or items are so specific or localized that one could hardly manage to translate them without losing the foreign flavor embodied in them. However, translators have used procedures or techniques to deal with this problem. These procedures are generally divided into source-oriented or 'foreignising' procedures as they learn more about the source culture and target-oriented or domesticating procedures as they learn more about the target culture. The translator should decide whether to stay closer to the source or target culture or to strike a balance between them. In Translation Studies, this overall translation method is broadly called 'strategy'. Facing the problem of rendering CSIs, the translator should choose the procedure and the strategy of translation he or she finds suitable for his/her work. A translation strategy is therefore macro approach, whereas translation procedures are specific or micro, and aims to reflect the adopted strategy.

When translating a certain text, the translator first decides on a way to do the translation, like making it sound more like the original language or more like the language it's being translated into. This decision then determines how the translator will do the actual translation. But sometimes, the translator doesn't get to decide and has to follow certain rules for how translations should be done in the new language. The way the translator chooses to do the translation can show if they focused more on keeping it similar to the original language and culture or making it fit better in the new language and the receiving culture, or if

they tried to find a balance between the two. Different translation strategies can either help people understand different cultures better or make it harder to understand them. If the translator foreignises them, the translated text plays an important role in learning about other cultures and lifestyles, so readers are motivated to learn more about them. (Hagfors, 2003, p. 125).

The distribution of the procedures the translator uses to translate CSI along the axis of foreignisation and domestication makes it possible to determine which strategies the translator adopted to translate a given text and thus the nature of the attitude he or she took towards the foreign culture. Aixela (1997) developed the following typology, suggesting that procedures (1, 2, and 3) are considered 'foreignising' procedures, and procedures (4) and (5) are considered 'domesticating' ones:

1- Borrowing which involves transliterating CSIs with or without phonetic adaptation (i.e., translating the word حجاب into English as hijab).
2- Translating CSIs literally as in translating 'study house' as منزل دراسة.
3- Universalisation: replacing a CSI in the source text with a general word in the target language as in translating niqab as 'face cover'.
4- Naturalisation: replacing a CSI in the source text with an equivalent CSI in the target language as in translating the Arabic term سوق الجمعة (lit. Friday market) into English as 'Sunday market.
5- Omission: this simply means deleting a CSI in translation.

The distinction between absolute and limited universalisation in Aixela's typology will be ignored for the convenience of this study and will be considered as one procedure as it does not make a big difference for this study.

Translators use these procedures and may lean toward the source-oriented or target-oriented translation strategy, depending on linguistic and non-linguistic factors. Domestication is generally seen as natural or idiomatic, but also a way of concealing the cultural elements in the original text, and, thus, unfaithful in some sense. In contrast, foreignisation is generally seen as being a way of registering the 'difference' of the original culture, and thus, more faithful.

The selection of a procedure to solve the problem of non-equivalence in translating CSIs or the translation strategy convenient to their transference in the target language depends on several factors, such as the nature of the translated text, translation norms, the time and place of translation, the idiosyncrasies of the translator, and above all its purpose or skopos.

In subtitling CSIs, the translator faces a more challenging situation than in written texts where the translator can appeal in translating difficult cultural references to things such as explication, footnotes, glosses, and many other translation procedures. Procedures or solutions like these are not available in film subtitling.

There is no doubt that the screen helps the foreign audience understand the story and dialogue of the film but without the effort of the translator, the film may not be largely understood. This is so especially when dealing with cultural references that are largely rooted in a local culture distant from the target

audience. The translation of these items constitutes a challenge for the target audience viewers if not translated very well in their language.

It is widely held that given the limited space on the screen and the priority of the 'communicative act' over maintaining the 'semantic' of the original dialogue, film subtitling leans more toward domestication (Yonamine, 2022, p. 198). For the convenience of this study, this thesis will be called the 'domestication hypothesis'.

Most research on subtitling CSIs in films between Arabic and English has focused on foreign films, mainly, English (Abdelaal, 2019; Afifi and Mohammed, 2019; Salami, 2020). Very few of them has been dedicated to translating CSIs from Arabic films into English language (Mehawesh and Neimneh, 2021). The latter study by Mehawesh and Neimneh aims to assess the accuracy and acceptability of the retention of only 11 CSIs from Arabic into English. The data of their study are taken from a Jordanian film known as Theeb (The wolf). However, this research does not aim to specify the strategy of translation that was used in translating the CSIs of the film.

The current study is, to my best knowledge, the first study on the Yacoubian Building Film, and aims to give a universal picture of the translation of cultural references in this film.

2- Methodology

This study, as we mentioned previously, deals with the translation of cultural elements in the film Yacoubian Building, attempting to reveal the strategy that the translator adopted when translating these elements, and whether he tried to bring these elements closer to the target culture or to preserve its foreign "flavor."

The approach of this study is structured as follows: 1) Identifying the CSIs in the film; 2) Categorizing them into types according to Newmark categorization of CSIs; 3) Comparing the English translation with the source text; 4) Identifying the translation procedure (technique) used by the film translators in translating these items; 5) Classifying each item into source-oriented (foreignisation) or target-oriented (domestication) translation and 6) illustrating to what extent they can be used to confirm the 'domestication hypothesis' which states that the translation or subtitling of the foreign film attempts to bridge the cultural gap between languages by leaning more toward the target culture.

I take this study to be a descriptive-explanatory study where the data is first described, and the procedures and strategies of translation are explained. To make the work easier to read, an appendix was created for the CSIs in the film. It includes the time of CSIs' appearance in the film (time code), transcription of the original film, and the technique or procedure of translation used in translating each CSI. The reader can refer to this appendix when needed.

This study should not be viewed as representative of the entire population (subtitling Arabic films into English) but rather as a unique and intriguing case on its own. It is contended that while a case study belongs to the population of interest, it should not automatically be seen as reflective of the entire group.

Although this research pertains only to a specific instance, the insights gained can enhance our understanding of other comparable scenarios. Nonetheless, it is not guaranteed that these findings will universally apply to all similar situations. (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013, p. 208).

Before presenting the findings of this study, a word about the film for readers who have little to no knowledge about it can be useful.

3- The Film

We would not be far from the truth if we said that Yacoubian Building is one of the few films in the history of Egyptian cinema that sparked great controversy in Egypt and outside Egypt because it deals with sensitive topics such as political corruption, homosexuality, and religious extremism, in addition to its clear connection to the Egyptian Revolution in 2011. The film depicts political corruption, sexual exploitation of the ruling regime, oppression, religious injustice, and tyranny in Egypt through the main characters in the film and the relationships that brought them together.

The film, which was shown internationally during the last decade and received notable attention, and criticism, is based on a very successful and multi-translated novel, which has the same title, by the Egyptian writer Alaa Al-aswany. The film portrays Egyptian society through the inhabitants of an old building founded in 1937 in the city center of Cairo and inhabited by various groups of people. The building "provides a microcosm of Egyptian society", presenting different characters in various classes and social conditions and depicting the cruelty of the Egyptian society which stems from poverty, frustration, sexual exploitation, political corruption, and religious extremism. The film successfully presents the stories or the destinies of the main characters in the story, which are all united by one dramatic thread, which is their relation to one building in the heart of Cairo.

This film, and the novel before it, has "played a key role in social mobilization and in voicing discontent" in Egypt before the uprising against the regime in 2011(Tartoussieh, 2012, p. 1156). The film can be safely described as "a "prime example of a cinematic cry that preceded the revolution". (ibid).

When the film was first screened in 2007, it sparked a frenzy of reactions, debates and conflicts, not only in Egypt but in many other countries, particularly in the West. The video offers a surprising perspective on the political, religious, and sexual conditions in Egypt, which have always been considered forbidden. The movie aims to expose the endemic sexual frustration that permeates a community, the extreme economic misery of the lowest classes, the widespread radicalization of disaffected Egyptian teenagers towards Islam, and the corruption of public officials. (Tartoussieh,p. 158).

Although the film addresses issues of international interest, and the author himself seems to have "a readership beyond his own cultural confines" (Street 2007, p. 144) the film and its language are steeped in Egyptian culture and the local language of Egyptians with its rich and long history. For Arabs this language, thanks to a long history of familiarity with this dialect and the novel

itself, is easy to follow, but for foreigners who are not familiar enough with it, the language and the cultural references embodied in it are not easily fathomed.

4- Subtitling CSIs in Yacoubian Building Film: The Results

This section presents the results of this study. It contains the percentage of the procedures used in translating CSIs in the Yacoubian Building and their distribution on the two major strategies of translation that is domestication and foreignisation.

Table (1): The Percentage of the Procedures

No.	Procedures used to translate CSIs	Procedures Categorization	Frequency	Percentage
1	Naturalisation	Domesticating	21	37%
2	Universalisation	Domesticating	19	32%
3	Deletion	Domesticating	4	7%
4	Literal Translation	Foreignising	7	12%
5	Borrowing	Foreignising	4	8%
6	Literal Translation plus Borrowing	Foreignising	1	2%
7	Literal Translation plus orthographical sign	Foreignising	3	5%

5- Data Analysis

As shown in Appendix (1), most CSIs in the film belong to the second category which is social CSIs. There are 45 CSIs that can be categorized as social culture, 11 items can be categorized as religious CSIs, and 3 items can be categorized as material culture. These social CSIs are specific 'titles' or 'greetings' in Egypt, descriptions or features of personality. Very few items of these CSIs are not familiar to Arabs. Other CSIs belong to religion, most of them relate to Islam, and only one is related to Orthodox Christianity. Some of these CSIs are 'local' stock metaphors deeply rooted in the Egyptian culture and language. One CSIs in the film is common to Arab and Western culture but is mapped differently. The term المهر in Arabic refers to the money paid by the groom to the bride or her family at marriage. The term is translated in the film as 'dowry' which the Cambridge Dictionary defines as "the money, goods, or estate that a woman brings to her husband in marriage". Though mapped differently, the scene in the film is clear enough that this money is paid by the groom.

With regards to the procedures used in the translation of CSIs in the film, table (1) shows that target-oriented procedures are distributed into naturalization which was used in translating 21 of CSIs in the film. This constitutes approximately 36% of the total number of translated items. This is followed by universalisation, which was used to translate 19 items, approximately 32% of the total number of translated items. Only 4CSIs were translated by deletion, approximately 7% of the total number of translated items. These three target-

oriented procedures constitute approximately 75% of the total number of translated items.

In contrast, source-oriented procedures (literal translation and borrowing or a combination of them) were used, as shown in table (1), in translating 15 items, approximately 25% of the total number of the procedures used. Literal translation was used to translate 7 items, approximately 12% of the total number of the translated items. Borrowing was used to translate 4 items, constituting approximately 7% of the total number of the translated items. Literal translation plus borrowing was used in translating only one CSIs, and literary translation plus orthographical sign was used in translating (3) items, both constitute approximately 7% of the total number of translated items.

One important point is worth mentioning here. The translator used literal translation with orthographical signs to render (3) CSIs in the film (see appendix (1): 41 & 42). In an important scene in the film, Haj Azzam, a shoe cleaner who became a rich man due to his illicit drug trafficking, and Kamaal AlFouli, a powerful minster, met upon the request of the former to help Azzam run to the parliament. The minister asked Haj Azzam to pay a bribe to fulfill his request. But instead of directly telling Azzam the total amount of money he must pay he drew a picture of a 'rabbit' which in local Egyptian culture means 1000000 EGP. Haj Azzam tried to negotiate, asking him to draw instead a chick which stands in Egypt to 250000 EGP, but the minister refused, telling him that he either draws a 'rabbit' or a 'Turkey' (Turkey stands for 10 billion). Those items, the rabbit, the chick, and the turkey, were rendered in the film as "rabbit", "chick" and "turkey" with two inverted commas, indicating that the meaning of them is specific to the Egyptian culture. The scene helps the viewer to understand that these words refer to specific amounts of money. In translating these three CSIs, the translator employed 'literal translation' plus an orthographical sign (quotation marks). But the effect here is clear, that is foreignisation.

Based on the previous findings, one can safely infer that in translating CSIs of Yacoubian Building Film, the translator leaned more toward domesticating the foreign culture. The results show that the translation of CSIs by the English translators of Yacoubian Building Film does support the 'domestication hypothesis'. This hypothesis can be used to account for these findings.

It seems that the translator leaned toward the target language more than the source language, primarily to enhance effective communication, cultural sensitivity, and audience comprehension. The goal is to broaden the viewer base, ensuring that more people can enjoy and understand the film. Since culture-specific terms are deeply embedded in the source culture and may be unfamiliar or ambiguous to the target audience, the translator of this film naturally favored adaptations that maximize understanding and enjoyment for viewers. The translator strived to prevent alienation or confusion among the target audience, which could hinder their understanding of the plot and dramatic arcs and disrupt the viewer's engagement and enjoyment. Therefore, this tendency to favor the target language helps maintain a seamless interaction between the film and its audience, which is a paramount concern for film

producers. We should also consider the expectations and preferences of film viewers, which play a crucial role in shaping the translator's handling of the cultural elements in the film. This inclination toward the target language facilitates the meeting of these expectations by tailoring the content from the source to include expressions and references that resonate with and are familiar to the audience.

However, it appears that the producers crafted the film with a Western audience in mind, potentially aiming to garner international awards. Aware of this intent, the translator of Yacoubian Building likely tailored the translation to ensure that Western viewers could easily understand and appreciate the film, even if this required significantly domesticating the foreign cultural elements portrayed. In this context, the Skopos or intended function of the translation plays a pivotal role. This explanation is consolidated by the fact that this film was itself based on a novel which "received an unprecedented welcome" in the West to the extent that it was accused by some conservative people in Egypt of tarnishing the image of the country abroad (Boutrig, 2012, p. 25).

Conclusion

The paper has examined the procedures used in the translation of CSIs in Yacoubian Building Film. The study findings show that the translator used both 'domesticating' and 'foreignising' procedures for translating those items. However, the study has revealed that the translator leaned more toward the target language and culture than to the source language and culture, rendering most cases of CSIs using target-oriented procedures (about 75% of the procedures used in translating CSIs in the film).In several cases, the translator preferred to register the 'foreignness' of the film through translating some CSIs using source-oriented procedures (literal translation and borrowing, which constitute only 25% of these procedures).

The typology of the procedures used to translate CSIs, originally developed by Aixelá (1997), and deployed in this study proved to be very useful in carrying out the research. However, this typology failed short in accounting for three cases in the study where the translator used literal translation plus an orthographical sign to register the foreign nature of three CSIs in the film.

Further research is still needed to examine the translation of films from Arabic into English as most research in this area has been focusing on translating English films into Arabic. Doing this is important to come up with a general outlook about the main findings and trends of translation in this regard. Additionally, it is crucial to investigate how audiences receive the subtitling of this film, particularly its cultural content to enhance our comprehension of the cultural disparities between Arabic and Western societies. This understanding, in turn, could lead to improved translation quality and increased acceptance of these translations among target audiences.

This study was based on a specific case study and is therefore not generalizable to all similar studied cases. However, its findings may be relevant to other studies dealing with the translation of CSIs from Arabic films into English. More research is still needed to validate the 'domestication hypothesis' in film translation (subtitling), which has been confirmed by this study.

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Appendix (1): Translation of CSIs in Yacoubian Building Film

No.	CSIs	The time of their occurrence in the film	Type of CSIs	English subtitles	Procedure of Translation
1	دمك عسل يا باشا	06:41	Social culture	You're funny, Pasha	Naturalisation
2	تحت أمرك	07:21	Social culture	With pleasure	Naturalisation
3	زبون ايده فرطة	07:36	Social culture	Generous	Universalisation
4	يا ولد يا طه	08:12	Social culture	Taha	Deletion
5	مكتوب علي الهم ليل ونهار	10:11	Social culture	Must I be miserable all day long!	Naturalisation
6	عينه مليانة	10:44	Social culture	Decent man	Naturalisation
7	ما بتعمريش في شغل	10:52	Social culture	You don't hold on to any job	Naturalisation
8	نويت رفع الحدث الأكبر	12: 03	Religious culture	I'm purifying myself from all impurities	Literal Translation
9	يعني ما تبقاش عينه زايغة		Social culture	Doesn't flirt	Universalisation
10	عينه تدب فيها رصاصة	15:45	Social culture	All men flirt	Universalisation
11	ولا وكيل عفريت ازرق	19: 43	Social culture	-	Deleted
12	باشا تايواني	22:2	Social culture	Fake pasha	Naturalisation
13	يا عدرا يا ام النعم	24: 59	Religious culture	Hail the Virgin Mary!	Naturalisation
14	اعمل فيش وتشبيه	25:38	Social culture	To investigate	Universalisation
15	عنده كوم لحم	26: 29	Social culture	A big family	Universalisation
16	ربنا يعوض تعبك خير	26: 51	Religious culture	God bless you	Naturalisation
17	ليلتك قشطة يا باشا	31: 18	Social culture	Have a great evening, sir	Naturalisation

18	تعيش يا بيه	34: 50	Social culture	Thank you, sir	Universalisation
19	ما تعملش فيها عبد الحليم حافظ	37: 04	Social culture	Don't be so melodramatic	Universalisation
20	شعنونة	37: 08	Social culture	Girl like you!	Universalisation
21	بسم الله ما شاء الله	38: 24	Religious culture	Lovely	Universalisation
22	ما تنساش المعوذتين	38: 37	Religious culture	The two protective verses	Literal Translation
23	وسلام عليكوا وعليكم السلام	40: 48	Social culture	And that's it!	Universalisation
24	وفي رقبتها عيل	41: 32	Social culture	With a kid	Universalisation
25	على جزمتك	45: 44	Social culture	It's not worth it	Universalisation
26	عيش وملح يا عبد ربه	49: 50	Material culture	Let's break bread, Abd Rabbo	Naturalisation
27	بعمل الواجب مرتين تلاتة في اليوم	55: 47	Social culture	I do it 2 or 3 times a day	Universalisation
28	من يد ما نعدمها	57: 05	Social culture	Thank you	Naturalisation
29	لا عرفي ولا مسيار	57: 19	Religious culture	It's not a common-law one	Universalisation
30	المهر 20000 جنيه	57: 44	Social culture	Dowry 20000 LE	Literal Translation
31	مؤخر الصداق 5000 الاف جنيه	57: 48	Social culture	Deferred dowry 5000 LE	Literal Translation
32	متسمعونا زغروتة	58: 47	Social culture	How about some joyful sounds!	Universalisation
33	نوم العوافي سعادة الباشا	58: 58	Social culture	Good morning, Pasha	Naturalisation
34	صلاة الجمعة	1:02: 48	Religious culture	Friday Prayer	Literal Translation

35	ايدي على كتفك	1: 03: 10	Social culture	I'll follow you	Naturalisation
36	اسطة ملاك	1: 11: 33	Social culture	Osta Malak	Borrowing
37	انا شغلي عشرة على عشرة	1: 11: 49	Social culture	My work is excellent	Universalisation
38	كل شيخ وله طريقة	1: 15: 23	Religious culture	But each has his own way	Universalisation
39	محلات الرضا والنور	1:17:14	Material culture	El-Reda Wal-Nour Stores	Borrowing
40	حتى لو الحكومة ماشية على حل شعرها	1: 17: 59	Social culture	Even if the government is loose	Universalisation
41	ارسمه كتكوت	1:18: 08	Social culture	Draw a "chick"	Literal Translation plus orthographical sign
42	يا ارنب يا ديك رومي	1: 18: 16	Social culture	Either a "rabbit" or a "Turkey"	Literal translation plus orthographical sign
43	نقرا الفاتحة	1: 18: 25	Religious culture	Let's recite the Fatiha	Borrowing
44	دايرة قصر النيل	01: 20: 04	Political institution	Qasr EL-Neel	Borrowing
45	كبري دماغك يا سعاد	1: 27: 15	Social culture	Come on, Suad	Naturalisation
46	تبقى على سنجة عشرة	1:27:44	Social culture	Get dressed to the nines	Naturalisation
47	وانه الضيق بعده فرج	1: 29: 59	Social culture	After the rain comes the sun	Naturalisation
48	أبو وائل	1: 43: 24	Social culture	Father of Wael	Literal translation plus borrowing
49	ابن بلد	1: 48: 37	Social culture	A man of the world	Naturalisation
50	الحشيش	1: 50: 05	Material culture	hash.	borrowing
51	حضرتك عايش فيها باشا	1: 51: 24	Social culture	You live like a king there	Naturalisation
52	الله يخرب بيتك	1: 55: 29	Social	May you go to	Naturalisation

			culture	hell	
53	هي كلمة وما لهاش أخت	1: 55: 59	Social culture	-	Deletion
54	اللي طلع البغل المدنة هو بس اللي يقدر ينزله تاني	2: 03: 59	Social culture	"Whoever put the mull in the minaret can get it down"	Literal Translation
55	ما تركبش دماغك بقه	02: 05: 10	Social culture	Don't be stubborn	Universalisation
56	واللي على راسه بطحة	02: 04: 35	Social culture	And [lose] your hair too!	Naturalisation
57	حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل فيك	02: 10: 06	Religious culture	-	Deletion
58	دا انت اللي سماك ملاك ظلمك	01: 57: 37	Social Culture	You shame your religion	Naturalisation
59	ارقص للقرد في دولته	2: 30: 07	Social culture	Dance for the monkey when it rules	Literal Translation