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Pluricentric dubbing in French and Spanish

The translation of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality in films

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Dedicatòria i Agraïments

A mis padres, Guy y Lise,
a mi hermana Marion,
a Guillermo,
a mis directoras, Vicky, Jenny y Kristin,
y a todos los que han cruzado mi camino durante estos cincos años
de estudios doctorales.
Esta tesis lleva un poco de cada uno de vosotros.

Resum

El present estudi examina com es tradueix el discurs fílmic, especialment els elements marcadors de la variació lingüística, al francès i al castellà, dues llengües pluricèntriques, és a dir, llengües que tenen més d'un centre normatiu. El fet que diverses nacions adoptin mesures per promoure la indústria nacional del doblatge, en general per motius econòmics i culturals, en ocasions porta a duplicar les varietats de doblatge. Per tant, una qüestió clau és saber com es comparen aquestes versions doblades i com aconsegueixen transmetre la variació lingüística i la oralitat prefabricada a través de les seves respectives traduccions.

L'objectiu d'aquesta investigació consisteix a examinar quines són les principals diferències i similituds entre el discurs fílmic doblat de Quebec i de França (per al francés) i d'Espanya i Amèrica Llatina (per a l'espanyol), sobre la base d'un estudi de la pel·lícula *Death Proof* (2007) de Quentin Tarantino. Aquesta pel·lícula va ser seleccionada pel seu alt nivell de variació lingüística i la importància que Tarantino dóna a la llengua (no estàndard) de les seves pel·lícules.

Al Quebec, el principal motiu adduït per produir la seva pròpia versió doblada és escoltar la seva varietat francesa a la pantalla. Així, es podria suposar que les versions doblades a Quebec presenten característiques típiques del francès del Quebec. No obstant això, les investigacions anteriors sobre el tema mostren que

al Quebec s'utilitza una varietat sense variació lingüística anomenada francès internacional, similar a l'espanyol neutre de la indústria del doblatge d'Amèrica Llatina. Vaig descobrir que la versió del Quebec presentava elements propis de la varietat del francès del França, que suggereixen la influència dels estàndards exògens.

En aquesta investigació, vaig exainar aspectes claus del discurs de la pel·lícula doblada. Mentre que la majoria de versions doblades van transmetre una certa immediatesa comunicativa, els resultats de la versió llatinoamericana contrastaven amb els altres amb el seu alt nivell de distància comunicativa. A més, vaig descobrir que la majoria de versions doblades mostraven una orientació més aviat cap a la cultura font, incloent la versió de França, que ha estat qualificada de tenir tendències més domesticadores. En general, aquesta anàlisi em va ajudar a fer un retrat de les tradicions i pràctiques de traducció audiovisual en aquestes comunitats de parla.

Paraules clau

Traducció audiovisual, llengües pluricèntriques, doblatge, variació lingüística, oralitat prefabricada

Abstract

The present study examines how filmic speech, especially the elements bearing marks of linguistic variation, are translated into French and Spanish, two pluricentric languages, that is, languages which have more than one normative centres. A number of nations adopt measures promoting their own national dubbing industry, usually for economic and cultural reasons, occasionally leading to more than one dubbed version for a same language. A key question, therefore, is to know how these dubbed versions compare to one another and how they manage to transmit linguistic variation and prefabricated orality through their respective translations.

The purpose of this research is to examine the main differences and similarities between dubbed filmic speech from Quebec and France, and from Spain and Latin America, on the basis of a case study of Quentin Tarantino's *Death Proof* (2007). This movie was selected for its high level of linguistic variation and the importance Tarantino gives to (non-standard) language in his films.

In Quebec, the main reason evoked for producing its own dubbed version is to hear its French variety on screen. Thus, one could assume that the versions dubbed in Quebec feature characteristics typical of Quebec French. However, previous research addressing the topic showed that a variety supposedly free of linguistic variation, called 'International French' was used

instead, not unlike the 'Neutral Spanish' known in the Latin American dubbing industry. I found out that the Quebec French version actually featured elements typical of the Franco-French variety, which suggest the influence of exogenous standards.

In this investigation, I also examined key aspects of dubbed film speech. While most dubbed versions conveyed more or less communicative immediacy, results for the Latin American version contrasted with the others with its high level of communicative distance. Furthermore, I discovered that most dubbed versions displayed an orientation rather towards the source culture, including the Franco-French version, which has been qualified as having more domesticating tendencies. Overall, this analysis helped me draw an accurate portrait of the AVT traditions and practices in these speech communities.

Keywords

Audiovisual translation, pluricentric languages, dubbing, linguistic variation, prefabricated orality

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Glossary

Anglicism: "borrowing from one language to the English language, either syntactical or, more often, lexical and phraseological." (Dictionary *Le Grand Robert*)

Broken (English/ French): "if someone talks in broken English, for example, or in broken French, they speak slowly and make a lot of mistakes because they do not know the language very well." (Collins English Dictionary)

Diglossia: "the use of two varieties of the same language in different social contexts throughout a speech community." (Merriam-Webster Dictionary)

Dubbese: "a culture-specific linguistic and stylistic model for dubbed texts which has been named by some authors as a third norm, being similar, but not equal, to real oral discourse and external production oral discourse." (Marzà & Chaume 2009: 36)

Exploitation (or Grindhouse) films: "films [which] are synonyms with a certain form of production (limited costs, hasty filming, interchangeable authors, and misappropriation of film images) and of distribution (specialised screening places), but also with commercially proven scenarios: 'Blaxploitation', 'Sexploitation',

‘shock and horror’ (drugs, violence and gore), Kungfuxploitation […]” (my translation of Le Pallec Marand 2011: 9)

Extralinguistic culture-bound reference (ECR): “reference that is attempted by means of any culture-bound linguistic expression, which refers to an extra-linguistic entity or process, and which is assumed to have a discourse referent that is identifiable to a relevant audience as this referent is within the encyclopedic knowledge of this audience.” (Pedersen 2005: 2)

Final girl: in slasher film, “she is the one who encounters the mutilated bodies of her friends and perceives the full extent of the preceding horror and of her own peril; who is chased, cornered, wounded; whom we see scream, stagger, fall, rise, and scream again. [...] She alone looks death in the face; but she alone also finds the strength either to stay the killer long enough to be rescued (ending A) or to kill him herself (ending B).” (Clover 1987: 201)

Francism: “lexical unit whose relative frequency in the Quebec French variety is much lower than in the Franco-French variety.” (Thibault 2010: 7)

Grindhouse: “refers to small (often urban) neighborhood cinemas or drive-ins that, in the 60s and 70s, broadcasted productions that did not observe the constraints and regulations imposed by studios with regard to the explicit representation of sex and violence […]

known as ‘exploitation films’ or, more familiarly, ‘Grindhouse movies’ […]” (my translation of Le Pallec Marand 2011: 9)

Idiolect: “a combination of uses characteristic of a specific individual’s language.” (Sánchez 2001: 704)

Linguistic variation: “use of non-standard pronunciation (or accent), indeed dialect (accent, grammar and lexis) [...] or yet other varieties of language – including slang, specific jargon or excessive use of vulgarity – which indicate their belonging to a particular group (Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007: 191)” (quoted in Ellender 2016: 3)

Prefabricated/ fictional orality: “any attempt to recreate the language of communicative immediacy in fictional texts [...] not opposed to actual orality, but [...] conceived as a special technique which consists mainly of evocation of certain characteristics of spoken communicative situations [...]” (Brumme & Espunya 2012: 13)

Slasher (or spatter or shocker) film: “the immensely generative story of a psycho-killer who slashes to death a string of mostly female victims, one by one, until he is himself subdued or killed, usually by the one girl who has survived.” (Clover 1987: 187)

INTRODUCTION

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1. Motivation for research

As a Quebec French native speaker, the comment I get the most when travelling to France is that I have an accent. Sometimes, the accent even gets qualified as “funny” or “cute”. As I knew that the French I spoke differed from the one spoken in Europe, I usually agreed with my interlocutor. I thought they might be right, that my variety of French was a digression from the ‘proper French standard’, the one heard in France, especially around Paris. After all, Quebec French is often not taught in French as a Foreign Language courses and it is scarcely heard in dubbed films. In the eighties and nineties, I watched films translated in France and this filmic speech did not sound strange to me as the action on screen was taking somewhere outside of my country too. As I learned English in school, I watched exclusively movies in their original version, but I remember my family watching films dubbed in Quebec and the filmic speech I heard certainly did not remind me of my own.

Later, I learned my third language, Spanish, at university from Latin American teachers. When I moved to Barcelona to pursue my postgraduate studies, I realised the variety spoken in the city was also different from the one I had been taught and I was quickly acquainted with linguistic variation in all its forms with my

new classmates. I became aware of something that had been a reality throughout my life, but that had never dawn upon me: every language varies, and not just because they are spoken in different places, but because they are used by different individuals in different contexts. And most importantly, variation is not a digression from an established standard; it is intrinsic to language itself. I wondered if this fact had not been clear to me earlier because I had barely been confronted with any other French variety in the past. From that point on, whenever a French native speaker commented on the fact that I had an accent, I changed my answer to: “And so do you”.

I became fascinated with linguistic variation, especially its representation, so I chose Irvine Welsh’s novel *Trainspotting* (1993) and his use of eye dialect when recreating the English Scots dialect as a case study for my Master’s dissertation. As cinema has always been a great interest of mine, I was keen to study linguistic variation in films during my doctoral studies. Thus, when Jenny Brumme put forwards the idea of a thesis on “double dubbing”, I knew it was the perfect subject for my PhD project. I wanted to know more about this filmic variety I had heard in Quebec dubbed films, and how it differed from the one made in France with which I had grown up in the eighties. I was also interested to find out if the little exposition to linguistic variation I had felt in the past had any relation with films and audiovisual translation as well. Since language is such a central part of identity and culture, I wanted to discover which characteristics had been retained in the target text and what those choices implied in terms of linguistic

representations and social evaluation of a variety. I was also very keen to know how it compared to Spanish, the language I was studying and which is also spoken on both sides of the Atlantic by millions of people.

2. Previous research on double dubbing

Audiovisual translation (AVT) studies might have been neglected in the past as the popular theories, classifications and models of that time could not apply to it (Zabalbeascoa 2008: 23). However, since the mid-nineties, this field of studies has greatly flourished (Gambier 2012) and many academics have dedicated studies to its various aspects. Dubbed filmic speech in French and in Spanish has received some scholarly-attention: a list of the main contributions dealing with this topic is shown in the Tables 1 and 2 below. The film that I have chosen for my case study, Quentin Tarantino's *Death Proof* (2007), has also been the subject of a few studies (García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2012, 2013; Soler Pardo 2011) which is not too surprising considering the high content of linguistic variation in Tarantino's films. The topic of double dubbing, that is, producing more than one dubbed version of a film for the same language, has also received some attention from scholars both in French (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012, 2015; Plourde 2000) and in Spanish (Leal Abad 2011; Miquel Cortés 2004, 2006). However, it appears that no academic has analised and compared double dubbing as a phenomenon involving more than one pluricentric language. One has to proceed with extreme caution as pluricentric languages are not perfectly "comparable" to each other,

but a comparison of tendencies in the four versions of these two pluricentric languages seemed relevant to me, especially considering both Quebec and Latin America claim they resort to a dubbed filmic speech which is neutral or international.

Table 1: Previous studies on dubbing in Spanish

DUBBING IN SPANISH	
Baños Piñero	2006/ 2014a, 2014b
Baños Piñero & Chaume	2009
Chaume	1997/ 2001/ 2004a, 2004b, 2004c/ 2007/ 2012
Romero Fresco	2006/ 2007/ 2009a, 2009b

Table 2: Previous studies on dubbing in French

DUBBING IN FRENCH	
Caron	2003
Pettit	2013/ 2011/ 2009/ 2008/ 2007/ 2005/ 2004
Plourde	2003/ 2000
Reinke, Ostiguy, Émond & Houde	2018
Reinke, Ostiguy & Émond	2017
Reinke & Ostiguy	2015 / 2012
Reinke	2018
Urbain	2014
von Flotow	2014/ 2010/ 2009

3. Objectives and hypothesis

My main objective in this doctoral research is to study how linguistic variation and prefabricated orality, as they are depicted in an English-speaking film, are rendered in the dubbed versions in French and Spanish. I have taken interest in linguistic variation, not only because it is a naturally-occurring feature in real-life speech and thus essential for the rendition of fictional orality, but also because it plays a crucial role in the protagonists' characterisation and understanding the film's plot and main themes. Furthermore, I set out to achieve the following objectives:

- Decide on an appropriate methodological approach to analyse linguistic variation and prefabricated orality in all four dubbed versions, selecting certain parameters to reach conclusions for each target culture, and other parameters to draw comparison between the two pluricentric languages.
- Study the role of linguistic variation in Quentin Tarantino's *Death Proof* (2007).
- Discover what the translation of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality tells us about the target cultures that produce the dubbed versions, especially regarding their acceptance of linguistic variation.
- Determine which standards served as a model for each dubbed filmic speech and which norms were observed during the audiovisual translation process.
- Ascertain which characteristics were used to transmit the original version's linguistic variation and prefabricated

orality in the dubbed versions and what it conveys in terms of communicative distance or immediacy.

- Find out if certain characteristics featured in the dubbed filmic speech indicate an orientation rather towards the source culture or the target culture.
- Observe which functions are meant to be fulfilled in the fiction film *Death Proof* and which functions are actually satisfied in its corresponding dubbed versions.
- Determine how the French and Spanish dubbed versions compare to each other. Most specifically, draw a comparison between two dubbed filmic varieties of speech which are said to be "without any geolectal features": International French (in Quebec) and Neutral Spanish (in Latin America). Find out if such a statement is justified by the results obtained in this doctoral research.
- Provide scholars and professionals with descriptive insights into the creation of fictional orality and the portrayal of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality in each target culture.

My hypothesis is that, considering the tendency to standardise, neutralise and censor in audiovisual translation (Chaume 2012: 91), all four dubbed versions of *Death Proof* are going to be slightly more formal than the original and shift towards communicative distance. I expect it will be even more so in the Quebec French and Latin American versions than in the Franco-French and Peninsular Spanish versions. Firstly, because Quebec

French speakers are known to devalue their own variety (Pöll 2001; Bouchard 2002, 2012; Reinke & Ostiguy 2012, 2015, 2016; von Flotow 2009, 2010, 2014), and Latin Americans are more sensitive to taboo words and offensive language (Andión Herrero 2002; Miquel Cortés 2006; Rotondo 2016). Secondly, because the varieties spoken in France and Spain have benefitted from a historical prestige (Amit 2016; Bouchard 2002, 2012; Oesterreicher 2002; Pöll 1998, 2001, 2005; Reinke 2018; Reinke & Ostiguy 2016 for French; Oesterreicher 2002; Pöll 2012; Rotondo 2016 for Spanish).

4. Overview of methodology

A case study approach was used to examine the rendition of linguistic variation in the French and Spanish dubbed versions of the American film *Death Proof* (2007). A brief summary of the steps taken to achieve my objectives is listed below, although a more detailed description of the methodological approach adopted throughout my investigation is provided in Chapter 4. Furthermore, I should mention that this thesis was written according to the APA style and the British spelling.

1. Literature research: search for documentation about my thesis topic and its theoretical framework. It should be noted that this investigation on the rendition of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality in the dubbings of an American film sets out to compare the results of two pluricentric languages, French and Spanish, and for that reason, a multidisciplinary approach combining (audiovisual)

translation and sociolinguistics, with a special attention to cinematic studies, seemed more appropriate.

2. Determining the objectives, hypothesis and methodological approach for this doctoral research.
3. Analysis of the corpus: transcription of the original version and all four dubbed versions of Quentin Tarantino's *Death Proof*. Identification and classification of the various occurrences of linguistic variation, according to the parameters selected in the methodological approach.
4. Selection of reference works (essentially dictionaries) to analyse the data obtained from the corpus.
5. Analysis of the results obtained. It is worth pointing out that, while my investigation is essentially qualitative, I did resort to some quantitative methods to give a better idea of the presence or absence of certain standard and non-standard features in the dubbings. These numbers are strictly referential and can only be applied in this particular case study.
6. Conclusion: use the results of the analysis to confirm the hypothesis and draw conclusions in relation to my objectives.

5. Structure of this thesis

Following this introductory section, this thesis opens with four chapters dedicated to the theoretical dimensions of the research. In Chapter 1, I review some of the essential concepts in linguistic and sociolinguistics, such as linguistic variation (diatopic,

diastratic, diaphasic and diachronic) and Koch & Oesterreicher's *Varietätenkette* (1990), the concept of language communities and speech communities, the two kinds of standard according to Ramiro Valderrama (2007), Jakobson's six language functions (1960), norms according to Moreau (1997) and norms in translation according to Toury (1980), the pluricentric model (Clyne 1992) and finally, the social value of linguistic variation (including linguistic attitudes and insecurities).

Chapter 2 is concerned with pluricentric languages, and more precisely, the two languages whose audiovisual translation practices and traditions are examined in this investigation: French and Spanish. First, I give a global overview of the French language, and then I present its evolution in Europe and in Canada, followed by the existing norms and attitudes in the French-speaking language community. I proceed to detail the main difference between the Quebec and France's varieties of French, on the phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical levels. I continue with a similar presentation for the Spanish language: its evolution on both sides of the Atlantic, the norms and attitudes in the Spanish-speaking world, the "International Spanish" supra-variety and finally, the main characteristics and differences between Peninsular Spanish and Latin American Spanish.

Chapter 3 addresses the theme of audiovisual translation, most specifically, the nature of the audiovisual text (Zabalbeascoa 2008), filmic speech and fictional orality and the role of linguistic variation in film speech. I then proceed to give an overview of the main modes of audiovisual translation: dubbing and subtitling. I

continue with a description of the nature of dubbed filmic speech, followed by a presentation of the dubbing centres for the French language: Quebec and France. I give a detailed description of their respective dubbed filmic speech. A similar review is done for the Spanish language: a presentation of the dubbing industries and the dubbed filmic speech in Spain and in Latin America.

Methodology is detailed in Chapter 4, which includes an explanation of the relevance of a case study on the movie *Death Proof*, an introduction to Tarantino's film including its plot and main themes, the research methodology *per se* and finally, the reference works used throughout the analysis of the data. Chapter 5 presents the findings of the research, including the results for parameters common to all four dubbed versions such as register shifts, cultural references, Anglicisms, future tenses and geolectal elements. Finally, this thesis concludes with Chapter 6 which includes a brief summary of the results in relation to my objectives and hypothesis, a discussion on the implication of the findings and possible future research on the subject.

CHAPTER 1

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1. Linguistic and sociolinguistic theoretical framework

In this first chapter, I will begin by defining a few of the key notions of linguistic and sociolinguistics upon which is based my study. I will first discuss linguistic variation and its representation (section 1.1.), which, in my opinion, is the core concept behind my research. All languages vary and from a functional point of view, all varieties are equal and any of them can fulfil language's main functions (section 1.4.). However, they are not considered as such by speakers who tend to value and hierarchise them (section 1.8.). Speakers' evaluation of varieties depends on the language communities and speech communities they belong to (section 1.2.) and the norms in force in said community (section 1.5.).

Also, although all languages vary, an effort is always made to establish some standards (section 1.3.). Such standard can come from within or from outside the speech community, which defines it as a normative centre in the pluricentric model of language (section 1.7.). As a cultural activity, translation is also subjected to norms (section 1.6.) which are evidenced by the resulting translations.

1.1. Linguistic variation and its representation

Languages are naturally variable. This is due to multiple factors, mainly related to the user and the use of such language. In most cases, linguistic variation is due to more than one factor: the

geographical location of the speaker (or at least, the location where he learned to speak), the social group who uses it, the moment in time when it is used, the (formal or informal) situation in which it is used and whether it is spoken or written. Such types or dimensions of variation, summarised in Table 3 below, are known as diachronic (time), diatopic (location), diastratic (society or community), diaphasic (register) and diamesic (medium). Based on Gadet's classification (2007: 23), dimensions of variation are grouped according to whether they stem from the user ('interpersonal') or from the use ('intrapersonal') of a language.

Table 3: Types of linguistic variation (based on Gadet 2007: 23)

Variation due to the **USER**	Time	**Diachronic** variation
	Location	**Diatopic** variation
	Society/ community	**Diastratic** variation
Variation due to **USE**	Register	**Diaphasic** variation
	Medium (written/oral)	**Diamesic** variation

When a linguistic feature bears the sign of one or more of these dimensions of variation, it is often qualified as non-standard or marked. Normally, dimensions of variation are intertwined, and this is why Hatim & Mason (1990) believe that linguistic variation is a continuum "with features from the several areas of variation in constant interaction" (ibid., 44). When certain uses become typical

of an individual's speech, it forms the speaker's individual dialect or idiolect. According to the scholars, the idiolect "subsumes features from all the other aspects of variety […]: temporal, geographical, social, etc." (ibid.). Several academics put forward their own model of linguistic variation, including Gregory (1967), Coseriu (1981), Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens (1964), Hatim & Mason (1990) and Koch & Oesterreicher (1990). For this investigation, I retained the sliding scale model of the latter as it appears to be the most adequate to the present study.

According to Koch & Oesterreicher (1985: 23), variation in language is articulated by a double axis where the oral and written mediums are opposed to each other, yet where the 'language of communicative immediacy' and the 'language of communicative distance' are the two opposed extremes of a continuum. Communicative immediacy occurs in conditions of familiarity, intimacy, spontaneity, cooperation and emotionality for instance (in a nutshell, in situations of informality), and involves verbalisation strategies such as limited preparation and extralinguistic contextualisation (for example, gestures). Communicative distance occurs in contexts of foreignness, scarce cooperation and absence of emotionality (in situations of formality) and involves verbalisation strategies such as preparation and linguistic contextualisation.

The immediacy-distance continuum encompasses the Coseriu-based 'architecture' of intralinguistic variation, where the diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic dimensions are parts of a diasystem, defined as "a system structured by linguistic traditions

and norms" [1] (ibid., 37). These dimensions operate following a certain dynamic, which is illustrated in the *Varietätenkette*, or chain of variation (see Figure 4 below). According to Koch & Oesterreicher (1990), diatopic features can function as diastratic features, which in turn, can function as diaphasic features (quoted in López Serena 2013: 126); however, it only works in that "direction". To exemplify this dynamic, López Serena explains that a member of a higher social class could perfectly use a low register in an informal situation and still manage to be perceived positively because of its social status (ibid.).

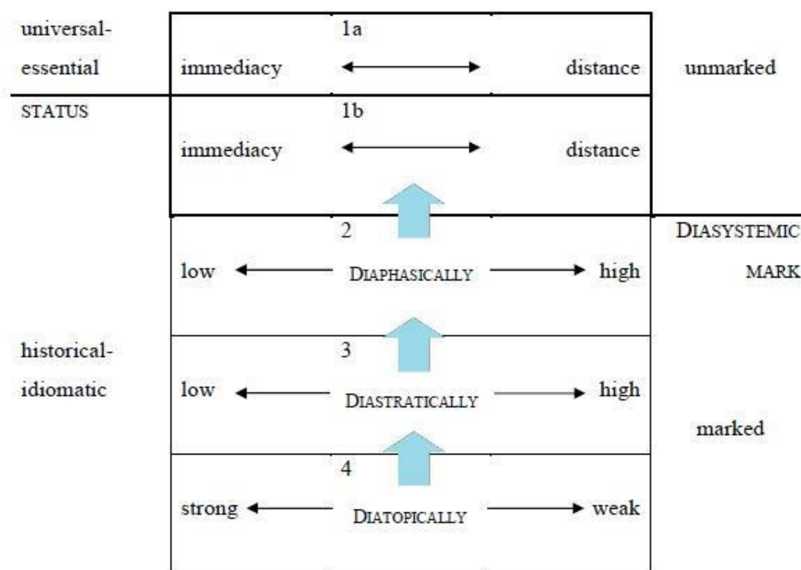

Figure 4. Koch & Oesterreicher's *Varietätenkette* (1990: 39)

[1] My translation.

Furthermore, drawing on earlier work from Coseriu (1982) who saw language as possessing universal, historical and individual levels, Koch & Oesterreicher (1990) conceive speech as "a *universal* human activity that is *individually* carried out, yet that always follows *historically* determined techniques (languages)" (López Serena 2007b: 144, quoted in Brumme 2012: 9).[2] Consequently, they consider that speech contains characteristics that belong to a specific language (referred to as historical-idiomatic features; *1a* in Figure 4 above) and others that are associated with a situation of communicative immediacy, regardless of the language (universal features; *1b* in Figure 4 above) (Brumme 2012: 9). For instance, the use of the familiar pronoun *tu* instead of the polite *vous* in French would be regarded as an historical-idiomatic feature; whereas the use of vague language is a universal feature (a Japanese speaker can use vague words and expressions just as much as a German speaker). In section 3.2., we will see how the universal features of a source text can usually be maintained in translation, while historical-idiomatic features often get eliminated.

1.2. Language and speech communities

As speakers, we form part of greater language communities that share a same language (Ramiro Valderrama 2012: 33-34), whether it is French, Spanish or English. Members of a language community share a common linguistic as well as cultural knowledge (Carrera Fernández 2014: 2). However, they do not speak exactly in the same way; in other words, they speak different

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[2] My translation.

varieties of a same language. For instance, although they understand each other, a French speaker from Switzerland will refer to the number 90 as "*nonante*" and the one from France as "*quatre-vingt-dix*". Speakers with most linguistic and cultural traits in common form speech communities (Ramiro Valderrama 2012: 34; see also Labov 1972: 120). Members of a speech community have more linguistic characteristics in common with each other than with the other members of a same language community (Carrera Fernández 2014: 5).

As language is central in the process of socialisation and culturalisation (Amorós-Negre 2014: 12), members of a same speech community often have gone through similar process, and share common linguistic attitudes (Moreno Fernández 2009: 23). Belonging to a certain speech community influences how its members perceive certain linguistic characteristics, which means, in relation to Koch & Oesterreicher's *Varietätenkette* (1990: 39), that each speech community belongs to a different "variational space" (López Serena 2013: 141; see section 2.1.2.). Within each variational space, speakers attribute different values or "status" to linguistic features and observe distinct standards. Thus, Koch & Oesterreicher's representation "can cope with the manifold interrelations between orality and literacy in various societies" (Redling 2006: 21).

1.3. Standards I and II

The "standard" is often used in sociolinguistics, with different meanings. As we saw in the previous section, all linguistic

features are not perceived and valued equally; they are hierarchised. Consequently, the varieties that contain such features are also judged and hierarchised. Usually, the variety which is valued most highly is the one considered to be the standard. Historically, it is the one spoken by the most privileged social class. As Giles & Coupland explain "a standard variety is one that is most often associated with high socioeconomic status, power and media usage in a particular community. Its particular form is due to historical influence rather than intrinsic value" (1991: 38) (see also Leclerc 1986).

Table 5: Standards I and II

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Variation due to
the USER</th><th colspan="2">Variation due to
USE</th></tr>
<tr><td>TIME</td><td>LOCATION</td><td>SOCIETY,
COMMUNITY</td><td rowspan="2">REGISTER</td><td rowspan="3">+ORAL

+WRITTEN</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Standard/ prestigious variety
(STANDARD I)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Supra-variety (STANDARD II)</td></tr>
</table>

This first acceptation of the term is what Ramiro Valderrama refers to as "standard I" (ibid., 2012: 36) and coincides with Bourdieu's idea of the *variété de prestige* (1982). Within the French language community, the Franco-French variety is the one considered as the *variété de prestige* because it holds the most cultural, social and economic capital.

However, there is a second kind of standard ("standard II" according to Ramiro Valderrama 2012) which coincides with the idea of a supra-variety that is not associated with any particular geolect and that is understood by the whole of the language community (ibid., 36). Such a supra-variety (or standard II) is closest to the written medium and is similar to the Torres Torres' (2013) concept of "unique but flexible model applicable mainly to written Spanish" (ibid., 213; see also Torrent-Lenzen 2006). Garatea (2006: 148) defines it as a "relatively homogeneous and unified literary standard which superimposes itself on the other varieties" (see section 2.1.2.). Furthermore, I suspect this concept of a written supra-variety is akin to the International Spanish standard and, even, the idea behind the Neutral Spanish idealised norm (see section 2.1.3.).

1.4. Jakobson's language functions

Drawing from Bühler's *Sprachtheorie* (1934), Jakobson (1960) developed a model where elements of a communicative situation are each associated with a distinct language function. In a communication, usually more than one function come into play. The sender is related to the emotive function, that is the "direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about" (ibid., 354), while the conative function, which consists of acting upon or influencing the receiver, to call him out, is evidently associated with said receiver. The content of the message (referential function) and the form of the message (poetic function) are respectively associated with the context and the message.

Finally, the channel refers to the phatic function, concretely consisting of “messages primarily serving to establish, to prolong, or to discontinue communication, to check whether the channel works” (ibid., 355) and the code focus on the metalingual, or “glossing” function of communication, to insure both sender and receiver are using the same code (ibid., 356).

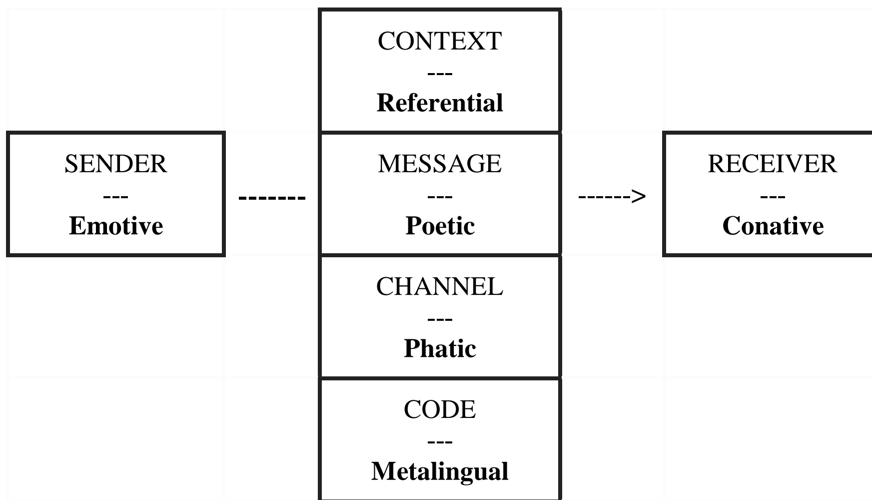

Figure 6. Jakobson’s six functions of language

In the case of the present study which focuses on the translation of an audiovisual text featuring a considerable amount of linguistic variation, the poetic function would possibly be more important than the referential function. Tarantino’s film is far from a documentary or a news program; dialogues are of paramount importance although the content is not as relevant as the form of the message, or according to Jakobson’s terminology, the poetic function. One could even go so far as to say that in most of his dialogues, what is important is not so much what is said, but how it

is said. We will see later how translational choices in dubbed filmic speech are highly important in order to render the function of the original communication act.

1.5. Moreau's norms

To describe more adequately the norms in effect in a certain variational space, or speech communities, I will refer to Moreau's classification (1997) which accounts for standardisation tendencies and the speakers' perceptions (in Bulot & Blanchet 2011). Moreau identified the following five types of norms:

1. **Objective norms** (also known as 'implicit' or 'frequency' norms): such norms refer to real-life linguistic habits and uses within a community and of which the speakers might not be aware. Objective norms can be either exogenous or endogenous (see section 1.7.).
2. **Descriptive norms:** as their name suggests, these norms describe the speakers' linguistic habits and uses, without any kind of evaluation or hierarchisation.
3. **Prescriptive norms:** norms referring to linguistic habits and uses, most commonly associated with a prestigious social group, and consequently, the most highly valued. Prescriptive norms are codified in reference works (such as dictionaries and grammars) and presented as the proper "norm" to observe (see also Reinke 2016: 6). Prescriptive norms can be either exogenous or endogenous to the speech community (see section 1.7.).

4. **Evaluative norms** (also known as ‘subjective’ norms): linguistic representation and attitudes of speakers on varieties. It is also the norms concerned when speakers associate “affective, aesthetic and moral” values to said varieties (Bulot & Blanchet 2011). Evaluative norms can be exogenous or endogenous (see section 1.7.), implicit or explicit.
5. **Idealised norms** (‘*normes fantasmées*’ in French): defined by Moreau (1997) as “an abstract and inaccessible set of prescriptions and prohibitions that no one can embody and for which everyone is to blame” (ibid., 222-223). Idealised norms are based on linguistic representations which are not rooted in reality (Reinke 2016: 7). In section 2.2.1., we will address the fact that International French, and quite possibly Neutral Spanish, are *normes fantasmée*s.

1.6. Toury’s norms in translation

In the previous section, we saw that norms are of great importance in sociocultural communities. Norms are also central to a practice very much influenced by the community which carries it out: translation. As Toury explains: “being a culturally-determined kind of activity, translation is basically norm-governed” (2012[1995]: 61). Amongst other scholars who have tackled this topic, the same Toury (2012[1995]) has contributed greatly to the theory of norms in translation.

Norms are not tangible entities, yet their influence is felt in every socio-cultural paradigm. What can be observed are the

different kinds of behaviours stemming from norms and the instances subjected to these norms. Hence, it is said that norms are hypothetical explanations for such behaviours and instances. An example of an observable instance of norm-governed behaviour would be an audiovisual text. In the case of this research, I could hypothesise about the norms influencing the creation of an audiovisual text produced by a scriptwriter, or a translated audiovisual text produced by a translator, bearing in mind that norms vary depending on the culture those professionals belong to and the activities they perform.

In addition to being specific to a culture, norms are relative and unstable (ibid.). In a given paradigm, several norms of varying influence can be discerned. These norms can be qualified as 'mainstream', 'old-fashioned' or 'avant-garde' norms at a certain time and place. Norms require a conscious and voluntary choice from an individual, who has to select this norm over others. Toury (ibid., 68) believes that "in spite of all the restrictions caused by responsibility to society", in the end, the individual is autonomous to adhere to a norm or not, and that the final decision belongs to him.

Norms control an individual's behaviour in a fluctuating manner: their influence depends on the group(s) the individual belongs to and the type of activities he accomplishes. It is also perfectly natural that the different members of a same group adhere to different norms, as it is sometimes the case in a dubbing studio.

It should be noted that norms and rules are not equivalent, and their effects on behaviour are not identical. Toury conceived a

continuum measuring the impact of restrictions on behaviours, where norms would be positioned in-between rules and what he calls ‘idiosyncratic mannerisms’ (2012[1995]: 65), as norms are inter-subjective.

As for translation activities, Toury identified three sets of translational norms. The initial norm refers to the translator making a choice between ‘adequacy’ and ‘acceptability’. The result of this choice can be positioned and evaluated along a continuum. A more adequate translation shows a higher importance to source culture norms, but will possibly create a conflict with the ones from the target culture. Toury explains that, when source-culture norms have greater influence on the translation than target norms, the results will be “made into a model-language which is at the best some part of TL and at worst, an artificial variety which has no existence anywhere else” (ibid., 84).

The second one is the preliminary norm, which is divided into two branches: translation policy (what text will be translated and when) and directness of translation (if the translation will be based on another, intermediary translation or directly based on the source text).

As for the last category, operational norms, they mostly have an influence on the translation activity in itself. It is also divided into two branches: textual-linguistic norms ruling lexical and stylistic choice, as well as syntactic structures; and matricial norms, governing the choice of elements replacing the source text (addition, deletion and relocation of text fragments) and segmentation of the text.

The notion of norms is closely associated to Even-Zohar's (1990) theory of polysystem. Different norms are active simultaneously in different ensembles, known as (sub)systems, and the totality of those (sub)systems and the relations between them forms what is defined as a 'polysystem'. Extending on Toury's previous work (2012[1995]), Karamitroglou (2000: 27-28) applied the concept of norms and polysystem to (audiovisual) translation. According to the scholar, both concepts are intertwined:

> Any type of system is actually the coherent grid, the network of norms that constitute it. A system therefore can be seen as a collection, a cumulative assemblance of all the norms that operate in it […] a norm can be seen as a systematic constellation of a series of factors that lead to the emergence of a coherent behavioural pattern [...] Firstly, the evolution of systems and the evolution of norms follow each other [...] Secondly, both norms and systems operate in a consistent fashion, based on aspects of patterned behaviour. And finally, the notion of stratification and of established hierarchy between various operating levels [...] can apply to both norms and system.

Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) applied the notions of norms and polysystem to their investigation on audiovisual translation, and more precisely, to the creation of prefabricated orality. They explain that fictive orality is simulated by means of linguistic characteristics, selected according to what is accepted in its system and to its operational factors. For that reason, when

comparing fictional orality in a domestic sitcom and in a dubbed sitcom, the scholars' purpose was to determine which textual-linguistic norms were at play in the target polysystem. The authors mention that even though these norms are present in the target polysystem, the results might differ since, as we have seen, the influence of norms is relative.

1.7. The pluricentric model

The old model representing some cultures as central and others as peripheral is much less relevant in our globalised world. People can migrate easily, come into contact with people from other communities, and identify with various cultures, thus making less relevant the centralisation of identities and cultures and, along with it, the old principle of "one language, one nation". Moreover, access to cultural content has been greatly facilitated by the emergence of new technologies that have led to "global cultural industries" (Amorós-Negre & Prieto de los Mozos 2017: 245). The streaming platform Netflix is a great example of this kind of industry that goes beyond borders: it allows its viewers to access the same content, at the same time, and in their own language or variety. For instance, audiences from Latin America can view material translated into the Latin American supra-variety while Spanish audiences can access the Peninsular Spanish version. In such a context, a representation such as Clyne's pluricentric model of languages (1992) is more relevant than ever.

To be considered pluricentric, a language needs to be both spoken in different geographical areas and codified in more than

one normative centre representing the linguistic variety in use in said area. While each normative centre has influence over its speakers, most often than not they do not have the same influence within the language community (Pöll 2005: 19). As Pöll further explains, pluricentrism is often characterised by "a profound asymmetry" (ibid.), as it is the case for the French language. Many scholars describe the relationship between the normative centres for French as asymmetrical, and some even consider the situation to be more monocentric than pluricentric (see Amit 2016; Oesterreicher 2002; Pöll 1998, 2001, 2005; Reinke & Ostiguy 2016). Reinke (2018) states that the demographic importance and the cultural prestige of France, as well the purist tendencies it displays, give rise to this uneven relationship between the endogenous and exogenous norms in French-speaking countries, amongst other, in the province of Quebec.

Furthermore, according to Ammon's normative model (shown in Table 7 below), each normative centre is classified as more or less 'complete' depending on whether its models and codex (that is to say, its reference works) come from within the country/ area, or from the outside.

Table 7: Ammon's normative model (1989, cf. Pöll 1998)

Full endo-normativity	*Models and codex entirely from the country concerned.*	FULL CENTRES E.g.: France
Predominant endo-normativity	*Codex entirely from the country concerned, models from both inside and outside.*	NEARLY FULL CENTRES E.g.: USA were formely a nearly full centre (Ammon 1989: 90)
Semi endo-normativity	*Models and codex from both inside and outside the country concerned.*	SEMI-CENTRES E.g.: Province of Quebec
Predominant exo-normativity	*Codex entirely from outside the country concerned, models partly from inside.*	RUDIMENTARY CENTRES E.g.: Romandy, Francophone Belgium
Full exo-normativity	*Models and codex entirely from outside*	NON-CENTRES E.g.: Francophone Africa

Pöll (2017: 67-68; cf. Manessy 1997: 223) states that three norms from Moreau's classification (see section 1.5.) can be associated to endogenous norms: objective norms (type I), subjective norms (type II) and prescriptive norms (type III). In these cases, the endogenous norms are "competing against" the exogenous norms within the speech community.

1.8. Linguistic attitudes and insecurities

One of the consequences of negative linguistic representation for the speakers whose variety is undervalued within the language community is what Labov refers to as "linguistic insecurity" (1966). It can be defined as a twofold feeling of

alienation against a dominant model one does not master and against one's own linguistic competence (Swiggers 1993).

As we will see in section 2.2.2., linguistic insecurity is common within the French language community. According to Klinkenberg (2007), French is the most linguistically centralised and institutionalised pluricentric language, because of the dominant position France has in the French-speaking community. The said centralisation of institutions is best exemplified by the considerable amount of institutions actually located in Paris. As for its linguistic centralisation, Klinkenberg (ibid.) refers to:

> An ideological construction manoeuvre meaning to suppress a language essential variation: based on a speech aiming to present as monolithic something which is objectively a conglomerate of linguistic varieties, which differ in their costs as much as their expected profits in the symbolic market.[3]

His statement draws on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of a social space, where hierarchy and relation of different 'fields' are structured through (economic, cultural and social) capital. Casanova (1999) also shares the view that France, and especially Paris, has a dominant role due to its massive cultural/ literary capital. In addition to its prevailing cultural status, in terms of market size, France has a predominant French-speaking population, unlike the other francophone countries.

[3] My translation.

Such unbalance in cultural capital has led many French-speakers outside of Paris to experience linguistic insecurities, where they "notic[e] a gap between the idealised norm that they feel they do not control and their own linguistic performance, perceived as non-legitimate" (Klinkenberg 1993: 6).[4] Other symptoms of linguistic insecurity have been acknowledged by researchers, such as inaccurate perception of one's own linguistic performance and metalinguistic comments revealing a negative attitude towards one's own variety (Reinke & Klare 2002).

[4] My translation.

CHAPTER 2

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2. Pluricentric languages

When a dialect evolves into a koine, and eventually into a language in its own right, there is a desire – and even to some extent, a need – to unify and standardise the language practices. Standardisation is meant to set the bases of the language and foster understanding between a growing number of speakers. Amidst the wide diversity of uses and practices, a variety is chosen to become the standard. I already highlighted that more often than not, the social group with the most power and enjoying the highest prestige is deemed by the others (or simply considers itself to be) in the best position to decide which variety should be recognised as the standard. As Torres Torres (2013) explains, throughout the history of a language, the relation between unity and variety, and that between normativity and linguistic variation go through different phases.

As the use of a language spreads over different territories and continents, it is expected that variation within the same language increases: the neighbouring languages and the nearby linguistic communities are varying, its speakers are confronted with distinct realities and experience different socio-cultural events. Nowadays, most linguists consider variation within a language to be natural. However, not everyone tolerates variation to the same extent. It is to be expected that the social group which initially sets

the standard – if they still possess the required prestige – may object to other speech communities establishing standards for their respective territories. Such an attitude is best described as monocentric, and it usually interferes with the development of other normative centres. It is also possible that the high-prestige group comes to accept that other speech communities set their own standards. The said privilege group might even agree to collaborate with them to guarantee a relative unity within the language. This attitude, at the other end of the continuum, can be best described as pluricentric. Between these two extremely polarised stances, there is a whole spectrum of attitudes and behaviours along which the various pluricentric languages position themselves. There has been a growing interest amongst linguists to describe and classify them (see Ammon 1989; Pöll 1998, 2001, 2005).

2.1. Spanish

As a pluricentric language, Spanish is no exception to the rule: it went through a standardisation process, had several models of reference, and continually sought a balance between unity and diversity. From its beginnings, in the 10th century, when it was only a dialect of Latin spoken in a territory roughly corresponding to the present-day autonomous community of Cantabria, it grew into a language counting over 472 million native speakers in 2016 (567 million if we count non-native speakers; see *Instituto Cervantes* 2016: 4).

2.1.1. Its evolution in Europe and the Americas

First, a dialect spoken in a *pequeño rincón* ("a small corner"), as described in Fernán González's poem, Spanish later became a koine and kept evolving. Towards the end of the 11th century, at a time when the kingdoms of Castile and Navarre dominated the political and cultural spheres, the idea that Latin and the vernacular tongue were two separate languages became more and more accepted (see Briesemeister 1969: 37, quoted in Brumme 1992). During the first years of his reign, Alfonso the Wise initiated a process to unify the different dialects of the Crown of Castile and to codify the written usage of the budding language, around 1252. The invention of the printing press by Johannes Gutenberg two centuries later contributed to Alfonso the Wise's endeavour and made it possible to publish several reference books. Towards the end of the 15th century, with the codification of Spanish, most scholars came to hold the language in high esteem (Brumme 1992).

Starting at the end of the 15th century, Spain expanded its territory in the Americas. Pöll (2005) describes how the Conquistadors built an enormous colonial empire in three distinct periods, stretching from 1492 to 1556. Lebsanft, Mihatsch & Polzin-Haumann (2012) note that around the time when Spain colonised the Americas, it was not yet fully monocentric. Thompson (1992) confirms that fact, stating that during the 16th century, Spain counted two normative centres, or in his words, it was 'bicentric' (ibid., 60). The first standard was based on the variety spoken in Toledo, and for a brief period after that, in Valladolid (Torres Torres 2013). The second normative centre was

Seville, in the South of Spain. Following Christopher Columbus' expeditions, this port city in Andalusia became the centre of the trade route for riches and goods between Europe and the New World. Seville grew wealthy and came to enjoy great sociocultural prestige. As a result, Seville's standard spread not only in the South of Spain but also in the Canary Islands and over to the Americas. The fact that many settlers that colonised the New World were from Andalusia also contributed to the diffusion of the Sevillian variety, and nowadays Latin American Spanish shares several of its features (Pöll 2005).

As for the first normative centre, Toledo, Moreno Fernández (2005: 112) indicates that its linguistic prestige reached a peak between the 13th and the 16th centuries. At that time, there was a vibrant sociolinguistic diversity, although the dialects of other kingdoms such as the Aragonese or the Leonese, were sometimes depreciated in comparison (Brumme 1992: 387). When a fire destroyed part of the city of Valladolid in 1561, Felipe the Prudent transferred the court of Castile to Madrid, and the centre of linguistic prestige followed the court. These events led to a loss of influence for the standard of Toledo and Valladolid. The foundation of the *Real Academia Española* or RAE ("Royal Spanish Academy") in 1713 contributed to the institutionalisation of linguistic policy-making and an increase in linguistic conservatism (Torres Torres 2013). The RAE – whose motto reads *Limpia, fija y da esplendor* ("cleans, establishes and gives splendour") – displayed a centrist attitude and set Literary Spanish from the *Siglo de Oro* as its new standard (Brumme 1992). This monocentric

inclination even reached the Spanish settlements in the Americas. After Spanish colonisation, the colonies enjoyed a "relative linguistic freedom" during about two centuries (Pöll 2005: 68). However, in 1770, King Carlos III published a Royal Decree with the aim of "castilianising" the colonies, so that the only language spoken on the Latin American territory was the prestigious Madrid standard, as prescribed by the RAE, and to eradicate the use of other varieties (Sánchez Ferlosio 1994).

Around the same period in Spain, language became a national symbol of culture (Torres Torres 2013), and numerous educational establishments were teaching the standard variety from Madrid (Brumme 1992). Charles V, a fervent Catholic at the head of a vast empire that comprised Flanders, Castile, Germany and Burgundy, established Spanish as the dominant language. Consequently, all the other languages spoken in the peninsula were relegated to minority languages (ibid.). When Felipe V ascended the throne, he turned Spain into a centralised nation, home of a uniform and homogeneous language, much to the detriment of Catalan and other "minoritised" languages.

Kossok (1982) considers that the French Revolution of 1789 played a key role in the 18th and 19th centuries bourgeois uprisings in its neighbouring countries. In Spain and Italy, people were experiencing similar political situations where "feudal privileges and limitations [were going] against the flourishing bourgeois production mode"[5] (Bochmann & Brumme 1989: 241). Liberal ideas from the French Revolution were adopted in Spain and people

[5] My translation.

embraced the concept of a national language associated to a united republic (*une et indivisible*), drawn from the French Constitution. Although before these revolts, Spain was already regarded as supporting a "powerful centralising tradition endorsed by the King and aristocracy of the Royal Court"[6] (Bochmann & Brumme 1989: 242), the need for linguistic uniformity persisted after the uprisings. However, in that case, it was to facilitate communication and promote political dialogue with every stratum of the population (ibid.). It would later go down in history that this Castilian-centrist tendency had a negative impact on the languages of the autonomous communities in Spain. Bochmann & Brumme recognise that it led "to the [modern] linguistic conflicts [...] characterised by the fragmentation of the unity forced unto the Spanish State"[7] (ibid., 246).

In 1808, Napoleon marched into Spain with his army and put his brother Joseph on the throne. As Spain declared war on Bonaparte, the Latin American colonies saw this conflict as an opportunity to acquire freedom from the Spanish Empire. Minster (2017) explains that "by the time Spain had gotten rid of Joseph in 1813 most of their former colonies had declared themselves independent".

[6] My translation.
[7] My translation.

2.1.2. Norms and attitudes in the Spanish-speaking world

This movement of political emancipation in Latin America unleashed 'centrifugal forces' on the Spanish language (Torres Torres 2013), and many debates on that matter ensued. Bloomaert (1999: 31) points out that when a nation is being built, it is usual for issues surrounding the language to be addressed from an ideological perspective since they are deeply rooted in cultural identity:

> Language is ideologized and "promoted" as a crucial ingredient of national identity (and hence a central ingredient in national mobilization and nation-building) through, for instance, standardization and codification practices [...] or through de-hegemonization and the particularization of local varieties of widespread languages [...]

Various efforts – sometimes with contrary intentions – were made to codify and standardise the Latin American varieties. Oesterreicher (2002: 280) points out that acknowledging their linguistic differences was a way for the former colonies to affirm their national identity. Rotondo (2016) stresses that after gaining its independence in May 1810, Argentina distanced itself from Spain, not only on a political level but also linguistically: "it is possible that this conscious estrangement caused the variations of the language that naturally developed in the country to grow stronger in an attempt to highlight their differences with the former Viceroyalty"

(ibid., 18). However, Delisle (2005) explains that since most Argentinians were illiterate and the national literature was not fully developed yet, the Castilian standard remained the most prestigious one until education was made compulsory in 1844.

Argentina was not the only Latin American country to cultivate its differences and build up its national literature. According to Thompson (1992: 55):

> Not only was the name "Spanish" rejected by the intellectuals in the new countries but the nationalism and Romanticism of the times encouraged the rejection of many aspects of Spanish culture and the creation of new Hispanic American literature free of old imperial ties.

Nevertheless, it was still important for Latin Americans to maintain linguistic unity because, as intellectual Elías Zerolo explains, it is a better guarantee of cohesion than political, economic and commercial relations (Zerolo 1889, quoted in Brumme 1992). As for standards, Torrejón (1989) observes that Latin Americans gradually changed from being loyal to the RAE standard to an undefined Spanish-American norm, and eventually, to a national standard associated with the cultural elites in the capitals (ibid., 541). In the 19th century, several Latin American scholars published reference books and grammars, including Venezuelan intellectual, Andrés Bello, who released the well-known *Gramática de lengua castellana destinada al uso de los americanos* in 1847. Bello meant to express Latin American identity through the pan-Hispanic ideal described in his grammar.

However, his work was primarily intended to “correct the linguistic habits of his compatriots” (see Torrejón 1989, quoted in Brumme 1992). He advised against the use of many features typical of Hispano-American Spanish such as the *seseo*, the *yeismo*, the non-distinction between /b/ and /v/ and the *voseo*.[8] An important figure of the moderate nationalist movement[9] (Pöll 2005: 70), Bello hoped to limit fragmentation within the Spanish language by presenting a model of reference that claimed to be tailored for the Spanish-American reality. However, Bello’s grammar was based on the classics of Spanish literature and the works of intellectuals from the *Siglo de Oro*, not unlike the RAE, because he considered this variety as more uniform and purer than the variety of lower social classes (see Torrejón 1989; quoted in Brumme 1992). In Chile, this *Unionistas* movement met the opposition of *Separatistas* (Aviles & Rojas 2014: 146) whose emblematic figure was Argentinian statesman, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Sarmiento put forward a standard taking into consideration typically Hispanic-American features as well as the European standard (Torrejón 1989: 542). Unlike Bello, Sarmiento did not believe in a “linguistic aristocracy” where linguistic codification was the responsibility of intellectual elites (ibid., 547). He rather advocated a “linguistic democracy” that would be possible thanks to an educated population, for he believed language was a “popular heritage” (ibid., 551). He considered the RAE as an instrument of Spanish absolutism (ibid., 553) and did not

[8] *Seseo* is when the speaker pronounces both the phonemes /θ/ and /s/ as the latter in front of the vowels [e] and [i], *yeísmo* is when the speaker pronounces both the phonemes /ʝ/ and /ʎ/ as the former, and *voseo* is the use of second person singular pronoun *vos* instead of *tú*.
[9] Thompson (1992: 55) calls it an “attitude of moderate respect to the RAE”.

believe that written language was superior to speech (ibid., 550). In addition to several of his publications, Sarmiento recommended an orthographic reform in order for written Hispano-American to be closer to its pronunciation. He also did not consider the *seseo* and the non-distinction between /b/ and /v/ as faulty, but he agreed with Bello in saying that *yeismo* should not be included in any model of reference. Nowadays, both *seseo* and *yeismo* are accepted as typical features of Hispano-American Spanish, and they are symbolic of the Latin American linguistic identity (Pöll 2005: 68). Most importantly, aside from their differences of opinion, both Bello and Sarmiento had a significant impact on the budding *lengua culta* ("cultivated language") model in Latin America.

As for the indigenous languages, despite their emotional value, Spanish was definitively regarded as the most prestigious language, and they were considered obstacles to national unity. This view was shared even by some influential personalities of the Spanish colonial revolution, such as Simón Bolívar, who thought that linguistic uniformity would contribute to an unwavering national spirit (Brumme 1992).

Several linguistic academies were founded in the Americas in the last half of the 19th century: first in Colombia (1871), followed by those in Mexico (1874), Ecuador (1875), El Salvador (1876), Venezuela (1883) and so on. Despite the prestige they enjoyed and the growing scientific interest in Spanish varieties (Pöll 2005: 70), these academies have had a limited impact on the Spanish standard (Torres Torres 2013). The Castilian norm promoted by the RAE has long been regarded as the only

prestigious variety, the cultivated language (see Cornú, 2003, in Rotondo 2016: 18). The other standards were deemed less pure and elegant as much by the Spaniards as by their own speakers (Torres Torres 2013). For a long time, several academies in Latin America even promoted the Castilian-centric ideal of the RAE. Only around the 20th century they begin to advocate a more inclusive Pan-Hispanic standard (see Brumme 1992).

As "a very conservative organisation" (Thompson 1992: 54), the RAE contributed to the monocentricity of the Spanish language and hardly accepted the variation presented by the Latin American varieties until the end of the 20th century. For instance, the *voseo*, a widespread phenomenon in Argentina, was condemned by the Spanish Academy (Cornú, 2003, in Rotondo 2016), and as late as 1950 it still regarded *seseo* as faulty, even though this pronunciation prevails throughout all Latin America (Garatea 2006, quoted in Torres Torres 2013) and the academies in these countries accept it (Pöll 2005: 70). The RAE was not the only one to depreciate the Latin American varieties: many Spanish authors like Américo Castro and Arturo Capdevila described some features of the Latin American varieties, especially the Spanish Rioplatense, as 'horrendous' (Rotondo 2016: 18).

The *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (ASALE) and its permanent commission were founded in Mexico in 1951, which the RAE joined five years later, yet it was not until 1965 that there was an actual collaboration between the different academies (Süselbeck 2012: 277). Until 2000, all the normative decisions were taken at the RAE headquarters in Madrid, even if the

permanent commission played a vital role as an intermediary between the Spanish and the Latin American academies, with its members being present during the resolutions (ibid., 277). It is only around the 21st century that the decision-making process became more democratic. This new collaboration between the academies resulted in the publication of the *Diccionario Panhispánico de Dudas* (DPD) in 2005 (ibid., 277), although it was criticised and tagged as falsely pluricentric by some scholars (Di Tullio 2011, Méndez García de Paredes 2012). They reproached the DPD its tendency to essentially correct uses from Latin America, without taking into account the socio-cultural reality of these countries. They also criticised its monocentric position, despite its claim to propose a Pan-Hispanic standard. Nevertheless, Méndez García de Paredes (2012: 309) acknowledges an improvement in their following effort, the *Nueva gramática of the lengua española* (2009), which was less monocentric and more respectful of Spanish pluricentrism:

> There seems to have been an ideological change with respect to the DPD in the discursive treatment given to many phenomena censored with bolaspa [a red circle to identify a use as incorrect] in the first normative work of the Academies [...] There is no longer an underlying Eurocentric gaze, rector of a norm that converts into standard some formulations that are not used in the Peninsula, hence the American no longer seem to constitute the particular, the archaic, the one who has fallen into disuse.

Torres Torres (2013: 220) agrees that the decision-making process was decentralised and that the decisions taken were more valid for the whole linguistic community. He also claims that the RAE acknowledges the pluricentric character of Spanish and the existence of different standards of cultivated language.

In addition to the RAE's growing tolerance for linguistic diversity, various lexicographical references published in Latin America contributed to the acknowledgement of pluricentrism. One of the first was Lara's *Diccionario del Español usual en México* (DEUM 1996, 2000) which listed the Mexican lexicon "in all its diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic uses" without comparing it to the Spanish standard (Lebsanft 2007: 229). Other works putting forwards the particular lexicon of Latin American varieties include the *Diccionario del Español de México* (2010), also by Lara, and López Morales' *Diccionario de Americanismos* (2010) (quoted in Torres Torres 2013: 214). It should be noted however that Spanish speakers tend to accept more lexical diversity than phonetic or grammatical diversity (López García 2010: 64).

Nowadays, the old dichotomic model opposing centre and periphery has given way to a pluricentric model counting several centres or poles[10] (Lebsanft 2007). This model allows for a gradual conception of pluricentricity and, as we saw before, the different normative centres of a language are never perfectly symmetrical. Oesterreicher (2002: 300) explains that in the case of Spanish, this asymmetry between the centres influences the linguistic awareness

[10] Lara (2005: 184) calls *poles* these "centres of irradiation of linguistic characteristics and standards of correction, diffused thanks to their socio-political prestige and their media" (my translation).

of the speakers and can be evidenced by the fact that most language users know the Peninsular Spanish standard. Compared to other pluricentric languages, Spanish is considered by Pöll (2012) as "more asymmetrical than English and certainly less asymmetrical than French"[11] (ibid., 34). Torrent-Lenzen (2006) and Garatea (2006) share his view, stating that the balance between the Spanish normative centres is similar to Portuguese and English, yet very different from French which they consider profoundly asymmetrical. Di Tullio (2007: 15) of the *Academia Argentina de Letras*, has a similar opinion, although she regards Portuguese and English as bicentric languages and French as a monocentric language. The Academician believes that Spanish is a pluricentric language that has as many centres as national capitals (in Torres Torres 2013: 211). However, if we positioned the normative centres of Spanish according to Ammon's normative model (1989, cf. Pöll 1998), Spain would most likely be classified as a full centre while the centres of Latin America would still be considered semi-centres.

Torres Torres (ibid., 221) emphasises that far from being a factor of linguistic fragmentation, pluricentrism allows speakers from different speech communities to feel concerned by the linguistic policy and thus consolidate the unity and influence of Spanish on a global level. He also quotes Rivarola, (2006) who advises against a codification process that overlooks the different standards. According to him, such a codification runs the risk of being rejected by its speakers and thus failing as an instrument of unity and linguistic consolidation (ibid., 107).

[11] My translation.

If Spanish is undoubtedly a pluricentric language, it nevertheless sustains the effects of both centrifugal and centripetal forces. And despite a tangible will for linguistic unity, the question of whether these forces are predominantly centripetal or centrifugal is still very much debated. Catalan linguist Torrent-Lenzen (2006) argues that Spanish is not only a pluricentric language but one with multiple poles and that there is a sincere interest in maintaining cohesion within the community. Her statement is underpinned by the argument that the unity of Spanish remains a current concern. She also affirms that "throughout history, the criteria for correction have been modified in favour of a pan-Hispanic, pluricentric norm"[12] (ibid., 70) that acknowledges the diversity within the different norms of cultivated language and dictates a unique but flexible model applicable mainly to written Spanish (Torres Torres 2013: 213).

The Mexican linguist Lara (2005) disagrees with the scholar: he believes that Spanish has always been a monocentric language, centred around the Peninsular Spanish norm and that things have not changed much today. As for Garatea (2006: 148), he acknowledges that both forces exist, creating a balanced situation between the unity of colonial-time and the fragmentation of the Spanish colonies' independence. He interestingly points out, not unlike Torrent-Lenzen, that there is a relatively homogeneous and unified literary standard which superimposes itself on the other varieties. He considers the concept of a unique model for the whole linguistic community as flawed and colonial because each speech

[12] My translation.

community has a different ideal with distinctive features. Indeed, as López Serena (2013: 141) explains, models and linguistic variations are valued differently according to the variational spaces, for not all Spanish speakers belong to the same variety. In the following section, we will see how the idea of a homogeneous literary or written standard is indeed related to a pan-Hispanic norm, namely International Spanish.

Aside from that written standard, the homogeneity of Spanish itself is also a matter that divides scholars. In a publication from 2005, the RAE stated that Spanish "has managed to be the most homogeneous among the great languages of the world, which certainly contributes to its international expansion"[13] (quoted in Lebsanft 2007: 228). López Serena (2013: 137) advocates caution when coming across statements such as "the cultivated expression at a formal level is extraordinarily homogeneous throughout the Hispanic sphere and variations between the different areas are minimal"[14] (RAE & AALE 2005: xvi-xv). The scholar reminds us that not all Spanish speakers are part of the same variational space and thus, homogeneity within the whole linguistic community (which comprises different variational spaces) is improbable. According to Pöll (1998), languages such as Spanish and Portuguese display a "relative uniformity" mainly because of the natural ratio of power at play on the language market, as well as the intervention of language policymakers who collaborate and stay in contact with each other (ibid., 178). However, Pöll (ibid.) points out

[13] My translation.
[14] My translation.

that, as for any language, the more informal the register is, the greater the differences are between the varieties. Haensch (2002: 58) shares his view, stating that differences between the Spanish varieties increase when a colloquial register is being used. As for Thompson (1992: 63), he believes that "there is more uniformity between the dialects of Latin America than between those of the Iberian Peninsula".

2.1.3. The International Spanish supra-variety

Nowadays, the Spanish language community might be more pluricentric than ever, yet in this era of globalisation, the frontiers between the countries are disappearing, the media reach speakers regardless of their nationality, and speech communities frequently come in contact with each other, whether for economic, political or socio-cultural purposes. In such a context, the need to establish a pan-Hispanic supra-variety for a market as big as Latin America has been addressed.

This supra-variety has many names: International Spanish (Ávila 2001; Bravo 2008; López Morales; Ramiro Valderrama 2012), third standard of Latin American Spanish (Tejera 2003), supra-dialectal norm (Demonte 2001), and finally, Neutral Spanish (Castro 1996; Bravo García 2008; Sinner 2010; Rotondo 2016). It seems that there is no consensus on its definition and the terminology to be used, either in the professional or the academic world, yet these terms generally encompass the idea of a supra-variety born in a context of globalisation for primarily commercial reasons (Sinner 2010) which is meant to be understood and

accepted by the majority of the Spanish-speaking community. For this reason, this supra-variety avoids any kind of variation: the more formal the register, the less differences there are between language varieties (Rotondo 2016: 42). Carrera Fernández (2014: 119) also points out its similitude to the concept of koine, in the sense given to it by Demonte (2005: 19), which is "[...] a variety common to all dialects, where what is too distinctive is eliminated, particularly in terms of pronunciation, and which seek transparent and unanimous lexical and morphological forms".[15]

According to the technology company Microsoft, this supra-variety is an attempt to "find a point of intersection, lexical terms and expressions that are common to the different varieties of Spanish, that can be understood and are appropriate to the context for a multinational audience, while guaranteeing, at the same time, that there is no legal problem that may arise from the use of a 'non-neutral' term"[16] (quoted in Campbell 2017). In other words, International Spanish serves to address all speech communities within the whole Spanish language community and avoids misunderstandings. Bravo García (2008: 59) also maintains that International Spanish is used in "communicative contexts informative or fictitious, to make reference to current affairs, daily life, business world, which must be transmitted with a high degree of accuracy"[17] and that it is not suitable for creation. Similarly to Microsoft, she stresses the importance to resort to widely-recognised terms in order to communicate information that is as

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[15] My translation.
[16] My translation.
[17] My translation.

precise as possible to a large audience across Latin America. She also hints at the purposes of International Spanish which is often to inform, or to sell and convince in a commercial context; thus, this supra-variety mainly fulfils referential and conative functions.

It is important to mention that, even if some scholars use these terms interchangeably, they are far from having the same connotation. Of all these terms, Neutral Spanish is perhaps the one with the most negative connotation. Rotondo (2016: 9) points out that this term is used in the translation world, whereas "within the audiovisual industry, it is referred to as Latin-American Spanish, just as it is known in Europe, due to its contrast with the Spain exclusive translations". Since Neutral Spanish is the most common standard used for translating filmic speech in Latin America, it will be presented in detail in section 3.7.4.

As for International Spanish (also known as Global or Universal Spanish, Torres Torres 2013; and General Spanish, Moreno Fernández 2000), it refers to the variety used in commercial contexts and global trading (Rotondo 2016: 9). López Morales (2010: 423) also believes that the term International Spanish coined by Ávila (2001) "refers specifically to the one used by international media that, out of necessity, search for terms that are – or are believed to be – best understood by their clients, the more the better".[18] Bravo García (2008: 28) highlights that the 'internationality' of International Spanish is seen as "a virtue [...] favouring the diffusion and better acceptance of products, while

[18] My translation of López Morales (2010: 423).

ensuring a global comprehension and a low rejection rate".[19] Aside from its wide recognition range, Ramiro Valderrama (2012: 37) explains that International Spanish may be employed as an active 'vehicle' to communicate:

> It is a theoretical construct, like the standard, which does not set out to be only a passive language, but also intends to serve as an active vehicle for international exchanges. It may result in a more planned product than [the supra-variety], like a kind of Esperanto of Spanish.[20]

In comparison, Ramiro Valderrama considers that Neutral Spanish requires a passive rather than an active competence (ibid., 36).

Consequently, I believe Neutral Spanish and International Spanish refer to two distinct concepts. Both are standards, meant as supra-varieties such as standard II, yet the former is applied more or less consistently by Latin American AVT professionals in dubbed filmic speech and bound by translational constraints, while the latter is used in business activities and media communication. In this sense, Neutral Spanish is similar to International French (see section 3.6.2.). International Spanish might often be "written to be spoken as if not written", but it is not restricted by limitations imposed by the translational dimension.

Thompson (1992: 45) had already expressed the necessity for such a supra-variety in the 1990s, stating that "the compatibility

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[19] My translation of Bravo García (2008: 28).
[20] My translation.

of the prestigious forms of such an enormous pluricentric linguistic community will be increasingly important”. However, for some scholars, the idea of a Pan-Hispanic standard was not born out of a need for the linguistic community. Indeed, the Argentinian scholar José Luis Moure (quoted in Lagares & Celada 2011: 105) believes that “more than a real demand from the speakers of the language, it is a peninsular construct, economically advisable to make more viable certain elements of the editorial and dubbing industries.”[21] Ávila (2001) also believes that International Spanish is used out of commercial interests, but that it nonetheless contributes to the unity of the language.

2.1.4. Main characteristics and differences between Peninsular Spanish and Latin American Spanish

According to the Cervantes Institute (2016), almost 90% of the 472 million Spanish native speakers live in the Americas. The highest concentration of native Spanish speakers is found in Mexico, with over 118M speakers (ibid., 4). In comparison, a little under 43M lived in Spain in 2016 (ibid., 4).

Of course, it is to be expected that the varieties spoken by such a large number of speakers should vary greatly. Solely in Latin America, Thompson (1992) lists five different normative centres.[22]

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[21] My translation.

[22] Thompson (1992): (1) New Mexico, Mexico and Central America; (2) the Caribbean, Venezuela and the Atlantic Coast of Colombia; (3) western Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and northern Chile; (4) central and southern Chile, and (5) Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

Due to the nature of my research, such a detailed account of all the existent varieties is not relevant. Instead, I will briefly survey the varieties listed by Pöll (2005: 71), for they coincide with the three main centres for Spanish audiovisual translation activities:

- Mexican Spanish/ AVT centre: Mexico
- Peninsular or European Spanish/ AVT centre: Spain
- Río de la Plata Spanish/ AVT centre: Argentina

I cannot stress enough that the description of these three varieties is meant to give an overview of each, yet they provide a simplistic vision of a complex and heterogeneous reality. There is a significant amount of diversity within the same variety that cannot be included for reasons of conciseness. I will start by presenting the Spanish varieties spoken in the Americas, followed by Peninsular Spanish, on a phonetic and a morphosyntactic level. Finally, due to the fact that the lexical level presents even greater differences, I will briefly compare the (supra-) variety of America with the Peninsular one.

2.1.4.1. Latin American Spanish

Table 8: Phonetic characteristics for Mexican Spanish and Rioplatense Spanish

	Mexican Spanish	**Rioplatense Spanish**
Phonetic level [23]		
Seseo: no distinction between the /θ/ and /s/ phonemes[24]	✔	✔
Yeísmo: no distinction between the /ʝ/ and /ʎ/ phonemes[25]	✔	Jeísmo/ sheísmo
Aspiration of the consonant [-*s*][26]	✔	✔
Assibilation of the consonant [r]	✔	✔

Haensch (2001: 71) observed other phonetic features that can be heard in the Americas as well as Europe, but these non-standard features are associated with a highly colloquial and even vulgar, register. For instance:

- Words starting with *bue-, hue-* and *vue-* pronounced as *güe-*; thus, words such as *bueno* and *huevo* would be pronounced *güeno* and *güevo.*

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[23] *Seseo* (see Haensch 2001; Obediente Sosa 2000); *yeísmo/ jeísmo/ sheísmo, aspiration of the consonant [-s]* (see Haensch 2001); *assibilation of the consonant [r]* (see Haensch 2001, Matus-Mendoza 2004, Rissell 1989)

[24] Pronounced /s/ in front of the vowels [e] and [i].

[25] [ll] is pronounced like [y]; the phoneme /ʝ/ is realised.

[26] At the end of a word or a syllable. Haensch (2001: 71) explains if the final [-s] is aspirated, a sentence such as *¿Están ustedes listos?* would be pronounced *¿Ehtán uhtedeh lihtoh?*

- The letters [f] and the usually silent [h] pronounced like a [j] which would make a word like the verb *halar* sound like *jalar*.
- Prodelision of the hiatus *-ea* and *-eo*, thus forming the diphthongs *-ia* and -io. For instance, *pelear* would be pronounced *peliar*. Haensch (2001) points out that this phenomenon is part of the cultivated language of some countries such as Colombia, but it is used in informal situations (ibid., 71).

Table 9: Morphosyntactic characteristics for Mexican Spanish and Rioplatense Spanish

	Mexican Spanish	**Rioplatense Spanish**
Morphosyntactic level		
Use of third person plural pronoun *ustedes* instead of the second person plural pronoun *vosotros* [27]	✔	✔
Use of the second person singular pronoun *tú* (for familiarity) and *usted* (for politeness) [28]	✔	**Voseo** [29]

[27] The same applies to verbal forms, personal and possessive pronouns (Haensch 2001: 71).

[28] Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015: 252) further explains that in countries where the second person singular pronoun *vos* is used, the three forms can coexist and *tú* occupies an 'intermediary position' between the familiar *vós* and the polite *usted.* See also Ferrari (2015) in the same book.

[29] See footnote 4; also, Haensch (2001).

Preference for **enclitic pronouns** in written Spanish and **proclitic pronouns** in spoken Spanish	✔	✔
Subjunctive forms ending in *-ra* instead of *-se* [30]	✔	✔
Preference for the *pretérito simple* (instead of the *pretérito compuesto*)[31]	✔	✔
Preference for the periphrastic form of the future tense[32]	✔	✔
Duplication of the indirect or direct object (pronoun + noun)[33]	✔	✔
Uses of diminutives *-ito, -ico, -illo* [34] and augmentatives[35]	✔	✔
Use of the preposition *a* with verbs that express a movement inside something [36]	✔	✔

[30] Latin American speakers are much more likely to say *tuviera* instead of *tuviese* (Haensch 2001).

[31] In Spain, one would say *Me he caído esta mañana* and *Me caí esta mañana* in Latin America (Haensch 2001).

[32] Especially in speech; this is also true for Peninsular Spanish (Gutiérrez 1995; Obediente Sosa 2000)

[33] Typical in Latin America; for instance: ***Le** di un golpe **a la puerta*** (Lipski, 1994:195).

[34] Moser (2015: 287) states that "diminutives have a higher frequency in Mexican Spanish [and Central American Spanish] than in other Spanish varieties, such as, for example, Argentinian Spanish".

[35] Argumentatives seem to be used less frequently than diminutives in Latin America; however, Gaarder (1966) identified the uses of *-ón, -ucho, -udo, -ote* and other diminutives in Mexican Spanish.

[36] In Spain, one would use the preposition *en* instead: *Entrar al colegio* in Latin America / *Entrar en el colegio* in Spain; see Haensch 2002: 41.

Preference in space deixis: use of the spatial adverbs *allà* [‘there’] and *acà* [‘here’] [37]	✔	✔
Preference in temporal deixis: - addition of the diminutive suffix -*ito* to the adverb *ahora* (*ahorita*) [‘right now’][38] - use of the adverb *ahí* instead of *entonces*[39] - use of the adverb *hasta ahora* not only in the sense of ‘until now’, but also ‘from now’[40] - use of the adverb *recién* is used instead of *hace poco*[41], *apenas* o *en cuanto*[42]	✔	✔

Regarding the enclitic and proclitic position of pronouns, Haensch (2001: 72) specifies that enclitic pronouns are frequently found in written Spanish, especially in the media. It means that one would write *Tienen que mudarse* instead of *Se tienen que mudar*. However, this preference for enclitic structures is limited to the written medium and thus, might not be found in Latin American audiovisual texts. Furthermore, in their study, Troya Déniz & Pérez

[37] Instead of the spatial adverbs *allí/ aquí*; Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015) further explain that sometimes *ahí* is used in a context where in Spain one would use *allí*. See also Haensch 2002.
[38] Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015: 249) explains that in Peninsular Spanish, one would say *ahora mismo* instead.
[39] The adverb *entonces* is used in Spain to “express the connection of posteriority with reference to the previous proposition” (ibid.).
[40] Haensch 2002: 42.
[41] Ibid.
[42] For instance, in the sentence *Lo vi recién llegó* (DRAE).

Martín (2011) noted that in spoken Spanish, the opposite happened: pronouns are used more frequently in a proclitic position in the Americas as well as in Europe. Finally, Alvar (1996) points out another feature characteristic of Mexican Spanish: the use of *desde* and *hasta*, not only to express the beginning and the ending of an action that last in time, but to mark the precise moment said action start or end, for instance: *Volvió desde el lunes.*

2.1.4.2. Peninsular Spanish

Table 10: Phonetic characteristics for Peninsular Spanish

Phonetic level
Ceseo, or distinction between the /θ/ and /s/ phonemes
Yeísmo (depending on the regions)
Elimination of the consonant /d/ in the masculine past participle suffix *-ado* in spoken Spanish [43]

[43] Thompson (1992: 61) explains that "This usage frequently surprises Latin Americans who hear it as vulgar or low class", but that in fact, it is commonly accepted as *español correcto*.

Table 11: Morphosyntactic characteristics for Peninsular Spanish

Morphosyntactic level
Leísmo, or the use of the dative *le* instead of the masculine singular pronoun *lo* [44]
Use of *tú* (for familiarity) and *usted* (for politeness)[45]
Use of second person plural pronoun *vosotros*
Use of the *pretérito compuesto* for actions that happened recently
Preference for the periphrastic form of the future tense [46]
Preference for the spatial adverbs *allí* [there] and *aquí* [here]
Preference for enclitic pronouns in written Spanish and proclitic pronouns in spoken Spanish
Truncation/ clipped words
Uses of diminutives[47] and augmentatives (*-azo, -ón, -ote, -ucho, -udo*)

[44] See Thompson (1992) and Haensch (2001).
[45] Gómez Sánchez & Jungbluth (2015: 253) states that in Spain, the practice of using the polite *usted* with person you are to address with respect, such as parents-in-law, "is decreasing in younger generations".
[46] Especially in spoken Spanish; see Cartagena (1995-1996).
[47] Haensch (2002: 57) agrees with Moser (2015) that "the use of diminutives is much more frequent [in Latin America] than in Spain, although it is used a lot in Andalusia and the Canaries" (my translation).

In colloquial Spanish (not exclusively in Europe), clipping, such as apocopes and sincopes, can occur. It is often the case of the preposition *para* (as heard in the informal toasting ritual "*pa' riba, pa' bajo, pal' centro, pa' dentro"* ("up, down, in the centre and inside"), the pronouns *nada* and *todo*, for instance: *na' de na'* ("nothing at all') and *está to' contento* ("he was super happy").

While clipping occurs mainly for phonetic reasons, in informal situations, where speech is slurred, another type of clipping exists on a morphological level. Often known as 'shortening' or 'truncation' (Jamet 2009: 16)[48], it "refers to the process whereby a lexeme [...] is shortened, while retaining the same meaning and [...] frequently [...] results in a change of stylistic level" (Bauer 1983: 233, quoted in Jamet 2009). These truncations "play a role in language economy, partaking in the so-called 'least-effort principle', as they tend to reduce the articulatory and memory efforts necessary to generate the word" (Jamet 2009: 25). Nonetheless, they are mostly used to infer familiarity with the referent (Plag 2003: 22, quoted in Jamet 2009) and are associated with an informal register, and often youth language.[49] In Spanish, it often happens through apocopes (*peli* for *película*, *cole* for *colegio*). Some commonly-used clipped words, over time, even came to be considered as standard or unmarked, such as *bici* for *bicicleta* and *auto* for *automóvil* (ibid.). An equivalent phenomenon exists in French (see section 2.2.4.).

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[48] In Spanish, it has been known as *acortamiento* or *truncamiento* (Real Academia Española y Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española, *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*, 2009: 35).
[49] Ibid.

Regarding the use of clitics, Troya Déniz & Pérez Martín (2011) noted that in spoken Spanish, pronouns were used more frequently in a proclitic position in Spain as well as in the Americas.

To better illustrate the differences between those three speech communities, Table 12 below summarises the main phonetic and morphosyntactic features of Mexican, Rioplatense and Peninsular Spanish.

Table 12: Summary of phonetic and morphosyntactic characteristics for Mexican, Rioplatense and Peninsular Spanish

Mexican Spanish	**Rioplatense Spanish**	**Peninsular Spanish**
Phonetic level		
Seseo	*Seseo*	*Ceseo*
Yeísmo	*Jeísmo/ sheísmo*	*Yeísmo* (depending on the region)
Aspiration of the consonant [-*s*]	Aspiration of the consonant [-*s*]	Ø
Assibilation of the consonant [r]	Assibilation of the consonant [r]	Ø
Ø	Ø	Elimination of the /d/ in the suffix *-ado*

Morphosyntactic level		
Ø	Ø	*Leísmo*
Duplication of the (in-)direct object	Duplication of the (in-)direct object	Ø
Proclitic pronouns (spoken Spanish) and enclitic pronouns (written Spanish)		
Pretérito simple	Pretérito simple	Pretérito compuesto
Periphrastic future (especially in spoken Spanish)		
Word clipping		
Subjunctive forms ending in -*ra*	Subjunctive forms ending in -*ra*	Subjunctive forms ending in -*ra* or -*se*
Diminutives > augmentatives	Diminutives > augmentatives	Diminutives + augmentatives
Spatial adverbs:		
allà/ acà	*allà/ acà*	*allí /aquí*
Pronoun for second person plural:		
ustedes	*ustedes*	*vosotros*
Pronoun for familiarity/ politeness:		
tú/ usted	*vos/usted*	*tú/ usted*

2.1.4.3. Lexical characteristics of Latin American Spanish and Peninsular Spanish

Just from the fact that the continents where each variety is spoken have very distinct fauna, flora, foods and drinks, traditions and institutions, many lexical differences can be found in culture-specific vocabulary. Unlike pan-Americanisms which are words used in most Latin American countries (like *papa* and *carro*) to express a reality that also exists in Spain under a different name (*patata* and *coche*), culture-specific vocabulary designates realities which are exclusive to one culture. For instance, the Mexican delicacy *huitlacoche* ("corn smut") is not commonly known in Spain; whereas most Latin Americans might not be familiar with the Spanish administration procedure of *empadronamiento* ("registration of residence at city hall"). However interesting cultural-specific vocabulary might be, it is not likely to appear in the dubbed versions of an American film.

In the table below, I listed the main differences between the two varieties. I regrouped Mexican and Rio de la Plata Spanish under the name 'Latin American Spanish' to simplify the comparison, although there are many disparities between them. I divided the lexicon into lexical categories which draw from Haensch's classification (2002).

Table 13: Summary of lexical characteristics for Latin American Spanish and Peninsular Spanish

	Latin American Spanish	Peninsular Spanish
Orthograph	*soya*	*soja*
Stress	*coctel*	*cóctel*
Word gender	*el radio*	*la radio*
Reflexive verbs	*subirse*	*subir*
Words' ending	*friolento*	*friolero*
False friends	*tortilla* (*cornmeal flatbread*)	*tortilla* (*omelette, with potatoes and onions*)
Same word, different frequency	*lindo* *altoparlante*	*hermoso* *altavoz*
Same word, different connotation	*enojarse* (COMMON) *culo* (TABOO)	*enojarse* (LITERARY) *culo* (VULGAR)
Pan-americanism	*papa* *apurarse* *plata*	*patata* *darse prisa* *dinero*
Anglicisms	*carro* *concreto*	*trailer* *cemento*

First, some words are spelled differently, or the stress of a word falls on a different syllable (or there is no stress at all). It can happen that a word is feminine in the Americas and masculine in

Spain, and vice versa, or that verbs have a reflexive form in one variety and not in the other. Words can end with a different suffix, depending on the continent. Some words are used in both continents, but with different meanings, such as *tortilla* o *bocadillo*, and can be referred to as ‘false friends’. Some words are simply used more frequently in one continent or have different connotations. The difference in connotation can lead to communication mishap between speakers of different countries, especially if the word is taboo in the other culture.

On that subject, Haensch (2002: 47) observes that there seems to be more terms that are taboo in Latin America than in Spain; sometimes, these words might be colloquial (often associated with sexuality), yet do not have a negative connotation associated to them in Europe. For instance, the word *culo* (“ass”) might not be used in formal situations in Spain, but it certainly is not considered as vulgar as it is in Latin America, where a euphemism will be used instead (*nalgas, trasero*: “buttocks, backside”).

Although Haensch does not specifically address the matter of Anglicisms, Rosenblat (1978) points out that they are frequent in Mexico and Central America, in other words, the countries closest to the USA, and that they are seen as prestigious and even chic, when used in colloquial situations and to discuss technology, business and sports.

Finally, Haensch (2002: 58) believes that Latin Americans tend to be less direct than Spaniards; in other words, they make

more use of hedges,[50] peppering conversation with words to nuance what they are saying, such as *a lo mejor, quizás, acaso, ¿quién sabe?, verá usted, ¡mire!*).

2.2. French

Spoken by roughly 300M people[51], French is the fifth most spoken language in the world according to the International Organisation of *La Francophonie*. French was initially a dialect (known as *Francien*) that originated in the north of France through colonisation and expansion; it came to be the only language, along with English, spoken on all five continents. Unlike the Spanish-speaking community, the majority of French native speakers still resides in the country where the language originated: France counts almost 64M francophones[52] whereas its former colony, Canada, only counts close to 11M[53], most of them living in the province of Quebec.

Considering that norms and linguistic representations in the target culture motivate most (audiovisual) translation choices, rather than true-to-life linguistic depiction, this section and following subsections will examine how French came to be spoken in France and Canada, and how the evolution of the language shaped the sociolinguistic relations between the speakers of each speech

[50] According to Fraser (2010: 15), *hedging* is "a rhetorical strategy that attenuates either the full semantic value of a particular expression [...] or the full force of a speech act [...]".
[51] Out of which 235M are native speakers (*Observatoire de la langue française de l'Organisation internationale de la Francophonie*, 2018).
[52] 66M speakers if we count overseas French territories (ibid.).
[53] Ibid.

community. Ultimately, I hope to provide an adequate outline for the readers to understand the impact that these norms and linguistic representations have on dubbed filmic speech. Unless stated otherwise, the overview presented in this section is based on historical reviews by Reinke & Ostiguy (2016), Pöll (2001, 2005) and Bouchard (2002).

2.2.1. Its evolution in Europe and Canada

In the 9th century, two main Gallo-Romance dialects groups divided France: *langues d'oïl* (including Francien/ French, Picard, Norman, Walloon, Champenois, Lorrain, etc.) in the North and *langues d'oc* in the South (dialects of Occitan, namely Limousin, Gascon, etc.). At first, French existed only as a written language, which became widely-used in all Oïl country during the 12th century (Grevisse & Goose 2016: 21). Pöll (2001: 25) explains that French settled as the language of the Parisian Court during the mid-12th century, essentially because of political reasons since its closest dialectal rivals – Norman and Picard – were much more culturally important at that time on account of their flourishing literature. Medieval French literature became prestigious in Europe. In Germany it had a significant lexical impact, and in Italy, famous authors like Dante and Boccacio even wrote in French dialects, such as Old French and Occitan (Pöll 2001: 39).

Amit (2016: 241) explains that during the 16th century, France "took the path of superposition and used an active diffusion policy" and eventually, French "was carried to [neighbouring]

countries like Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland through conquest and cultural domination" (Baggioni 1997).

In the midst of the colonisation of the New World by the European empires, Frenchmen settled in North America which explorer Jacques Cartier had claimed in the name of the King of France in 1534. However, Cartier and his men were not the one to dwell and leave a linguistic trace on that precise territory: Canac Marquis & Poirier (2005: 518) assert that at the beginning of the 16th-century, a precolonial variety of French was already spoken in North America. Among others, sailors from French coastal towns were the first ones to disseminate the language in the New World, which also bears the marks of Europeans seafarers and First Nations' idioms. Their trades left an imprint on Quebec French vocabulary still used nowadays, especially for terms related to the fauna and flora. For instance, the words *orignal* (*alces alces*, called *élan d'Amérique du Nord* in France) comes from the Basque, *oregnac*, and *carcajou* (*gulo gulo,* known as *blaireau du Labrador* in France) comes from the First Nations of Mi'kmaq, *kwi'kwa'ju*.

The first settlers established themselves in *Nouvelle-France* ("New France") in 1608, under Governor Samuel de Champlain, and most of them were *petits bourgeois*, artisans and members of the military from French towns. At first, they came mainly from Normandy, *Pays de la Loire* and the western provinces. Later, during the 18th-century, they also came from the greater Parisian region. Amongst the settlers, there were fewer illiterates than the average in France at that time and even though they all spoke different French varieties, linguistic unification was achieved

quickly in New France, forming what Poirier (1994) calls 'Laurentian French'. In comparison, France was far from linguistically-unified since numerous dialects were still spoken by its population, despite French becoming the *lingua franca* of European aristocracy during the 17th century. In 1635, l'*Académie française* was founded, and its primary mission was, in its own words, "to work with all the care and diligence possible, to establish definite rules to the language and make it more pure, eloquent and fit for arts and sciences".[54] The Academy gave grammarians control over the French language, in addition to the right to sanction good and faulty usage (Grevisse & Goose 2016: 20), a measure which contributed to standardising written French "which has seen little change since" (Amit 2016: 244).

In the 17th century, there were two models of pronunciation for French in Europe according to Gendron (2007): one spoken at the courts by Parisian aristocrats (known as the *bel usage*). The second one was more formal, and used for public discourse, mainly by the *Académie Française* (1635) and the parliament. In New France, the only known model was the prestigious yet relaxed pronunciation of the *bel usage*. This difference in models will have its importance later on, at the end of 18th-century when France went through a model-shift after the Revolution of 1789.

In New France between 1713 and 1755, despite the hardship and the constant battles between the French and the British for the strategically-position land, the French-speaking population grew exponentially. Unfortunately for the growing French colony, the

[54] My translation of Article 24.

King decided to stop sending soldiers overseas to defend it which inevitably lead to its loss at the hands of the British Empire in 1759. In 1763, the Treaty of Paris was signed, putting an end to the Seven Years' War as well as the French colonisation in North America. With that, New France became a British colony and took the name of Province of Quebec. Except for the clergy, most of the French elite sailed back to Europe, leaving behind a great number of French settlers who now identified themselves as Canadians.

Because of the demographic importance of the French-speaking inhabitants, the British administration could not assimilate them as readily as they might have hoped and had to grant them some liberties, such as freedom of faith and the right of ownership. However, the Test Act passed in 1673 by the English parliament to impede Catholics from filling any civil or military office was introduced to the Province of Quebec, which held back the Canadians, and prevented them from accessing higher-ranked positions and socioeconomic ascension in general. The French language might have not disappeared, yet the British authorities successfully marginalised it. The French-speaking Canadians managed to preserve their language and their religion, self-sufficiently exploiting lands and forests, yet facing a deterioration of their conditions. Furthermore, in such a rural setting, sending their offspring to school did not seem relevant to the Canadians, which resulted in an increase of analphabetism amongst the speech community. In contrast, education had been made compulsory in France at the end of the 18th century.

At the dawn of the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) and foreshadowing a possible alliance between the Canadians and the Thirteen Colonies, the British government passed the Quebec Act of 1774 as a way of securing the French Canadians' fidelity. This Act abolished the Test Act and granted more liberties to the Canadians. Nonetheless, the victory of the American patriots caused around 10,000 Loyalists who remained faithful to the British Crown to cross the border over to the Province of Quebec, thus altering the ratio of power between French and English. Eventually, the British government passed the Constitutional Act in 1791, which divided the province into Lower Canada and Upper Canada, to better accommodate the Loyalists and appease their grievances against the liberties of the French-speakers.

Around the same time in France, the Parisian *bourgeoisie* fashioned a new, formal model of pronunciation which discreetly imposed itself on society. As an aftermath of the French Revolution of 1789 and the rejection of monarchy (and their *bel usage* standard), the high society adopted this prestigious bourgeois model, which had a considerable impact on Modern French. For instance, some phonetic changes were introduced, such as the restoration of final liquid consonants in words such as *nombril* [nɔ̃bril] and *baril* [baril]. In contrast, these words were and are still pronounced [nɔ̃bri] and [bari] in Canada (Bouchard 2012).

However, 18th-century France was still not linguistically uniform, as reported by Henri Grégoire in his research of 1792: *Rapport sur la nécessité d'anéantir les patois et d'universaliser*

l'usage de la langue française.[55] As the title of the report itself suggests, Henri Grégoire shared the common idea that a nation-state should have a unique, homogeneous language (Gadet 2007: 31). Although his research was methodologically-flawed and biased, it shows that patois were still spoken by a vast majority of the French population. Out of 26M inhabitants, only 11M were native French-speakers and solely 3M were said to speak it fluently (ibid., 18). Grevisse & Goose (2016) also confirm that even though French was seen as a globally prestigious language, associated with high society and international relations, it only became "the language of the majority" during the 19th century through education, conscription in wartime, urban living and media diffusion (ibid., 20).

Since 1763, contacts between France and Canada had been scarce. Thus, post-Revolution linguistic changes in France did not reach the former French colony, and disparities between the two varieties kept increasing steadily over the years. For one, English was the language used in the higher social and cultural spheres in Canada. Consequently, formal French was never spoken in North America, only the *bel usage* which soon became obsolete in France. Aside from the pronunciation, many morphosyntactic aspects of the *bel usage* were employed in North America, such as the order of direct and indirect pronouns used after a verb (e.g.: *Dis-moi-le* instead of the European French *Dis-le-moi*). Also, French-speakers in Canada commonly used archaisms (*patate* instead of *pomme de terre*), regionalisms and lexical creations (Poirier 2000: 111-112).

[55] "Report on the necessity to annihilate the patois and to universalise the use of the French Language".

Finally, Anglicisms were increasingly present due to the omnipresence of English, reaching a peak in the after-war period of 1945-1960.

It was only during the early 19th century that both communities became aware of the significant gap between their linguistic varieties. European travellers visited the former French colony and described the local pronunciation as disgraceful. Members of the Canadian intellectual elite went to Europe and in the hope of rectifying the use of French in Canada, started to promote the Parisian bourgeois pronunciation back home. Their enterprise could well be the starting point of the negative feelings French-speaking Canadians have experienced towards their own variety.

In addition, living conditions for the French Canadians kept deteriorating. After the defeat of the Patriots in 1837-1838, the Lower and Upper Canada were merged (as well as their respective parliaments) into the Province of Canada by the British authorities to hasten the assimilation of the French-speakers once and for all. East and West Canada were represented by the same quantity of MPs, despite the numeric advantage of the French Canadians from the former Lower Canada. Later, during the Canadian Confederation of 1867, the predominantly-English provinces of New-Brunswick and Nova Scotia joined Ontario and Quebec to form a new country. For the first time, the French Canadians were a demographic minority.

In Canada, the Catholic Church helped the French-speaking community preserve their language, since it also kept at bay the

English's Protestantism. However, French had slowly lost its prestige and acquired the image of an endangered language. It did not help that some columnists and intellectuals displayed purist tendencies and aimed to make Quebec French closer to the Parisian elite formal standard. At that time, Quebec French pronunciation and the widespread use of Anglicisms were the most common subject of complaint.[56] It contributed to that already negative image French Canadians had of their variety and fueled their linguistic insecurity.

Industrialisation at the turn of the 20th century did not make things better for French Canadians who had to leave behind their rural living and move to the cities to find employment, grossing the ranks of the most deprived social class. Most worked for wealthy English patrons, and inequalities kept increasing between French and English Canadians. This situation prevailed all the way through prime minister Maurice Duplessis' term of office, a period now known as the Great Darkness (*La Grande Noirceur*). Duplessis was very conservative, pro-church, profoundly anti-unionist, and although he ended up stimulating economic growth in the province, it was mainly beneficial to the English Canadians.

English overshadowed French in almost every aspect of Quebec society. Unsurprisingly it is during those decades that French Canadians used Anglicisms most frequently, whether loanwords (e.g.: *loose* > *lousse*), calques (*to fall in love* > *tomber en amour*) and false friends (*battery* > *batterie*). Faulty 19th and 20th century translations to French (often published in newspapers) were

[56] Archaisms were still tolerated, yet that changed after the two world wars.

one of the main causes of this situation. Furthermore, the bilingual elite resorted to a lot of Anglicisms in their communication, which the unilingual French Canadians perceived as correct. Around the 1940s, International French – meant as a variety that would be understood by any member of the French-speaking community – started being promoted as a language model. In reality, this International French is a *norme fantasmée* (Moreau 1997), closer to Parisian French than to a French supra-variety. Corbeil (2007) notes that for those supporting a purist stance: "There would be only one French language and one norm, the one from Paris, whose centralist character is being toned down by the use of the euphemism of International French".[57] International French was the norm promoted by the *Office du Québec de la langue française* (OQLF) at its beginning. Founded in 1961, the OQLF was the brainchild of the *Société du parler français au Canada* who, in 1937, advocated for the creation of an institution that would correct the linguistic situation. Its initial mandate was to "look after the correction and the improvement of the spoken and written language, under the supervision of the Minister"[58] (quoted in Reinke & Ostiguy 2016: 160).

Duplessis' death in 1959 triggered the Quiet Revolution (*Révolution Tranquille*), a moment of great political, sociocultural and economic changes in Quebec. This revolution led to women's empowerment, political independence movements and French Canadians redefining their identity as Quebecers. Their

[57] My translation of Corbeil (2007: 306).
[58] My translation of Article 13.

socioeconomic conditions improved considerably, they renewed contact with France, and they opened up to the culture of their American neighbours. In the 1970s, international immigration compensated for the low fertility rate of the Quebecers and multiculturality became a crucial aspect of Quebec society. Furthermore, Quebec's political emancipation and empowerment, combined with the new notion that all varieties were equal from a functional point of view, lead Quebecers to conceive for the first time the idea of an endogenous norm for standard Quebec French in the late 1970s (Reinke 2005).

2.2.2. Norms and attitudes in the French-speaking world

While the Quebec French speech community reclaimed its identity and developed its own endogenous norm, the Franco-French variety is often perceived as the standard or legitimate variety for the French language. According to Gadet (2001), the privileged socio-historical position of the French Republic led many Frenchmen and women to "delude themselves into thinking they were the rightful owners of the language".[59] Gadet further adds that "they can't help but see as faulty the varieties that fall under the category of alterity, burden with this ideal of homogeneity that was transmitted to them".[60] The term *glottophobie* ("linguistic discrimination") has even been coined in reference to prejudices based on linguistic differences, especially within the French

[59] My translation of Gadet (2001: 7-8).
[60] My translation, ibid.

language (Blanchet 2016). In this section, we will see that this illusion of being the guardian of the language and this tendency to sanction linguistic variation do not only apply to the French, but also to its policy-making institutions.

Firstly, it is worth pointing out the significant role played by the French Republic in the International Organisation of *La Francophonie* (OIF, in French). In addition to its prestige, France funds 80% of the OIF's budget (Amit 2016) which makes its power over the organisation even greater. Founded in 1970, the OIF's aim was to forge ties between French-speaking countries and territories, as well as to promote the language. For French-speaking communities, often former French colonies, this global movement was seen as a way to reaffirm their identity and stand their ground against neighbouring languages, especially against the new *lingua franca*: English (Spolsky 2004: 76). To fulfil that purpose, it might be beneficial for the OIF to promote a pluricentric model of French and embrace linguistic diversity, something that has proven difficult to achieve considering the unbalance in power between its members.

In addition to its prestige and its socioeconomic power, the Franco-French variety is the one featured in most material of references (such as dictionaries and grammars) and promoted by language authorities. In other words, it is the variety that is codified. Leclerc (1986) supports that idea and states that "the standardised variety has this second chance, of going through a codification process, that is to say, the creation of an apparatus of references for the uses prescribed by a group of specialists endowed with

linguistic authority and legitimacy".[61] A chance, of course, but more so a strategy of the intellectual elite to preserve its coveted prestige by justifying the use of their variety, as Muhr (2013) rightly observes. On that matter, Bigot & Papen (2013: 120) confirm that most French as a Second Language (FSL) manuals and student books are edited in France, even the ones intended for the English Canadian market.

Could the preservation of prestige be the reason why the *Académie française*, one of the most influent language policy-making institutions for French, protects the language so obsessively, in the words of Ager (1996)? According to many scholars (Ager 1996; Schiffman 2002; Pöll 2005; Amit 2016), the *Académie* displays an indubitable monocentric attitude through its actions and is unwilling to accept decentralisation. According to Amit (2016), this institution promotes a "static lingual tradition" because it considers that French is the language of the elites, and that accepting linguistic diversity would result in a loss of its prestige. Interestingly, the majority of its members (also known as the Immortals) are not professional linguists or language specialists, but rather illustrious figures of the French-speaking world (Ager 1996). Nowadays, language regulation in France falls upon the state government: the Ministry of Education, along with the Prime Minister, usually appoint commissions for language policy (Schiffman 2002). Nonetheless, the Immortals are still consulted during the decision-making process.

[61] My translation, ibid., 362.

Furthermore, the *Académie française* is notorious for its unwillingness to collaborate with other international language institutions from outside France, such as the Canadian OQLF and the Belgian *Service de la langue française* (founded in 1985). For instance, in 1979, in the wake of the feminist movement in Quebec, the OQLF suggested creating feminine forms for the name of professions. Not only did the *Académie* disapprove of the idea, but thirty years later, this is what their Perpetual Secretary, novelist Maurice Druon, had to say on that matter:

> Quebecers can do what they want, but we are in charge of preserving the correctness of the French language [...] We do not accept infringement of the grammar. We do not accept that putting an *-e* at the end of words, such *professeure* or *recteure*, is proper French.[62]

Interestingly, ten years after that speech, the *Académie* changed its position and went forwards with the feminisation of profession titles. Aside from the *Académie*, other French institutions are more acceptant of linguistic variation in the French-speaking world. In 1972, the highly-discussed *Dictionnaire du français vivant* was published in Paris. This dictionary included geolectal lexicon from French-speaking communities outside of France. From that moment on, other well-known dictionaries such as *Le Robert* and *Le Larousse* started to include them as well (Pöll 2001). As we

[62] My translation of Maurice Druon in Larrivée (2009: 174).

will see later in section 4.4., the former was used as a main reference work in my analysis of French dubbed filmic speech.

Pöll reports that in spite of France's "low tolerance for the creation of new norms",[63] a growing number of French-speaking communities started to value positively the particularities of their linguistic variety. This tendency, combined with findings in sociolinguistics (such as Labov's researches), prepared the ground for the promotion of endogenous norms. It also fosters "the creation of a continuum of their own social and stylistic varieties without using the situation of Hexagonal French as a point of reference" [64] (Pöll 2001). It is the case of French Quebecers; they shifted from promoting predominantly exogenous norms to expressing the need for endogenous ones. Indeed, during the 10th Congress of the Quebec Association of French Teachers of 1977, its members expressed a desire to see the standard variety of Quebec French taught in schools (Reinke 2005). Pöll (2008) adds that the decision as to whether Quebec should adopt endogenous or exogenous norms is still at the centre of heated debates since it also brings out a political and identity dimension that divides the masses. Nevertheless, judging from the situation of other pluricentric languages, he concludes that having various national norms is not a threat to the language community, as long as its different groups cooperate with each other (Pöll 1998: 176). The idea that linguistic variation does not affect the unity of French is further supported by the fact that the differences between the Quebec French and Franco-

[63] My translation, ibid., 32.
[64] My translation, ibid., 32.

French varieties are less significant nowadays than they were fifty years ago (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016).

Based on Ammon's scale of endo- and exo-normativity (see section 1.7.), before the Quiet Revolution, Quebec would have been a non-centre, fully exonormative: its models and codex came essentially from France. When the Quebec intellectual elite became aware of the differences between their own variety and France's variety, as we know, they actively promoted the Franco-French standard which was perceived as the only legitimate one. More recently, using that same model, Pöll (1998: 174) classified Quebec has a semi-centre, since half of its models and codex comes from France, and the other half comes from within the province. In comparison, France is a full centre, fully endo-normative (ibid.).

An institution which promotes a Quebec French's endogenous norm is the OLFQ, although at first, as we know, this organisation promoted an exogenous norm (see section 2.2.1.). In its 1965 publication *Norme du français écrit et parlé au Québec*, it states that the French vocabulary used in Quebec "must conform to International French, while allowing some space for expressions designating specific North American realities".[65] On a phonetic level, they recommend that "the margin of variation must be minimal and take into account only very slight differences of accents which can be explained by orthographic reasons".[66] Overall their mission was to address the incorrect uses of Quebec French and introduce French alternatives to replace the many Anglicisms.

[65] My translation, ibid., 6.
[66] My translation, ibid., in Bigot & Papen (2013).

Later on, the organisation innovated with terminological changes (such as feminine profession names) and helped to legitimate the uses of Quebecisms (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016).

The dictionary USITO is another great example of reference work promoting an endogenous norm since it focuses on Canadian and Quebec lexicon, and includes phonetic transcriptions of words according to the Quebec French pronunciation. For this reason, USITO was used as a central reference source for the analysis of the Quebec dubbed filmic speech (see section 4.4.).

Finally, it should be noted in the last decades, the influence of media has grown significantly, given the importance it has taken in our lives, and it has even started to replace traditional standardisation institutions in terms of dissemination of norms (Guespin & Marcellesi 1986: 22). As such, one of the predominant models for spoken Quebec French is heard on the *Société Radio-Canada* or SRC channel (see Gendron 1990; Cajolet-Laganière & Martel 1995; Bigot & Papen 2013; Reinke & Ostiguy 2016). In the 1960s, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation created a committee to improve the quality of the language heard on their channel, and thus promoted an 'exemplary model of French' amongst the population (Remysen 2005). For the last decades, the SRC has been considered a beacon of high-quality French, and it is still perceived as such today. Indeed, according to Bouchard & Maurais (2001), 71% of the Quebecers regard it as their main reference. However, many scholars have demonstrated that the SRC model is closer to an exogenous norm. In 1990, Robert Dubuc (who was responsible for language quality at the SRC) published a document on the

channel's linguistic policy. In that publication, he declared that "regarding pronunciation, [the SRC] tries to respect the phonetic model of contemporary French, notably the one specified in Léon Warnant's *Dictionnaire de la prononciation française dans sa norme actuelle* [1987]" (Dubuc 1990: 145). However, Warnant himself describes his dictionary as representative of the French used by the Parisian intellectual elite (quoted in Bigot & Papen 2013). Since then, the SRC has published new linguistic policy guidelines (2004), but its stance regarding the variety of French it wishes to promote remains ambiguous. The SRC claims to be employing "proper French as used in Canada" which has "its distinctive lexical features and regional pronunciations" and that it should be "understood and appreciated by the French-speaking viewers from all Canadian regions".[67] In spite of its claim that "regional accents are perfectly acceptable on air",[68] it declares that pronunciation should be "as close as possible to the one used in the rest of the French-speaking world".[69] As pronunciations in the French-speaking world vary greatly, this could suggest that the SRC is still promoting the *norme fantasmée* of International French.

Does that mean that the French variety heard on SRC programs is exempt of geolectal features? And how does it compare to the dubbed filmic speech in Quebec, which also claims to be using International French as its standard? In her study on the phonetic characteristics featured in Quebec television programs, Reinke (2005: 28) was able to identify colloquial pronunciations of

[67] My translation, ibid, 1.
[68] My translation, ibid, 9.
[69] My translation, ibid, 4.

/ɑ/ at the end of words in different types of programs, including the ones broadcasted by the SRC, yet their frequency would vary with the formality of the program. As for the affrication of [t] and [d], when followed by close front vowels or their corresponding semivowels, it is considered to be unmarked (Cox 1998; Reinke & Klare 2002; Dumas 2006; Reinke & al. 2019). However, such pronunciations are reportedly not featured in Quebec dubbed filmic speech (Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017) and thus, will not be included in my analysis. Nonetheless, Reinke's results (2005), which will be presented in more details later, suggest that the SRC presenters do not follow that closely their broadcasting company's linguistic policy guidelines.

2.2.3. Linguistic insecurities of French speakers

Pöll (2001: 29) explains that speakers of French varieties which differ from the prescriptive norm notice a disparity between the way they speak and this idealised norm, and how they pronounce words differently. Such speakers who cannot or will not adapt to the prescriptive norm become caught up in a situation of diglossia which can result in linguistic insecurity. Speakers who suffer from linguistic insecurity can reject their own variety and manifest different compensation strategies. Linguistic insecurity and its side-effects are commonly observed in French-speaking communities, such as Quebec, Switzerland and Belgium (ibid.: 29).

In the case of Quebec, the French-speaking population started to display its first signs of linguistic insecurity after the intellectual elite campaigned to minimise the differences between

the Quebec French and the Franco-French varieties (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016: 5). During decades, the higher social classes made Quebec French speakers feel as though they were resorting to a deviant form of French, as a result of their regular contact with the English language. After the Quiet Revolution, things started to change slowly. In the 1960s, a low-class variety of Quebec French began to appear on Quebec's arts scene: the *joual*. It was an artistic rendition of Montreal's working-class speech, often featured in plays written by the iconic Michel Tremblay. The ideologically charged *joual* helped Quebecers to reaffirm their distinctive identity, but according to Brisset (1990), it did not serve any real-life communication purpose. In the 1970s, studies showed that Quebecers still felt insecure about their French variety (Laberge & Chiasson-Lavoie 1971, Anglejan & Tucker 1973, Méar-Crine & Leclerc 1976, in Reinke & Ostiguy 2016). Nonetheless, further researches in the 1980s (Lappin 1982, Tremblay 1990, in ibid.) demonstrated slow yet steady improvement in the linguistic representations of Quebecers during the following decades. As we saw in section 2.2.2., some characteristics exclusive to Quebec French do not hold a negative connotation for its speakers (Ostiguy & Tousignant 1993, 2008; Reinke 2005) and can even be heard on programs from the SRC (Reinke 2005). According to Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy (2017: 117), the omnipresent linguistic variation featured on television suggests that nowadays, Quebecers experience less linguistic insecurity than before. Nevertheless, linguistic variation remains absent from films dubbed in Quebec,

except for cartoons and children's films, as shown in Plourde's study (2003), which implies that these insecurities still exist.

Quebecers are not the only ones to experience linguistic insecurities. Pöll (2001) notes that in Romandy (a region in Western Switzerland), French speakers feel the need to assert their identity, in particular by using regionalisms (e.g.: *septante*, *nonante*), and they evaluate their own variety positively on an emotional level. However, speakers without regional accent are associated with a higher social status and seen as more prestigious (ibid.: 61). The Romandy population also conceive German as a threat to their language and Germanisms are frowned upon (ibid.: 63).

As for Belgium, Pöll (2001) states that it could be regarded as a typical case of a country suffering from linguistic insecurity. Unlike in Quebec or Romandy, the French language was never threatened in Belgium (ibid.). However, French-speaking Belgians naturally conformed to the model prescribed by their more prestigious neighbour, France, and accepted its purist discourse on language. Afterwards, France never recognised their cultural identity has distinctive from theirs (ibid.: 88). Nowadays, typical Belgian French features are "prudently valorised" and the French spoken by the Belgian cultural elite gained considerable prestige, as shown in Moreau & al. (1999)'s study (Pöll 2001:88).

Complying or not with prescriptive norms is not the only factor affecting the image speakers have of themselves. In her study about humour and linguistic representations, Violette (2009) explains how she succeeded in getting Tours university students to express honest epilinguistic commentaries on Quebec French using

the concept of laughability. According to Calvet (2002), there is a tendency for speakers in a dominant sociolinguistic position to adopt a politically correct discourse regarding the speakers in an inferior position. These dominant speakers express an ideologically neutral discourse, affirming that “every variety is worth the same”, making it all the more difficult to learn about their real linguistic representations. That is why Violette (2009) cleverly decided to use humour in her study, which she explains is revealing of sociolinguistic relationships, power struggles and tensions between the speakers of different varieties. She based her study on Gasquet-Cyrus (2004) who insightfully observes that mocking contributes to drawing sociolinguistic frontiers and forming groups (ibid., 361). It is a way to divide the speakers between ‘us’ and ‘them’: the normal ones versus the laughable ones. Even though it might seem inoffensive to tag a speaker’s accent as funny, Violette (2009) explains that doing so marginalises the speaker. To consider that one is laughable or ridiculous because his speech differs from the established norms means that we subscribe to the standard ideology, according to which there is only one acceptable norm.

Gasquet-Cyrus (2004) points out that mocking “peripheral accents” is a frequent theme in France’s humour (ibid., 380). The dynamics of mocking positions the speakers in relation to each other. The ones mocking are always in the dominant position, just like with bullying where the harasser is often popular and the one bullied is seen as different or marginal. The ones laughing assume they are speaking according to the norm and depreciate the speech of their laughing matter. The ones who are laughed at are often

associated with slightly depreciating imagery; in the case of Quebec, it would be the gentle lumberjack living in a hut in the wilderness (Violette 2009: 197). Laughing, albeit without bad intentions, at a speaker's speech undermines the legitimacy of his variety and has an impact on the image the speaker has of himself, especially if the mocking is recurrent. Speakers of the dominant group might be unaware of it, but their mocking makes them feel inadequate and ashamed (ibid., 201-202). Violette rightfully remarks that self-image is built partly taking into consideration the 'Other', especially if he or she belongs to the dominant group which we compare ourselves to (ibid., 20; see also Boyer 1991). She explains that even though Quebecers put together a positive image of themselves in the last decades, they are still affected by the image the dominant group, namely French people, have of them (ibid., 201). This is why Violette's finding that Tours university students indeed shared the idea that Quebecers' speech was laughable is relevant to the linguistic representation Quebecers have of themselves.

2.2.4. Main characteristics and differences between Quebec French and Franco-French

In this section, I will briefly present the main characteristics of the Quebec French (QF) and Franco-French (FF) varieties, and emphasise the principal differences between the two on a phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical level (according to a model similar to Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) and Reinke & Ostiguy (2012, 2015)). I am interested in standard and non-standard linguistic

features that might be featured in Quebec and France's dubbed filmic speech. On the phonetic level, I have considered Reinke's (2005) findings on characteristics featured in Quebec television programs and a subsequent study on linguistic features found in dubbed films (Reinke & al. 2019). I also included results from Bigot & Papen (2013) and Reinke & Ostiguy (2016). On a morphosyntactic level, Quebec and France present less disparity. I included a few characteristics that were likely to be found in the analysis of the dubbed movies, such as future verb tenses, pronoun order (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016), negative form (Reinke 2018) and interrogative form. As for the lexicon, there are plenty of differences between the two varieties; yet I aim to establish an overall portrait of both, drawing on Reinke & Ostiguy's research (2016).

Table 14: Phonetic characteristics common to both QF and FF

	QF	**FF**
Phonemic distinction between the four nasal vowels [ɛ̃], [ɑ̃], [ɔ̃] and [œ̃].	✔	Three nasal vowels [70]
Distinction between the open **front** unrounded vowel [a] and the open **back** unrounded vowel [ɑ].	✔	↓ [71]
Informal - Deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *il(s)* and *elle(s)* before a consonant.[72]	✔	✔
Informal - Reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words; e.g.: *quat'* > *quatre*.	✔	✔ [73]

The phonetic features in Table 14 above exist in both varieties. Their frequency varies according to the register, and sometimes they can be more habitual in Quebec than in France (Bigot & Papen 2013: 119).

[70] More often than not, [ɛ̃] and [œ̃] are homophones in France.
[71] Nowadays, the distinction between [a] and [ɑ] the tends to disappear in France, where the pronunciation [a] is preferred (Lonchamp 2010); see also OQLF (2019). For instance, *patte* and *pâte* would both be pronounced [pat] in France, whereas the former would be pronounced [pat] and the latter, [pɑt] or [pɑːt] in Quebec.
[72] Ostiguy & Tousignant (2008) claim that this phenomenon is not perceived negatively by Quebec French speakers.
[73] According to Bigot & Papen (2013: 119), reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words is more frequent in QF than FF, especially in a formal communicative situation.

Table 15: Phonetic characteristics exclusive to QF without a negative connotation

	QF
Laxing of high vowels in final syllable closed by a non-lengthening consonant; e.g.: *vite* [vɪt], *rude* [ʀʏd], *boule* [bʊl].[74]	✔
Affrication[75] of [t] and [d] when followed by close front vowels or their corresponding semivowels; e.g.: *tu dis* [tˢydᶻi].[76]	✔
Distinction between the short vowels and the long vowels [ɛː], [ɑː], [oː] and [øː]: short in words like *renne* [ʀɛn] and *cote* [kot], yet long in *reine* [ʀɛːn] and *côte* [koːt].[77]	✔

The phonetic features in Table 15 above appear only in the QF variety; however, they are not judged negatively by Quebecers, who even produce them in formal situations (Reinke 2005: 12; see also Ostiguy & Tousignant 1993, 2008; and Reinke & Ostiguy 2016).

[74] Bigot & Papen (2013: 126).
[75] Also known as "assibilation" (cf. Bigot & Papen 2013).
[76] Ibid., 119 (cf. Reinke & Ostiguy 2016: 42).
[77] Bigot & Papen (2013: 120) (cf. Reinke & Ostiguy 2016: 41).

Table 16: Colloquial phonetic characteristics exclusive to QF

	QF
Unvoice high front vowels (or even deletion) in an unstressed syllable with a fricative consonant; e.g.: *université* [ynivɛʀs (i̥) te].[78]	✔
Open-mid vowel [ɛ] pronounced as an open vowel [æ]at the end of a word; e.g.: *épais* [epɛ] > [epæ] and *vrai* [vʀɛ]> [vʀæ].[79]	✔
Long vowels [ɛː], [ɑː], [oː] and [øː] are diphthongised; e.g.: *rêve* and *fête* are pronounced [ʀaⁱv] and [faᵋt].[80]	✔
Short vowels [œ], [ɔ] and [ɛ] in final syllable, closed by the consonant [ʀ] at the end of a rhythmic group are also diphthongised; e.g.: *beurre* [baᶏʁ] and *encore* [ãkaᵘʁ].[81]	✔
Spellings in *-oi/ -ois* are pronounced [wa] in France and in Quebec (e.g.: *roi* [ʀwa]). In Quebec, it can also be pronounced [we], [wɛ], [wɑᵘ], [wɛː] and [wɔ] depending on its position; e.g.: *moi* [mwe], *poil* [pwɛl], *noir* [nwɛːʀ], *bois* [bwɔ].[82]	✔

Finally, the phonetic variations in Table 16 above are exclusive to Quebec French and associated with a colloquial register. They are not considered as part of any prescriptive norm, and are usually not heard on the SRC (Reinke 2005; Bigot & Papen 2013: 125-127).

[78] Bigot & Papen (2013: 120).
[79] Reinke (2005: 22).
[80] Reinke (2005: 21), Reinke & al. (2019: 80).
[81] Reinke (2005: 21), Reinke & al. (2019: 80).
[82] Reinke (2005: 21-22), Bigot & Papen (2013: 120).

Table 17: Summary of Bigot & Papen's findings

	IN LINE WITH THE SRC'S NORM
Affrication/ assibilation of [t] and [d]	✔
No reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words.	✔
Spellings in *-oi/ -ois* are pronounced [wa], and possibly [wɑ] according to Cox (1998), but **never** [we], [wɛ] or [wɔ].	✔
Long vowels are **not** diphthongised, except [øː] and [oː].	✔
Open-mid vowel [ɛ] is **not** pronounced as an open vowel [æ] at the end of a word.	✔
Distinction between the short vowel [ɛ] and the long vowel [ɛː].	✔
Phonemic distinction between the four nasal vowels.	✔
Deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *il(s)* and *elle(s)* before a consonant.	
Laxing of the high vowels in final syllable closed by a non-lengthening consonant.	
Distinction between open front unrounded vowel /a/ and open back unrounded vowel /ɑ/.	
Unvoice high front vowels (or even deletion) in an unstressed syllable with a fricative consonant.	

Bigot & Papen (2013) were interested in comparing the results of Reinke's study (2005), as well as a similar study by Cox (1998), with the norm established by the SRC based on Warnant's dictionary (1987) and promoting an exogenous norm. Table 17 above shows a summary of their results in view of phonetic features heard on television which follow the SRC's norm and the ones that differ from it. If the SRC is considered to be an exemplary reference for Quebec French and the phonetic phenomenon listed in Table 17 were heard in its programs, it is likely that most French Quebecers would not evaluate them negatively, whether or not they are part of the prescribed norm.

Table 18: Morphosyntactic characteristics for QF and FF, typical of spoken French and/ or non-standard

	QF	**FF**
Omission of negative particle *ne*	✔	✔
Preference for *futur proche* over *futur simple* in affirmative sentences, in spoken French	✔	✔
Preference for informal pronoun *on* over *nous*	✔	✔
Oral question-form	✔	✔
Truncation/ clipped words	✔	✔
Position of postverbal direct (CD) and indirect (CI) complements: *Donne-moi-le* (CI+CD) *Donne-le-moi* (CD+CI)	**CI+CD**	**CD+CI**

On a colloquial register, the Quebec French variety also differs from the Franco-French variety in many aspects, including on the morphological level. For instance, a Quebec French speaker could introduce a postverbal *-tu* in his interrogative sentences (e.g.: *Ça va-tu?* instead of *Ça va?)* (Picard 1992), use compound disjunctive pronouns (e.g.: *Eux autres, ils ont reçu un cadeau* instead of *Eux, ils ont reçu un cadeau*) (Blondeau 2011) or a double subject (e.g. : *Moi, je vais aller à la fête* instead of *Je vais aller à la fête*) (Ashby 1980) (quoted in Reinke & Ostiguy 2016). Although they are frequent in informal real-life communicative situations, these Quebec French features can be perceived negatively by Quebec speakers and are not likely to be heard on television or in films. For that reason, I did not include them in my analysis (see section 4.3.).

However, other informal morphosyntactic characteristics are likely to be featured in dubbed filmic speech as they do not hold a negative connotation for speakers (see Table 18 above). This is the case of the order of postverbal direct and indirect complements. In Quebec, when used informally, the indirect complement (CI, in French) is placed before the direct complement (CD, in French) whereas the CD comes before the CI in formal Quebec French and Franco-French. Even though the *verb + CI + CD* order is non-standard and used in informal situations (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016), I believe it would be possible to find it on television or in films as it does not hold a negative connotation for Quebecers.

Other non-standard morphosyntactic features are common to both the QF and FF varieties, such as the omission of *ne* in negative

sentences (e.g.: *Je vais pas partir tôt* instead of *Je ne vais pas partir tôt*) (Reinke 2018), the preference for the informal third person singular pronoun *on* over the more formal first person plural pronoun *nous* (e.g.: *On va à la plage* instead of *Nous allons à la plage*) (Coveney 2000) and the use of oral question-forms (*On va au ciné?* rather than *Va-t-on au ciné?* or *Est-ce qu'on va au ciné?)* are preferred. Furthermore, although not a non-standard morphosyntactic feature *per se*, the use of the *futur proche* verb tense is preferred to the *futur simple* in spoken French[83] (e.g.: *Je vais aller* instead of *J'irai*) in affirmative sentences, both in informal and formal situations (Bigot 2010: 20, 2011). Finally, there is the case of clipped words, 'shortening' or 'truncation' (Jamet 2009: 16), which we already know, also happens in Spanish (see section 2.1.4.2.). Truncation is not to be confused with the phenomenon of reduction of consonant cluster (as shown in Table 14) or apocopes and syncopes (such as *p't-être* instead of *peut-être*) which is the result of a relaxed or slurred pronunciation. Clipped words through truncation are associated with an informal register, and and slang.[84] Occasionally, a clipped form will replace the base lexeme, such as *taxi* and *radio* (for *taximètre* and *radiophonie*), and thus, are unmarked.[85]

[83] According to the article "Futur proche" from the *Office québécois de la langue française* (online).
[84] According to the article "Abréviation par troncation des mots" from the *Office québécois de la langue française* (online).
[85] Ibid.

Table 19: Examples of some lexical particularities of Quebec French

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Without equivalent in FF</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">1. (unmarked) Lexical creations
polyvalente,
cabane à sucre</td><td>2. Loanwords
fin de semaine ⇒ (from the English)
week-end</td><td>3. Direct loanwords
chicouté ⇒ (from the Innu)
ishkutew</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">With equivalent in FF</th><th colspan="2">Quebecisms of frequency</th></tr>
<tr><th>+ QF</th><th>+ FF</th><th>+ QF</th><th>+ FF</th></tr>
<tr><td>tuque
foulard
aiguisoir
banc de neige</td><td>bonnet
écharpe
taille-crayon
congère</td><td>souliers
arachide
présentement
congédiement</td><td>chaussures
cacahuète
actuellement
licenciement</td></tr>
</table>

As mentioned earlier, the QF and FF varieties present plenty of differences on the lexical level, which is expected considering their linguistic past and the particular realities of each speech community. Reinke & Ostiguy (2016) described with great precision the main lexical particularities of formal and colloquial Quebec French. Table 19 above shows the main formal lexical features of Quebec French, including Quebecisms, with or without an equivalent in the Franco-French variety. In case of the latter, it might be a lexical creation, a direct loanword or a loanword which

has been translated into French. There are also Quebecisms of frequency, which means that a word exists in both varieties, but they are used more frequently in Quebec. The same phenomenon exists in France under the name Francisms of frequency. For instance, to designate an *arachis hypogaea* (a common peanut), the word *arachide* is more common in Quebec while *cacahuète* is widely-used in France.

Table 20: Coloquial and vulgar lexical particularities of QF and FF

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Lexical conservatism in QF</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">1. Archaism
avant-midi (matinée),
barrer (verrouiller)</td><td colspan="2">2. Dialectalism
achaler (déranger),
châssis (fenêtre)</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="4">Swear words, profanities and blasphemies</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">QF</th><th colspan="2">FF</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Christ, hostie, calice, tabernacle, ciboire, calvaire</td><td colspan="2">putain, connard, enfoiré</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2">Logical connectives</th><th colspan="2">Discourse markers</th></tr>
<tr><th>QF</th><th>FF</th><th>QF</th><th>FF</th></tr>
<tr><td>pis
faque
par exemple</td><td>du coup</td><td>voyons
coudon</td><td>quoi</td></tr>
</table>

Other lexical Quebec French particularities includes conservatisms, that is, words considered old-fashioned in France, yet that acquired a new life and a new meaning in Quebec. These can be archaisms (if they were featured in French literary or administrative texts and might still be used in some French regions) or dialectalisms (if they were used in the Parisian region, but never featured in any written texts).

While Table 19 features some of Quebec French lexical creations which are unmarked, others are clearly associated with a vulgar register, such as *sacres*, that is, blasphemies derived from Catholic rites that can be used as expletives, verbs or nouns (as shown in Table 20; Vincent 2009). The Franco-French variety also counts its typical swear words and expletives (*putain, connard*, etc.). Other colloquial lexical particularities in QF can be found in logical connectives and discourse markers. Some examples are also included in Table 20. The FF variety also has its own colloquial logical connectives (*du coup* for *alors, donc*) and discourse markers (*quoi* at the end of sentences).

Table 21: Examples of Anglicisms in the QF and FF varieties

Anglicisms in French	
1. Loanwords	
QF	**FF**
lousse, checker, shooter, joke, background, snowboard, cool, full, junk food, piercing, rush	*ferry, bowling, sponsor, kitchenette,*
2. False friends	
QF	**FF**
année académique	*calendrier académique*
3. Calques	
QF	**FF**
semaine de lecture	*cent pour cent*

Another important lexical aspect of the informal register is the use of Anglicisms (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016; Jean 2018), documented in both varieties of French and as illustrated in Table 21 above. Although Quebec French institutions fought actively against the use of Anglicisms (see section 2.2.1.) which was widespread in all social spheres during the 20th century, they remain present in real-life communication. French speakers, having never feared for the loss of the French language to English, are keen

to resort to Anglicisms, whether they have been adapted to the French syntax or not. The most common Anglicisms are trendy words (*after-work*, *baskets, pipole)* and professional lexicon (*briefing, branding, starts-up, feed-back, sponsoriser*) (Jean 2018). Furthermore, the use of English words is not as criticised in France as it is in QF dictionaries (in USITO and the OQLF, amongst other) (see Chapter 4).

CHAPTER 3

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3. Audiovisual Translation

This far, I have been addressing linguistic variation as it happens in real life. However, real-life variation differs considerably from the one depicted in fiction, chiefly because dialogues are crafted by scriptwriters and editors. Also, even though fiction is meant to be believed by the audience, it is not intended to be an exact depiction of reality. Furthermore, there are limitations to the representation of linguistic variation in audiovisual texts, because of their very nature and the multiple signifying codes that are at play. Linguistic variation also differs because dialogues featured in film speech were [previously] "written to be spoken as if not written" (Gregory 1967: 191). Furthermore, they are performed by actors. Finally, linguistic variation differs even more if the audiovisual text has been subjected to a translation, because of the constraints imposed by dubbing and subtitling. Before addressing the issue of linguistic variation in films, it is essential to define a few concepts related to the audiovisual text, film speech and ultimately, audiovisual translation.

3.1. The nature of the audiovisual text

Zabalbeascoa (2008: 21) defines the audiovisual text[86] as a "communication act involving sounds and images", more precisely, where information is conveyed through both the audio and visual channels. Rather than dividing the constituting elements of the AV text between the oral and written modes, Zabalbeascoa puts forward that AV texts are part of another mode altogether; the audiovisual mode. This third mode of communication:

> [...] is distinct from the written and the oral modes [...] in which intentions and meanings are conveyed (and effects produced) through both audio and visual channels and both verbal and non-verbal sign systems or codes [...] all acting together (ibid., 28).

In the past, scholars have treated the verbal and non-verbal elements of AV texts as though they existed side by side, in their respective textual mode category. In AV translation, the difficulty of translating verbal elements from a source text is raised by the need to make them fit with non-verbal elements, such as images, through synchronisation. An added difficulty comes from the fact that these non-verbal elements, unlike the verbal ones, cannot be tempered with (Chaume & García de Toro 2001: 119). This approach to AV translation led academics such as Titford (1982), and later, Mayoral, Kelly & Gallardo (1988) to call it 'constrained

[86] From this point onwards, we will refer to audiovisual texts as **AV texts**.

translation'. According to them, several types of synchrony[87] had to be respected to reduce the cultural noise caused by the translation process. Indeed, these scholars consider that in the specific act of communication that is AV translation, the "bicultural nature of the message" that needs to be conveyed from the source culture to another is a source of noise (ibid., 359). They also claim that the transmission of verbal and non-verbal elements through the same channel causes a redundancy of information, and consequently, further noise (ibid., 361). Figure 22 below illustrates their representation of the constrained translation.

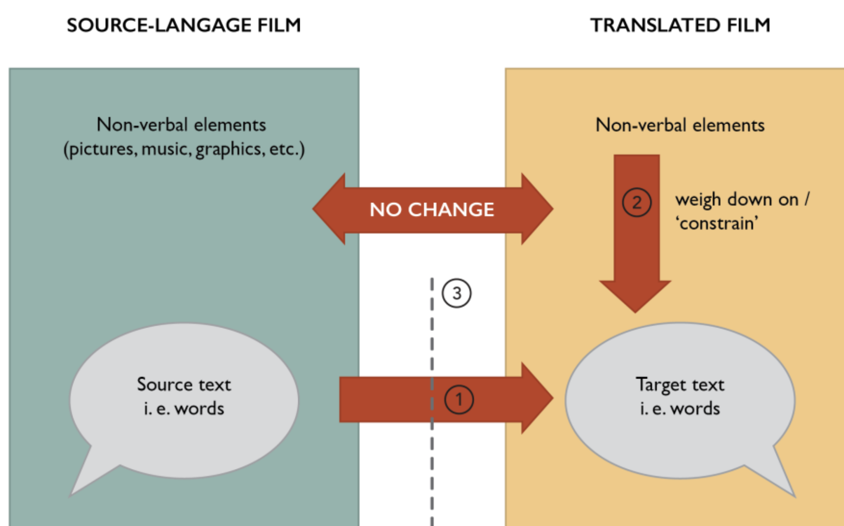

Figure 22. Constrained translation (based on Zabalbeascoa 2008)

Zabalbeascoa (2008) turns the table on this approach and redefines the nature of the AV text itself as well as the 'constrained'

[87] Synchrony of time, spatial synchrony, content synchrony, phonetic synchrony and character synchrony.

audiovisual translation. Amongst the various relations that exist between the signs and channels of the AV text, he chooses to highlight their complementarity rather than their redundancy, incoherence or contradiction (ibid., 29). Indeed, Zabalbeascoa believes that these elements are to be "interpreted interdependently, [...] for a full grasp of their meaning potential and functions" (ibid., 29). That is why the scholar puts forward a model of AV text with a double axis (as shown in Figure 23 below) where the audio and visual channels, as well as the verbal and non-verbal signs, are to be equally considered. However, depending on the AV text, they combine differently and will vary in amount and importance, as suggested by the use of the axis.

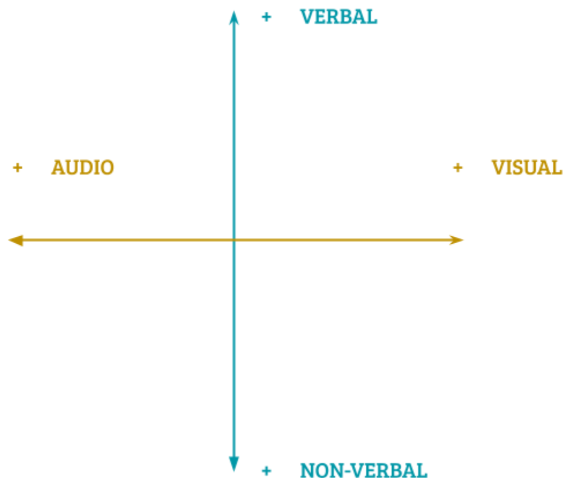

Figure 23. Double axis of the AV text (based on Zabalbeascoa 2008)

This different approach allows him to redesign a new model of constrained translation, which is pictured in Figure 24 below. In this new approach, the various signs (audio-verbal, visual-verbal,

audio-nonverbal and visual-nonverbal) are seen as operating together to produce meaning (see also Kress 2009; Gupta 2015). Noise still hampers the translation of the AV text from the source culture to the target culture. However, unlike the previous model where no alteration could be made, here, the translator can move away from the source text to render the meaning and functions conveyed by its signs.

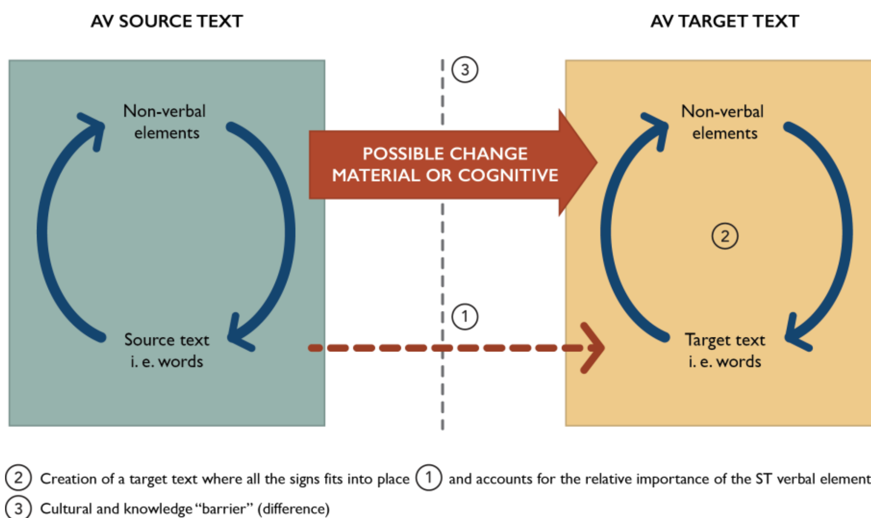

Figure 24. New model of constrained translation (based on Zabalbeascoa 2008)

Zabalbeascoa (2008) explains that translators' priority should be to create "a 'new' script in a different language that can create meaningful relationships with the pictures and sounds that also make their contribution to the 'new' AV text, so that it is as coherent and relevant as possible to the new audience" (ibid., 32). Zabalbeascoa further points out that alteration to the source text is all the more possible since images are understood differently by the viewers, especially if they belong to distinct cultures. For instance,

in the Dutch romantic comedy *Alles is Liefd* (Joram Lürsen, 2007), there is a scene where the character of Jan (played by actor Michiel Romeyn) arrives in Amsterdam as Saint Nicholas' Day approaches and the truck he is travelling in crashes into a red and yellow vehicle transporting oranges from Valencia. Later in the film, Jan ends up filling in for the recently deceased actor who played *Sinterklaas*, also known as Saint Nicholas. Just from watching these images, viewers of the source culture immediately understand the reference to *Sinterklaas* and the role Jan will end up playing in the film. Indeed, in Dutch folklore, *Sinterklaas* travels from Spain to Holland, and oranges are a traditional gift on Saint Nicholas' Day. As Pérez-González (2014, online) explains:

> For Non-Dutch viewers altogether unacquainted with the culture-specific connotations of the visuals, the dischrony between image and dialogue severely hampers their appreciation of the film. Subtitles conveying only a translated version of the Dutch dialogue would not help foreign viewers overcome their inability to grasp the contribution of visual semiotics to the overall meaning of this film.

Chaume (2012) shares a similar vision of the AV text, which he considers to be polysemiotic.[88] According to the scholar, AV texts are "semiotic construct[s] woven by a series of signifying codes that operate simultaneously to produce meaning", which is why the translator has to "[disentangle] the meaning and

[88] See also Delabastita (1989).

functioning of each of these [signifying] codes, and the possible impact of all signs on translation operations" (ibid., 100) in order to render the source text. Amongst the signifying codes of cinematographic language,[89] the translator might act directly only on the linguistic code, but he or she needs to acknowledge all the others and their interaction if they want to convey the adequate meaning and functions.

3.2. The nature of filmic speech

Before addressing the subject of audiovisual translation *per se*, I will examine the characteristics of speech featured in films, also known as 'filmic speech' (Kozloff 2000), as it is the *materia prima* of the AV translator. Unlike spontaneous speech which is conveyed through an oral medium, filmic speech belongs to both the oral and written mode. It is scripted by an entire team (which, from now on, I will refer to as 'dialogue writers') before being performed by actors.[90] Thus, most scholars consider that this type of speech would be positioned in-between the oral and the written medium (Rossi 2003; Baños Piñero & Chaume 2009). According to Koch & Oesterreicher's model of communicative immediacy and distance (1985: 23), filmic speech would be situated nearer to the pole of distance (Rossi 2011; see also Koch 1997, 2001). Even though dialogue writers aspire to create film speech that is credible

[89] Chaume (2004b: 18-21) makes a list of signifying codes for cinematographic language which includes the linguistic, paralinguistic, musical and special effects, sound arrangement, iconographic, photographic, planning or type of shots, mobility, graphic and syntactic codes.
[90] Indeed, as Pavesi (2005: 80) points out, in fiction "speech acts are not performed; but are represented".

and authentic to the cinematic audience, their goal is certainly not to create a replica of true-to-life speech, and that for practical, aesthetic and narrative reasons (Hodson 2014: 65).

Spontaneous speech involves a lot of what scholars call 'drawbacks' (Rossi 2011: 26), which includes hesitation, repetition, and anacoluthon (such as false starts and unfinished sentences). Real-life conversation is also characterised by its vagueness and the presence of many fillers. Speakers also have to negotiate topic and turn-taking (Kozloff 2000: 74). While these characteristics might be very well accepted in real life, they would most likely alienate the cinematic audience. In fact, not only would these features bewilder the viewers, they would make the dialogues seem even less real. Conversely, "artificial dialogues are perceived as more believable and acceptable" (Rossi 2011: 45; see also Dargnat 2008: 16-17; Zabalbeascoa 2010: 6).

This is why filmic speech is crafted with very different qualities in mind. The fact that motion pictures have a limited running time, defined by a beginning and an end, prompts dialogue writers to script a speech that is both concise and relevant (Baños Piñero 2014a: 75; Rossi 2011: 26) as well as entertaining and attractive (Bednarek 2010: 65-66). It also features higher speech speeds and longer uninterrupted utterances (Rossi 2011: 30). Since filmic speech is written before it is acted out, it comes out as a well-organised discourse, coherent and cohesive, displaying formal features typical of written speech, such as perfectly-chosen discourse markers and 'refined rhetorical strategies' (Rossi 2011: 21, 31, 37). To make sure that the audience easily understands

filmic speech, writers need to script dialogues which are devoid of speech interruption (Rossi 2011: 31, 40) and overlapping (Hodson 2014: 65). The protagonists are less likely to be heard using 'markers of vagueness' (Quaglio 2009: 149) or drawbacks, unless it serves aesthetic functions, such as characters' portrayal (Kozloff 2000: 34). Hodson (2014: 65) gives as an example the typical character played by Hugh Grant, namely Charles in *4 Weddings and a Funeral* (Mike Newell, 1994) whose speech is filled with hesitations and pauses. Furthermore, to ensure that the characters' identities and relationships are comprehensible to the audience, dialogue writers often make the protagonists address each other using their first or last name, which is not common in real-life spontaneous conversation (Rossi 2011: 35-36; see also Kozloff 2000).[91]

Hodson (2014) explains that realism and authenticity are not qualities to which filmic speech should be associated. Even though some movements in cinema and film directors intended to represent the world or speech as 'it really is' (ibid., 65), the scholar specifies that "these representations [...] rely upon specific literary and filmic techniques and [...] are being used by writers and directors to achieve specific artistic and ideological goals". A representation always implies that we are dealing with a portrayal made by an author and it cannot be perfectly true-to-life. Kozloff (2000) agrees and affirms that realism is a "cultural construct, that when a text is

[91] Rossi makes this observation based on Emanuela Cresti's corpus of spoken Italian (Cresti 2000) which includes both filmic and real-life speech. Rossi also specifies that first names or surnames can be used for direct address in real-life, but only in certain specific situations such as "public mediated dialogues [...], school lessons, service encounters" (Rossi 2011: 35).

referred to as ‘realistic’, one is actually saying that it adheres to a complex code of what a culture at a given time agrees to accept as plausible, everyday, authentic” (ibid., 47). As for authenticity, Hodson (2014: 220) specifies that it is a subjective judgement, not an objective quality. Hence, it is the perception of realism and authenticity that is important.

It is worth remarking at this point that not all types and genres of AV texts have as a priority to mirror orality and real-life conversations: while fiction films might do, it is certainly not the main objective in documentaries and news programs. Within fiction films, genres such as sci-fi and fantasy might not require evocating the orality of spontaneous speech in the same way as drama and comedies (Heiss 2000: 184). Incidentally, filmic speech in distinct types of AV text is meant to fulfil different functions. Language in fiction usually serves a poetic function, while it is meant to fulfil a referential function in documentaries and news programs. In fiction, evoking orality is not achieved in the same way since filmic speech is culture- and genre-specific although there are pre-existing patterns and conventions.

To mimic real-life conversations that will seem real and authentic to the audiences, dialogue writers have to compensate the fact that filmic speech contains features closer to the written code by resorting to other features to make it appear more spontaneous and oral. Linguistic variation and non-standard features, whether lexical, morphological, syntactic or phonetic, are undoubtedly a way of making filmic speech seem more credible, as it occurs naturally in real-life communication. Just like real-life speech is

shaped by users and usages, audiences might expect different characters to speak accordingly to their identity, background and situation. As Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009: 1) point out:

> [...] the challenge [of creating film dialogues that sound natural and believable] does not lie so much in trying to imitate spontaneous conversations, but in selecting specific features of this mode of discourse that are widely accepted and recognised as such by the audience.

These features which are meant to bring filmic speech closer to the oral medium are called 'orality markers'[92] (Baños Piñero 2014a) and range from grammatical inconsistencies to lexical creations and dialogical drawbacks (see Rossi 1999; 2006b). As we will see later, orality markers vary not only from one culture to another, but also from an original production to its translation. The orality typical of dialogues in fiction — which are written to be perceived as real and authentic by the audience without actually being true-to-life — is known as 'prefabricated orality' (Chaume 2004a: 168). It is also known as 'fictional orality', which Brumme & Espunya (2012) define as:

> Any attempt to recreate the language of communicative immediacy in fictional texts [...] not opposed to actual orality, but [...] conceived as a special technique which

[92] Baños Piñero defines orality markers as "linguistic features typifying spontaneous spoken register, used in prefabricated dialogue to reinforce its orality and to convey a false sense of spontaneity" (2014a: 94).

> consists mainly of evocation of certain characteristics of spoken communicative situations [...] (ibid., 13)

Fictional orality is also very similar to Davis' concept of 'selective naturalism' (2003: 48), or "the style of writing which attempts to faithfully imitate dialogue as we normally speak it, but, unnoticed, manages to omit all those passages which would add nothing to the production". The prevailing idea behind Davis' selective naturalism, as well as prefabricated/ fictional orality remains Gregory's "the speaking of what is written to be spoken as if not written" (1967: 191). According to Davis (2003: 196-197), who is a seasoned scriptwriter, to achieve effective scripts in fiction, aside from revealing information to the audiences at the right time in the narrative, one must write emotionally-engaging dialogues that maintain a consistent style and have not been 'unconsciously tidied up' for the audience. Finally, and most importantly, he advises to "make sure that each character uses the speech patterns appropriate for the individual and the situation, and that speech patterns of characters are sufficiently differentiated from each other". As we will see in section 3.3., Davis' recommendation is particularly relevant considering the importance of linguistic variation in filmic speech, film narrative and characters' portrayal.

Filmic speech displays distinct characteristics depending on the source text culture (or system to which it belongs, if we think in terms of the polysystem theory; see Karamitroglou 2000), and on the conventions of the film genre. We can reasonably assume that dialogue writers base their work on the conventions in their own socio-cultural setting. Certain communities might be more or less

tolerant regarding certain aspects of filmic speech. For instance, a community might be more sensitive to on-screen vulgarity than others; consequently, their filmic speech will be ‘cleaner’. In other communities, tolerance to linguistic variation might also be lower; hence non-standard features will be toned down. Besides tolerance, comprehension of linguistic variation is another important aspect that dialogue writers need to bear in mind. While French productions featuring significant non-standard features — such as Mathieu Kassovitz’ *La Haine* (1995) — can be screened in Quebec without subtitles, Quebec productions — such as Xavier Dolan’s films *Laurence Anyways* (2012) and *Mommy* (2014), featuring a similar level of linguistic variation, will almost always be screened in France with subtitles.[93] However, in the case at hand, aside from comprehension, the French audience’s attitudes towards other varieties of French might also come into play (see Gadet 2001: 7-8, in section 2.2.2.). It is also possible that a community might be less receptive to realism in films. Pavesi (2008: 81) observes that “the need for linguistic realism is also to be assessed in relation to the degree of acceptance of the inherent features of film language by target audiences”.

Source culture is not the only aspect influencing features of the filmic speech; the medium is, too. A film commissioned by a major film studio (such as Disney) will present very different filmic speech features than if it had been produced by a streaming platform (the entertainment company Netflix, for instance) or a

[93] For an example of a Xavier Dolan’s film screened with subtitles in France: http://www.lemonde.fr/idees/article/2014/11/10/au-quebec-xavier-dolan-ravive-le-debat-linguistique_4521501_3232.html

national television channel, as their policy varies greatly from one to another.

Filmic speech is also characterised by a double level of communication (Rossi 2011: 25; see Figure 26 in section 3.5.).[94] The first diegetic level consists of a fictional 'two-way' communication occurring between the actors; the second extradiegetic level is a real 'one-way' communication where the author addresses the cinematic audience. Thus, unlike real-life communication, filmic speech has two set of recipients (Hodson 2014: 43): the first ones are the protagonists in the film, and the cinematic audience is the second one. Kozloff (2000: 15) considers that filmic speech is scripted bearing in mind that the viewers are 'eavesdropping' on the conversations, which undoubtedly influence its content. The diegetic level calls for features associated with what Pérez-González (2007) calls 'real realism' to evoke the orality of spontaneous speech, and the extradiegetic level justifies the presence of features associated with 'contrived realism' that lead to "condensed and resonant dialogue" (ibid., 9).

For viewers to 'identify with the fictional world' (ibid., 3), this double act of communication requires a tacit agreement between the author and his/her audience at the extradiegetic level. Indeed, the viewers ideally have to agree to believe in the first fictional level of communication. This agreement is known as a 'willing suspension of disbelief', an expression coined by the

[94] Already in 1985, Vanoye had brought up the double layer of filmic speech, including a horizontal dimension where on-screen characters communicate with each other, and a vertical dimension where on-screen characters communicate with the audience.

English poet Samuel T. Coleridge in 1817. Rossi (2011: 45) explains that:

> The reproduction of reality is always a compromise: authors pretend to offer the audience a piece of reality, with an "illusion of spontaneity", which the audience feigns to believe, thanks to the "suspension of disbelief", necessary "to collaborate in this fiction".

As we will see later, suspension of disbelief is also required in dubbed and subtitled films. However, the illusion is more difficult to achieve as the presence of the translator adds a layer to the diegetic level of communication (Rossi 2011; see Figure 27 in section 3.5.).

In light of this description, we can assume filmic speech has different functions from spontaneous conversations. Filmic speech is not scripted thoughtlessly;[95] more often than not, dialogues are meant to play a significant role in the narrative. Freddi (2011: 257) supports that idea, pointing out that the recurrent clusters observed in filmic speech "have a plot-advancing function and contribute to the representation of conflict". By contrast, real-life conversations have no diegetic function. Kozloff (2000: 33) identified what she considered to be fundamental filmic speech functions, most of which have to do directly with the narrative.[96] According to the

[95] Baumgarten (2005: 86) confirms that "every linguistic unit – including phenomena of dysfluency and error – is there for a reason. Every linguistic unit fulfils a function for the overall communicative goal of the dramatic dialogue."
[96] These fundamental functions are: anchorage of the diegesis and characters, communication of narrative causality, enactment of narrative events, character

scholar, filmic speech serves to set the story and the identity or 'inner life' of the characters, as well as to inform the audience about the unfolding of events (even those not shown on-screen and verbal events), the causality between them and hint at plausible developments in the future. She also believes that filmic speech plays a part in the suspension of disbelief as it depicts life mundanities, such as small talk with a character of little importance in the film or any event that is not meaningful to the narrative. Kozloff further clarifies that "the dialogue paves the way for us to understand the visuals, repeats their information for emphasis, interprets what is shown, and explains what cannot be communicated visually" (ibid., 39). As a "guide [to interpret] what we are seeing" (ibid., 50), film speech enhances the emotions of the viewers and influence their evaluation of the events, the characters and their actions.

3.3. The role of linguistic variation in filmic speech

Considering the central role played by filmic speech in the narrative and the portrayal of the characters, we can assume that linguistic variation[97] – which is an integral part of discourse – will play an equally important role and have a direct influence on the information conveyed to the audience. Firstly, because linguistic variation in filmic speech conveys much information about the

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revelation, adherence to the code of realism and control of viewer evaluation and emotions.

[97] However, since language in film is a representation of language, when referring to the sociolinguistic concept of linguistic variation in an audiovisual context, it is meant as the filmic representation of said variation (Ellender 2016: 3).

characters and their background (Hodson 2014: 3). In fiction, it allows the authors and dialogue writers to depict their characters: while a certain geolect can reveal their nationality or the region they are from; sociolectal features might hint at their age range, gender (to some extent), the socio-economic and cultural community they belong to, their level of education and their line of work, and so on. Register-specific features can help the audience understand a character's emotional state and his/her relationships with the other protagonists (ibid., 10). Based on the register used, the viewers can also gather the level of formality of the situation of communication. The capacity and the will of the character to adapt him-/herself to a said situation is also revealing of his/her (fictional) linguistic aptitudes. A shift between geolect and sociolect can indicate that a character wishes to identify as belonging to a specific group or a subculture, or inversely, to distance him-/herself from it.[98] In any case, these shifts highlight "the underlying power dynamics in a conversation" (ibid., 179).

Since the dialogue writer (and/or the filmmaker) is responsible for the evocation of linguistic variation in films, the viewers also learn about her/his linguistic representations (including stereotypical and preconceived beliefs on social and cultural groups) and incidentally, the ones prevailing in the socio-cultural community she/he belongs to. Hodson (2014: 66-67) explains that dialogue writers are aware that "language variety is one of the ways in which such stereotypes can be triggered", hence, it is "a

[98] The first strategy is known as 'convergence' and the latter as 'divergence' (Giles et al. 1991: 7-9).

convenient tool for sketching character background [as] it exploits the audience's existing preconceptions about the people who use that variety". Dore (2016: 122) also agrees that "stereotyped language variations are exploited in audiovisual texts to mark differences in social status". Thus, filmmakers can resort to these stereotypes and preconceptions in filmic speech, either to promote them or on the contrary, to make the audience reflect upon them.

Linguistic variation is also a helpful resource to understand the film narrative. Just like filmic speech, it guides the audience's interpretation of the events. In the movie *Trainspotting*[99] (Danny Boyle, 1996), there is a scene where Renton and Spud, two twentysomething drug addicts, are brought to trial for stealing in a department store. Spud gets sentenced to six months in jail while Renton's sentence is suspended. In the book, we clearly understand that Renton got off because he was able to talk his way out of a sentence: he adapts his register to the judge's and pretends to be interested in the books he stole, while Spud is not able to. In the film, Renton gets away with it because he entered a rehabilitation program, but he does utter the famous line "Thank you, your honour. With God's help, I will conquer this terrible affliction", which clashes with his usual colloquial register peppered with vulgarities and slang. In this scene, linguistic variation is the key to understanding that the judge was more lenient with Renton because he is familiar with the conventions of formal communication. Without these shifts in register and non-standard features, it would

[99] The cinematographic adaptation was made by Danny Boyle and it is based on the book *Trainspotting* written in 1993 by Scottish novelist and playwright Irvine Welsh.

be difficult for the viewers to fully understand the events unfolding. It is also revealing of the authors' representation of junkies, and their actual rejection of the usual stereotypes: while many people might assume drug addicts are inarticulate because of their lifestyle, both Welsh and Boyle portray Renton as clever and able to adapt to society's conventions.

Dialogue writers depict linguistic variation with the help of some carefully-selected linguistic features or, as Brumme & Espunya (2012: 20) put it, "through the interplay of standard and non-standard varieties of a language". These non-standard features depend on the socio-cultural community and on whether we are dealing with an original film or a translated AV text.

3.4. Modes of audiovisual translation

In section 3.1, we saw that to translate the linguistic code and to convey the meaning of the audiovisual source text, the translator had to consider the interaction between the signifying codes. More often than not, the source text (ST) is translated through dubbing or subtitling as they are the most common modes of AVT, to obtain the target text (TT). However, there are many other modes, such as voice-over (very common in documentaries), subtitles for the deaf and the hard of hearing (SDH), audio-description, surtitling, sign language interpreting and simultaneous interpreting.

3.4.1. Dubbing: in search of the perfect match

Dubbing, also known as synchronisation, consists in "the replacement of the original speech by a voice-track which is a faithful translation[100] of the original speech and which attempts to reproduce the timing, phrasing, and lip movements of the original" (Luyken 1991: 73). A first translation of the original script is done by a translator, sometimes without the film images (Chaume 2012: 33). Then, the translator, an adapter (also known as a dialogue writer; ibid., 35) or even the dubbing director adjusts this 'rough' translation to the content seen on the screen, complete with symbols to facilitate the performance of the dubbing actors (or voice talents) and the synchronisation. At this phase, adapters "must avoid artificiality, and make dialogue lines sound credible and true-to-life" (ibid.). In other words, they must focus on "speakability and acted orality" (Pavesi & Perego 2006: 107) to enhance the "effects of dramatization" and to optimise the time spent in the dubbing studio (ibid.). Here, 'speakability' and 'performability' are understood as "the ability to produce fluid texts which performers may utter without difficulty" (Espasa 2000: 49). The dubbing director further guides the actors' performance which will be recorded by a mixing (or sound) engineer into different takes[101] that will later be put together to form the new voice-track. The mixing

[100] I would like to nuance this idea of 'faithful translation', as dubbing is not always meant to be a faithful. History has shown us that it has been used in many countries under a dictatorship to manipulate and change the content of the source film.
[101] Chaume (2012: 47) explains that "in dubbing, the translation is divided into segments, i.e. chunks of text called takes or loops (*anelli* in Italy and *boucle* in France). These are portions of text, the lengths and layouts of which vary from one dubbing country to another".

engineer will then substitute the source voice-track with the new one (unlike voice-over where the new voice track is played over the source voice-track, which is heard faintly in the background) and mix it with the tracks of sound, music and special effects. From this description, we understand that synchrony is of the utmost importance in the dubbing process; consequently, much effort is put into crafting a translation that matches "the articulatory and body movements of the screen actors and actresses, as well as [...] the utterances and pauses in the translation and those of the source text" (Chaume 2004c: 43). In this definition, Chaume identifies the three main types of synchronisation that translators and adapters need to take into account when translating/ adjusting the source text, namely phonetic or lip synchrony,[102] kinesic synchrony or body movement synchrony, and isochrony or synchrony between utterances and pauses. All three types need to be respected to maintain the illusion that the voices heard on the new track are genuinely the ones of the on-screen protagonists.

Chaume (2004c) explains that synchronisation has been an interest of translation professionals at first and of scholars later on. Professionals are mostly interested in achieving synchronisation, for their primary concern is "meeting the client's demands, in line with the target culture's conventions of synchronisation", namely "that the dubbed product sounds as though it were original, and that nothing distorts that perception" (ibid., 36). Consequently, both the translator and his/her translation must be invisible to the

[102] Especially for fricative and bilabial consonants, when there is a close-up of the on-screen character and his lip movement is clearly visible.

audience.[103] As for the academic world, Fodor (1976) was the first to study synchronisation as an important part of audiovisual translation, although Chaume (2004c: 38) warns that the standards of his time were quite different from what they are today. Functionalists, such as Fodor, focus on the transmission of the source text functions (as we saw in section 3.1. with Mayoral, Kelly & Gallardo 1988, and Zabalbeascoa 2008; see also Kahane 1990-1991), while disciples of the polysystem theory (such as Goris 1993, and Karamitroglou 2000) are more concerned with target cultures conventions. Both functionalism and polysystemic approaches value the importance of synchronisation, the former because it contributes to the functions of the source text and the latter because as a translational norm, synchronisation helps to achieve naturalisation. Both approaches also consider that the invisibility of the translation is essential because, as Kahane (1990-1991: 116) explains, an ideal dubbing "aims to confound all boundaries in the eyes of the viewer [...] the ultimate goal [being] credibility, complete make-believe".[104]

The number of persons involved in the dubbing process (translators, adapters, dubbing directors, mixing engineers, dubbing actors, clients) certainly has an impact on the resulting translation. Chaume (2004c: 37) believes that translators should be trained to develop further synchronisation skills so there would be no need for dubbing directors (or adapters) to intervene in the adaptation process. According to the scholar, it would be an ideal solution

[103] I will look into more details at the invisibility of the translator in section 4.5.
[104] Chaume's (2004c: 39) translation.

because the translator is often the only one in the 'dubbing chain' who masters the source and the target languages.[105] It would also prevent changes made by the dubbing director in the name of domestication that alter the meaning and functions of the source text. As we will see in more detail in section 3.5, the involvement of multiple practicioners and their (variable) knowledge of the source and target languages amplify the effect of the fragmented translation process (due to synchronisation requirements, amongst other) and the absence of a global vision of the audiovisual text (Herbst 1997).

Furthermore, clients also influence the dubbing process. Since they pay for the new voice-track, they usually have the final word and their vision of what the dubbed filmic speech should sound like is taken into account. As dubbing is quite expensive, the financial resources dedicated to the process have an impact on the quality of the translation. Pommier (1988) explains that more often than not, cost-savvy is the guiding principle of the dubbing process – which is completed following a very tight schedule too. Not all audiovisual translators received the same training or possess similar skills; thus, if economic reasons rather than competence guide the choice of a translator, it also affects the result. Furthermore, there is generally little recognition of the audiovisual translators' work and in many countries, the translator's name rarely appears during or

[105] Incidentally, it is financially beneficial for translators to learn how to adapt the rough translation to the film content. As Chaume (2012: 26) mentions, European adapters are paid 5 to 7.5 times more than the professional achieving the rough translation. Fortunately, nowadays, adaptation courses are offered (by the association ATRAE, for instance) and many translators train to learn how to adapt for dubbing.

after the credits. Unfortunately, as Chaume & García de Toro (2001: 123) point out, this lack of acknowledgement does not encourage the authors of the translation to feel responsible towards their work. Moreover, given that many translators will have been given a tight deadline to complete their work, this practice inevitably affects the quality of the dubbed product.

The translators, adapters and dubbing directors are not the only ones who have an impact on the resulting product; dubbing actors have one as well. Because of schedule differences, it is common for dubbing actors who share a scene to record their takes separately. What is more, the length of each take depends on the dubbing country (Chaume 2012: 47). In the case of France and Quebec, which use the *rythmo* band technique, takes last only one minute, which understandably put a damper on the actors' performance. Unlike the dubbing actors in Spain and Mexico who have their dialogues printed on sheets and placed on a reading desk in front of them, dubbing actors in French-speaking countries perform the dialogue as it scrolls from right to left on the *rythmo* band, which is located at the bottom of the main screen (see Figure 25). Aside from the dialogues, the scrolling band indicates paralinguistic signs (such as laughing and coughing), tone and stress, as well as the precise moment where the utterance needs to be said, thanks to a time indicator. As Caron explains (2003: 331), "the actors must keep an eye on the dubbed scene at all times, keep the other on the scrolling band, and pronounce every word, every syllable at the precise moment when they scroll past the timing indicator, a veritable ocular gymnastic". As a result, their

performance is very well-synchronised, yet it can be occasionally flat or overacted, and not always very convincing (Pommier 1988; Caron 2003).

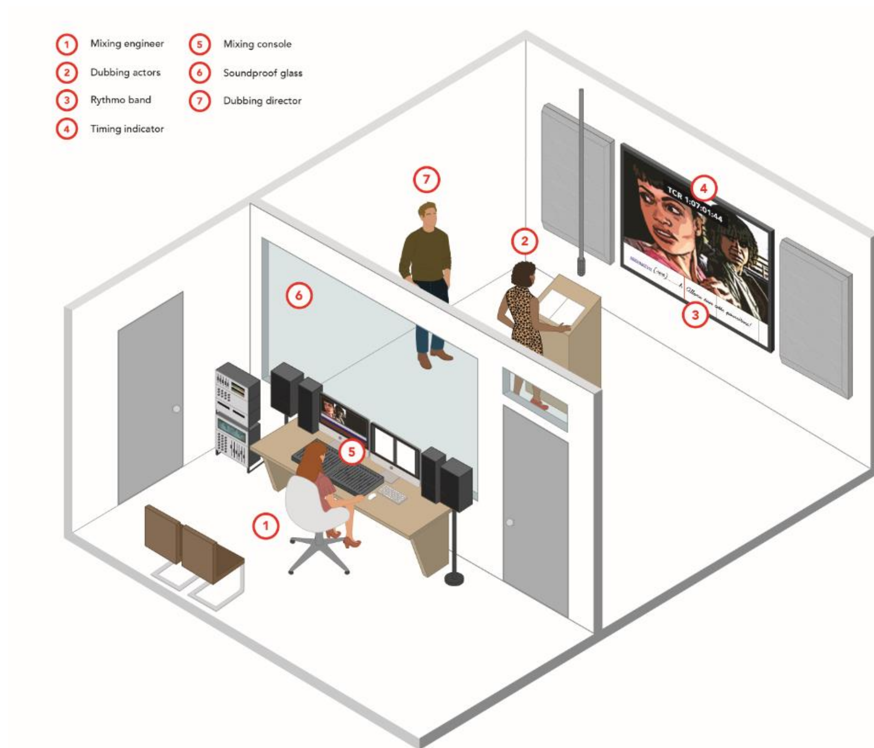

Figure 25. Representation of a dubbing studio using the *rythmo* band technique (Source: Marion Trencia, illustrator)

Aside from the context and conditions in which dubbing is made, the type of AV texts and the intended recipients also have an influence, for not all genres and audiences require the same precision in synchronisation (Chaume 2004c). Characters in animation films are shown speaking and gesticulating, but lip synchrony is not often a concern since they "move their lips almost randomly without actually pronouncing the words" (ibid., 46).

Chaume further explains that above all, kids (and to some extent, young audiences) are aware of the characters' body movement in children's films, so kinesic synchrony is important, much more than lip synchrony or isochrony in fact (ibid.). Furthermore, a perfectly-executed synchronisation is required in films, more so than for television series since production companies and film distributors have higher demands than television channels (ibid.). We can also assume that synchrony, especially phonetic synchrony, is more apparent on a screen at the movie theatre than at home.

Target cultures and the languages at stake also influence the translation process (ibid., 47). When translating from a source to a target language, the similarity or dissimilarity between the two will inevitably have an impact on the dubbing process. Lip synchrony will be more easily achieved between two languages with a higher "degree of closeness" than two very distinct languages (ibid.). Needless to say, dubbing a Portuguese film into Spanish will be an easier task than dubbing it into Mandarin. It is part of the work of adapters to find creative translation solutions when words said in close-up are very distinct in the target language. If a word comes with an unmistakable visual cue, it might increase the difficulty for the translator. Finally, target cultures have different conventions regarding synchronisation. Being used to the tight synchronicity obtained with the *rythmo* band technique, French audiences are expecting the new voice-track to fit perfectly the lip and body movements and pauses of the on-screen actors, while Italian audiences are more tolerant of a synchronisation that would be less precise (Chion 2005: 57). Chaume also compares Spanish and

Italian audiences, stating that a highly precise synchronisation is expected in the former whereas the latter is more flexible on that matter.[106] He concludes that "the degree of perfection in the application of the various synchronisation types depends on the norms of each target culture, the viewer's expectations, the tradition in the use of the different synchronisation types and the audiovisual genre in question, etc." (2004c: 47).

3.4.2. Subtitling: when less is more

The other main type of AV translation – subtitling – "consists of presenting a written text, generally on the lower part of the screen, that endeavours to recount the original dialogue of the speakers, as well as the discursive elements that appear in the image [...] and the information that is contained on the soundtrack [...]" (Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007: 8). Subtitles, which are "written to be read as if heard" (Gregory 1967: 193), also need to be synchronised, that is to say, they have to respect isochrony and kinesic synchrony if they want to maintain the 'contract of illusion'. The fact that the target audience has access to the original voice-track makes that contract all the more fragile. Indeed, Gottlieb (1994: 268) explains that:

> The feedback-effect from the original – whether that consists of recognizable words, prosodic features, gestures, or

[106] I suspect that the Italian cinematographic tradition of recording the voice-track apart, even in domestic productions (Bertz 2001: 6; see also Le Nouvel 2007), has something to do with this attitude of Italian audience towards synchronisation. Furthermore, it might be because the Italian audience is more concerned with the acting performance than the lip synchronisation.

background visuals – may be so strong that […] the friction between original and subtitle causes noise, and the illusion of the translation as the alter ego of the original is broken.

For that same reason, Díaz Cintas (1997: 43) termed this type of AV translation ‘vulnerable’. If the viewers master or understand the source language (SL) sufficiently, they might compare the source voice-track to the target culture subtitles which summarised the dialogues considerably. These have to be very concise for viewers can only read a certain amount of words per minute, and “speech delivery rate is much higher than the average viewer’s reading speed” (Pérez Gonzalez 2013: 4). According to Netflix guidelines, the average adult reads 200 words per minute (17 characters per second) and the average child, 160 words per minute (13 characters per second). To guarantee that the audience can easily read the subtitles, there is a maximum of characters and lines allowed.[107] The subtitler also has to respect conventions of segmentation, number of lines, turn-taking in dialogues, change of shots, use of colours and punctuation.

As for linguistic variation, subtitles are usually less likely to display non-standard features compared to dubbing, because they are subordinated to ‘space and time limitations’ (Díaz Cintas 2005: 11). Translators have to convey the essence of the source text under these strict limitations. Furthermore, this branch of AV translation has been known to be more conservative than dubbing, and as Carrera Fernández (2014: 130) explains, subtitlers tend to leave out

[107] Between 37 to 40 characters per line, for a maximum of two lines.

non-standard features of speech. Díaz Cintas (2003: 245) confirms that one of the prevailing attitudes in subtitling is “linguistic conservatism, the fear of taking risks with ingenious solutions, which manifests itself in a standard and somewhat aseptic register”.[108] However, there have been recent efforts to produce more creative and innovative subtitles, which Pérez-González refers to as ‘transformative’ or ‘transformational’ subtitling practices[109] (2013, 2014). It can be observed in SDH (Díaz Cintas 2005: 15), authorial titles ‘without a translational function’ (Pérez- González 2013: 13), amateur subtitling (2012, 2013) and – from my own (limited) experience – at film festivals. Occasionally, multilingual subtitled films surprise their viewers with innovative subtitling solutions. It was the case of the subtitled UK version of *The Concert* (Radu Mihăileanu, 2009). De Bonis (2015: 64-65), who analysed the France, Italy, Romany and Belgium co-production, discovered that instances of broken French spoken by the Russian protagonists had been rendered in the subtitles with drawbacks and occurrences of broken English. Another example of innovative subtitling can be found in the theatrical version of the South Korean film *The Handmaiden* (Chan-wook Park, 2016). Subtitles were colour-coded, depending on whether the characters spoke Korean or Japanese.

[108] My translation.
[109] Pérez-González states that the subtitles’ importance should lie in “their transformational impact on the viewers’ spectatorial experience” (2014, online) and “their affective contribution to the materiality of audiovisual texts” (2012: 348) rather than in their “referentiality or degree of correspondence with pre-existent meaning or communicative intentions” (ibid.).

In our ‘digital era’ where new technologies facilitate the diffusion of AV texts, there is a higher demand for subtitles. However, it comes along with a “sharp decline [in quality standards]” (Díaz Cintas 2005: 5). He points out that unrealistic deadlines, a lack of experience and *savoir-faire* of some of the “new players in the field” (ibid.), low remuneration and flawed guidelines (if there are any) have been affecting the process of subtitling. Fortunately, this boom in the subtitling industry also means there have been efforts to innovate and change the established conventions. There is always a learning curve for professionals working in new conditions, and practices are evolving rapidly, which makes Díaz Cintas conclude on a positive note that “we are living a period characterised by extraordinary dynamism and creative activity in the world of subtitling in general” (ibid., 14).

Despite these promising changes, the subtitles of *Death Proof* (2007) are likely to display a limited amount of linguistic variation; firstly, because of the limitations mentioned earlier and secondly, because the film was translated over ten years-ago. Ultimately, the observation of how linguistic variation could be rendered in the French and Spanish subtitles falls beyond the scope of this thesis and consequently, they will not be analysed.

3.4.3. To dub or not to dub: that is the question

Whether an AV source text is dubbed or subtitled into a target language (TL) depends on socio-cultural and economic factors, as well as the intended audience and the channel of diffusion. Both methods offer advantages and disadvantages:

subtitling is a cheaper and quicker process while offering a more immersive experience to the viewers, whereas dubbing is better suited to broader demographics (including children and older audience) and is less likely to be rejected by some audiences who are "resistant to subtitling because it splits the attention between the visual image and the text at the bottom" (Hodson 2014: 63). Nonetheless, the choice between subtitling and dubbing is ultimately a matter of preference and above all else, habit.

Traditionally, countries have been divided between dubbing, subtitling and voice-over countries. Eastern-European countries tend to use voice-over, Western-European countries (except Portugal and Greece) usually dub foreign films, while Great Britain and Nordic countries prefer subtitling. In North America (except Quebec), films are usually screened with subtitles, whereas in South America (aside from Mexico) AV texts tend to be dubbed (Chaume 2012). The target audience's level of literacy, linguistic chauvinism (Chaume 2013: 288) and government's reluctance to expose its audience to foreign material – or its inclination to censor (Scandura 2004) – are factors which considerably influence the choice of a national mode of audiovisual translation. Furthermore, since dubbing is much more expensive than the other audiovisual translation modalities,[110] it tends to be used in wealthier countries. However, traditions have been evolving rapidly in recent years, and as Chaume (2013) points out "the audiovisual translation map is no

[110] In Canada, it can cost over $70.000 to dub a film (von Flotow 2010: 30); while in France, between €34.900 and €50.000 is spent to record a dubbed version (Le Nouvel 2007: 14). In France, according to Ian Burley, president of ATAA (*Association des traducteurs et adaptateurs de l'audiovisuel*), it costs between €1200 and €6750 to subtitle a film.

longer drawn in black and white terms. The simple classification of countries into dubbers and subtitlers [...] no longer reflects today's more complicated audiovisual reality. The borders between the modes are now too blurred [...]" (ibid., 120).

As children are slower readers (if they have learned at all), films intended for them are commonly dubbed. Author cinema, often screened in art houses or at film festivals, is meant for specific audiences which usually prefer subtitles over dubbing (Carrera Fernández 2014: 377). We also saw that genres influenced the translation modality: voice-over is common for documentaries while fiction films are either subtitled or dubbed (ibid.). The channel of diffusion is also a factor: films broadcast on television are usually dubbed, whereas DVDs tend to include various subtitles tracks[111] (Díaz Cintas 2005: 3). It is a profitable solution to offer a single product to a broader audience. As for streaming platforms, such as Netflix and Filmin, they offer both subtitles and dubbed versions to the viewers.

Ultimately, the choice between these two translation modes is a question of habit. Human beings are creatures of habit (Noë 2009: 99) and since this also applies to audiovisual preferences, so are viewers (Ivarsson 1992: 66). Audiences of a particular culture will acquire preferences and patterns, based notably on the availability of an AV translation mode where they live and the socio-cultural group they belong to. If a viewer grows up in a country where dubbing is prevalent, chances are he/she might prefer this mode over the others. As Danan (1991: 607) observes, "people

[111] Dubbed versions of films are also commercialised on DVD.

seem to prefer whatever method they were originally exposed to and have resultantly grown accustomed to". However, habits are not passive and unalterable. As Kilpinen explains (2012: 46); we can reflect upon them, and so, habits might change with time to better suit our needs, even though "human thought and reflection need habitual action patterns as their necessary base". Consequently, the same viewer could come to enjoy subtitled films if it better suits his/her needs at a point in his/her life. Nonetheless, 'old habits die hard' as the saying goes. This is also true of audiovisual preferences. For instance, in 2017, the Portuguese television network AXN broadcast a dubbed version of the popular German series *Einstein* (2017-present), and it caused such an uproar from the Portuguese audience that the network had to broadcast the series in its original version with subtitles. The acquisition of habits also affects the preference for linguistic varieties in film. Rotondo (2016) gives the example of Spanish-speaking audiences who grew up watching Disney productions dubbed in Neutral Spanish. When Disney re-dubbed their childhood classics into Río de la Plata Spanish, they completely rejected these new versions:

> [...] being so used to neutral Spanish, these localised versions were not well accepted by the Latin American audience, and Disney has not attempted to release versions with this level of localisation ever since (ibid., 27).

However, preferences for linguistic varieties in dubbing are not only a matter of habits, as we will see later on.

3.5. The nature of dubbed filmic speech

If speech in fiction contains features that distinguish it from spontaneous speech and position it between the oral and the written medium,[112] speech in translated fiction possesses distinctive characteristics that differentiate it even more from spontaneous speech and often situate it further away from the oral medium, and consequently, closer to the written medium (Chaume 2012: 88; see also Baños Piñero & Chaume 2009). In other words, if "cinema is a factory of illusions", then "dubbing attempts to give the illusion of an illusion" (Whitman-Linsen 1992: 54-55). We saw earlier that dubbing was made under many constraints, amongst which synchronisation requirements, and dubbed filmic speech inevitably bears the mark of this audiovisual translation process.

Scholars use different terms to refer to dubbed filmic speech: dubbed or dubbing language (Pavesi 2005; Romero Fresco, 2009b; Chaume 2007), synchronian[113] (von Flotow 2009) and dubbese[114] (Myers 1973; Heiss 2004; Chaume 2004a; Pavesi 2008; Romero Fresco 2009a). All refer to "a culture-specific linguistic and stylistic model for dubbed texts which has been named by some authors as a third norm, being similar, but not equal, to real oral

[112] Considering it is a polysemiotic text scripted by writers, characterised by a double level of communication and different functions, that is meant to give the audience an impression of authenticity despite all its constraints. (Rossi 2011: 24-25)

[113] Used for Quebec and France dubbed filmic speech.

[114] Dubbese often have a negative connotation since scholars use it "to refer to translational (frequently unidiomatic and unnatural) linguistic traits" (Baños 2014a: 94). However, no negative judgement is intended on my part when using this term.

discourse and external production oral discourse”[115] (Marzà & Chaume 2009: 36). It is important to specify that sometimes, professionals of the dubbing industry employ terms that are not quite accurate to refer to the language of dubbing. In Quebec and Latin America, it is common to hear AVT practitioners and voice talents claim that they dub ‘into International French’ and ‘into Neutral Spanish’ respectively. Both are idealised norms, often associated – but not exclusively – with audiovisual translation, not varieties of dubbed filmic speech. Even if these terms are commonly heard in the industry, it is important to choose carefully an appropriate terminology when speaking about the language of dubbing.

As we saw earlier in section 3.2., filmic speech is characterised by a double level of diegetic and extradiegetic communication (see Figure 26 below),[116] and the intervention of a translator in dubbed filmic speech adds distance between the two levels (Rossi 2011: 25). Since the author and his/her audience do not share the same language, the translator interprets the author’s message for the film-goers and allows this one-way act of communication to occur between them (as shown in Figure 27 below).[117] To interpret the author’s message at an extradiegetic level, the translator renders the two-way communication between the on-screen characters at the diegetic level.

[115] In other words, filmic speech in a domestic production.
[116] Source: Marion Trencia, illustrator.
[117] Ibid.

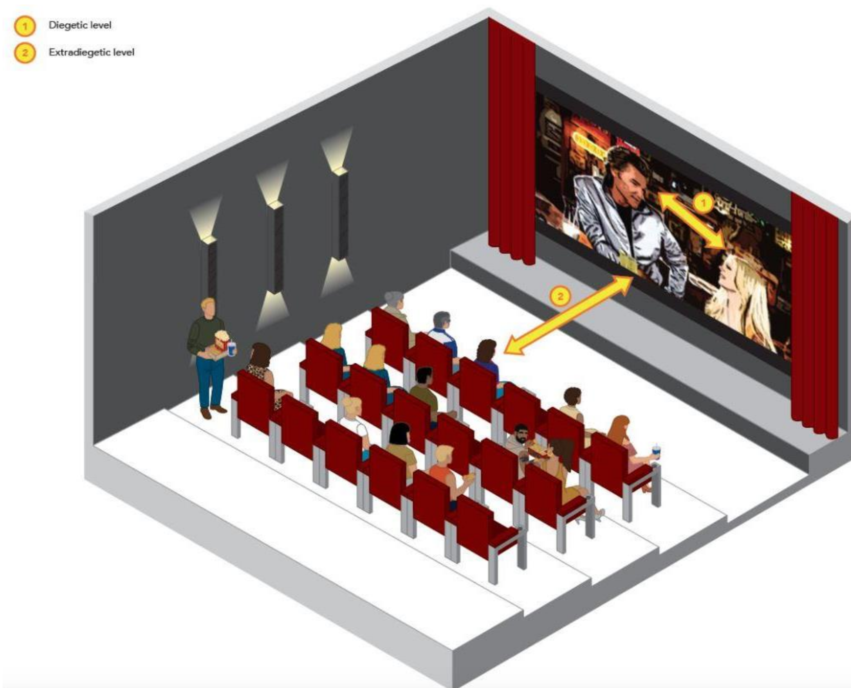

Figure 26. Levels of communication in an original film (Rossi 2011)

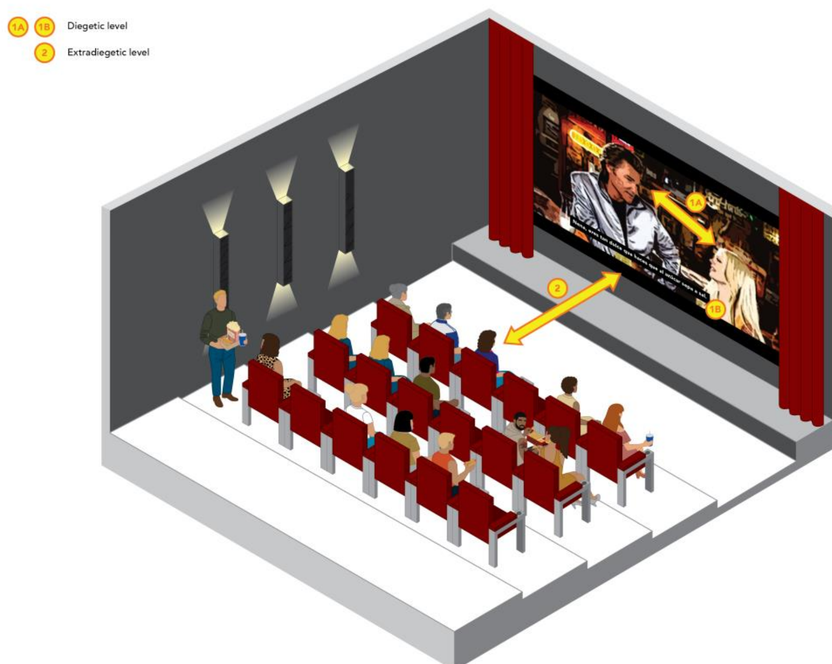

Figure 27. Levels of communication in a translated film (Rossi 2011)

Already in filmic speech, many constraints limit the simulation of orality, which is why it was described as a "straightjacketed dialogue that is intended to sound natural" (Romero-Fresco 2009b: 56). Dubbed filmic speech is further 'straightjacketed' or restricted by the additional translational constraints, above all, the three types of synchronisation at play in dubbing. Synchronisation requirements will influence the content of the source text for "the need to maintain the same length and the same pause structure as that of the original is likely to encourage a structural patterning which mirrors source texts" (Pavesi 2008: 91). Furthermore, the average number of syllables per word varies from one language to another: French has reportedly more syllables per word than English, but less than Italian (Le Nouvel 2007: 48). Hence, the exercise of the adapter to counterbalance or reduce the number of syllables in the TT will necessarily have an impact on the resulting dubbed speech and on its naturalness. Le Nouvel further points out that certain consonants and vowels are more common in words of a certain language or that they can be found more frequently in certain positions. For instance, Polish features many more labials than French, and Japanese often ends sentences on open vowels which is not the case for French (ibid.). These differences increase the level of difficulty to achieve lip synchrony and further shape the dubbed speech of the TT. Aside from synchronisation, we saw earlier that because of certain dubbing techniques, the performance of dubbing actors is often exaggerated, or on the contrary, flat, which affects the imitation of spontaneous speech (Pommier 1988; Caron 2003).

Furthermore, the translator's *savoir-faire* and skills inevitably have an impact on the resulting target text, whether audiovisual or literary. In the case of dubbed filmic speech, it is often qualified as formulaic and stereotypical (see Chaume 2004b; Pavesi 2008; Freddi 2009; Baños Piñero 2014b), since translators tend to use translational routines, that is to say, "a series of semantic and structural calques found to occur repeatedly across films" (Pavesi 2005: 48). These translational routines "save the translator's time, allowing the translator to choose from a predetermined set of options" (ibid., 12), which is understandable considering that dubbing is achieved within a very limited time frame and budget. Translational routines also simplify the audience's cinematic experience since they "reduce the viewers' comprehension effort by offering them highly repetitive and predictable language" (ibid.). Pavesi (1996) points out that these routines are not typical of the source or target language, but that they belong to the TL dubbese instead.

The source text can also produce some interference[118] during the translation process, especially if the translator is not careful with what Toury (1995) calls 'negative transfer', in other words, if he includes "source text induced features which result in the introduction of traits that are not natural or idiomatic in the target language" (Baños Piñero 2014a: 87). Such source text induced features can take the form of unnatural pronunciations, Anglicisms

[118] For Toury (1995), it is a law of translation that **interference** occurs when "phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text" (ibid., 275).

or unidiomatic vocatives, deictics, intensifiers, discourse markers, hesitation markers, interpersonal markers and interjections (ibid).[119]

Herbst (1997: 304) noticed that dubbed filmic speech is characterised by a deficient cohesion, formal lexical and grammatical elements (shifts in register), and Anglicisms, which he attributes to a fragmented approach to translation. Indeed, because of synchronisation requirements, the source text is often translated sentence by sentence (see also Pavesi 2005; Pérez-González 2007; Baños 2014b). According to the scholar, these (avoidable) shortcomings are due to the fact that the source "text never seems to be considered as a textual whole" (Herbst 1997: 305). This fragmentation of the translation and the lack of a global vision in the treatment of the source text are exacerbated by the involvement of many professionals throughout the dubbing process, not all of whom master the source and target languages. Ultimately, Herbst believes that dubbed filmic speech would benefit greatly from a pragmatic approach "in which the sense of a scene [...] and the naturalness and appropriateness of the translated dialogue – together with central requirements of sync – are rated quite highly within the equivalence criteria" (ibid.).

Shifts in the register – mostly neutralisation and standardisation – are not only caused by the compartmentalisation of audiovisual translation: it is common for distribution companies to demand that certain words or expressions be omitted or

[119] As shown by Baños 2014b (unnatural pronunciations, vocatives, deictics), Romero Fresco 2007 (hesitation markers) and 2009a (intensifiers and discourse markers), Baumgarten 2005 (interpersonal markers), Cuenca 2006 and Matamala 2009 (interjections) and Herbst 1997; Gómez Capuz 2001; Duro 2001 (Anglicisms).

neutralised in the dubbed version. Von Flotow (2009: 97-98) reports that distribution companies provide dubbing studios with lists of prohibited taboo words and expressions. During a roundtable with dubbing professionals in Quebec City, director and actor Benoît Éthier revealed that dubbing studios in the province of Quebec often have to record a 'clean' take for the client, in addition to a register-adequate take. Most choose the clean takes, regardless of the register of the original film (CEFAN 2017). Éthier also shared his experience with a client who refused to have the word '*maudit*' ('damn') featured in films distributed by the company that she was representing because as a child, she was taught it was a bad word. Aside from personal preferences, it is possible that distribution companies advocate for the omission of coarse or taboo language because of the economic appeal that a film which is suitable for all audiences represents and ultimately, generates more profits in cinemas. In any case, the role of clients – regardless of their expertise – should not be minimised in the register shifts commonly observed in dubbed filmic speech. In other words, we can safely say that translators are not free to represent fully prefabricated orality – in fact, much less than dialogue writers or filmmakers are – since many people are supervising and altering their work. Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009: 8) confirm that "the leeway that scriptwriters and Spanish actors are allowed to mirror spontaneous conversation tends to be greater when compared to that of translators and dubbing actors". Unfortunately, shifts in register inevitably result in "losses in terms of characterisation and style [in the TT]" (Dore 2016: 133) and audiences can end up with an altered perception of

the characters and the unfolding events. Rotondo (2016) created a reception test in which clips of the film *Closer* (Mike Nicholls, 2005) were shown to Argentinian viewers, along with different subtitles that were more or less localised. He discovered that "by localising the translation and avoiding censorship, a better degree of immersion and a more accurate perception of the plot could be achieved" (ibid., 44). Otherwise, the viewers interpreted the personality of some of the on-screen characters differently and this influenced their reaction to events occurring in the film.

Register is not the only element in linguistic variation that is neutralised in dubbing: geographical and social variation tend to be eliminated as there is no dialectal equivalence (Hatim & Mason 1990: 40-45) between source and target cultures. Most scholars advise translators not to substitute a source-language dialect with a target-language dialect, as they do not have the same connotations[120] or the same "ideological, political and social implications" (ibid.); hence, it would alter characters' portrayal and even the film plot. Landers (2001: 117) strongly advises translators against dialect substitution, stating that "dialect is always tied, geographically and culturally, to a milieu that doesn't exist in the target-language setting. Substitution with an 'equivalent' dialect is foredoomed to failure". Often, translators will substitute geolectal or sociolectal elements for features which are simply associated with a colloquial register (Dore 2016: 132). This is exactly what happened in the Spanish translation of the novel *Trainspotting*:

[120] Díaz-Cintas & Remaël (2007: 191) confirm that "the connotations of different target language dialects will never be the same as those of the source culture dialects they replace".

dialectal features of English Scots had been replaced with features of colloquial Spanish (Trencia 2014). However, other scholars such as Pym (2000) point out that a target-language dialect could be used if it fulfils the same function as the source-language dialect (see also Catford 1965). As an example, Pym mentions that a stereotypical version of the Andalusian dialect is often used in Spain to portray simple-minded characters and recreate the original humoristic effect.[121] For Pym, “what we are dealing with here is not the linguistic variety as such [...] but a functional representation of the variety, shorn to just a few stereotypical elements” (ibid., 70). For scholars like Pym, it might not be possible to reproduce geographical or social connotations in the target culture,[122] but the function played by the dialect in the source culture can be rendered. That is why some translators have been able to successfully convey the effect of a source-language dialect into the TT. For instance, Bill Findlay and Martin Bowman translated French Canadian plays featuring *joual* – mostly the work of playwright Michel Tremblay – into English Scots (Trencia 2014; see also Ellender 2015). When dealing with dialectal features, some translators compensate by resorting to a “creative exploitation of the target language” and fashion an “unlocalised variety of language” (Dore 2016: 133) displaying features that create a similar effect as the dialect in the SL. Ellender (2015) demonstrated how, in the French comedy

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[121] It is the case in the Peninsular Spanish version of *The Simpsons,* where hillbillies Cletus the Slack-Jawed Yokel and his wife Brandine are dubbed into the Andalusian dialect.

[122] Pym specifies that “Scottish English and French-Canadian Joual might both be working-class and nationalistic, but they are by no means equivalent” (ibid., 69).

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis (Dany Boon, 2008), translator Michael Katims rendered the effect of the *ch'ti* dialect into "a TT which draws attention to the otherness of *ch'ti* and retains the self-conscious references to this dialect which are present in the ST" (ibid., 170). The key to conveying the function of a SL dialect might reside in preserving its qualities – such as foreignness – in the target text rather than to substitute it for another TL dialect. Katims' well-received translation centred on the humoristic effect produced by a dialect is a good example that it is possible to achieve Pym's functional representation of a dialect, in this case, by making "the foreign qualities of the ST visible in the TT in order to render the latter less 'flat' or more 'textured'" (Berman 1985 in Ellender 2015: 169-170).

Conventions and norms in the source and target culture further shape dubbed filmic speech. Le Nouvel (2007: 43-44) noticed that dubbing practitioners inherit beliefs and prejudices that cause them to express themselves – through the translation – "within the limits of a social, moral and cultural code".[123] It can result in self-censorship, as dubbing professionals have in mind the audience and their clients' expectations, and sometimes they go beyond them. Within what Toury (2012[1995]) refers to as the initial norm of translation, professionals can choose to translate more or less according to the source culture conventions, in which case their translation would be deemed 'adequate' (closer to the adequacy pole), or according to target culture conventions, in which case the translation would be deemed 'acceptable' (closer to the

[123] My translation.

acceptability pole). Cultural conventions and norms encompass a wide range of aspects such as tolerance to non-standard features and linguistic variation, traditions in film genres, perception of filmic speech and prefabricated orality and cultural references. As for the latter, the translator has to decide if the audience knows enough about the source culture to maintain the reference, or if it will only hinder comprehension. In any case, “the transfer of the source text (ST) into the target language and culture is bound to undergo inescapable manipulation” at the hand of the dubbing team (Dore 2016: 124).

As a general rule, filmic speech tends to be rather standardised, and the French and Spanish linguistic communities are no different. Luyken (1991: 138) confirms that “French-speaking audiences as a whole insist on linguistically and stylistically correct dialogue” and Goris (1993) reports that French language of dubbing is usually standardised. Similarly, Spanish dubbed filmic speech is said to feature standard language (Ávila 1997: 25-26). Chaume (2012: 91) explains that this tendency to standardise might have to do with traditions in the representation of orality:

> The language of dubbing is essentially conservative and tends to stick to grammar rules of the target language, especially at the phonetic and morphological levels [...]. This can be explained by the burden of historic prejudice about language that dubbing carries: dubbing was consolidated at a time when imitating real spoken language was completely unacceptable.

Whether or not the translator adheres to conventions or goes against them for the sake of innovation, whether he maintains the original register or neutralises it, in the end he has to take into account the viewers' cinematic experience. For that, he needs to guarantee not only the suspension of disbelief but also the suspension of 'linguistic' disbelief, which Romero Fresco (2009a: 68-69) defines as "the process that allows the dubbing audience to turn a deaf ear to the possible unnaturalness of the dubbed script while enjoying the cinematic experience". Without that, there is little purpose in conveying the author's message to a disbelieving audience.

Finally, drawing on Koch & Oesterreicher's representation of linguistic variation (1985; 1990), language possesses both historical-idiomatic and universal features, which further shape dubbed filmic speech. According to Brumme (2012: 1), when rendering fictive orality and elements that possess an "indexical value" (in other words, elements evoking orality) in the TT, universal features from the source text are usually maintained in the TT, while historical-idiomatic features tend to be eliminated. Some languages share similar historical-idiomatic features that can be exploited in translation, but that is not always the case. Nonetheless, translation practitioners can resort to various elements with an indexical value to achieve fictional orality.

Nonetheless, one has to be careful with features evoking orality and immediacy that are common to more than one language as each communicative act is carried within a specific speech community where culture and society shape the communicative

conditions (Brumme 2012: 230). For instance, both French and Spanish have pronouns that are considered the polite equivalent (*vous* and *usted*) of a familiar pronoun (*tu* and *tù*). However, in French-speaking communities, it is expected of a university student to resort to the polite pronoun whenever addressing a teacher, even if they know each other well, while it will not always be the case in Spanish.

3.6. Dubbing for French-speaking audiences

Since dubbing is considerably more expensive than subtitling, there are usually a limited number of dubbed versions produced, even in the case of pluricentric languages. Gill & Longpré (2008: 12) point out that "when the same language is spoken in various countries or territories, the largest market (in terms of volume and density) tends to control most of the dubbing activities for that language".[124] Forming the second most important dubbing centre for the French language,[125]Quebec stands as an exception. France have ten times more native French-speakers than Quebec, and as we saw earlier, the Quebec French variety is far from enjoying the same cultural prestige as the Franco-French one. However, for various reasons, Quebec dubs roughly 76% of the

[124] My translation.

[125] The main centre for dubbing has always been France. During the last decade, Belgium also became a centre for dubbing, especially for series and smaller productions. Its very competitive cost – 30% less than in Quebec according to the person responsible for dubbing in Atlantis Viva Film, Louise Belleau – makes it a strong contender in the French-language dubbing industry (Parent 2007).

foreign films shown in cinemas[126] and this year, its industry had a turnover of $24M.[127]

3.6.1. Dubbing in Quebec

During the Great Darkness[128] (1944-1959), most films screened in Quebec – essentially American productions – were only available in English, and French-language films were scarce. On the one hand, not many domestic productions were made, especially after Conservative Prime Minister Maurice Duplessis, through his *Bureau de censure du cinéma* and the support of the clergy, censored National Film Board (NFB) productions and restricted their distribution in Quebec. Duplessis had accused the NFB of spreading propaganda and exhibiting 'Communist tendencies' (York 2014: 62). On the other hand, the few Franco-French versions that reached Quebec were screened between six months and one year after their original release in theatres (Gill & Longpré 2008: 9).

In the 1960s, Quebec began to dub foreign films into a variety inspired by the *norme fantasmée* of International French. Some of the dubbing practicioners hired were actually Frenchmen (Ostiguy 2017), which inevitably left its mark on Quebec dubbed filmic speech. English-language films were still predominant in movie theatres, and film distribution was not regulated until the middle of the 1970s. In order to "meet [the] long-standing demands

[126] According to the 2006 data published in the last SODEC report (Gill & Longpré 2008: 28).
[127] According to the *Culture et Communications* Ministry in Quebec (Gouvernement du Québec 2019).
[128] See section 3.1.1 for a brief overview of the Great Darkness.

from Québec cinematic groups”,[129] the National Assembly adopted the *Loi du cinéma* (“Quebec Cinema Act”) in 1975 and founded the *Institut québécois du cinéma* (IQC).[130] The Quebec Cinema Act aimed to “strengthen the Québecois presence in the industry” while the IQC was meant “to promote and support the creation, production, distribution and showing of high-quality films in Québec”.[131] Theatre owners and distribution companies were strongly opposed to the Quebec Cinema Act and even though Article 83 of the 1983’s *Loi Bacon*[132] required that distributors made available a French version (dubbed or subtitled) within 60 days after its original screening[133], it was only enforced in 1991 (Gill & Longpré 2008: 10). At first, Article 83 played in favour of the Quebec dubbing industry since American films were screened later in Europe and the Franco-French version could not be available within Article 83’s deadline. However, this head start ended in the 1990s when the American majors (film studios) began to release films simultaneously in European and North American theatres. Dubbing studios in Quebec have learned to produce versions dubbed into French in very little time, sometimes in three days, to release them at the same time as the original versions (von Flotow 2010: 31).

After the dubbing industry in Quebec went through various crises in the 1980s and 1990s, the government intervened: they

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[129] *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (online).

[130] Which later became the Société de développement des entreprises culturelles, or SODEC, in 1994.

[131] *The Canadian Encyclopedia* (online).

[132] Law 109 was introduced by Quebec Cultural Affairs Minister, Lise Bacon.

[133] This deadline was further reduced to 45 days in 1991.

started to give generous tax credits to dubbing companies[134] and to reduce the prices of exploitation visas and certificates. These measures encouraged film studios, mostly the American majors, to have their films dubbed into French in the province of Quebec, in addition to the dubbing made in France. It allowed the local dubbing industry to prosper despite its limited market,[135] with an annual growth rate of 15.3% between 1998 and 2003, and 2.1% between 2003 and 2006.[136] In 1990, Quebec dubbed 34% of the foreign films released in North America, a percentage that rose to 58% in 1998[137] and 76% in 2008.[138] In recent years, the Quebec dubbing industry has been going through yet another crisis (Therrien 2014) caused by a cut in tax credits from the provincial government and the presence of streaming platforms that are not subject to the same laws as movie theatres and television channels. Furthermore, very inexpensive French versions are now made in Spain, Italy, Morocco, Israel and Scotland (ibid.).

As for the linguistic dimension of Quebec dubbing, the SODEC published a report in 1998, known as *Rapport Lampron*, which included recommendations to protect and strengthen the industry (Gill & Longpré 2008: 11) amongst which was the choice of a linguistic variety for dubbing. According to von Flotow (2014: 68), the *Rapport Lampron* declared that “Quebec populace should

[134] Nowadays tax credits cover up to 45% of the production cost of a dubbing, according to the most recent data found on *Revenu Québec* website (2018).
[135] As we will see in the next section, a French decree prevents all non-European countries to distribute dubbed films in their territory.
[136] Gill & Longpré (2008: 54).
[137] Paquin (2000: 130).
[138] Gill & Longpré (2008: 28).

hear good French for pedagogical reasons" and thus, dubbing could be a resource for viewers to "acquire an added educational value along the way". In 1991, the *Union des Artistes du Québec* (UDA) published a report in which they claim that "French-language cinema is a must in order for immigrants to better acclimatize to the French-speaking culture of Quebec" (von Flotow 2014: 66) and consequently, the variety heard in dubbing should help them in that purpose. This purpose is somewhat at odds with Lampron's statement that the Quebec dubbing industry had a cultural *raison d'être* since "people don't accept well a [dubbed] version to which they don't identify".[139] According to Lampron, dubbing into the 'language of proximity'[140] would result in a more positive emotional response from the viewers of a specific speech community (ibid.). He supported his statement with the statistic that 72% of Quebecers preferred films dubbed in Quebec than in France (ibid.).[141] The IQC also published various reports in the 1980s and 1990s in which it highlighted the importance of the language heard in films as cultural values are transmitted through cinema (von Flotow 2014: 66). However, Lampron's idea that the language of proximity – in that case, Quebec French – is the audience's preferred option does not stand up to scrutiny. Firstly, because Quebec French is almost never heard in dubbed films, aside from the dubbed version of *The Simpsons* (Matt Groening, 1989-present), some other cartoons and exceptionally, films and series. Quebec

[139] My translation, Lampron 1998: 23.

[140] My translation of Lampron's *Langue de proximité.*

[141] A more recent poll indicates that 75% of the people asked prefered the dubbings to be made in Quebec (Prégent & Ducharme, 2017).

French is not promoted by the dubbing industry which rather advocates the International French idealised norm. While the dubbed version of *The Simpsons* has received positive reviews from the Quebec audience, the other rare dubbings that have been made into Quebec French were mostly rejected by the viewers.[142] The Quebec French version of *Ally McBeal* (David E. Kelley, 1997-2002) is an excellent example: the dubbed series failed to convince both the viewers and the media, so much so in fact that the television channel had to remove it from the air and broadcast the Franco-French dubbed version instead the following season. The reason behind that negative reaction is that while Quebecers accept to hear their variety spoken by Quebec comedians in local productions, they do not want to hear it from actors who do not belong to their speech community (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 44). Von Flotow (2014: 74) explains the reason behind this reaction:

> Although francophone Quebecers view the French language as the most important identity marker, the prevalent vernacular in use is somewhat compromising [...]. In the mouth of strangers, it is an inappropriate embarrassment. Its use is, in fact, internal: it establishes and maintains community, a sense of belonging [...]. Yet [...] the speakers of this vernacular may well devalue, or even despise it: they experience what linguist Labov has termed “linguistic insecurity.” And herein lies at least a part of the intended effect of dubbing into [...] international French [...] it spares

[142] As we will see in section 4.6.2, some American comedies were successfully dubbed into *joual* between 1977 and 1991.

> the viewers the embarrassment of listening to this private idiom in the mouth of international stars.

In the case of *The Simpsons*, Quebec French is accepted by the audience because the variety is played for laughs and the characters are not real actors. In fact, Plourde (2003), who studied the famous animated series, found out that the simple-minded and uneducated characters spoke Quebec French, while the most educated ones spoke in a variety resembling International French, which might be another telltale of linguistic insecurity. Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy (2017: 117) explain that Quebecers might not perceive the use of the Franco-French variety as legitimate in dubbing, but they certainly do not consider their own variety as legitimate either (especially when it displays non-standard features). This is why scholars who studied dubbing in Quebec tend to agree that linguistic insecurity has a significant influence on the choice of a variety for dubbing. Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy (ibid.) found that Quebecers valued positively the fact that the dubbing actors are from Quebec, which is a way for them to affirm their linguistic identity. It seems that while they appreciate the fact that the dubbing process is made entirely within their speech community, they still do not want to hear a variety they consider as illegitimate. Furthermore, while statistics indicate that Quebecers prefer dubbed films made in Quebec, one might wonder if they really are able to tell where a dubbing is actually made. Reinke & Ostiguy (2019) conducted two perception tests with which they demonstrated that it is not the case: the participants from Quebec only rightfully recognised 20% of utterances taken from dubbings made in Quebec

and 37.5% of utterances from dubbings made in France. In other words, it is easier for Quebecers to recognise Franco-French version than the version they claim to prefer and that is supposed to be made in their language of proximity. In light of this, it is difficult to agree with Lampron that Quebec audiences prefer to hear the variety that is closest to theirs in dubbed versions.

3.6.2. Quebec dubbed filmic speech: nowhere French

Ever since Quebec began to produce French dubbed versions, its translators have been claiming to use a variety they refer to as 'International French' to produce Quebec dubbed filmic speech. When the term first started to circulate, 'International French' was meant as a sort of koine to communicate within the *Francophonie*, similar to International Spanish and the Mid-Atlantic or Transatlantic accent,[143] that does not display features associated with a particular speech community. Although nowadays the term is often seen as the idealised norm on which Quebec dubbed filmic speech is based, the idea of an 'international' French was not born in the cinema industry. Already in the 1960s, the longing for an international variety of French was manifest in columns of various newspapers. It was after the Great Darkness, Quebec was opening up to the rest of the world and its intellectual elite was eager to establish international relationships with the other French-speaking countries (Bouchard 2002: 245). Intellectuals were hoping to bring

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[143] The Mid-Atlantic accent or Transatlantic accent was an acquired variety of English, mixing American English and British Received Pronunciation. It was used in the United States of America by actors, public speakers and even upper society until the end of World War II (Taylor 2013; McCabe 2016).

their variety closer to the standards of other French-speaking elites and achieve a certain linguistic unification (ibid., 249). It was also a way for Quebecers to demonstrate that the French language did not belong exclusively to French people, in other words, to reclaim it as their own. Besides, Quebecers felt that if their variety had an 'international' quality to it, it would acquire some socio-cultural prestige (ibid., 250). Hence, the term 'International French' was quickly adopted in the media, namely by the SRC who, we already know, claims to have made it its standard since 1969.[144]

In fiction and films, International French was meant as an alternative norm to Parisian French and to *joual* (von Flotow 2014: 68). As we saw in section 2.2.3, *joual* is the pejorative name given to the colloquial and socially-stigmatised register of Quebec French which is meant as a representation of the urban working-class speech. It was featured in novels, plays and domestic productions. Dubbed versions in *joual* were made, although it remains an experimental phase in Quebec cinematic history, as these versions were limited to comedies released between 1977 and 1990. The first ever *joual* dubbing was produced by Hubert Fielden, a French actor who had been working in the Quebec dubbing industry since the end of the 1960s. Fielden was asked to dub the American film *Slap Shot* (*Lancer Frappé,* in Quebec French) (George Roy Hill, 1977) and decided to resort to *joual*. Since it is a comedy about hockey (Canada's national sport), he thought *joual* would better convey the humour of the original film and assure a positive reception from the audience. In the end, his dubbing was so popular that the film

[144] See section 2.2.2. 'Norms and attitudes in the French-speaking world'.

became a cult classic in Quebec and Fielden later dubbed into *joual* another American comedy, *Caddyshack* (*À Miami Faut le Faire*) (Harold Ramis, 1980), which paved the way for other comedies to be dubbed into *joual*, such as Cheech & Chong's *Nice Dreams* (*Gelés ben dur*) (Thomas Chong, 1981) and *Polyester* (John Waters, 1981), and even the gangster film *New Jack City* (Mario Van Peebles, 1991). The issue with this last movie is that the dubbed version was made into a comedy whereas the original movie is an action film. This particular case highlights the fact that dubbings into *joual* worked mostly because colloquial Quebec French is played for laughs. The president of the National Association of Professional Dubbers, Joey Galimi, pointed out that *joual* probably would not work with other film genres (Blais 2016). In any case, *joual* dubbings ran out of fashion in the 1990s and this variety has been reserved to humoristic programs such as *Parodies sur terre*[145] and a very limited number of movies such as *Garfield* (Pete Hewitt, 2004), *Garfield: A Tail of Two Kitties* (*Garfield Pacha Royal*) (Tim Hill, 2006),[146] *Goon* (*Durs à cuire*) (Michael Dowse, 2011) as well as its sequel *Goon: Last of the Enforcers* (*Goon: le dernier des durs à cuire*) (Jay Baruchel, 2017), two sports comedies heavily inspired on *Slap Shot*. According to Marc Lamothe, co-director of the Fantasia International Film Festival in Montreal, it is not a coincidence that these *joual* dubbings were made at a time where Quebecers needed to reaffirm their identity and the independence

[145] *Parodies sur terre* was broadcast between 1993 and 1999 on the French-Canadian music channel *Musique Plus*.

[146] Both *Garfield* movies starred a famous Quebec comedian, Patrick Huard, who is not a professional dubbing actor, in the title role. Both films received mixed reviews.

movement gained momentum (Blais 2016). In recent years, *joual* dubbings have almost disappeared, and the closest thing to it that still exists is the Quebec French dubbed version of *The Simpsons*, but as we saw earlier, different rules apply to cartoon characters.

Nowadays, International French is the name given to the variety on which Quebec dubbed filmic speech is based, as promoted by the *Union des Artistes* (UDA). Most dubbing actors and directors in the province are members of the UDA and this association plays a significant role in the dubbing industry. In 1997, it supported Minister of Culture Louise Beaudoin who planned to pass a bill which would ban films dubbed in France – without success; and in 1999, it raised public awareness regarding the source of dubbed films with the *On veut s'entendre* campaign (Myles 1999).[147] In the absence of an association uniquely for audiovisual translators, such as the ones that exist in France and Spain (see also Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017), it is safe to say that the UDA has even more elbow room to impose its views. The UDA states that Quebec dubbed filmic speech should be 'correct' and close to International French as it needs to be 'delocalised' and 'neutral' enough for audiences to forget that they are watching a work of fiction and allow them to focus on the story (Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017: 116; see also Reinke, Ostiguy, Houde & Émond 2018). Dubbing professionals are to avoid a dubbed filmic speech which would inaccurately give the impression that the events are unfolding somewhere in Quebec, when in fact the story is

[147] The *On veut s'entendre ('We want to hear ourselves')* campaign was also meant as a way to prompt American majors to have their films dubbed in Quebec.

set somewhere else. In other words, invisibility of the translation is said to be an important quality for the Quebec dubbing industry.

As Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy (2017) point out, there are no explicit guidelines to create Quebec dubbed filmic speech and priorities are left to be established by the dubbing team and the clients. As a result, AV texts dubbed in Quebec can be very different from one another. However, scholars who have studied their characteristics have helped to trace an accurate portrait of Quebec dubbed filmic speech.[148] All academics tend to agree that it is very 'clean' (von Flotow 2009) and formal, as it sustains significant register neutralisation. As for the lexicon, Reinke & Ostiguy (2012) who examined Judd Apatow's romantic comedy *Knocked Up* (Judd Apatow, 2009) observe that Quebec synchronian mixes Quebecisms (including slang and youth language such as *fesser dans le tas* and *être fou raide*; ibid., 12)[149] with words or expressions more frequently heard in France (e. g. *cookie*, *casse-pieds*, *se tirer*;[150] ibid., 18) and Anglicisms, especially direct loan words and calques (e. g. *I googled -> j'ai googlé; Am I hotter -> j'suis plus hot;* ibid., 13-4). It has to be said that the original film contains a lot of coarse and vulgar language and that humour revolves mainly around sex and bodily functions, which might explain why the Quebec dubbed version displays such colloquial lexicon.

[148] Plourde 2000, 2003; Caron 2003; von Flotow 2009, 2010, 2014; Reinke 2016; Reinke & Ostiguy 2012, 2015; Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017; Reinke, Ostiguy, Houde & Émond 2018; Montgomery 2017.

[149] Which mean respectively *to kick ass, to be bat-shit crazy.*

[150] Which mean respectively *cookie, an annoying person, to beat it*.

Table 28. Standard and non-standard phonetic features in television programs and Quebec dubbed filmic speech

Phonetic level	TV programs	Dubbed filmic speech
Laxing of the high vowels in closed syllable at the end of a word; e.g.: *vite* [vɪt], *rude* [ʀʏd], *boule* [bʊl].	✔	**NO**[151]
Phonemic distinction between the four nasal vowels.	✔	✔[152]
Vowel backness: pronunciation of an open back unrounded vowel [ɑ] instead of front vowel [a] at the end of a word.	✔	**NO**[153]
Affrication of [t] and [d] when followed by close front vowels or their corresponding semivowels; e.g.: *tu dis* [tˢy dᶻi].	✔	**NO**[154]
Vowels elongation in front of the consonants [ʁ], [v], [z] and [ʒ] at the end	✔	**NO**[155]

151 Reinke & Ostiguy (2012: 16); Reinke & al. (2019: 83-84).

152 Although the non-standard pronunciation [ɑ̃] and [ẽ] – which are exclusive to Quebec French and result respectively from placing the tongue forward in the mouth and in a higher position towards the roof of the mouth – are never heard in Quebec dubbese (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 16).

153 The front unrounded vowel [a] is almost always heard in Quebec dubbing [ibid.]. It contrasts a lot with the presence of [ɑ] in television programs: Reinke (2018: 15) found it in around 49.5% of news programs and 71% of entertainment shows.

154 Reinke & Ostiguy (2012: 16); Reinke & al. (2019: 82).

155 In informal situations, these vowels can even be diphthongised. Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017 (126-7) found that vowels were only slightly elongated, and never diphthongised.

of a word, and a semantic unit.		
Informal - Reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words; e.g.: *quat'* > *quatre*.	✔	✔[156]
Informal - Deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *'il(s)'* and *'elle(s)'*.	✔	✔[157]
Informal - Long vowels are diphthongised.	✔	**NO**[158]

Phonetically, it includes non-standard features of French associated with an informal register, but only those found in both in the Quebec French and Franco-French varieties. Features exclusive to Quebec French have been left out, even the ones heard on television channels, such as the SRC (Reinke 2005), some of which are considered to be formal. Indeed, Table 28 above shows that four out of five non-standard features used exclusively in Quebec French and associated with a formal register[159] were excluded from Quebec dubbed filmic speech. The phonemic distinction between the four nasal vowels is the only feature that has been maintained even if it is exclusive to Quebec French. However, it has to be said that the

[156] Reinke & Ostiguy (2012: 16). However, Reinke (2018: 16) found that reduction in consonant clusters at the end of words was less frequent than deletion of the /l/ in personal pronouns.
[157] However, the non-standard variable *a' part -> elle part*, which is exclusive to Quebec French, is not featured in these dubbese (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 16).
[158] And long vowels are only slightly elongated, which is usually common in formal Quebec French (Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017: 126-127).
[159] Non-standard features associated with a formal register (in grey) and informal register (in orange).

pronunciation of the phoneme [œ̃] is not non-standard. However, it tends to disappear in the Franco-French variety, where it is pronounced [ɛ̃] instead. Nevertheless, the pronunciation [ã] and [ẽ], Quebec French variants of the nasal vowels [ɑ̃] and [ɛ̃], are never heard in Quebec dubbed filmic speech. The fact that dubbing actors who attend the *Conservatoire de musique et d'art dramatique du Québec* receive special training to achieve the so-called 'International French' pronunciation probably contributes to this significant gap between phonetic features in Quebec dubbed filmic speech and the ones in natural discourse (CEFAN 2017).

On a morphosyntactic level, the *futur simple* tense is used more frequently in Quebec dubbed filmic speech than the *futur proche* (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 17), even though in real life the latter is more commonly heard in affirmative sentences, even from 'cultivated speakers' (Bigot 2010: 20, 2011). In natural discourse, *futur simple* is reserved for written French and affirmatives sentences with hypothetical future situations (Blondeau 2006). Quebec dubbed filmic speech also features the negative particle *ne* (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 17) even though it is usually omitted in spoken French, except in formal contexts.[160] Nevertheless, Reinke (2018: 16) found that the *ne* was omitted in entertainment programs as much as informal scenes in dubbed films, in around 70% of cases. The polite pronoun *vous* is featured fewer times in Quebec dubbed versions than in the Franco-French ones (Reinke & Ostiguy

[160] Berit Hansen & Malderez (2004: 16), and Sankoff & Vincent (1977) have shown respectively that in informal contexts, the negative particle is omitted around 91.8% of the time in France (corpora Hansen 1989-1993, and Malderez 1992-93), and 96% of the time in Quebec (in Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 17).

2012: 14), a feature which mirrors the real-life use of this polite pronoun (Vincent 2001; Peeters 2004). Another aspect of dubbed filmic speech that has been studied is cultural references: North American cultural references are frequently maintained (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 12). Finally, as for translation strategies, Quebec professionals tend to resort to literal translation (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 11).

3.6.3. Dubbing in France

In the early years of cinema, synchronisation was not much of a concern for filmmakers as they produced silent films.[161] It was during that era however that the *rythmo* band was invented, not for lip synchrony, but for live musical scoring: German musician and composer Paul Hindemith was the first one to use in the early 1920s to perform the score of an animated movie called *Felix au Cirque* shown at the Baden-Baden Film Festival (Le Nouvel 2007: 3). It was only a matter of time before 'talkies'[162] replaced silent films, which prompted filmmakers to have their work dubbed and subtitled to ensure that worldwide audiences could see it. Otherwise, they would shoot multiple-language versions of the same film, that is to say, the same movie would be made in various languages,[163] sometimes with the same cast if the actors were

[161] In the silent film era, synchronisation mostly consisted of making the subtitles of intertitles appear at the right moment in the film.
[162] The name given to "a motion picture with a synchronised soundtrack" (Merriam-Webster). The first one to be made was an American musical called *The Jazz Singer* (Alan Crosland, 1927).
[163] Danan (1991: 607) explains that studios were built in Joinville (France) to produce these multiple-language versions, where "sometimes as many as fifteen versions of a film were made".

famous and could master the dialogues in another language. Understandably, this technique was not the most effective; it was even 'boycotted by the public in France' (Danan 1991: 607) and thus, disappeared in the 1940s. Meanwhile, dubbing grew in popularity: the facilities in Joinville were repurposed for dubbing, (Robinson 1973: 174) and new studios were founded. Erich Paul Radzac imported Hindemith's *rythmo* band technique to France, where it is still used today. During the Second World War, France fell under Nazi occupation, and its cinematic industry was inevitably affected. It was subjected to regulations and decrees, a situation which continued long after the Vichy government fell in 1945 (Le Nouvel 2007: 7). Following the Liberation of France, the Republic adopted a decree[164] to strengthen its industry, which stipulated that any French-language version shown in France had to be dubbed entirely within the country. In 1996, Decree #96-776 was altered to allow other European Union countries to dub films that would later be distributed in France (Paquin 2000: 127-8). Although this protectionist measure was meant to stimulate France's industry and protect it from the Hollywoodian cinematic empire (Le Nouvel 2007: 7)[165], it also prevents Quebec from distributing its dubbed versions within Europe (aside from versions of English Canadian films). The decree inevitably affects the dubbing industry in Quebec, especially since its own market is not protected by any

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[164] This decree was passed in 1949 and reinforced in 1961 (von Flotow 2010: 31). In 1996, the decree was modified to take into account the position of France within the European Union.

[165] France also established an import quota on American films (Danan 1991: 608) which favoured domestic productions. In fact, between 1952 and 1966, half the box offices grosses in France came from local productions (Gruback 1969: 27).

decree and Franco-French versions can be distributed freely. Interestingly, Danan (1991: 607) points out that films dubbed into Franco-French are not usually screened in other French-speaking countries in Europe, such as Belgium and Switzerland, as their "standardised French versions" are not well-received by those neighbouring countries' audiences, who also tend to prefer subtitled versions.

Renouard (1999) explains that until the 1980s, only a dozen Parisian dubbing studios were handling the production of French-language versions. Yet, with the appearance of the VHS and cable television, that number grew exponentially. Nowadays, the French dubbing industry represents around €150M and its studios dub 80% of the foreign films screened in France (Le Nouvel 2007: 8). Dubbing schedules are tight,[166] yet not as tight as in Quebec, where – following a 'day-and-date' release strategy – the original and dubbed versions come out in theatres simultaneously, and the dubbing process often has to be done at the same time as the montage (ibid., 10). Another difference with the Quebec dubbing industry is that since 2006, French audiovisual translators and adapters are represented by the ATAA (*Association des traducteurs et adaptateurs de l'audiovisuel*). This association is very active in the AVT field and organises an award ceremony each year to honour the work of its 250 members. It is worth mentioning that to submit a translation for an ATAA prize it has to be signed by the translator to be eligible. The ATAA jury usually publishes an explanation for its choice of winning audiovisual translations,

[166] In France, a dubbing team has around 3 to 5 weeks to dub a film (ibid., 14).

something that gives us a better insight into the translation ideals of French AVT professionals. I gathered from these justifications that for ATAA, it is important that translators respect the register and the spirit of the source text. In the case of dubbed films, aside from synchronisation, the naturalness and the fluency of the dialogues are highly valued, in addition to the quality of language (ATLF 2016). The importance of maintaining the source-text register is also highlighted by Le Nouvel (2007: 48-9). The idiolect of a character plays an essential part in his/her portrayal, and the dubbed filmic speech needs to convey that linguistic variation if the audience are to find these protagonists credible. In real life, not everyone speaks in the same way all the time, and dubbed fiction featuring variation is likely to be considered more believable. Le Nouvel also states that a good dubbing practitioner knows how to disappear behind his translation. Hence, we can assume that the invisibility of the translation is also fundamental for French AV translators (ibid.).

3.6.4. French dubbed filmic speech

Although scholars have shown interest in Franco-French dubbings (Luyken 1991; Goris 1993), it seems that the focus is on translation strategies rather than the distinctive features of the Franco-French dubbed filmic speech. Urbain (2014) studied the translation of vocatives, or terms of address, in *The Wire* (David Simon, 2002-2008). She noted that most rude vocatives (such as the highly pejorative and discriminative *nigger*) had been toned down to informal vocatives (often outdated, too) or simply omitted. Although *verlan*, a slang initially associated with French youth

living in the suburbs of Paris, is often used to translate Afro-American speech, Urbain only found one occurrence in the subtitles (*renoi* -> *noir* ('black'). Hollander (2001) examined the rendering of American cultural references in *Natural Born Killers* (Oliver Stone, 1994) and found out that, for the most part, they had been lost in translation. She hypothesises that the translator might have been unaware of most of these references, especially the ones related to pop culture. Pettit (2005) studied the translation of register in dubbing and subtitling in the films *Smoke* (Wayne Wang, 1995)*, Blue in the Face* (Paul Auster, Wayne Wang & Harvey Wang, 1995) and *The Piano* (Jane Campion, 1993). Her results show that the dubbing professionals adopted different strategies: in general, they tried to preserve the colloquial register unless it was impossible due to synchronisation constraints, in which case, they resorted to neutralisation. Ellender (2016) observed French subtitles in *Trainspotting* (Danny Boyle, 1996)*, The Angel's Share* (Ken Loach, 2012)*, Fish Tank* (Andrea Arnold, 2009) and *The Terminal* (Steven Spielberg, 2004), and she noted that overall, the informal register had been maintained, except for some vulgar language that had been omitted or neutralised. In *Fish Tank*, diastratic variation had been preserved, albeit sometimes characters' portrayal had been affected by the fact that the register had been toned down. In *The Terminal*, the 'otherness' of the main character had been successfully preserved. As for *Trainspotting,* the translator had resorted to TL-oriented strategies to translate culture-bound vocabulary (ibid., 35). Finally, in his study on African American Vernacular English in French subtitled films, Mével found that

“translators have relied on a very finite set of features to portray informality in the subtitles” (2012: 187), amongst which he identified the omission of the negative particle *ne* and the *il* in the phrase *il y a*, the elision of the *u* in the second person singular pronoun *tu* and the ‘dropping of weak sounds’ (for instance, *pauv*’ instead of *pauvre* and *p’tit* instead of *petit*). According to him, “far from pushing the boundaries of writing, the translators play with whatever little leeway the French language allows them” (ibid., 189). He also explains that since such non-standard features already exist and are codified in writing (ibid.), viewers do not have a problem understanding them. Furthermore, Mével believes that because of the French “endeavour to use the language in a way that is deemed beautiful and to safeguard its so-called purity is imbued with ideology”, France mainly resort to a domesticating approach in AVT (2012: 245-246).

We also learned about Franco-French dubbed filmic speech from the studies of Reinke & Ostiguy (2012; 2015; see also Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017; Reinke, Ostiguy, Houde & Émond 2018) who compared Quebec French and Franco-French versions. From their investigations, I gathered that Franco-French dubbed filmic speech was often adapted to the target culture and most American cultural references were modified, even in the case of some internationally known figures. In *Knocked Up* (Judd Apatow, 2009), the pop-punk band *Green Day* is simply substituted for ‘hard rock’, and cult leader and criminal Charles Manson was modified for former pope Benoît XVI (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012: 12).[167]

[167] Conversely, reference to the TV program *American Idol* was maintained.

Concerning the non-standard lexical features, French dubbing practitioners understandingly make use of slang and youth language typical of the Franco-French variety (e. g. *mec, pétard, vanner, crado;* ibid., 12).[168] Similarly to the Quebec French version, it features Anglicisms, but rather 'integrated' loanwords than calques (e. g. *sexy*; ibid., 13). On the morphosyntactic level, it usually mirrors the real-life use of future verb tenses, and as such, it features more periphrastic future forms (ibid., 17). Another true-to-life characteristic that has been preserved in the Franco-French versions is the tendency to *vouvoyer*, that is to say to use the formal pronoun *vous* to mark politeness, especially in formal context (ibid., 14). As for the negative particle *ne*, it is maintained in some cases, but usually in formal contexts (ibid., 17). Finally, on the phonetic level, Franco-French dubbed filmic speech features reduction of consonant clusters at the end of words and the deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *il(s)* and *elle(s)*, although less than in Quebec French dubbings.

3.7. Dubbing for the Spanish-speaking audiences

Danan (1991: 607) states that "smaller countries suffered from the introduction of sounds into movies" as recording sounds required substantial financial resources that most of them did not have. Conversely, the American film industry could afford these expenses, and Hollywood productions were massively imported to Canada, Latin America and European countries. In the Spanish-speaking world, opposite strategies were adopted by Mexico and

[168] Which mean respectively *dude/ man, joint, to wear out, filthy*.

Spain, which led to varying audiovisual preferences. While Mexico banned dubbed films in order to protect their national cinematographic industry, Spain banned films that were not dubbed from being screened so as to adapt the content of American films to the ideology of Franco's fascist government.

3.7.1. Dubbing in Spain

When talkies appeared on the screens of Spanish theatres, they had to be dubbed as more than half of the population was illiterate (Viñao 2009: 9). The first Spanish-language versions[169] were made in French facilities owned by Paramount (Rey Munier 2015: 6) until Spain founded its first dubbing studio in Barcelona in 1932.[170] After the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), language and culture were under the strict control of General Franco. Franco was very much in favour of the principle of 'one language for one nation', and thus, he relentlessly tried to eradicate the languages spoken in the *regiones* and to promote Castilian as the sole national language. Dubbing prevented the access to other foreign languages and only displayed the standardised national language (Danan 1991). Even though at that time Spain's national film production was less abundant than in other European countries such as Italy, Germany and France, Franco financially supported domestic productions which promoted a 'strong national identity' (Danan 1991: 610) as it was an effective tool to reach the masses and spread

[169] The first movie to be dubbed in Spanish was an American musical comedy called *Rio Rita* (1929). Its translation, into Neutral Spanish, was recorded in the Joinville-le-Pont studio (Redondo Peréz 2016: 17).
[170] Pullido 2008 (online).

his propaganda. He also aimed to prevent American ideas from entering the country and dubbing was a cunning way to achieve that, as it is a target-oriented mode of audiovisual translation where the new voice-track completely masks the original one. Eventually, Franco issued a ministerial decree in April 1941 called *Ley de la Defensa del Idioma*[171] which stipulated that "film projection in a language other than Spanish is prohibited [...] the dubbing must be done in Spanish studios that are located in national territory and by Spanish personnel".[172] Danan (ibid., 612) observes that authoritarian governments who "insisted on having one standardized national language for the sake of national unity" tended to prefer dubbing foreign films screened in their respective countries. Not only did the dubbing of American films in Spain allow Franco's regime to expose the masses to a proper phonetic model of the Peninsular Spanish variety (Vizcaíno-Casas 1976: 86), it also permitted him to alter dialogues and film plots to better suit his government's ideology. Scholars have evidenced many examples of the cinematic censorship under Franco; for instance, in *Mogambo* (John Ford, 1953), the couple formed by Grace Kelly and Donald Sinden was converted into brother and sister in order to avoid the subject of adultery. In *Casablanca* (Michael Curtiz,

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[171] This law was never released in the *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, the Official State Gazette which encloses laws, decrees and orders adopted by the government. It was, however, published in the weekly publication *Primer Plano* emitted by the members of the *Sindicato Nacional del Espectáculo* (Ávila 1997b: 14-15). Under Franco's regime, this union controlled fundings and licences for filmmakers, as well as movie content.

[172] My translation of the original decree: "Queda prohibida la proyección cinematográfica en otro idioma que no sea el español [...] El doblaje deberá realizarse en estudios españoles que radiquen en territorio nacional y por personal español."

1942), instead of fighting on the Republican side during the Spanish Civil War, Humphrey Bogart had battled against the annexation of Austria into Nazi Germany.[173] Manipulation of films content was not the only measure taken by Franco to prevent American culture from penetrating Spain. Until 1952, as American films were still massively imported to European countries (including Spain), many of them adopted protectionist measures (Danan 1991: 608). Similarly to France, Spain established import quotas on American films which were maintained still after Franco's death in 1975.

Even after Franco's ban on undubbed films became void in 1946 (Galán 2003, online) and was eventually lifted in 1955, films continued to be dubbed in Spain, as it was a very profitable industry (ibid.). In retrospective, Franco's decree undeniably promoted Spanish dubbing activities, and its industry continued to grow in the 1950s with the appearance of various television channels, which broadcast dubbed versions of foreign films (Pereira Rodríguez 2000: 9). According to the scholar, the demand for dubbed versions continued to increase during the 1980s and 1990s, and dubbing established itself as the preferred AVT mode for Spain. In 2011, 97% of films screened in Spain were dubbed versions and only 3% of original or subtitled versions, according to Spain's *Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte* (Rey Munier 2015: 8).[174] Due to that

[173] The original quote from Captain Renault is "In 1935, you ran guns to Ethiopia. In 1936, you fought in Spain, on the Loyalist side." In Spain, it was translated as "En 1935 introdujo armas en Etiopía. En 1938 luchó como pudo **contra la anexión de Austria**."

[174] These numbers do not include however films screened at film festivals in Spain. Usually, at this type of events, films are screened with subtitles. According to the *Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte*, there were around 37 annual film festivals in Spain in 2016.

acquired preference, it is not surprising that most of the Renoir movie theatres – a chain founded in 1986 in Madrid and specialised in the screening of original versions which had 40 auditoriums in 2008 (Pulido 2008) – had to close down.[175] Most Spanish language versions screened in Spain are dubbed into the Peninsular Spanish variety, with the notable exception of Disney movies from the 1970s and 1980s which were produced in Mexican or Puerto Rican studios and dubbed into Neutral Spanish. The last Disney film to be released in a unique Neutral Spanish version for all Spanish-speaking audiences was *The Little Mermaid* (Ron Clements & John Musker, 1989).[176] The following Disney movie to be released, *Beauty and the Beast* (Gary Trousdale & Kirk Wise, 1991) was dubbed into Peninsular Spanish for the European audience (Castro 1996). At first, Spanish viewers were reluctant to this change: as creatures of habit, they had always been exposed to Disney movies dubbed into Neutral Spanish. However, with time, the Spanish audience grew accustomed to the new Peninsular Spanish versions of Disney movies. Meanwhile, Neutral Spanish's popularity decreased until the point where it became received "with reticence" (Castro 1996).

In Spain, AV translators and adapters are represented by the ATRAE association (*Asociación de Traducción y Adaptación Audiovisual de España*) which was founded 2011. This association organises conferences, workshops and an annual award ceremony

[175] According to the *Instituto de Cinematografía y de las Artes Audiovisuales*, only 108 auditoriums out of the 4080 in Spain are dedicated to the screening original versions (Rey Munier 2015: 8).
[176] In 1998, *The Little Mermaid* was redubbed into Peninsular Spanish (Redondo Pérez 2016: 5).

for its roughly 280 members. For the last three editions of its awards ceremony, ATRAE has published a brief justification for each winning translation.[177] Drawing on their explanations, the Spanish jury seems to value highly the naturalness of the dialogues, the preservation of characters' idiolect and registers, the clever resolution of translation difficulties such as humour and wordplay, and the translation of cultural references. Otherwise, ATRAE's purpose is to defend the rights of the AV translators and adapters, and improve their working conditions while promoting the highest standards of quality. In Spain, AV translators often work in precarious conditions (Chaume & García de Toro 2001: 121) and under tight deadlines. Distribution companies and television channels in this country, which are known for their lack of planning, are often responsible for these impossibly tight deadlines (ibid.); most of the times, professionals will be allowed between two to five days to translate an entire film. Furthermore, dubbing is not regulated by any EU or Spanish law (except for the Royal Decree BOE-A-1994-2510, which strangely enough, makes almost no mention of the translator in its convention) (ibid., 120). Nonetheless, ATRAE is part of AVTE (AudioVisual Translators Europe) which gathers various European AVT organisations and "[works] diligently to make the profession more visible to European legislators and educating them on the importance of good audiovisual translation practices".[178] Unfortunately, unlike ATAA, ATRAE has yet to position itself in favour of the inclusion of the

[177] For subtitled films, prizes are awarded to both the translator and the reviser. In the case of dubbed films, prizes go to the translator and the adapter.
[178] AudioVisual Translators Europe (online).

translator's and the adapter's names in the credits, which Chaume & García de Toro (2001: 123) claim would contribute to improving the quality of translation by making the translators accountable for their work.

3.7.2. Peninsular Spanish dubbed filmic speech

Dubbed filmic speech in Spain has been the object of many studies, such as Chaume (2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2004c, 2007, 2012), Chaume & García de Toro (2001), Baños Piñero (2006, 2014a, 2014b), Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009), Romero Fresco (2006, 2009a, b) and Pavesi (2008: 81). Amongst these scholars, Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) identified various characteristics of Spanish dubbese from their analysis of the Spanish version of the American sitcom *Friends* (David Crane & Marta Kauffman, 1994-2004). Drawing from Chaume's model of analysis (2004a), their research allows for a comprehensive description of Spanish dubbed filmic speech as well as Spanish filmic speech, as they compared the results from the dubbed version of the American sitcom with a Spanish sitcom, *Siete Vidas* (Nacho García Velilla, 1999-2006), which has a similar plot.

Firstly, on a morphological level, Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) found grammatical inconsistencies – whether gender and number disagreement or verbal inflexion – in the Spanish sitcom while it was absent from the Peninsular Spanish dubbed filmic speech. The academics understand that these inconsistencies were added to the sitcom filmic speech to make the dialogues feel more spontaneous, as these inconsistencies do occur in real life. The

scholars noticed that similarities with ‘spontaneous spoken speech’ at this level are ‘very limited’ in the Spanish sitcom and that features of spoken language (also known as ‘carriers of orality’) are ‘practically non-existent’ in the American sitcom dubbed into Spanish. Nonetheless, Baños Piñero (2014a: 89) detected colloquial suffixes (such as *malísima* and *muchísimo*) in her analysis of Peninsular Spanish dubbese.

Table 29. Standard and non-standard phonetic and prosodic features in the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* and the Spanish version of the American sitcom *Friends*

Phonetic and prosodic levels	**Spanish sitcom**	**Dubbed sitcom**
Emphatic pronunciation	✔	✔
Marked intonation units	✔	✔
Elongation of sounds	✔	✔
Relaxed pronunciation	✔	+/-
Prosodic ambiguities and unclear pronunciation	✔	**NO**

Another level where ‘carriers of orality’ are rather limited in the dubbed filmic speech (and only ‘notable’ in the Spanish sitcom) is the phonetic and prosodic level, as shown in the Table 29 above. Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) found that, in both corpora, sounds are elongated, pronunciation is marked in order to help the audience

understand the film dialogues, and intonation is used as a cohesive marker, or in other words, to organise and articulate the ideas in a speaker's discourse. Furthermore, they observed that, unlike in informal spontaneous discourse, a clear pronunciation is favoured in both the television sitcom and the Peninsular Spanish dubbese. As for relaxed pronunciation – manifest through consonant and vowel reduction, elision, and assimilation – which is very common in spontaneous spoken Spanish, it was detected in the Spanish sitcom, but not in the dubbed sitcom. However, in a subsequent study on Spanish dubbese, Baños (2014a: 89) did detect reduction, or 'shortening processes' as she refers to them (for instance, *tranquilos* -> *tranqui, divertido* -> *diver*).[179]

[179] The phenomenon of 'truncation' which was addressed in section 2.1.4.2.

Table 30. Standard and non-standard syntactic features in the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* and the Spanish version of the American sitcom *Friends*

Syntactic level	**Spanish sitcom**	**Dubbed sitcom**
Syntactic disfluencies, including drawbacks and presence of fillers	✔	**LESS**
Marked word order (fronting and inversion)	✔	**LESS**
Ellipsis (clausal elements, prepositions and conjunctions)	✔	**LESS**
Deictic units associated with spontaneous discourse	✔	**LESS**
Use of discourse markers	✔	**LESS**
Redundancy through repetition and addition	✔	✔
Juxtaposed structures > subordinated structures (associated with written Spanish)	✔	✔
Colloquial logical connectives	**NOT KNOWN**	✔
Frequent use of possessive articles and sentences in the passive voice	**NOT KNOWN**	✔
Unusual collocations such as a term of abuse preceding an object or body part	**NOT KNOWN**	✔
Frequent use of uncommon intensifiers, discourse routines, proverbs, etc.	**NOT KNOWN**	✔

As for syntax, Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) specify that there is less difference on that level between Spanish filmic speech and dubbed filmic speech than on the morphological level: syntactic features typical of spontaneous discourse are present in both; however, they are more frequent and diverse in the Spanish sitcom than the dubbed sitcom.

Furthermore, they highlight that conjunctions are never omitted in the dubbed sitcom although it is common in spontaneous conversation. In both corpora, repetition and addition are common, and clauses are more frequently juxtaposed than coordinated or subordinated. Baños Piñero (2014a: 89) also detected dialogical drawbacks, such as hesitations and repetitions, as well as unfinished sentences, in her analysis of Spanish dubbese. Moreover, she identified colloquial connectives, such as *que* (e.g. *Que no es una tragedia griega*). Their results are shown in Table 30 above.

Romero Fresco (2009a) analysed discourse markers and intensifiers as part of his research on the naturalness of Spanish dubbese and more precisely, within the same corpora as Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009), which he later compared to the section of Spanish spontaneous speech contained in the CREA corpus from the *Real Academia Española*.[180] In the case of intensifiers, he found that *en serio* was used in a similar proportion in real-life speech (61%), filmic speech (53%) and dubbed filmic speech (58.6%). *De verdad* was a close-second in real-life (47%) and filmic speech

[180] This subsection of the CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*) counts 12 million words (Romero Fresco 2009a: 52) taken in equal parts from Spanish and Latin American sources, and dating from 1975 to 2005 (greater importance is given to the most recent sources, according to the RAE).

(39%) but was much less used in dubbed filmic speech (15%). *De veras*, which was absent from both the CREA and *Siete Vidas* corpora, was used in 26.4% in the dubbed version of *Friends.* In real life, *de veras* is mostly associated with written Spanish (93%) and occurs predominantly in Latin America (85.5%), unlike the other two intensifiers. Romero Fresco suspects that *de veras* is in fact "a vestige of the old español neutro used in the 60s" (ibid., 63), when only one dubbed version was made for the whole Spanish-speaking community. As for discourse markers, the results from CREA and the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* are comparable, with *a ver* being the most used marker (respectively 77.7% and 67.9%) followed by *vamos a ver* (22.3% and 32.1%). *Veamos* – which is mostly associated with written Spanish (88%) – is never used in either of these corpora, while it is the most used discourse marker in the dubbed filmic speech corpus (44%). The scholar believes this could be explained by the fact that *veamos* is used as a calque of the English *let's see*. In any case, Romero-Fresco's (2009a) research contribute to showing that often, syntactic features in dubbed filmic speech do not correspond to domestic filmic speech nor the spontaneous real-life speech it seeks to evocate. His results are also included in Table 30 above.

Another relevant study on the presence of English loans (or Anglicisms) in AVT dubbed into Peninsular Spanish comes from Chaume & García de Toro (2001). Within their corpus consisting of the American thriller *Pulp Fiction* (Quentin Tarantino, 1994), the academics have singled out features of Spanish dubbese which can be attributed to the influence of the English language and were

introduced, the authors believe, as a consequence of the "precarious working conditions" of AVT professionals. Indeed, they highlight repeatedly that AVT professionals translate a high volume of foreign productions while being under a lot of pressure (ibid., 121). Such Anglicisms are visible on a (morpho-)syntactic level where they detected frequency calques, absolute calques and phrasal calques. In the first category (*calcos de frecuencia*), they found an unusual amount of sentences in the passive voice and possessive articles (ibid., 129-130); in the second category (*calcos absolutos*), they discovered unusual sentences structures (for instance, the question "About what?", in response to the statement "I just been sittin' here thinkin'", was translated for *¿Sobre qué?* instead of the more natural-sounding *¿En qué?*) (ibid., 130); and finally, in the latter category (*calcos de régimen*), they noted unusual collocations such as a term of abuse preceding an object or body part (for example, *Deberíamos ser* <u>*jodidos fiambres*</u> for "We should be <u>fucking dead</u>") (ibid., 130). The scholars point out that in Spanish, speakers will rather use offensive or vulgar interjections (*joder, hostia*) at the end of their sentences. The academics also identified traits of pragmatic interference, which they define as "syntactic constructions and phraseological elements [...] that can determine the logical organisation of a text".[181] It is visible through uncommon discourse routines (*Olvídalo* instead of *Déjalo* or *Da igual* for "Forget it!"), set expressions, proverbs and intensifiers (*condenadamente bueno* or *condenadamente bien* instead of *una pasada* or *un pasote* as a translation for *serious gourmet shit* and

[181] My translation; ibid., 131.

fuckin' good), to name a few (ibid., 131-132). Chaume Varela & García de Toro's results complete Table 30 above.

Table 31. Standard and non-standard semantic and lexical features in the Spanish sitcom *Siete Vidas* and the Spanish version of the American sitcom *Friends*

Semantic and lexical levels	**Spanish sitcom**	**Dubbed sitcom**
Colloquial language	✔	✔
Expressive and creative lexical features	✔	✔
Argot and youth lingo	✔	✔
Simple, unspecialised vocabulary	✔	✔
Loan words	✔	**LESS**
Swear words (offensive language)	✔	**LESS**
Word-creation procedures	**LESS**	✔

Finally, it is while analysing the lexicon and semantic level that Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) found the most resemblance between their corpora, as can be seen from Table 31. Although non-standard features are more frequent in the Spanish sitcom,[182] both corpora featured colloquial words and expressions, slang and youth language. They also displayed lexical features, such as metaphors, word plays and clichés that are meant to add expressiveness and

[182] Which is to be expected for, as Ávila (1997: 25) pointed out, AVT tend to feature more standardised language because of the norms influencing the translation process.

lexical creativity. Regarding differences, the scholars found that the dubbed sitcom contained fewer loan words and offensive language, but it displayed more word-creation procedures, such as shortening words and using prefixes.

Chaume & García de Toro (2001) also noticed that the English language left its mark on the semantic and lexical level in Spanish dubbese as they identified various semantic loan words (also known as false friends); for instance, the use of the adjective *excitante* to translate *exciting*, when both words are different meanings (ibid., 128). They also detected lexical borrowings, whether taken integrally from the source language (direct loanwords, e.g., steak →steak) or adapted to the morphology of the target language (e.g., *chutarse* →to shoot up/ to inject oneself with a drug) (ibid.).

Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009) conclude their research by stating that carriers of orality – which we know are meant to evoke spontaneous speech – are found mostly on the lexical-semantic and syntactic levels. They also acknowledge that "domestic audiovisual texts bear more resemblance to spontaneous conversations than dubbed texts", which they hypothesise is due to the fact that scriptwriters enjoy more freedom than AV translators.

Chaume (2012: 88) confirms these findings as he remarks that features at the prosodic-phonetic and morphological levels tend to correspond to a more formal register than at the syntactic and lexical levels, where features belong to a more colloquial register.

Baños Piñero (2014b: 85) further studied Spanish dubbese which allowed her to confirm her previous results. She asserts that

"the intersection between natural conversation and prefabricated discourse reaches its peak at the lexical-semantic level, is remarkable at the syntactic level, less significant at the phonetic-prosodic, and minor at the morphological level" (ibid., 85). However, she noticed that all levels of language in Spanish dubbese tended to show signs of standardisation and neutralisation (2014a: 86), a practice which we know is common in AV texts of any language (Ávila 1997; Goris 1993; Chaume 2004a; Baños Piñero 2014b). Baños Piñero explains that standardisation of dubbed filmic speech has an inevitable impact of the translated AVT, which can range from 'geographical underdifferentiation' of the on-screen characters (2014b: 86; see also Pavesi 2008: 81, and Romero Fresco 2009a: 51) to unjustified 'register shift' (see also Romero Fresco 2006). Other 'trends' in AV translation, more specifically in dubbing, include explicitation, normalisation, levelling out, simplification and source-text interference (ibid., 85). Many of these techniques result in an 'attenuation' of the impact of the language in the source text on the target audience (García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2013: 141).

3.7.3. Dubbing in Latin America

If the first movie to be dubbed into Spanish was completed in 1929 in a French studio and the first Spanish studio opened in 1932, Latin America had to wait until the following decade to see its AVT industry blossom. However, the effect of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) that led to General Francisco Franco's

dictatorship between 1939 and 1975[183] combined with the fact that most Spanish speakers lived in the Americas at that point resulted in the centre of AVT activities shifting from Spain to the Americas (Rotondo 2016: 9). In 1944, Mexican actors were hired to dub into Spanish MGM productions in their New York City studio (Guevara 2013) before the first Latin American studio, Ribatón de America, was founded in Mexico. Scholars pointed out that, at that time, the influence of Mexico was very perceptible in Latin American dubbed filmic speech (Guevara 2013; Rotondo 2016). Nonetheless, soon enough, other studios opened in Miami, Puerto Rico and Cuba, and the need for an AV translation devoid of a specific geolectal influence arose within the Latin American market.

Initially, because domestic productions were scarce compared to the ones imported from the United States, dubbing was received negatively by some countries. Mexico and Argentina went as far as to ban dubbed films from being screened all through the 1940s (Bravo García 2008), with the exception of movies intended for children. It might explain why Disney – which had also turned to Mexico to carry out the dubbing into Spanish of its films (Iglesias Gómez 2009: 48) – played such an essential role in the beginnings of the Latin American language of dubbing, a filmic supra-variety based on an idealised norm known as 'Neutral Spanish'. Neutral Spanish was considerably promoted through Disney movies, thanks to its Mexican dubbing director, Edmundo Santos, who worked for the studio between 1943 and 1977 (Redondo Pérez 2016: 38).

[183] During which, as we already know, there was a ban on films dubbed outside of Spain and an importation quota on foreign films (see Section 4.7).

Santos acknowledged that if the studio had enough financial resources for only one Spanish-dubbed version, it had to be done into a variety that was understood by all of the Spanish-speaking community. His work and the success of the Neutral Spanish versions of Disney films paved the way for the hegemony of this dubbed filmic variety in the Americas (ibid.). At the beginning of the 21st century, despite the popularity of Neutral Spanish versions in Latin America, Disney continued to innovate and started to produce various dubbed versions that were more 'localised' for the Latin American market (Rotondo 2016: 26). For instance, in addition to the Neutral Spanish version, the animation film *The Incredibles* (Brad Bird, 2004) was also dubbed into Rioplatense Spanish. Although these 'localised' versions were not as well-accepted by the audience, Disney went on to introduce different geolects in its production, notably in the live-action series *Jungle Nest* (Diego Suárez, 2016) broadcast on the Disney Channel and Disney XD (ibid., 27).

When the Mexican and Argentinian bans were lifted, it allowed for more Neutral Spanish versions of American productions to be made; notably American television series such as *I Love Lucy* (William Asher, James V. Kern, Ralph Levy & Marc Daniels, 1951-1957) and *Bonanza* (David Dortort, 1959-1973), which were broadcasted on public television channels (Guevara 2013). Latin American television companies soon realised, similarly to Disney, that Spanish-dubbed versions meant larger audience and higher income. In order to appeal to a wider-range of viewers across Latin America, they came to the conclusion that they had to offer a

‘neutral’ version of the Spanish language which could not be associated with any country in particular (Gómez Font 2001; Miquel Cortés 2004; Bravo García 2008; Guevara 2013; Rotondo 2016). It was meant to avoid, amongst others, a ‘cultural discount’ effect on viewers, which Hoskins & McFadyen (1991) explain, happens when:

> [...] a particular program (or feature film) rooted in one culture, and thus attractive in that environment, will have diminished appeal elsewhere as viewers find it difficult to identify with styles, values, benefits, institutions and behaviour patterns being portrayed.

It is important to highlight the fact that most films screened in Latin American movie theatres are subtitled. According to the Peruvian AVT studio ABC Translations (Miquel Cortés 2004: 3), subtitles destined to the Latin American market usually come from Miami, while dubbing is mainly carried out in Mexico. Even though subtitles remain the favoured mode of AVT for this particular market, dubbing is made for DVD distribution, children films, public television (ibid., 2) and now, streaming platforms such as Netflix. As mentioned before, the most common ‘variety’ to be used for Latin American dubbing is Neutral Spanish and products dubbed into this filmic supra-variety are essentially distributed in the Americas. As described in section 3.7.1., Spain has its own dubbing industry with its own variety of dubbed filmic speech and AVT traditions (Cedeño 2007; García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2012). Neutral Spanish is almost never used in Spain, especially

after the release of Disney's last unique Spanish version for all Spanish-speaking audiences at the end of the 1990s.

It is very much the opposite in Argentina[184] where law n° 23.316, passed in 1986, make it mandatory for all AV products (films, television series, advertisements and so on) to be dubbed into Neutral Spanish (Petrella 1997). Petrella pointed out that, at the time, no linguist had been consulted to either draft the law or to ensure that AV products complied with it. The 1986 law was never actually enforced; however, in 2013, Presidential Decree 933 was issued to the same effect (Rotondo 2016: 25). It stated that the obligation to dub into Neutral Spanish was meant to "defend the Argentinian culture and identity, guaranteed by the activities carried out by actors and speakers who have [Argentinian] phonetic characteristics"[185]. Furthermore, Article 3 of this Decree defines Neutral Spanish as "the official language, in accordance with its common use in Argentina, but while guaranteeing its comprehension by the Latin American public."[186] As can be inferred from this basic definition of the idealised norm, an in-depth description of Neutral Spanish has yet to be provided, and its parameters are far from being ironclad (Cedeño 2007; Sinner 2010; Rotondo 2016). Nonetheless, various scholars have investigated its characteristics and have demonstrated that formality seems to be the

[184] That said, like in the rest of Latin America, Argentina remains more of a dubbing country, as Rotondo (2016: 24) confirms: "Traditionally, dubbing has been a distinctive feature of films and shows broadcast by public TV stations, whereas cable exclusive networks and cinema theatres have always opted for subtitling instead. If people wanted to access the latest films, they would only be able to do so with private networks, therefore, with subtitles."
[185] My translation of Decree 933 (online).
[186] Ibid.

key when translating into this filmic supra-variety. It has to do, amongst others, with the fact that the different geolects of the same language present more similarities at a formal register, and that colloquial language varies significantly between the various language varieties (Rotondo 2016: 42).

Furthermore, Rotondo (2016: 26) who interviewed Mara Campbell – founder of True Subtitles[187] – explains that the Language Service Providers[188] "do not even provide style guides or even guidelines to clarify how to neutralise the language, they leave all the choices to the translator unless there is a specific requirement by a client". Nonetheless, various Neutral Spanish manuals have been published, such as Guevara (2013), and training courses are offered for future translators, dubbing actors and speakers (Sinner 2010: 713; see also Duro 2001; Rotondo 2016). After consulting some of these courses and manuals, it seems that they are principally based on previous translation into Neutral Spanish and AVT traditions in Latin America. In Argentina, there is even a Neutral Accent director on set, who ensures that the dubbing actors are performing according to Neutral Spanish standards (Rotondo 2016: 24).

As far as working conditions go, Latin American AVT professionals have the same amount of time to translate films as their European counterparts, which is around three days (Petrella 1997). Petrella also pointed out that in Argentinian AV professionals often had to translate from an audio file, without the

[187] True Subtitles is a Buenos Aires-based subtitling company specialised in Neutral Spanish (www.truesubtitles.com).
[188] LSP act as intermediaries between clients and freelance translators.

film script. What is more, Petrella stated these professionals often had “little awareness and training”.[189] She claimed they depreciated the use of Rioplatense Spanish, introduced Anglicisms in the target text inadvertently, were not aware of the difference in meaning between various verb tenses and between various phrasal verbs. Finally, she said their position on whether to include offensive language was unclear, and their translation was not crafted with the objective of remaining faithful to the intentions of the source text through the observation of registers and stylistic elements, rather than semantic preciseness (see also Parks 1994). Of course, her description of the situation in Argentina dates from a few decades back, and it has undoubtedly evolved over time. For more recent data, I turned to Netflix translators who confirm that the deadline stated by Petrella is still more or less applicable nowadays: they are given 24 hours to translate 15 minutes of AV text, whether it is a series, a film or a documentary. As for offensive language, Petrella (1997) noted that Argentinian AV translators often practised censorship, a tendency that Miquel Cortés (2006) also observed in her research. Cedeño (2007) points out that in Venezuela, just like in Quebec, dubbing studios provide AV translators with a list of prohibited words as well as lexicon associated with a certain geolect, a practice which has also been recorded in Barcelona and Madrid by Sinner (2010: 173).

Many scholars report that the Latin American audience’s tolerance for offensive language is much lower than that of Spanish ones (Andión Herrero 2002; Miquel Cortés 2006; Rotondo 2016).

[189] My translation of Petrella (1997).

In general, terms referring to sexual activities, bodily functions, superstitions, profanities and politically incorrect vocabulary are considered taboo (Andión Herrero 2002: 134) and thus, are frequently censored from dubbed or subtitled foreign films (Miquel Cortés 2006: 16). According to Rosenblat (1964), this 'linguistic prudishness' comes from the Spanish women who settled in Latin America and served as a model for the then-forming speech communities: they often belonged to the higher social classes and displayed such 'prudery' towards colloquial language. Hence, the tendency to omit or attenuate offensive language in Latin American dubbing, apart from factors associated with the variability of colloquial language between geolectal varieties, could be explained by this culturally-acquired behaviour of Latin American AV translators who self-censor their target AV text because they believe the target audience will accept them better. This practice has come to be "a core part of the 'Latin American' style of translation" (Rotondo 2016: 42). Miquel Cortés (2006: 16) also agrees that the attenuation of offensive language in Neutral Spanish is based on cultural rather than linguistic differences. In the following section, I will present the various definitions given to the Neutral Spanish filmic supra-variety and summarise its key characteristics.

3.7.4. Latin American dubbed filmic speech: aiming for a neutral Spanish

Before identifying the main characteristics of Neutral Spanish, we will take a look at the different definitions given of this Latin American supra-variety and how it came to be. As we saw in

section 2.1.3., authors use an array of terms to refer to Latin American supra-varieties, and it is crucial to distinguish Neutral Spanish from International Spanish. Although both are ‘artificial koine’ (Sinner 2010: 708) which aim to find a ‘common receptive core’ (Petrella 1997: 10) between the various speech communities and transcend their respective geolectal features (Lebsanft, Mihatsch & Polzin-Haumann 2012: 14), each term belongs to distinct fields of application and serves different purposes. International Spanish is associated with the global market and international trade (Rotondo 2016: 9), media (Bravo García 2008) and marketing (Bravo García 2011: 54). This supra-variety mainly serves to fulfil a referential function. As for Neutral Spanish, it is associated with audiovisual translation (see also Torres Torres 2013). It refers to both an idealised norm and a supra-variety intended for AV texts dubbed or subtitled into Spanish, meant to be understood by the whole Spanish language community, even though they are intended to be distributed strictly in the Latin American market. In real life, there is no native speaker of Neutral Spanish (Sinner 2010: 714) since it is fabricated for translation purpose to ensure the massive distribution throughout Latin America. Translators and actors alike have to train in order to master this norm (Guevara 2013).

According to the terminology of Ramiro Valderrama (2012: 33-34), Neutral Spanish is a norm meant to be understood by a whole language community, in this case, the Spanish-speaking community, as opposed to a variety that would be spoken by a specific speech community. As such, Neutral Spanish requires a

passive rather than an active competence (ibid., 36; see also Redondo Pérez 2016: 20). Furthermore, Tejera (2003: 863) considers Neutral Spanish is an exogenous norm because it was created "outside of the natural realm of language" (in Torres Torres 2013: 218).

In Latin American, Neutral Spanish is generally not seen pejoratively and simply means "a manner of speaking which is phonetically, syntactically and semantically pure, known and accepted by all the Spanish-speaking public, free of idioms and expressions associated with an area"[190] (in Petrella 2001: 3), as it is described in the 1988 Argentinian regulation following law n° 23.316.

As for other European scholars, opinions towards Neutral Spanish are mixed. Bravo García (2008: 9) sees it as "a Hispanic standard or language model specific to certain media and professional contexts with cultural and economic implications"[191] (in Redondo Pérez 2016: 21). As for Sinner (2010: 708), he believes that "most of the times, it means an unmarked form of Spanish, a variety free from a diatopic characteristics, as if it were possible, considering that there are phonetic and syntactic aspects that are associated necessarily, in general, either to the European side, or to the American side".[192] Indeed, the use of some features such as the *seseo*, *ustedes* for the second person plural and the adverbs *acá* and *allá* might not be marked; however, they localise the speech in Latin America, as these features are never used in Spain. In any

[190] My translation.
[191] My translation.
[192] My translation.

case, most scholars agree that Neutral Spanish was invented for commercial reasons (Petrella 1997; Castro 1996; Sinner 2010; Guevara 2013; Torres Torres 2013; Rotondo 2016). Considering the high costs of dubbing, commissioning only one dubbed version for the whole Latin American market is much more profitable for distribution companies.

Some authors point out that translations based on Neutral Spanish are obtained through a method that is 'not rigorous' and that the resulting AV texts are 'uneven' (Ramiro Valderrama 2012: 37) because they depend on the experience and the abilities of each translator. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that there are no official guidelines for translators (Campbell 2016 in Rotondo 2016). Even Neutral Spanish coach and voice director Alejandro Guevara (2013) admits that with globalisation, "it all happened very quickly and the tools [to translate into Neutral Spanish] were improvised along the way with some findings and also setbacks".[193] More often than not, translations based on Neutral Spanish are obtained '*per negationem*' (Sinner 2010: 714): it has to be free from certain features associated with linguistic variation, yet the choice of features which have to be included depends on the translators and agencies (Rotondo 2016: 11). As for strategies, Guevara (2013) advises the following to the future Neutral Spanish translators: "when in doubt for the choice of words, it is best to use the most common meanings. Look for formal synonyms even if the situation

[193] My translation; original quote: "Todo esto aconteció muy rápidamente y las herramientas se fueron improvisando sobre la marcha con algunos hallazgos y también contratiempos [...]"

is informal and, possibly, use a generic one”.[194] Campbell (2017) also advises avoiding offensive language and taboo words, substituting them for euphemisms and aiming for a more formal register.[195]

However, neutralising or even omitting terms because they are not deemed ‘neutral enough’ (or not suitable for Latin American audiences, in the case of self-censorship) amounts to excluding relevant information about the sender of the message, in the case of AV translation, the characters. As mentioned earlier, the register gives information about the identity of the protagonists, their relationships and the situation of communication they are in, amongst others. Shifts in register alter the connotations in the source text considerably, as well as the portrayal of the characters.

Furthermore, neutralising the source text also amounts to neglecting the emotive function of language in dubbed movies. Emotions are essential in fiction, and their importance often seems undermined in Neutral Spanish as the primary concern for translators is finding a term which will be readily understood by millions of viewers from different speech communities. In his manual on Neutral Spanish, Guevara (2013) mentions a scene in the animated movie *The Incredibles* (Brad Bird, 2004) where the superhero family is having dinner, and the dad breaks the table during an argument: in the original version, the dad mumbles

[194] My translation; original quote: “[...] ante la duda en la elección de palabras, lo mejor será usar las acepciones más difundidas. Busque sinónimos formales incluso si la situación es informal y, eventualmente, acuda a un genérico.”
[195] However, unlike other translation professionals, Campbell (2017) do advise not to resort to Neutral Spanish when the register is relevant to the storyline, when specific words are central to the plot or if it serves to the portrayal of characters.

something about the table, and in the Peninsular Spanish version, it was translated into "maldita mesa" to emphasise that the dad is quite upset. According to Guevara, such translation "adds random information and distracts"[196] the viewers from what he considers should be the main focus, which is that this superhero family is ill-equipped for a normal life. Emotions in fiction are never superfluous, nor are they distracting from the plot. On the contrary, they help the viewers understand the storyline and the characters.

Even though there is a definite tendency to standardise and neutralise in any AV translation (Ávila 1997: 25), the systematic pruning of features that are not considered neutral results in an unbalance of the standard and non-standard features that compose dubbed filmic speech. We already know that dubbed filmic speech is a "straightjacketed dialogue that is intended to sound natural" (Romero-Fresco 2009b: 56) and to achieve such effect, it needs to maintain a balance between prefabricated elements and features which are meant to evoke a naturally-occurring conversation. If the base principle of Neutral Spanish is to remove all features associated with linguistic variation, it might not be the best-fitted norm to translate fiction and render the emotive function of language. Transmitting a message through commonly-used words in Latin America with only a straightforward meaning and associated with a formal register only has the potential to fulfil a referential function of language, as is the case of the other artificial koine: International Spanish. Rotondo (2016: 16) also believes that Neutral

[196] My translation; original quote: "[...] agrega información aleatoria y desvía el foco".

Spanish might not be a suitable norm to produce a dubbed filmic speech that transmits the emotions and connotations of the source text:

> [...] neutral Spanish can be an invaluable asset for companies that need only to convey the literal or propositional meaning of words (Baker, 2011) [...]. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the situation is different when the emotion and the expressiveness of the message is key for the finished product. In those cases it becomes necessary to convey what Baker (2011) refers to as the evoked meaning of words [...]

Drawing on Leech's seven types of meaning (1977: 42), Petrella (1997) considers that Neutral Spanish can only convey the conceptual meaning of words (as words with a unique, straightforward meaning can only equate to denotative content) and there is an inevitable loss of the associative meanings in the source AV text, which includes the connotative, affective, reflected and collocative meanings, and impart essential information about the speaker, or in this case, the characters. Petrella (1997) also believes that the thematic meaning of the message is lost in translation as "the order of words is rather fixed and does not respond to linguistic intentions, but rather to the speed of the work and the influence of the translation".[197]

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[197] My translation of the original quote: "el orden es más bien fijo y no responde a intenciones lingüísticas sino a la rapidez del trabajo y a la influencia de la traducción".

Few scholars were able to put forward a solution to this paradoxical aspect of Neutral Spanish. Nevertheless, in her brilliant doctoral research, Carrera Fernández (2014) built a detailed translectal glossary based on a corpus of three Latin American films[198] which feature a high level of linguistic variation, including a significant amount of diatopic connotations. With the help of this glossary, she achieved a translectal translation to Peninsular Spanish without losing most of the diastratic and/or diaphasic connotation: in most cases (55%), she found it was possible to do an interlectal translation; in 19% of cases, an archigeolectal translation instead of a supralectal translation (24%) or a translation towards the $standard_2$ which fails to include connotations. However, Latin America is a much vaster territory than the Spanish Peninsula, hosting very heterogeneous speech communities. Furthermore, putting these academic findings into practice represents an intricate task which might be impossible to achieve, especially considering the working conditions of translators. Although glossaries are sometimes made available to translators, they are far from taking into account the words' connotations. Furthermore, considering the tight deadlines in AVT, neutralisation and omission are often more time-efficient solutions for translators.

Even though dubbed filmic speech based on Neutral Spanish varies significatively according to each translator's skills and strategies, scholars were able to identify its main characteristics.

[198] *La vendedora de rosas* (Colombia, 1998); *Amores perros* (Mexico, 1999); and *El hijo de la novia* (Argentina, 2001).

Table 32. Standard and non-standard morphosyntactic features in Latin American dubbed filmic speech

Morphosyntactic level
1. Preference for simple tenses[199]
2. Use of the second person singular pronoun *tú*
3. Use of third person plural pronoun *ustedes* instead of the second person plural pronoun *vosotros*
4. Frequent use of diminutives (-*ito* mostly, and -*illo*) and suffixes particles
5. Preference for enclitic pronouns[200]
6. Use of the spatial adverbs *allá* and *acá*
7. Plural of the verb *haber* when the indirect object is plural
8. Calques from English[201]
A. Unusual use of:
i. interrogative adverbs e.g.: *Why do I get myself...?* ➡ *¿Cómo fui a meterme?*
ii. adverbs e.g.: *What is with her lately?* ➝ *¿Qué le pasa últimamente?*
iii. adjectives e.g.: *Qué buena está la función, ¿no?* e.g.: *Qué elegante es por aquí.* [202]

[199] *Pretérito simple* and *futuro simple* are preferred over the *pretérito perfecto compuesto* and *futuro perifrástico* (García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2010; see also Campbell 2017).
[200] Campbell (2017)
[201] Redondo Pérez (2016: 46-56)

iv. the verb *estar* (instead of *ser*)
v. superlatives e.g. *My youngest daughter* ➡ *La más pequeña de mis hijas*
vi. structures to express negation, beginning with *nada* and without *no* *Nothing happened* ➡ *Nada nos pasó*
vi. expressions with *deber* or *poder* + infinitive verb[203]
vii. the verb *creer* followed by a subjunctive verb[204]
viii. repetition of the subject without an emphatic purpose[205]
B. High frequency of:
i. interrogative adverbs e.g.: *Why do I get myself...?* ➡ *¿Cómo fui a meterme?*
ii. possessive articles
iii. the present continuous (as a translation for the progressive form in *-ing* which is often used in English)
iv. sentences in the passive voice[206]
v. adverbs ending in *-mente* (as a translation for adverbs ending in *-ly*)

On a morphosyntactic level, Redondo Pérez (2016) reports numerous calques from English which are detailed in Table 32

[202] Herrero Sendra (2014:34)
[203] See also Petrella (1997)
[204] Llorente Pinto (2006)
[205] See also Petrella (1997)
[206] See also Petrella (1997)

above. Other characteristics correspond to the common practice in Latin America, such as the use of the verb tense *pretérito simple* instead of the *pretérito perfecto compuesto*. However, the *futuro simple* is more frequent in Latin American dubbed filmic speech then the *futuro perifrástico* which is generally preferred in spoken Spanish. In fact, composed verb tenses are very scarcely used in Latin American dubbed filmic speech (Petrella 1997; Bravo García 2008; Rotondo 2016: 13). The second person singular pronoun *tú* is preferred while the second person plural *vosotros* is never used: instead, it features the pronoun *ustedes* (Petrella 1997; Sinner 2010: 712; Torres Torres 2013; Redondo Pérez 2016: 51) which is a widespread use in Latin America. Furthermore, Petrella (1997) attests that Latin American language of dubbing features many diminutives (mostly *-ito* and also, *-illo*)[207] and suffixes particles, a characteristic reflecting the actual use in Latin America. Campbell (2017) advises resorting to enclitic pronouns, although these are more typical of written Spanish and proclitic pronouns of spoken Spanish; however, I have yet to find a study that focuses on that specific characteristic. As for preference in space deixis, the spatial adverbs *acá* and *allá* (respectively, "here" and "there"), both typical of Latin American Spanish, were also identified by Redondo Pérez (2016: 47). Finally, Petrella (1997) and Llorente Pinto (2013) note that the verb *haber* is often conjugated to the plural when its indirect object is plural, which is mostly considered incorrect in Spanish.

[207] Even though professionals like Campbell (2017) recommends not to resort to diminutives because they are 'very little neutral'.

On a phonetic level, the most significant feature is the *seseo* which is widespread in Latin America (Bravo García 2008: 39-40; see also Gómez Font 2012b; Guevara 2013). Bravo García's (2008: 40) and Guevara's (2013) claim that a slight *yeísmo* is also acceptable according to the Neutral Spanish norm. It is not the case of *leísmo* which Campbell (2017) strongly advises avoiding in translations based on Neutral Spanish. Guevara (2013) mentions that Latin American language of dubbing still tends to share the phonetic features and the prosody of the formal register of Mexican Spanish, which is perceptible through a higher intonation than Peninsular Spanish (Navarro Tomás 1918). Andión Herrero (2002) even perceives an "impression of sweetness and softness in the Latin American accents" [208] (ibid., 139).

Table 33. Standard and non-standard lexical features in Latin American dubbed filmic speech

Lexical level
Frequent lexical calques, and word for word translation
Few loanwords
Preference for the Peninsular Spanish standard, and to a lesser degree, the formal Latin American standard
Neutralisation or omission of offensive language
Frequent use of euphemisms or less offensive terms

[208] My translation; original quote: "*una impresión de dulzura y suavidad en los acentos hispanoamericanos*".

On the lexical level (see Table 33 above), the Latin American version tends to stay much closer to the source text than the Peninsular Spanish ones (Campbell 2016 in Rotondo 2016) and lexical calques are frequently observed (Redondo Pérez 2016: 57-58; see also Gómez Capuz 2001). For instance, it is possible to encounter word for word translations such as the one found in *The Little Mermaid* (Ron Clements & John Musker, 1989) by Redondo Pérez (2016) where "she has a very serious problem" was translated into "*un serio problema*", and "these things do take time" became "*tomar tiempo*" (ibid., 57). Petrella (1997) noticed that there were more lexical calques in dubbed versions than in subtitles. However, the academic observed that there were few loanwords in Latin American dubbings; she only identified a few examples such as *jersey, chófer* and *ticket*. Furthermore, in her study, Petrella noticed that there was a clear preference for the "cultivated standard from Madrid" (e. g. *periódico* was chosen over *diario*, and *darse prisa* over *apurarse*)[209], and to a lesser extent, for the formal Latin American standard (with words like *bistec* and *departamento*, instead of the Peninsular Spanish *filete* and *piso*). In the professional world, Campbell (2017) advocates against resorting to any regionalisms or local idioms.

Finally, the neutralisation of offensive language might very well be the lexical feature which characterises the most Latin American dubbing (Petrella 1997; Miquel Cortés 2004; Sinner 2010; Guevara 2013; Campbell 2017). Campbell (2017) explains that taboo words – often related to sexuality, religion and bodily

[209] Meaning, respectively, 'newspaper' and 'hurry up'.

functions – are not neutral and do not add any value to the dialogue. Furthermore, they might be badly received by the audience and might be prohibited from television channels. For all these reasons, she recommends using euphemisms and formal terms instead (see also Guevara 2013). Miquel Cortés (2004: 7) reports that offensive language is more commonly neutralised or censored in dubbing from Latin American than from Spain. According to the scholar, Spanish speakers in Latin America do not resort to offensive or vulgar language in their daily communication (ibid., 8) as this would not be as well-accepted as in Spain (ibid., 16). Hence, coarse words or expressions are often neutralised or omitted by the audiovisual translator (see also Sinner 2010). Miquel Cortés (ibid., 9) believes this self-censorship is made for cultural reasons, with the target audience in mind. Gómez Capuz (2001: 60) also explains that there is a higher pragmatic interference – and consequently, more word for word translation – in the rendering of offensive language from English to Latin American Spanish, for the dominant position of the United States in America and its proximity with Latin American countries. Both Petrella (1997) and Campbell (2017) list as common euphemistic insults *bastardo, maldito, maldición, perra, rayos, demonios, diablos, cielos, cretino, canalla, sinvergüenza* and so on. As for the most common vocatives, the scholars identified *amigo, cariño* and *cielo* as possible forms of address.[210]

[210] As a translation for colloquial vocatives such as *man, dude, chap, my friend* (Campbell 2017).

3.8. Dubbing in the present and the future

DVD sales have been declining because of people turning to streaming platforms such as Hulu, Amazon and Netflix for their entertainment needs. As a consequence, these entertainment companies have started to play a crucial role in the AVT process. And unlike certain clients, Netflix has been known to collaborate with AVT professionals, scholars and associations (such as ATRAE and ATAA) to know more about their practices and elaborate their style guide (available online), which should be a further reason for Latin American and Quebec audiovisual translators to unite into a professional association.

French and Spanish professionals in the sector agree that Netflix aims to offer a product of high quality to their viewers and is willing to pay accordingly to achieve such quality.[211] Translators have to respect the style guide and before being released on the streaming platform, each AV text goes through a quality control procedure where professional make sure the translation is done according to the established standards. I would like to point out that in their Castilian and Latin American Spanish guide, Netflix states the following: "Dialogue must never be censored. Expletives should be rendered as faithfully as possible."[212] It certainly helps that streaming platforms, such as Netflix, are not subject to watershed as national broadcasters are. This could possibly mean a welcome change in AVT practices and it would be very interesting indeed to

[211] Roundtable during the CITA 5 conference organised by the association ATRAE and held in Madrid in October 2018.
[212] Netflix's *Castilian & Latin American Spanish Timed Text Style Guide* is available online (see section 7.2.).

study the evolution of register shifts in a regular dubbed version and compare it to an AV text dubbed for Netflix.

Nonetheless, as we know, viewers are creatures of habits (Ivarsson 1992: 66) and these changes would need to be introduced progressively in order not to alienate the audience. In Norway, the AVT association (NAViO) came into contact with Netflix in order to present a counter-proposal to their style guide. That counter-proposal, signed by renown Norwegian professionals, proposed standards which would better correspond to the AVT traditions in Norway so that Netflix would stream products with subtitles or dubbed films of high quality, yet that would be accepted by the audience (ATRAE 2018).

CHAPTER 4

4. Methodological considerations and introduction to Quentin Tarantino's *Death Proof*

This fourth chapter will be dedicated to the methodology adopted to meet the objectives set out for this study on linguistic variation and prefabricated orality in dubbed filmic speech. First, I will discuss the relevance of Quentin Tarantino's *Death Proof* (2007) as a case study on dubbed filmic speech (section 4.1.). Furthermore, I will provide a detailed description of the film at the centre of this research, and its versions dubbed into Franco-French, Quebec French, Latin American Spanish and Peninsular Spanish (section 4.2.). Subsequently, I will detail the steps followed throughout this research to obtain my results (section 4.3.). Finally, I will indicate which reference works were employed to adequately classify the lexical data of this research (section 4.4.).

4.1. Relevance of a case study on *Death Proof*

Filmmaker Quentin Tarantino is one of the most prominent figures in the American artistic panorama. Even though he gravitates towards the Hollywood film industry, his work is best

described as *cinéma d'auteur*. According to the film theory[213] expounded by the authors of *Cahiers du cinéma*[214], authorship in films implies authorship of both the script and the *mise en scène*. Tarantino is known to be uncompromising towards the scripts he writes and can be attributed full authorship in that aspect. Film director and critic, Glauber Rocha said about the figure of the film author that: "[...] his aesthetic is his ethic, his *mise en scène* is his politics [...] the author's politics is a liberated, anti-conformist, rebel, violent and insolent vision"[215] (quoted in Cuesta 2005: 136). It certainly suits the cinema of Tarantino which can only be described as subversive and unconventional. Furthermore, if a distinctive style or *mise en scène* is an "authorial sign" (Hayward 1996), then Tarantino certainly qualifies as a film author since his *mise en scène* is highly recognisable. Some of his aesthetical hallmarks include highly graphic violence (almost to the point where it is humoristic or parodical); fictional commercial brands (such as Red Apple cigarettes, G.O. Juice and Air O airline) and places (such as Big Kahuna Burger, Le Gamaar Cinema, Teriyaki Donut and Jack Rabbit Slim's); multiple cinematic references; extreme close-up (especially of women's feet); title cards; low angle shots; crash zooms and, 'corpse' and 'trunk' point of views. Tarantino is also known for shooting pastiche of genre films. He

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[213] Akin to the concept of *Autorenfilm* in Germany, circa 1913 (Hayward 1996). Later, American film critic Andrew Sarris coined the term *auteur theory*, to praise authorship in filmmaking.

[214] Founding members of the *Cahiers du cinéma* (1951-), which is the oldest film magazine in French, were André Bazin, Jacques Doniol-Valcroze and Joseph-Marie Lo Duca. Cult French filmmakers such as Jean-Luc Godard and François Truffaut also wrote for the emblematic publication (Wikipedia).

[215] My translation.

also frequently explores similar themes such as fate and revenge, especially in the latter case from a character or a group identified as the underdog (Holshausen 2017).

Even though Tarantino does not attempt to write realistic-sounding dialogues, he puts a lot of effort into crafting filmic speech that appears authentic[216] – which allows him to sustain the aforementioned suspension of linguistic disbelief (see section 3.5.). His entire filmography constitutes an excellent corpus to study linguistic variation, as it contains high level of diachronic (*Inglorious Bastards*, 2009; *Django Unchained*, 2013; *The Hateful Eight*, 2015), diatopic (*Death Proof*, 2007; *Inglorious Bastards*, 2009), diastratic (*Death Proof*, 2007; *Django Unchained*, 2013) and diaphasic variation (*Reservoir Dogs*, 1992; *Pulp Fiction*, 1994; *Kill Bill Volume I & Volume II,* 2003-2004; *Death Proof*, 2007; and the rest of his filmography).

I have selected *Death Proof*, Tarantino's sixth feature-length film, for my study on the basis of its strong content of diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic variation (yet without diachronic variation). It features characters from the United States of America (most concretely, Austin and Tennessee, using respectively Southern American English and Midland American English) as well as New Zealand; professionals from different fields (a radio DJ, a doctor, sheriffs, artists from the filmmaking industry, etc.); young women

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[216] Something that Tarantino has achieved according to *Variety's* film critic Todd McCarthy who writes: "Much as the driving conversation between John Travolta and Samuel L. Jackson in 'Pulp Fiction' was captivating for its heightened naturalism and specific detail, so does the girl talk here instantly mesmerize through its casual frankness and relaxed humor; so natural are the rhythms of the banter that you instantly believe the women [...] are best buds, have no secrets and constantly kid one another about their peccadilloes." (McCarthy 2007)

in their twenties and thirties and older male characters; formal and (mostly) informal settings. It is an ideal film to study not only how linguistic variation is reflected in dubbed filmic speech, but also how the elements chosen to give an illusion of orality were translated in the dubbed versions, and what is more important, in a contemporary setting, as I was mostly interested in an actual use of the language and its translation. The film itself is relatively recent, which allows for a study of current practices and norms in audiovisual translation, although as I mentioned earlier, said practices are evolving very rapidly, especially since the arrival of online streaming platforms.

The (non-standard and standard) language featured in *Death Proof* plays an essential part in the characterisation of the various protagonists and in grasping the film's narrative. The dialogues help the viewers seize the characters, and they are an instrument which allows the scriptwriter to develop their onscreen persona. In the case of Tarantino, his homage to slasher films differs from conventional slasher films, especially because all the characters, even the victims, are well-developed, something highly noticeable especially during the extensive dialogue scenes. Furthermore, the language component allows the viewers to understand the various themes of Tarantino's film, such as feminism, sisterhood, non-conformism and self-reliance.

Another aspect of Tarantino's film that is of great interest for my study is its abundance of cultural references. As I previously mentioned, before being a renowned filmmaker, Tarantino is an avid cinephile and consumer of American popular culture, a trait

that can be appreciated in almost all of his films. His movies contain an impressive amount of cultural references, inserted both in the visual and audio components of the AV text. Cultural references are of interest to study prefabricated orality, since dialogues in real-life are anchored in a specific culture, and the use of cultural references in film speech contributes to creating the illusion of real-life conversations.

Finally, another aspect which was very important at the moment of choosing a motion picture to base my study on was the availability of dubbed versions in French (one from France and the other from Quebec) and in Spanish (from Latin America and from Spain). It was an essential requirement as I aim to compare the four dubbed versions of two distinct pluricentric languages. The Latin American version[217] of *Death Proof* was produced by the Mexican dubbing studio CBAudio (Zima Entertainment) under the direction of Jesús Barrero. The Peninsular Spanish dubbed version was translated by Darryl Clarke and recorded at SoundDub studio under the direction of Albert Trifol Segarra. As for the French versions, in France, it was made by the dubbing society Alter Ego under the direction of Hervé Icovic, and in Quebec, it was made by the post-production house Cinélume under the direction of Olivier Reichenbach and adapted by Bérengère Rouard and Thibaud de Courrèges. It is worth mentioning that while all the dubbing actors are from Quebec, the AVT professionals were almost exclusively European (as mentioned in section 3.6.1., this practice of the

[217] Another version, destined to be broadcasted on television, was produced by the Mexican studio 'Made in Spanish'.

Quebec dubbing industry has been reported by Ostiguy 2017). Reichenbach was born in Tunisia and studied filmmaking in Paris before going to Quebec in 1966 where he occupied the position of artistic director at the prestigious *Théâtre du Nouveau Monde* for ten years. He now works as a director and adapter of film dubbing. As for Rouard and Thibaud, they are both natives of France and in an interview for the *Association des étudiants en traduction de l'Université de Montréal*, they attest that they did not receive any specific training before being offered a position as adapter of film dubbing (Giguère-Morin 2007). Rouard and Thibaud also affirm that, in their opinion, respecting lip movement is more important than the meaning of the original movie (ibid.). Incidentally, their statement confirm Chaume's claim (2004c: 36) that many dubbing professionals prioritise synchronisation.

4.2. A brief introduction to Tarantino's *Death Proof*

Death Proof was released in 2007 in a double bill called *Grindhouse*, alongside Robert Rodriguez's *Planet Terror.* The concept behind their collective work is made explicit from the title: the two filmmakers meant *Grindhouse* as a homage to 1970s double features screened in exploitation houses, or grindhouse, which later gave its name to a film genre. Grindhouse theatres almost exclusively showed exploitation films; that is, B-movies that "exploit" a highly specific genre film (such as western spaghetti, martial arts films, blaxploitation, slasher movies, to name a few) made with minimal budget. In the case of *Death Proof*, it falls under the category of slasher films, with a prominent influence of muscle

cars movies. Exploitation films do not follow the same set of rules as Hollywood productions since this cinema is not intended for large audiences in search of mainstream entertainment; generally, it features highly violent and sexual content (Le Pallec Marand 2011: 8). Exploitation films are often accused of being sexist and misogynistic, as women play stereotyped, underdeveloped characters, with the notable exception of the Final Girl – the girl who survives and kills the slasher in the end. Women in exploitation films are mainly featured for the viewing pleasure of the male filmgoers (ibid., 2). In the case of slasher films, "beautiful, sexually active women"[218] (Clover 1987: 192) are murdered by a male villain whose crime has an "unmistakably sexual" motive (ibid., 205). However, even though *Death Proof* bears apparent traits of the slasher film, Tarantino's work[219] deviates from it in many ways, and the filmmaker himself recognises that he fully intended it:

> I realized I couldn't do a straight slasher film, because [...] there is no other genre quite as rigid. [...] My version is going to be fucked up and disjointed, but it seemingly uses the structure of a slasher film, hopefully against you (Edwards 2007: 1).

Death Proof opens with a group of girlfriends from Texas – Jungle Julia (Sydney Poitier), Shanna (Jordan Ladd) and Arlene

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[218] Clover even talks about the victims being essentially "sexual transgressor": promiscuous teens, mistresses, and so on (ibid., 199).

[219] *Death Proof* is not Tarantino's sole homage to the grindhouse genre: his previous work, *Kill Bill Volume I* (2003) *& Volume II* (2004), featured the revenge of a retired female assassin, the Bride (Uma Thurman) and was an obvious tribute to martial arts films.

(Vanessa Ferlito) – as they share gossip and plan a night out in Austin. Before entering Güero's Taco Bar for drinks, Arlene spots a menacing black muscle car[220] driven by a mysterious man who passes slowly in front of the porch, watching her. The *mise en scène* makes it clear that the male driver is the film's slasher; however, Arlene quickly dismisses it. Later in the evening, the girls stop at the Texas Chili Parlor where they meet their friend Lanna (Monica Staggs), drink some more, smoke weed and flirt with male friends. They also run into Stuntman Mike (Kurt Russell), a veteran action body double and the driver of the black muscle car which Arlene saw earlier. At first, we are led to believe that Stuntman Mike is after all a well-meaning gentleman, for he offers a ride to Lanna's friend, Pam (Rose McGowan), who has been abandoned by her date that evening. In time, Mike reveals his real motive for following the girls to the Texas Chili Parlor and his twisted fetish, not far from the one at the centre of J.G. Ballard novel's *Crash* (1973): he experiences sexual pleasure through crashing (and killing) attractive women with this "death-proof" Chevy Nova. As Clover (1987) highlights in her analysis of slasher films, the killer is often "propelled by psychosexual fury, more particularly a male in gender distress" (ibid., 194), which seems to be the case of Stuntman Mike. Although he obtains a lap dance from a drunken Arlene, it is implied in the film that Stuntman Mike does not get to have sex

[220] A muscle car is "any of a group of American-made 2-door sports coupes with powerful engines designed for high-performance driving" (Merriam-Webster).

with the women he desires[221], and thus, reaches sexual climax through violent car crashes. Violence in the absence of sex is traditional in slasher films, and as Clover explains, "violence and sex are not concomitants but alternatives" (ibid, 196). Thus, half-way through the film, while they are on their way to a lake cabin, Julia, Arlene, Shanna and Lanna meet a sudden and gruesome fate during a violent head-on collision staged by Stuntman Mike and become the first victims of the slasher[222]. Stuntman Mike, the sole survivor of the crash, gets away with the murder, for at the moment of the accident he was sober while the foursome had consumed a wide-array of altering substances. For the second half of the film, viewers are parachuted to a new state, in Lebanon, Tennessee. Quickly, the audience is led to believe that the story is about to repeat itself as we are introduced to Stuntman Mike's new preys, three young professionals from the filmmaking industry, named Abernathy (Rosario Dawson), Kim (Tracie Thoms), and Lee (Mary Elizabeth Winstead). The girls are on their way to pick up a fourth friend, Zoë (Zoë Bell), a stuntwoman from New Zealand, at the airport. While dining out, Zoë reveals she has something special in mind for her American trip: play Ship's Mast[223] with a white Dodge Challenger – the same model driven by a character known as

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[221] In the film, Pam clearly states that Stuntman Mike "is old enough to be [the girls'] dad" and makes a strong point of the fact that she is not going to have sexual relations with him.

[222] This scene is very graphic, and Tarantino even repeats it to show the effect of the car impact on each girl, which suits the slasher genre. Indeed, "the murders of women [...] are filmed at closer range, in more graphic detail, and at greater length" (Clover 1987: 201).

[223] In this film, we learn that Ship's Mast consist of riding the hood of a vehicle while the others drive at full speed, while only holding onto belts fastened to the car.

Kowalski in the cult muscle car film *Vanishing Point* (Richard C. Sarafian, 1971). She saw such car announced in a classified and pretends she wants to test drive the vehicle. Leaving poor Lee behind with the lewd owner of the Dodge Challenger, Zoë hits the road with Kim and Abernathy. Before you can say knife, the threesome is chased by Stuntman Mike who pushes their car off-road. Nonetheless, the outcome of the scenario is quite different here, as the girls do not only survive the attack of their assailant, but Kim shoots him in the arm which prompts Mike to run away, crying. The girls even decide to chase Mike until he crashes his car and starts wailing with pain and despair, hence "specifically [unmanning] an oppressor whose masculinity was in question to begin with" (Clover 1987: 210)[224]. Roles are exchanged as we see Kim, driving the Dodge Challenger and pretending to be sexually aroused as she is chasing and end-rearing Stuntman Mike's 'death-proof' car. The film ends with the Abernathy, Zoë and Kim jumping with joy after beating Stuntman Mike to death by the roadside and establishing their status as triumphant Final Girls.

The plot structure of *Death Proof* differs from a traditional slasher as, instead of having the killer slaughter the victims one by one, the characters in the first half of the film are brutally slain, while the ones in the second half of the film all survive and become the Final Girls. The film is indeed conceived as a diptych where each group meets a very different fate, and according to Le Pallec Marand (2011), the outcome can be interpreted through the dynamic

[224] For, as Clover explains (ibid., 212) "crying, cowering, screaming, fainting, trembling, begging for mercy belong to the female" in slasher films.

within the cliques. Both groups are composed of strong, independent women, but discord and inequality are more palpable within the Texas posse than in the Tennessee gang (ibid., 4). According to the scholar, Tarantino communicates the lack of unity to the viewers through aesthetical elements, such as numerous individual scenes, where the characters are isolated; and countershots/ over the shoulder shots which typically symbolises opposition and confrontation in cinema. Ultimately, the Tennessee girls come off as a more united group, an element which Tarantino transmits through the dialogues and aesthetical elements, such as the 360-degrees long shot at the dinner where the killer can be seen sitting in the background, outside of the circle formed by the girlfriends (ibid., 5). In the end, the solidarity of this sisterhood ends up saving them against evil, unlike the girls from Austin (ibid., 5).

Another slasher films standard which is altered in *Death Proof* is the role of the killer. Stuntman Mike is no conventional slasher, as he is portrayed as amicable and amusing if we turn a blind eye on his killing pulsions and his misogynous tendencies. His vulnerable side is also exposed later in the film, as he is reduced to tears and panic when Kim shoots him with her Roscoe and his scheme does not work out. Thus, he breaks away considerably from the slasher film stereotype where “killers are superhuman: their virtual indestructibility” (Clover 1987: 196). Not only that but eventually the roles are reversed when the Tennessee girls start hunting him down, even though he pleads for mercy.

Furthermore, Tarantino’s film does not respect the convention in slasher movies where there are various victims and

one victorious Final Girl. Instead of one, Tarantino has chosen to have three Final Girls. The girls do "not only fight back but do so with ferocity and even kill the killer on their own, without help from the outside" (Clover 1987: 202). Whereas in traditional cinema conventions, heroism takes a masculine aspect (ibid., 219), here – in true slasher film tradition this time – the three Final Girls are the heroes.[225] Regarding characters' portrayal, in conventional slasher films, victims are stereotyped and underdeveloped characters (ibid., 207), while more attention is paid to the Final Girl, which has a more complex and detailed personality. In *Death Proof*, all the female characters are equally elaborated with care, even the victims of the first act. Furthermore, all female characters in *Death Proof* are openly sexually active, which is another convention-bender, as the Final Girl is traditionally a virgin in slasher movies (ibid., 204). Tarantino's female heroines are central to the plot and are often depicted as superior to their male counterparts[226] (Le Pallec Marand 2011: 7). Conversely, men in *Death Proof* are highly deceitful, whether it is Jungle Julia's lover who stands her up, Arlene's new conquest who is portrayed as a constant whiner, the boys at the Texas Chili Parlor who plot to get the girls drunk in order to have sex with them, the sleazy redneck who accept that Zoë test drive his car because he is led to believe that Lee is an adult film star, Abernathy's unfaithful filmmaker crush, sheriffs Earl and Edgar McGraw who prefer to indulge in watching the NASCAR

[225] Clover noted that "femininity is more conventionally elaborated and inexorably punished, and in an emphatically masculine environment, in the higher form" of cinema, such as classical horror films or thrillers (ibid., 219).
[226] This is not only true for the film under study, but also in *Jackie Brown* (1997), and *Kill Bill Volume I* (2003) *& Volume II* (2004).

circuit rather than fully investigate the case of Stuntman Mike, and so on. In most situations, the girls outsmart the men. For instance, the Austin girls leave on their own to the lake cabin and the boys, despite their plotting, are not invited to come along. The representation of men in Tarantino's film goes against the convention in traditional cinema where "men's interests are well served by the traditional patterns of cinematic representation" (Clover 1987: 206). However, his representation of men fits the slasher's convention of having male characters that "demonstrate risible incomprehension and incompetence" (ibid., 207). For all those reasons, I tend to agree with Clover when she affirms that:

> One is deeply reluctant to make progressive claims for a body of cinema as spectacularly nasty toward[s] women as the slasher film is, but the fact is that the slasher does, in its own perverse way and for better or worse, constitute a visible adjustment in the terms of gender representation. (ibid., 221)

A key element in Tarantino's film which is of great interest for my study is the female characters' frequent use of colloquial, and often quite vulgar, registers. Tarantino is well-known for filling his dialogues with an impressive quantity of swear words, but the foul-mouthedness of his leading ladies is not gratuitous. Since "the use of specific linguistic forms […] serves to strengthen bonds within a group, or depart from the standard" (Mével 2012: 63), the non-standard speech of both all-girls cliques clearly defines them as a group, especially in comparison with more traditional and

politically-correct behaviours, and acts as an "emancipatory tactic". (ibid.,169). The *Death Proof* girls are portrayed far from sociocultural conventions and stereotyped characters in traditional cinema. They express themselves freely when they talk about their own body, their sexuality and their desires, as well as when they exchange opinions or insults (Le Pallec Marand 2011: 4). When Tarantino makes his female characters use offensive terms in a liberated manner, it is his way of giving them the upper hand, the more powerful position. I agree with Le Pallec Marand (ibid., 8) when she claims that Tarantino infuses feminist values in his homage to exploitation films, through different components of the AV text, such as the narrative and aesthetic elements of his movie. It makes the choice of registers in *Death Proof* even more significant considering how it affects the portrayal of the characters and the true meaning of the film.

In regard to the film reception, *Death Proof* and the collective *Grindhouse* received decent reviews from critics[227] although they did not do so well at the box office. *Death Proof* was shortlisted for various awards, including the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Festival in 2007. It was also crowned second best film of 2007 by the *Cahiers du cinéma*. Furthermore, the film caught the attention of academics, both in cinema studies (Le Pallec Marand 2011) and translation studies (García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2012; 2013). In a case study similar to mine, García Aguiar &

[227] *Grindhouse* received 84% on the site Rotten Tomatoes, which cumulates reviews from different sites, 7.6/10 on the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) and 6.6/10 on the FilmAffinity Database.

García Jiménez (2012; 2013)[228] examined the translation of offensive language in the Spanish translations of *Death Proof,* as well as the techniques employed by the Latin American Spanish translator to attenuate the register in the dubbed version. The academics found out that the most common techniques in the Latin American dubbed version to translate vulgar language was the use of euphemisms (52%), omission (35%) and finally, circumlocution (13%) (2013: 146). They also noted that sexual allusions and swearwords had been the most affected by attenuation in the dubbed version (ibid., 146). In many cases, the euphemisms also modified the meaning of the words (such as "motherfucker" translated into *ezquizofrénica* "schizophrenic") (ibid., 145). The scholars conclude that these attenuation techniques had been used to suit the standard of Neutral Spanish, which proscribes colloquial register for it is marked, and to meet the viewers' expectations in Latin America, who are used to such dubbed filmic speech (García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2012: 147).

4.3. Research methodology

In order to obtain the AV material needed to examine how linguistic variation and prefabricated orality were rendered in the various versions of *Death Proof* dubbed into French and Spanish, I followed a number of steps. I started searching for the DVD in each dubbed version of *Death Proof* under study in this research: Quebec French (QF), Franco-French (FF), Peninsular Spanish (PEN) and

[228] I discovered their work on the third year of my doctoral studies, and fortunately, their (very relevant) case study only covers part of the aspects I hope to cover with my thesis.

Latin American Spanish (LAT). Logically, the original English version of the film is included on each DVD.

Then, I proceeded to the transcription of the dialogues in the original English version of *Death Proof*, as well as the translated dialogues in the four dubbed versions. A script of the original film (which was made before the shooting of the film) was available online, although it had to be considerably modified to correspond to the dialogues heard in the final version, available on DVD. Considering that I do not intend to study prosody and that my analysis of phonetic characteristics is limited, I did almost exclusively an orthographic transcription of the film, with the inclusion of some relevant phonetic features which I planned to study. I followed conventions of transcription from Reinke's research project *La langue du doublage québécois: usages et perceptions (CRSH Développement Savoir: 110168)*, which are detailed below in Table 34.

Table 34. Transcription conventions

Punctuation	?	None, except question mark
Pauses	/ // ///	Short pause Long pause Very long pause
Incomprehensible	xxx	An *x* for each syllable
Deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *il(s)*	√	*il vient = i√ vient*
Omission of consonant		*tu as = t'as*
Laugh	@ … @ @ @@	*@ je ne crois pas @* short long
Interruption	-	*c'ét- c'était qui?*

Once the transcription of the original film and the four dubbed versions was completed, I selected specific features which appeared relevant indicators of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality, and which are listed in Table 35 below. These features were chosen after consulting other studies on linguistic variation and prefabricated orality, especially those who analysed the language of dubbing, such as Petrella (1997), Bravo García (2008), Baños Piñero & Chaume (2009), Baños Piñero (2014a); Rotondo (2016) for Spanish, and Reinke (2005), Bigot & Papen (2013), Reinke

(2018) for French, to name a few (see Chapter 3). I trust that if certain non-standard features have been demonstrated to be absent from the corpus of these extensive investigations, it is bound to be absent in my corpus as well, and for that reason, I did not include them in my analysis.

I observed how these features were translated or treated in each of the dubbed versions and made a note in the transcription table. In the case of registers, to see whether there were shifts in the different dubbed versions, I consulted various reference sources (as detailed see section 4.4.) to confirm the register of words and expressions I thought presented linguistic variation in the original English version. I made a compilation of the results and elaborated graphs to present these visually. Finally, I analysed the results, comparing them for every dubbed version of each language, and drew conclusions, which are given in Chapter 6.

Table 35. Features selected for the analysis

LEXICAL LEVEL (both in the ST and TT)	**MARKS OF**	
	linguistic variation	**pre-fabricated orality**
Register (unmarked, colloquial, vulgar)	✔	✔
Geolectal elements	✔	✔
ECRs (extralinguistic culture-bound references)		✔
Anglicisms (only in the TT)	✔	✔

MORPHOSYNTACTIC LEVEL (in the TT)		
In French		
Future tenses	✔	✔
Personal pronouns: preference for *on* over *nous* in spoken French[229]	✔	✔
Interrogative sentences: informal questions in spoken French[230]	✔	✔
Position of postverbal direct (CD) and indirect (CI) complements in spoken French	✔	✔
Omission of the negative particle *ne* in spoken French	✔	✔
Truncation/ clipped words (*pub* > *publicité*)[231]	✔	✔
In Spanish		
Past tenses		✔
Diminutive and augmentative suffixes (-*ito*, -*azo, etc.*)	✔	✔

[229] Coveney (2000).
[230] Coveney (1996, 2015).
[231] Only clipped forms which are considered as colloquial have been analysed.

Enclitic and proclitic pronouns: preference for proclitics in spoken Spanish		✔
Truncation/ clipped words (*cole > colegio*)[232]	✔	✔
PHONETIC LEVEL (in the TT)		
In French		
Deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *il(s)* and relaxed pronunciation of *elle(s)* = *è* and *il y a* = *i'a* in spoken French	✔	✔
Consonant cluster reductions, apocopes and syncopes	✔	✔
In Spanish		
Apocopes and syncopes	✔	✔
Elimination of the consonant */d/* in the masculine past participle suffix *-ado* in spoken Peninsular Spanish	✔	✔

4.3.1. Analysis of register shifts

In the case of register shifts, I limited the analysis to the first twenty-five minutes of each half of the film so as to work with a more reasonable number of occurrences (within 50 minutes of the film, I obtained over 600 cases of register shifts). Each occurrence

[232] Idem.

was classified either as unmarked (UNM.), colloquial (COLL., and including informal, spoken, familiar registers and slang) or vulgar (VULG., including all offensive language), and noted either -1 (towards a more colloquial register), 0 (omission), 1 (same register) or 2 (towards a more formal register). If an entire fragment from the original version has been omitted or left out, I classified it as an omission (0). If only a word has been omitted, and as a result, the translated phrase/ sentence becomes less informal (for instance, *get me a fucking smoke* -> *voy a comprar tabaco*), I identified this occurrence as unmarked. This system of punctuation was developed by Kristin Reinke for her research project *La langue du doublage québécois: usages et perceptions* (*CRSH Développement Savoir: 110168*) and it seemed perfectly appropriate to study register shifts in my study.

4.3.2. Analysis of extralinguistic culture-bound references (ECRs)

To study how ECRs in the original version of *Death Proof* were rendered in its various dubbed versions, I used Pedersen well-known model (2005) which details seven strategies to render ECRs in audiovisual translation.[233] These strategies are organised along what Pedersen calls "a Venutian scale" [234] (ibid., 3) and present various degrees of 'cultural mediation' (Ramière 2006: 156). They range from most "Source language oriented" (SL-oriented) to most

[233] While Pedersen developed his framework with subtitles in mind, it is perfectly applicable to dubbing.
[234] Pedersen (2005: 3) refers to Venuti's (1995) concepts of domestication and foreignisation.

"Target language oriented" (TL-oriented) (ibid.). A list of said strategies is presented in Table 36 below. It should be mentioned that Pedersen does not consider the use of an official translation to be either a source language or target language-oriented strategy, since the choice to use this rendition has been made by authentified during a "process [which] is bureaucratic rather than linguistic" and "is a pre-fabricated solution to the problem" (ibid., 3). In other words, this strategy does not indicate an inclination or an orientation from the translator.

Table 36. Pedersen's strategies for rendering ECRs

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">1) Official translation</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">+ SL-ORIENTED</td><td>2) Retention</td></tr>
<tr><td>3) Specification:
3.1. Explicitation
3.2. Addition</td></tr>
<tr><td>4) Direct translation:
4.1. Calque
4.2. Shifted direct translation</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">+ TL-ORIENTED</td><td>5) Generalisation</td></tr>
<tr><td>6) Substitution</td></tr>
<tr><td>7) Omission</td></tr>
</table>

In addition to these seven strategies, Pedersen contributes further to the rendition of ECRs by putting forward seven "influencing parameters" (ibid., 10) which might compel the translator to resort to a TL-oriented strategy. Such parameters include the degree of transculturality of an ECR, that is, "how familiar it is to the ST and TT audiences" (ibid., 10), its extratextuality ("whether an ECR exists outside the ST or not"; ibid., 11), its centrality in the AV text, its intersemiotic redundancy (or "the degree of overlap" between the four semiotic channels which we saw in section 3.1.; ibid., 13), media-specific constraints (in dubbing, synchronisation would be one of the principal constraints) and paratextual considerations, such as goals and translation strategies from clients and broadcasters (ibid., 14). The seventh influencing parameter, which does not apply to dubbing, is the overlap between the subtitles and the dialogue, or "co-text" (ibid., 13). In my analysis, I chose to examine the parameters of transculturality as I was particularly interested in "how cultures in the modern world 'are extremely interconnected and entangled with each other' (Welsch 1999: 198)" (quoted in Pedersen 2005: 10) especially in our globalised world. I also explored the centrality of the reference as, I agree with Pedersen, it is "one of the most important influencing parameters" (ibid, 12) and the fact that an ECR which is peripheral to the plot has been omitted, generalised or substituted does not have the same impact as the omittance, generalisation or substitution of a plot-central ECR.

4.3.3. Analysis of Anglicisms

To classify the Anglicisms identified in my corpus, I resorted to the typology of Reinke & Ostiguy (2016: 51-53) presented in section 2.2.4.3., and including the following three categories:

1. loanwords, with or without morphological and phonetic adaptation;
2. false friends, also known as semantic borrowings;
3. calques.

4.3.4. Analysis of interrogative forms

My analysis of interrogative forms in French is based on Coveney's sociolinguistic study (1996) on interrogation and negation, which allowed for a classification of the various interrogative forms based on their "socio-stylistic evaluation" by grammarians (Coveney 2015), as show in Table 37.

Table 37. Interrogative forms classified according to their socio-stylistic evaluation (based on Coveney 1996)

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>Closed questions (yes-no)</th><th>Open questions</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">FORMAL</td><td colspan="2">With clitic inversion:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Sont-ils partis?</td><td>Où sont-ils partis?</td></tr>
<tr><td>NEUTRAL</td><td></td><td>With a qu- subject:
Lesquels sont partis?

Stylistic inversion:
Où sont partis les autres?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">NEUTRAL[235]</td><td colspan="2">With est-ce que:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Est-ce que qu’ils sont partis?</td><td>Où est-ce que qu’ils sont partis?</td></tr>
<tr><td>FAMILIAR[236]</td><td>Rising intonation:
Les autres sont partis?</td><td>In situ:
Les autres sont partis où?</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">HYPER-CORRECTION</td><td colspan="2">Complex inversion:</td></tr>
<tr><td>Les autres sont-ils partis?</td><td>Les autres sont-ils partis?</td></tr>
<tr><td>FAMILIAR/ POPULAR</td><td></td><td>Anteposition:
Où ils sont partis?

Split:
C’est où qu’ils sont partis?</td></tr>
<tr><td>POPULAR</td><td></td><td>Où qu’ils sont partis?

Variant of est-ce que:
Où c’est qu’ils sont partis?</td></tr>
<tr><td>POPULAR/ RURAL</td><td>With the postverbal particle -ti:
Tu as-ti mangé?</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

[235] Yet considered “inelegant” in written French (Coveney 1996).
[236] No negative evaluation in spoken French (Coveney 1996).

In section 2.2.4.2., I already mentioned that questions with the postverbal particle *-tu*, typical from informal QF, would not be included in my analisis. Furthermore, I excluded the popular interrogative form *Où qu'ils sont partis?* and *Où c'est qu'ils sont partis?* as well as the rural/ popular (and mostly diachronic)[237] question form with the postverbal particle *-ti*, because they are not at all likely to be featured in the corpus. I wanted to simplify Coveney (1996)'s classification; thus, I regrouped the interrogative form with clitic and complex inversion under the category "Inversion" (INV). These questions are considered the most formal. Questions with "Est-ce que" (EST) are also grouped together and considered as neutral or unmarked. Interrogative forms made with a rising intonation or in situ (no inversion and question word at the end of the sentence) are regrouped under the category "subject + verb + question word" (X) and are considered informal, although without a negative connotation in spoken French. Finally, the last category I decided upon regrouped Coveney's "anteposition" questions consisting of a "question word + subject + verb" (XX) and are considering the most informal.

Finally, I would also like to specify that I excluded from my analysis negative interrogative sentences and sentences composed of a statement followed by a question tag such as: "*You're getting angry kinda quick, <u>don't ya think</u>?*" Questions without verb (for instance: "*Dressed, half-dressed or naked?*") were also excluded.

[237] Coveney (2015) explains that question form with the postverbal particle *-ti* is believed to have been used until the 20th-century in the popular Parisian French variety. Blanchet (1995) reports it is still used in the city of Nantes.

4.4. Reference sources

In the original English version, I identified lexical elements which appeared to bear marks of linguistic variation, and used various reference sources, mostly monolingual dictionaries, to confirm the register category they fell into and if they had any geolectal mark. For the purpose of my research, I only identified vocabulary which belonged to the colloquial/ familiar, and vulgar register. The references detailed below were used for English.

- **Merriam-Webster:** Merriam-Webster online dictionary is a well-known reference work for American English. In each entry, in addition to the (sometimes various) meaning of a word, Merriam-Webster offers register information such as *slang, informal, sometimes vulgar, usually vulgar, obscene, disparaging* and so on. Merriam-Webster also provides us with information regarding the geographical provenance of the word, such as *British* or *chiefly British*, and supply the reader with distinct meanings according to the area where it is employed.

- **Collins English Dictionary:** This is the online version of the original Glasgow-printed version of the Collins English Dictionary. It has been available online since 2011 and contains over "725,000 words, meanings and phrases". In addition to the monolingual English dictionary, Collins also offers French and Spanish dictionaries (which I also used for the Spanish lexicon), amongst other languages. Each entry

provides distinct meanings according to the geographical area it is used (US and British) and register (and usage) information such as *informal*, *mildly vulgar, vulgar, rude, very rude, derogatory, slang, offensive*, *profanity.*

- **LEXICO (Oxford English Dictionary):** this English dictionary is powered by the British academic publishing house, Oxford University Press.[238] A helpful aspect of this online reference work is that, alongside definitions of the words, their provenance (*North American English, British English*) and their corresponding register (*informal, vulgar, vulgar slang, derogatory*), the Oxford English Dictionary provides the register of various phrases which include said words. For instance, in the entry for the word "hell", while the phrase "come hell or high water" is not be classified as marked, the phrase "for the hell of it" is marked as *informal*.

Once the marked lexical elements in the original English version had been pinpointed and confirmed as such, my objective in this part of the analysis was to determine whether, during the translation process, any register shift had occurred. To do so, I consulted French and Spanish reference works to confirm the register of the translated words in the dubbed versions. I also took note of the vocabulary which presented geolectal and sociolectal marks.

[238] In June 2019, it has been rebranded as LEXICO and the resource is offered in collaboration with Dictionary.com.

In the case of French, I should mention that the European reference works put forward a register classification which is slightly different from the English reference works, ranging from *formal,* followed by *standard*, then *familiar* and finally, *popular*, which includes *vulgar* and *slang* words.

- **USITO:** For Quebec French, USITO is an excellent endogenous reference work, elaborated by the Sherbrooke University research group, Franqus. The online dictionary, available since 2009[239], contains over 80,000 words. The entries in their database include definitions and phonetic transcriptions according to the API yet based on Quebec French pronunciation standard. Where applicable, it also indicates if the word, expression or phrase is more in use in Quebec or France/Europe, and if it has a marked register such as *familiar, very familiar, vulgar, derogatory.* I chose to use the reference USITO rather than another dictionary published in Quebec such as *Multidictionnaire de la langue française* (also known as the MULTI, and authored by the Quebec linguist, Marie-Éva de Villers) firstly because it contained fewer entries (25,000) and also, because of its slightly exogenous approach. Instead of indicating if the word is more in use in Quebec or France/Europe, only the words and expressions from Quebec are highlighted (with a fleur-de-lis symbol). If we look up the word *congère*

[239] In 2009, the version available online was known as the Franqus; the USITO dictionary, as we know it today, was released only in 2013.

("snowbank"), which is exclusively used in Europe, USITO indicates that it is indeed associated with France and Europe, and provides a synonym, *banc de neige*. In the MULTI, there is no geolectal information regarding the word *congère*; the user is only supplied with the synonym *banc de neige*, which is marked with the fleur-de-lis symbol indicating its predominant use in Quebec.

- **Le Grand Robert:** This online version of *Le Grand Robert de la langue française* (1967-) contains 100,000 words and 350,000 definitions and is authored in France. It provides extensive definition and exhaustive register information, indicating whether words are *familiar, vulgar, slang* or *pejorative*. *Le Grand Robert* also points out when words and expressions are used in Quebec, in Belgium, in Switzerland, and so on.

- **Le Larousse:** *Le Larousse* French online Dictionary contains minimal definitions and fewer entries than *Le Grand Robert* (around 135,000). The distinction between various registers is not made clear; for instance, the words *fric* ("money") and *putain* ("hooker") are both classified as *popular*, without any indication that the latter is far more colloquial and vulgar than the former. When a word or expression is employed mainly outside of France (in Canada, Belgium, Switzerland), it is indicated. *Le Larousse*

was mostly used to cross-check register information rather than a primary reference source.

Finally, to observe possible register shifts and marked lexicon in the versions dubbed into Spanish, I consulted the following three reference sources:

- **DRAE:** This is the 23rd edition (2014) of the official dictionary elaborated by the *Real Academia Espanola*, in collaboration with the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (ASALE)[240]. As such, it means to provide an inclusive Pan-Hispanic standard, representative of all varieties of Spanish. The online version of the DRAE was my primary reference to analyse the Spanish lexicon since Spanish speakers from both Spain and Latin America considered it as their standard (López Facal 2010: 90). The DRAE informs the user when words and expressions are used more frequently in one specific country or area (such as America). It also specifies if a lexical element belongs to the *colloquial, rude/ obscene, vulgar* register.

- **Diccionario panhispánico de dudas (DPD):** Similarly to the DRAE, the DPD is a reference work devised by the *Real Academia Española*, in collaboration with the *Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española* (ASALE). Counting over

[240] For more information on both association and their attitude towards pluricentrism, see section 3.2.2.

7000 entries mainly dedicated to clarify questions related to phonetic spelling, morphosyntactic and lexicosemantics in Spanish, the DPD was consulted as a complement to the DRAE.

- **Collins Spanish Dictionary:** This bilingual dictionary is related to the Collins English Dictionary mentioned above. I used this reference work to cross-check register and geolectal mark. The Collins Spanish Dictionary includes various idioms, complete with their register, associated with specific words. Marked registers are classified as *informal, very informal* or *vulgar*. In some cases, it included colloquial words and expressions which were absent from the DRAE (for instance, *hijoputez*).

- **LEXICO (Oxford Spanish Dictionary):** Akin to LEXICO for the English language, this Spanish resource is born from the partnership between the Oxford University Press and Dictionary.com. It has proven a valuable source of information to ascertain registers and geolectal marks.

After this detailed description of the methodology followed to obtain the material for my analysis and the references that were consulted, the next chapter will be dedicated to the analysis of the dubbed versions into French and Spanish, and the results obtained.

CHAPTER 5

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5. Analysis of the dubbed versions of *Death Proof*

The first observation that can be made following my analysis of all four dubbed versions is that the LAT version stays much closer to the original than the PEN version, as shown in Table 38 below. It might be because AV translators who have less experience tend to be less daring and play less with the original source text, as they do not want to take the risk of moving away from the original meaning, to the point where their translation can become less natural to the target audience. I suspect Latin American AV translators might be less trained than the Spanish ones and the training they receive is more traditional.[241] More experienced AV translators might come up with more creative translation solutions and allow themselves to differ from the original text in order to achieve the same effect as the source text.

[241] See Sánchez Borzani (2017) who describes the situation in Mexico, one of the main centre of AVT, and its "shortcoming of professionalisation" (*la falta de profesionalización*) for AV translators.

Table 38. Examples of word-for word-translations in the LAT version

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	PEN VERSION	LAT VERSION
01	JULIA	you bet your ass	fijo que sí, coño	puedes **apostar el trasero**
02	SHANNA	he's got a big thing for Julia	está obsesionado con Julia	tiene **algo grande** para Julia
03	DOV	turn up the volume	apretar las tuercas	**subir el volumen**
04	KIM	boo-ya/ that's what the fuck I'm talking about	toma ya/ sabemos por dónde van los tiros	vamos/ **de eso estaba hablando**
05	EARL	and plain old Newton	y las leyes de Newton	y el **viejo Newton**
06	LEE	I sent him off to his room	le di las buenas noches	lo **envié** a su habitación
07	ZOË	that's a horse of a different color	tengo que darte la razón	eso lo torna de **otro color**
08	JASPER	**horny** gals	gatitas	chicas **toca-bocinas**

Out of the examples above, I believe the last one (#08) is the most representative of the respective dubbing approach. In the original version, the lewd Tennessee mechanic, Jasper, asks the group of girls who just arrived at his property, honking, *What do you horny gals want?* There is a clear pun with the word "horny" (which works as describing the girls as sexually hungry and calling his attention through their car's horn). In the PEN version, the word was simply replaced with the colloquial term of endearment *gatitas* ("pussycats") whereas in the LAT version, the translator only kept the unmarked meaning of *horny*, and matched the vocative "chicas" with the invented the adjective "toca-bocinas" (horn-honker), removing all the sexual innuendo from the original version.

5.1. Register shifts

Table 39. Results for register shifts in the Spanish versions

	PEN VERSION			LAT VERSION		
	OCCUR RENCES	%	% excluding PS	OCCUR RENCES	%	% excluding PS
-1: more colloquial	83/628	13.2	14.8	9/628	1.4	1.6
	Extreme shift: 9/83	10.8		Extreme shift: 0	0	
0: omission	15/628	2.4	2.7	27/628	4.3	3.2
1: same register	**303/628**	**48.3**	**52.3**	141/628	22.5	24.8
2: more formal	227/628	36.1	30.2	**451/628**	**71.8**	**70.4**
	Extreme shift: 26/227	11.5		Extreme shift: 107/451	23.7	
TOTAL	628	100		628	100	

In the PEN version, the register mostly remains the same as in the original English version (48.3%). A certain part of the Spanish dubbed version shifts to a more formal register (36.1%) and finally, a small portion of the film (13.2%) was dubbed into a more colloquial register (10.8% of which goes from an unmarked register to a vulgar one). It might not be a high percentage, but it remains significantly more frequent than in the LAT version, where there is only 1.5% shift to a more informal register (all from an unmarked register to a colloquial one). The LAT version features an important

71.8% of register shifts towards a more formal register. Only 22.5% of the original register remains the same in the LAT version.

In the original version, there are 64 cases of what Merriam-Webster refers to as "pronunciation spelling", that is, when the spelling is meant to reflect an informal manner of speech, such as "gonna" (going to), "kinda" (kind of), "tryna" (trying to), "wanna" (want to), "gotta" (have got to), doncha (don't you) and "lotta" (lot of). I took into account that these pronunciation spelling do not exist in Spanish[242] and thus, a clear register equivalent was not available in those particular cases. For that precise reason, I was interested to know what results I would obtain if I excluded those "pronunciation spelling" cases. I calculated the percentages without these occurrences (see the column '% excluding PS' in Table 39 above), which leaves us 560 cases of register shifts in total, and in the PEN version, 14.8% (83/560) are more informal, 2.7% are omitted (15/560), 52.3% remain with the same register (293/560) and 30.2% are more formal (169/560). In the LAT version, 1.6% (9/560) are more informal, 3.2% are omitted (18/560), 24.8% have the same register (139/560) and 70.4% are more formal (394/560). Even though there is not a significant difference, we can see in the PEN version, excluding the occurrences of pronunciation spelling, that there are slightly less register shifts towards a more formal register (and incidentally, increasing the percentage of register equivalence),

[242] In her study on the translation of fictive voices from Spanish to German, Brumme (2012: 225) explains that communicative immediacy and colloquial language can be evoked through spelling. However, she points out that Spanish allows for less of this kind of phonetic spelling than German does (apart from the elimination of the consonant /d/ in the masculine past participle suffix *-ado* and the apocopes *pa'* for *para*). Although Brumme's observation concerns written text, I believe this also applies to AV texts.

where the percentage of shifts to a more formal register goes from close to 36% to 30%.

Table 40. Examples of extreme register shifts in the Spanish versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	REG.	PEN VERSION	REG.	LAT VERSION	REG.
09	JULIA	had plenty fun	UNM.	lo han pasado de **puta madre**	VULG.	se divierten	UNM.
10	KIM	I'm the horniest motherfucker on the road	VULG.	soy la hija de puta más cachonda de la carretera	COLL.	soy tu **amiga** más brava de la carretera	UNM.

In the LAT version, there are more cases of what I call "extreme shifts" (see Table 40 above) when the register shifts either from unmarked to vulgar (example #09), or from vulgar to unmarked (example #10). Out of the 451 cases of shifts towards a more formal register, close to a quarter of these are extreme shifts, that is, cases where the dubbing professional neutralises the offensive register towards an unmarked one, thus greatly altering the characters' portrayal and core elements of the plot.

Table 41. Results for register shifts in the French versions

	QF VERSION		FF VERSION	
	OCCURRENCES	%	OCCURRENCES	%
-1: more colloquial	104/754	13.8	154/754	20.4
	Extreme shift: 7/104	6.7	Extreme shift: 5/154	3.2
0: omission	12/754	1.6	20/754	2.7
1: same register	**373/754**	**49.5**	**349/754**	**46.3**
2: more formal	265/754	35.1	231/754	30.6
	Extreme shift: 45/265	17	Extreme shift: 40/231	17.3
TOTAL	754	100	754	100

The analysis of register shifts revealed similar tendencies in both versions dubbed into French. In under a little of half of the cases (49.5% in the QF version and 46.3% in the FF version), the register remained the same after the translation. The QF version features slightly more shifts towards a more formal register than the FF version (35.1% versus 30.6%) while the latter shows a higher percentage of shifts (20.4%) towards a more colloquial register than the former (13.8%).

Both French versions display few cases of extreme shifts and present similar results. It is not surprising, considering the general tendency to neutralisation in AVT, that there are more cases of extreme shifts towards a more formal register (around 17% for

both versions) than extreme shifts towards a more colloquial register (under 7%).

In the cases of these two versions dubbed into French, I did not recalculate the results excluding the occurrences of pronunciation spellings because, even though the same exact phenomenon does not exist in the French language, I believe French,[243] like German, allows for more relaxed pronunciation and phonetic simplification than in Spanish (see section 5.1.1.). For that reason, I believe that facing cases of pronunciation spelling, the French AVT translators had more outlet than the Spanish ones.

If we compare the results between both pluricentric languages, we notice that the LAT version set itself apart from the other three. There is a distinct tendency towards neutralisation in the version dubbed for Latin America, which is not all that surprising considering the AVT traditions in the Americas and the filmic speech based on Neutral Spanish. Furthermore, close to a quarter of shifts towards a more formal register are "extreme shifts", shifting directly from a vulgar or offensive register to an unmarked one.

If we take into account the results without pronunciation spellings for the Spanish versions, which gives a more accurate idea of the tendencies at play, the FF and PEN versions show very similar results in terms of shifts towards a more formal register (around 30%) followed closely by the QF version which has (very) slightly more shifts.

[243] Both Gadet (2007 [2003]) and Mével (2012) account for the high 'level of diamesic variation in French' (ibid., 278).

As for shifts towards a more colloquial register (which could be associated to compensation techniques), the PEN and QF versions present similar results (in more or less 14% of the occurrences). Conversely, the LAT and FF versions are at extreme opposites: the former only features 1.6% of shifts towards a more colloquveryial register – mainly due to the cases where the diminutive suffix *-ito* and the informal noun *chica* ("girl") are used – the latter has the highest percentage, with a little over 20% of the cases. This result points towards the greater leeway for French audiovisual translators and a higher acceptance of colloquial and even, offensive language by its audience, while it remains taboo in Latin America. It also confirms the precept followed by Latin American AV translators which states that to reach the largest number of viewers possible, it is best to avoid colloquial terms as they present greater differences than the more homogeneous formal register. It also leads me to believe that protagonists' characterisation was not deemed a priority by the dubbing team. Indeed, the choice to considerably attenuate the register employed by the female characters radically transforms their portrayal in the film. The omission of informal language interferes with Tarantino's intention of to revert the male and female roles in *Death Proof*. According to most (patriarchal) societies, women swear less than men, and in his movie, Tarantino inverted traditional gender roles (Soler Pardo 2011: 218) and portrayed his female leads as independent, devil-may-care ladies, who are not afraid to talk crudely – an element that is clearly lost in the LAT version.

It is worth mentioning that my results would have been different if I had only taken into account cases of association with a vulgar or offensive register, which is something that has been done by Soler Pardo (2011) and García Aguiar & García Jiménez (2013), although the former studied the Peninsular Spanish version (of a corpus of seven Tarantino's films) and the latter the Latin American version. These academics mention that terms referring to sexuality are amongst the most frequent to appear in the film (98/220 or 44.5% in the case of *Death Proof*; Soler Pardo 2011: 228) and incidentally, they are the most affected by this censorship (García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2013: 146).

I preferred to examine register shifts in filmic speech that were associated with informal and vulgar registers in order to have a more comprehensive idea of how this parameter is handled in AVT. However, that is not to say that my analysis does not have some shortcomings. While I compared short fragments of the original with its dubbed versions and observed shifts within this limited phrase, a professional translator would not translate using a word for word technique. The occurring shift can be compensated for later in the translation and it is not always possible to distinguish such translation solution. However, I believe it allows the reader to have a general idea of the tendencies noticeable in AVT for each dubbed version.

Furthermore, it is important to remember that *Death Proof* was translated over ten years ago and, as I mentioned earlier, things are evolving at a fast pace in the AVT field. In the case of the LAT version, it was dubbed in the Mexican CBAudio studio, essentially

to be distributed on DVD since the original version is normally screened in theatres throughout Latin America, along with Spanish subtitles. This means that censorship could have occurred at many stages in the AVT process: instructions from the distribution companies or television channels not to resort to certain taboo words, self-censorship from the translator or the work of the adapter motivated quite possibly by media limitations (synchronisation).

5.2. Francisms in the Quebec French version

Table 42. Examples of Francisms in the QF version

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
11	PAM	since I have a tab here	vu qu' j'ai une **ardoise** dans c'bar	étant donné qu' j'ai déjà une **ardoise**
12	MIKE	started gettin' scared	commencer à **avoir la trouille**	commencer à **avoir la trouille**
13	DAK.	son of a bitch	**fils de pute**	**fils de pute**
14	ZOË	leave us alone	t'approche pas d'nous/ sale **enculé**	dégage/ connard/ **enculé**
15	MIKE	get ready to fly/ bitch	apprête-toi à voler/ **poufiasse**	une petite valse/ allez/ **poufiasse**
16	KIM	did you do something to him?	est-ce que t'as fait que'que chose à **c'type**?	tu lui as fait que'que chose à c'**type**?
17	ZOË	who's getting it off?	alors/ qui **prend son pied**?	qui **couche** avec qui?
18	ZOË	some dude is selling	un **mec** vend une Challenger 1970	un **gars** dans cette ville qui met en vente
19	MIKE	do I frighten you?	est-ce que ch'te **fiche la trouille**?	est-ce que **ch'te fais peur**?
20	JULIA	you've seen this guy before?	t'as déjà vu c'**type** avant?	t'as déjà vu c'**mec**?

While words or expressions featured in the QF version, yet mainly used in France, were not a parameter I had set out to analyse at the beginning of this doctoral research, I was interested to find out whether the fact that a majority of the dubbing team was from European descent had an impact on the resulting translation destined to the Quebec audience. I listed the terms that were typical of France (and/or French-speaking European countries), cross-checking when possible with the dictionary USITO that often indicates the geographical area associated with the word or expression. It should be said that confirming whether a word was considered a Francism in reference works was not all that evident: while some are clearly marked as European French in USITO, many are not even though they are mainly used in France (for instance, *un type* ("a guy"), *un dégonflé* ("a wuss"), *picoler* ("to hit the bottle") and *du coup* used at the start of a sentence with the meaning of "as a consequence"). This might be due to the fact that these lexical items are not exclusive to France, but they are used in higher proportion in that speech community and thus, reference works do not classify them as Francisms.

In total, I found 107 occurrences[244] out of which 51 are classified as European French by USITO, 19 were absent from the Quebec French dictionary (but featured in the Robert dictionaries) and finally, 37 could not be confirmed as European French by any reference work, but are known to be seldom used in Quebec. Furthermore, I found that many "unconfirmed" European French

[244] Conversely, it is worth mentioning that only two terms exclusively used in Quebec according to USITO (*béguin* "crush" and the Anglicism *pot*) were found in the QF version.

terms such as *poufiasse, fils de pute* and *enculé* were employed in both the QF and the FF versions (#11 to #16). As for the terms listed as European French by USITO, the most commonly found were *enfoiré* (19 times), *mec* (14 times), *connard* (7 times) and *sympa* (5 times). Thus, while a relatively high quantity of Francisms was found in the QF version, it should be kept in mind that there is a high level of repetition in Tarantino's dialogues. The considerable number of Francisms could also be due in part to translational routines from the AV professionals, who might have been exposed to French prefabricated orality in the past (especially before the end of the 1990s when, as we saw earlier, most versions dubbed to French came from France)[245] and have – counsciously or unconsciously – internalised it. In some other cases, the translated term in the QF version appeared more French European than the one in the FF version (examples #17 to #19). For instance, in example #18, we can see that the term *mec*, more frequently heard in Europe, was used instead of the word *gars* which is more common in Quebec. Example #20 is interesting if we think in terms of lip synchrony: on that particular occasion, it might have been easier to use the term *gars* ("guy") which starts with the same voiced velar plosive letter [g] as in the original version and is also a one-syllable word. Moreover, as we just saw, *gars* is also much more commonly used in Quebec than *type*. Even though it is not possible to draw conclusions from this brief overview of the use of typical European French words in the QF version, aside from the

[245] Quebec only dubbed 34% of the foreign films released in North America in 1990 and 58% in 1998 (Gill & Longpré (2008: 28).

fact that the French AVT tradition have possibly influenced the newer Quebec AV industry, I suspect that part of the dubbing team's European descent could have had an impact on the resulting translation.

5.3. Position of postverbal direct and indirect complements in the French versions

Table 43. Order of postverbal direct (CD) and indirect (CI) complements in the French versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	ORDER	FF VERSION	ORDER
21	ARLENE	so just tell me your way	**dis-le-moi** comme tu préfères	CD + CI	**dis-le-moi** comme tu veux	CD + CI
22	ZOË	give her the belt	**prête-la moi** juste un moment	CD + CI	passe-lui la ceinture	–

As we know, in Quebec, the most common order for postverbal direct and indirect complements in an informal communicative situation is 'VERB + CI + CD' (*rend-moi-le*) while in France, the order is almost always 'VERB + CD + CI' (*rend-le-moi*), whether in a formal or informal setting. There were very few cases of such phenomenon in the French dubbed versions, but I did find two occurrences (examples #21 and #22) which show that in the QF version, the prevalent order in FF was preferred over the informal QF 'VERB + CI + CD' order. While it is associated with an informal register, the CI + CD order comes naturally in for Quebec speakers in a spoken context and do not bear a negative connotation. Thus, these very few occurrences might suggest either

exogenous tendencies, or simply a greater formality in the QF dubbed filmic speech.

5.4. Extralinguistic culture-bound references

Table 44. Source and target-text oriented strategies in the Spanish versions

	PEN VERSION		LAT VERSION	
	OCCURRENCES	%	OCCURRENCES	%
Source-text oriented	**97/132**	**73.5**	**91/132**	**68.9**
Target-text oriented	35/132	26.5	41/132	31.1
TOTAL	132	100	132	100

Table 45. Source and target-text oriented strategies in the French versions

	QF VERSION		FF VERSION	
	OCCURRENCES	%	OCCURRENCES	%
Source-text oriented	**102/132**	**78**	**101/132**	**76.5**
Target-text oriented	30/132	22	31/132	23.5
TOTAL	132	100	132	100

Both the PEN and LAT versions translated cultural references using mostly source-text oriented strategies. The QF version and the FF version feature very similar ratio of SL-oriented strategies, which are used in much higher proportion than TL-oriented strategies.

Table 46. Strategies used in the Spanish versions

STRATEGIES	PEN VERSION		LAT VERSION	
	OCCURRENCES	%	OCCURRENCES	%
SL-oriented strategies	**Retention:** 75/97	**77.3**	**Retention:** 84/91	**92.3**
	Direct translation: 21/97	21.7	Direct translation: 2/91	2.2
	Specification: 1/97	1	Specification: 5/91	5.5
TOTAL	91	100	91	100
TL-oriented strategies	**Generalisation:** 14/35	**40**	**Generalisation:** 17/41	**41.5**
	Omission: 12/35	34.3	Omission: 12/41	29.6
	Substitution: 9/35	25.7	Substitution: 12/41	29.6
TOTAL	35	100	41	100
GRAND TOTAL	132	-	132	-

Table 47. Strategies used in the French versions

STRATEGIES	QF VERSION		FF VERSION	
	OCCURRENCES	%	OCCURRENCES	%
SL-oriented strategies	**Retention:** 88/102	**86.3**	**Retention:** 87/101	**86.1**
	Direct translation: 12/102	11.7	Direct translation: 13/101	12.9
	Specification: 2/102	2	Specification: 1/101	1
TOTAL	102	100	101	100
TL-oriented strategies	Generalisation: 8/30	26.7	Generalisation: 5/31	16.1
	Omission: 16/30	**53.3**	Omission: 8/31	25.8
	Substitution: 6/30	20	**Substitution:** 18/31	**58.1**
TOTAL	30	100	31	100
GRAND TOTAL	132	-	132	-

Overall, results are similar between the two languages. The versions dubbed into French present the highest cases of source-text oriented strategies, while the LAT version is the one featuring the fewest. It is surprising that the Latin American dubbing practitioner adopted a slightly less source-text orientation, since the LAT version remains very close to the original in its translation. This could be explained partly by the fact that the Latin American dubbing professional resorted to almost no direct translations

compared to the other versions as a result of his decision to generally maintain the numerous original English titles of TV series and films mentioned in *Death Proof* (it is the only version that does so), combined with a non-negligible amount of generalisation and omission. According to the IMDb online database, most of these American productions have titles translated into Spanish for the Latin American audience, but as we know, films are mostly shown in their original versions in Latin American movie theatres, with Spanish subtitles, which could explain this choice.

5.4.1. SL-oriented strategies

In both Spanish versions, the most common SL-oriented strategy is retention (which represents 73.5% of all SL-oriented strategies in the PEN version and a whopping 92.3% for the LAT version). It is also the most common strategy all-around, ST or TT oriented, counting for 56.8% in the PEN version and 63.6% of the LAT version. The LAT version shows slightly more cases of retained ECRs that have been translated than in the PEN version (close to 25% in the former versus approximately 15% in the latter). For instance, actor Dwayne Johnson's nickname "the Rock" was translated into its Spanish equivalent, "La Roca".[246] Furthermore, both Spanish versions present few cases of specification, only 1% in the PEN version and 5.5% in the LAT version. There are even fewer cases of direct translation in the LAT version (2.2%). However, the second most used SL-oriented strategy in the PEN

[246] It is the official translation for Johnson's ring name on the World Wrestling Entertainment Spanish website.

version is direct translation, which counts for 22.1% of all SL-oriented strategies. This difference between the two versions is mostly due to the fact that the Spanish professional and the Latin American one opted for opposite solutions to convey the considerable amount of (American) TV show and movie titles that can be heard throughout *Death Proof*. As we know, in the PEN version, the translator decided to resort to the translated titles instead of the original ones, while in the LAT version, most of these titles are maintained in their original English version. Nonetheless, the LAT version shows some slight inconsistencies as three titles have been translated into Spanish (*El Gran Chaparral*, *60 segundos* and *El Auto Increíble*).[247]

The most common SL-oriented strategy for both French versions is retention (which represents a little over 86% of all SL-oriented strategies in both versions). It is also the most common strategy all-around, ST or TT oriented, counting for 66.7% in the QF version and 65.9% of FF version. The second most used SL-oriented strategy is direct translation, which counts for more or less 12% of all SL-oriented strategies. Both translators decided to resort to the translated titles in French instead of the original English ones. Nonetheless, in the FF version, there is a slight inconsistency as only one title remains in English (*The Men from Shiloh*).[248] Finally, both versions present very few cases of specification (not over 2%).

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[247] The original titles are *The High Chaparral* (David Dortort, 1967-1971), *Gone in 60 Seconds* (H.B. Halicki, 1974) and *Knight Rider* (Glen A. Larson, 1982-1986).
[248] Also known as *The Virginian* (Charles Marquis Warren, 1962).

In all the dubbed versions, retention is by far the most used strategy, the QF version being the one with the most retention and the PEN version with the least. With the exception of the LAT version, specification is the least used SL-oriented strategy in all versions, which we can understand is due to the fact that this strategy implies adding information to the dialogues, whereas audiovisual translators try to shave off as much of the dialogues as possible in order to respect the different kinds of synchrony.

5.4.2. TL-oriented strategies

In the PEN version, the most common TL-oriented strategy is generalisation (counting for 40% of all TL-oriented strategies) followed by omission (34.3%) and substitution (25.7%). In the LAT version, the most common is generalisation (41.5%) followed by omission and substitution (29.6% each). It is worth pointing out that, in the PEN version, close to 39% of the cases of generalisation (a little over 35% in the LAT version) concern duplicated ECRs, that is, an ECR that has been mentioned at least once before in the dialogue. Furthermore, it should be noted that in the PEN version, close to half of the occurrences of omitted ECRs are duplicated ECRs (41.7% in the LAT version). In his dialogues, Tarantino tends to include elements which are repeated numerous times throughout a conversation. While this redundancy is part of Tarantino's script-writing style, I suspect that the AV translators chose to omit these redundant or duplicated ECRs due to what Pedersen (2005) calls the factor of media-specific constraints. Aside from that consideration, in the PEN version, references to 1970's and 1980's North

American cinematic and television references were omitted, such as *Hooper* (Hal Needham, 1978) and *Stroker Ace* (Hal Needham, 1983), both action comedies with Burt Reynolds,[249] and *B.J. and the Bear* (Glen A. Larson & Christopher Crowe, 1978-1981), as well as the title fictional character from the song *Bad, Bad Leroy Brown* (Jim Croce, 1973). Other similar references were retained, such *The Cannonball Run* (Hal Needham, 1981), *Vega$* (Michael Mann, 1978-1981), *Gavilan* (Tom Mankiewicz, 1982-1983) and so on. In comparison, the LAT version omitted American companies such as Xerox and Circle A, North American cinematic references, such as *Hooper* (Hal Needham, 1978) and actress Angelina Jolie, muscle cars, and the Japanese TV character Zatoichi.

The third most used TL-oriented strategy in the PEN version is substitution, which counts for almost 25.7% of all TL-oriented strategies. In the LAT version, it is used in the same proportion as omission and counts for 29.6% of all TL-oriented strategies. Most references that were substituted in the PEN version had to do with the educational system, currencies and some American film references (*The Three Stooges, Death Race 2000* (Paul Bartel, 1975) and John Ford's films). In the LAT version, the substituted ECRs are more diverse. The translator did substitute references to the American educational system, yet he also did the same for the German liqueur Jägermeister (which was replaced with beer). He also substituted the popular teen film *Pretty in Pink* (Howard Deutch, 1986) from well-known filmmaker John Hughes for the TV

[249] In *Hooper*, Burt Reynolds plays the role of a stuntman, a reference to the character of Stuntman Mike.

film drama *Heidi* (Delbert Mann, 1968). Apart from the fact that the two movies are belonging to completely different genres, the incoherence appears when in the next line the character of Abernathy asks her friend if she has seen any John Hughes movies, a cultural reference which was retained. Needless to say, *Heidi* does not belong to Hughes' filmography. The movie *Dirty Mary, Crazy Larry* (John Hough, 1974) was retained when mentioned by Stuntman Mike, but later it was substituted for the TV series *Knight Rider* (Glen A. Larson, 1982-1986; *El Auto Increíble* in Spanish) when the character of Zoë alludes to the same film. Finally, another inconsistency appears in the translation of *The Cannonball Run* (Hal Needham, 1981), which was substituted with "bala de cañón" which is does not correspond to the official Latin American title for that movie. It appears in that particular instance that the Latin American translator did not understand the cultural reference. Finally, whether or not it is because that reference was deemed too source culture-bound for the Spanish-speaking audience or because the AV translators did not understand it, both the Spanish and Latin American professionals chose to substitute the famous line "I resemble that remark!" from the *The Three Stooges* with a paraphrase, yet introducing a change in the original meaning (the sentence in the film is meant to feature a misused word, which does not appear in either Spanish version). In the short film *Idle Roomers* (Del Lord, 1944), one of the stooges (which are not known for their quick wit), meaning to say that he resents having been called a werewolf, wrongly uses the verb "resemble" instead. In *Death*

Proof, the character of Zoë uses that same line to say that she resents the comment her friends made about her.

If both versions dubbed into French feature a similar percentage of TL-oriented strategies, their favoured strategy in that category varies greatly. In the QF version, the most common TL-oriented strategy is omission (counting for 53.3% of all TL-oriented strategies) followed by generalisation (26.7%) and lastly, substitution (20%). Out of the omitted ECRs, half are duplicated ECRs which the dubbing practitioner might have left out due to media-specific constraints. Furthermore, 25% of the cases of generalisation are also duplicated ECRs.[250] In the QF version, the translator principally omitted references to American companies such as Xerox and Circle A, North American cinematic and television references, such as *Hooper* (Hal Needham, 1978) and *The Cannonball Run* (Hal Needham, 1981), both Hal Needham featuring Burt Reynolds, John Ford's *Tobacco Road* (1941), and the main character from the song *Bad, Bad Leroy Brown* (Jim Croce, 1973). Non-American references such as the South African gold coin known as Krugerrand and the blind samurai character from Japan, Zatoichi, were also left out. Some other American film/ television references were also substituted, such as *Stroker Ace* (Hal Needham, 1983), *B.J. and the Bear* (Glen A. Larson & Christopher Crowe, 1978-1981) and *Big Wednesday* (John Milius, 1978), although the last substitution might have been a mistake (see section

[250] Excluding duplicated ECRs, there would be 40% cases of omission, and 30% of both generalisation and substitution in the Quebec French version.

5.4.4.). References to the US educational system were also substituted in the QF version.

In the FF version, the most common TL-oriented strategy is substitution (58.1%) followed by omission (25.8%) and generalisation (16.1%). Similarly to the QF version, a non-neglectable percentage of the ECRs that were subjected to generalisation and omission are actually duplicated ECRs, respectively 40% and 62.5%.[251] However, the FF translator resorted most of the time to substitution, which according to Pedersen (2005), is the most TL-oriented strategy. It could be explained by the fact that unlike the QF translator, the FF one was allowed much more leeway in his overall translation of Tarantino's film. Aside from references to the educational system, substituted ECRs include names of drinks and cocktails, South African gold coin, actress Angelina Jolie, fictional song character *Leroy Brown* and American film or television references *Stroker Ace* (Hal Needham, 1983), *B.J. and the Bear* (Glen A. Larson & Christopher Crowe, 1978-1981), *Idle Roomers* (Del Lord, 1943), *Hooper* (Hal Needham, 1978) and *Big Wednesday* (John Milius, 1978). These last two substitutions might be a mistake, as we will see in section 5.4.4. Interestingly, the FF translator substituted the legendary Austin Blues bar *Antone's* for the French name *Chez Antoine*, and the fictional Tarantino's cigarettes brand Red Apple Tans for *des Pommes Rouges*, in both cases altering the original meaning despite resorting to a literal translation.

[251] Excluding duplicated ECRs, there would be 12.5% cases of generalisation and omission, and 75% of substitution in the Franco-French version.

Omission tends to be the most used TL-oriented strategy, although, as we already know, a considerable part of the omission concerns ECRs which have already been mentioned in the dialogues and have been left out in order to respect the media-specific constraints. Generalisation and substitution appear to be employed in similar proportion in the Spanish versions while it is not the case in the French versions. The FF version features a high percentage of substitution and a very low proportion of generalisation, whereas the opposite is true in the QF version. The high amount of generalisation in the QF version, however, has to be nuanced: many of cases of generalisation are due to the translator's choice to avoid repetition of duplicated ECRs rather than a strong target text orientation.

5.4.3. Text internal references

They might not be cultural-bound as they belong to Tarantino's universe[252] but the filmmaker's fictional brands (Red Apple Tans cigarettes, Big Kahuna Burger restaurant, G.O. juice) were almost all omitted in the Spanish versions.[253] It is hard to know what motivated this translation choice: did the AV translators assume the target audience would not recognise these brands which are featured in other Tarantino's films? As these cultural references do not belong to the American culture, but to the cinematic culture of Tarantino, there is a good chance that viewers who are familiar

[252] According to Pedersen (2005), these are ECRs are text internal, as they do not exist outside of the AV source text.
[253] With the exception of *Big Kahuna Burger* which was retained in the PEN version.

with Tarantino's work, regardless of their country, might be familiar with them. In the French versions, references from Tarantino's world were generally maintained, with the exception of the Red Apple Tans in the Franco-French version, which (I can only speculate) may possibly be a mistake of the translator who might not have been familiar with Tarantino's fictional brands (coupled with the fact that there is no intersemiotic redundancy in that instance, that is to say, there is no visual clue that Red Apple Tans are cigarettes).

5.4.4. The influence of transculturality and centrality on the translation of ECRs

I was interested to investigate some of Pedersen's factors influencing the AVT decision-making, in particular the transculturality and the centrality of the reference.

Table 48. The influence of transculturality and centrality on the translation of ECRs

USE OF TL-ORIENTED STRATEGIES WITH:		(RESULTS IN %)	
		INCLUDING DUPLICATED ECRs	**EXCLUDING DUPLICATED ECRs**
MONO-/ MICRO CULTURAL ECRs	**QF**	80	**90**
	FF	77.4	82.6
	PEN	**85.7**	**91.3**
	LAT	56.1	72
MICRO-LEVEL ECRs	**QF**	63,3	**85**
	FF	**67.7**	78.3
	PEN	60	**82.6**
	LAT	51.2	72

Out of the target text-oriented strategies in the PEN version, 85.7% are monocultural or microcultural ECRs, that is to say, they are known almost exclusively within the USA or by a small percentage of the US audience (91.3% if we exclude duplicated ECRs). As for centrality, 60% are micro-level ECR, that is to say, peripheral to the plot and often played for laugh. This percentage rises to 82.6%, if we exclude the duplicated ECRs. In the LAT version, 56.1% are monocultural or microcultural ECRs and 51.2% are micro-level ECR (72% each, if we exclude duplicated ECRs).

Thus, it seems that for the PEN translator, the transculturality of an ECR is a factor that has greater impact on his/ her decision to use a SL-oriented strategy than it does for the Latin American one. The centrality of an ECR also has slightly more importance for the Spanish translator than it has for the Latin American one.

In terms of transculturality, 80% and 77.4% (respectively, in the QF and the FF versions) of ECRs that have been translated using a TL-oriented strategy are monocultural or microcultural ECRs, percentages which rise to 90% and 79.2% if we exclude duplicated ECRs. As for centrality, 63.3% and 67.7% (again respectively in the QF and the FF versions) are micro-level ECR, percentages that reach 85% and 79.2%, excluding the duplicated ECRs. In both French versions, it appears that both factors have a considerable impact at the moment of choosing a strategy, while it appears slightly more important in the QF version (especially transculturality).

Excluding the duplicated ECRs allows us to see the influence of transculturality and centrality without the possibility that the AV translators resorted to a TL-oriented strategy simply to avoid redundancy. The fact that a reference is monocultural or microcultural had a higher influence in the QF and the PEN versions, and less influence on the LAT version. The same can be said about micro-level ECRs, which had a greater impact on the QF and PEN versions, and less impact on the LAT version.

5.4.5. Misunderstood ECRs in the Spanish and French versions

Whether it is because of the time limitation that characterises professional AVT activity or simply a failure to recognise the ECRs, it appears that in some cases, dubbing professionals might not have understood all of Tarantino's numerous references. For instance, when Sheriff Earl McGraw calls Stuntman Mike "old Frankenstein", he does not refer to the creature in Mary Shelley's famous 1818's novel (which is the meaning implied in the PEN version), but to David Carradine's character in the action film *Death Race 2000* (Paul Bartel, 1975). The French professional also failed to recognise or did not have time to properly investigate some of Tarantino's references. In the QF version, the translator dubbed the film *Big Wednesday* (John Milius, 1978) as *spécial du mercredi*. However, the official title for this film in Quebec is *Un mercredi spécial*, which makes us wonder if the translator assumed that "Big Wednesday" was the name of a promotion instead of a movie (in Canada, like in many other countries, there is a day of the week where tickets are less expensive). The same film also led to a misunderstanding in the FF version: instead of its official title in France (*Graffiti Party*), the translator substituted it for *American Graffiti* (George Lucas, 1973), which has a similar title, but a different plot. Furthermore, there is a translation slip in the reference to the movie *Hooper* (Hal Needham, 1978): the FF professional seems to have thought that Tarantino referred to the horror-film director, Tobe Hooper, instead of Burt Reynolds' stuntman character in the 1978's film.

5.4.6. American ECRs

I was interested to find out if the "Americanness" of a reference had an impact on decision-making in the versions dubbed for the American continent. That is to say, are the American references maintained in higher proportion in the QF and LAT versions than in the FF and PEN versions? After analysing the references, it does not seem to be the case: it appears that American ECRs are maintained in similar proportion in all versions, ranging from 70% in the LAT version, 69% in the QF version, 67% in the FF version, and finally 65% in the PEN version.

5.5. Future tenses

Table 49. Future forms in the Spanish versions

FUTURE FORM	**PEN VERSION**		**LAT VERSION**	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Simple	**74**	**66.1**	**107**	**81.1**
Periphrastic	38	33.9	25	18.9
TOTAL	112	100	132	100
Omission/ dismissed	63		43	

First, I would like to specify that the cases where there was not a real choice between the simple and the periphrastic forms were dismissed, for instance, cases where one form was required in order to maintain the original meaning. Both the PEN and the LAT versions used predominantly the simple form of the future, even

though the periphrastic form of the future is more used in real-life spoken conversation (Gutiérrez 1995, Cartagena 1995, 1996; Obediente Sosa 2000). The LAT version is the version that features the highest number of simple forms of future, in a little over 80% of the cases. Synchrony might motivate this choice, as often the simple form implies a syllable less than the periphrastic. The necessity to be brief is increased by the fact that French and Spanish tend to be wordier and feature words with more syllables than English.

Table 50. Future forms in the Spanish versions when periphrastic is used in the original English version

FUTURE FORM	**PEN VERSION**		**LAT VERSION**	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Simple	12	38.7	**24**	**60**
Periphrastic	**19**	**61.3**	16	40
TOTAL	31	100	40	100
Omission/ dismissed	19		10	

I was interested to find out if media-specific constraints (such as synchrony) might motivate the translator to resort to the simple form of future. In the PEN version, out of the 74 occurrences of *futuro simple*, 24 (32.4%) were two syllables shorter than their equivalent periphrastic form, and 50 (67.6%) were one syllable shorter. In the LAT version, out of the 107 occurrences of *futuro simple*, 34 (31.8%) had two syllables less than their equivalent periphrastic form, and 73 (68.2%) had one syllable less. Thus, it is

possible that the choice to resort to the simple or synthetic form of future in Spanish might be motivated by media-specific constraints.

Furthermore, since the original version generally influences the translation process, I wanted to find out if the use of a periphrastic form (*going to + infinitive*) in the original English version had an impact on the choice of a form of future in the PEN and LAT dubbed versions. In the original version, there are 50 cases where the periphrastic form is used. Excluding the cases of omission and dismissed occurrences (19 cases), 61.3% of these had been translated into a periphrastic form in the PEN version, which is not all that surprising considering it is used commonly in spoken Spanish. What is more surprising is the fact that in the LAT version, only 40% were kept in the periphrastic form while 60% of these occurrences were changed and translated deliberately into a simple form of future. This is even more unexpected considering that the LAT version, as we know, tends to stay closer to the original English version.

Table 51. Future forms in the French versions

FUTURE FORM	**QF VERSION**		**FF VERSION**	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Simple	**61**	**61.6**	**78**	**62.4**
Periphrastic	38	38.4	47	37.6
TOTAL	99	100	125	100
Omission/ dismissed	60		34	

There are some cases where the periphrastic form cannot be substituted for the simple form of future (for instance, to express speculation); such cases were dismissed. The same has been done for cases where the periphrastic form was required, for example, in situations where the mentioned action is about to occur (for instance, "*bon/ moi j'vais m'coucher*", which the character of Arlene says when she is about to go to bed). In both versions, the simple form of the future is used predominantly, with similar results, in a little over 60% of all occurrences.

I was also keen to find out if media-specific constraints might have motivated the choice of a synthetic form of future, as it appears to have in both Spanish versions. In the QF version, out of the 61 occurrences of *futur simple*, only 17 of these (27.9%) actually feature one syllable less than the periphrastic form of future. Thus, in 72.1% of the time where future simple was used, there was no difference in the number of syllables, which means that synchrony does not justify the need to use the *futur simple*. In the FF version, out of the 78 occurrences were the futur simple was employed, only 15 features one syllable less than the periphrastic form, which means that in 80.8% of the cases, both forms have the same amount of syllables, hence, the choice is not justified for synchrony reasons.

Table 52. Future forms in the French versions when periphrastic is used in the original English version

FUTURE FORM	**QF VERSION**		**FF VERSION**	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Simple	7	29.2	**7**	29.2
Periphrastic	**17**	**70.8**	17	**70.8**
TOTAL	24	100	24	100
Omission/ dismissed	6		6	

In this case as well, I was interested to find out if the use of a periphrastic form (*going to* + infinitive) in the original English version had an impact on the choice of a form of future in the QF and FF dubbed versions. Out of the 30 cases where the periphrastic form is used in the original English version, excluding the omission and dismissed cases, 70.8% had been translated into a periphrastic form both in the QF and the FF versions. These results could indicate that there was indeed an influence on the chosen future form from the original English version.

Out of the four versions, it seems that the LAT version is the only one where the original English version choice of the periphrastic form did not have an impact on the future form chosen in the translation.

5.6. Anglicisms

Table 53. Example of Anglicisms in the Spanish versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	PEN VERSION	LAT VERSION
23	PUNKY	any dead soldier here?	¿**algún soldado muerto**?	¿alguna botella vacía?
24	JULIA	you bet your ass	fijo que sí/ coño	**puedes apostar el trasero**
25	JULIA	touch base with Chris and Jesse	le pegamos un toque a Chris y a Jesse	**tocar base con Chris y Jesse**

In the PEN version, a total of 7 Anglicisms were found, out of which 6 are loanwords (3 x *sexi*, *parking* and 2 x *roscoe*) and one calque (example #23). In the LAT version, 10 loanwords (4 x *sexi*, 3 x *set, pie* and 2 x *roscoe*) and 9 calques were found, for a total of 19 Anglicisms. It is almost impossible to assert that there is a definite tendency, but these observations certainly go along with the fact that the LAT version tends to stay much closer to the original version, even to the point sometimes of sounding unnatural in the target language (examples #24 and #25).

Table 54. Example of Anglicisms in the French versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
26	JULIA	so you're in a club or a bar	tu es dans un **club** ou un bar	tu es dans un **club** ou un bar
27	SHANNA	for the weekend	pour le **week-end**	pour le **week-end**
28	JULIA	black men	plein d'mecs noirs	i'a une tripotée d'**blacks**
29	ABBIE	and it's a cheerleader movie	et c'est une histoire de cheerleaders	c'est un cheerleader **movie**

In the QF version, 36 Anglicisms were found, 35 of which are loanwords (out of which 2 are verbs adapted to French language morphology) and one is a calque. In the FF version, 57 loanwords (1 of them adapted to the French morphology) and 2 calques were found, for a total of 59 Anglicisms. The fact that the FF version has more Anglicisms than the QF version is not all that surprising since anglicisms are not considered an improper use, which they are in Quebec. Out of the 35 loanwords found in the QF version, 20 are considered (by some) to be an improper use (which represents 57.1%). There are cases where Usito indicated that some terms are criticised in Quebec and not in France (such as the word *club* in example #26). Furthermore, there are cases where the *Grand Robert* dictionary not only accepts, but justifies the use of such Anglicisms, for instance the word "week-end" (example #27). It is claimed in the entry of *fin de semaine,* a term coined in Quebec, that it does not cover the different connotations that "weekend" holds. The entry explains that while *fin de semaine* does refer to Saturday and Sunday, it can't be used to mean leisure time, often spent outside of one's hometown (for instance, in the phrase *partir en weekend*, *weekend* cannot be replaced by *fin de semaine*, according to *Le Grand Robert*). Furthermore, in France, certain English words are used instead of their French equivalent because they have acquired a fashionable connotation (examples #28 and #29), which linguist Pierre Frath considers to be snobbism (Develey 2017). Whether or not it is actual snobbism or simply a linguistic trend, the Franco-French dubbing industry clearly does not shy away from resorting to Anglicisms for which a French equivalent exists. It would be

doubtful that such words would be featured in Quebec dubbed versions, especially considering the past fight of Quebec linguistic institutions with Anglicisms, even if they are used in colloquial real-life conversations.

Clearly, in the particular case of the dubbed versions of *Death Proof*, that the French dubbed versions feature a much higher numbers of Anglicisms than the Spanish ones. The FF version, which is the dubbed version featuring the most Anglicisms of all four versions, counts over eight times more than the PEN version, which is the version with the fewest Anglicisms. Overall, loanwords are more frequent than calques, except in the LAT version where almost half of the Anglicisms are calques, due to its tendency to translate almost word by word from the original English version. Whether it is because of its geographical proximity to the USA or its linguistic past, the QF version does feature more Anglicisms than both Spanish versions, without reaching the same level as the FF version. Anglicisms which are commonly used in a colloquial register and for which there is not a commonly-used equivalent are featured (*cool, sexy, dealer, shooter*) in the dubbed version, yet words which are clearly used for their hipness and for which there is an equivalent (*black, movie, parking, boss*) are absent from the QF version.

5.7. Translation of geolect

Table 55. Translation of geolect in the Spanish versions

	PEN VERSION		LAT VERSION	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Omission	4	17.4	7	30.4
Colloquial term	6	26.1	2	8.7
Colloquial term with a geolectal connotation	2	8.7	1	4.3
Unmarked term	**10**	**43.5**	**13**	**56.5**
TOTAL	23	100	23	100

Table 56. Examples of translation of geolectal elements in the Spanish versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	PEN VERSION	LAT VERSION
30	ZOË	nice one/ mate [254]	me mola/ **colega**	ø
31	ZOË	I'm the one who's on/ the bonnet	soy yo la que va en el **capote**	yo iré arriba
32	JULIA	y'all are gettin' me hot[255]	me estáis poniendo cachonda	me están entusiasmando
33	KIM	you on the hood	se dice capó	vas en el **capote** [256]

[254] Chiefly British (Merriam-Webster).
[255] Chiefly Southern (Merriam-Webster).
[256] Interestingly, in the LAT version, the term *capote* associated with Chile was used to translated the North American term *hood* (according to the Oxford English Dictionary) rather than the British/ Commonwealth term *bonnet* like in the PEN version.

In *Death Proof*, since most characters are from the USA, with the exception of Zoë who is clearly identified as a New Zealander, some cases of geolectal elements were found in the original version, 23 occurrences to be exact. In the PEN version, 17.4% of these geolectal elements were omitted, 26.1% were translated into a colloquial Spanish word without any geolectal connotation (such as in example #30, in Table 56 above), 8.7% were translated into a lexical element associated with Chile[257] (twice the same word, see example #31) and 43.5% were simply translated for an unmarked Spanish word (such as in example #32). In the LAT version, 30.4% were omitted, 8.7% were translated into a colloquial Spanish word without any geolectal connotation, 4.3% was translated into a lexical element associated with Chile (see example #34), and finally, a majority, that is 56.5% were simply translated for an unmarked Spanish word. The most common omitted term in both Spanish versions is the form of address *mate*, representing 75% and 57.1% of all omitted terms in the PEN and LAT versions respectively.

[257] According to the Oxford Spanish Dictionary.

Table 57. Translation of geolect in the French versions

	QF VERSION		FF VERSION	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Omission	**10**	**43.5**	8	34.8
Vulgar term	1	4.3	0	0
Colloquial term	8	34.8	**9**	**39.1**
Colloquial term with a geolectal connotation	0	0	0	0
Unmarked term	4	17.4	6	26.1
TOTAL	23	100	23	100

Table 58. Examples of translation of geolectal elements in the French versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
34	KIM	redneck	gros **con**	sale bâtard
35	MARCY	howdy	**salut toi**	**salut chéri**
36	MARCY	when were y'all gonna tell her?	vous comptiez lui dire quand?	vous alliez lui dire quand?

The translators opted for slightly different solutions in the French dubbed versions. Most geolectal terms were omitted in the QF version, closely followed by a translation into a more colloquial term (39.1% if we include colloquial and vulgar terms, such as in

example #34).[258] There are a few items which have been translated into an unmarked term, only counting for 17.4%. The most common solution (39.1%) in the FF version is to translate the geolectal term into a colloquial one, without any geolectal connotation (see example #35). The second most frequent is the omission of the term (34.8%), and finally, translation into an unmarked term (example #36). The chiefly British and Commonwealth term of address *mate* counts for 60% and 62.5% of all omitted terms in the QF and FF versions respectively.

5.8. Translation of a character's idiolect: the case of Kim

Of all the character in *Death Proof*, the car-stunt specialist Kim might just be the protagonist with the most developed idiolect. She is Afro-American, in her late twenties, and does not mind resorting to offensive language. Within the last 49 minutes of the movie, she utters 17 times the word *bitch(es)*, 19 times *motherfucker(s)*, 18 times *shit* and finally, 7 times the taboo term *nigga* (she is the only character to use that word in the film). Apart from her relentless use of vulgar language, another trait of her idiolect is the use of African-American Vernacular English. She often omits the copula *be* (for instance, she says *We back* and *You gonna drive* instead of *We are back* and *You are gonna drive*), she resorts to the personal pronoun *them* in sentences like *I love <u>them</u> mushy lips*, and although she is not the only character to do so, she

[258] According to the *Grand Robert, con* is considered vulgar while *bâtard* is colloquial.

frequently uses the negative contraction *ain't* (e.g. *They ain't got sugar-free Red Bull*) and negative concord (e.g. *I don't need me no best friend*). I noticed her idiolectal features during the analysis of the film and I was keen to know if the translators had acknowledged the particularities of her idiolect too and if they had intended to transmit some aspects of it in the dubbed versions. However, it is common in AVT for the same word to get translated into various terms (as the many studies on the translation of the word *fuck* already demonstrated; see Pujol 2006; Soler Pardo 2011; amongst others), even if such word forms part of a character's idiolect.

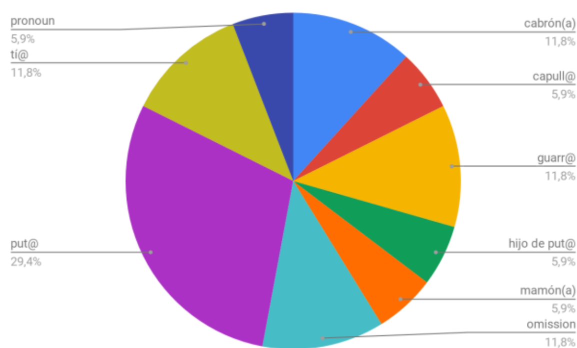

Figure 59. Translation of *bitch* in the PEN version

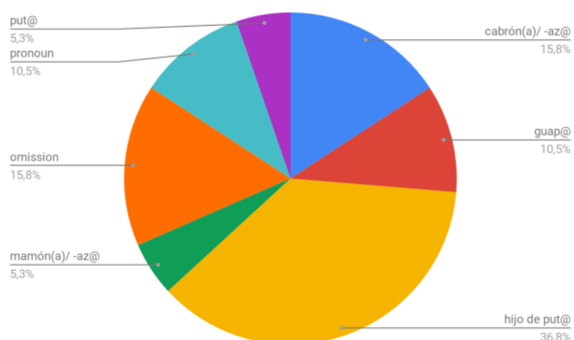

Figure 60. Translation of *motherfucker* in the PEN version

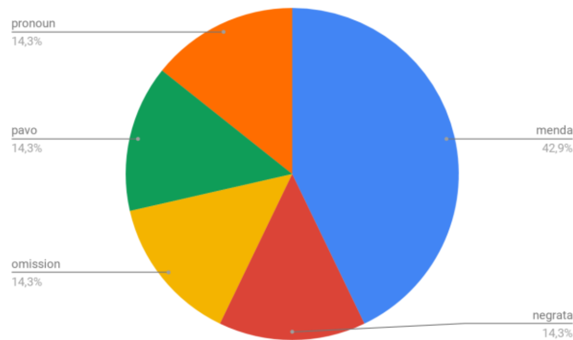

Figure 61. Translation of *nigga* in the PEN version

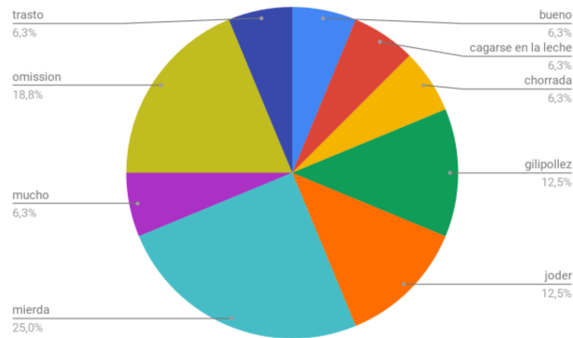

Figure 62. Translation of *shit* in the PEN version

In the PEN version, aside from alternative translation solutions (mainly omission and resorting to a pronoun), the word *bitch* has been translated into 7 different terms (see Figure 59 above), *motherfucker* into 5 different terms (Figure 60), *nigga* into 3 terms (Figure 61) and finally, *shit* into 8 words (Figure 62). In total, Kim's four most used words have been translated into 20 different terms and expressions. Out of these 20 words, *hijo/a de puta* is featured 7 times, *puto/a* 5 times, *mierda* 4 times and *menda* 3 times

(making these the most common translation for *motherfucker, bitch, shit* and *nigga* respectively).

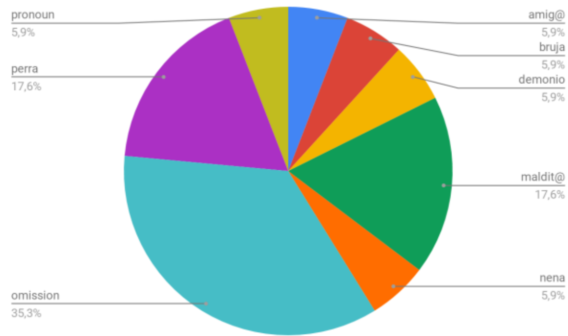

Figure 63. Translation of *bitch* in the LAT version

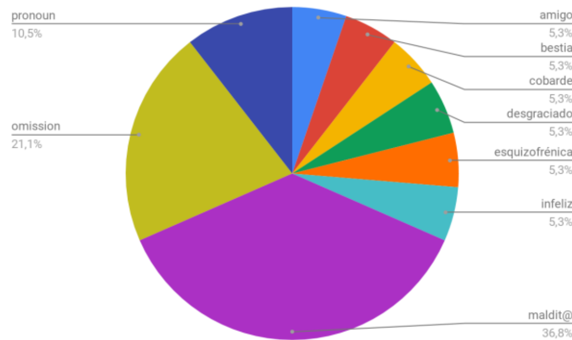

Figure 64. Translation of *motherfucker* in the LAT version

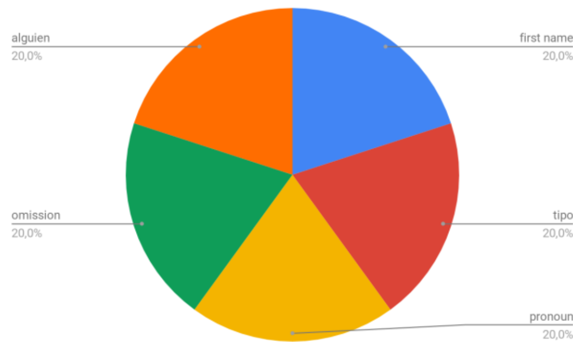

Figure 65. Translation of *nigga* in the LAT version

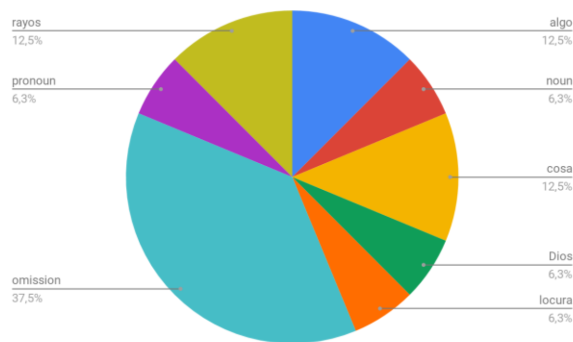

Figure 66. Translation of *shit* in the LAT version

In the LAT version, aside from omission and resorting to a pronoun, substantive and first name (which were used slightly more than in the PEN version), the word *bitch* has been translated into 6 different terms (see Figure 63 above), *motherfucker* into 7 different terms (Figure 64), *nigga* into 2 terms (Figure 65) and finally, *shit* into 5 words (Figure 66). In total, Kim's four most used words have been translated into 18 different terms and expressions. Out of these 18 words, *maldito* is featured 10 times and *perra* 3 times (*perra* is also the most "vulgar" term featured in the LAT version). However,

maldito is used on 26 occasions in the LAT version and is uttered by seven different characters, aside from Kim.

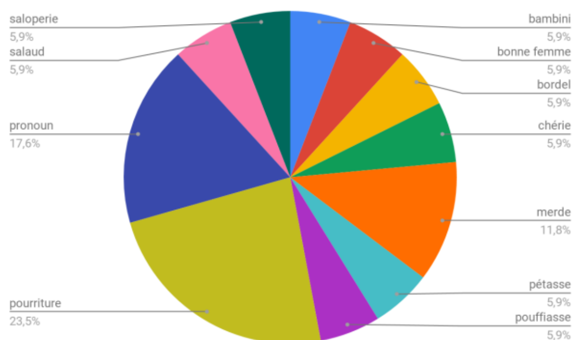

Figure 67. Translation of *bitch* in the QF version

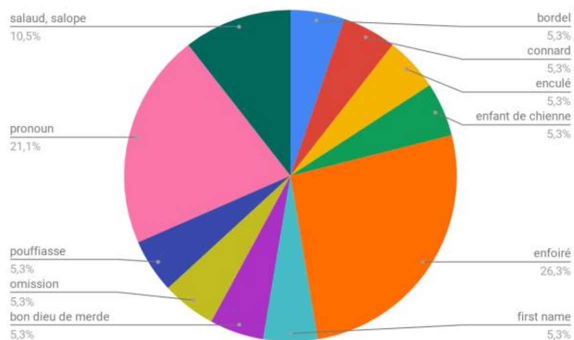

Figure 68. Translation of *motherfucker* in the QF version

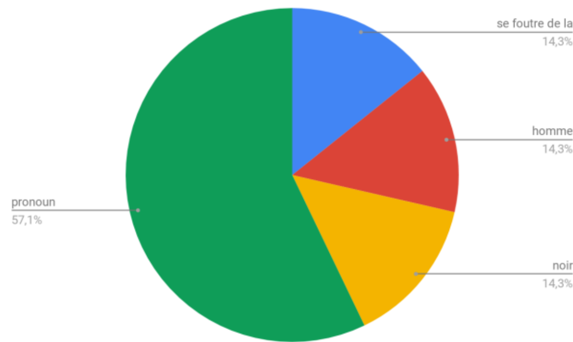

Figure 69. Translation of *nigga* in the QF version

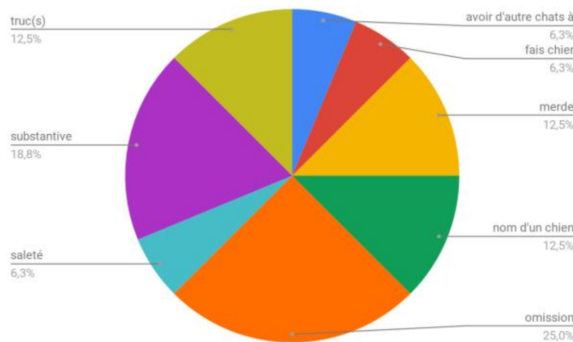

Figure 70. Translation of *shit* in the QF version

The four most common words in Kim's idiolect were also translated into a wide array of terms (22 different words and expressions in each version), and using various alternative solutions, such as omission and using a first name, noun or pronoun. In the QF version, *bitch* has been translated into 10 different terms (see Figure 67 below), *motherfucker* into 8 different terms (Figure 68), *nigga* into 3 terms (Figure 69) and finally, *shit* into 6 words

(Figure 70). Although there is no term which stands out as much as in the original version, *enfoiré* is featured 5 times for *motherfucker, pourriture* 4 times for *bitch*, and *merde* 5 times.

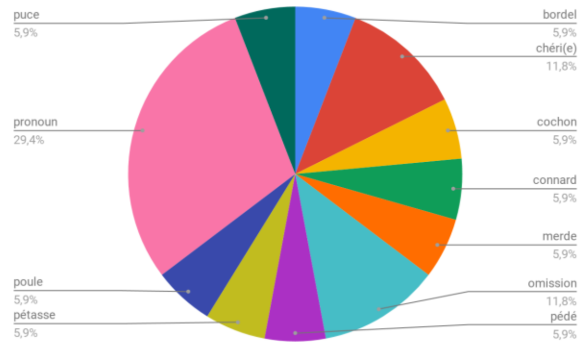

Figure 71. Translation of *bitch* in the FF version

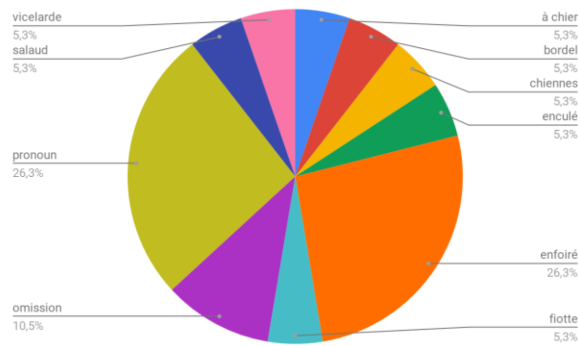

Figure 72. Translation of *motherfucker* in the FF version

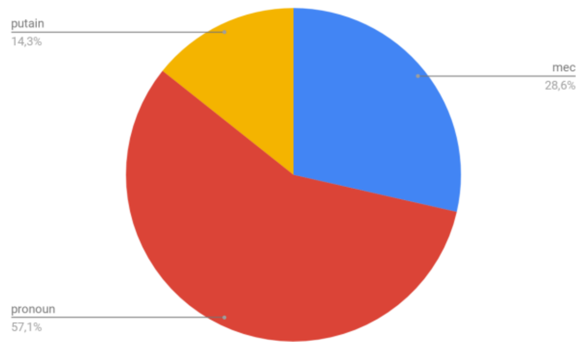

Figure 73. Translation of *nigga* in the FF version

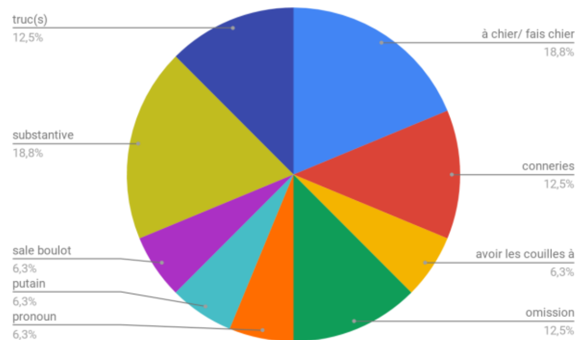

Figure 74. Translation of *shit* in the FF version

In the FF version, *bitch* has been translated into 9 different terms (see Figure 71 above), *motherfucker* into 8 different terms (Figure 72), *nigga* into 2 terms (Figure 73) and finally, *shit* into 7 words (Figure 74). Although there is no term which stands out as much as in the original version, *enfoiré* is featured 5 times for *motherfucker,* and *pourriture* 4 times for *bitch*

Table 75. Examples of idiolect translation in the French versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
37	KIM	ain't you supposed to be my slave or some **shit**?	tu devais pas être mon esclave très obéissante?	t'as pas dit qu'tu serais mon esclave tout à l'heure?
38	KIM	I'm about to bust a nut in this **bitch**	j'vais bientôt **lui** péter la gueule moi	j'vais **t'**défoncer l'train

Table 76. Example of idiolect translation in the Spanish versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	PEN VERSION	LAT VERSION
39	KIM	you thought you lost us/ **motherfucker**/ we back/ **motherfucker**/ we back	¿creías que nos había despistado?/ hemos vuelto/ **hijo de puta**/ hemos vuelto	¿creíste que nos había perdido/ **maldito cobarde**? / volvimos

This (limited) analysis of Kim's idiolect does not allow us to conclude that the translators achieved or tried to transmit its characteristics in the dubbed versions of *Death Proof*. Some terms are used repetitively, but not enough to constitute a clear idiolect and, as a result, her original idiolect is diluted amongst the numerous terms used to convey her lines and some sociolectal and geolectal connotations are lost, especially in the case of the words *nigga* and *motherfucker*. However, part of Kim's idiolect consists of constant swearwords and taboo expressions, and this characteristic does come through in most versions, with the exception of the Latin American one.

Evidently, throughout the dubbing procedure, many factors hinder the transmission of a character's idiolect: the limited time allotted for AVT, let alone the analysis of a character's portrayal through its idiolect, and media-constraints such as synchronisation.

Indeed, it is much shorter for the translator to use a pronoun (example #38), omit the term (example #37), or at least avoid repetition, especially when the same word is used twice (example #39).

5.9. Relaxed pronunciation

Table 77. Relaxed pronunciation in the Spanish versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	PEN VERSION	LAT VERSION
40	JULIA	we are not coming over there	no vamos a ir ahí	no iremos **par' allá**
41	WARREN	post time	**pa' dentro**	adentro
42	JULIA	word	**pa' dentro**	salud

Almost no case of relaxed pronunciation was found in either of the Spanish dubbed versions. Occurrences of elimination of the consonant /d/ in the masculine past participle suffix *-ado* are non-existent in the dubbing of *Death Proof*. Only one occurrence was found in the LAT version (a vowel reduction shown in example #40) and two in the PEN version, both apocopes (examples #41 and #42). These results are not all that surprising in the case of the LAT version because the elimination of the consonant /d/ in the masculine past participle suffix *-ado* is considered vulgar (Thompson 1992: 61) and would not be featured in a dubbed version where AVT professionals actively promote a formal register. However, it is more unexpected in the case of the PEN version, because that informal pronunciation is common in colloquial real-life conversation.

Table 78. Relaxed pronunciation in French subject pronouns

	QF VERSION		**FF VERSION**	
	OCCURRENCES	%	OCCURRENCES	%
i√	42/128	32.8	65/134	48.5
il/ils	**86/128**	**67.2**	**69/134**	**51.5**
è√	3/49	6.1	5/57	8.8
elle/ elles	**46/49**	**93.9**	**52**	**91.2**
i√a	**34/36**	**94.4**	**37/38**	**97.4**
il y a	2/36	5.6	1/38	2.6

The versions dubbed into French feature much more cases of relaxed pronunciation than the Spanish ones, which is not surprising, considering that there is a considerable gap between written and spoken French, and spoken French offers many possibilities of relaxed pronunciation (amongst which elision, shwa, apocope and syncope) and phonetic simplification. These relaxed pronunciations do not necessarily bear a negative connotation and are not always heard exclusively in informal situations (for instance, the shwa). I selected different aspects of relaxed pronunciation to be analysed: (1) the deletion of /l/ in personal pronouns *il(s)*, including the impersonal subject pronoun *il* (*il y a* > *i'a*), (2) the informal pronunciation *è* for personal pronouns *elle(s)*; and, (3) clipping such

as consonant cluster reductions (*votre* > *vot'*), apocopes (*papa* > *pa'*), and syncopes (*peut-être* > *p't-être*).

In the QF version, out of the 42 occurrences of informal pronunciation i√ for subject pronouns *il(s)*, 8/42 (19%) are cases of the impersonal pronoun *il*, 23/42 (54.8%) are cases of third person singular *il* and 11/42 (26.2%) are cases of third person plural *ils*. In the FF version, out of the 65 occurrences of informal pronunciation i√, 14/65 (21.5%) are cases of the impersonal pronoun *il*, 39/65 (60%) are cases of third person singular *il* and 12/65 (18.5%) are cases of third person plural *ils*. Even though the standard pronunciation dominates in both French dubbed versions, the informal pronunciation of *il(s)* nonetheless counts for 32.8% of all occurrences in the QF version and 48.5% in the FF version.

As for the feminine personal pronoun *elle(s),* I identified much fewer cases of the informal pronunciation è√ in both French dubbed versions: only 3 occurrences in the QF version (2 referring to the third person singular *elle* and only one for the third person plural *elles*). In the FF version, there are 5 occurrences: 3 cases of third person singular *elle* and 2 third person plural *elles*. The standard pronunciation for *elle(s)* is used in much higher proportions, the informal pronunciation only represents 6.1% of all occurrences in the QF version and even 8.8% in the FF version.

Conversely, the informal pronunciation *i'a* for the impersonal pronoun *il* in the verbal phrase *il y a* (employed at different verb tenses: i'avait, i'aura, etc.) is used most of the time: 94.4% in the QF version and 97.4% in the FF version).

Table 79. Examples of consonant cluster reductions, apocopes and syncopes in the French versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
43	JULIA	then maybe you did it earlier	alors **p't-être** bien qu' tu lui diras non	alors **p't-être** que tu l'auras fait
44	ARLENE	I'll pay for it when we get some	c'est moi qui l'offre si on en trouve	j'vais l'payer **vot'** matos
45	ZOË	you guys are our collateral	vous allez servir de garantie	vous êtes **not'** caution

As for clipping on a strictly phonetic level, I identified 12 occurrences of syncopes, 3 consonant cluster reductions and 1 apocope in the QF version; and 18 consonant cluster reductions, 1 apocope and 6 syncopes in the FF version. The most frequent syncope in the QF version is *p't-être* (informal pronunciation of *peut-être* "maybe"), as shown in example #43, which counts for approximately 67% of all syncopes and half of all cases. Conversely, the FF version features many more consonant cluster reductions than syncopes and apocopes, and 35% of the former concern possessive pronouns (examples #44 and #45). The informal pronunciation *p't-être* is the most frequent syncope and accounts for around 83% of this phonetic phenomenon. Finally, the findings of my study are consistent with those of Reinke (2018), who had noted that reduction in consonant clusters at the end of words was less frequent than deletion of the */l/* in personal pronouns.

5.10. Truncation

Table 80. Truncation in the Spanish versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	PEN VERSION	LAT VERSION
46	SHANNA	mean girl in a high school movie	chica mala de **peli**	maldita de película de secundario
47	PAM	super funny	es súper**diver**	es muy gracioso
48	JULIA	on the back of the van	parte trasera de la **furgo**	en la maldita camioneta
49	JASPER	is it a porno movie?	¿es una **peli porno**?	¿es pornográfica?

As for truncation or shortening, I identified 12 cases of clipped words in the PEN version, and none in the LAT version, even though this phenomenon occurs in both continents. Some examples are listed in Table 80, all of which are associated with a colloquial register in Spanish. One case of clipped word is directly inspired from the original English version (example #49).

Table 81. Truncation in the French versions

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
50	ABBIE	he's likeable	c'est un gars **sympa**	c'est vrai qu'il est **sympa**
51	PAM	he's a grip	un machiniste plan	il est **machino**
52	JASPER	is it a porno movie?	c'est un film **porno**?	c'est un film **porno**
53	LEE	now I gotta say	bon/ j'dois avouer	attends/ sans **déc**

The French versions present slightly more cases of truncation: I identified 9 cases of clipped words in the QF version, and 19 in the FF version. In the QF version, 5 clipped words out of 9 concern the Francism *sympa*. Clipped words in the FF version are

more varied, although *pub* (short for *publicité*) is repeated 4 times. Only one case of clipped word is directly inspired from the original English version (example #52).

5.11. Enclitic and proclitic pronouns in the Spanish versions

Table 82. Enclitic and proclitic pronouns in the Spanish versions

	PEN VERSION		LAT VERSION	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Enclitic	**79/92**	**85.9**	**54/64**	**84.4**
Proclitic	13/92	14.1	10/64	15.6
TOTAL	92	100	64	100
Omission	26		54	

Although proclitic pronouns are used more frequently in real-life oral speech, they are used very scarcely in dubbing. Both the PEN and LAT versions feature a vast majority of enclitic pronouns, in a similar proportion. Unlike other parameters examined before, synchrony has little impact on the choice between an enclitic or a proclitic pronoun. In subtitling, where each line of subtitle can only contain between 37 and 40 characters, resorting to enclitic pronouns helps to save some precious characters, but in dubbing, this aspect does not matter. If the dubbed version had been made based on the subtitles, which is generally not the case (Ferrer Simó 2012: 166), it could have explained this clear tendency to use enclitic pronouns. We can only suppose that professionals – who

fall back mostly on the original script to produce their translation – tend to create a dubbed version which remains closer to the written pole than the spoken pole.

5.12. Diminutive and augmentative suffixes in the Spanish versions

Table 83. Diminutive and augmentative suffixes in the Spanish versions

	PEN VERSION		LAT VERSION	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
DIM.	**23**	**76,7**	**8**	**100**
AUG.	7	23,3	0	0
TOTAL	30	100	8	100
Diminutives:				
-ito/-ita	**19/23**	**82,6**	**7/8**	**87,5**
-illo/-illa	4/23	17,4	1/8	12,5
Augmentatives:				
-azo/-aza	7/7	100	0	0
TOTAL	30	-		-
Omission	4		26	

Although in real-life conversation, diminutive suffixes are used more frequently in Latin America than in Spain (Haensch 2002: 57), the opposite can be observed in the dubbed version of *Death Proof*. I observed that 74.2% of all diminutive suffixes identified in both versions were found in the PEN version. The most common suffix appears to be *-ito/-ita*, which represented 82.6% of

all diminutive suffixes in the PEN version and 87.5% in the LAT version. No augmentative suffixes were found in the LAT version (while 7 were identified in the PEN version), which was almost to be expected considering they are less used in Latin America than in Spain. In the PEN version, over 20% of the suffixes identified had an augmentative value. All of them ended with *-azo/-aza*. The results show that the LAT version respects the recommendations of Neutral Spanish professionals, such as Campbell (2017), who advises against the use of diminutive and augmentative suffixes, although they differ from Petrella's findings (1997).

5.13. Past tenses in the Spanish versions

Table 84. Past tenses in the Spanish versions

	PEN VERSION		**LAT VERSION**	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Pretérito perfecto (PP)	85/209	40.,7	11/223	4.9
Pretérito perfecto simple (PS)	**124/209**	**59.3**	**212/223**	**95.1**
TOTAL	209	100	223	100
Omission	26		54	
PS that would be PP	24/124	19.4		
PS that would be PS	100/124	80.7		
TOTAL	124	100		

The predominance of *pretérito perfecto simple* in the LAT version is consistent with its preponderant use in real-life conversation. In the PEN version, the use of past verb tenses is more equally distributed. During the first half of the movie, I found that the *pretérito perfecto* was more used simply because the characters are referring frequently to recent events than past events, which is the opposite in the second half, as the girls are sharing memories of past events and resort to the *pretérito perfecto simple* to do so. Overall, the *pretérito perfecto simple* remains the dominant past verb tense. However, in the PEN version, I noticed that when the *pretérito perfecto simple* had been used, there was close to 20% of the cases where the *pretérito perfecto* should have been used instead. I assume it was done in order to shave some time off the dubbed dialogue, but it makes me wonder if media constraints (such as synchrony) justify using a less "natural" verb tense.

During the analysis of the French dubbed versions, I realised that the verb tense corresponding to the *pretérito perfecto simple* (PS) in French, the *passé simple*, had not been used at all. Indeed, it is true that the *passé simple* has a much more literary connotation and would have been simply out of place in a film such as *Death Proof*. Past verb tenses in French alternate between *imparfait* (corresponding to the *imperfecto*) and *passé composé* (*pretérito perfecto*); thus, it is unfortunately impossible to compare results for this parameter between the two pluricentric languages.

5.14. Personal pronouns *on* and *nous* in the French versions

Table 85. Use of the pronouns *on* and *nous* in the French versions

	QF VERSION		FF VERSION	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
Nous	13/153	8,5	7/127	5,5
On	**140/153**	**91,5**	**120/127**	**94,5**
TOTAL	153	100	127	100
Omission	65		91	

Firstly, only the cases where the personal pronoun *on* was used with the same meaning as *nous* were retained for the analysis. I observed similar results in both versions dubbed into French, where the spoken personal pronoun *on* is used in much higher proportion than the more formal *nous*. Aside from the fact that the translators have chosen the personal pronoun which is used widely in spoken conversation, the personal pronoun *on* and its corresponding verb inflexion are often shorter than the *nous* (especially in the case of pronominal verb; for instance, *on se rejoint* versus *nous nous rejoignions*), an important fact that certainly had an influence on the translator's choice.

Table 86. Example of combined use of *on* and *nous* in the FF version

#		ORIGINAL VERSION	QF VERSION	FF VERSION
54	KIM	I'm thinkin' we told your ass to shut the fuck up	nous pensons que nous t'avons donné l'ordre de fermer ton clapet	**nous** pensons qu'**on** t'a demandé de fermer ta grande gueule

There are still very occasional cases where the more formal personal pronoun *nous* was employed, and looking into it, we can observe that they do not correspond to situations requiring a more formal register (which are scarce in *Death Proof*). Interestingly, the Franco-French practitioner even mixed both the oral pronoun *on* with the more formal one *nous* in the same sentence (example #54) which is quite unusual in French.

5.15. Interrogative forms in the French versions

Table 87. Interrogative forms in the French versions

		QF VERSION		FF VERSION	
		OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
+FORMAL	Inversion (INV)	19	10.1	4	2.3
	Est-ce que (EST)	56	29.8	26	15.1
+INFORMAL	subject + verb + question word (X)	**101**	**53.7**	**130**	**75.6**
	question word + subject + verb (xx)	12	6.4	12	7
TOTAL		188	100	172	100
Omission		23		39	

In both French versions, the translators resorted to the second-to-last most informal interrogative form, although the proportion is higher in the FF version than in the QF one. This question form represents a little over a quarter of all occurrences in the former while it counts for approximately half of the occurrences in the latter. Interestingly, the QF version features approximately 10% of questions with an inversion, which corresponds to the most formal interrogation form. While the FF version does feature a few inverted question forms, it appears they are used either in a formal situation (for instance, Abernathy trying to convince Jasper to let them drive the Dodge Challenger without his supervision) or when a character is being sarcastic. While it is also used in similar case in the QF version, it appears to be used in very informal situations, sometimes jointly with some offensive words (*mais que veux-tu qui s'passe/ bon Dieu d'merde?*). This gives the impression of an incoherent register, although we should not discard a possible ironic intention from the translator.

Furthermore, there is a scene in the second half of the film where the lewd (and blatantly bigot) mechanic Jasper asks Abbie, not understanding that Abernathy is an actual name, "*what's your first name?*" which has been translated into "*comment vous vous prénommez?"* The fact that he is using the polite personal pronoun *vous* associated with the informal French interrogative structure "question word + subject + verb + object" is not all that surprising, although the choice of verb is a bit formal. However, it does clash with the rest of the dialogue and the portrayal of Jasper as a character in general. His following line is "*what kinda first name is*

that?" which has been translated into the colloquial (and blunt) interrogation form: "*ça sort d'où un prénom pareil?*" In the FF version, the portrayal of Jasper remains consistent all through the scene; Jasper starts by asking informally "*mais c'est quoi l'prénom?*" followed by the rude statement "*c'est bizarre comme prénom ça*" which remains in line with Jasper's idiolect.

Finally, it is surprising that close to 30% of all interrogative forms in the QF version feature the interrogative phrase *est-ce que* since this form extends the sentences and makes it longer. As we know, AV translators tend to opt for the shorter option due to media-specific constraints, especially when translating from English to French or Spanish.

5.16. Omission of the negative particle *ne* in the French versions

Table 88. Negative forms in the French versions

NEGATIVE FORMS	**QF VERSION**		**FF VERSION**	
	OCCUR.	%	OCCUR.	%
with *ne*	36/190	18,9	17/214	7,9
without *ne*	**154/190**	**81,1**	**197/214**	**92,1**
TOTAL	190	100	214	100

In the QF version, there are 190 occurrences of negative sentences[259] with *pas, personne, jamais, rien, aucun(e), plus*. Out of these occurrences, only 36 cases feature the negative particle *n'* or

[259] Out of 190 occurrences, 148 cases are with *pas*, 2 with *personne*, 7 with *jamais*, 14 with *rien*, 7 with *aucun* and 12 with *plus*.

ne, which means that 81.1% of negative sentences are expressed in the form that is most common in spoken French. In the FF version, there are 214 occurrences of negative sentences[260] with *pas, personne, jamais, rien, aucun(e), plus*, only 17 of which feature the negative particle *n'* or *ne*. Thus, 92.1% of negative sentences are expressed without the negative particle, which corresponds to the most common form in oral French.

5.17. Summary of results

A summary of the parameters analysed in all dubbed versions can be found in the three tables below.

Table 89. Summary of results for parameters common to all versions

	REGISTER SHIFTS	ECRs	FUTURE TENSES	ANGLI-CISMS	GEO.	TRUNC.
PEN	48.2% same register	73.5% SL-oriented	66% simple form	7	43.5% unmarked term	12
LAT	71.6% more formal	68.9% SL-oriented	81% simple form	19	56.5% unmarked term	0
QF	49.5% same register	78% SL-oriented	61.6% simple form	36	43.5% omission	9
FF	46.3% same register	76.5% SL-oriented	62.4% simple form	59	39.1% colloquial terms	19

[260] Out of these, 173 cases are with *pas*, 1 with *personne*, 9 with *jamais*, 19 with *rien*, 3 with *aucun* and 9 with *plus*.

Table 89 shows the results for parameters that could be studied in all four versions. Firstly, from the percentages obtained for register shifts, we gather that almost all of the versions maintain the same register as the original, with the exception of the LAT dubbing. In this version, the vast majority of marked elements was translated into a more formal register. My result is consistent with previous studies, such as Petrella (1997), Miquel Cortés (2004) and Sinner (2010), as well as observation from professionals (Guevara 2013; Campbell 2017) who reported that colloquial and vulgar language is frequently neutralised and censored in Latin America. The other three versions also display a certain level of toning down or neutralisation: around 30% (and even 35% in the case of QF version) of marked elements were translated into a more formal or less offensive register. Thus, my results corroborate many authors' claim that dubbed filmic speech tends to be standardised, whether in Spain (Chaume 2012), in Quebec (von Flotow 2009, 2014) or in France (Luyken 1991; Goris 1993; Reinke & Ostiguy 2012).

Results for the use of the future tenses show that most versions, in particular the LAT, resorted to the simple form which is associated with a more formal register. My results do not reflect real-life use, especially in spoken language, either for Spanish (Gutiérrez 1995; Obediente Sosa 2000 for Latin America; Cartagena 1995-1996, for Spain) or for French[261] (Blondeau 2006; Bigot 2010, 2011). However, my findings are consistent with previous AVT studies which demonstrated that f*uturo simple* is more frequent in Latin American dubbed filmic speech than the

[261] In affirmative sentences.

futuro perifrastico since composed verb tenses are very scarcely used (Petrella 1997; Bravo García 2008; García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2010; Rotondo 2016: 13) and with Campbell's (2017) similar observation. My findings also match Reinke & Ostiguy's (2012: 17) results for QF dubbed filmic speech where they noted a more frequent use of the *futur simple* (over the *futur périphrastique*). However, my findings differ from their results for FF dubbed filmic speech where they had found more periphrastic future forms (ibid.).

As for the translation of geolectal elements, results show they were mostly substituted for unmarked terms in both versions dubbed into Spanish. Thus, my results are consistent with Baños Piñero's finding (2014b: 86) that standardisation of dubbed filmic speech often leads to 'geographical underdifferentiation' of the on-screen characters (see also Pavesi 2008: 81, and Romero Fresco 2009a: 51). My findings also match the idea in AVT that geolectal elements in the source text do not have a dialectal equivalent in the target culture (with the socio-geographic same connotations) and are often eliminated (Hatim & Mason 1990; Landers 2001; Díaz-Cintas & Remael 2007). However, I believe there was an attempt to preserve the function of a geolectal element in the source AVT, in one single case: the otherness of the word 'bonnet' used by the New Zealander Zoë, in opposition to Kim's local equivalent 'hood', has been maintained in the PEN version.[262] The foreignising term was

[262] The term *capote* was also used in the LAT version, but the reason behind it is more ambiguous. As the film is set in the US, Zoë is seen as the foreigner and Kim as the local, so it remains unclear as to why Kim's 'hood' was translated using a foreignising term.

rendered as *capote*, as opposed to the more commonly-used *capó* listed in the DRAE. While this meaning of *capote* was absent in most Spanish dictionary and marked as Chilean in one of the dictionaries consulted (LEXICO/ Oxford), I believe most Spanish speakers would not associate the term with any precise geographical area and would simply acknowledge its otherness. In the versions dubbed into French, omission of the geolectal elements (QF version) and substitution with colloquial terms (FF version) were the preferred solutions. My findings for the FF version are consistent with Ellender's (2015: 176) findings on French subtitles for the movies *Trainspotting* (Danny Boyle, 1996) and *The Angel's Share* (Ken Loach, 2012) where informal elements were used to replace Scots vocabulary, and Dore's (2016: 132) findings for Italian dubbings.

The analysis of ECRs shows that most versions opted for strategies that suggest an orientation towards the source culture. My results for the FF version position it as the second version with the most SL-oriented strategies after the QF version. This finding differ from previous studies on AVT on French AVT, where it was evidenced that TL-oriented strategies were prevalent in France, such as Reinke & Ostiguy (2012, 2015), Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy (2017), Reinke, Ostiguy, Houde & Émond (2018), Hollander (2001), Ellender (2016) and Mével (2012).

The analysis of Anglicisms shows fewer occurrences in the Spanish versions than in the French versions, where many loanwords and calques have been identified. My findings for the French versions correspond to Reinke & Ostiguy's results (2012)

for QF and FF dubbed filmic speech. However, my results for the Spanish versions differ from previous observations made by Baños Piñero (2014a: 87), Herbst (1997) and Petrella (1997). Nonetheless, I noticed many word-for-word translations in the LAT version (see section 5) which correspond to the "absolute calques" due to the influence of English and the AVT professionals working conditions, as reported by Chaume & García de Toro (2001). My findings are consistent with Campbell's observation (quoted in Rotondo 2016) that Latin American versions remain closer to the source text than the Peninsular Spanish versions, and with results from Redondo Pérez (2016: 57-58) and Gómez Capuz (2001: 60) who found frequent lexical calques in Latin American dubbings. Gómez Capuz states that this pragmatic influence is due to the "dominant position of the United States in America" and their relative geographical closeness (ibid.).

Finally, a certain number of truncation or clipped words, typical of an informal register and youth language, have been identified, especially in the FF and PEN. There are fewer in the QF version and none in the LAT version, even though this phenomenon exists in these speech communities as well. My findings for the PEN version are consistent with those of Baños (2014a: 89) who had identified 'shortening processes' in Spanish dubbese.

Table 90. Summary of results for parameters specific to the Spanish versions

	ENCLITIC/ PROCLITIC PRONOUNS	DIMINUTIVE AND AUGMENTATIV E SUFFIXES	PAST TENSE	RELAXED PRONUNCIATION
PEN	86% enclitic pronouns	**23 cases** in total (76,7%) DIMINUTIVES > AUGMENTATIVE S	60% simple form (20% should have been PP)	2 cases
LAT	84% enclitic pronouns	**8 cases** in total (100%) DIMINUTIVES > NO AUGMENTATIVE	95% simple form	1 case

Results from Table 90 above indicate a greater use of enclitic pronouns in both versions dubbed in Spanish. My findings do not correspond to real-life use of clitics in Spain and Latin America, where enclitic pronouns are reportedly preferred in written Spanish (Haensch 2001:72) and proclitic pronouns in spoken Spanish (Troya Déniz & Pérez Martín 2011). However, my results are confirmed by Campbell's claim (2017) that enclitic pronouns are more used in audiovisual translation based on the Neutral Spanish standard.

In terms of diminutive and augmentative suffixes, the PEN version does feature a certain number of informal suffixes, mainly diminutive, while only a few cases of diminutive suffixes were found in the LAT version, a result that does not reflect its use in real-life conversation, as reported by Moser (2015: 287), and Haensch (2002:57) who stated that "the use of diminutives is much

more frequent [in Latin America] than in Spain". However, the fact that more diminutive suffixes were found than augmentative suffixes (in fact, none were found) in the LAT version corresponds to real-life use in Latin America where augmentatives are less frequent than diminutives (Gaarder 1966). My results for the LAT version differ from Petrella's (1997) findings since she identified many diminutives suffixes particles in Latin American dubbing. However, my findings are consistent with Campbell's (2017) recommendations not to use such suffixes in Neutral Spanish dubbing.

The dominant use of the *pretérito perfecto simple* in the LAT version does reflect real-life use (Haensch 2001), as this verb tense is prefered in Latin America. As for Latin American AVT, my results are consistent with those of other studies (Petrella 1997; Bravo García 2008; Rotondo 2016: 13) which claimed that composed verb tenses are rarely used in Latin American dubbed filmic speech. As for the Peninsular Spanish variety, each form of past tenses corresponds to a particular use and as such, the overall percentage does not allow us to draw any conclusion. However, out of the total occurrences of *pretérito perfecto simple*, in 20% of the cases, the *pretérito perfecto* should have been used as it is more natural in Spain to use this verb tense to refer to events that very recently occurred. This finding suggests that synchrony has been prioritised over naturalness in some cases.

Finally, my results for relaxed pronunciation reflect more or less real-life use in Spain. I did not find any case where the consonant /d/ in the past participle suffix *-ado* had been eliminated,

while it is frequent in spoken Spanish (Thompson 1992: 61). However, my results for the PEN version match Baños Piñero & Chaume's (2009) findings since they had only found occurrences of relaxed pronunciation in subtitles, not in the dubbed version of *Friends* (David Crane & Marta Kauffman, 1994-2004). As for the LAT version, it was to be expected that the elimination of /d/ in the suffix *-ado* would not be observed as it is considered vulgar (ibid.) in Latin America. However, it is not to say that relaxed pronunciation do not occur in Latin America, through the aspiration of the consonant [-*s*] (Haensch 2001), for instance. No occurrence of this phenomenon was identified in my analysis either. Only one case of apocope (*pa' > para*) was observed.

Table 91. Summary of results for parameters specific to the French versions

	NOUS- ON	**INTERROGATIVE FORMS**	**NEGATIVE FORMS**	**RELAXED PRONUNCIATION**
QF	91.5% informal pronoun *on*	53.7% informal form	81.1% informal form	32.8% i√
				6.1% è√
				94.4% i√a
				16 consonant cluster reductions, apocopes and syncopes
FF	94.5% informal pronoun *on*	75.6% informal form	92.1% informal form	48.5% i√
				8.8% è√
				97.4% i√a
				26 consonant cluster reductions, apocopes and syncopes

In Table 91 above, my findings show a greater number of occurrences for the informal pronoun *on* (over the formal pronoun *nous*). My results match Coveney's finding (2000) that *on* is prefered in real-life spoken French over the first-person plural.

As for interrogative, there is a preference for the informal forms, as classified by Coveney (1996; 2015). Said preference is clear in the case of FF version and slightly more ambiguous for the QF version (since the second most used interrogative forms is the question with *est-ce que*, with almost 30%).

Results for the omission of the negative particle *ne* reflect real-life use, as reported by Berit Hansen & Malderez (2004) and Sankoff & Vincent (1977). Indeed, these studies have shown that in informal situations, the negative particle *ne* is omitted most of the time both in France and in Quebec. My results also match those of previous studies on AVT, such as Reinke's (2018: 16) who noted in a corpus of informal (dubbed) filmic speech that the negative particle *ne* had been omitted in 70% of the cases. However, my results differ from a previous study of Reinke & Ostiguy (2012: 17) where the academics had found that the negative particle was mostly kept in the QF version.

As for relaxed pronunciation, my findings reflect real-life use for the most part. In the case of the deletion of /l/ in the pronouns *il(s)*, my results are consistent with real-life use in Quebec (Reinke & Ostiguy 2016) and with those of Reinke (2005:33) for SCR television programs. They are also consistent with real-life use in France, as reported by studies from Malécot (1975), Laks (1980) and Ashby (1988) (in Reinke 2005: 34), even though I observed lower percentages of i√ than these scholars.263 Results for consonant cluster reductions, apocopes and syncopes also support Reinke's (2005: 32) findings for the SRC television programs, especially in informal settings, and Reinke & Ostiguy's findings (2012: 16) for Quebec dubbed filmic speech. They also match Reinke's (2018: 16) observation that reduction in consonant clusters is less frequent than deletion of the /l/ in personal pronouns. Finally,

[263] In these studies, the relaxed pronunciation i√ was observed in 75% of the cases (even 80% in Ashby 1988).

there were few cases of informal è√ pronunciation for the pronouns elle(s), similarly to Reinke's (2005: 40) findings for the SRC. However, my findings differ from previous studies which observed higher percentages of the informal pronunciation for elle(s), such as Ostiguy (1979), Poplack & Walker (1986), and Ostiguy & Gagné (2001) (in Reinke 2005: 40).

CHAPTER 6

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6. Conclusion

This last chapter is dedicated to drawing conclusions, firstly, on the methodological approach adopted to carry out my analysis and to meet my objective of studying how linguistic variation and prefabricated orality are rendered in the French and Spanish dubbed versions of the film *Death Proof* (2007). Then, I will reflect upon the findings obtained for all four dubbed versions, in relation to the previous studies on the subject, and to the theoretical framework presented in Chapters 1 and 3. Finally, I will discuss possible lines of investigation to further explore the audiovisual translation of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality.

6.1. Conclusions on methodological aspects

The analysis of register shifts was complicated by the fact that between the source language and the pluricentric target languages under study, there are differences in the terms used to refer to the distinct registers, and in English, 'formal', 'informal', 'colloquial', 'spoken' or 'vulgar' do not exactly coincide with the terms in French and Spanish found in the dictionaries. As Brumme (2012: 20-21) explains, the concept of *langage familier* in French[264] is not perfectly equivalent to *lenguaje coloquial* in Spanish. This remark applies to the other registers. To establish a comparison

[264] As described by Gadet (2007: 139-141).

between different languages, I had to simplify the classification and establish broader register categories for the analysis of register shifts: unmarked and marked, the latter ranging from colloquial to vulgar. Furthermore, Koch & Oesterreicher's concept of communicative distance and immediacy (1985, 1990; see also López Serena 2007a: 181-182; Brumme 2012: 22) as two opposed poles on a 'conceptional' continuum, has been very useful to resolve this methodological problem, and interpret the results of my analysis.

In addition to the non-equivalence between terms describing the registers, there were clear differences in the marking of register between the English, French and Spanish dictionaries. In some cases, lexical elements which appeared colloquial were not identified as such in the dictionaries. While I tried to systematically use language-specific references to determine the register, I had to rely on English dictionaries and other resources on some occasions. For instance, while the Collins and Oxford dictionaries clearly mark the word *stupid* as informal, the equivalent *stupide* was unmarked in the French dictionaries consulted. Even if *stupid* in English and *stupide* in French do not have the exact same connotation (and as we just saw, *langage familier* and informal speech do not have exactly the same meaning), I acknowledged the marking in the English dictionaries to justify its classification in one of the broader register categories, at least to determine whether it was unmarked or marked. I only resorted to such methodological solution in clear-cut cases: in the case of the insult *stupid*, in French, it would most likely be considered as marked and not used in a situation of

communicative distance, just like in English. However, I did not resort to this type of deduction to determine whether an element was colloquial or vulgar: it had to be clearly marked as vulgar, offensive, impolite (in English), *malsonante* (in Spanish) or *vulgaire* (in French) to be classified as the latter.

On other occasions, the exact word or expression was absent from the dictionaries, especially in the cases of colloquial and vulgar elements, which meant I had to base my marking of the register on a similar entry or an entry containing one of the word with the same acceptation. As an example, in the QF version, the expression *à fond la pédale* ("at full speed") was not found in any of the French dictionaries so I had to base my marking on the entry for *à fond la caisse*, which was marked as slang. In the PEN version, *tocahuevos* ("to be a pain in the ass") was also absent from the Spanish dictionaries, yet I marked it as vulgar since the word *huevos* with the meaning of "testicles" is considered vulgar in the DRAE.

Determining the register of insults (such as *stupid*), euphemisms, words with diminutive and augmentative suffixes, idiolectal neologisms and interjections was also complicated by the absence of information in reference works.

Furthermore, as mentioned in section 5.2., the analysis of Francisms in the QF version was hindered by the fact that only certain lexical items were marked as European French in USITO while others which are scarcely used in Quebec were not not identified as principally used in France. Since Francisms are "lexical unit whose relative frequency in the Quebec French variety

is much lower than in the Franco-French variety”[265] (Thibault 2010: 7), it would have been useful to have information regarding the frequency of use of certain words. Also, it would be interesting to find out how USITO decides which words should be marked as European French and which should not.

Moreover, my results from the analysis of strategies to render extralinguistic culture-bound references (ECRs) with Pedersen ‘Venutian scale’ (2005) have to be interpreted with caution. As Ramière (2006: 158) rightly observes, the clear identification of strategies employed is an uneasy task and so is the positioning of each strategy along a theoretical continuum. Furthermore, as she states, it is highly possible that translators treat each case individually, guided by the “many constraints of that particular mode of translation and the various contextual factors involved in the choice of strategies” (ibid., 159) rather than follow an “ideological, aesthetic or didactic agenda” (ibid., 161). Nonetheless, the chosen strategies have the power to “influence the way the source culture is perceived in the target culture” (Olk 2001: 56, quoted in Ramière 2006: 157) and thus, their analysis is still relevant.

Finally, as mentioned in the introduction, my study was meant mainly as a qualitative research to bring to light AVT trends and tendencies in the target cultures. The numerical data provided in the analysis of the results, while allowing me to quantify standard and non-standard features in the French and Spanish dubbed

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[265] My translation of “*unité lexicale dont la fréquence relative en franco-québécois est beaucoup plus faible qu’en français de France*”.

versions, and compare my findings with those of previous studies, is meant to have only an illustrative purpose. It remains a case study and the numbers obtained are only valid for this particular film and its dubbed versions to French and Spanish.

6.2. Conclusions on the translation of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality

If we examine the findings for the parameters specific to the two Spanish versions, we realise that most results indicate a certain communicative distance. The analysis of the enclitic and proclitic pronouns certainly does. As we saw in section 5.17. of the previous chapter, results for clitics in the Spanish dubbed versions do not reflect the real-life use of clitics in Spain and Latin America (Haensch 2001:72; Troya Déniz & Pérez Martín 2011), but respect the AVT standard in Neutral Spanish as stated by Campbell (2017).

As for the diminutive and augmentative suffixes, the two Spanish versions show different tendencies: communicative immediacy for the PEN version, and distance for the LAT version. As I found more suffixes in the PEN version than in the LAT version (which presented very few occurrences of diminutive suffixes, and no augmentative suffix), my results do not reflect real-life use in Latin America (Moser 2015:287; Haensch 2002:57) in regard to the frequency of diminutives. However, the fact that there was no augmentative suffix in the LAT version does suggest that these are less frequent than diminutive suffixes (Gaarder 1966). My results for the LAT version match Campbell's (2017) in regard to

the use of suffixes in Latin American dubbing, yet differ from Petrella's (1997) earlier results.

My results for the past tenses in the Spanish dubbed versions reflect mostly real-life use in Latin America and Spain. The fact that simple verb tenses are preferred over composed one in Latin American dubbed filmic speech (Petrella 1997; Bravo García 2008; Rotondo 2016: 13) has also been demonstrated. In the PEN version, I noticed that in 20% of these cases where the *pretérito perfecto simple* was used, the *pretérito perfecto* would have been the more natural option to refer to actions in a recent past. This observation matches Chaume's statement (2004c, 36) that, overall, dubbing professionals are interested in achieving synchronisation.

Finally, relaxed pronunciation also points to communicative distance as almost no occurrences of the phenomenon were found. Furthermore, the absence of past participle without /d/ in the suffix -*ado* does not reflect real-life use in colloquial spoken Peninsular Spanish (Thompson 1992: 61). Nonetheless, my findings are consistent with Baños Piñero & Chaume's (2009) results for Spanish dubbese.

As for my results concerning parameters specific to the versions dubbed into French, overall, they point towards a greater communicative immediacy, although it must be kept in mind that this could be due to the choice of parameters to analyse. The clear preference for the informal pronoun *on* and the preponderant use of the informal negative forms certainly suggest immediacy, as well as the prevalence of informal interrogative forms in both versions. However, for the latter phenomenon, percentages in the QF version

might not be high enough to draw any clear conclusion. Finally, relaxed pronunciation is predominantly used in the case of *il y a* and there are a certain number of consonant cluster reductions, apocopes and syncopes in both French versions, which indicate communicative immediacy. The deletion of the *l* in the pronouns *il(s)* is also non-negligible, however there are only a few cases of informal pronunciation for the pronouns *elle(s)*.

Finally, the fact that many Francisms were found in the QF version might imply that the *norme fantasmée* of International Spanish is based more on exogenous than endogenous standards despite UDA's claim to achieve dubbings into a 'delocalised' and 'neutral' variety (Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017: 116) and its purpose to use QF dubbed versions for pedagogical purpose (Lampron 1998) and to help "immigrants to better acclimatize to the French-speaking culture of Quebec" (UDA 1991).

Although very few occurrences were found, it was interesting to discover that the order for postverbal direct and indirect complements typical of FF was preferred over the informal QF order. To ascertain whether this is an indication of a greater communicative distance, an exogenous standard of the QF dubbed filmic speech, or simply the result of the AVT team being of European descent, further research should be carried on, preferably with translators who are native speakers of QF.

As for parameters that could be studied in all four versions, my results show distinct tendencies in the case of Anglicisms, translation of geolectal elements, register shifts and truncation, yet a similar orientation for the translation of ECRs and future tenses. In

this specific case study, my findings for the French versions suggest a slightly greater inclination towards communicative immediacy and the source culture than the Spanish versions. The LAT version sets itself apart from the others as its results all point towards communicative distance, a finding that corroborates the idea that Neutral Spanish is a supra-variety closest to the written canal. The (varying) set of prescriptions to carry out translations into Neutral Spanish (e. g.: no colloquial or vulgar language, no diminutive or augmentative suffixes, no geolectal ties, etc.) position it far from the linguistic reality in Latin America, not unlike Moreau's description of a *norme fantasmée* (1997).

The translation of geolectal elements was tackled with different strategies suggesting communicative distance in the QF version and the two versions dubbed into Spanish, and communicative immediacy in the FF version. According to Ellender (2015: 179), the decision to standardise linguistic variation, including (source) culture-bound, elements indicates a 'TL-oriented' approach. While "the domesticating approach remains largely predominant in France" (Mével 2012: 245), in the case of my research, there has been an attempt to render geolectal elements with marked/ non-standard language in the FF version. Thus, my findings for the translation of geolectal elements into colloquial language in the FF version are consistent with Dore's results (2016: 132) in her research on Italian dubbing, and with Ellender's results (2015: 176) for French subtitles.

Results for Anglicisms might not give us any indication in terms of communicative distance or immediacy, but their visible

presence in both versions dubbed into French suggest that they were used to evoke orality (as they occur in real-life speech), but not in the versions dubbed into Spanish. These results differ from previous studies (Baños Piñero 2014a, Herbst 1997; Petrella 1997), although I was able to observe the literal translations in Latin American dubbings (Chaume & García de Toro 2001; Campbell in Rotondo 2016). While that is merely a speculation, the fact that the French versions featured many more loanwords and calques might be due to the influence of the English language and the physical proximity to the USA in the case of Quebec (as it was the case for Latin America; see Gómez Capuz 2001), and the fashionable connotation the English language appears to have, in the case of France (Develey 2017).

Results for future tenses, which show a prevalence of the simple form in all four dubbed versions, suggest an overall communicative distance. As we saw in the previous chapter, this prevalence cannot be justified by the influence of the source language, since in approximately 60% of the cases in the Spanish versions and 70% in the French versions, the original periphrastic form in English have been translated into a synthetic or simple form. However, it is possible that the choice to resort to the simple form of future might be motivated by media-specific constraints in the Spanish versions: in both versions, 100% of the cases of *futuro simple* were one or two syllables shorter than their equivalent periphrastic forms. However, the same cannot be said of the French versions: only around 28% of the cases of *futur simple* were shorter by one syllable than their equivalent periphrastic forms.

Furthermore, my findings do not reflect real-life use of the future tenses, where the periphrastic is usually preferred in French (in affirmative sentences and in spoken language) and Spanish (Gutiérrez 1995; Obediente Sosa 2000; Cartagena 1995-1996; Blondeau 2006; Bigot 2010, 2011). However, my results match findings from previous AVT studies on Latin American (Petrella 1997; Bravo García 2008; García Aguiar & García Jiménez 2010; Rotondo 2016) and QF dubbings (Reinke & Ostiguy 2012), yet differ from those on FF dubbings (ibid.).

Translation of ECRs in the four dubbed versions indicates a common preference for SL-oriented strategies. Interestingly, the version which maintained the most ECRs (QF) and the one that maintained the least (LAT) both share a border with the USA, thus geographical proximity between the source and target culture only seem to have so much impact on the resulting translation. The decision to use an SL- or TL-oriented strategy depends mostly of each translator's interpretation of the ECRs and if she/he deems the target audience will be familiar with said ECRs. However, in the case of France, a certain propensity towards TL-oriented strategies has been identified in previous studies (Hollander 2001; Reinke & Ostiguy 2012, 2015; Mével 2012; Ellender 2016; Reinke, Émond & Ostiguy 2017, Reinke, Ostiguy, Houde & Émond 2018), an observation that has not been reflected in my results.

The presence of truncation or clipped words in the FF and PEN suggest a greater communicative immediacy than in the QF version where there are less occurrences of the phenomenon. Conversely, the absence of truncation in the LAT version point

towards communicative distance. The fact that truncation occurs in each of these speech communities, in informal settings, might suggest that some target cultures (in this case, Quebec and Latin America) are less acceptant of linguistic variation and that clipped words are not perceived (or more or less perceived) as a feature to evoke orality. My results for the PEN version match those of a previous study on Peninsular Spanish dubbese (Baños 2014a).

As for the particular case of Kim's idiolect, displaying constant vulgar language and features of African-American Vernacular English, my results suggest that while the repetition of some concrete offensive lexical items (namely, *bitch, motherfucker, nigga* and *shit*) had been 'diluted' in the dubbed versions, an effort had been made in the QF, FF and PEN versions to preserve the same register. Expectedly, considering the level of acceptance for linguistic variation of the target audience, most of her idiolectal features have been neutralised in the LAT version. Similarly to the rendition of geolectal items, the translation of a character's idiolect, which encompasses precise socio-cultural and geographical connotations, is not possible through searching for an 'equivalent' in the target culture, yet the functions of the idiolect can still be transmitted (Pym 2000). In this particular case, while viewers of the QF, FF and PEN dubbed versions might not gather that Kim's idiolect displays characteristics of African-American Vernacular English, they can still perceive her as a fierce, free-spirited woman who speaks her mind and does not care about upholding social standards through her blunt manner of speaking.

Finally, results for register shifts show the greatest contrast between the four versions in terms of communicative distance and immediacy: while the PEN, QF and FF versions mostly preserve the same register as the original English version, the LAT version sets itself apart and neutralised the great majority of marked features. We already acknowledge that Latin American audience is less tolerant to offensive language (Andión Herrero 2002; Miquel Cortés 2006; Rotondo 2016), thus, we understand that the dubbing team behind the LAT version of *Death Proof* decided to remain closer to the acceptability pole, if we interpret the situation in terms of Toury's (2012[1995]) initial norm of translation. However, such censoring leads to inevitable "losses in terms of characterisation and style" (Dore 2016: 133) and affects most definitely characters' portrayal (Hodson 2014). Furthermore, if dialogue guides the viewers' understanding and interpretation of the events occurring in the film (Kozloff 2000; Rotondo 2016), such a dramatic shift in register definitely affected the Latin American audience's perception of *Death Proof*. We could go as far as saying that the Latin American audience who watched the LAT version of the film have watched a film that is markedly different from Tarantino's original work. In Jakobson's words, the poetic and emotive functions were compromised while focus was put on the referential function of the communicative situation.

Nonetheless, this tendency to neutralise and censor is not exclusive to Latin America. Spanish AVT professional Josep Llurba Naval, quoted in Soler Pardo (2011: 192), confirms that normally taboo words are eliminated if they are not considered essential in

the eyes of the dubbing director/ the adapter. This type of decision-making to suit a distributor or AVT professional's taste or personal preferences might just evolve into a more structured process (see section 3.8.).

Despite the general tendency for target cultures to standardise dubbed filmic speech and to conservatism in audiovisual translation (cf. Chaume 2012), we can observe clear differences in the level of acceptance of linguistic variation. While results for the PEN and FF versions suggest a greater communicative distance than the original version of *Death Proof*, these dubbed versions managed to satisfy most functions that were meant to be fulfilled in terms of plot and characters' portrayal. On the other hand, the LAT version positioned itself even further from the communicative immediacy pole and failed to convey most of the original film's linguistic variation and the functions it played. Although it is true that Latin America produce a single dubbed version for a very large audience, possibly billions of viewers, belonging to various speech communities, yet linguistic variation appears to be systematically eliminated during the AVT process, without regards to its function in the the original version. Instead of attempting to find a widely-used term in an equivalent register, which would require more time and efforts, working conditions push AVT professionals to simply neutralise variation. It is also possible that AVT professionals justify their decision to standardise and censor, as part of the Neutral Spanish idealised norm, with the commonly-accepted idea that Latin American audience are less tolerant to certain type of registers.

In the case of the QF version, although it suggests a slightly communicative distance than the LAT version, and a greater tolerance for diaphasic and diastratic variation, its dubbed filmic speech appears to be based on standards that are more exogenous than endogenous. It might due partly to Quebec condition of semi-endonormativity (according to Ammon's normative model 1989), and the important asymmetry of prestige within the French-speaking world. Conversely, the fact that Latin America is also considered a semi-centre appears to have had less of an impact in terms of exogenous influence, most likely because of the demographic importance of Spanish speakers in America, and the lesser asymmetry between the normative centres of this pluricentric language.

Furthermore, for a dubbing variety which claims to be without geolectal ties, the QF certainly displays a high number of Francisms, a phenomenon that might have been amplified by the fact that most AVT professionals who were involved in the dubbing of *Death Proof* were of European descent. In any case, it is safe to say that both the dubbed filmic speech featured in the QF and LAT versions are based on idealised norms, where "an abstract and inaccessible set of prescriptions and prohibitions" (Moreau 1997: 222) are followed to match each translator's linguistic representation of the target language and culture. This results in dubbed filmic speech that is extremely variable from one translation to another, and ultimately, is very dependent of the competence and experience of the particular team behind each dubbed version.

6.3. Possible lines of research in the future

While I hope to have provided readers with descriptive insights into the creation of fictional orality and the portrayal of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality in each target culture under study, my research remains a case study and the results I exposed in the previous chapter are based on the analysis of only one film. Thus, carrying out an investigation based on a broader corpus of different films belonging to various genres and over a greater period of time would be more than relevant for a future research on the translation of linguistic variation and prefabricated orality. It would also be interesting to consider subtitles in the analysis, to get a broader perspective of linguistic variation in AVT.

When I started this investigation, I had planned to compare dubbed filmic speech with filmic speech from domestic productions, for each pluricentric language under study. Considering time limitations, it was impossible to realise; however, I think it would make for a very pertinent research.

Furthermore, considering Reinke & Ostiguy's claim that (2012: 20) that "Quebec viewers are uncomfortable to hear American actors, and foreigners in general, speak like them",[266] it would be relevant to conduct a reception study to observe Quebec audience reactions to the screening of short clips dubbed into QF, but only featuring characteristics without negative connotation[267]

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[266] My translation.

[267] As we already saw in section 3.6.1., Reinke & Ostiguy (2019) have conducted two perception tests to determine if participants could identify the geographical origin of the dubbed version, that is, if utterances they heard were taken from a film dubbed in Quebec or in France. Moreover, Reinke is currently carrying out a

(such as the affrication of [t] and [d] when followed by close front vowels or corresponding semivowels), and with the voice of unknown dubbing actors. A perception study with localised subtitles in QF, such as the one conducted by Rotondo (2016), would be also highly interesting. It would remove the phonetic aspect, which might be an important aspect of Quebec French audience's incomfort with translation into QF (again, because of the effect produced on Quebecers hearing "Others" speak their variety of French). Perception of characters and interpretation of events could be studied during this study. Similar reception studies could be carried out in Spain, notably to observe the perception of dubbed filmic speech featuring non-standard characteristics that were absent in my own case study, such as the elimination of the consonant /d/ in the masculine past participle suffix *-ado*.

As for Latin America, considering that AVT professionals create dubbed filmic speech with the idea that their target audience might be less tolerant of colloquial features and offensive language, it would be relevant to conduct a reception studies featuring some non-standard characteristics (such as the aspiration of the consonant [-*s*]) and a slightly vulgar register.

Finally, as I mentioned earlier, *Death Proof* (2007) was translated over ten years ago, and standards in AVT are evolving rapidly. Thus, it would be pertinent to carry out a similar study, but with a film translated more recently, possibly one respecting Netflix guidelines, and compare these results to mine in order to see how

large-scale reception study (project titled *La langue du doublage québécois: les attitudes des Québécois par rapport à une pratique langagière en marge de la réalité sociolinguistique*).

things have evolved. Finally, in my case study on Tarantino's unconventional homage to slasher films, *Death Proof*, I insisted greatly on the importance of linguistic variation for such an *auteur* film, yet it would be interesting to conduct a similar research on a film (or even various) belonging to different genres, possibly more commercial releases.

CHAPTER 7

7.1. Film Corpus

Death Proof. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Dimension Films/ The Weinstein Company, 2007.

—*Grindhouse présente Quentin Tarantino, À l'épreuve de la mort*. [Canada]: Alliance Vivafilm, 2007.

—*Boulevard de la mort.* [France]: TFM Distribution, 2007.

— *A prueba de muerte.* [Mexico]: Zima Entertainment, 2007.

— *Grindhouse: Death Proof.* [Spain]: Aurum, 2007.

7.2. Film References

4 Weddings and a Funeral. Directed by Mike Newell. [United Kingdom]: PolyGram Filmed Entertainment, Channel Four Films, Working Title Films, 1994.

Alles is Liefd. Directed by Joram Lürsen. [Netherlands]: Motel Films, Fu Works, Verenigde Arbeiders Radio Amateurs (VARA), 2007.

Ally McBeal. Created by David E. Kelley. [United States of America]: 20th Century Fox Television, David E. Kelley Productions, 1997-2002.

American Graffiti. Directed by George Lucas. [United States of America]: Universal Pictures, Lucasfilm, The Coppola Company, 1973.

Beauty and the Beast. Directed by Gary Trousdale & Kirk Wise. [United States of America]: Walt Disney Pictures, 1991.

Bienvenue chez les Ch'tis. Directed by Dany Boon. [France]: Pathé Renn Productions, Hirsch, Les Productions du Chicon, TF1 Films Production, 2008.

Big Wednesday. Directed by John Milius. [United States of America]: A-Team, 1978.

B.J. and the Bear. Created by Glen A. Larson & Christopher Crowe. [United States of America]: Glen A. Larson Productions & Universal Television, 1978-1981.

Blue in the Face. Directed by Paul Auster, Wayne Wang & Harvey Wang. [United States of America]: Miramax, InterAL, 1995.

Bonanza. Directed by David Dortort. [United States of America]: National Broadcasting Company (NBC), 1959-1973.

Caddyshack. Directed by Harold Ramis. [United States of America]: Orion Pictures, 1980.

Casablanca. Directed by Michael Curtiz. [United States of America]: Warner Bros., 1942.

Closer. Directed by Mike Nicholls. [United States of America/ United Kingdom]: Sony Pictures, 2005.

Death Race 2000. Directed by Paul Bartel. [United States of America]: New World Pictures, 1975.

Dirty Mary, Crazy Larry. Directed by John Hough. [United States of America]: Academy Pictures, Twentieth Century Fox, 1974.

Django Unchained. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: The Weinstein Company, Columbia Pictures, 2013.

Einstein. Directed by Thomas Jahn, Oliver Dommenget, Felix Stienz & Dominic Müller. [Germany]: Zeitsprung Pictures, 2017-present.

Fish Tank. Directed by Andrea Arnold. [United Kingdom/ Netherlands]: BBC Films, UK Film Council, Limelight, ContentFilm, Kasander Film Company, 2009.

Friends. Created by David Crane & Marta Kauffman. [United States of America]: Warner Bros. Television, Bright/Kauffman/Crane Productions, 1994-2004.

Garfield. Directed by Pete Hewitt. [United States of America]: Twentieth Century Fox, Davis Entertainment Company Production, 2004.

Garfield: A Tail of Two Kitties. Directed by Tim Hill. [United States of America]: Twentieth Century Fox, Davis Entertainment Company Production, 2006.

Gavilan. Created by Tom Mankiewicz. [United States of America]: MGM Television, Mandy Films, 1982-1983.

Goon. Directed by Michael Dowse. [Canada/ United States of America]: No Trace Camping, Caramel Film, Don Carmody Productions, DragonCove Studios, Inferno Pictures Inc., 2011.

Goon: Last of the Enforcers. Directed by Jay Baruchel. [Canada]: No Trace Camping, Caramel Film, 2017.

Gone in 60 Seconds. Directed by H.B. Halicki. [United States of America]: H.B. Halicki Mercantile, 1974.

Heidi. Directed by Delbert Mann. [United States of America/ Germany]: Studio Hamburg, Omnibus-Biography Productions, 1968.

Hooper. Directed by Hal Needham. [United States of America]: Warner Bros., 1978.

Idle Roomers. Directed by Del Lord. [United States of America]: Columbia Pictures, 1944.

I Love Lucy. Directed by William Asher, James V. Kern, Ralph Levy & Marc Daniels. [United States of America]: Desilu Productions, 1951-1957.

Inglorious Bastards. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America/ Germany]: Universal Pictures, The Weinstein Company, A Band Apart, Studio Babelsberg, 2009.

Jackie Brown. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Miramax, A Band Apart, Mighty Mighty Afrodite Productions, 1997.

Jungle Nest. Directed by Diego Suárez. [Argentina]: Non Stop, 2016.

Kill Bill Volume I. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Miramax, A Band Apart, Super Cool ManChu, 2003.

Kill Bill Volume II. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Miramax, A Band Apart, Super Cool ManChu, 2004.

Knight Rider. Created by Glen A. Larson. [United States of America]: Glen A. Larson Productions, Universal Television, 1982-1986.

Knocked Up. Directed by Judd Apatow. [United States of America]: Universal Pictures, Apatow Productions, 2007.

La Haine. Directed by Mathieu Kassovitz. [France]: Canal+, Cofinergie 6, Egg Pictures, Kasso Inc. Productions, La Sept Cinéma, Les Productions Lazennec, Polygram Filmed Entertainment, Studio Image, 1995.

Laurence Anyways. Directed by Xavier Dolan. [Canada]: Lyla Films, MK2 Productions, 2012.

Le Concert. Directed by Radu Mihăileanu. [France, Italy, Romany, Belgium]: Oï Oï Oï Productions, Les Productions du Trésor,

France 3 Cinéma, EuropaCorp, Castel Films, Panache Productions, Radio Télévision Belge Francophone (RTBF), BIM Distribuzione, 2009.

Mogambo. Directed by John Ford. [United States of America/ United Kingdom]: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), 1953.

Mommy. Directed by Xavier Dolan. [Canada]: Les Films Séville, Metafilms, Sons of Manual, Téléfilm Canada, 2014.

Natural Born Killers. Directed by Oliver Stone. [United States of America/ United Kingdom]: Warner Bros., Ixtlan, New Regency Pictures, 1994.

New Jack City. Directed by Mario Van Peebles. [United States of America/ United Kingdom]: Warner Bros., The Jackson/ McHenry Company, Jacmac Films, 1991.

Nice Dreams. Directed by Thomas Chong. [United States of America]: Sony Movie Channel, 1981.

Planet Terror. Directed by Robert Rodriguez. [United States of America/ Mexico]: Dimension Films, Troublemaker Studios, Rodriguez International Pictures, The Weinstein Company, 2007.

Polyester. Directed by John Waters. [United States of America]: New Line Cinema, 1981.

Pretty in Pink. Directed by Howard Deutch. [United States of America]: Paramount Pictures, 1986.

Pulp Fiction. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Miramax, A Band Apart, Jersey Films, 1994.

Reservoir Dogs. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Live America Inc., Dog Eat Dog Productions Inc., 1992.

Siete Vidas. Created by Nacho García Velilla. [Spain/ Italy]: Globomedia, 1999-2006.

Slap shot. Directed by George Roy Hill. [United States of America]: Kings Road Entertainment, Pan Arts Productions, Universal Pictures, 1977.

Smoke. Directed by Wayne Wang. [United States of America]: Miramax, NDF International, Euro Space, Smoke Productions, 1995.

Stroker Ace. Directed by Hal Needham. [United States of America]: Universal Pictures, Warner Bros., 1983.

The Angel's Share. Directed by Ken Loach. . [United Kingdom, France, Italy, Belgium]: Entertainment One, Sixteen Films, Why Not Productions, Wild Bunch, British Film Institute (BFI), Les Films du Fleuve, Urania Pictures S.r.l., Canal+, Canto Bros Productions, CinéCinéma, France 2 Cinéma, France Télévisions, Le Pacte, Soficinéma 8, 2012.

The Cannonball Run. Directed by Hal Needham. [United States of America]: Golden Harvest Company, 1981.

The Handmaiden. Directed by Chan-wook Park. [South Korea]: Moho Film, Yong Film, 2016.

The Hateful Eight. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. [United States of America]: Double Feature Films, FilmColony, 2015.

The High Chaparral. Created by David Dortort. [United States of America]: NBC Productions, Xanadu Productions Inc., 1967-1971.

The Incredibles. Directed by Brad Bird. [United States of America]: Pixar Animation Studios Film, Walt Disney Pictures, 2004.

The Jazz Singer. Directed by Alan Crosland. [United States of America]: A Warner Brothers Picture, 1927.

The Little Mermaid. Directed by Ron Clements & John Musker. [United States of America]: Walt Disney Pictures, 1989.

The Piano. Directed by Jane Campion. [New Zealand, Australia, France]: CiBy 2000, Jan Chapman Productions, 1993.

The Simpsons. Created by Matt Groening. [United States of America]: Gracie Films, Twentieth Century Fox, 1989-present.

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The Wire. Directed by David Simon. [United States of America]: Blown Deadline Productions, Home Box Office (HBO), 2002-2008.

Tobacco Road. Directed by John Ford. [United States of America]: Twentieth Century-Fox, 1941.

Transpotting. Directed by Danny Boyle. [United Kingdom]: Channel Four Films, Figment Films, The Noel Gay Motion Picture Company, 1996.

Vanishing Point. Directed by Richard C. Sarafian. [United States of America]: Cupid Productions, 1971.

Vega$. Created by Michael Mann. [United States of America]: Aaron Spelling Productions, 1978-1981.

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ERRATA LIST

After the present thesis was printed, the following errors were detected:

Page/ Section	**Original text**	**Corrected text**
Glossary	(quoted in Ellender 2016: 3)	(quoted in Ellender **2015**: 3)
115	…representation of said variation (Ellender 2016: 3).	…representation of said variation (Ellender **2015**: 3).
164	Ellender (2016) observed French subtitles…	Ellender (**2015**) observed French subtitles…
187	Cedeño (2007) points out that…	Cedeño (2007**, quoted in Sinner 2010: 713**) points out that…
301	Hollander (2001), Ellender (2016) and Mével (2012).	Hollander (2001), Ellender (**2015**) and Mével (2012).
318	Reinke & Ostiguy 2012, 2015; Mével 2012; Ellender 2016…	Reinke & Ostiguy 2012, 2015; Mével 2012; Ellender **2015**…

348	(absent from references)	Cedeño, M. R. (2007). *Arbeitsmittel und Arbeitsabläufe beim Übersetzen audiovisueller Medien. Synchronisation und Undertitelung in Venezuela und in Deutschland.* Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag.
356	(absent from references)	Ellender, C. (2015). *Dealing with Difference in Audiovisual Translation. Subtitling Linguistic Variation in Films.* Bern: Peter Lang.